

other trolleyman was admitted in the General Hospital at Quilon for further medical treatment. The Permanent Way Mistry was admitted in the Punalur Government Hospital. Both the injured are reported to be progressing satisfactorily.

Ex-gratia payment to the next of kin of the dead and to the injured has been arranged.

A Committee of Officers has been deputed to investigate the cause of the accident.

Mr. Speaker: Where did the hon. Member get the information that the trolleyman had died?

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: Yes, Sir; one of the trolleyman succumbed to his injuries.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: Was there no signal there? How was this accident caused?

Shri S. V. Ramaswamy: It was a sharp curve and the rules in regard to the running of trolley on the track were not observed.

12-04 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

ANNUAL REPORT AND THE AUDITED ACCOUNTS OF THE NEYVELI LIGNITE CORPORATION LIMITED

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering (Shri P. C. Sethi): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:

(i) Annual Report of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited, Neyveli, for the year 1962-63 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956.

133 (Ai) LS.—4.

(ii) Review by the Government on the working of the above Company.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2650/64].

12.05 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION—contd.

Mr. Speaker: We will now take up further discussion on Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. Out of 6 hours allotted, 20 minutes have been taken and 5 hours 40 minutes remain. Shri Kapur Singh may continue his speech.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was at the point that democratic socialism to the chariot wheels of which the community Development and the co-operative movement had been tied by the present rulers was a self-contradictory term, and that socialism does not go well with democracy and this was the reason why both these good movements had come to a bad end. The essence of democracy is that the process of discussion and study of evidence alone can reveal the right course of action for a community through consensus of opinion. The implicit postulate of socialism, whatever its form, is that the right course of action is already directly revealed to those in authority whose prerogative it is to enforce co-ordination on the members of a community. How can water and fire go together?

The truth of the matter is that the humanitarian and altruistic interest in the individual is completely alien to socialist concept or concern for the collective. But our Government must have democratic socialism and thus placed in the doldrums of good movements, they have to carry forward. Was it Robert Louis Stevenson who said that "man does not live by bread alone, but he also needs catchwords?" Paradoxical Logic on

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the basis of democratic socialism has been made the guiding star to which the wagon of this good movement has been hitched. It is a logic which pays dividends in two spheres only. It pays dividends in the sphere of metaphysics. Our own ancient truths such as *Tatvamasi*, which we believe is the essence of the Vedas were arrived at through insights, gained through paradoxical logic. *Tatvamasi* means "Thou art this" and, at the same time, "Thou art that." Therefore, paradoxical logic is good where we are concerned with metaphysics. Paradoxical Logic also pays dividends in Marxian El Dorado or the Orwellian Land of Double Think.

There is a story; I concede that the story is apocryphal. In a Soviet factory, a director advertised for the job of a Chief Accountant, and whenever each candidate appeared, this simple question was put to him: How much two and two make? The successful candidate returned the answer, "How much do you want it to be, comrade?" But in the world of work-a-day practical politics, in the world of affairs of men, where the men have to toil and to earn their bread, there, this Paradoxical Logic does not pay, and this, I assert, is at the basis of all the troubles to which these two good ideas of Community Development and co-operative movement have been led by our Government.

The philosophy of this Community Development movement is given in a Government of India publication entitled *Community Development in India* by Shri V. T. Krishnamachari. In Chapter I, page 9, of this booklet, it is said:

"The basic idea underlying the National Extension movement—viz., intensive development aiming at reaching every family in the countryside and at securing co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole—is not a new concept. It has been tried in the past. One can refer to such

efforts... as those experiments of Poet Tagore at Sriniketan...."

What were the impulses which led Poet Rabindranath Tagore to think of this Community Development movement as a panacea for the rural troubles of India? In a booklet which is also a Government of India publication, entitled *Evolution of Community Development Programme in India*, at page 1, this basic impulse which led Tagore to conceive of this movement is stated thus:

"In 1890, Rabindranath Tagore, then aged 29, was sent to take charge of the family estate in East Bengal. He went to live at Shilida, and came, he said, for the first time into direct touch with the people of the villages, with their sufferings and with their many problems of cultivation, of credit and of marketing. There too, he listened to their songs, their dramas and their festivals. But, he said, too often they came to him as Zemindar and landlord, or to the District Collector, like beggars, unable seemingly, to stand on their own feet as free and independent individuals."

"This experience he never forgot. Ten years later, when he was nearing 40, he moved with his family from Calcutta to Santiniketan, to start his school there."

These are the roots from which the Community Development movement in our country springs.

This programme of Community Development, as hon. Members know, was launched on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, on October 2, 1952, in pursuance of the Indo-US Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1952. American Community Development movement, as you know, Sir, has three main features. One feature is that it insists on self-help. The second feature is that it insists on close attention to what people themselves want, and the third feature is that it

insists on attention to tradition and custom, that is regarding the community as an integral whole and not as an instrument of the ruling party.

Now, what has happened under the impact of democratic socialism to this good movement in this country? I will refer you to the words of the Government functionaries themselves, which will show that this Community Development movement has been turned into a mere departmental agency of Government, pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of democratic socialism. In the booklet *Agriculture and Community Development in the Third Plan* at page 7, it is said:

"A major responsibility for implementing the various agricultural programmes envisaged in the Third Plan has been placed on the Community Development organisation. While the broad aim is still the same, the organisation will now concentrate on fully utilising local man-power and other resources through Extension workers and a network of panchayati institutions and cooperatives for achieving the production targets... Thus, the principal test for the success of Community Development Programme is its effectiveness as an agricultural Extension agency."

I leave it here without further comments, because the sin has been admitted.

In another booklet to which I have already referred, namely, *Community Development in India* by V. T. Krishnamachari, at page 18, the social aims as now envisaged by the Government are given. It says:

"Directions of Social Change—
To sum up, the three main directions in which a change in outlook is needed and is to be worked for are:

Firstly, increased employment and increased production,

Secondly, the largest possible extension of the principle of co-operation, and

Thirdly, the need for devoting and utilising the time and energy in the countryside for the benefit of the community."

That is the target programme of the Government of India.

How are these programmes which have now been foisted upon the original Community Development to be achieved? They are to be achieved, as the Publications of the Government of India themselves show, through an organisation which is a four-tier hierarchy and that hierarchy is totally under the State control and direction. In the booklet *Community Development—Programme and Benefits*, a glimpse is given into the nature of the tentacles of the organisation, at page 8. At the top, the Union Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation. At the State level, a State Development Committee, comprising the Ministers in charge of all the development departments with the Chief Minister as Chairman. In the block, at the upper end of the ladder in the block hierarchy is the Block Development Officer. For establishing direct contact with the villagers, there are 10 Gram Sevaks in each block, that is, one Gram Sevak for 10 villages.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Gram Sevikas also.

Shri Kapur Singh: Yes; Gram Sevikas also.

An hon. Member suggested to me this morning that I might consider the possibility of developing the point that the Community Development movement, as it is being run by the Congress Government, is not a Community Development movement as it was envisaged by Tagore or as it was conceived by the American thinkers originally, but that it is a Congress community development.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): It is development for Congress community.

Shri Kapur Singh: Development for Congress community—I stand corrected. But, as I said, it is not my position that the Community Development movement is development for Congress community.

Mr. Speaker: How did he stand corrected?

Shri Kapur Singh: First of all I said "Congress community development", but my hon. friend said that it would be better to call it "development for Congress Community". I stand corrected by that in respect of the nomenclature.

As I said earlier, for the realisation of what they call democratic socialism they have perverted two good movements in this country to their own purpose. One is Panchayati Raj and the other is the Co-operative Movement.

I will first take up Panchayati Raj, how it has been perverted to the peculiar doctrinaire philosophy or fads of the ruling party. About Panchayati Raj, their own publication *Community Development Through Panchayati Raj*, written by Shri S. K. Dey says like this:.....

Shri Ranga: Here is the villain of the piece.

Shri Kapur Singh: On page 2 it says:

"Administration—in a country waking up after centuries, it is but natural that as between the people and the Government, the Government would be the stronger partner."

He makes no secret of it. The Government must be the stronger partner. Then he says:

"People would be dependent on the initiative flowing from Government at least to start with."

He makes that reservation. Then he says:

"The Government, during alien rule,...."—he bemoans—

"...responded to single-line impulses from Whitehall in London and the Viceregal Lodge in New Delhi."

"The situation" he hopefully asserts, "changed since midnight of August 15, 1947."

As I have given quotations from their own publications, the situation if it has changed has changed only in appearance. The spirit remains the same and the aim remains the same, namely, that this movement should be wholly and fully regimented and it should remain under the control of a single-line impulse which flows. I would not say from whom, but from Delhi certainly.

The main question which we have to address ourselves is, is this claim that is being made that the situation has changed since the midnight of August 15, 1947 true? Has it really changed? I will, with your permission, Sir, quote from Guru Nanak. He says:

जो जीय द्यो मो उगवै ।

मह का कहिय वाऊ ॥

It is the intention which fructifies in the end, it is the intention which bears fruits, while words remain mere sound.

I have tried to show what their true intentions are, the true intentions which they themselves admit, because they openly avow now that the Panchayati Raj must become the handmaiden in the fulfilment of their economic targets and of their other policies which they are pursuing under the garb of democratic socialism.

In a book called *Community Development Through Sahakari Samaj* under the authorship of Shri S. K. Dey—perhaps it also means Sarkari—on page 18 it is stated:

“Panchayati Raj is the organisation of the people for planning the economic and social needs of a community.”

Here the cat is not only out of the bag, the cat is jumping about without any let or hindrance. The real purpose, as I hinted before, of the Panchayati Raj was, as Tagore visualised it, development of free and independent individuals, sustenance of the initiative of a free and independent individual. Paul Tillich, a modern European savant, says, “God’s directing creativity always creates through the freedom of man”. The State or Party must never subordinate that freedom, must never limit, circumscribe, enslave or obfuscate it. This is true goal of panchayati raj; not regimentation for material production or political manoeuvring.

Instead of passing my own judgment on the net results of how the Panchayati Raj has worked and the tendencies to which it has given rise, I will fall on the authority of the Report of Panchayati Raj Research Project which has been recently conducted by the Department of Economics and Public Administration of the University of Rajasthan under the guidance of Professor Mathur. If the hon. Minister has not gone through this most rewarding report, I will recommend him to go through this well-documented and very ably drawn report very carefully. In that Report three major conclusions have been arrived at. No. 1 Panchayati Raj in this country has given fillip to emergence of local leadership, dependent upon State leadership, yet not reconciled to higher bosses. The second conclusion which is arrived at is that in the absence of genuine politicalisation—I am quoting the words of the

Report; in the absence of genuine politicalisation—it has strengthened traditional loyalties and feuds. The third conclusion which this Research Project has arrived at is, that it has led to widespread tension between administrative machinery and rural leaders and between rural leaders and politicians higher up. So, in the words of this independent and objective and academic research, conducted into the working of Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan, it is quite a sample of how Panchayati Raj is working in India.

The net result of this independent investigation is that the moral health of rural society is jeopardised on account of the low unscrupulous persons acquiring positions of power through the machinery of the Panchayati Raj. Secondly, the social health is being endangered through entrenching in power of vested interests, the same vested interests which the rulers claimed that they are out to destroy in this country with a view to bring about a new social order. Lastly, they have also come to the conclusion that political health has been threatened through new tensions between rural leaders and administration and between rural leaders and political leaders.

Thus, Panchayati Raj, instead of strengthening the base of democracy, instead of fortifying the independence and self-respect of the individual, instead of re-awakening the rural initiative, has resulted in what I would point out by referring to a news in the *Statesman* of Delhi dated 6th April, 1963 at page 8, column 6:

“Gram Panchayat’s suspension

No effect on its normal working

Patiala, Apr. 5—A gram panchayat in Punjab remained suspended from August, 1956 to December, 1960, and it was only afterwards that the authorities discovered that transactions relating to receipts and expenditure

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were being conducted by the sarpanch of the panchayat without any authority!..... This sensational discovery speaks a lot for the working of the Panchayati Raj Department in the State. The Local Audit Department in its latest report on the accounts of the gram panchayats in the State has made a special note of this panchayat."

Only this morning there was a question listed, which unfortunately was not asked or answered on the floor of this House, in which it is mentioned that 20 panchayats have been suspended in Delhi area alone for misuse of public funds.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: 143 in Orissa.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Many more in other States.

Shri Kapur Singh: This is the story which obtains throughout India. This is a story which is not symptomatic, but it is a wholesale feature of the functioning of the panchayats throughout India. I suggest and I assert that this has happened because the true moorings, of panchayati impulse have been destroyed by yoking it to doctrinaire fads of the ruling party.

The same story, I feel, is true in the matter of co-operation. Co-operative movement also has been thoroughly perverted through doctrinaire bigotry and Statism in this country. This movement came into this country, as we all know, about 50 years ago in its modern form. But the roots of the idea of co-operation in our country go far back to the ancient times. I think, it is in the Mahabharata that it is stated:

द्वापरे मंत्र शक्तिस्तु, ज्ञान शक्ति : कृते युगे ।
त्रेतायाम् बुद्ध शक्तिस्तु, संघ शक्ति : कली युगे ॥

In some ages, it is the power of the word, in some other ages it is the power of knowledge and science; in still some other ages it is the power of the war-strength which is the decisive factor in human affairs but, as far as the current age is concerned, it is the power of co-operation which is the decisive factor. So, we are not altogether alien to the idea of co-operation and we do not have to look for inspiration from foreign sources.

As I said, the modern impulse for this movement in the legislative form came about 50 years ago. There was the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, 1904 and then there was the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912. If one goes very carefully through the preambles of these Acts, one would find that they made it clear at that time, that these legislations were being placed on the statute book, with a view to foster economic interests of men of limited means through self-help and mutual help. These were the two aims which were to be realised by the fostering of this movement. I will show and argue that both these aims, first of all they have been watered down and then they have been, slowly gradually and insiduously replaced by other aims which are basically opposed to the original aims; gradually and insiduously, I repeat, self-help and mutual help have been corroded, negated and eliminated out of the co-operative principle and it has been replaced by the aims of material production and by the aim of Statism, regimentation and of control from the top.

I will now relate briefly the steps which have been taken to achieve these none too commendable objects. In 1954 the first step was taken when the Rural Credit Survey Report of the Government of India pronounced the total and complete failure of the movement. But while pronouncing the co-operative movement has failed, it said that co-operative movement must succeed. As Robert Louis Stevenson has said, a man does not live by bread

alone; he also needs catch-words and slogans. After having made this pronouncement, this Report suggested that State partnership in co-operative societies was the only hope left for the co-operative movement. Thus, by introducing State partnership in co-operative societies, the basic dynamism of the whole principle of co-operative movement has been corroded and corrupted through the addition of State help.

What was the result of this step which was taken? By 30th June 1961 the Government shares in credit societies rose to Rs. 24.56 crores and in non-credit societies Rs. 15.44 crores. Since the power of borrowing of the co-operative societies, by law, is a multiple of the capital owned by the societies, what has happened to the borrowings by the Societies after the State stepped in? From Rs. 55.69 crores in 1946 it rose to Rs. 125.32 crores in 1961. This was the first step which was taken towards the destruction of the true and common impulse of the co-operative movement.

The next step was the power assumed to nominate directors. Though a convention was there or agreed upon that the number of nominated directors in a single co-operative society should not exceed three, there are in this country co-operative societies where all the directors are nominated or Government-appointed directors.

The last step, as I was saying, in this process of erosion of the true principles of co-operation was taken when the Mysore Co-operative Societies Act of 1959 legislated that where State aid amounting to not less than two lakhs of rupees is given to a co-operative society, the Government may assume powers to exercise such control over the business of such societies as it deems fit in public interest. It is in the public interest or in the interest of our democratic socialism or in the interest of the ruling party or in whatever interest.

But the fact remains that all the true principles and the genuine impulses of the cooperative movement were eviscerated. They were taken out of the bowels of this movement and the whole thing became a dead carcass. The perversion processes have been completed. Self-help and mutual help has been replaced by State help and State control.

Shri Ranga: Sovietisation.

Shri Kapur Singh: Although these three steps have perverted, in the view of the ruling party they did not finish the cooperative principle. So, *coup de grace* was, therefore, administered through induction of the principle of open membership. The cooperative law was amended requiring that there should be assignment of reason whenever membership was refused to anybody.

ROCHDALE Pioneers had allowed the principle of open membership to consumers' societies where all sales were to be for cash. There were RAIFFISEN credit societies of Germany which are prototype of the credit societies which we have in this country. These RAIFFISEN societies in Germany reserve their membership as a privilege for trust-worthy men of character. What we have done is that we have mixed up RAIFFISEN society with ROCHDALE society just as we have mixed up democracy with socialism. The result is that in 1961, the overdues from agricultural co-operative societies to banks rose to Rs. 27.43 crores. Percentage of overdues to outstandings in 1961 was 12.5 and the percentages of overdues to outstandings in 1963—I take these figures from the *Hindu* of Madras dated 9th August, 1963—are the following: Assam—71, Bihar—48, Mysore—46, Rajasthan—45 and so on and so forth. Thus, cooperatives have become cess-pools of corruption and inefficiency. A recent report that we have received from Punjab shows that a very large number of cooperative societies have just become defunct. In

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Delhi, we have recently heard of black-marketing and spivvery extensively indulged in the garb of a co-operative society. The interest in material output has now completely replaced interest in man. Human initiative has completely been replaced by State regimentation. All, however, does not appear to be irretrievably lost because I see that there are vague premonitions of a painful truth now appearing on the periphery of the official consciousness.

In the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi dated 29th March, 1963, there is a public statement made by the presiding deity of democratic socialism, Mr. Ashoka Mehta, speaking at the

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The presiding deity is the Prime Minister.

Shri Kapur Singh: Speaking at the annual day celebration of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, Mr. Mehta said:

"Big efforts had to be made in the fourth Plan to make up the shortfalls of the Third Plan. But it was necessary to create a psychological climate for the success of the Plan."

Again, in the *Statesman* of Delhi dated the 5th April, 1964, there is a news from Jaipur which says:

"Cooperatives should be free from Government control as far as possible. This view has been expressed by the Estimates Committee of the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha in its report presented to the House yesterday."

I conclude by saying that the panchayati raj and the cooperative movement were excellent principles. The panchayati raj and the cooperative movement were based on theories and in impulses which are wholly

indigenous to this country. They were capable of doing an immense amount of good to the country and to the nation. Then, why did the ruling party find it necessary to tie these movements, to chain these movements, to the chariot wheels of democratic socialism?

Sir, I am reminded of a short poem by a modern English poet, a poem under the heading of *Black Bird*:

I asked a cock blackbird,

Why did you choose black?

—In the ages of old,

When the blackbirds were new,

And questions of hue,

Began to unfold—

With the rainbow to choose from,
Why did you pick black?

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuruzha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, my hon. friend, Shri Kapur Singh, seems to be allergic even to the word 'socialism'. But I would like to tell him that he was all the while fighting against a shadow because although in the Report, as he said, there is a mention about the democratic socialism for which this Government is supposed to work, actually they are not doing anything of the kind. Shri Kapur Singh and his friends need not worry about that. Take, for example, this community development programme. Even though this community development programme was launched in this country in 1952 with a lot of fanfare, the results that we have got from this programme are practically nil. I think that even the Minister who is capable of a lot of eloquence will not try to establish that we have worked wonders in this field. Even the Prime Minister who, I think, was perhaps the author of this idea was compelled to state very recently in a speech of his, while inaugurating the Conference of

States Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj held in New Delhi on 1st and 2nd August, 1963 that:

"We need men and women to do the job and we felt that the community development movement vitalised the people more particularly the rural masses and gave them the energy and capacity to grow. I have no doubt that the community development movement did that to some extent and continues to do that but we felt gradually that it was getting into a rut and losing itself in procedures and discussions and not accomplishing all that was expected from it."

Naturally, as the Prime Minister of India and as a person presiding over the Government, he cannot go farther than this. I am sure he might have felt much more than what he has said. So, when we discuss this question, we have to examine what are the basic reasons for this failure and why the rural masses, the millions in the countryside, are today either indifferent onlookers or hostile critics of the so-called projects conducted under the aegis of this Ministry. What is the reason for all this? We should examine why even today a revolutionising process has not taken place in the rural parts of our country. Unless we succeed in going deeper into the problem, I am sure that any kind of rectification in procedures, as it is being suggested by the Prime Minister, will not help us to really get over the difficulty.

Now, I would like to quote a part of the report presented by the Census Commission after making a survey of the conditions in some of the Delhi villages. There again, there is no reason to feel complacent, rather satisfied, over the results that we have achieved. And that has taken place in Delhi of all places. We know that the Delhi villages are almost kept as a show-piece for the foreign dignitaries to be taken when they come to our country to show them what we are

doing in the name of community development. About these very Delhi villages, this is what the census officers had to say:

"About 50 per cent of the families surveyed were found to be perpetually in debt. In one village, Bhalsna Jhangirpur, with a population of 857, the average indebtedness worked out to Rs. 800 per family. Of the 144 families in the village, only one had an income of more than Rs. 500 per month. Forty families earned more than Rs. 100 per month and of the rest, 20 had an income of less than Rs. 25 per month."

Shri Ranga: And that one is the land monopolist, according to my hon. friend.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Then, they go on to say:

"As for community development programmes, the study showed that only about four per cent of the villagers were satisfied with the working of CD blocks. Instances were not uncommon when seed asked for by villagers before the sowing season was given to them at harvest time.

Elected panchayats, according to the villagers, were not functioning properly because of caste feelings and party-politics. In many cases members of the 'higher castes' felt that it was below their dignity to work with 'low caste people'."

We all know that in our villages today, even after seventeen years of freedom, the actual pattern of relationship has not changed very much. According to me, the root cause lies here. All the steps that we have taken have not yet really changed the basic pattern of relationship in the rural society of India. What about the caste? What about the community? What about the whole of

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the rural rich? What about the moneylender and so many other factors that are prevalent in our village life? The hon. Minister Shri S. K. Dey had himself said in one of his speeches that in spite of all that talk that is there about land reforms, our tenant-farmers remain where they were. I can quote from his own speech, but because of lack of time I would not do so. But I think that those were almost the very words which he had used, and he has said quite rightly that unless the tenant-farmers in our villages really get the benefit as a result of these proposed land reforms which are only practically on paper even today, we shall not succeed in eradicating the social inequality that is prevalent in the rural society of India. While attempting to remove the social inequality there are various steps that have to be adopted not only by Government but also by the non-official agencies, and, there, I believe, that all the political parties in India have also to make their contribution, if they are really interested in these things. I do not know what the leader of the Swatantra Party will do in this respect.

Shri Ranga: Let my hon. friend say what he wants.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Besides this, Government has to see to it that even the fundamental policy and approach followed by them on the basic question of agricultural production undergoes a change. We talk so much about co-operation. We talk so much about co-operative farming, to create so much of concern in the minds of people like my hon. friend Shri Ranga.

Shri Ranga: We are opposed to that.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Actually, for nothing they are getting excited in this country.

Shri Ranga: My hon. friend wants Government also to go their way.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: There has only been talk about co-operative farming, in this country. What else has taken place?

Shri Ranga: My hon. friend would like to take us to China also.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: At least if we tell the truth to Shri Ranga, he will not get unnecessarily excited. We are only talking much about co-operative farming, and not doing much about it. If the truth is told then he will not get excited, because there is practically no reason for him to get excited. How can you have real co-operative farming in the villages when the real power and authority in the villages are vested in the hands of a few? It is true, and I am told that in some of the Punjab villages, co-operative farming has succeeded. But how? As far as I could understand, most of those who have joined together are rich peasants, and only those co-operative farming societies which are mainly composed of rich peasants have succeeded. I do not think that such co-operative societies are any different from a private limited company. But take the case of the rural poor. As far as they are concerned, I do not know whether there are any cases of real benefit having gone to them in actual practice without any compulsion. So far as co-operative farming is concerned, there is absolutely no question of compulsion at all. I do not think that anyone in this country stands for compulsion in co-operative farming. But, without compulsion, by demonstration and then by persuasion, the peasants should be urged to take to co-operative farming. For that purpose, Government have to come into the field, and they have to do a lot. Of course, they have to do these things properly. It is quite possible, and there I agree with my hon. friend Shri Kapur Singh, that

very often misuse is there, and corruption is rampant.

Shri Kapur Singh: They are the roots of corruption.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Unless we see to it that the rural poor are brought together to pool their resources, without, of course, losing their rights on the land, we cannot really turn the corner.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): When corruption is rampant.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I should say that the fundamental policy of Government has stood in the way as far as giving incentive to the tenants and the peasants is concerned. For, for the last few years at least, Government have been mainly depending on heavy imports of foodgrains, especially under the PL-480 scheme, and practically the task of achieving increased agricultural production inside our own country has been neglected to a great extent.

The community development project has as its main aim the increase of agricultural production. But when the main policy is one of depending upon heavy imports and concentrating on selected areas in the name of package programme, then all our talk about increasing agricultural production and all the schemes which are supposed to help the farmers, in increasing agricultural production will only remain on paper. The main emphasis has not so far been on raising agricultural production by mobilising the tillers of the soil, by really giving them incentives. Hence, whatever money has been poured into these schemes by way of incentives has gone into the hands of a few people

Shri Ranga: And the officers.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: And the officers as well as their friends. Whatever money we have spent on these schemes has gone into the hands of a handful of the rural aristocracy dur-

ing the last seventeen years; it has not gone into the hands of the tillers of the soil.

The hon. Minister might have toured round the whole of the country. I think that he has visited almost all the States in India. May I ask him, for example, how many Harijans he has seen in the various so-called advisory committees attached to the projects and the various conferences that he might have addressed?

Shri Ranga: Any number.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: The Harijans are the lowest strata of society in this country, and they are the people at the grass-roots, as we might say. How many of them are in positions in these advisory bodies or other conferences which are being convened in various places?

You have another example in the Village Volunteer Force. I would like the Minister to make a study of its composition.

Shri Ranga: Another hoax.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: This Village Volunteer Force also is essentially composed of people coming from the upper classes. So, the pattern of development that is there in our villages even today is not in reality on a popular basis; it really restricts itself to a minority of the population in the villages. So, if the large masses of agricultural workers, the small peasants and the rural poor have to be mobilised, vitalised, then we have to go deeper into the problem, and the first thing that the Government should really do is to see that real agrarian reforms are implemented. No more talk about agrarian reforms will do. Real implementation of the agrarian relations should be the beginning of the revitalisation of the rural masses in this country.

I was talking about agricultural labour. There again, you should know

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

that the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report reveals that, in spite of the pumping in of crores of rupees into the villages, the most downtrodden of the villagers have not gained anything; rather, their life has worsened, their conditions of life have worsened. The village daily wage rate of casual male agricultural labour during 1950-51, according to the First Enquiry Report was 109 n.p., while in 1956-57, according to the Second Enquiry Report, it was found that it had gone down to 96 n.p. So, the progress is in the reverse direction. For females, it has gone down from 68 n.p. to 59 n.p. Agricultural labour households in debt increased from 45 per cent to 64 per cent. As far as the employment situation is concerned, casual male agricultural labour showed a decrease in wage employment from 200 to 197 days. In self-employment, the decrease was from 75 to 40 days, and unemployment was for 110 days in the year compared to 98 days during the First Enquiry.

The average annual income of an agricultural labour household showed a decrease from Rs. 495 to Rs. 439 for casual workers, and from Rs. 524 to Rs. 451 for attached workers.

Shri Ranga: There is also inflation in the country.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: The situation in 1950-51, according to this Report, was better than in 1956-57. And this Ministry of Community Development came into existence in 1950-51. This Ministry was there, and the Food and Agriculture Ministry and so many other agencies were working in this country, but this is the result. And the Delhi villages have shown that the situation there is much worse. So, I would request the Government to really go into this problem in consultation with all those interested in this problem in this country.

One difficulty is that the Government takes up an entirely partisan attitude

on this whole problem. The Minister may say that he has nothing to do with it, but in the States, whenever a committee is formed,—a committee may not do much, it cannot work magic, and we have so many committees—even then, when an advisory committee is formed, in that committee of course the D.C.C. President should be there. He is a must. I do not find fault with it, he belongs to the majority party, the ruling party, but then you will see that because of party politics, so many people who may be influential in the village, who may be doing some work in the village or may be active in the co-operative or agricultural labour movement, are all left out.

Shri Ranga: Even the minority group is cut out.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: That also happens in many States.

Even in the formation of the Village Volunteer Force what has happened? It was formed during the emergency, when the entire Parliament pledged its support to Government unanimously, when the entire people came forward, but we know that hundreds of persons, at least in my State, young people who wanted to enrol themselves in this Village Volunteer Force, were not accepted.

An Hon. Member: Why?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: On the basis of party politics, on the basis of political discrimination.

This is happening from top to bottom, and then you call upon the entire country to mobilise itself, to join the development programmes, to donate their labour free etc., while behaving in the most partisan manner.

These are questions on which there should be a national approach, a national effort. I would request the Government to approach this question entirely with a national outlook, and not on partisan considerations.

I now come to two or three comparatively minor points, but of course important in the implementation of the community project programme.

As the hon. Minister himself has pointed out in one of the speeches that he made, really the key person in the community development programme is the Gram Sevak. He has said very rightly in one of his speeches:

"The load the V.L.W. has to carry today at the ground level is something which no single human being, the strongest ever built, can ever be expected to bear. The natural tendency is that whenever the Government of India wants to get something done or wants to know about something, it immediately throws a new burden on that last point worker, the Gram Sevak. Whether we want to get it done through the Panchayat, the Panchayat Samiti or the Zila Parishad, the burden has to be borne by the Gram Sevak."

We had occasion to meet many of these young men in our country. Actually, they are expected to know everything in this world. Because the community development programme takes up agricultural production, he, as the person who actually takes it to the peasant, is expected to know everything concerning agricultural production.

Shri Ranga: He produces more.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Then you have got your social education programmes, and the same man is expected to carry the message to the villager. You have got your rural water supply schemes, and again he is supposed to be the real link in the village. Is the Government taking enough trouble to train him to be the most effective link with the villagers? I think practically nothing is being done in this direction. That is one aspect of the matter. My feeling, is, as the Minister said, he is too much overburdened. I do not know whether it is possible to have more such people in the villages.

Secondly, he has practically no material incentive, because I was told by many of them that even when they die they will remain a Gram Sevak, practically most of them. Recently, some ten per cent of the seats for BDO selection has been reserved for them in my State, for some of them who are graduates. Some little concession was shown to them which will cover a handful of people. But what of thousands and tens of thousands of village level workers? What is the incentive for them? We cannot deny that for a person to do his job there should be some incentive in spite of all the talk and appeals that we go on making.

13 hrs.

Government should also deliberate whether they should have youth organisations and women organisations separately. They have set up their own organisations under the auspices of the block development officer. But there are genuine organisations already existing but they refuse to take their help. If there are more than one organisation, what is the difficulty in bringing them together? The block development authorities could take the initiative and ask them to have a federation. Why should they have a new set up and new machinery and a new organisation while these exist already. I do not know whether it is possible for the Government to reconsider this at this stage. If that is not possible, my personal feeling is that they have proceeded on very wrong lines in promoting new organisations even in places where such organisations existed.

The Santhanam Committee has made certain recommendations about the finances of the panchayati raj. I am sorry to say that that committee had proceeded on usual lines. Finance is a very big problem for the panchayats. Where could they find out the necessary finances. There are 101 problems looking in their face and they are asked by the Santhanam committee to collect more and more taxes. There again we are living in a vicious circle

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

of more and more taxes by the panchayats, municipalities, assemblies and then by Parliament—one over the other. Where can you find the finances in the villages? At the same time I cannot say that all these panchayats should be subsidised by grants; that is not possible. But should not panchayats be asked to take up village industries? If they establish the village industries, it will provide employment and also some finances from those village industries. I am against more and more of taxation on the peasants especially in this period when there was no substantial increase in agricultural production and the real income of the villager has not gone up. In such a situation it is wrong to put more and more taxes on him. Some other method of financing panchayati raj should be found out.

Finally, about co-operative movement. Even today the bulk of co-operative credit in the village is by money-lender or other agencies than co-operative agencies. Government expected that in the last year of the Third Plan they will be able to disburse Rs. 512 crores through co-operative agencies but they now feel that they will reach only Rs. 400 crores. Large sums of money allotted for co-operative credit was not made use of. In answer to some questions here, the hon. Minister was trying to give some explanation which was not at all satisfactory. I think some board was appointed to go into it. Anyway, we must see that the bulk of rural credit goes through co-operative agencies so that the target may be achieved as early as possible. About co-operative farming, Government should enable the poor peasants to see the benefits of co-operative farming in actual life. Unless we succeed in showing them in actual life, by demonstration, the benefits of co-operative farming, we cannot make any headway. Government as a whole should take the people into confidence; then only they can succeed. They have failed to reach most of the rural people; they

have only reached the rural rich. The Minister in his speech in the Conference of State Ministers has claimed that this was not a departmental programme and that this programme had assumed the character of a national movement. I am sorry I cannot agree with that assessment. Unfortunately, after 12 years of existence, it has remained a departmental programme and not reached the stage of a national movement.

श्री दि० सि० चौधरी (मयरा)

प्रध्दक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको गमय देने के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ। इस समय सामुदायिक विकास और सहकारिता की मांगें मदन के सामने प्रस्तुत हैं। मैं अपनी रजि के विभाग सहकारिता के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ।

मैं गमयता हूँ कि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद यदि हमारी सरकार ने कोई सब से अच्छा कार्य किया है तो वह है सहकारिता के क्षेत्र में। जब मैं विरोधी दलों के लोगों का इस बारे में विरोध सुनता हूँ तो मुझे एक दृष्टान्त याद आ जाता है। कोई व्यक्ति काश्मीर गये और वहाँ जा कर सैनिकी हॉस्पिटल के यहाँ ठहरे और उनके साथ वहाँ की गन्दगियों का देखा, और उन्होंने यह विचार किया कि काश्मीर इसी तरह गन्दा है। अगर वह उनका अच्छा रूप देखना चाहते तो वह भी उनके सामने आता। यही दशा इस सहकारिता की है। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने इस क्षेत्र में जो प्रगति की है वह किसी भी और क्षेत्र में नहीं की है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ में एक लाख ८१ हजार सहकारी समितियाँ थीं, जो कि आज बढ़ कर ३ लाख ३२ हजार हो गयी हैं, मस्य संख्या जो कि १ करोड़ ३७ लाख थी वह बढ़ कर ३ करोड़ ४२ लाख हो गयी है, वहाँ हमारे हिस्से की पूँजी ४५ करोड़ ४६ लाख थी, वह अब २२९ करोड़ ५७ लाख हो

गयी है। मदस्यों ने जो अमानत जमा की है वह २३ करोड़ बयालीस लाख है। इसी तरह से हमारा चीनी का उत्पादन जो मन् १९५५ में ३० हजार टन था वह बढ़ कर ४ लाख ७० हजार टन हो गया है। जहां पहले हमारी तीन मिलें थी वह बढ़ कर ४१ हो गयी हैं और इसी तरह से और क्षेत्रों में आप देखें प्रगति हुई है। कपास मिलों के सम्बन्ध में हमारा काम बहुत बढ़ा है। और हम ने जो उपभोक्ता भंडार खोले हैं उनमें जहां आठ लाख की धिक्की पिछले वर्ष मार्च तक थी वह बढ़ कर ३ करोड़ फरवरी १९६४ तक हो गयी है। और आंकड़े देने का मेरे पास समय नहीं है नहीं तो मैं प्रगति के और भी आंकड़े दे सकना हूं। कुछ माननीय सदस्य जो कहते हैं कि इस क्षेत्र में काम नहीं बढ़ रहा है, तो मुझे स्वामी शंकराचार्य का वेदान्त का वह सिद्धान्त याद आता है कि जो कुछ दिखायी देता है वह मिथ्या है, वह वास्तव में नहीं है।

13-10 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

हमारे सामने जो इस तरह के आंकड़े हैं, जो इस तरह की चीजें हमें दिखाई दे रही हैं, इस तरह के जो बड़े बड़े काम हो रहे हैं उन सब कामों को देखने के बाद यदि कुछ लोगों के द्वारा यह कहा जाता है कि सहकारिता के क्षेत्र में कुछ काम नहीं हो रहा है तो मैं समझता हूं कि वह व्यक्ति दार्शनिक बन गये हैं और जो वास्तविक चीजें हैं उनको वे मिथ्या समझते हैं

एक माननीय सदस्य : माननीय चौधरी साहब हमें वेदान्त पढ़ा रहे हैं।

श्री वि० सि० चौधरी : वे व्यक्ति जोकि ऐसा समझते हैं कि सहकारिता के क्षेत्र में कुछ काम नहीं हो रहा है उन को मैं अपने ही एक गांव में ले जाना चाहता हूं जोकि मेरा अपना ही गांव है और वे मेरे साथ चल कर वहां की साधन सहकारी समिति के

काम को देखें। उस में डेढ़ लाख रुपये की अमानत है और डेढ़ लाख रुपया निजी पूजी है। वह सहकारी समिति हायर मैकेडरी स्कूल चलाती है, इंटी का भट्टा चलाती है, बीज और अनाज बांटती है और अपनी समिति के मदस्यों में से अगर कोई अनाथ हो जाय तो उसके लिए निर्वाह व्यय देती है। इसके अलावा वह सहकारी समिति विजली के द्वारा और इंजनों के द्वारा मिर्चाई का भी प्रबन्ध कर रही है। उसे २०, २० हजार रुपया मालाना लाभ होता है।

गांव के स्तर से आगे बढ़ कर मैं जिले के स्तर पर आप को ले जाना चाहता हूं। मेरे ही जिले के अन्दर आप देखें कि जिला सहकारी बैंक जिमका कि काम मन् १९५५ में ८ लाख रुपये से शुरू हुआ था अब वहां १ करोड़ ६० लाख से काम होता है।

इसी तरीके से प्रदेश के स्तर पर देखें तो आपको पता लगेगा कि वहां का प्रदेशीय कॉन्ग्रैटिव बैंक ३२ करोड़ रुपया बतौर ऋण के बांटता है जिनमें से आधा वह रिजर्व बैंक से लेता है और बाकी का स्वयं प्रबन्ध करता है। अब मैं अपने कुछ उन विरोधी भाइयों से जोकि इस सहकारिता की आलोचना करते हैं और कहते हैं कि उसके द्वारा कुछ काम नहीं हो रहा है पूछना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह गांव, जिला और प्रदेश के स्तर पर जो मैं ने अपने वहां का सहकारिता का काम बताया वह वास्तविक कार्य नहीं है और क्या यह सब मिथ्या है? मैं तो यह निवेदन करूंगा कि कि हमारे यह विरोधी भाई इस सारे मामले को एक दूसरी दृष्टि से देखते हैं और उनकी आलोचना करने की वजह भी दूसरी है। दरअसल बात यह है कि जब किसी चीज की तरक्की होती है तो उसके दुश्मन उसका विरोध करना शुरू कर देते हैं। सहकारिता के कार्य में जो निश्चित रूप से एक प्रगति हो रही है इसलिए सहकारिता के जो विरोधी हैं, दुश्मन हैं वे भयभीत होकर उसका विरोध करने लगे हैं।

[श्री दि० सि० चौधरी]

मैं पारलौ बालाना चाहता हूँ कि जब बाबो का काम था तो मिलनालिकों तथा पूँजीपतियों ने उनका विरोध इसलिए नहीं किया क्योंकि उन्हें विश्वास था कि 'बाबो' कमी भी मिल के काड़े का स्थापना नहीं ले सकेगे। इसी तरह मे गांधी जी ने जब इन्स्टीशियल को जान कही तो पूँजीपतियों ने उनका विरोध नहीं किया। बिड़ला जी ने उनका विरोध नहीं किया क्योंकि वे जानते थे कि पूँजीवाद उनमें मनाप्त नहीं होता। मैं तो यहाँ तक कह सकता हूँ कि भुवनेश्वर कांग्रेस में जब समाजवाद का प्रस्ताव पास हुआ तो उससे भी पूँजीपतियों को कोई चिन्ता नहीं हुई क्योंकि वे जानते थे कि समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता है किन्तु जब सहकारिता का कार्य आगे बढ़ने लगा तो पूँजीपतियों ने सामूहिक संगठन कर के उसको बदनाम करना शुरू कर दिया। और सहकारिता के ऊपर हमला करने लगे। यह हमी प्रकार से है जैसे कि कम के सब पाग लग कि कृष्ण जन्म हो गया है तो उसने सामूहिक रूप से तमाम बच्चों को मारना शुरू कर दिया था। इसी तरीके से यहाँ के पूँजीपतियों ने इस सहकारिता आन्दोलन को नष्ट करने के लिए एक सामूहिक संगठन बनाया। सहकारिता का कार्य प्रारम्भ होने से और उसमें सफलता मिलने से उन पूँजीपतियों को अपना खतरा दिखाई देता है और इसलिए वे उसको सामूहिक रूप से काम के समान नष्ट करना चाहते हैं।

आप ही देखिये कि प्राइवेट उद्योगों में जो निजी काम करते हैं वहाँ करोड़ों रुपये का गवन होता है, करोड़ों रुपये भ्रष्टाचार से पैदा किये गये। लेकिन किसी लोकसभा के सदस्य के पास आंकड़े या सहाय्य तैयार करके व्यापारियों ने नहीं भेजा लेकिन जब सहकारी भंडार ने ऐसा किया तो इस तरह का एक साहित्य सदस्यों के पास भेजा गया और हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य को

इस तरीके से तैयार कर लिया गया जैसे कि महाभारत काल में कौरवों ने भीष्म पितामा और गुरु द्रोणाचार्य को पांडवों से अपनी और से लड़ने के लिए तैयार किया था। मुझे यह बात बड़े दुःख से कहनी पड़ती है कि हमारे गृह मंत्री और सहकारिता मंत्री के होते हुए इस तरीके से द्रोपदी का चौर खींचने की एक योजना बनाई गई। भीष्म पितामह, युधिष्ठिर और द्रोणाचार्य भ्राटि सब बैठे देखते रहे और द्रोपदी का चौर खींचा गया। देहली के कोआपरेटिव स्टोर के विरुद्ध जांच करने का आदेश उसी तरह से निकलवाया गया जिस तरीके से कि द्रोपदी को तंगा करने के लिए कौरवों ने योजना बनाई थी और भीष्म पितामह, द्रोणाचार्य और युधिष्ठिर सब बैठे देखते रहे और उसकी रक्षा नहीं कर सके थे। ठीक उसी तरीके से हमारे गृह मंत्री जी और सहकारिता मंत्री जी की उपस्थिति में ही यह आदेश निकाला गया कि कोआपरेटिव स्टोर्स को सामूहिक रूप से जांच की जाय। ऐसा करने में उन लोगों का एकमात्र उद्देश्य यह था कि किसी तरीके से इस सहकारिता के कार्य को प्रगति को इसे बदनाम करके रोका जाय। अपने निहित स्वार्थों के खानिर वह इस मूवमेंट को बदनाम करते हैं। देहली में जो कुछ हुआ उससे व्यक्ति विशेष को नहीं संस्था को लाभ हुआ।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक बात और हमारे सामने आ जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो व्यक्ति अच्छा होता है, चरित्रवान होता है उसके लिए लोग उंगलियाँ उठाते हैं, आदर्श व्यक्ति के खिलाफ शिकायत होती है जैसे सीता जी के लिए हुआ वहाँ किसी व्यक्ति-चारिणी को अयोध्या से नहीं निकाला गया लेकिन रामराज्य का आदर्श स्थापित करने के लिए श्री रामचन्द्र ने सीता जी के खिलाफ आक्षेप लगने पर उनको अयोध्या से बाहर निकलवा दिया। यह पूँजीपति और स्वार्थी लोग सहकारिता को बदनाम करने के लिए

ऐसा करते हैं एक जो बच्चा पैदा हुआ है, अभिमन्यु के समान एक बालक है, उसके लिए व्यूह रचना करके उसको नष्ट कर देना चाहते हैं। प्राइवेट उद्योग धंधों के क्षेत्र में कौन नहीं जानता कितनी बेइमानी होती है और रुपये का गबन होता है और भी हजारों तरह के भ्रष्टाचार होते हैं इसलिए जब तक उनके लिए भी सामूहिक रूप से इनकवायरी नहीं होती है तब तक प्रकले सहकारिता के लिए ही इनकवायरी क्यों बैठई जाय ?

जहां तक भ्रष्टाचार का सम्बन्ध है मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि इस क्षेत्र में भ्रष्टाचार है लेकिन सहकारिता में औरों की अपेक्षाकृत कम है। व्यक्तिगत चलाये जाने वाले और सरकार द्वारा चलाये जाने वाले कार्यों की अपेक्षा सहकारिता के कार्यों में भ्रष्टाचार कम है। इसका अनुपात उनसे निश्चित रूप से कम है।

हर एक जिले में तक्रावी बांटी जाती है। तक्रावी के बांटने में जो रुपया रिश्वत में खर्च होता है और जो सहकारी सोसाइटियों द्वारा ऋण बांटा जाता है उसमें व्यय होता है उसका अनुपात अगर देखेंगे तो मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि रिश्वत और भ्रष्टाचार तक्रावी में सहकारी सोसाइटियों की अपेक्षा अधिक है। जैसा कि लोग कहते हैं कि सहकारिता में सब जगह भ्रष्टाचार है तो मैं इस बात की घोषणा कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा जिला सहकारी बैंक जो १ करोड़ ६० लाख रुपया बांट रहा है और वसूल किया जाता है अगर उस ऋण बांटने में बैंक के किसी एक कर्मचारी ने . . .

श्री कछवाय (देवास) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हाउस में इस समय कोरम नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Quorum has been challenged. The bell is being rung.—Yes; now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

श्री वि० सि० चौबरी : एक पैसा भी रिश्वत में लिया हो और यह प्रमाणित हो जाय तो मैं लोक सभा की सदस्यता से अपना त्यागपत्र दे सकता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के सामने निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मथुरा में एक सहकारी किसान निवास के नाम से भवन बनाया जा रहा है उस में लगभग एक लाख रुपया खर्च होगा। मैं यहां पर इस बात के लिए घोषणा करता हूँ कि वहां भी यदि एक सेर सीमेंट या एक नये पैसे का गबन हुआ हो, यह कोई साबित कर दे तो मैं उसको १००० रुपये का इनाम दे सकता हूँ। अपने गांव की साधन सहकारी समिति के सम्बन्ध में जोकि सन् १९४७ से काम कर रही है उसके बारे में रिश्वत या बेइमानी की शिकायत आज तक मैंने किसी एक आदमी से भी नहीं सुनी है। सरकार इस कार्य में सफलता प्राप्त कर रही है और आगे बढ़ रही है इसलिए अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थ की खातिर विरोधी लोग इसको बदनाम करना चाहते हैं। गांव के स्तर पर, जिले के स्तर पर, प्रदेश के स्तर पर या पूरे देश के स्तर पर आप देखेंगे कि जितने भी विकास के बड़े बड़े कार्य हों रहे हैं उनकी अपेक्षा इस सहकारिता के क्षेत्र में भ्रष्टाचार बहुत कम होगा।

आप देखिये कि सहकारिता के विरोधी कितने हैं। ग्राम-स्तर पर बीहरे और शहरों में व्यापारी और दुकानदार, सप्लाई विभाग में काम करने वाले कर्मचारी, बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति और बड़े बड़े मिल-मालिक, ये सब सहकारिता के विरोधी हैं। माननीय मंत्री जी मुझे यह कहने के लिए क्षमा करें कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल के कुछ मंत्री और प्रदेश-स्तर के कुछ मंत्री भी इसके विरोधी हैं।

इस विभाग में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों के प्रतिरिक्त अधिकतर उच्च

[श्री दि० सि० चौधरी]

सरकारी कर्मचारी सहकारिता का विरोध करते हैं। पूंजीपति इस लिए इसका विरोध करते हैं कि इस से उनको लाभ नहीं होता है, इस से उन का पूंजीवाद खत्म होगा और उन के कार्य खत्म होंगे। बहुत से सरकारी कर्मचारी इसलिए भी सहकारिता का विरोध करते हैं कि पूंजीपतियों से रिश्तत लेने में उन्हें सुविधा रहती है, लेकिन सहकारी स्तर पर काम चलने से उनके लिए वह सुविधा नहीं होगी। वे इसलिए भी इसका विरोध करते हैं कि रिश्तत लेने में पूंजीपति उन के लिए अधिक उपयुक्त हैं। बहुत से लोग सहकारिता का इसलिए भी विरोध करते हैं कि उन को बहुत से समारोहों और फंक्शन्स के लिए पूंजीपतियों से रुपया मिलता है। हमारे बहुत से राजनीतिज्ञ भी इसलिए सहकारिता का विरोध करते हैं कि जब सहकारी रूप से सब काम होगा, तो किसी के पास पूंजी नहीं होगी और फिर उन को अपनी पार्टी के लिए चन्दा नहीं मिलेगा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जितने विरोधी हैं, वे सब सहकारिता के कार्य में बाधा डालते हैं।

जहाँ तक जन-सम्पर्क और शिक्षा देने का काम है, मैं कह सकता हूँ कि अगर आज्ञादी मिलने के बाद किसी ने जनता को सर्वाधिक शिक्षा दी है, तो वह इस विभाग न दी है। आज इस विभाग के कार्य का ही फल है कि गांव के स्तर का धादमी दस-दस, बीस-बीस हजार रुपया ले कर गांव में जाता है, वह रुपया बांटता है, वसूल करता है और हिसाब करता है। जो लोग पहले सौ रुपये की रकम भी नहीं रखते थे, आज वे हजारों रुपयों के काम करते हैं। जो लोग कहते हैं कि गांव के धादमी योग्य नहीं हैं, वे काम नहीं कर सकते हैं, मैं उन को बताना चाहता हूँ कि गांव के लोग १० हजार से लेकर छः छः लाख रुपये जुल मिला कर ले जाते हैं और जा कर उन

रुपयों को बांटते हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे जिले में आज तक एक भी ऐसा दृष्टान्त नहीं है कि किसी व्यक्ति ने दस बीस हजार रुपया गवन कर के मकान बना लिया हो, या सोना खरीद लिया हो, या बैंक में जमा कर लिया हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा कोई भी विभाग नहीं है, जहाँ बड़े बड़े गवन न हों।

सहकारिता के सामने बहुत सी कठिनाइयाँ हैं, जिन पर हम को विचार करना चाहिए। बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि बकाया है। बकाया क्यों है? उसकी कुछ वजह है। जहाँ तक तकावी का सम्बन्ध है, जो तकावी वसूली की कानूनी कार्रवाई करते हैं, वही बांटते हैं। लेकिन इस विभाग में बांटते कोई और हैं और वसूली की कानूनी कार्रवाई करने वाले कोई और हैं और वसूल करने वाले उस में बाधा पहुँचाते हैं। अगर हमारी यह इच्छा है कि बकाया कम हो, तो इस विभाग के कर्मचारियों को वसूली की कानूनी कार्रवाई का भी अधिकार मिलना चाहिए। ऐसा करने पर बकाया नहीं होगा।

हमारे जो बैंक हैं, सरकार की ओर से उन को दूसरे बैंकों की तरह मान्यता नहीं दी गई है। हमारी सरकार से उन को सहयोग नहीं मिलता है, बल्कि वह उनके मार्ग में बाधा पहुँचाती है। वह नहीं चाहती है कि ये बैंक आगे बढ़ें। अगर वह चाहता है, तो उस ने यह प्रतिबन्ध क्यों लगाया हुआ है कि लोकल बाडोज और शिक्षा-संस्थाओं का रुपया उन में जमा नहीं हो सकता है, जैसे कि दूसरे बैंकों में जमा हो सकता है। यह प्रतिबन्ध हटाना चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सर्वाधिक जनप्रिय, सर्वाधिक पूंजीवाद-विरोधी, सर्वाधिक समाजवाद की ओर ले जाने वाला, सर्वाधिक जन-सम्पर्क कायम

करने वाला अगर कोई विभाग है, तो सहकारिता विभाग है। अगर कोई विभाग खनता को शिक्षित बनाने वाला, जातीयता और साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटाने वाला, साम्यवाद, समाजवाद, गांधीवाद, सर्वोदय और प्रजातंत्र का निचोड़ है, तो वह सहकारिता है। सहकारिता विषमता को काटने वाली तलवार और शोषण से बचाने वाली ढाल है।

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश (बाबू दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे दोस्त, सरदार कपूर सिंह, ने कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट और को-ऑपरेशन के सिद्धान्तों के बारे में अच्छा उल्लेख किया। उन्होंने इस बात को माना कि ये जरूरी संस्थायें हैं। उन्होंने डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टिक समाज की भी बात की। लेकिन यह बात बहने के बाद वह अपनी उसी पुरानी रट में चले गए कि इस में जो दोष हैं, वे सब सरकार की वजह से हैं, हमारे कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट और पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं में बहुत करप्शन है, इन-एफ्रिंजेंसी है, को-ऑपरेशन में बड़ा रेजिमेंटेशन है, स्टेटिज्म है। आखिर में उन्होंने एक बात यह कही कि यह कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट नहीं, बल्कि डेवेलपमेंट आफ कांग्रस कम्यूनिटी है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उन को उसूलों पर भरोसा है और अगर वह सही हैं—बसार्कि वह मानते हैं—तो एक प्रवलमन्द प्रोफेसर होने के नाते उन को इसकी कमियों को तोलना चाहिये, न कि इस सिलसिले में मुक्तलिफ इल्जाम लगाने चाहिये।

इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारा ध्येय है, पार्लियामेंट का ध्येय है, कांग्रेस पार्टी का ध्येय है कि इस देश में एक डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टिक सोसायटी की स्थापना की जाये। आज के कन्टेन्स्ट में हमारे देहात की तरक्की होना, उन का उत्थान होना, जहाँ कि अस्ती फ्रीसबी लोग बसते हैं, डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म

की तरफ एक कदम है, एक बड़ा कदम है।

इस में भी कोई शक नहीं है कि जो कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट मूवमेंट है, पंचायती राज संस्थायें उस मूवमेंट को ले कर चलने वाला उसका जिस्म हैं। हमारी जो एक्सपेंशन मॉविस है, वह उस जिस्म में बहने वाली खून की नलियाँ हैं, जिन के सहारे उस जिस्म को चलना है। और को-ऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट उस की जान, रूढ़ और आत्मा है।

अगर हम इस गरीब देश में डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टिक सोसायटी बनाना चाहते हैं, तो हमारे लिये कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट मूवमेंट, पंचायती राज और को-ऑपरेशन को आगे ले कर चलना होगा। तभी जा कर हमारे देश की किसी भी तरफ किसी भी रुढ़ में, जो उन्नति होगी, वह उन्नति हमारे देहात के नीचे से नीचे बगं तक पहुँचेगी।

मैं यह भी अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश को मजबूती से वायम रहना है—और उसमें जरूर कायम रहना है—, तो डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टिक सोसायटी का बनाना निहायत जरूरी है—और देहात की तरक्की करना उसका एक जरूरी अंग है, तो कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट मूवमेंट, पंचायती राज मूवमेंट और को-ऑपरेशन को अपनाना और उनको आगे बढ़ाना अनिवार्य है, जरूरी है। इसलिए इस रुढ़ में जो पार्लिसी का निर्धारण किया गया है, वह सही और दुस्त है।

मैं शुरू से ही—इस नाते में मैं खुद गांव का रहने वाला हूँ और मैं सोशलिज्म और डेमोक्रेसी के बानियादी उसूलों पर भरोसा रखता हूँ—बड़ी तफसील के साथ जो कुछ भी हमारा कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट को-ऑपरेशन और पंचायती राज का महकमा शुरू से करता रहा है और खास तौर से श्री डे और उन के साथियों की देख-रेख में उच्च

[श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश]

ने जो काम किया है, जो मोच-विचार किया है, जो मेहनत की है, जो संगठन बनाया है, जो रचना की है, उस में जितनी थिंकिंग हुई है, उस सब का मुताला करता रहा हूँ और देखता रहा हूँ। इन सब बातों का अधिकतर श्रेय श्री डे और उनके साथियों को है। मैं हमेशा उनकी तारीफ़ करता रहा हूँ और उन्होंने एक शानदार काम किया है।

मैं अपनी पार्टी से अपने साथियों से भी बहुत दफ़ा कहता हूँ और आपोज़ीशन पार्टीज के मित्रों से भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उन में से किसी को भी हिन्दुस्तान की सोसायटी या समाज में मजबूती के साथ, ताकत के साथ, कायम रहना है तो उनके लिए इसके सिवाये दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं है कि वे इस कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम और उसके साथ लगे हुए जितने भी प्रोग्राम हैं, उनको ताकत और शक्ति दें और आगे बढ़ावें। यही पार्टी और वही आदमी प्रायः के समाज और प्रायों को सोसायटी में जिन्दा रहेगा, जो इस प्रोग्राम को अपनायेगा, बना हमारी अस्सी फ़ीसदों आबादी इसकी कमी को, और इस से जो इन्कलाब पैदा होगा, उस को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी। अगर सही देश में इनकलाब होना है, अगर डेमोक्रेटिक इनकलाब होना है, तब यही एक जरूरी है और हमें इस मूवमेंट को तरक्की देनी होगी।

आपने जनाब शायद मज़ाक में बात कही जब श्री कपूर सिंह जी बोल रहे थे कि डेवलपमेंट प्रायः कांग्रेस कम्युनिटी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सही मानों में कांग्रेस कम्युनिटी को डिवेलेप करे और कांग्रेस कम्युनिटी वही डिवेलेप कर सकते हैं जो सोशलिस्टिक कम्युनिटी डिवेलेप कर सकते हैं और सोशलिस्टिक कम्युनिटी वही डिवेलेप कर सकते हैं जो समाजवाद और डेमोक्रेसी में पूरा भरसा रखते हैं। जो आप ने कहा उस को मैं अपने दोस्तों के लिए एक बेल्लेज

समझता हूँ और सही मानों में कांग्रेस कम्युनिटी यहाँ पर कायम होनी चाहिये।

Shri Kapur Singh: I am glad you admit it.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : अच्छी बात कहीं है भी प्रायः उस को मान लिया जाना चाहिये।

यहाँ कुर्रप्शन की बहुत बातें कही जाती हैं। इसका दूर होना जरूरी है। कुर्रप्शन अगर बढ़ जाय किसी भी जगह पर, किसी भी आदमी में, समाज के किसी भी घंग में, सोसायटी के किसी भी घंग में या सोसायटी में ही या गवर्नमेंट में, तो उस को खत्म करने की कोशिश होनी चाहिये, उसका मुकाबला किया जाना चाहिये और कोई कसर उठा नहीं रखी जानी चाहिये....

श्री कल्लवाय : गुड़, नोहा, कोयले में भी।

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : अगर घ्राप को गुड़ की जरूरत है तो कुछ घ्राप के घर भिजवा दें ?

हमारे कपूर सिंह जी इस बात को मानने कि कुर्रप्शन बजाय इंडिजिजुअल तक सीमित रहे वह सोशल ग्रुप में हो कर हमारे सामने आ गई है। पंचायती राज, कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट या कई और इंस्टीट्यूशज में यह आ गई है। यह हमारी बर्दाकस्मती है और देश की जिन्दगी में मैं कहूंगा कि वह बढ़ती ही जा रही है या बढ़ती हुई हमें नजर आ रही है, ज्यादा नजर आ रही है। हमारा पिछड़ा हुआ समाज है और पिछले दो सौ बरस में यह काफी पीछे चला गया है मानसिक तौर पर। अगर आज कुर्रप्शन सामने आ रही है तो उसका हमें मुकाबला करना है न कि बबर कर बैठ जाना है या एक दूसरे पर इल्जाम लगाना है। कुर्रप्शन न केवल गवर्नमेंट में है, गवर्नमेंट पार्टी में है लेकिन उस पार्टी

में भी आप को मिलेगी जो यहां हैं, सभी पार्टीज में मिलेगी और जो पार्टी अपने आप को कहती है कि हमारी पार्टी सब से ज्यादा सांस्टिटिक पार्टी है, उस में भी है और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में भी हद से ज्यादा कुर्रप्शन बढ़ती हुई आप को मालूम देगी ।

Shri Kapur Singh: There you are right.

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : यह नेशनल प्रॉब्लेम है और इस नेशनल प्रॉब्लेम को हमें नेशनल लेवेल पर हल करना होगा । आप के वास्ते तो ब्रह्मप्रकाश और दिल्ली कांग्रेस में ही कुर्रप्शन है और उसका मुकाबला दिल्ली की गलियों में मैं आप के साथ करूंगा यहाँ नहीं करूंगा । कोअप्रेसन से आप को कोई भतलब नहीं है ।

श्री कृष्णदास : गलियों में तो कुत्ते और छोरियाँ निपटती हैं, मर्द तो मैदान में निपटते हैं ।

श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश : कोअप्रेसिडेंट और पंचायती राज में जो कुर्रप्शन की बात करते हैं और इस वजह से जो गवर्नमेंट को कंडेम करना चाहते हैं वे अपने आप को कंडेम कर रहे हैं क्योंकि नेशनल वबा जो सामने है उस का वे मुकाबला करने को तैयार नहीं हैं । जब हम इसका मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार होंगे और पता लगाने के लिए तैयार होंगे तो कुछ पंच जो कुर्रप्ट हैं वे बाहर निकलेंगे कुछ पर मुकदमे चलेंगे, कुछ सस्पेंड होंगे और कुछ इलेक्शन में हार जायेंगे । मैंने देखा है कि जो पंच कुर्रप्ट हैं उन में से कई इलेक्शन में जीत नहीं सके हैं और अगली इलेक्शन में नव्हे परसेंट नहीं जीत सकेंगे । (श्री कृष्णदास: अब की बार भी नहीं जीतेंगे) हम लोग इस बात की कोशिश में लगे हैं कि हम अच्छे लोगों को बढ़ावा दें, उसके अन्दर पार्टी पार्लिटिक्स को हम लाने की चेष्टा न करें ।

मैं ज्यादा कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ । जैसा मैंने कहा कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट की

आत्मा कोअप्रेसन है । आज के कंटेक्ट में कोअप्रेसन का ताल्लुक सीधे हमारा जो प्रोडक्शन है देहात में, गांवों में, खेत में, उस से है । जो करोड़ों की सख्या में वीकर लोग वहां रहते हैं, उनकी कुछ आय बढ़े, इससे ज्यादा उसका सम्बन्ध है । इसी कंटेक्ट में मैं कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ । जहां तक उत्पादन बढ़ाने का सम्बन्ध है, यह बात सामने आ रही है कि उत्पादन जिस गति से बढ़ना चाहिये था और जिस गति से हम बढ़ाना चाहते थे, नहीं बढ़ रहा है । इस के बहुत से कारण दिये जाते हैं । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि उत्पादन जो नहीं बढ़ रहा है, इस में कहीं बेसिक कमियाँ हैं और जरूरत इस बात की है कि उन बेसिक कमियों को हम समझें और उन को दूर करें । जो कोअप्रेसिडेंट ब्रिटिस्ट स्ट्रक्चर है, वह अभी तक सही ढंग पर और सांस्टिटिक लाइज पर नहीं आया है । हम उस को गांवों में सलाई करना चाहते हैं लेकिन गांवों में जो लोग हैं, उनकी जो आर्थिक हालत है, उसका भी हमें ध्यान रखना होगा । गांवों में तीन हिस्से हैं, तीन तबके हैं । एक तो बहुत गरीब तबका है सोसाइटी का जो उस ब्रिटिस्ट से कोई फायदा नहीं उठा सकता है । इसके अलावा एक मध्यम श्रेणी का तबका है जो लेता तो है कर्जा लेकिन उस में उस कर्ज को वापिस करने की शक्ति नहीं है, वह बोझ से पहले ही बहुत ज्यादा दबा हुआ है । इस तबके को हम माजिनल तबका कह सकते हैं । यह पहले से कुछ ऊपर का तबका है । एक इसके ऊपर का तबका है जिसको हम बॉल्ड पेजेंट कह सकते हैं जिसमें उत्पादन बढ़ाने की कुछ शक्ति है और वह कर्ज का कुछ ठीक इस्तेमाल करने की शक्ति रखता है । हम ने इन तीनों तबकों को सर्विस कोअप्रेसिडेंट सोसाइटी में, कोअप्रेसिडेंट सोसाइटी में जोत दिया है । इन दोनों का जो बोझ है, यानी जो बहुत गरीब तबका है और जो गरीब से कुछ अच्छा है लेकिन उस में शक्ति नहीं है, तीसरे के साथ मिला देने से जिसके पास कुछ शक्ति है, अच्छे नतीजे

[श्री महाप्रकाश]

नहीं निकले हैं। नतीजा यह निकला है कि दोनों ही नहीं तीनों परेशान हैं। ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि इस मामले पर रियॉर्किंग हो। सर्विस कोप्रोप्रेटिव सोसाइटीज को जो ग्रांट दी जा रही है वह ग्रांट भी इसीलिए बकार जा रही है, जाया हो रही है इस वक्त। वीकर संकषण के लिये जो कुछ भी सुविधायें आपने दी हैं, वे भी खत्म हो रही हैं, उस तक नहीं पहुंच रही हैं। जो आप क्रेडिट देना चाहते हैं वह क्रेडिट भी पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि इन दोनों का बोझ उस कोप्रोप्रेटिव पर इतना होता है कि क्रेडिट का वे इस्तेमाल नहीं कर सकते हैं। लिहाजा ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि अपने स्ट्रक्चर के अन्दर आप कुछ बुनियादी तबदीली लायें। अब तक का मोचने का जो तरीका रहा है उस में बेसिक चेंज लाने की ज़रूरत है। जो स्ट्रक्चर अब तक रहा है वह फेल हो रहा है। जितना क्रेडिट आप ने किसान के लिये दिया, वह कम था लेकिन उतना क्रेडिट भी किसान इस्तेमाल नहीं कर सके हैं और जो डिफाल्ट्स हैं वे बढ़ रहे हैं। इस वजह से यह ज़रूरी है कि आप क्रेडिट को मार्केटिंग के साथ लिंक करें और मार्केटिंग को आप प्रोसेसिंग के साथ लिंक करें। जो दयानतदार और अच्छे काम करने वाले किसान हैं, उनको आप इंसेंटिव दें, उन को क्रेडिट न मिलने की वजह से जो प्रोडक्शन है, उसका नुकसान हो रहा है। जो वीकर मेकंज हैं उनको आप बिल्कुल अलग कर दें। उसके लिए आप अलग इंतजाम करें, अलग ढंग उसके लिए आप निकालें, अलग रूपया उसके लिए रखें और उस को इस बोझ में आप न डालें। जहां तक क्रेडिट का सम्बन्ध है, यह चीज बहुत ज़रूरी है।

आज खाली कोप्रोप्रेटिव की तहरीक को बढ़ाने का ही सवाल नहीं है, देश की तरक्की और देश की उन्नति करने का सवाल है : जब तक आप तमाम फूडग्रेंज का टोटल कोप्रोप्रे-

टिवाइजेशन नहीं करेंगे, प्रिसिपल जो कर्माग्यस क्रॉम है, उनका कोप्रोप्रेटिवाइजेशन नहीं करेंगे तब तक तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है। क्रेडिट की भी तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है। ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स, कहा जाता है कि बहुत कमजोर हैं। वहां कोप्रोप्रेटिव मूवमेंट नहीं चलती हैं। यह एक फैक्ट है। यह भी एक फैक्ट है कि ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स इकोनोमिकली बहुत वीक हैं। यह भी एक फैक्ट है, कि वहां पोर्टेशियेलिटीज बहुत हैं। ज़रूरत इस बात की है उस इलाके के लिए ग्रीर खास तौर से पहाड़ी इलाके के लिए कुछ इंडस्ट्रीज का हंडरेड परसेंट प्रोसेसिंग जो है वह कोप्रोप्रेटिव के अन्दर होना चाहिये, इंडिविजुअल प्रोसेसिंग वहां पर बिल्कुल खत्म कर दिया जाना चाहिये। भिसाल मौजूद है। वहां शूगर फैक्ट्रीज के अन्दर आप ने प्रोसेसिंग को तरक्की दी, उस को आगे रखा और आप जानते ही हैं कि कितनी बड़ी तरक्की हुई। जिस जगह पर आप ने यह ध्यान नहीं रखा वहां पर प्रोसेसिंग के लिए जो रूपया आप ने रखा वह भी खर्च नहीं हो पा रहा है। ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि प्रोसेसिंग से आप शुरू करें न कि क्रेडिट से शुरू करें, इस मूवमेंट को। प्रोसेसिंग का पूरा कंट्रोल आप करें, उसके बाद मार्केटिंग डिवेलेप हो और फिर क्रेडिट डिवेलेप हो और फिर सीधा लिंक प्रोडक्शन के साथ अगर होगा तो आप की मूवमेंट को तरक्की मिलेगी, आप की मूवमेंट आगे बढ़ेगी। यह सोशलिस्टिक एक्ट है, डेमोक्रेटिक एक्ट भी है जोकि आज मजबूती के साथ गवर्नमेंट को अपना लेना चाहिये।

आप रूज में कुछ तबदीलियां लाये हैं और डिप्राफिशलाइजेशन की तरफ भी आप ने कुछ कदम बढ़ाया है। आप ने काफी इस के बारे में कोशिश की है, सर्व्यूलर भी बहुत निकाले हैं। आपने यह भी एतान किया है कि कोप्रोप्रेटिव मिनिस्ट्री को मैं बिल्कुल खत्म कर देना चाहता हूं। ये सब बातें ठीक हैं

लेकिन इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए आप जो कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं, वे बहुत सुस्त कदम हैं। और भी बातें पैदा हो रही हैं। कोओपरेटिव प्रेक्टिसिस क्या है, इस पर बहुत कनफ्यूशन है। किस तरह का कोओपरेटिव का प्राफिट, प्राफिट है, उसकी क्या पालिसी होनी चाहिये चाया प्रोफिट प्रोफिट है या सरपलस है, प्रादि जो चीजें हैं, वे भी बहुत कनफ्यूशन पैदा कर रही हैं। कुछ दोस्तों ने कोओपरेटिव तहरीक की ऐसे मुखालिफत की है, जैसे वे इसके बुझमन हैं, और शायद वे समझते हैं कि उन के रास्ते में यह एक रोड़ा है और उन्होंने बहुत सी बातें भागे ला कर रखने की कोशिश की है। और हमारे रजिस्ट्रार और मिनिस्टर और अफसर यह महसूस करते हैं कि बड़ी गलती हो रही है। आज जरूरत है कि जितने कोओपरेटिव क्लस और प्रेक्टिसेज हैं उन को रेशनलाइज किया जाए, एक कमीशन कायम किया जाय जो इन चीजों को रेशनलाइज करे। अब वह जमाना नहीं है कि एक रजिस्ट्रार चाहे जिस तरह से इन चीजों का इंटरप्रिटेशन करता रहे।

आप कहते हैं कि ताकत नान-आफिशियल के हाथ में जानी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि आज ताकत ज्यादातर रजिस्ट्रार के हाथ में जा रही है, आज उस ताकत को पालिटिकल परपजेज के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है। उस ताकत को ठीक हाथों में देने के लिए जरूरी है कि कोओपरेटिव क्लस, प्रेक्टिसेज और लाज को रेशनलाइज किया जाए। १९०४ और १९१२ में जो पावर रजिस्ट्रार के पास थी आज उस से ज्यादा पावर उसके हाथ में है।

जहां तक आर्डिटिंग का सवाल है, बहुत सालों तक आडिट नहीं होता। दस दस साल का आडिट पड़ा रहता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप इस मूवमेंट को डिआफिशियलाइज करना चाहते हैं तो आडिट को अलग रखें, और इसको आटानभस कर

बें। तभी यह मूवमेंट अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सकेगा। आज उस गलती पर जो चली आ रही है रोक लग सकती है। मैं ने हिन्दुस्तान में दौरा कर के देखा है कि राज्यों में ताकत रजिस्ट्रार के हाथ में है और रजिस्ट्रार नान-आफिशियल की तरफ कड़ी नजर से देखता है और ताकत को अपने हाथ में समेटने की कोशिश करता है। इसलिए कोओपरेटिव लाज वर्ग-रह को रेशनलाइज करने की जरूरत है।

यह बात जरूरी है कि इस मूवमेंट में सब जगह ईमानदारी और एकीयता होनी चाहिए। इसको बढ़ाने के लिए एजुकेशन प्रोग्राम को बढ़ाना चाहिये और जो कोओपरेटिव यूनियन्स हैं उन को ज्यादा मजबूत बनाना चाहिये। मैं आप को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि आपने इस तरफ कदम उठाया है और ज्यादा फंड और ज्यादा से ज्यादा आटानमी आपने कोओपरेटिव यूनियन्स को दी हैं। लेकिन आप खुद देखें कि जितने फंड इसमें खर्च होने चाहिये वे नहीं हुए हैं। आज इस दिशा में पहल करने की जरूरत है और कोओपरेटिव यूनियन्स को मजबूत करने के लिए ठोस कदम उठाए जायें और जहां जरूरत हो वहां मदद देने की कोशिश की जाय।

एक बात और बता दूँ। आप जानते हैं कि जहां मूवमेंट बढ़ेगा तो ज्यादा आरजेनाइजेशन और फेडरेशन बनेंगे। लेकिन कोई ऐसा प्वाइंट होना चाहिए कि जहां पर यह इंडीपेंडेंट हों। लेकिन आज हम इस मूवमेंट में देखते हैं कि डिसेइटीगेशन की तरफ सझान है। यह रुकना चाहिए। आज प्राफिशियल और दूसरे फेडरेशन बन रहे हैं। इन को इंडीपेंडेंट करने की तरफ कदम उठाया जाना चाहिए। इसीलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि रेशनलाइजेशन की जरूरत है। आज नए ट्रेंड देने की जरूरत है। मुझे विश्वास है कि आप आज जो ट्रेंड देंगे वे २५ या ५० साल तक मुल्क को

[श्री ब्रह्मप्रकाश]

झागे बढ़ाते रहेंगे। और मैं समझता हूँ कि आपमें वे ट्रेड देने की शक्ति है। आप ऐसे ट्रेड दे सकते हैं जिससे यह बमूमंट हिन्दुस्तान में भगुभा बन सके और बनियादी बूममेंट बन सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप की प्रार्थना की पूरी ताईद करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि इन को मंजूर किया जाना चाहिए, और ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया इस बूममेंट के लिए दिया जाना चाहिए।

Shri D. B. Raju (Narasapur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the demands for grants of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. The aim and object of Community Development programme is to develop the social and economic conditions of the people in rural areas. The co-operative sector plays an important and beneficial role in the development of our economy. This Ministry has ably succeeded in implementing co-operative principles in various facets of rural life. But, still there remains a lot to be done for overcoming certain impediments on the way to complete success.

I would like to deal with two important aspects of co-operation—(1) rural credit and (2) co-operative marketing.

There is no doubt that recently much interest is being taken by the Central Government in co-ordinating rural credit schemes in the implementation of package programmes. But certain practical difficulties have come in the way of proper utilisation and repayment of loans by the farmers. For instance, recently under the package programme the period prescribed for the repayment of loans was reduced from one year to 9 months for the first crop and 6 months for the second crop. No doubt, loans are being advanced

for production but it has been estimated that in Indian agriculture on an average there is one good year for every five years. Thus constant variation in the yield of the land and the consequent instability of agricultural income also force the agriculturist to borrow to meet his expenses during lean years. In addition to this, the poor ryots have to bear the heavy burden of land revenue and other taxes. So, the loans advanced by the society for greater production are often spent on unproductive purposes. Thus, the short term credit facilities made available to the farmer through co-operative societies, instead of relieving the burden of the farmer, actually results in increased financial pressure on him by compelling him to clear the loans within the short term of 6 or 9 months as the case may be. To meet this obligation, the farmer has to dispose of his produce at a lower rate, thus incurring loss. The limited resources at the disposal of the existing marketing and rural societies prevent them from going to the rescue of the farmers by providing them with storage and credit facilities. The result is the farmer, having sold the produce at a lower rate, finds himself necessarily compelled to seek a bigger loan for the succeeding year. Hence the present policy of fixing the period of 6 or 9 months serves only to increase rural indebtedness. Under these circumstances, an increase in the period of the loans will provide some relief to the farmers. The Reserve Bank of India would do well to ease the terms on which they advance money to Co-operative Central Banks so that the very object of rural credit may not be defeated.

Regarding the marketing of agricultural produce, I would like to deal with marketing of lemon fruits, as I have some experience in the field as a President of the Palakol Fruit Growers' Cooperative Society. This society has been exporting lemon fruits to Calcutta for the last 20 years. But, in the absence of proper co-

operative marketing agency, the society is forced to depend upon the private agencies for marketing the lemon fruits at Calcutta. This has deprived the society of reasonable prices. I request the Government to see that an integrated system of marketing societies at all levels should be established. As Calcutta is an important consuming centre for lemons as well as other fruits, the establishment of a co-operative fruit marketing society at Calcutta is very essential.

Secondly, a proper co-ordination of the system of classification of agricultural commodities by the railway authorities and the State Governments for tax purposes is essential for inter-State marketing.

The consignments of lemon fruits are classified by the railway authorities as vegetable and the higher rate of Rs. 13.95 per quintal is levied and collected instead of Rs. 7 per quintal, as in the case of a consignment of fruits. The same consignments on entry into Calcutta are classified by the West Bengal Government as fruits so that they may collect the entry tax of Rs. 3.95 per quintal, whereas actually there is no entry tax for vegetables.

This is hardly fair. These consignments are either fruits or vegetables and they cannot be both just to suit the Government to collect more from the producer as well as the consumer. I, therefore, request that the Railway authorities in consultation with the West Bengal Government may classify the lemon fruits either as vegetables or as fruits and thereby avoid double taxation. I have already moved this matter in the Railway and the Co-operative Consultative Committees. No action has, however, been taken.

Regarding planning, the emphasis in planning is, I believe, wrongly placed on target for spending certain moneys during a particular period rather than on actual achievement of specified projects. This results in a great drain of public reserves in hasty and wasteful expenditure. I, therefore, submit

that our planning aims and targets will have to be reoriented in such a way that actual achievement is given all the importance rather than expenditure within a particular period.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation for providing me an opportunity to visit and study the functioning of joint and collective farming societies at Dhulia district in Maharashtra State. There cooperative farming has received encouraging response and results. They are working successfully. Joint farming societies are also successful in other States if the members are allowed to adopt their own terms of association to suit the local needs. It would not be desirable to register joint farming societies unless they take into their fold a fair percentage of small cultivators. Cooperative collective farming societies can be successful on newly reclaimed lands where landless agricultural labourers would be settled and they have worked well only where they could get closer technical assistance from the State Governments.

श्री यु० सि० चौधरी (महेन्द्रगढ़) :

भारतीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जिस मंत्रालय के अनुदानों की मांगों पर हम बहस कर रहे हैं वह सामुदायिक विकास तथा सहकार मंत्रालय बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण है। उस मंत्रालय की सफलता के ऊपर भारत के देहातों की सफलता निर्भर करती है। इसलिये इस मंत्रालय के जो कार्यक्रम हैं उनके ऊपर देश जितनी लगन और उत्साह के साथ नजर उठा कर देख रहा है उतनी संभवतः और किसी मंत्रालय के ऊपर न हो।

पिछले साल भी इसी मंत्रालय की बजट डिमांड्स की बहस पर बोलते हुए जो शिकायत मंत्री महोदय से मैंने करी थी इस बार दुर्भाग्य से उन्हीं शिकायतों को फिर मुझे यहाँ दोहराना पड़ रहा है। बहुत सारी बातें मेरे से पूर्व बक्ताओं ने कही हैं। किसी ने सिद्धान्त के

[श्री यु० सि० चौधरी]

रूप में इसका विरोध किया, किसी ने सिद्धान्त के रूप में इस सहकारिता की प्रशंसा प्रणय एक बात जो बड़े मूल रूप में सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहेंगा वह यह है कि फिलहाल यह जो एक संघर्ष है इसको छोड़ कर कि सहकारिता के नया गुण या अवगण है, हमारी जो वर्तमान मशीनरी इस वक्त स्टेटों के अन्दर काम कर रही है, उसके सारे क सारे काग करने के तरीकों के ऊपर नजर डालें, उस के अन्दर जो कमियाँ हैं, उन कमियों का प्रणय हम विश्लेषण करें तो हमें कुछ बहुत सारी बातों का पता लगेगा जिनका कि वजह से इस वक्त सदन के अन्दर और सदन के बाहर जो लोग इस मारी स्कीम का प्रणय धाम की प्रालोचना करते हैं। उन लोगों की इस प्रालोचना के बीछे दरअसल कितना बल है यह भी हमें बालूम हो जायेगा।

एक जो बहुत बड़ी मंटी बात सदन के सामने आती है वह यह है कि सिद्धान्त रूप में यह बात मान लेने के बाद कि जब तक सहकारी आन्दोलन, पंचायती राज्य या बिकास के जो कार्यक्रम है उनको देहात के अन्दर लागू नहीं किया जायगा तब तक देहात की भलाई नहीं हो सकती। इस बात का स्वयं मंत्री महोदय ने और बहुत सारे सम्बन्धित मंत्री हैं जिनमें कि प्रधान मंत्री स्वयं आते हैं, उन लोगों ने अनेक अवसरों पर इस बात को माना है कि हमारा जो यह सामुदायिक बिकास कार्यक्रम है इसको लागू करने के बारे में कुछ ऐसी कमियाँ रह गई हैं जिन कमियों के कारण हमें अनेकों स्थानों पर सारे के सारे मामले में असफलता का मुंह देखना पड़ रहा है

अभी पिछले दिनों सामुदायिक बिकास मिनिस्टरी की तरफ से जो पत्रिका निकलती है उसके अन्दर शायद किसी लेखक ने इस बात की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित किया था

कि बहुत सारी योजनायें जिनका कि इस मंत्रालय के साथ सम्बन्ध है वह इतनी थ्योरैटिकल होती हैं कि जब देहात के अन्दर उनको मिया जाता है, वह योजना जब पास होते होते बी० डी० प्रो० के नीचे ग्राम सेवक जो कि नीचे का अफसर वहां पर होता है उस ग्राम सेवक जो कि देहात का सर्वेंट होता है उसके पास वह पहुंचती हैं और प्रत्येक प्रान्त और जिले की जो अपनी अलग अलग परिस्थितियाँ होती हैं उनको बिल्कुल ध्यान में रखा नहीं जाता है जिसका कि यह प्रभाव पड़ता है कि वह सारी की सारी बातें महज एक मजक बन कर रह जाती हैं।

मुझे एक उदाहरण इस सिलसिले में याद आता है। अभी पिछले दिनों पंजाब के अन्दर जो पंचायती राज्य मंत्री हैं उन्होंने किसी धन में आकर सारे बिकास अधिकारियों के पास यह पत्र भेजा कि चूकि सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों जो कि पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री हैं उनका यह विचार है कि हमारे देहातों के अन्दर मृगियाँ ज्यादा पाली जायें और उन मृगियों से जो अंडे पैदा हों उनको वहां के बिद्यार्थियों को दे सकें उसके लिए यह आवश्यकता है कि देहातों के अन्दर चूकि अधिकतर लोग शाकाहारी होते हैं इसलिए उनके अन्दर अंडों के प्रति एक रुचि पैदा करने का कार्यक्रम यह बिकास विभाग करे ताकि उनमें अंडों के प्रति रुचि पैदा हो सके। ग्राम सेवकों के पास अलग अलग सब जगह इस तरह का पत्र पहुंच गया और वे लोग तमाम अपने अपने क्षेत्रों में मंत्री महोदय की अंडों के प्रति गाव वालों में रुचि पैदा करने की चिट्ठी अपनी जेबों में डाले घूमने लगे। अब यह कितनी बाहियात बात है कि उसके लिए ग्राम सेवक एक कार्यक्रम निर्धारित करें और वह लोगों से जाकर कहें कि तुम मृगी पालो और अंडों का सेवन करो। यह एक ऐसी बात है जिसका कि विरोध मैं केवल शाकाहारी

या नौन शाकाहारी की भावना के कारण नहीं कर रहा हूँ। हमारे वहाँ के लिए यह एक फिजूल सी बात है खास तौर से पंजाब का हमारा हंगियाना का हिस्सा जहाँ का कि पशुधन मशहूर है। जरूरत तो इस बात की थी वहाँ कुछ ऐसा कार्यक्रम शुरू करते जिससे वहाँ के मवेशियों की नस्ल सुधरती, वे धीरे धीरे अधिक तगड़े होते जिससे हमें उनसे धीरे भी अधिक घी, दूध आदि मिल पाता। यह काम जो कि उनको करना चाहिए था वह न करके सरदार साहब की चिट्ठी जेब में डाल कर यह ग्राम सेवक गाँव गाँव में घूम रहे हैं कि लोण मर्गी पालन धीरे धीरे की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दें धीरे यह कि लोण ध्रंड़ों का सेवन करें। इससे धीरे किसी बात पर असर नहीं पड़ता मगर इससे जो उसका एक दफ्तरी पदल है वह कितने भेदे रूप में सामने आता है। बेहतर यह होता कि इसके बजाय यह ग्राम सेवक किसी ठोस काम के अन्दर जाते लेकिन उधर न जाकर वे इस तरह के थ्योरेटिकल कामों में लग जाते हैं। इसका आउटपुट कुछ होता नहीं है सिवाय इसको कि एक, दो दिन तक आदमियों के पास जाकर उनको इस के लिए कहें। हमारे दक्षिण पंजाब में अगरे यह ग्राम सेवक लोग इसको जोरदार भाषा में कहें कि ग्राम ध्रंड़े खाइये तो लोग उनका सिर फोड़ डालेंगे। इस तरह की एक मुसीबत भोल लेने के अलावा वह कोई भी ठोस काम इस क्षेत्र में नहीं कर सके हैं।

एक बात जो कि पिछले साल भी मैंने श्री महोदय के ध्यान में लाने का प्रयास किया था, सारे के सारे देहातों के विकास के कार्यक्रम में कभी महसूस की जा रही है, देहात के अन्दर रहने वाले इस बात को खास तौर से जानते हैं। शहर वाले व्यक्ति वह खाली उसके हक में या उसके विरोध में केशल किताबें पढ़ कर या कहीं से कोटेशन देकर अपना बिचार रखते होंगे लेकिन देहात के अन्दर जो लोग बैठे हुए हैं वे तो सारे के सारे

काम को स्थगित कर रहे हैं, उनके सामने सब से बड़ी मुसीबत इस १५-१६ साल के अन्दर इस विकास के काम के अन्दर आ रही है वह है विभिन्न मंत्रालयों के बीच समन्वय का अभाव। यह एक बड़ी मुसीबत हमारे सामने है। अलग अलग बी० डी० प्रो० के नीचे जो इंस्पेक्टर होते हैं वे काम तो बी० डी० प्रो० के नीचे कर रहे होते हैं लेकिन उस पर कंट्रोल आदि उसके अपने डिपार्टमेंट का ही रहता है। जैसा कि कोई एक इंस्टीट्यूट का इंस्पेक्टर है वह कार्य तो कर रहा होता है बी० डी० प्रो० के नीचे लेकिन वह रहता इंस्टीट्यूट का ही है। एग्रीकल्चर का इंस्पेक्टर एग्रीकल्चर के अन्दर ही बना रहता है और वेटेनरी का इंस्पेक्टर वेटेनरी विभाग के कंट्रोल में रहता है। अब इन इंस्पेक्टरों को दिमागों के अन्दर लगातार यह चीज काम करती रहती है कि हमारा जाँ विकास विभाग से केशल इतना ही सम्बन्ध है कि हम अपने विभाग में काम करने के बजाये उठकर यहाँ काम करने के लिए भेज दिये गये हैं और हम फिलहाल यह काम कर रहे हैं। ऊपर की तौर पर उनका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि बी० डी० प्रो० जिनके कि अंडर वे काम करते हैं उनका उन पर प्रकृश हो, कंट्रोल हो। पंजाब में उनका इन लोगों पर सामान्य अधिकार है, केवल इससे वे भयभीत हो कर थोड़ा बहुत काम करते हैं लेकिन ऊपर के जो उनके अधिकारी हैं उनके अन्दर कोई तालमेल नहीं है। उसकी वजह से उसका एक इतना विकृत रूप सामने आता है कि कोई भी प्रगति नहीं होने पाती है इसलिए जब तक हम इस धीरे ध्यान नहीं देंगे, कोई एसी स्कीम नहीं निकालेंगे जिससे कि जिन लोगों का जिन विभागों का सीधा सम्बन्ध है, देहातों की भलाई हम नहीं कर पायेंगे। यह जो एक बड़ी मुख्य मांग उनकी है कि अनाज की पैदावार बढ़े, उस मांग के साथ सम्बन्ध रखने वाले जितने भी मंत्रालय हैं, चाहे वह कृषि का हो, चाहे वह नहरों का हो धीरे धीरे कोई

[श्री यु० सि० चौधरी]

ग्रन्थ हो, जब तक व सब अपने ऊपर के कागजी जाल से परे हट कर गांवों के विकास के दृष्टिकोण से एकत्रित नहीं होंगे और ऊपर की सब कार्यवाहियों को छोड़ कर अपना सारा ध्यान विकास की तरफ केन्द्रित नहीं करेंगे, उस वक्त तक मंत्री महोदय आलोचकों की इसी तरह की बातें सुनते रहेंगे, जिस तरह की उन्होंने पिछले साल सुनीं और इस साल भी सुन रहे हैं ।

14 hrs.

इस सारे के सारे मामले में जो एक मज्जदार बात है, वह मैं पंजाब के एक उदाहरण के द्वारा बताना चाहूंगा । पंजाब में नहरें बहुत अधिक लगती हैं । भाखरा की वजह से काफी नहरों का जाल फैला हुआ है । पिछले दिनों कुछ वर्षों की कमी से और कुछ ज्यादा सर्दी पड़ने से फसलें बहुत ज्यादा खराब हो गईं । माननीय मंत्री जी ने इस सम्बन्ध में पंजाब विधान सभा की कार्यवाही पढ़ी होगी । हिसार और भटिंडा में गेहूँ की फसलें बिलकुल तबाह हो गईं । इसका कारण यह था कि भाखरा की नहर में पिछले डेढ़ महीने से बिलकुल पानी नहीं आया ।

नहरों में पानी देने का काम तो नहर विभाग का है । सरकार ने ग्राम सेवक को खाद दे दी कि तुम जाकर गांव वालों को खाद दो, ताकि वे अपने खेतों में उस खाद को छिड़कें और उसकी वजह से फसल अच्छी हो सकें । ग्राम सेवक कहता है कि नहर के एस० डी० ओ० या ओवरसियर के साथ मेरा किसी तरह का सम्पर्क कोई भी नहीं है, उनके साथ प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष कोई भी सम्बन्ध नहीं है, तो इस सारे के सारे मामले में मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ । आप देखिये कि नहर वालों के साथ उसका किसी भी प्वाइंट पर कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है । नहर विभाग में कुछ ऐसा

तमाशा है कि ओवरसियर की अपनी खुशी है, आफिसर्स की अपनी खुशी है और इक्की दुक्की बातों में राजनीतिक प्रभाव भी डाला जाता है ।

इस प्रवृत्ति में नहरों के न चलने की वजह से इतना नुकसान हुआ है कि दक्षिणी पंजाब में गेहूँ की फसल का पच्चीस प्रतिशत से लेकर तीस प्रतिशत का नुकसान प्रवृत्त हुआ है । पंजाब विधान सभा में पंजाब सरकार ने यह ज़रूर कहा कि भाखरा में पानी नहीं है, इसलिए हम पानी नहीं दे सके । लेकिन जब पहले समय नहीं था, जब पानी की आवश्यकता नहीं थी, तो नवम्बर और दिसम्बर में लगातार एक महीना ये नहरें चलती रहीं । आखिर यह कोई बरसात का पानी नहीं था । यह सारे का सारा स्टोर किया हुआ पानी था । अगर इस वक्त के लिये, जब कि फसलें पकने को आ गई थीं, उस पानी को रोक लिया गया होता, तो वह पानी कितना लाभदायक साबित होता और देश की पैदावार और अन्नोत्पादन की बढ़ोतरी के लिये कितना अच्छा साबित होता । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि समन्वय के अभाव के कारण, आपस में ताल-मेल न होने की वजह से नहरों में समय पर पानी नहीं दिया जा सका और इस वजह से देश को इतनी बड़ी हानि उटानी पड़ी ।

इन बातों पर बल देने का मेरा मतलब यह है कि जितने भी विभागों का देहात की तरक्की से सम्बन्ध है, जिन्होंने अपने ऊपर देश की पैदावार को बढ़ाने का पूरा उत्तरदायित्व ले रखा है, जब तक वे दफ्तरी कार्यवाहियों को छोड़ कर और एक हो कर गांव में एक केन्द्र बन कर, एक शक्ति बन कर नहीं आयेंगे—अगर इस सम्बन्ध में कोई

कानूनी एकापट्टे हैं, तो उन को नये कानून ला कर या कानून में संशोधन कर के दूर किया जाना चाहिये—, तब तक यह उद्देश्य तो जरूर पूरा हीं जायगा कि इलेक्शन हींगे और उनमें लोग बड़े उत्साह के साथ सामने धायेंगे, कुछ लोग पंच बनेंगे और कुछ सरपंच बनेंगे, लेकिन हमारे सामने जो असली समस्या है कि देश की पैदावार बढ़े, देहात के आदिमियों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरे और उन के द्वारा सारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरे, उस समस्या का हल बिल्कुल नहीं हो पायेगा ।

देहात के लोगों को विकास मंत्रालय से एक बड़ी भारी शिकायत यह है कि जिन आदिमियों को विकास-अधिकारी बना करके देहात में भेजा जाता है, उन को अपने काम के बारे में और देहात की परिस्थितियों के बारे में कुछ भी ज्ञान नहीं होता है । पिछले दिनों फौज के बारे में भी इसी प्रकार की शिकायत की गई थी कि फौज में जवान-कोई और हैं और आफिसर कोई और हैं और जो आफिसर लगाये जाते हैं, उन का रैंक एंड फाइल के आदिमियों से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं होता है । खैर, फौजवाली शिकायत तो हमारे बस की नहीं है । युद्ध के समय उस का नतीजा सामने आ जाता है । लेकिन जहां तक गांवों के विकास का सम्बन्ध है, मैं इस समस्या का यह धिनौता रूप विकास मंत्रालय के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ ।

हम देखते हैं कि शहर के वातावरण में पले हुए आदिमियों को देहात के विकास का कार्य सौंप दिया जाता है । मेरा मतलब शहरों के आदिमियों पर कोई आक्षेप करने का नहीं है, लेकिन हर एक आदिमी को उस की प्रवृत्ति और दृष्टिकोण के अनुसार काम दिया जाना चाहिये । जिस व्यक्ति को गांव में भेजा जाय, कम से कम वह वहां की परिस्थितियों को समझता हो । हमारा उद्देश्य

आर्थिक दृष्टि से, शिक्षा की दृष्टि से और अन्य दृष्टियों से पिछड़े हुए देहात के लोगों का उत्थान करना है । जो आदिमी दिल्ली के कालेजों में पढ़ा हो, जिस ने दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में देहात के विकास पर कोई थीसिस लिखा हो और उस के बाद पी०एच० डी० की डिग्री ले ली हो, ऐसे आदिमी को विकास अधिकारी या ग्रामोत्थान का कोई अधिकारी बना कर गांव में भेज देने की बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है । ऐसा व्यक्ति जब गांव में जाता है, तो वहां के वातावरण की दृष्टि से उस की ड्रेस, उस की वेश-भूषा और उस का रहन-सहन बहुत उट-पटांग ढंग का लगता है । चाहे वह गांव में दस, पंद्रह, बीस साल रहे, लेकिन वहां के लोग उस के प्रति अपनत्व की भावना नहीं ला पाते । मूल बात यह है कि जो अधिकारी देहात के लोगों का विकास करने के उद्देश्य से गांव में भेजा जाता है, जब तक देहात के लोगों का उसके प्रति विश्वास नहीं होगा, जब तक उन में उस के प्रति भरोसे की भावना पैदा नहीं होगी, उस वक्त तक यह बिल्कुल सम्भव नहीं है कि वे लोग उस के सामने अपनी कठिनाइयां रख सकें, या वह उन की कठिनाइयों को समझ सके ।

मुझे और प्रांतों का पता नहीं है, लेकिन पंजाब में अच्छी-खासी संख्या, बहू संख्या, उन आदिमियों की है, जो कि बी०डी०ओ० या अन्य पदों पर काम कर रहे हैं, जिन को देहात के बारे में ए बी सी का भी पता नहीं है, जिन को देहात के बारे में बिल्कुल पता नहीं है । उन के सामने केवल एक समस्या होती है कि उन को शहर से या रेलवे स्टेशन से दूर लगा दिया गया है । उन का सारा ध्यान इसी बात पर लगा रहता है कि किसी तरह से या तो रेलवे स्टेशन के पास उन की पोस्टिंग हो जाय, या तहसील हैडक्वार्टर्स के पास उन की पोस्टिंग हो जाय, या डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर्स में वे भेज दिए जायें । इस का कारण यह है कि गांव में उनको सिनेमा नहीं मिलता

[श्री यु० सि० चौधरी]

है, चिकनी-चूपड़ी सड़कें नहीं मिलती हैं, शहर का उजाला वातावरण नहीं मिलता है। इस लिये वे देहात के वातावरण को या उस की किसी भी बात को पसंद नहीं करते हैं। इसका प्रभाव यह होता है कि देहात की सूखी-सूखी जिन्दगी के प्रति उन की रुचि नहीं होती है। वे तो हमेशा अपनी रुचि के परिष्कार के लिये, अपने तबादले के लिये, कांशिश करते रहते हैं। अपनी परेशानियों के कारण उन के दिमाग में क्षण मात्र के लिये भी यह बात नहीं आती है कि वे देहात की भलाई के लिये कोई बात मांच सकें। यह एक बड़ी गम्भीर बात है, जिस पर मंत्री महोदय को विचार करना चाहिये।

सरकार की ओर से बड़े जोश और उत्साह से स्कोमें बनाई जाती हैं और उन पर अन्व-धुन्ध पैसा भी खर्च किया जाता है, लेकिन जिस आदमी के हाथ में इतना पैसा दिया जाता है, जिस के माध्यम से, जिस के द्वारा वह सारा पैसा खर्च होना है, वह आदमी गांव की परिस्थितियों से बिल्कुल अनाभिज्ञ है। उस के मन में तो केवल यही भावना रहती है कि मेरी नौकरी है, यह गजान्ट पोस्ट है। इस के अतिरिक्त देहात की प्रगति के सम्बन्ध में उस को कोई दिलचस्पी या रुचि नहीं है। इस से आप स्वयं कल्पना कर सकते हैं कि वह आदमी वहां क्या काम करता होगा।

मैं विधाम मंत्रालय से विशेष रूप से प्रार्थना करना चाहूंगा कि वह अवश्य इस पहलू पर नजर डालें। इस में गांव और शहर का सवाल नहीं है और न ही शहर के आदमी के प्रति किसी विशेष की भावना का ही सवाल है। हमारे सामने सवाल केवल यह है कि जो काम हम कर रहे हैं, उस में हम को वस्तुतः सफलता मिले और यह भी तभी सम्भव है कि जब वह काम एक ऐसे आदमी के द्वारा किया जाय, जो कि गांवों की सारी बांनों को जानता हो। जिस आदमी ने इन

विश्व-विद्यालयों में तीन, चार, पांच साल तक बैठ कर कोई बड़ी भारी शोध की है, वह विश्वविद्यालय के लिये ठीक हो सकता है, उस की शोध का फायदा उठाया जा सकता है, मगर यदि वह आदमी देहात की परिस्थितियों से बिल्कुल अनाभिज्ञ है, तो वह देहात के लोगों का कोई भला कर सकेगा, इस बात की आशा करना बिल्कुल निरर्थक है। इस लिये जब तक इस प्रवृत्ति को रोका नहीं जायेगा, जब तक इस प्रवृत्ति पर अंकुश नहीं लगाया जायेगा तब तक हम को अपन उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है।

सरकार की ओर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि ऐसे उपयुक्त आदमी नहीं मिलते हैं, जो कि गांवों में जा सकें। मैं सुझाव दूंगा कि यह नियम बना दिया जाय कि जो व्यक्ति विकास-अधिकारी बनना चाहेगा, उस को पहले छः महीने या एक साल तक मुद्दर गांव में, जहां रेल और मोटर आद नहीं है और लांग बैल-गाड़ियों या अंटों पर जाते हैं या पैदल चलते हैं, ट्रेनिंग लेनी होगी। इस प्रकार जो भी व्यक्ति इस तरफ आयेगा, वह या तो ट्रेनिंग के इस शिकंजे में आ कर ठीक हो जायेगा और गांव के सारे वातावरण से भली प्रकार परिचित हो जायेगा या निकल भागेगा अगर वह निकल भागेगा, तो सरकार की समस्या मिट जायेगी और कोई नहीं कह सकेगा कि वह शहर और गांव में कोई भेद-भाव की खाई खोद रही है। अगर दर-असल उस आदमी में देहात और किसानों के विकास के प्रति कोई रुचि होगी, तो वह गड़े शौक और लगन के साथ, दई आशा और दई आकांक्षा ले कर देहात में जायेगा और वह इस प्रकार काम करेगा कि हमारी सारी योजनायें सफल हो सकें।

इन बातों का समाप्ति की ओर ले जाते हुए मैं एक मूल बात सरकार के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, जो कि हमारे आदरणीय मित्र, चौधरी दिगम्बर सिंह, ने खाद्य तथा कृषि मंत्रालय पर बोलते हुए कही थी। उस अवसर पर वह एक ऐतिहासिक सा वाक्य बोल गए थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि जब हम यह बात करते हैं कि अनाज की वृद्धि हो, तो हमारे समाज में यह बात अत्यन्त आना चाहिए कि जब तक हम गांव के किसान का हालत ठीक नहीं करेंगे, तब तक अनाज की वृद्धि सम्भव नहीं हो सकेगी। पहले गांव के किसान को आप समृद्ध करें, उसकी हालत को ठीक करें और जब उसकी हालत ठीक हो जाएगी तो अपने आप अनाज की समस्या हल हो जायेगी। लेकिन समस्या का उलटा हल शान्त साधना प्रतीत होता है। वह समझता है कि पहले अनाज की पैदावार बढ़े और उसके बाद गांव के किसान की हालत ठीक हो। इस तरीके से हंगेज हंगेज समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है। पहले आप गांव के किसान की हालत को ठीक करने के लिये कदम उठाये, तभी देश की अच्छी तरह से उन्नति हो सकती है, अन्यथा नहीं।

Shri Firodia (Ahmednagar): I rise to support the Demands of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation.

I am glad that during the last few months, this Ministry has attracted the attention not only of the rural masses, not only of the urban people, but of the industrial class also. Very recently, a reference was made by the outgoing President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Shri Bharat Ram, to the co-operative movement and its voluntary nature. He said that the co-operative movement was spreading to almost all the trades and industries. Only two days back, Shri S. P. Jain made a reference at Ujjain to the fact that people in the co-operative movement want that they should have more industries, but he added that they must also know that co-operative institu-

tions were not run on economic lines. I must congratulate the Ministry on this. This Ministry has done such a tremendous amount of work during the last few years that it has attracted the attention of the private sector, which had not been the case during the last 60 years of the co-operative movement, because everybody thought that the business which co-operative movement is doing was not a paying proposition. They were helping the agriculturists, and people knew they were not going to succeed in ameliorating their position. But now the fact that this co-operative movement has attracted the attention of other people shows that this Ministry requires a long life and elevation also. Some hon. Members have given notices of cut motions that this Ministry should be abolished or amalgamated with other Ministries. I would say that it is the greatest need of the hour that this Ministry should be there because it is a watch dog of the co-operative movement. This Ministry is the Chaser on behalf of all the State Ministries and the Central Government to see that the co-operative movement gets its due share in all the fruits of development of this country. This Minister has not got Cabinet rank yet, but I feel that he should be made a minister with Cabinet rank, so that he can discuss all the propositions in all the departments from the co-operative angle.

I am glad to note that very recently 20 licences were given to the co-operative sector for sugar factories. The co-operative sugar factories have already shown during this year, when the private sector factories have reduced their production, an increase in production. They have developed their connection with their members so well that they supply sugarcane to the co-operative sugar factories even though they could get a higher price by supplying it to outsiders. So this is the crux of the problem, that in this movement we should cultivate the relations between the members and the institution, and that is going to pay in the long run.

[Shri Firodia]

My party has proclaimed democratic socialism as its goal at Bhuvaneshwar. Can we imagine any institution which is more democratic in nature than the co-operative society? Can we imagine any institution which can bring socialism in the shortest possible time than the co-operative society? If there is any institution or movement which can usher in socialism in the shortest possible time in this country, it is the co-operative society and the co-operative movement.

People supported our Plans when they were formulated, but now they are looking for their implementation. Mighty crusades have an unhappy way of getting into mired in implementation; and that may also happen in the co-operative movement. There has been a lot of progress during the last 10 or 15 years, but if we see whether it has really done the necessary good in the rural sector, we will have to accept that it has still to go much further in developing the village economy.

Co-operative credit has made some strides, but we have only touched the fringe of the problem. Sixty per cent of the credit is taken by 20 per cent of the people. It is almost a vested interest of some classes of people in the village. The poor man, the man with a subsistence economy, is not helped by the co-operative sector as yet. Therefore, I would suggest that to help the poor man, we have to do much more than starting and working the co-operative societies. I would even urge on the Minister that as we are helping the refugees who are coming from Pakistan by giving them all help, we should start an "Agricultural Rehabilitation Corporation" which will help the poor agriculturist, the subsistence farmer in the village and bring him up to an economy which will pay his expenses.

Planning in this respect has so far been largely on the basis of what is practicable and not what is needed.

In many parts of the country, the initial phase of development will have to be what may be appropriately called a period of rehabilitation. Not only have the investments to be substantial; it will have to be a combination of short, medium and long term investment. Today, the farmer is not creditworthy in the normal commercial sense to the extent that he needs credit. The reasons are many. If credit is given to the extent that the farmer is found creditworthy judged only by normal banking standards, the problem of rural credit will never be solved. Any system of financing the farmer has to take care of all his credit requirements, short term, medium term and long term, of production credit and personal consumption credit, and assess the over-all risk involved to ensure that the farmer's total indebtedness does not go beyond a limit which he cannot bear, which would cripple his productive capacity.

Even to make the necessary funds available to a very large number of farmers will be an administrative problem of considerable magnitude and complexity. Can commercial banks continue to stand away from this vital sector of the economy?

Our planning has not as yet fully taken into account the heavy investment and the various kinds of investment that would be needed to bring about transformation of the present day subsistence agriculture into a progressive commercial enterprise.

The approach of co-operative credit, with its necessary emphasis on self-help, thrift and mutual aid, is not adequate. Co-operation must have a social purpose more than economic. One of the reasons why the co-operative movement has not caught the imagination of the masses of the people living in the countryside is that it has not been demonstratively linked with the promotion of their economic wellbeing.

Co-operative laws are now being amended. As another colleague said here, more powers are being given to Registrars and more powers are being taken by Government. I think all the non-official co-operation will have to oppose this move. As a matter of fact, the Registrar is almost becoming a despot. Politics has made a deep inroad into the movement. If the tendency of the politicians to exploit the movement so as to achieve their political ends is left unchecked, instead of creating a congenial climate for the cogent development of the co-operative movement, it will definitely hamper the movement.

The co-operative sector has got economic power now. It has got enough money in it. Everybody is attracted towards the co-operative movement. All parties, whether it is the ruling party or other parties, are attracted to this movement, and they are trying to take advantage of the money which is in the co-operative movement. As you know, Sir, when co-operative sugar factories are started, peasants come together to start the factory but now some people are taking advantage of the factory to achieve their political ends.

The point about income-tax in respect of co-operative factories has arisen many times. The cane price is fixed by Government and that is paid to the members of the co-operative factory. If they pay more than this price, the extra price is taxable. While the member is bound to supply cane to the factory even if the price fixed by Government is lower, the others are not bound to do so. Only last year, we have seen so many other people selling their cane crop to some other person for turning it into gur while members of the co-operative factory were obliged to give all their cane to the co-operative factory. So, whatever extra is paid, it should not be taxed. The income of the co-operative factory should be computed after deducting all the expenses, in-

cluding the price paid to the cultivator.

Many joint stock banks are covered by the deposit insurance scheme but co-operatives are not included in that. I shall finish in two minutes, Sir, An amendment is being made to the Banking Companies Act to bring them also under that scheme. While doing so, let us not put more curbs on the co-operatives. It is envisaged in that amendment to give more powers to the Reserve Bank and other supervisory institutions. That will take away the voluntary nature of the co-operative movement. There are enough powers of inspection and supervision with the Registrar the Apex Bank and Agriculture Credit Department of Reserve Bank and no more power should be taken by the Reserve Bank. If we give these powers to the Reserve Bank the whole system of co-operative credit will tumble down. Co-operative credit is going up by leaps and bounds. But have we really helped the weaker sections? We were going to be given to co-operatives were going to be given to co-operatives to aid weaker sections and grants were given. But we find that not much headway had been made in this respect. If we have to succeed in credit movement we must have it linked up with the marketing; we should have a revolving credit on the sales made by the member through the co-operative society. Before I conclude, I shall make only two suggestions. One is about the price fluctuation fund. We found that the marketing societies are not making purchases and helping Government to keep the prices in check because of the risk involved in it. Government in initial stages should help the marketing society and give them some subsidy, 2 or 3 per cent, on the value of purchases they make on their account so that they may be emboldened to make purchases from agriculturists and thus help them to get the best price. The other is about subsidisation. Many people feel that we should subsidise the grain which we purchase from the

[Shri Firodia]

agriculturist, purchasing at a higher price and selling at a lower price to the consumer. The other day, Mr. Asoka Mehta said that if we did this, we will need about Rs. 5,000 crores in five years' time. He suggested that we should subsidise inputs that we are giving to the agriculturists and give him rehabilitation loan so that his economy is improved and he can get the best deal in the present circumstances.

Shrimati Akkamma Devi (Nilgiris): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the famous two lines of Thomas Grey in his poem "Elegy written on a Country Churchyard",

"Full many a flower is born to
blush unseen
and waste its fragrance in the
desert air"

reminds us of rural India before Independence. After Independence, with our many welfare schemes for rural development, under the Five Year Plans, under the Community Development Ministry, the atmosphere of rural India has changed and we see in our villages elementary and high schools, dispensaries and maternity centres, road facilities, electricity facilities, protected water supply, social education centres, community centres and we are proud to say that the flower of peasantry is seen by everyone of us.

While waiting for my chance, I have been listening with rapt attention to the hon. Members who spoke before me and I found to my disappointment that much has not been said about women's welfare. It is the most essential thing from the family to the national level. We have heard our leaders say often that our country will be built economically, educationally and socially only when rural India is built up. Rural India will be built up only when the women in these village are educated and enlightened. We have often heard that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. With these words in mind, I

will concentrate my remarks on the welfare activities started for women and request the Minister to consider them favourably.

We find from the report that 44,800 mahila mandals were started by the end of September, 1963. With one mukhya sevika and two gram sevikas for a block, we have been able to start these 44,800 mahila mandals. Are we satisfied with mere figures? Mere starting of centres will not be enough. The gram sevikas and mukhya sevikas should visit the centres regularly and plan their work in such a way that each mahila mandal turns out constructive work. It is through these mahila mandals that we have to spread the value of health and sanitation and social education and also economic activities for women like tailoring, knitting, toy making, kitchen-gardening, poultry keeping and many other such activities so that it will enable the village women to learn and earn and supplement their family income at their leisure hours. There is a heavy responsibility before the village level workers. We cannot blame our workers and we cannot say that they have neglected their work. But the work is too much for two gram sevikas. There is a heavy responsibility. By the time the gram sevika or mukhya sevika makes a second visit to a particular centre, sometimes it takes months. The work is started initially with good spirit and with valuable money. Therefore, my humble suggestion is that two gram sevikas are not enough. I am always reasonable in my demand, I do not ask for much. The number should be increased by at least one more gram sevika, so that the work will be carried out efficiently and the benefits will be reaped by our village women.

Then, again we have heard about the allowance for the Conveners in these mahila mandals. You will be surprised to hear that the Convener

of a mahila mandal gets only fifteen rupees for three months, which comes to five rupees a month. You can just imagine. Whereas an ordinary village woman, either when she works in agricultural labour or in plantation labour, earns a rupee and more per day, this is what is paid to the Convener of a mahila mandal. And this convener is selected with education up to the eighth standard or more, she must be good in crafts, and she is selected from the locality to help the villagers. It is really an encouragement. But what do we pay the Convener? Five rupees per month. We cannot say that the Conveners are helped by this allowance. Therefore, the Convener's allowance should be increased. Here, again I would like to mention that the Conveners, though they have only eighth standard education, are from the locality and they understand the women of the locality much better than the school teacher who has no aptitude for the work. So we must encourage these Conveners and increase their allowance.

Coming to the scheme of integrated child welfare project, a Block in each district is selected for this. These child welfare centres—I am speaking from experience of my State—are situated close to elementary schools. In these elementary schools, as in Madras State, the children are given mid-day meal. These children are the brothers and sisters of our Balwadi children and are five years of age. Grant from the State Government and contribution from the concerned panchyat is given towards the mid-day meal scheme. Therefore, my request is that with a slight increase in the State Government's grant and the panchyat's contribution, these younger children in the pre-school centres should also be given mid-day meal. Here also the gram sevikas come to help the pre-school centres. I request that the gram sevikas should be given all the incentives, and also additional gram sevikas should be appointed.

Now I come to co-operatives for women. Here I appreciate our Ministry, because I have seen from experience that many co-operatives were formed for women, and these co-operatives have really helped the women of the poor families to earn something and they have benefited by it, and added to their family income. But I have to say something about the delay that takes place in executing the schemes. Applications are forwarded, but these applications are sanctioned after of a long delay, and by the time the scheme is sanctioned the village women lose confidence and they have no faith in the organisers who work for them. Therefore, I request our Ministers to see that this delay—and there is considerable delay—is avoided and that the schemes are executed quickly so that the village women will really benefit by these schemes.

Now I come to the village volunteer force. Some time ago a complete picture of village volunteer scheme was given, but there was no mention about the women's section. The women's section has done very good work during the emergency, but I have not found a word about it in the report. In my State we have formed organisations, we have organised women members of the panchyats, and classes were conducted, five days' camps in villages were organised; classes were conducted in small savings, first aid, kitchen garden and, above all, to look after the welfare of the families of our jawans who have either been killed during action or who are still guarding our frontiers. Therefore, our women not only added to the collections towards the National Defence Fund, they have taken very keen interest in these welfare activities towards the National Defence Fund and towards the welfare of our jawans; the women members have also contributed much in the way of gift parcels for Christmas and Diwali, they have collected gift parcels which were handed

[Shrimati Akkamma Devi]

over to the jawans through the concerned authorities.

Then I would like to say something about the transfers of the staff at the block level and at the district level. These transfers are the main cause for the non-implementation of our work. Our block development officer or mukhya sevika, by the time that he or she settles down to a work, knows the place and understands the people, that particular officer is transferred not only within the district but outside the district also. So this helps not in implementing the activities that we have undertaken but helps in putting a full stop to those activities. Therefore, I request that these transfers should not be made as frequently as they are being made today. At least a minimum period of three years should be allowed before any transfer is made.

Then we were speaking about co-operative societies. We have co-operative societies for the consumers and also for the producers. We have a marketing society to help the producer. We have a consumers co-operative society to help the consumer. By these societies we are doing a magnificent job in helping the consumer and also the producer. We are forming these societies to do away with the middleman. But we have not yet come to the stage of doing away with the middleman.

Here also, regarding these co-operative societies we have to be very careful. We are doing a noble job to the poor agriculturist, but we make certain mistakes that takes away the good name of the work we are doing for the poor agriculturist.

Coming to the co-operative farming societies, these co-operative farming societies are formed to help the landless poor and Adivasis. But they are exploited. The land is not used by the landless poor and Adivasis, but these people are exploited by well-placed men, not only from the district but from outside, and the fruits

of the labour put in by the landless poor and Adivasis are enjoyed by these people. So I request the hon. Minister to see that such things will never happen in the future.

We speak so much about co-ordination and co-operation. Here we see co-ordination in our Ministry: we have the Education and Agriculture Ministry here, we have Community Development, we have the Co-operation Department. So we have co-ordination here and also cooperation when all of them get together for the purpose of helping the poor people. Therefore, we are setting a very good example to help the poor and this Ministry needs to be encouraged and given full support from this hon. House.

With these words I support the Demands of this Ministry.

Shri Jena (Bhadrak): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to speak on these Demands. I rise to support the Demands of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation.

Our parliamentary democratic system of government functions is consultation, and with the guidance of, five assemblies: firstly, the Parliament consisting of two Houses, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha; secondly, the State Assemblies consisting of two Sabhas, the Vidhan Sabha and the Vidhan Parishad; thirdly, the zilla parishad; fourthly, the panchayat samiti; and, fifthly, the gram panchayats. So all their opinion is consulted in our democratic system of government, beginning from the top to the bottom.

Before the community development and panchayat raj system came into existence there were two popular bodies, and they were the Parliament and the State Assemblies. This community development and co-operation has made our system of Government more democratic. It has brought the other three tiers of popular bodies: they are, the zila parishads, the panchayat samitis and the gram pancha-

yats in the villages. The report of the Ministry says that 13 of our States are executing this panchayat raj system and that the others are preparing to introduce it. I think it is getting late; the other States must execute it as early as possible.

Before I proceed to make my remarks on the community development and panchayat raj movement in our country, I would like to refer to a sloka of *Kumarasambhava* by one of our greatest poets, Kalidas. It is as follows:

सर्षोपमाद्रव्यसमुच्चयेन यदा प्रदेशं विनिवेशितेन
सा निर्मिता विश्वसृजाप्रयत्नादेकस्य सौन्दर्यं
दिदृक्षयेव ।

The meaning of this sloka is this: when Brahma, the Creator of the universe, was not satisfied with the creation he made, he tried to build some other beautiful body which would be appreciated by all. He made up his mind to build the body of Parvatiji in a unique manner. For this purpose, he collected the extracts of all the beauties on earth and put them carefully on the body of Parvatiji with a view to offering an opportunity to all to see all the beauties on earth, on this single body. Similarly, when the planners and the national leaders of our country were not satisfied, after Independence, with the improvement being brought about normally, they thought of doing something more than normal.

श्री कछराय : कांरम नहीं है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Quorum has been challenged. The bell is being rung... Yes; now there is quorum. Shri Jena may continue his speech.

Shri Jena: So, they gave serious thought to it and decided finally that they should introduce this community development and panchayatraj system in the country with a view to bringing about all-round improvement in the country, particularly in the rural areas which were neglected for ages together. Therefore, this Ministry came into being to execute those plans and programmes. This panchayatraj

aims at touching and improving every stratum and section of the rural population and society with a view to bringing the rural areas to the level of our towns and to make them worth living just as our towns are. The aims and objectives of this Ministry are no doubt highly praiseworthy. I think everyone of us in this hon. House will agree with me that this community development and panchayatraj programme has created a social and economic revolution in the country. We may criticise the plans and programmes and their functioning here and there, but there is no doubt that it is doing some good work and making progress. Nothing can escape the scope of criticism if you want to criticise it for criticism's sake. Some sort of criticism was also offered when Shri Ramachandraji was asked to succeed his father to the throne. In the words of one of the famous poets of Orissa, Upendra Bhanj, it was argued that Shri Ramchandraji should not become the master of the earth as the earth was the mother-in-law of Shri Ramchandraji, the earth being Sitaji's mother; so, it would be highly sinful for Shri Ramchandraji to be master of the King of Ayodhya which was part of the earth. That was the argument then.

This sort of argument is also not rare nowadays. Simple, constructive criticisms or healthy suggestions should be offered and they are always welcome. But there is no doubt that this community development programme is going to change the face of this country and bring about healthy changes that are needed for an up-to-date and dynamic society. This has made the poorest of the poor and the downtrodden in society feel the acute necessities of life and they have also begun to realise their duties and responsibilities to some extent in that direction. They want the society to improve and become up-to-date. Unless the people feel that there should be all-round progress and they should try to achieve it, it is difficult to bring them up and place them in a prosperous society in a democratic set-

[Shri Jena]

up. Fortunately, a thirst for education, a keen desire for agricultural improvement and a craving for industrialisation are already there in the remotest parts of the country. This is a healthy sign and for this the Ministry deserves congratulations.

The earnest desire for all-round progress of the people in the country is there. Now, it is the noble duty of the Government, the legislators, the social workers and the social reformers, to utilise that urge and lead the masses towards a socialist society which has been already accepted as our goal. So, it is no use blaming one another; we should try to improve matters as far as possible in this connection.

As far as I understand, these are the difficulties of this Ministry: it has to ride on two horses for the successful and proper implementation of the plans and programmes. This Ministry is bound to depend more on the States than on itself. Ultimately, the success of the programme depends on the sincerity and efficiency of the staff at the block level. Only, the part of co-ordination, suggestion and guidance is to be played by this Ministry. If this Ministry wants to do something more directly, I think it cannot do. I think everyone in this hon. House will agree with me that, before Independence, lakhs and lakhs of people were oppressed and depressed in many ways. They did not have even the elementary things like drinking water and village roads. Only a few primary schools were there in the rural areas. They were few and far between. That sorry picture is no more there and things have improved to a great extent. I should say that sorry picture should be changed further into a happy picture.

I am reminded here of the sloka in the Gita:

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि माशुचः ॥

In this sloka, Lord Krishna says to Arjun: "You forget everything and you rely on me. Surrender yourself to me and by that you will achieve salvation." Similarly, for the rural areas, I think community development is the only programme by which the rural areas can develop. This has become a national programme and this has been rightly accepted by us. Now it is the duty of the Government and everyone of us to see that this programme is correctly implemented and followed. Unless we provide the bare necessities and the minimum amenities of life in the rural areas, it would be very difficult to stop the rural population flowing into the towns for a good living and decent earning. The future will not excuse us for neglecting the rural areas, which have been neglected for long.

This community development programme has started all-round progress in the country, although the progress is slow and expensive. From the report supplied to us by this Ministry, we see that there is no uniformity observed by all the States with regard to the association of MLAs and MPs in these community development and panchayatiraj programmes. In some States, MLAs and MPs are regular members of zila parishads and panchayati samitis with voting rights. In some other States, the MLA or MP can also hold the office of chairmanship. In my own State of Orissa, MLAs and MPs are members of the zila parishads and panchayati samitis without voting rights. I do not object to any of the forms of association of MLAs and MPs, but I suggest there should be uniformity observed by all the States in this matter.

I am glad to say that the Orissa Government has introduced the secret ballot system in the election of panchayats. The Orissa Government is also thinking in terms of getting the surpanchas elected directly by the people instead of getting them elected by elected ward members. The

Orissa Government takes much interest in implementing the panchayati raj programme, because Orissa is a State of villages and the bulk of the population is constituted by Harijans and adivasis.

The Orissa Government has got a competition scheme for encouraging the Panchayats. This competition is held every year. The State Government awards 17 first prizes of Rs. 50,000 each and 17 second prizes of Rs. 25,000 each to the best two gram panchayats of every district or a unit of 200 gram panchayats, as the case may be. The prizes are given for starting panchayat industries. The marks for the competition are 100. Out of this, 40 marks are given for proper administration and proper maintenance of records of panchayat samitis. 60 marks are for proper implementation of the production programme, and the proper execution of development works, formation of mahila samitis, youth organisations and village volunteer force. The Chief Minister of Orissa is the Chairman of the State Evaluation Board for panchayati raj. I am glad to say that our Minister and Deputy Minister for Community Development have visited Orissa many a time and they have also appreciated our work. But the only thing is Orissa is a poor State and with its limited economy, it becomes difficult to make further progress in this panchayati raj system. So, I would request the Ministry to help the backward States like Orissa, so that they can implement the programme successfully.

I would request the Minister to see that our officers become rural-minded. They should make the people feel that they are for the masses and with the masses. Unless this feeling develops in the rural areas in the blocks, this programme will hardly succeed.

Lastly, I would request our officers and the educated people that we should feel that we have been educated at the cost of the masses. We should always try to help them whenever they come to us for anything and let them get a little benefit from our

education. With these words, I support the Demands of this Ministry.

Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar): Sir, the Community Development Ministry is an important Ministry for the rural areas. Community Development aims at reconstruction of rural life, in its economic and social aspect. The Minister in charge of the movement is a dynamic man full of enthusiasm. But we have to judge the performance of the Ministry in the achievement of this object.

The movement was launched in 1952 with the object of initiating the process of transformation of economic and social life of the villagers. The main function initiated in the plan programme is to encourage and concentrate on more agricultural production, rural industrialisation, development of cooperatives, fuller utilisation of man-power and resources in rural areas and to create a popular support and approach to the weaker sections of society. We have to judge the performance of this Ministry with these criteria.

From time to time, we have received reports of evaluation committees and we have seen the reports of the seminars held in different States. We have also seen the debates in different Legislative Assemblies; these show that the benefit of this movement does not reach the less privileged section of the village community. In the first two Plans, the total outlay was Rs. 240 crores and in the third Plan, provision has been made for Rs. 294 crores plus Rs. 28 crores for panchayats. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the development of the community movement in the last 12 years. As the Minister said, now the Ministry has entered the third phase, the phase of panchayati-raj. We have to see how this panchayati raj is working, what is the achievement, what is the real situation in rural areas, how the administration is functioning, how the movement is going ahead and how the real target has been achieved. Recently in Udaipur a seminar was held.

[Shri Jashvant Mehta]

In this seminar the President of the All-India Panchayat Parishad, Jaya Prakashji, rightly observed, "he did not think that the Panchayati Raj would succeed because there were disruptive factors in the villages. He said that these disruptive factors had to be reduced as far as possible. He also said that these disruptive factors were social, economic and political."

15.00 hrs.

What is happening in the Panchayati Raj? The President of the All-India Panchayat Parishad has rightly observed that there is no atmosphere in the villages. Casteism is there, vested interest is gaining ground and the total leadership has gone in the hands of those people who have been dominating the rural area up till now. The time has come when the Government should pause and study the situation again. They have to think over this serious problem that in the rural areas a new leadership of vested interests and feudal elements is coming up. What you call, the established interest of mahantas. A new Jagirdari system has come into force and that is dominating the village area. The real people, the genuine people, the weaker section of the society, are not getting any benefit or any new approach.

Shri D. S. Patil (Yeotmal): That is because there is no direct relationship.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: Casteism and village feuds in these villages have played a havoc. Unless we remove these factors, unless a new atmosphere is created there, the community development movement will not be successful.

The administration is stand-still. Village feuds and village politics have taken new turn. This is a very serious problem which the people in charge of community development movement will have to consider. The Government should make a new survey by a special sociologist who can give a clear picture as to how these village

forces, these right reactionaries, these vested interests are taking benefit of this new institution and utilising it for their personal ends.

What is the remedy? The Government should seriously consider for a way out. The remedy is there. I believe, we were championing up till now that there should be the widest decentralisation of powers. If we give the widest power there is no objection, but there should be a demarcating line between the powers of the institutions and those of the administrators. The administration, as I said, is stand-still. The services have no security. There is a lot of interference in the day-to-day administration by the elected representatives. I believe, as the Parliament is the supreme sovereign body and the same is the case with the legislatures in the States, we have got the widest powers and we can delegate powers to the widest possible extent to these bodies like the panchayats, zilla parishads, taluk parishads and so on.

But the office bearers of these institutions should not work as executive. They should not interfere in the day-to-day administration on the executive side. This is the only remedy which can improve the community development movement. It requires a new approach. The whole structure should be changed. For that purpose the Government should pay attention to the suggestions that I have made.

Then I come to the second important aspect on this subject. Just now my hon. friend over there was praising the Orissa Government's panchayat administration. The Orissa Chief Minister stated in the Assembly that out of 400 panchayats the working of 194 was unsatisfactory, 19 sarpanchas have been removed and more than Rs. 13 lakhs have been misappropriated. Protection was given to the sarpanchas belonging to a particular party. The same is the case everywhere. Corruption has gone deep down even in this community development administration.

15.05 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

Recently we have received the Santanam Committee's report. The committee has made far-reaching recommendations. It is for the first time that the political aspect of corruption has been brought forward by the committee. I, therefore, suggest that for the healthy development of democratic traditions in this country, the time has come when the Government should think seriously about this problem. Crores of rupees which have been given from the central exchequer to the community development panchayati raj administration and co-operative movement should not go unaccounted, unaudited. Under the present system there are auditors in the co-operative and community development administration who are servants of the same institution. There is no independent authority to audit these accounts. It is a central responsibility. The Minister is responsible to this sovereign House. But these accounts involving crores of rupees paid from the central exchequer are not audited by the Auditor-General. These accounts should be audited by the Auditor-General. My suggestion is that to remove corruption and create confidence in the minds of the people an independent authority like the Auditor-General should also audit the accounts of the district panchayats where money is given under the head "Community Development and Co-operation".

Dr. M. S. Aney: The staff there should be increased.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: If you look at the budget, for Community Development Block movement, you will find that the provision is Rs. 12 lakhs. In every block the budget provision is of the same pattern. Recently one hon. Deputy Minister issued a circular to all Members of Parliament requesting them to visit the different blocks. I visited seven blocks, and to my great surprise I found that the money provided for the main item, which is agricultural produc-

tion, remained un-utilised. There is no flexibility in these budget provisions. How can you expect the enthusiasm of the people to gain ground when the grants are not given in time, money provided for improvement of agricultural production is not utilised and so on? On that front also, therefore, the performance of the Ministry is very poor. The Ministry of Community Development and co-operation has not been able to deliver the goods on the agricultural front. This is one of the failures of this Ministry.

It has been announced that the Government is concentrating on and drawing up plans for the implementation of village production programmes. I would like to ask the hon. Minister in how many States these village production plans have been implemented. It will be very interesting for this House to know the figures.

The third and most important factor is rural industrialisation. What is the progress in this front of rural industrialisation? I think the achievement of the Ministry on this front is not creditable. It requires much more attention. I would urge that if you want to remove unemployment and underemployment, more funds should be diverted towards rural industrialisation programmes; otherwise, it will lag behind.

Another aspect is the village level worker, the new leadership. Now the village level worker continues to be an ordinary man. Of course, we are attaching much importance to the function of the village level worker and village leadership. But, unless we improve the service conditions and qualifications of the village level workers, it will not be impossible to improve their status.

Another important aspect is the co-operative movement, where there is great scope for development. We have accepted mixed economy and day in and day out we hear much about the role of the public sector and the private sector. If the Government is serious about the co-operative sector, it has not announced its policy regarding the cooperative

[Shri Jashvant Mehta]

sector and the role that it will have to play in our national economy.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: I would require another five minutes.

Mr. Chairman: I am sorry, he has to conclude soon.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: Then I will take only two minutes. In democratic decentralisation scheme, we have given representation to cooperative. If we consider village panchayat as local government then we should not integrate co-operative movement with democratic decentralisation; otherwise it will bring in politics and this socio-economic movement will become the playground for political parties. In Gujarat we integrated panchayati raj with co-operative movement and now we are having second thoughts on it. Co-operative movement should be allowed to develop on healthy democratic lines, then only we will be able to achieve the objects of co-operative movement. Otherwise, it will become a gamble for political parties.

Fourthly, coming to the Santhanam Committee Report, the hon. Minister has stated today that we are going to implement it. It is nearly 9 months since this report was submitted. Since ideas move very slowly, I feel that Government should move rapidly and accept that report immediately.

Coming to rural credit, although the Reserve Bank is advancing rural credit at 2 per cent, when it reaches the agriculturist the interest becomes 9 or 9½ per cent. I want to draw the attention of the Minister to this very important aspect of rural credit. Rural credit should be cheap and it should be made available easily.

Lastly, coming to the quota system..

Mr. Chairman: I am sorry, he should conclude just now. He has taken more than his allotted time.

Shri Jashvant Mehta: The co-operative movement should be above corruption. Since preference is given to co-operative societies in the matter of

controlled items, they should be above corruption. Recently, we have the example of the Delhi Central Co-operative Stores to which a quota of 500 tons of C.G. sheets was given for agricultural purposes and it was converted into non-agricultural purposes without the sanction of the Government. A check should be put on such malpractices so that the co-operative movement may develop on sound lines.

Mr. Chairman: Now the hon. Member should resume his seat. Shri D. S. Patil. I would like to remind hon. Members from the Congress Party that they should not take more than ten minutes so that the time allotted to that Party may be shared by a larger number of Members.

श्री वे० शि० पाटिल : सभापति महोदय, पंचायती राज की स्थापना हर एक राज्य में करने का भारत सरकार ने निर्णय किया है। इसके बारे में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं। कुछ राज्यों ने तो पंचायती राज की जो इस्टीमेशन हैं, इनको एडवाइजरी माना है और कुछ दूसरों राज्यों ने कहा है कि ये स्वायत्त शासन की संस्थाएँ बनें। पहला जो विचार है, उससे मैं सहमत नहीं हूँ। इसका कारण यह है कि खुद गांधी जी ने भी कहा था

"That Government is best which governs the least".

यह भी उन्होंने कहा था :

"There are seven hundred thousand villages in India and the villages should evolve the district administration".

और भी उन्होंने कहा था :

"The greater the power of the panchayats, the better for the people."

प्राखिर में उन्होंने कहा था :

"We thought that the villagers should evolve the district administration and the district administration would be the basis of the State."

हमारे पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने भी एक समीप का उद्घाटन करते हुए इस स्टेप को एक रेवाल्पूशनरी स्टेप कहा था। प्लानज ने भी कहा है कि जो प्लानिंग हो वह नीचे से हो। र.मान में एक समीपार हुआ था, उसने भी यह सिफारिश की है कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल पर एक अच्छी शासन की इकाई हो।

सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने स्टेट गवर्नमेंटस को जो हिदायतें दी हैं, उनके मुताबिक जिस तरह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स उन्हें काम कर सकती हैं, यह चीज बिल्कुल उनकी मर्जी पर छोड़ दी गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि चूक यह चीज उनकी मर्जी पर छोड़ दी गई है, इस वास्ते वे सब शिकायतें जो ग्राज मुन्दने को मिलती हैं, हमें डेमोक्रेटिक डिसेंट्रलाइजेशन करना है, ऐसी इंस्टीट्यूशंस की स्थापना करनी है जो उन काम को सुचारू रूप से चला सकें। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी कांस्टीट्यूशन में भी कोई कमी है। आर्टिकल ४० जो डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल के बारे में है, वह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को यह अधिकार देता है कि वे ग्राम पंचायतें स्थापित करें, यह उनकी ही जिम्मेदारी है। यह काम उनकी मर्जी पर निर्भर करता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ग्राम सभा और लोक सभा दो ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं जिन का महत्व बहुत अधिक है और जिस तरह से लोक सभा और विधान सभा काम करती है, उसी तरह से ग्राम सभा और जिला परिषद भी काम करे। जिस तरह से अधिकार लोक सभा और विधान सभा को है, उसी तरह से अधिकार ग्राम सभा और जिला परिषद् को भी अपने क्षेत्र में प्राप्त होने चाहिये। इसके लिये ग्राम आपकी कांस्टीट्यूशन को भी एमेंड करना पड़े तो वैसा करने से आपको बचराना नहीं चाहिये।

ग्राज सभी प्रांतों में कांग्रेस की सरकारें हैं। इसलिये सभी प्रांतों में पंचायती राज का यूनिफार्म पैटर्न होना चाहिये। डिस्ट्रिक्ट में थोड़ी बहुत भिन्नता हो सकती है लेकिन जो बेसिक पालिसी है वह एक रहनी चाहिये,

उस में कोई भिन्नता नहीं होनी चाहिये।

अभी एक माननीय सदस्य श्री मेहता जी ने कहा वह ठीक है मैं चाहता हूँ कि पंचायती राज की जो संस्था है उसका बाइरेट चुनाव हो और चुनाव कराने के लिये इंडी-पेंडेंट इलेक्शन कमिशन होना चाहिये। पंचायती राज की इंस्टीट्यूशंस के लिये एक फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन होना चाहिये। इसके अलावा जो पालिसी का निर्धारण है और इम्प्लेमेंटेशन है उसका सपेरेशन होना चाहिये। जो लोग चुन कर जायें वे पालिसी का निर्धारण करें और उसके इम्प्लेमेंटेशन का जो काम है, वह जो अधिकारी वर्ग है, उसके जिम्मे हो। जो लोग चुन कर जायें, वे रोज-ब-रोज के काम में, दिन-प्रतिदिन के काम में हस्तक्षेप न करें।

एक सुझाव मैं यह भी देना चाहता हूँ कि इंडीपेंडेंट ग्राडिट इसका होना चाहिये। ग्राजकल जो ग्राडिट होता है वह इन्हीं के लोगों के हाथ में रहता है और यही कारण है कि दिक्कत पैदा होती है। कोई इंडीपेंडेंट ग्रगर मशीनरी ग्राडिट की हो तो बहुत अच्छा होगा।

जो खास बातें मैं कहना चाहता हूँ उनकी धोर अब मैं आता हूँ। यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण मिनिस्ट्री है और जो काम यह कर रही है वह भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम है। देहातों की समस्याओं को हल करने वाला ग्रगर कोई डिपार्टमेंट हो सकता है तो यही एक डिपार्टमेंट हो सकता है। इस डिपार्टमेंट का उद्देश्य देहातों में इमारत या सड़क बना देना ही नहीं है। विकास का जो मूलभूत उद्देश्य है वह यह है कि भारतीय जनता को सुचारू जीवन व्यतीत करने का अवसर मिले। ग्राज आप देखें कि देहातों की स्थिति चिन्तनीय है। कृषि उत्पादन घट गया है और कृषक की हालत चिन्ता जनक बन गई है, बहुत कठिन बन गई है। खेतीहर मजदूरों की हालत और भी चिन्ताजनक है। आप इस बात को मानें और आपने इसको माना भी है कि सब से ज्यादा गरीबी देहातों में ही व्याप्त

[श्री दे० शि० पाटिल]

है, वहीं पर इसको अनुभव किया जाता है।

इस समय सर्व प्रथम ध्यान जो देना है वह गरीबी और उससे पैदा होने वाली बुराइयों को दूर करने का है। और मैं कहता हूँ कि यह केवल सामाजिक और आर्थिक प्रगति से ही हो सकता है। भारत की आर्थिक प्रगति के लिये, ग्रामीण व्यवस्था के पुनर्निर्माण के लिये, इस विभाग का बहुत महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है और इस काम में कृषि उद्योग का बड़ा महत्व है। तीसरी योजना में कृषि को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान दिया गया था, लेकिन यह मानी हुई बात है कि कृषि उत्पादन घट गया है और इस कारण पर एकड़ जो इनकम थी वह भी घट गयी है। उसके कारण दिये गये हैं। उसका एक कारण यह भी है कि इस मंत्रालय का जो काम होता था वह सरकारी अधिकारियों के द्वारा होना था, उसमें चुने हुए लोग नहीं थे और इस लिये यह तै किया गया कि चुने हुए लोगों का इंस्टीट्यूशन बने और वे इस काम को देखें।

पंचायती राज की सफलता का यही टेस्ट हो सकता है कि कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़े। किसान को उसके खेत से कितना अधिक मिलता है, यही हम विभाग की सफलता का टेस्ट है। इमान्नी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है कि किसान को जो मिलता है वह कम है।

जो आप योजना बनाने हैं उनके बारे में देहात के लोगों को कई तकवार नहीं है, लेकिन उनका शिकायत यह है कि वे स्कीमों देहात तक नहीं पहुँचती।

क्रेडिट का जो सवाल है वह बुनियादी सवाल है। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि Money is the mother of all the industries. हमारी नेशनल इन्कम बढ़ी लेकिन वह जिन लोगों के पास जारी चाहिये थी उनके पास नहीं गयी। आज देहात में क्रेडिट का मामला इस तरह से चल रहा है कि क्रेडिट उन्हीं लोगों को मिलता है जिनके पास क्रेडिट पहले

से है और क्रेडिट उनके ही पास है जिन के पास सम्पत्ति है और अपनी जमीन है। देहात में दो तिहाई पापुलेशन ऐसी है जिसके पास दस एकड़ से कम जमीन है या जो टिनेंट है। इन लोगों के पास ५० पर सेंट जमीन है। लेकिन इनका क्रेडिट न होने से इनको क्रेडिट नहीं मिलता। आज कल कर्ज देने का तरीका यह है कि उसी को कर्ज दिया जाता है जिसमें उसको पाने की योग्यता या सामर्थ्य है, और यह सम्पत्ति पर आधारित है। टिनेंट के पास क्रेडिट नहीं होता और जो पांच एकड़ वाला है, उसके पास मोनरशिप न होने से उसको कर्ज नहीं मिलता। इन लोगों को क्रेडिट मिलना चाहिये। भुवनेश्वर में हम ने जो रिजोल्यूशन पास किया है उसके अनुसार कृषि के बाँचे में महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन करना है उसमें कहा गया है :

"Creditworthiness should depend on the capacity of production and not necessary on the ownership of the assets."

यह जब तक नहीं हो जाता तब तक कृषि उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। ५० पर सेंट कृषकों को क्रेडिट नहीं मिल रहा है। सरकार विभाग की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है कि काफी पैसा दिया गया है। श्री कृष्णमाचारी ने भी बताया था कि कृषि के लिये बहुत सा पैसा दिया गया है। क्रेडिट को आर्गेटिव सोसाइटीज जो देहात में हैं अगर उनका परसेंटेज देखा जाय तो पता चलेगा कि जिन के पास जमीनें हैं वही उन के सभासद हैं। क्रोप लोन सोसाइटीज में भी वही बात थी। मल्टी परपज सोसाइटी का यह उद्देश्य है कि जो लोग देहात में रहते हैं उन सब को मेम्बरशिप होनी चाहिये। हालांकि मेम्बरशिप बढ़ी है लेकिन नव लोग अभी तक मेम्बर नहीं हुए हैं। जो गरीब लोग हैं जैसे मुंथार हैं, लोहार हैं, मजदूर हैं उनको लोन नहीं मिल सकता क्योंकि उनके पास क्रेडिट नहीं है। जब तक इन लोगों को क्रेडिट नहीं दिया जायगा तब तक इस काम में अधिक सफलता

नहीं मिल सकेगी। मैं कहता हूँ कि आज तक मेम्बरशिप बढ़ी है लेकिन लाल पापुलेशज का २६ पर सेंट ही अभी कवर हुआ है। एग्री-कल्चरल पापुलेशन का ३४ पर सेंट कवर हुआ है। जो लोन एडवांस दिया गया है वह २५६ करोड़ है लेकिन जैसा कि मैं ने बताया, जिन लोगों को मिलना चाहिये था उनको नहीं मिला है।

भारत की नेशनल इनकम ३५४ रुपया है लेकिन खेतिहर मजदूरों की इनकम इससे बहुत कम है। ऐसे अधिक लोग देहात में रहते हैं। सरकारी कर्मचारियों को, औद्योगिक मजदूरों को मंहगाई भत्ता मिलता है, उनको स्कूल, अस्पताल प्रावीडेंट फंड ग्रेच्युइटी आदि की सुविधा है, उनको आवास की भी सुविधा है, लेकिन कृषि मजदूरों को यह सुविधायें नहीं मिलती।

वाटर सप्लाई के लिये कहा गया कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में देहात में वाटर सप्लाई करने का इतिजाम हो जायगा। लेकिन जैसा कि मैंने कल बताया उसके बारे में कोई भी खास प्रगति नहीं हुई है। खाली महाराष्ट्र में १७,७२२ गांव ऐसे हैं जहाँ पीने के पानी की सुविधा नहीं है।

ग्रामीण आवास के बारे में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे मालूम नहीं कि कितने भ्रूलमंद लोगों ने पंचवर्षीय योजना तैयार की थी। उसमें कर्मचारियों के त्रिय, औद्योगिक मजदूरों के लिये और हर एक के लिये आवास की योजना है, लेकिन ग्रामीण आवास के लिये कोई भी व्यवस्था नहीं है। कृषि के मजदूर कर्मचारी नहीं माने जाते और कृषि को इंडस्ट्री नहीं माना जाता और इसी लिये इन लोगों को आवास की कोई सुविधा नहीं मिलती।

रूल इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के बारे में कहा जाता है, लेकिन यह कहीं भी नहीं हुआ है। मेरा सुझाव है कि हर ब्लाक में एक इंडस्ट्री होनी चाहिये, जिसके लिये वहाँ सुविधा

हो और हर एक ब्लाक में एक फैक्टरी होनी चाहिये। इससे बहुत सुभीता हो सकता है।

जहाँ तक रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन की बात है, प्लानिंग कमीशन ने कहा था कि जो दो हजार से पांच हजार आबादी के गांव हैं उनमें कुछ इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन करने की योजना है, लेकिन पांच हजार के देहात तो बहुत कम हैं।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि प्लानिंग में रूरल वाइस नहीं है और जो योजना चल रही है उसमें भी रूरल वाइस नहीं है। देहात में बहुत गरीबी है। खेतिहर मजदूरों को काम नहीं मिलता। देहात में जाते हैं वो उनकी हालत देख कर हम को बहुत दुःख होता है। मेरा आपसे कहना है कि जब तक आप के काम में रूरल वाइस नहीं आयेगा तब तक देहात की प्रगति करने के काम में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती।

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah (Adoni): I have listened to some of the speeches of the Members belonging to the Swatantra Party and the Communist Party, and I had expected in their speeches many things regarding their faith in the panchayati raj and co-operative institutions. My hon. friend Shri Kapur Singh when he was speaking reiterated his faith in these institutions but only suggested that certain drastic changes should be made. So, my faith has been reinforced that those institutions are really doing a good service to the country.

This Ministry as it is more sinned against than sinning. As has been stated here, this Ministry is answerable for all the omissions and commissions and all the acts of the Ministries the Centre and in the States. Whenever I hear the speeches of Shri S. K. Dey and his colleagues, I am very much surprised to see that the entire show is being run by the Ministry here. In this connection, I would like to point out to the Ministry that better co-ordination and better administration of these institutions could be achieved if there could be better co-ordination

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

between the various Ministries here and in the States.

As has been pointed out already by several hon. Members. panchayati raj is basically an institution which is in our civilisation and in our culture. We have been hearing since a long time, even from past history that the spirit of the Indian culture and Indian thinking was based on the working of the village republics. Whichever dynasty may have ruled in this country, the basic structure of the village republic has been going on intact. In fact, even many of our customs and dealings in the village society have been uninterruptedly going on in spite of many a change of dynasty in this country. So, in this modern age, when we are attempting to improve this institution, to the extent that we shall be able to bring back the old spirit of cordiality in the working of the village republic we shall be able to succeed in our endeavour.

Coming to the working of the panchayats, I would like to point out that unfortunately in this country these institutions have become the sources of nepotism and favouritism. I would like to submit that in this country politics centres round three types of institutions, more particularly so in my State. One is the panchayati raj institution the second is co-operative societies, and the third is the institution of temple trustees. Most of our politics revolves round these three institutions. In spite of this, and in spite also of the fact that there are certain defects in the working of these institutions, basically, the working is sound, and we must try to help the Ministry here and the Departments elsewhere to improve the working of the panchayati raj institutions.

In order to make these institutions more democratic, and in order to make democratic socialism and the democratic functioning of the people more effective, we have to make certain reforms to see that the panchayati raj system is placed on a sound level.

The first reform that we shall have to do is regarding the system of elections. If the Ministry here could evolve a uniform pattern by giving wider franchise to the people and also making even the weaker sections of the people have their due share in the running of the village panchayats, they would have achieved a great deal.

I would also like to mention that the Panchayat Act that has been formulated should be so amended that the electoral college is widened as much as possible. Not only the sarpanches but all the members of the panchayats should be made the members of the electoral college for election of the panchayat samiti president. By making that amendment, we would be preventing the evil influences corrupting the electorate in the area. I can quote instances where the panchayat samiti presidential elections have gone on very bad lines, where thousands of rupees have been spent in order to get a person elected as the samiti president or as the sarpanch of the village. When the electorate is widened, there will be little scope for corrupting the sarpanches or the voters in the particular area.

Regarding the financial aspect, the Santhanam Committee on panchayati raj finances has submitted a report on this matter. Even though there is nothing new in that report. I would request the Ministry to take a quicker decision on their findings. The first recommendation is regarding the creation of a panchayati raj finance corporation. I would like to submit that that institution should be independent of the State Government. Unless the panchayati raj finance corporation has an autonomous status, it will not be possible to augment the resources of the panchayats properly and there will be every possibility of favouritism creeping in.

As regards audit and accounting, many hon. Members have emphasised

the desirability of having an independent audit and accounts system.

As regards the various functions of the panchayats, I would like to point out that these panchayats must be made the vehicles for all improvement both social and economic, in the country at large. In that respect, we should see that every care is taken to ensure that the democratic structure is not disturbed, and they are allowed to have their independent say without politics entering the arena. We in the party in power and the other parties must come to a gentleman's agreement under which we shall not run candidates either for the panchayats or for the panchayat samiti on party level. I would appeal to all the parties here that the panchayat elections or the panchayat samiti elections should not be fought on party levels, but we must see that good people, people of integrity, and people of character and of honesty are elected to run these panchayati raj institutions.

Regarding cooperatives, although there has been a phenomenal increase in the rural credit supply and other aspects of co-operatives in this country, there are certain other things which are to be looked into, so that we could have an uninterrupted flow of the cooperative movement in our country.

The co-operative movement has had a lop-sided development in our country. There are certain States where they have made rapid strides in the cooperative movement, while certain other States are lagging behind. We should see that there is an all-round development, so far as the co-operative movement is concerned.

Another factor that we should bear in mind when we introduce cooperative institutions in every State or in every walk of life, is that we must see that they are representatively constructed. There should not be any confusion in our thinking in the

matter of introduction of co-operatives. But, unfortunately, confused thinking has been there. First, we had started with multipurpose co-operatives; then we thought of large-sized cooperatives as compared to rural banks and so on. So, there has been a confusion in the thinking of the Ministry itself. They must come to a clear decision so that as far as practicable there will be a viable unit of co-operatives, and they must be fully integrated regarding rural credit, marketing, processing and so on.

I would go further and say that we should encourage the people to develop a co-operative complex in the country, independent of the Ministry. There should be a non-official effort in this direction and they should go ahead with the development of the co-operative complex, independent of the officers and independent of the Ministry. Then alone, we shall be able to inculcate confidence in the minds of the people and public workers and others interested in the co-operative movement, and they will come forward and will be able to play a vital role in developing the co-operative structure in the country. This Ministry should help such institutions. It must divest itself of the powers at the Centre, and entrust them fully to non-official organisations, and play the role of adviser so far as the co-operative movement is concerned.

Another most disturbing factor is the system of nominating to the several cooperative institutions that are there in the country. My hon. friend, for instance, was mentioning about the co-operative sugar factories. Some men organise the co-operative sugar factory, they mobilise public opinion, collect the share capital and form the cooperative sugar factory, but suddenly politics creeps in, favouritism comes in, and you find a different set of directors nominated on the board of the sugar factory. I am surprised and very sorry to know that

[Shri P. Venkatasubbalah]

the Ministry thought it fit to increase the term of nomination from one year to three years. If that is a fact, I would earnestly appeal against it to the Minister. If you want to kill the co-operative movement in this country, you can increase it from one to three years.

I am of opinion that even in the first instance, we should see that elections take place on a democratic basis. Since you are giving financial assistance to the co-operative institutions, you can send one or two directors to supervise and see that no malpractices creep in.

About the cooperative farming societies, they must come to a decision. In all these matters whether it is a cooperative institution or a panchayati raj institution, basically these things are good, but much depends upon the people, the leaders who run them. So, in this country we must strive hard to build up a strong leadership even at the village level in the co-operative movement so that these men may run these institutions properly and effectively. The defect lies in weak leadership. So, we should evolve a method whereby we can try to bring about good leadership under people of integrity and honesty. Only when we are free of favouritism, we can develop strong leadership. I suggest vigorous steps must be taken, we must make up our mind and see that co-operative farming is encouraged in this country for greater production and serving the agriculturists of this country better.

Shri Gauri Shanker Kakkor (Fatehpur): There is, of course, no denying the fact that the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation has to play a very important part in establishing a socialistic democracy in the country. If the pattern of socialism can ever be thought of or achieved, it is only through the channel of the co-operative movement, but I am very sorry

to say that after a lapse of ten years or more, the Ministry's mind is not clear about the actual pattern of co-operative societies that we should have in the country.

In the last ten years there have been changes with regard to the actual formation of co-operatives societies their constitution and running. On account of the Rural Credit Survey Report, there was a thought that the co-operative unit should be viable, and in accordance with instructions issued, large-scale co-operative societies which formed in the country. There are largescale co-operative societies which consist of 25 to 30 villages, and sometimes an area of ten or 15 square miles, which is quite unwieldy.

After that there was another stage when it was decided that every village with a population of 3,000 should have a unit of a co-operative society, but I am very sorry to say that those large co-operative societies with an unwieldy area are still existing, and the work is suffering. People are not able to contact each other, and the real spirit of co-operation is lacking. In spite of instructions, they are not being bifurcated. In U.P. there are hundreds of such co-operative societies which are being allowed to exist still.

In spite of repeated warnings and deliberations, the burden of interest payable by the member of the credit co-operative society has not yet been lightened. I fail to understand why the co-operative movement of this country has allowed the middleman to come in. Accommodation is given by the Reserve Bank to the apex banks at the rate of only two per cent interest. These apex banks lend the money to the central banks or district co-operative Reserve Bank to the apex banks at rate of 4½ per cent from them. These district or central co-operative banks lend the money to the service co-operatives or the large-sized societies adding two per cent more to the in-

terest rate. Ultimately when the loan is made to the member, he gets it at a rate ranging from 7 to 9½ per cent in the different States. This is a very high rate of interest. There is no reason why the Ministry of Co-operation should not give serious thought to this matter. I fail to understand why all these intermediaries should be allowed. The actual tiller or cultivator deserves to be relieved of all this burden. When there is their participation at the level of the district co-operative bank or the central co-operative bank, what is the necessity of the apex banks coming in? And there is absolutely no risk because there is regular inspection by the Reserve Bank of India and thorough audit of the Bank.

The co-operative movement of the country is not taking the turn of a national movement on account of one basic reason, and that is this, that the co-operative movement of our country has not been allowed to grow from beneath, from the masses, but it is actually enforced from above. There are certain targets fixed at the State level, at the Government of India level, that so many members ought to be enrolled, so much of share capital has to be raised etc. On the basis of those targets, instructions are issued to the district level, and there the Assistant Registrar or the District Co-operative Officer and the supervisor and the circle officer only think of implementing those targets, as their service depends on it, with the result that on paper the resolutions are passed, on paper so many service co-operative societies have been formed, on paper the share money is raised, and that share money is adjusted actually when the loan is made to the member. Such is the condition. I can say that in U.P. at least overnight so many service co-operative societies were born and actually brought into being and so many primary co-operative societies which were actually working on their own working capital, which were in a solvent condition, were all disorganised. In the same area ser-

vice co-operatives and large-size co-operatives were formed. If you actually want to make co-operative movement a national movement, you have to see that the national movement is in favour of the masses, tillers and peasants. It is not my version. It is the version of hon. Minister Mr. Dey and of the Prime Minister. In spite of so many years of effort, we have not progressed in community development and in cooperation. Our Members who feel satisfied are not able to contact the poor tiller or cultivator. Actually in the rural areas, they are contacting those middlemen, the few persons who are themselves lending money and conduct other business with the result that the poor cultivator is still neglected. I am sorry that the report does not mention of any earnest effort on the part of this Ministry to see that the cultivator is allowed to pay less interest that the weaker sections in the rural areas are also given accommodation and they are the majority. that is to say, those who have not got any holding or uneconomic holdings or those who are agricultural labourers without any holding. They constitute the bulk of our rural population and there is no provision to give them any facility or loan. Government have taken no concrete steps towards that. Unless the weaker sections are actually provided with such facility, loan, etc., the problem can never be solved; it can never be a national movement.

The pattern of community development has been done on the basis of decentralisation of power at the village level; every village has got to be established according to the constitution, as a self-governing unit. I will point out one or two undemocratic features. There are villages with 200—400 population; there are villages with 3000—4000 population. There is a pradhan for each village, whether its population is 300 or 3000. Each pradhan has an equal vote in the taluk development committee, irrespective of whether he represents 300 or 3000. There are certain districts in the State where

[Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar]

minorities representatives are actually in the majority at the BDC level and they are able to form their cabinet, pramukh, upa pramukh, etc. There should be proportional representation on the basis of population and they should not be allowed to carry on like this.

In most States there are indirect elections in the formation of the BDC and zila parishads. The evil effects of indirect elections and the corruption that is prevailing are known. In many cases the members are transported in trucks at the time of the zila parishads elections, two or three days prior to actual voting. Actually there is some sort of a confinement and then their votes are secured in this manner and then zila parishads and block committees are formed in this manner. When provincial assemblies and Parliaments are elected on the basis of adult franchise, why should elections to zila parishads and to the block committee be indirect? It will not be possible for any candidate to resort to corruption if elections to these bodies were also on adult franchise. This system is undemocratic; it also entails corruption.

The block development officers and ADOs and the other officers are actually ruling over those elected persons; it is a mockery in the shape of decentralisation of democratic set-up where elected members have actually no voice. The movement was started in 1952; after so many years of this movement we have not been able to imbibe the social outlook or any sort of political awakening in the rural areas. The rural people have not been allowed to bring any sort of revolution on their own accord. So many schemes are being enforced at the block level and there is no co-ordination at the district level, block level or even at the State level between the various Ministries such as co-operation and community development, agriculture, animal hus-

bandry, etc. These are all Ministries which ought to be co-ordinated; the co-ordinated effort should be made at the village level. It so happens that a poor, illiterate villager actually gets bewildered when a VLW or a co-operative supervisor or an agricultural inspector approaches him and floods him with departmental instructions.

16 hrs.

In the end, I would submit that, judging the importance of the portfolio of Community Development and Co-operation, it should be channelised and mobilised in such a manner that it actually takes the real form of national movement in its working. One should not simply say that it is a national movement, but we have to bring it into practice and show that it is a mass movement. It should become a national movement of the masses, and then only we can succeed in having a pattern of socialist democracy for which we have pledged.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I listened with great interest to the very amusing speech given by the spokesman of the Swatantra Party followed by the spokesman of the Communist party. They both agree that this institution of panchayat raj is essentially good, and they both agree that this programme of community development is essentially good. Of course, they have divergent views, as could be expected, but the main complaint of the Swatantra Member was that this nice institution and the excellent programme have gone the wrong way. One of their complaints was that these institutions have been utilised to augment the Congress programme of socialist democracy. I think if this is the main complaint, then it arises only out of frustration which the Swatantra party has to face for a long time. I thought they will seek some comfort in the fact that they have no future in this country, no future so far as the Central and the State

legislatures are concerned; they may have some future in the panchayat raj institutions at the district and the block levels. I hope they should take comfort in that.

It is not my intention to speak elaborately on this subject. I want to touch on two points and I will do so in a few minutes. We have the panchayat raj now for quite a long time, and I think it is time that we took a realistic stock of the entire situation. We have a panchayat raj which, to my mind, is almost a hotchpotch, which has grown in different hues and different colours. An hon. Member coming from one State has entirely a different concept of the panchayat raj. Even Members sitting here, on this side of the House, have not got the same concept. There is no clarity about the concept and the content of panchayat raj. I think there is a conflict even between the Ministry and the Planning Commission. So, I think the first question which seeks a solution at the present moment is, what is our concept of panchayat raj. In the name of panchayat raj, and in the name of community development, we have created various conflicts and confusions between the different levels of administration, from the State to the district, from the district to the block and from the block to the panchayat. We have also created a sort of dichotomy and diarchy. We have created a conflict between the officials and the non-officials.

All this arises simply because we have not got in our mind a clear impression or a clear idea of the character and content of the panchayat raj institutions. This is simply due to the fact that we have not given thought to it at the all-India level. Different States have gone in their own manner. In spite of this, if I congratulate the hon. Minister, I congratulate him only for this reason, namely, that he has set the process in motion and it is because of this that in various States panchayat raj has come into existence. But what

is that panchayat raj? If you will remember, the Prime Minister, when he was inaugurating it in Rajasthan, the first State which took a pioneering step in this matter, stated that he was going to inaugurate something which was absolutely revolutionary. Let me ask, what is revolutionary about these panchayats? They are not even local bodies with the same content as we have all over the world. Everywhere we have got local bodies; we have got the county councils. Are our panchayat institutions having those resources? Have they got all those powers which the county councils enjoy? We have just a semblance, a shadow of those local bodies, and we call them a revolutionary step in the bid for giving grass-roots to our democracy and giving a socialistic content to all of them. Where is the revolutionary step? I do not see it anywhere.

In Rajasthan, which is one of the pioneer States in this field, particularly, I had the occasion to have a talk with the MPs, the MLAs, the pramukhs of the Zila Parishads and the panchayat samitis, and all of them are absolutely clear—I had a talk with the Collector and the officials also—in their mind that the Zila Parishads, as they exist in Rajasthan, are worse than useless. They have created, as a matter of fact, more confusion and more conflict, and the entire programme of development is bogged at that level. We are setting up certain all-India services also in agriculture and engineering. I do not know how these all-India services at the district level will square up with the Zila Parishads and square up with the panchayat samitis. Therefore, the fundamental thing is that we must give a proper place to panchayat raj institutions in our Constitution.

We are having a two-tier system now, one at the Central level and the other at the State level. You are going to have a five-tier system: the Centre, the States, the districts, the block samitis and the pan-

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

chayats. If we are going to have five tiers, what is the place which each panchayat institution has got in the Constitution? It must be clearly defined; and unless and until we do that, we will have nothing but confusion. To my mind, it is absolutely necessary that at the all-India level, the Central Government should give it a thinking. It is only when we give it a thinking at the Central level that there would be at least a modicum of uniformity and there would be a minimum programme for the panchayat raj institutions.

Another point which I would like to make is that those friends who talk against panchayat raj and the community development do not realise that they are talking against democracy itself. We cannot have democracy in the thin air. Democracy must be at the grass-roots and must have a base. This Parliament is only a super-structure. It must have a base and the base can only be provided by the panchayat raj institutions. This must be understood; let us be clear about the Constitutional position of the panchayat raj institutions; that they are a necessity; that they are a must and they must provide the base.

Only one point more, and that is, how to import some health to the panchayat raj institutions. There are four suggestions which I would like to make in less than two minutes. The first thing is that we will have to give an absolutely revised thought to most of our rules and regulations about the elections and their pattern. In this condition, we must have an independent election machinery, as we have for the general elections. We must have an absolutely independent election machinery for the election of panchayat raj institutions. Secondly, we must be clear in our minds that we must part with the necessary powers and the resources for the panchayat raj institutions. Otherwise, what happens is that we have used the panchayat raj institutions not only as

just political instruments for wielding political power at the district and at lower levels, but we have curbed these institutions because of our political abuse of these institutions. If these institutions have an independent election, and have independent resources and if they are elected in the proper manner, and taking into account all these factors, if we have a separate corporation which will provide funds to these institutions, I think matters will considerably improve.

16.10 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

There is another factor which has a great impact on these political institutions at the lowest level. These are the conditions obtaining at present in the rural areas on the political front as well as on the economic and social side. We have the old heritage of vested interests. We have not been able to carry the land reforms to their logical end. If we can carry out all these reforms socially and politically and liquidate these vested interests and forces, then and then alone we can have healthy institutions of panchayati raj. Otherwise, we shall be doing a great disservice and they will do more harm than good.

I think in our sincerity to the rural India, we owe an obligation to rural India and that is only to be fulfilled if we can have a real sense of democracy, with real resources and real power. That can be done only through panchayati raj institutions. This will be possible only when the panchayati raj institutions have a clear place in our Constitution.

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How much time does the Minister require?

The Minister of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri S. K. Dey): About 1½ hours.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then he will have to begin immediately.

Some hon. Members: He can reply tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the reaction of the Government spokesman?

Shri Rane (Buldana): When there is so much of demand, we have to agree.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right; I will call the Minister at 5.25. He may just start today and conclude tomorrow.

Shri D. J. Naik (Panchmahals): Sir, I rise to congratulate the Ministry of Cooperation and Community Development for the achievements it has made during 1963-64. We have all read the two reports submitted to the House and I need not dwell on those achievements. An hon. Member, Mr. Kapur Singh, told that there is regimentation in cooperation. It is really a very strange thing he has said. Cooperation is a way of life. It is a matter of faith and it is the most democratic way of life. It is rather a peaceful and non-violent way of achieving a socialist pattern of society.

The movement of cooperation will lead the country to the goal which the Parliament has shown. It is a peaceful method of achieving the goal of democratic socialism. The aims of community development and cooperation are the same. They are interlinked with each other, one supplementing the other. The cooperative movement is the soul of community development. So, this is the only way by which we can reach the goal of democratic socialism.

The progress in some of the States is very, very meagre in the coopera-

tive field. Particularly in the eastern States, the cooperative movement has not made any tangible progress. The reasons for this must be found. I would urge on the Ministry to see that the movement in the eastern States of Assam, Orissa, Bihar and Bengal should be given a fillip both by the Government of India and also by the State Ministries. I suggest that a study team should be set up by this Ministry to go into the details and suggest ways and means to develop the movement in those States. I had been to some of the areas in these States and I found that the private money-lending system is very powerful there. There are some banks called *kangal* banks. Particularly in Orissa and some parts of Madhya Pradesh, these *kangal* banks are functioning. This indigenous money-lending system should be checked by enacting a stricter money-lending Act.

The target fixed in the third Plan is Rs. 51 crores for medium and short-term loans. But this has been lowered to Rs. 400 crores. There should be some reasons for lowering the target. When the target has been fixed at Rs. 512 crores, it should not be lowered. Rather the Ministry should strive to reach the target.

Now I come to the weaker sections of the society. They are not being fully attended to by this Ministry or by the State Ministries. The weaker sections constitute the agricultural landlords who have less than 5 acres of land. There are scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also. These form the weaker sections and they are left to themselves. The cooperative movement or the community development movement have not benefited these people. So, more attention should be paid to them. We are wedded to a socialist pattern of society. When these 60 per cent of our population are left out, the dream of a socialist pattern of society will not be fulfilled. So, I would urge on the Minister to pay more attention to the weaker

[Shri D. J. Naik]

sections of the society. In his last budget speech, Mr. Dey said:

"Similarly about the weaker sections. As you know, we have been doing a tremendous lot so far as financial assistance is concerned from the Centre on different schemes but at ground work, because the weaker sections are weak, they cannot take advantage of the assistance to the same degree. Two plants planted at the same time, receiving the same manure, do not necessarily grow at the same rate. That is exactly what is happening in the rural section. Despite all the efforts of the Government, we do not seem to be making a very significant headway with the weaker sections of the community."

Does this mean that the weaker section should remain weaker for all the time to come? Article 46 of the Constitution enjoins on the State to promote the welfare—educational as well as economic—of the weaker sections of the society. So, I do not understand why this type of reply was given by the hon. Minister.

Unless and until the weaker sections are brought to the level of other advanced sections, our aim of socialist pattern of society or democratic socialism will be a mere slogan. So, I would urge again on the Minister, who is a very dynamic personality to see that the weaker sections are lifted. In the report, it has been mentioned:

"A scheme of providing outright grants towards a special bad debt reserve of cooperative societies was introduced from the year 1962-63 in order to encourage co-operatives to admit more members from the weaker sections of the community and to provide them adequate credit."

I doubt whether it has reached the weaker sections of the society. Now 1 per cent grant is given to the central financing agencies and 2 or 3 per cent to the primary societies.

But that has not reached the weaker sections of the society. Credit is not given to the weaker sections of the society. I would say that this grant should be properly utilised for the benefit of the weaker sections of the society. I would also suggest that this outright grant should be increased to 2 per cent in the case of central financial agencies and from 2 to 3 per cent to 5 per cent in the case of primary societies.

One suggestion I have to make for the weaker sections of the society. In the erstwhile Bombay State, for industrial co-operatives the Government of Bombay gave an overall guarantee of 15 per cent to 20 per cent to the Central Financial Agencies for financing those industrial societies. I would suggest that such a type of overall guarantee should be given by the Central Government to the State Governments and by the State Governments to the central financial agencies for advancing money to the weaker sections of the society. That is the only salvation for the weaker sections of the society; otherwise, Sir, they would not be benefited by either the community development or by the co-operative movement. 60 per cent of the people belong to the weaker sections of the society.

I would also suggest that the recommendations of the Bhargava Study Group should be fully implemented. They have been accepted by the Government. I do not know how far implementation is being done by them. Shri Bhargava is a very good officer. I am not in the habit of appreciating an officer, but he has real love for the tribal people, for the Scheduled Castes and for the weaker sections of the society. He has suggested so many remedies. Those recommendations should not only be accepted but implemented by the Government.

Again, the Dhebar Commission has made various recommendations so far as the various co-operatives are concerned, so far as the processing and marketing of the forest materials are concerned. Those recommendations have been accepted by the Government. But no State has so far implemented those recommendations. I would request the hon. Minister to see that those recommendations are implemented by all the States. He should see that the recommendations of the Bhargava Study Group and the Dhebar Commission are implemented.

One word about community development and I have done. I am associated with that work also. In community development the focus is on agricultural production. That is what is said in the Mid-term Appraisal and also in the report of the Ministry. But I see that the focus is only in the report and not in the field. The Extension Officers who are appointed do not know anything about agriculture. A man is being recruited from somewhere and he does not know anything about agriculture. He does not know anything about co-operation. He does not know anything about village panchayats. He is there to guide the people, but he is not able to guide the people. Therefore, I would say that agricultural production should be made the focus not only in the report but also in actual practice.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao (Gurgaon): Sir, it is admitted on all sides that these are basic things—community development, co-operation and panchayati raj—on which the future of India is to be built, and stronger the base is at the initial stage the better it is. I, as a matter of fact, attach great weight to this department than to any other department on the administrative side.

Having admitted this, let us see where the snag is. The Minister has been devoting—I have been associated with him in the committee—the whole of his attention to improve it and have

it on a sound basis. But when it comes to the implementation stage, at the lower level, in the States, it goes all wrong—practically. They would take the money that is given, but when it comes to the question of spending it on particular things it goes astray. Most of the money is spent like that. I can quote from the report of Santanam Committee and other reports. It goes for the pay of Block Development Officers, for Panchayat Officers, for Assistant Panchayat Officers and so many others. This has been said plainly in the reports. It is said that it is a State subject. What else could be said?

For such an important national thing I would submit that the Minister should have a complete hand. He should see that the money given from the Centre, any help that is given from the Centre is utilised for the very purpose for which it is given and to the fullest extent. Self-help has to come proportionately. It may be seen that even though 50 per cent self-help is there, hardly anything comes out. Just a show is made and the grant is taken away. These are not my own conclusions. The study groups and the Santanam Committee have said this.

I would submit a few points to minimise the evils that are there in these institutions. There are your Blocks. They are very fine in conception. But a Block is situated at point A while the tahsil or parts of the subdivision or district are at different places. Community development can be done only with the help of the departments of agriculture, co-operation and other departments. These departments have to co-operate and unless the headquarters of the Block are situated at the tahsil or sub-divisional headquarters of the district, it would not be successful. Without that, even if they take up a thing earnestly, what happens is this. They write a letter to the agricultural officer or to the department of co-operation and it may take them

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

months, and months to get a reply. Then the whole thing goes away because the self-help is to come at particular moments, at particular times when the village people can spare some time. As a matter of fact, the whole thing is delayed like this in routine paper work. I am not casting aspersions on anybody. The whole thing is delayed like this, while this is a real substantial matter on which more importance should be given. This is one suggestion that I have to make. It may be a small suggestion, but it would help a lot if the headquarters of a Block are in the sub-divisional headquarters.

In panchayats, I would say, factionalism has gone to such an extent that daily there are quarrels, there are representations against one faction by the other. They are only quarrelling and doing hardly any work. There should be some incentive for them to do real work. It would serve a double purpose. The factionalism would go and the whole village community would unite. I will give you one example. If a road is required to be built, ask ten or twenty panchayats to give 50 per cent self-help and guarantee that you would give them the transport. Instead of doing that, I can tell you from my own experience what you have been doing. In a certain area 60 to 70 miles of road was built with out and out self-help by the village people. At the time of giving the contract for transport, somebody from above came and he was given the permits. For a period of five years at least you could have asked those villages themselves to run the transport. Twenty or thirty villages could have formed into a co-operative society. That would have been in the real community development spirit. I would most respectfully submit that these small things would go a long way.

Then, Sir, there is a suggestion that Members of Parliament, members of

legislative assemblies and members of legislative councils should be associated with this work. In my humble opinion, they should not be associated with this work. They work on a political level. Let the panchayats work on a non-political level for the uplift of the community, for the development of the community. No party should indulge in anything which may disrupt the already disrupted village society. That is my humble submission. We should be content with that.

Then, some positive incentives should be given to the villagers. It is said that the villagers have no sense; they have robust common sense. If some incentives are given and if they are told clearly that by taking up such and such schemes they will get such and such benefits, they will come forward to implement those schemes. Now what happens is, when they are free from agricultural operations and they can do some development work, they are told that there is no work as the papers have gone up to the State capital. The papers and sanction of the work come after six months when they are busy with their own agricultural operations. So, development work is held up. This has happened on more than one occasion. It should not recur.

I have stated on more than one occasion that if village development or community development is taken up according to Gandhian conception, that would be much better. It is a fallacy to say that the western method, which has been imported to this country, is better; it has been proved. For example, in my district, we made it compulsory in all district boards to have manure pits. Every villager was expected to clean his house and put the manure in that pit. Instead of the artificial manure, which is composed of many things, this natural manure was used for agricultural purposes and there is no comparison between them, so far as the return is concerned. Natural manure is infinitely better. I am just giving one example.

The problems of the villages, whether it is the utilisation of the local resources or taking up a project, should be tackled in a planned manner. Five or ten villages should be taken up as a group and their problems should be solved in an integrated manner. For example, in the hilly areas we can teach them how stones can be used. If they are taught the best method of utilising their resources, the villagers would readily come forward to do it.

Coming to afforestation, *shamlat* land has been given to panchayats. But, instead of planting more trees or growing some grass for cattle breeding, they are selling them by auction year after year with the result that the area becomes desert and the area under desert increases. Therefore, the panchayats should be specifically asked to develop the lands given to them.

Coming to BDOs, irrespective of the State which you take, they do not know what crops are sown in that area, what is the value of it, how it has to be developed and so on. They are *sahab lok*, going about here and there and threatening the panchayats "I am going to prosecute you if you do not do this do that". That is the only job that they are doing. That should not be their attitude.

Then, when we are giving liberal grants to these institutions, this hon. House should have the right to say that this money should be spent on this project and not on that project.

Then, there should be co-ordination between various departments dealing with the village, whether it is agriculture, fisheries, education, public health, drinking water or any other subject. There should be proper co-ordination between the various departments. Even if the hon. Minister spends his whole energy on this subject, he would not be able to bring about any result unless all the other departments co-operate with him.

There is one thing more that I would submit. A legal lacuna is there. Some doubt has been created that panchayat is not a person. Some 20 panchayats wanted to build something or they wanted to do some community work and they wanted to form a cooperative. But they said, "No". They say, panchayat is not a person and we cannot have a cooperative of even 50 panchayats even if they all agree. I would say, panchayats should be for these purposes. If it is treated as a person and, say, 20 or 50 panchayats form into a cooperative, then there is a likelihood of bigger work being undertaken. At least, in some places I have tried it and they were very successful. But this hitch came that it is not a person and, therefore, no cooperative can be formed.

In the end, I want to pay any respects to the Ministry for the work that they have done taking into consideration the Study Group's report and the Santhanam Committee's Report which is a very elaborate one and if this is firmly taken in hand, it would improve the matters. I support the Demands for Grants of this Ministry and I feel more should have been given to this Ministry if the country is to prosper.

श्री उदिया (शहडोल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बड़ी देर के पश्चात् मुझे आपने जो सामुदायिक विकास तथा सहकारिता के विषय में बोलने का समय दिया है उस के लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

सामुदायिक विकास में सरकार एक बी० डी० ग्रा० पर ग्राज ६०० रुपया माहवार व्यय कर रही है। पूरे देश में ५१०० ब्लॉक हैं तथा इस प्रकार ३० लाख ६० हजार रुपया मासिक व्यय जनता का धन अपव्यय किया जाता है।

सरकार ने यह विकास योजना १९५२ में संचालित की थी। इसका मतलब यह

[श्री उटिय]

होता है कि इस योजना के ११ वर्ष पूरे हो चुके हैं। देखना यह है कि इस लम्बे अर्से में गांवों ने कितनी उन्नति आर्थिक और सामाजिक रूप में की है। भारत की ८० प्रतिशत आबादी गांवों में और देहातों में रहती है। भारत के थोड़े से हिस्से को छोड़ कर बाकी सभी गांव ब्लाक के मातहत हैं। लोजिये इस प्रगति और उन्नति का संक्षिप्त हाल सुन लोजिये।

अगर आपकी सामुदायिक विकास की योजना ठीक प्रकार से लागू हुई होती, तथा उसका बीसवां हिस्सा भी प्रयोग में लाये होते तो आज भारत को अन्न के लिये बाहर के देशों का मूंह न देखना पड़ता। सामुदायिक विकास का डंडारा जो कि कागजों में लिखा हुआ है यदि उसका बीसवां हिस्सा भी प्रैक्टिस में लाया होता तो मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि भारत जो कि दरअमल गांवों में बसता है एक साल में ही वह उन्नति की चोटी पर मिलता। आज हमारी यह आर्थिक दुर्दशा न होती जिसे कि हम सब देख रहे हैं। देहातों में इतने कल्ल और देशी शराब बनाये जाने के केसेब न होते जिनके कि हम समाचारपत्रों में पढ़ते हैं। यह सब नेहरू सरकार की सामुदायिक विकास की प्रगति का नमूना है।

मैं प्रथम में ग्राम पंचायतों को लेता हूँ। सामुदायिक विकास की सालाना रिपोर्ट से स्पष्ट है कि पंचायत राज के लागू होते ही राजनीति गांवों में घुस गई है और उसका बहुत अधिक प्रभाव पंचायत राज के चुनावों पर पड़ा है। जहां आरम्भ ही गलत लाइनों पर पड़ा है तो कैसे शाशा की जा सकती है कि इसका अन्त अच्छा होगा।

जहां तक ग्राम विकास का सम्बन्ध है, कुछ एक ग्रामीण लोगों को छोड़ कर जिनका सम्पर्क बड़े कांग्रेसियों से है सब के सब ग्रामीण

उसी निर्धनता की भट्टी में सुलग रहे हैं जिसमें वे १९५२ से पहले सुलगा करते थे। ग्रामीणों के रहने सहने का स्तर आज स्वतन्त्र भारत में वही है जो अंग्रेजों के समय होता था। इन सभी को देखते हुए मैं कहने का साहस करता हूँ कि जितना सामुदायिक विकास का प्रापेण्डा सरकार करती है, उसका बहुत थोड़ा हिस्सा ही सत्य है। मैंने वे ब्लाक भी देखे हैं जहां सरकारी रेडियो सेट बी० डी० प्रो० साहब के घर की शोभा बने हुए हैं। वे जीपें भी देखी हैं जो बी० डी० प्रो० साहब व उनके मित्रों और फैमिली को रमणीक स्थानों में ले जाने के साधन के तौर पर इस्तेमाल होती हैं जब कि नाम टूर का दिया जाता है।

अब मैं पंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। संविधान के अनुच्छेद ४० में दिया हुआ है कि ग्राम पंचायतों को शासन की प्रमुख इकाई बनाया जाएगा और उन्हें स्वशासन की इकाई बनाने के लिए आवश्यक अधिकार दिये जायेंगे। संविधान को लागू हुए १४-१५ वर्ष हो चुके हैं परन्तु गांव पंचायतें स्वशासन की इकाई नहीं बन सकी हैं। पहले तो सारे देश में पंचायतों की रूपरेखा ही समान नहीं है। दूसरे पंचायतें सरकारी नौकरों के हाथ की कठपुतलियां हैं। इस कारण से गांवों का निर्माण नहीं हो पा रहा है। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का धन अधिकतर भ्रष्टाचार और फिजूलखर्ची में चला जाता है और जो खर्च भी होता है वह केवल बड़े बड़े शहरों और वहां भी बड़े बड़े लोगों के इलाकों को सजाने में खर्च होता है। गांवों की तरक्की के लिए गांव पंचायतों को अधिक अधिकार मिलने चाहिये। मेरे सुझाव गांव पंचायतों के क्षेत्र के अन्तर्गत ये हैं। सिंचाई, सफाई, रोगनी, खेती के बारे में कानून बनाने का अधिकार उनको हो। दूसरा गांव पंचायत के अन्तर्गत काम करने वाले जो लोग हैं, जैसे लेखपाल,

शौकीदार, अध्यापक आदि उन पर नियंत्रण करना, उनको मुकदर करना और उनको बरखास्त करना, ये सब अधिकतर अधिकार गांव पंचायतों को हों। तीसरे सरकारी खजाने का एक चौथाई भाग गांव पंचायतों को देना। जब आप ऐसा करेंगे तभी लोक हित के काम हो सकेंगे। सहकारिता का अर्थ है मिल जुल कर काम करना। यह कब होगा। यह तब होगा जब परिश्रम का फल सब को मिलेगा। यह तभी हो सकता है जब समानता हो। बिना समानता हुए सहकारिता ही नहीं सकती। इस देश में छोटों और बड़ों में बड़ा फर्क है, भारक अन्तर है। २७ करोड़ लोग तो तीन आना रोज कमाते हैं, तीन आने पर निर्भर करते हैं जब कि पचास लाख जो हैं वे ३३ रुपया रोज कमाते हैं। बिडला परिवार दो लाख रोज पर निर्भर करता है। ऐसी हालत में सहकारिता चल नहीं सकती है। सहकारिता में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार के लिए सत्तारूढ़ दल ही जिम्मेदार है। ये जो चीजें हैं इनकी और आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

श्री श्रीनारायण बास (दरभंगा) :

इस मंत्रालय के जिम्मे तीन मुख्य काम हैं, सामाजिक विकास, पंचायती राज और सहकारिता। केन्द्र में मिलने मंत्रालय है उनमें से अधिकांश का काम देश के ऊपर किसी न किसी प्रकार से शासन करना है लेकिन मेरे खयाल से यह मंत्रालय एक आन्दोलन चलाने वाला मंत्रालय है।

हमने अपने संविधान में राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय सभी नागरिकों को उपलब्ध करने का निश्चय प्रिम्बल में किया है। लेकिन जब तक केन्द्र में इस मंत्रालय का गठन नहीं हुआ था और सामाजिक योजना, उसके बाद राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवायें और उमी तम में पंचायती राज और बाद में सहकारिता आन्दोलन का समावेश नहीं हुआ था, तब तक हमः स दिशा में पग

बढ़ा सकेंगे, ऐसी आशा नहीं की जा सकती थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि गांधी जी के सपने को पूरा करने के लिए यह एक सही कदम उठाया गया है। गांधी जी ने एक बार नहीं कई बार कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो प्रशासन होगा, उसका आधार ग्राम राज्य होगा। उन्होंने इसको ही कहा था कि जो हमारे यहाँ सात लाख गांव हैं, वे प्रजातंत्र के तौर पर होंगे।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि पंचायती राज के संगठन से जो दल शासन में है वह एक ऐसे उद्देश्य की पूर्ति करना चाहता है जिसका उद्देश्य प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का जो संविधान है वह हमारे ऊपर इस बात के लिए जिम्मेदारी डालता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में जो लोग बसे हुए हैं, करोड़ों भाई बसे हुए हैं उनके द्वारा हिन्दुस्तान का शासन हम चलायें। अभी जो संगठन हमारे देश में बना हुआ है, उसके अनुसार यहाँ लोक सभा और राज्यों में विधान सभाओं के द्वारा ही शासन चलाया जाता है। यह दरअसल में प्रजातांत्रिक शासन नहीं है। यह नहीं है कि जो आदर्श हम ने अपने सामने रखा है या जो उद्देश्य सामने रखा है, सामुदायिक विकास का, पंचायती राज का और सहकारिता का और जिस को अभी तक हम पूरा नहीं कर पाये हैं, और जिस में बहुत खामियां हैं, बहुत त्रुटियां हैं, उनको पूरा करना होगा और उन खामियों और उन त्रुटियों को दूर करना होगा। इनको दूर करके ही हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। जब ऐसा होगा तभी जो आदर्श प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद का या असल में प्रजातंत्र का हमने अपने सामने रखा है, उसको हम प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

दो चार मुझाय पंचायती राज को मजबूत बनाने के लिए, उसके संचालन में जो खामियां हैं या त्रुटियां देखने में आई हैं, उनको दूर करने के लिए मैं देना चाहता हूँ।

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

माननीय श्री माथुर ने कहा है कि संविधान के निदेशक सिद्धान्तों में पंचायतों का उल्लेख है लेकिन संविधान में उनके अधिकारों का कहीं भी किसी भी अनुच्छेद में उल्लेख नहीं है। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सरकार एक उच्च स्तरीय कमेटी या कमीशन बिठाये जो इस बात का निर्णय करे कि पंचायती राज की संस्थाएँ जो अभी बनी हैं, उनको कौन कौन से अधिकार, कौन कौन से कार्य संविधान के जरिये सौंपे जायें। इस बात की छानबीन मैं समझता हूँ अभी से हो जानी चाहिये। तब तक हमारे मामले जो काम हम कर रहे हैं, उसका अनुभव भी आ जायेगा और उस अनुभव के आधार पर हम पंचायती राज को एक विशेष स्थान अपने प्रशासनतंत्र में दे सकेंगे।

दूसरा विषय जो अभी वृष्टि के तीर पर आता है जैसा कि माननीय सदस्यों ने उल्लेख किया है, चुनाव का है और यह कहा गया है कि उसका तरीका स्वतंत्र और निष्पक्ष नहीं है, उसमें कई प्रकार की वृष्टियाँ आ गई हैं। इसका निवारण इस तरह से हो सकता है कि जैसे केन्द्र में चुनाव के लिए एक अलग कमीशन बना हुआ है, अगर उसी की शाखाएँ हर एक प्रान्त में पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं के चुनाव के लिए बना दी जायें तो बहुत ही मजबूत वह कदम होगा और तब जो कुछ त्रुटियाँ हमें देखने में आती हैं, वे नहीं आयेंगी।

यह मही है कि पंचायती राज के चुनाव में पंचायत समितियों के चुनाव में राजनीति चली आ रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ग्राम विकास के लिए या जो जिम्मेदारी हम पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं पर डालना चाहते हैं, उसके लिए तब उनके सुचारु रूप से संचालन के लिए भी यह जरूरी है कि कोशिश हो कि पंचायतों के चुनाव निर्विरोध हुआ करें। गांवों के सभी लोग मिल कर इसको कर लिया करें। यह कठिन काम है।

लेकिन मैं एक मुझाव माननीय मंत्री जी को देना चाहता हूँ। एक ऊंचा संगठन, एक ऐसा संगठन बना कर जिस में राजनीतिज्ञ लोग न हों और जो केन्द्र में . . .

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : मैं माननीय सदस्य से जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर राजनीति इतनी गन्दी चीज़ है तो उससे आप लोग क्यों चिपके हुए हैं ?

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : राजनीति की एक सीमा होती है। गांव गांव में, घर घर में, अगर राजनीति ले जायेंगे, विकास के कामों में अगर राजनीति को ले जायेंगे तो जो राजनीति का उद्देश्य है वह मफल नहीं होगा। राजनीति का व्यापक उद्देश्य होता है। इसलिए उसको एक सीमा में रखना होगा। लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं में राजनीति को रखिये, लेकिन जिला परिषद्, पंचायत समिति में अगर उसको घुमाने न दिया जाय तो अच्छा होगा। मैं मुझाव दे रहा था कि ऐसा संगठन बनाया जाए जिसमें राजनीतिज्ञ लोग न हों, समाज-सेवी लोग हों और उनकी यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि पंचायतों के जो चुनाव हों वे जहाँ तक हो सके निर्विरोध हों।

तीसरा मुझाव मैं कार्यकर्ताओं के बारे में देना चाहता हूँ। यह आन्दोलन का विषय है। यह प्रशासन का विषय नहीं है। इसलिए इसके लिए जो कार्यकर्ता या अधिकारी रखे जाएँ वे विशेष चुनाव के जरिए से रखे जाएँ। इसके लिए भी अगर एक अलग कमीशन नियुक्त किया जाए तो अच्छा होगा।

संथानम कमेटी ने अपनी।रपोर्ट में बताया है कि किस प्रकार पंचायती राज्य संस्थाओं के लिए साधन और वित्त की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। आज मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि

राज्य सरकारें इस कमीशन की सिफारिशों के बारे में अभी पूरे तौर पर अपनी राय जाहिर नहीं कर सकी है अगर आप पंचायती राज्य संस्थाओं का शक्तिशाली बनाना चाहते हैं तो इसके लिए जरूरी है कि राज्य सरकारें उनको अपनी आमदनी का कुछ भाग उपलब्ध करे। अगर राज्य सरकारें इस कमीशन की सिफारिशों को पूरी तरह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, तो मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जो फाइनेन्स कमिशन बनने वाला है वह यह बताये कि इन संस्थाओं के लिए वित्त की क्या व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए और राज्यों द्वारा लगाए गए करों का कौन सा हिस्सा इनको मिलना चाहिए। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता तो हम क्या कर सकेंगे।

मेरा खयाल है कि यह जो हमारी पंचायती राज्य संस्थाओं का निर्माण हो रहा है यह बहुत मजबूत होगा और भावी प्रजातन्त्र के लिए एक बड़े भारी स्तम्भ का काम देगा।

कोऑपरेटिव के बारे में कहा जाता है कि यह पंचायती राज्य की आत्मा है। यह बात सही है कि पिछले कुछ दिनों में सहकारिता का आन्दोलन बहुत तेजी से बढ़ा है, जो प्राइमरी कोऑपरेटिव सामाईतियां हैं या जो सेंट्रल कोऑपरेटिव बैंकें हैं उनमें वृद्धि हुई है। साथ ही साथ ऋण देने के काम में वृद्धि हुई है जिससे उद्योग धंधों और श्रम के काम में बढ़ावा हुआ है। लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि देश की विशालता को देखते हुए यह काम कम है।

कोऑपरेटिव के काम में अभी कुछ कठिनाइयां हैं। इसमें राजनीति आ गई है, उस हदना चाहिए। इसके लिए जरूरी है कि कोऑपरेटिव का जो ब्राडट डिपार्टमेंट है वह एक दम स्वतन्त्र होना चाहिए और हो सके तो इस काम को आडिटर एंड कंट्रोलर जनरल के मातहत कर दिया जाए। अगर हम ऐसा कर सकें तो कोऑपरेटिव आन्दोलन बहुत आगे बढ़ जाएगा।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्र के जितने विभाग हैं और राज्य सरकारों के जितने सरकारी विभाग हैं वे सहकारिता के आन्दोलन में उतना सहयोग नहीं देते हैं जितना कि उनको देना चाहिए। यह मंत्रालय इस बात की कोशिश कर रहा है कि जितने सरकारी विभाग हैं वे सहकारिता आन्दोलन को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए जितना सहयोग दे सकते हैं दें लेकिन इस दिशा में उनको अभी पूरी सफलता नहीं मिल पायी है।

एक बात मैं अन्त में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों के अन्दर जो पंचायत और सहकारिता संस्थाएँ हैं उनमें समन्वय होना चाहिए। वे एक दूसरे के मातहत न हों, लेकिन उनमें समन्वय और सहयोग होना चाहिए। ऐसा होगा तो पंचायत के साथ ही सहकारिता आन्दोलन भी तेजी के साथ मजबूत होता जाएगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस मंत्रालय की मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Oza (Surendranagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir within the short time at my disposal, I will only refer to some important aspects concerning this Ministry. The Communist speaker from the Opposition referred to the speech of the Prime Minister while inaugurating one of the Conferences in respect of this Ministry. I also wanted to refer to that speech. He did it with a certain amount of relish; I must admit that I do it with a certain amount of anguish. The Prime Minister said that the community development movement was losing its dynamism. He said that the panchayatraj was in danger of degenerating into a feudal regime. Referring to co-operation, he said that the co-operative movement was over-ridden by officialdom. I only disagree with the Prime Minister in this sense, that instead of "was", it "is." The community development has lost its dynamism. According to me,

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panchayatraj is in danger of degenerating into feudal regime. As I said, I do not refer to this speech with any amount of relish, because I believe that under the Constitution that we have adopted and the planning that we have undertaken, we have no other go but to have a panchayatraj in our country, and make it successful, and also have this community development programme.

I do not find any fault with the present Ministry, because I know that all of them are doing their level best to make these programmes successful. But I am afraid there are some inherent difficulties in making this movement successful. In the first place, about community development it is a huge and stupendous task to make millions of peoples move, people who were rather inflicted with inertia due to a long period of slavery. They have lost all energy and initiative. We have to make these millions of peoples move, and not only move, but we have to see that they adopt a new outlook, a scientific and technological outlook. It is not a simple matter like constructing a dam or putting up a steel plant or constructing hospital building here or there. We are concerned with a vast human material. And I am afraid that we talk tall if we had been realistic about this community development, we would not have this sense of frustration which is at present pervading throughout.

We are seeing in the speeches made by hon. Members that the community development movements has already degenerated and it has lost all its edge and dynamism, and therefore it was that in the last conference Shri Nanda asserted that we must put utmost emphasis on the development of agriculture. I personally feel that if you bring about prosperity in the villages, other things will follow. Do not bother about these cultural programmes. Of course, I have no prejudice against any cultural programmes, but do not bother about

any other programme, because I know that we are living in a world of make-believe. I think it is very dangerous if we deceive ourselves; if we deceive ourselves, we do so at our own cost and not at the peril or at the cost of any other community. Therefore, we must be very realistic and make a frank appraisal of the whole situation and go in the right direction. We should not fritter away our energies or our resources in other programmes which are not at all material at the present juncture of our economic development. Therefore, rightly, the utmost emphasis has been put on agricultural development of this country, and rightly so, as was pointed out by my hon. friend from Panchmahal, who referred to the agricultural development in the rural areas.

I am happy that the report at one point at least admits that as a result of a decade's work, the minimum programme of extension services and social and economic overheads has been brought into existence in rural India. There must be far greater emphasis on intensive work in the selected areas and promotion of special programmes. I think the time has now come when the Ministry should concentrate on intensive work in selected areas and promotion of special programmes instead of frittering away its energies on so many diffuse programmes that they are undertaking. The Ministry has also rightly observed in its report that only a firm economic base resulting from a well-regulated policy for the rural areas can provide the needed sustenance to the community development and panchayatraj to achieve an economic and social transformation of this country. It is absolutely true. Now that we have provided the economic overheads in the form of electricity, roads, water and irrigation facilities, we must put the utmost emphasis on this productive aspect. I am sure once the prosperity reaches the real masses; other things will automatically follow. They will take care of themselves in so many respects about which we are bothering nowadays.

I will now refer to the question of panchayatraj. There also I think we are facing some dangers. It is my personal experience also in my own area, and unless we become careful about certain things, I am afraid panchayatraj will recoil upon the people. It has been pointed out by so many Members that anti-social elements are taking possession of panchayati raj and using them not for the benefit of the community, but for ulterior ends. I have no allegy against panchayati raj; I am wedded to it and I want to make it successful. But let us be realistic about it. Let us not bring cooperatives in the elections. In certain States cooperative societies have got representation in the panchayati raj. People are trying to capture the cooperative societies also. Once you bring politics into cooperative societies, I am sure they will not serve the purpose for which they are constituted. I am, therefore, urging the Minister to advise all the State Governments to keep away cooperative societies from panchayati raj and not to involve them in direct and indirect elections.

17 hrs.

I am also of the opinion that indirect elections should be done away with. If we indulge in it, all the three tiers of panchayati raj will be vitiated. Take, for example panchayats. The sarpanches are associated with taluk panchayats and taluk panchayats are represented in the zila parishads, with the result very few people are to be handled and there is a lot of mischief and pulling about. The whole atmosphere is vitiated with power politics. Therefore, I am of the opinion that we must have direct elections and we must keep away village panchayats from politics. If you have direct elections, village panchayats on their own will be functioning properly. They will not be disturbed and drawn into the intrigues of districts and taluks. They

will mind their own work and develop with their own resources. So, I think direct elections should be introduced at the taluk and zila level.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration has also carried out some studies. It has said that the survey indicated that with the introduction of panchayati raj, politics has permeated to the village level and wields considerable influence over panchayati raj elections. I think we should have a more realistic view of the whole thing and try to save the panchayati raj, which is the only hope for democracy in this country.

I will refer briefly to the cooperative movement. I am happy that cooperation has come to stay in this country and it is developing. But the time has come when we should pay more regard to the quality rather than quantity. We should not be swayed by the idea that the cooperative movement has expanded. It will also recoil in the same way as panchayat raj. Unless emphasis is put on the consolidation of the already existing cooperatives, I am afraid the cooperative movement will develop all the inherent defects and a very good movement will stand frustrated. Instead of reaping good results, people will start suspecting it and it will become an article of criticism.

The *per capita* loan advanced by the cooperative societies in 1956-57 was Rs. 47 and it has gone up to Rs. 117 per head in 1960-61. I am saying this from memory. Unless we link up all these loans with productive activities, these are going to create inflationary tendencies in our economy. Most of the inflation that we have seen today is because of this money of Rs. 250 crores being pumped into the economy with no production coming up. So, we must link up all our loans with production and put the utmost emphasis on marketing. The test of the cooperative movement is in marketing. Everybody would be prepared to

[Shri Oza]

become a member if he can get a loan at a lower rate of interest, instead of going to a marwari or a money-lender. But the real test comes when he brings his own goods for being sold in the market through the cooperatives. So, the people who take loan should be given loan not in cash; if he wants seeds, give him seeds. If he wants manure, give him manure, but don't pay him cash as far as possible. Marketing through the cooperative societies should also be made compulsory. Unless we put the utmost emphasis on these two or three aspects of co-operative movement, the entire co-operative movement will become the target of ridicule, the target of criticism and contempt as if it is all corrupt. If you want to save the co-operative movement, you should be very vigilant about it. Instead of being satisfied with its expansion, we should give the utmost emphasis upon consolidation, upon inner audit and on supervision at every point. We must see that the funds that we pour in are utilised for production purposes. When Rs. 250 crores are going to the community, with the velocity of money that is prevalent today in the rural areas, it will lead to inflation. I am of the opinion that partly the inflation is due to the money that we pour in.

Shri M. L. Jadhav (Malegaon): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants that are before the House.

With regard to community development, I have seen the working of zilla parishads and taluka panchayats. I feel that in the agricultural sector there has been some progress. Decentralisation has helped to improve agriculture. With regard to industry I feel that it is a failure. There is scope for a number of cottage industries in various forest areas and also in other areas where adivasis and backward class people stay.

It is just possible that the industrial sector, the community development works and the Panchayat Raj can be developed in such a way that employment can be given to these backward people. At the same time, we can have more production and have some goods for our needs from the forest wealth. In that respect I feel that Panchayat Raj has neglected the industrial sector. I would appeal to the Minister to vitalise this sector and to see that the old glory of India in the matter of handicrafts is revived. At the same time we can have employment for the people in those areas.

With regard to administration I feel that administrative expenditure is top-heavy. It is very necessary to reduce the expenditure. We can do it. With less expenditure we can get the same work.

Coming to co-operation, I feel that there has been an increase in the number of cooperative societies. There has been an increase in the amount of loan given to the co-operative societies. In that respect advance has been made. But still money is being advanced by money-lenders to the agriculturists. Much of the credit that the farmers are getting today is from sources other than the co-operatives. I feel it is necessary that enough credit should be given to the producer so that he can concentrate his attention on increased production for the benefit of the nation. In that respect, I feel that some pilot schemes should be taken up. Some villages should be selected where enough credit facilities should be provided for the agriculturists so that they can look more to the production side and do their best without worrying about their domestic needs. I would appeal to the Minister that more funds should be made available in this sector.

I would also like to point out to the Minister that the rate of interest is very high. I feel that the Reserve Bank and the District Central Co-

operative Banks should work in such a way that direct loans can be had by the agriculturists through the District Banks from the Reserve Bank. The Provincial or State Co-operative Bank may be there, it may play its part, it may advance money to the industrial sector and for other purposes but, at the same time, the rate of interest, which is very high, should be reduced. I know that the Reserve Bank is pleased to advance money for agriculture at 2 per cent interest. When it is given at 2 per cent interest, why is it that the producer is getting it at 8 per cent or so? I feel that the rate of interest should be reduced and the agencies through which it is distributed should be minimised and the credit may be advanced in time. As has been suggested by some hon. Members, as far as possible, the credit may be given in kind so that it may be used for the purpose for which it is given to the farmer.

Then, credit should be linked with marketing. The agriculturist who takes the loan should be given facility to sell his produce through marketing societies. The marketing societies and the sale purchase unions should be vitalised. They should provide seeds, fertilisers, implements and other necessities to the producers. In return, the producer should sell his produce through these societies

I find that in Maharashtra and other areas sugar factories are functioning well in the Co-operative sector. We can take many more industries in the co-operative sector. In the case of cotton, we can have weavers' co-operatives. In the case of fruits like grapes, mangoes and tomatoes we can have some processing factories. They will work efficiently and the producers will get more money. We can also have dehydrating plants for onions, groundnuts and other things. It will give a very good return to the producers and we can even earn quite a good amount of foreign exchange. If these industries are started in the co-operative sector, there is good scope for their development. Not

only will the producer get a good price for his produce but he can turn it into a product which is marketable and for which there is a good market not only in India but even outside, which will earn us good foreign exchange.

Now I turn my attention to marketing committees. It is a good thing that the producers take their goods to the marketing committee, which sells the goods and it ensures that the producer gets a fair price for his produce. The marketing committees which are functioning in this country are not given enough powers. More powers should be given to them in order to enable them to deal with malpractices.

In the case of co-operative societies, audit should be separate and it should be an independent body. There should be checks and counter-checks in the working of this movement which is developing fast in this country.

Societies that are working for labour class, artisans and others, should be vitalised more and more. They should be encouraged so that even the people who have not got enough property but who earn and whose only profession is labour, they can also have scope in the co-operative sector. Even tenants and persons who are not owners or landholders but who are cultivators and artisans should be given credit facilities. Credit-worthiness should depend not only on the property but the earning capacity or the producing capacity of the person concerned. In this connection, I feel that the quantum of production should be the criterion for the producer to get his loan and not the property that he is holding. I feel that the export of agricultural produce, like, banana, pulses and some other articles, such as, cotton, onions etc. should be encouraged and the scope for cooperatives should be developed in that direction. Therefore, I think, the Government and the Minister should pay more attention to this aspect and see that all the farm

[Shri M. L. Jadhav.]

produce is sent out of the country through these cooperatives.

With these remarks, I support the Demands that are before the House.

श्री उइके (मंडला) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्राम पंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में मुझे कुछ विशेष नहीं कहना है, क्योंकि मेरे प्रदेश में अभी ग्राम पंचायतों के चुनाव नहीं हुए हैं। पर जो पुरानी ग्राम पंचायतें हैं, उनमें एक बात मुझे देखने को मिली कि गांव का एक ही व्यक्ति पंचायत का प्रेजिडेंट है, ग्राम पंचायत का सरपंच है, को-ऑपरेटिव का प्रेजिडेंट है और गांव का पटेल है। सारे अधिकार एक आदमी के पास आ गए हैं और ऐसी बात जितने भी गांवों में है उनमें जनता ऐसी परेशान है कि कह नहीं सकता हूं। इसलिए पंचायत राज के सम्बन्ध में कोई ऐसा कायदा होना चाहिए कि गांव में एक ही व्यक्ति के पास सारे अधिकार होंते हैं, तो वह को-ऑपरेटिव को तो फेल करता ही है, गांव का भी नाश कर देता है, क्योंकि वह व्यक्ति सर्वमत्तावान् हो जाता है।

विकास खंड की तरफ से लैंडलेस लेबरर्स को एक एक हजार के मकान बना कर दिये जाते हैं। २५० रुपये का वे श्रमदान करते हैं और ७५० रुपये विकास खंड की तरफ से दिये जाते हैं और इस प्रकार एक हजार रुपये की इमारत लैंडलेस लेबरर्स को मिलती है। ग्राम पंचायत आठ आने सेंकड़ के हिसाब से एक हजार रुपये पर पांच रुपया टैक्स लगाती है। एक हजार पर पांच रुपये के इस टैक्स से बचत के लिए लैंडलेस लेबरर्स यह सोचते हैं इस मकान से निकल जायें और किसी झाड़ के नीचे या झोंपड़ी में जाकर रहें, तो अच्छा है। इस प्रकार से एक हजार रुपये में जितने भी मकान बने हैं, उनमें यही बात देखने को आई है। मंत्रालय को इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये कि जिन लैंडलेस लेबरर्स को एक हजार

रुपये का मकान दिया जाता है, उन से पांच रुपये टैक्स नहीं लेना चाहिए, बल्कि लैंडलेस लेबरर्स का मकान समझ कर ग्राम पंचायतें टैक्स लें।

विकास खंड में मुख्य बात कृषि-उत्पादन बढ़ाने की होती है और कृषि उत्पादन में जो बाधाएँ आती हैं उन में से पचास फीसदी बाधाएँ पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० के कारण होती हैं। कम्प्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट के अन्तर्गत गांवों में जितने कुएं, ग्राम पंचायतों के मकान, सड़कें, तालाब या पुलियां आदि पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० की तरफ से बनी हैं, उन गांवों के पंच और सरपंच पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० की उलझनों में फंस गए हैं और इस सम्बन्ध में मुकदमे भी चल रहे हैं। उन लोगों को घर से पैसा देना पड़ रहा है। मेरा कहना यह है कि विकास के कामों से पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० को निकाल कर अलग कर देना चाहिए, क्योंकि इससे विकास के मुख्य काम में, अर्थात् कृषि उत्पादन में, बाधा आती है। किसी दूसरे मंत्रालय में पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० चाहे रहे, लेकिन विकास के काम में उसका नहीं रहना चाहिए।

कृषि का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, हम लोग यहां पर बहुत सी आलोचना विभाग मंत्रालय की करते हैं। विधान सभाओं में भी आलोचना होती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि विधान सभा वालों ने तथा हम ने भी जो काम हमको करना चाहिये था नहीं किया है। हमारा काम जनता का समझाने बुझाने का था, जो हमने नहीं किया है। जो यह दोष हमारा रह है, यह नहीं रहना चाहिये।

स्वयं काश्तकार ने अपनी जिम्मेदारी अभी तक नहीं समझी है। उसका तो ज्ञान नहीं है, वह अज्ञानी है। वह गर्जमन्द है और गर्जमन्द को अवन नहीं होता है। जो सामाजिक काम हैं उनको भी वह बहुमन बेदर्दी से करता है। उत्पादन का जो खर्चा होता है उसे तो वह कर देता है लेकिन किस तरह से उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है, इसकी तरफ उसका

ध्यान नहीं जाता है। आपने समाज सेवा अधिकारी भी रखे हुए हैं। उनके द्वारा काश्तकारों के बीच में प्रचार का काम कर-वाया जाना चाहिये। उनके द्वारा काश्तकार की खेती के सम्मलों में मदद होनी चाहिये। आजकल होता यह है कि जब फसल तैयार हो जाती है और उसका पैसा कृषक के पास आ जाता है तो उस पैसे का वह सही इस्तेमाल नहीं करता है। उस पैसे को वह छोटा जो लड़का या लड़की होते हैं, उसकी शादी पर खर्च कर देता है या यात्रा के लिये खर्च हो जाता है या सो दो सौ आदमियों को खाना खिला देता है या देवी देवनाओं के पूजन में उसका खर्च कर देता है या किसी मंदिर में चबूतरा बनवाने पर खर्च कर देता है। या चांदी सोने के जेवर बनवा लेता है। वह नहीं सोचता है कि इस पैस से मैं बैलों की नस्ल सुधारूँ या मंडू को सुधारूँ या पंप ले कर, कुंवां खोद कर सिंचाई करूँ या खाद अच्छी डालूँ ताकि उत्पादन बढ़ सके और उसकी आर्थिक दशा सुधर सके। इस तरह उसका दिमाग नहीं जाता है। उसके पास जो पैसा आता है साहूकारों इत्यादि का दे देने के बाद वह उसको अनउपजाऊ समा-जिक कामों पर खर्च कर देता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि समाज सेवा का जो महकमा है उस महकमे को कुछ ब्रुकलैट्स निकालनी चाहियें और काश्तकारों को समझाना चाहिये कि वे इस तरह के कामों में पैसा खर्च न करें। उस महकमे के बहुत से पथक धूमते फिरते हैं, कला पथक धूमते फिरते हैं और उनके द्वारा भी इस तरह का प्रचार कार्य हो सकता है। उनके द्वारा काश्तकार को जानकारी दी जानी चाहिये, उसको ज्ञान का बोध कराया जाना चाहिये। आप अगर पैसा मनमाने ढंग से दे भी दें लेकिन प्रचार का काम न कराये तो भी जितना विकास आप करना चाहते हैं हो नहीं सकेगा जब तक आप विचार न दें। काश्तकार की आँखें आज दो चीजों पर केंद्रित रहती हैं। पहला तो ध्यान इस तरफ रहता है कि कौन सी फसल बोई जाय कि दो पैसे अधिक मिल जायें या फिर यह देखे कि बाजार भाव किस का अधिक

है ताकि वह बड़ी फसल बोये। किस प्रकार की जमीन है और किस प्रकार की फसल बोने से उसमें उत्पादन अधिक हो सकता है, इसको जानने की शक्ति आज काश्तकार में नहीं है। बड़े काश्तकारों में तो है लेकिन छोटे काश्तकारों में नहीं है। ये जो सब चीजें हैं ये उनको समझाई जानी चाहियें।

छोटे काश्तकारों की हालत क्या है, यह मैं अपने प्रदेश की बात आपको बतलाता हूँ। वहाँ पर बिधान सभा में प्रश्न किया गया था मध्य प्रदेश में जिस के जवाब में बताया गया है कि ४६ लाख काश्तकार हैं। उनमें ३६ लाख ऐसे हैं जिनकी आर्थिक दशा खेती पर निर्भर रहने से सुधर नहीं सकती है, हल नहीं हो सकती है। उन ३६ लाख काश्तकार जिन के पास ११२ लाख जमीन है जिस पर वे अच्छे ढंग से काश्तकारी नहीं कर सकते हैं। ऐसे काश्तकारों का अगर आपको उद्धार करना है तो कृषि विकास के काम पर जो सामूहिक विकास योजना का खास अंग है उसके हर पहलू पर आपको ध्यान देना होगा, सिर्फ उनको रुपये पैसे की सहायता दे देने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। एक दो एकड़ बालों को अगर आपने तकावी के रूप में खाद के लिये या ब्रीज के लिये या बैल के लिये पैसा दे भी दिया तो भी उससे कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकेगा और आप देखेंगे कि आप उसकी मदद भी कितनी कर सकेंगे। बहुत ज्यादा मदद आप नहीं कर सकेंगे। इस बास्ते जब तक उसको ज्ञान नहीं होता है तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। उत्पादन अगर बढ़ाना है और गरीब काश्तकारों की दशा को सुधारना है, समाजवाद को अगर लाना है तो सामूहिक या मिली जुली सहकारी काश्त स ला सकते हो। कोआप्रेशन में अगर गड़बड़ियां होती हैं, कुछ प्रकार के नुकसान होते हैं तो उनको भी आपको सहन करना पड़ेगा। गड़बड़ियां और नुकसान जरूर होंगे। लेकिन उसके सिवाय कोई दूसरा रास्ता भी नहीं है। हमारे देश के गिरे हुए काश्तकारों, छोटे काश्तकारों को पनपने

[श्री उइके]

का। वे खेती से ज्यादा गल्ला पैदा नहीं कर सकते हैं क्योंकि उन में शक्ति नहीं है, ताकत नहीं है, इतना ज्ञान नहीं है। ज्ञान और पैसे की ताकत उसको सहकारिता ही दे सकती है। किसानों की भी सहकारिता होनी चाहिये, उसकी चीज बेचने की भी सहकारिता होनी चाहिये, जो सामान उसको चाहिये, उसकी भी सहकारिता होनी चाहिये, पैसे देने में भी सहकारिता होनी चाहिये। ये जो सभी प्रांग हैं, इन में सहकारिता होनी चाहिये। तभी आपका उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है और गरीब काश्तकारों की दशा सुधर सकती है और समाजवाद आ सकता है। इसके बिना समाजवाद सम्भव नहीं है।

कृषि कार्य को अगर आपको आगे बढ़ाना है तो इससे सम्बन्धित जितने भी महत्वमें हैं, सहकारिता के जितने भी विभाग हैं, उन में कोऑप्रेशन होना बहुत जरूरी है। कोऑप्रेशन उन महत्वमें का पूरा आजकल होता नहीं है। कृषी सहकारिता हुई लेकिन समय पर आसानी से औजार, लोहा, टीन कर्ज नहीं दिया जाता है, सिमेंट नहीं दिया जाता है खाद नहीं दिया जाता है दूसरी चीजें नहीं दी जाती हैं क्योंकि इन सब का देने वाले जो डिपार्टमेंट हैं वे अलग अलग हैं। सभी डिपार्टमेंट्स का जब तक कोऑप्रेशन नहीं होगा तब तक सहकारिता सबसेसफल नहीं हो सकती है।

एक और बात है। कोऑप्रेशन की तरफ विकास वालों को पूरा दिमाग लगना चाहिये। आजकल होता यह है कि जो कर्मचारी हैं वे एक काम कर रहे होते हैं तो कोई दूसरा काम उनको सौंप दिया जाता है और इस्फा नतीजा यह होता है कि पहले काम को तो वे छोड़ देते हैं लेकिन जो दूसरा काम होता है उसमें उस्ताह दिखाना शुरू कर देते हैं, उसके बारे में जलसे और मॉर्टिगें लगानी शुरू कर देते हैं और पुराना सहकारिता का जो काम होता है वह खटाई में पड़ जाता

है, वह खत्म हो जाता है। इन कारणों से सहकारिता पनप नहीं रही है। मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर वह सक्ता हूँ कि बिना सहकारिता के हमारे देश में समाजवाद आ नहीं सकता है, उसकी स्थापना हो नहीं सकती है। बहुत सी जगहों पर सहकारिता बिगड़ी हुई है। लेकिन तीन स्टेट्स में जिन में से एक स्टेट मेरी है कृषिज्वायंट कोऑप्रिटिवज कोलैक्टिव कोऑप्रिटिवज कृषि बहुत अच्छी तरह से चल रही हैं। मैं वह सक्ता हूँ कि सारे देश में जब तक गरीब काश्तकारों की कृषि कोलैक्टिव और ज्वायंट कोऑप्रेशन से कृषि नहीं होगी, उनका उद्धार नहीं हो सकेगा, हम अन्न के मामले में कभी भी आत्म निर्भर नहीं हो सकेंगे, अन्न के मामले में हमें अमरीका तथा दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर रहना पड़ेगा। हमारे देश के लिये यह अनिवार्य बात है। जब तक हमारा दिल और दिमाग इस तरफ नहीं लगेगा, जब तक गरीब काश्तकारों का हम हर प्रकार से मार्ग दर्शन नहीं करेंगे, तब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। सारे जितने महत्वमें हैं तथा सारी जितनी स्टेट्स हैं उन्होंने अगर पूरी तरह सहकारिता की तरफ ध्यान दिया तो हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ी आसानी से बढ़ सकता है और विदेशों से गल्ला मंगाने की हमें जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी।

मैं अब मंत्रालय को कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। मैंने देखा है कि बहुत से धनाकों में जीपें चार महीने से खराब पड़ी हुई हैं, उनको सुधारा नहीं गया है। बिना जीपों के काम भी नहीं हो सकता है क्योंकि वे लोग इनके आदी हो गए हैं और बिना जीप के आ जा नहीं सकते हैं, दोरे नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब आप बारह और चौदह चाँदह हजार की जीपें रखते हैं और हर एक जिले में दस दस बिस बिस जीपें देते हैं तो यह भी आपका कर्तव्य है कि आप देखें कि हर एक जिले में उनकी रिपेयर का काम भी हो।

यह बहुत जरूरी है। रिपेयरिंग कारखाने नहीं हुए तो जोनों का कोई अर्थ नहीं।

मैंने देखा है कि जो ट्राइबल एरियाज हैं, उनमें ब्लाक का एरिया बहुत बड़ा होता है। रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि ४४०० सक्वयर मील का मध्य प्रदेश में एक एक ब्लाक होता है। उस में सिवाय जीप के काम नहीं हो सकता है। ग्राम सेवक जो रखे जाते हैं उनको जंगलों में शरों के मुंह से हो कर गुजरना पड़ता है। उनको सायकिल दिया जाना चाहिए जिस पर वे आ जा सकें। किसी बेसिस पर आप दें, इंस्टालमेंट बेसिस पर या गवर्नमेंट खूद दे, लेकिन ग्राम सेवक को ट्राइबल एरिया में सायकिल देना बहुत जरूरी है।

पम्प भी सिंचाई के लिए आपने लगा रखे हैं लेकिन साल साल भर वे पम्प बिगड़े पड़े रहते हैं, उनकी रिपेयर का कोई इंतजाम नहीं होता है। उसका भी इंतजाम होना चाहिये।

जो जो काश्तकारी के लिये जरूरी चीजें होती हैं, उनको पाने में काश्तकार को बड़ी परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ता है। इस परेशानी में वह अपनी खेती की तरफ पूरा ध्यान नहीं दे पाता है। किस तरह से उस स्थिति में काम सुधर सकता है। अगर उसको लोहे की जरूरत होती है तो उसके चार दिन परमिट लेने में जाया हो जाते हैं, सिमेंट लेना होता है तो उसका परमिट लेने में चार दिन जाया हो जाते हैं। यह जो काम के।दन का नुकसान होता है, इसको रोकना बहुत जरूरी है। हो सके तो आपको ऐसा कोई इंतजाम करना चाहिये कि जिस

ब्लाक में जितने सिमेंट की जरूरत हो, जितने लोहे की जरूरत हो, जितने टीन की जरूरत हो, जितने खाद की जरूरत हो, तथा और भी जिन जिन चीजों की जरूरत हो वे वहां उसी ब्लाक में स्टोर करके रख ली जायें और वहां काश्तकार को दी जायें, ताकि काम करने का समय जाया न हो, उनकी बचत हो सके। इस तरह से हमारा काम ज्यादा अच्छा तरह से चल सकता है, काश्तकार ज्यादा अच्छा काम कर सकता है, फसले अच्छी हो सकती हैं और देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस मंत्रालय की बजट भागों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri S. K. Dey: I must confess that having been used to be treated as a whipping boy ever since I was born, I find myself under a very great disability. I feel myself in the midst of kindred souls who understand my problems with greater sympathy than normally I am used to.

As I listened during the past six hours to the discussion in the House from various concerns, on the working, on the programme, the problems and the remedies that were suggested from different quarters, I was amazed at the extent of identity of thinking that exists between this House and the Ministry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister may continue tomorrow.

17.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, April, 8, 1964/Chaitra 19, 1886 (Saka).