

think it is almost as bad for people to exaggerate this and excite people's passions on this communal basis.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Sir, Pakistan has behaved in this manner in the past, it behaves like that even now, exaggerating what has not taken place. But, when the American newspapers have been flashing it in order to bring discredit to India, why is it that our own Press Attaches and our embassies there have not issued a very strong rejoinder to it? When this matter was taken up in the *New York Times* of 4th May and today is 12th May—we get it *via* Pakistan having been reproduced in *Dawn* and then we see it in India—why is it that every time we have to wait for things to come like this and it is not taken up quickly enough in order to scotch this kind of wild propaganda which took place after Goa and which now takes place again at the slightest happenings in Malda? I would like to know what steps Government are taking to see that our Press Attaches and our embassies react immediately to these things and scotch such propaganda in time so that it would not lead to such bad consequences.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very difficult for our Press Attache there to contradict a statement made by a correspondent who presumably had been to the spot. Our press correspondents have issued statements there, but it may not have in the eyes of the editor of that paper the same value. The unfortunate thing is that such statements have been issued by a correspondent without apparently enquiring on the spot but by just taking the exaggerated and lurid accounts that were given to him in Rajshahi. Our Press Attaches, as a matter of fact, have stated this, I believe, even in the United States, but it is very difficult for them when a correspondent says so. That is why I am inviting the correspondent and other correspondents to go to Malda find out for themselves, hold an enquiry which

will help them in every way and not be so eager to accept every rumour and story that is told to them by excited people.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Did our embassy or the Press Attache bring to the notice of the Government of India what had actually appeared in the Press there and asked us to issue some sort of contradiction to it at a sufficiently authoritative level, or is it that this was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister only when we raised it as a Calling Attention Notice?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can't answer that, but I do believe that our missions in various important places did issue what might be called our version of these incidents. I am glad this matter has been raised here because, perhaps, my speaking on it may draw a little more attention than official statements made by the Ministry here or our missions abroad.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda):
rose—

Mr. Speaker: No questions by other hon. Members. We shall now proceed with other business.

11.40 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—*contd.*

MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND CO-OPERATION—*contd.*

Shri Kolla Venkaiah (Tenali): Mr. Speaker, although the total amount of the three Demands relating to this Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation is paltry and insignificant, the issues and policies involved are the main things that we have to discuss now to see whether the programme has been implemented all

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these years to the satisfaction of the people. Our leaders are saying, and the Government has repeatedly been issuing pamphlets, that the community development programme is a peaceful revolution. But the main question is whether this peaceful revolution has brought anything to our common man? And this question has been answered by so many eminent men of our country by saying that it has not been successful and the money that has been spent on this programme has not produced fruitful results.

Acharya Vinobha Bhave, a great man of our country who has great sympathy for our people, said in 1960:

"Crores of rupees are being wasted on these projects without anything having been achieved through them. It is so because those in power have failed to inspire the people with confidence and as a result necessary co-operation to make the projects a success could not be mustered."

Then, the Estimates Committee of the Mysore Legislative Assembly, after going into this programme, has stated in 1959:

"Except for a few buildings here and there, the impact of the movement of Community Development and NES has not been felt by the people."

The Committee also stated that there had been no improvement in the economic condition of the ryots and rural indebtedness has also been properly tackled. The U.P. Government appointed a committee in 1959 to go into the issue fully. For one year the committee has enquired into the matter and it has come to a conclusion. "From the point of view of the objectives enunciated by the Planning

Commission", the report of that committee says:

"It must be said that very little progress has been made in bringing about a social and economic transformation and change in the mental attitude of the people towards progressive thinking and social cohesion."

The Punjab Government appointed a committee headed by General Mohan Singh to review the programme. That committee points out in its report:

"although it is claimed that 80 per cent of the rural Punjab has been covered by the programme, nothing substantial has been achieved so far."

Many committees that have gone into the question have stated, and it is a fact also, that this programme could not bring the relief and help that we contemplated by this programme. During the period that we have implemented this programme, the condition of the agricultural labour has been very much deteriorating. The income of the landless labour declined during the first decade of India's economic development by 30 per cent. This is the opinion of a study group which was appointed by the Government of India to go into this question. The same study group has suggested 'that measures have to be taken to change the pattern of community development programmes and co-operative movement.

In our State we have got vast experience of how this movement works. We know that the productive activity of our rural folk is mainly agriculture. The land is in the hands of the landlords and our land reforms have not touched the problem in any way. We have just brought about one piece of legislation for protecting the rights of the tenants but the rights

of the tenants were not protected. Many of the tenants were evicted because of that legislation. After the legislation was passed Government did not take it into its hand to protect the rights of the tenants. The tenants were left to their own fate. Even their petitions to the courts just for securing the protection of their rights were not in any way heeded to by the Government. The officials in general are in support of the landlords and the tenants have become landless in many a case.

About the land ceilings Acts, we know in many States these land ceilings Acts are a big hoax. They cannot give land to the tiller, the agricultural labourer or the tenant. The only thing they are left with is that they have to labour. Employments is not sufficient in villages. Even when we have got land, for six months in a year we have no employment. Agricultural labourers cannot have employment and for many a day they will be unemployed. They cannot have any other work during that period. In a year even for three months they cannot have a continuous period of employment. For very long periods they are left unemployed and are just going over to the houses of the landlords in search of some paltry work through which they can get some benefit. That is the position of our village folk, specially of our agricultural labour, the tenants and the poor peasants who are involved in agriculture, the main occupation in the village.

Peasants who have got lands just cannot have sufficient amount of money to invest and get manure. If we go into the working of the co-operative movement and how far it is giving help through the credit societies, we can understand the whole question. You know, Sir, our State has almost been the first State in India to activate the co-operative movement and to build it. Madras State was the first State where the co-operative movement was built and

was given some importance. But that movement which was built could not for a very long period give relief to the peasant. During the period of the British the landlords had taken advantage of this movement. They got the help of the Government and built the co-operative societies for their own sake. There are many instances of the landlords just enlisting their family members in a society and of using all the help given by the State for their own family.

The report given by our Ministry says that there are so many dormant societies which are not working. Those societies which are not functioning cannot be activated so easily because if they are to be activated, new members have to be enlisted in those societies. But the landlords who have a grip on the society, who have taken the societies into their own hands, cannot allow the enlisting of new members. In our State, according to the Co-operatives Act, the directors or the management of the society have to pass a resolution or have to allow the enlisting of members. So it is at a standstill. Those societies which are functioning in our State cannot be properly utilised.

Also, according to our Co-operative Societies Act, the area of operation is, at the beginning of the formation of the society, fixed by the society itself in consultation with and with the approval of the officers. When the area is fixed and in that area for four villages a society is formed, then in that area if one village wants a separate society, the officers cannot allow it unless the management allows the formation of that society. That is the position of our co-operative movement there. Also, so far as the area of operation is concerned, suppose a society is functioning in a district or taluk and suppose there are a few villages there where the society is functioning, if the society with the approval of the officers wants to enlist the other villages into it, it cannot do

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so unless that district society allows or approves of its taking the other villages into its fold.

In our district the Central Bank is a very important source for giving aid to the rural societies. It is the main thing, and our rural societies depend upon the Central Bank. But how far the Central Bank is helping the local societies is a very serious question. If we take into consideration the number of villages in the district and the number of societies that the Central Bank is helping, we will find that the number of societies that are getting help is limited and not large. Also, if the President or the head of the Central Bank refuses to enrol any village into the Central Bank as a unit in the organisation, if he refuses to take that bank, then that bank cannot get any help even from the Government or any other source. So these co-operative societies generally are under the management of the village landlords, money-lenders or other vested interests. In so many places the societies are becoming useless because of this.

Also, if we take into consideration the question of panchayats, it is a very difficult problem for the rural people to vote even in the panchayat elections. In our State the panchayat elections are held openly; no secret ballot is there. Not only that; the division of wards is also a very serious problem. There are villages where in the general elections the Communist Party gets the majority of votes. For instance, there is a village called Narasayapalem in Bapatla taluk where the Communist Party polled 1,400 votes in the general election. But the division of the wards is managed and manipulated in such a way that the ruling party or the landlords who have got the help of the ruling party got the majority of the seats. That is the position. If we take, again, Nalgonda district, in that district the Communist Party always gets nine or ten Legislative

Assembly seats. But, the ruling party manipulates the situation in such a way that the Zilla parishad has been taken into its hand. So, the intervention of the ruling party and also the corruption which is prevalent and rampant in that area, in our State, have helped the landlords to take possession of all the institutions and use them for their own ends. If the C.D. movement and the co-operative societies are to be successful, the land reforms should be implemented and the inequalities narrow down. Otherwise, there is no possibility of success in this aspect. I request the Government through you to go into the whole question and the report of the Study group that has been appointed by the Government. The Government has to give sufficient attention to the reports presented to it by the committees appointed by it. Previously, we know the Reserve Bank surveyed the credit position in this country and it has appointed a committee. The committee appointed by it has presented a report. In that report, they have given very good suggestions. The suggestions are very useful to our country. But, they are not implemented or taken into consideration. The reports must not be just left there without any proper consideration and implementation, where they are useful.

Mr. Speaker: I will be calling the hon. Minister at 3 o'clock for the reply. There is a large number of Members who are desirous to speak. On Demands, I think even 10 minutes ought to be enough. Therefore, I would request hon. Members, particularly on the Congress side, if they want a larger number to be accommodated, that they should condense their remarks within 10 minutes.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hosangabad): How long will the debate go on?

Mr. Speaker: I will call the hon. Minister at 3 o'clock.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Eight hours have been allotted.

Mr. Speaker: That would be up to half past four.

Shri Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni): Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Demands which have been moved by the hon. Minister. The Panchayat Raj has made tremendous progress in the villages especially in Andhra Pradesh where the recommendations of the Balwantray Mehta Committee have been put into effect and Panchayat samitis and Zilla Parishads have been formed and they have been working successfully. But, there seems to be a sort of less co-ordination so far as the State Governments and the Centre are concerned. Whatever recommendations have been enunciated at the Central level, I feel, they are not properly put into execution. Unless that co-ordination and co-operation between the Central authorities here and the State Governments is there, I feel that that progress which we expect and which we want may not be achieved by these institutions.

Coming to the formation of panchayats and panchayat samitis, I would suggest to the hon. Minister that there should be comprehensive legislation for all the States in this country so that they may adopt a uniform policy in electing panchayats, panchayat samitis and Zilla parishads. In the various States various methods are being tried and introduced with the result that we do not have a full picture of the smooth working of the panchayats and also the smooth working of panchayat elections. The Minister should first bring in legislation with the advice of a conference of a State Ministers which he may call. The sooner the better. If he brings in a comprehensive legislation regarding the formation of panchayat samitis and Zilla parishads, that would be better for the working of these institutions.

For instance, there is great difference in the formation of the panchayats and panchayat samitis between the various States in this country. Full democratic process has not been introduced so far as the Andhra Pradesh is concerned. In one part of the Andhra Pradesh, elections to the panchayats are held in a different way; in another part of Andhra Pradesh, elections to the panchayats and panchayat samitis are held in a different way. So, these anomalies should be avoided, and there should be a uniform policy throughout the State.

12 hrs.

When these panchayat samitis are working now, I find that there is not sufficient co-ordination between the panchayat samitis and zilla parishads. I do not know whether the zilla parishads will be able to have an effective control over the panchayat samitis. Under the Panchayat Samitis Act, the panchayat samitis are autonomous, and they are not fully responsible to the zilla parishads which are supposed to be the controlling and co-ordinating bodies at the district level. There is a diarchy existing. The revenue divisional officer of a particular division is in control of the panchayat samiti, whereas the non-official president of the zilla parishad does not have full control over the working of these panchayat samitis, though he is the head of the district organisation. These are certain anomalies that are to be eliminated before we can derive the full benefits from the working of the panchayat raj institutions.

Regarding the several amenities that are to be provided for the village population, there is a set pattern, and there are rigid and strict rules, and under these rules, the administration of the non-official body which is charged with providing amenities to the people and working for their development is not able to discharge those responsibilities. Regarding fixing of priorities, or fixing of certain

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amounts to be spent on various heads, there is a rigid or strict rule by which the amount from one item cannot be transferred to another item.

For instance, there are many villages where there is scarcity of drinking water. So far as the provision of drinking water facilities is concerned, the panchayat samitis have become ineffective, and they are not able to provide even drinking water facilities to many of the villages within their jurisdiction. It is not their fault, nor is it due to any lack of enthusiasm among the people to come forward to give their share of contribution, but it is due to the fact that the funds and the resources of the panchayat samitis are limited, and they are charged with providing all sorts of things, with the result that they could not bestow their attention on one particular item at one particular place where the facility is more urgently needed. All these things have to be examined, and the panchayat samitis should be given the freedom to choose which of the amenities should be provided first and to which areas, having regard to the circumstances prevailing in the different areas.

As I have just stated, there are villages where drinking water is scarce. But the provision made for drinking water supply is also very meagre. The result is that only a few villages could be covered and still there are many villages in our country where we are not able to meet the elementary needs of the people, namely drinking water supply, even though the people are prepared to come forward and give their contribution.

Secondly, I would like to point out that this contributions for executing development programmes from the people has become a farce and a mockery. So far as panchayat raj is concerned, the people are expected to

give certain contributions, and with the help of Government's contribution and the people's contribution, they are expected to provide amenities to the people. The 50 per cent contribution or whatever contribution has to be made is there, but the scheme is not being worked properly; there has not been any effective check, and some anti-social elements are taking advantage of this, and they are not using the funds properly. So Government should realise the practical difficulties of the population and come forward with increased aid to these organisations, so that there may not be any fraud. It is only put on paper that 50 per cent of the help comes from Government and 50 per cent from the voluntary organisations. But only 50 per cent is being used in some places where the people have become morally degenerated. They are not able to take advantage of it. The concerned officers are not able to inculcate or imbibe the real spirit of co-operation among the people. So the amount that is being spent in some places is not being properly utilised. I would request the hon. Minister to call for reports on this and investigate the matter.

These are some of the problems confronting co-operative institutions. I happen to be the President of State Marketing Federation of Andhra Pradesh. I know how the Co-operative Societies Act has become obsolete. In spite of repeated speeches made here and outside that the Act has so far not been made up to date and useful to the co-operative institutions in the country, with the result that whomsoever enters the co-operative institutions could not be removed from those institutions as long as he wants to be there. These facts should also be borne in mind by the hon. Minister. There should be a conference of all the people concerned and the Act should be modified in such a way that the weaker sections of the community, poor peasants, people who do not possess land, people who

do not have houses and so on are given ready aid, thus ensuring that they may also become partners in the economic development of the country.

श्री सप्तमानी (जम्मू तथा कश्मीर) :

जनाब स्पीकर साहब, आप ने मुझे इस वक्त जब कि कोआपरेशन पर बहस चल रही है बोलने का मौका दिया, इस के लिये मैं आप का शुक्रगुजार हूँ ;

जो रूपया इस मद पर लगता है वह सारे अराम की तहरीक को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये और देहात में खामोश इनकलाब जो बरपा हो रहा है उस में मदद देने के लिये सर्फ होता है । मैं इस चीज से मुत्तफिक नहीं हूँ जोकि कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि देहात में जो पंचायत और कोआपरेशन का काम होता है उस को देहात के रहने वाले नहीं समझते और उन पर दूसरे लोगों का गलबा हो जाता है । मैंने देखा है कि अमलीतौर पर जो काम देहात में हो रहा है उस में देहात के लोग बढ़ चढ़ कर हिस्सा ले रहे हैं और उस को बहुत अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं और उस को आगे बढ़ाने का जजबा उन में पैदा हो रहा है । इस को मैंने खामोश इनकलाब का नाम इसलिये दिया कि यह काम देहात में निहायत खामोशी से हो रहा है । लेकिन जब इनकलाबी तहरीक चलती है तो उस तहरीक को चलाने वालों के न चाहते हुए भी उस में कुछ नापसन्दीदा अन्सर आ जाते हैं और उस तहरीक की शक्ल और हैसियत को बदल देते हैं । यह सूरत है ।

मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूँ गवर्नमेंट को और इस वजारत के इन्चार्ज मिस्टर डे को जो अनथक मेहनतों से इस काम को अन्जाम दे रहे हैं । जब हम इस तहरीक की तरफ देखें तो हमें इस की खूबियाँ ही छापने और इस की तारीफ ही करने के बजाय उन चीजों की तरफ भी तवज्जह देनी चाहिये जो कि उस में रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी में पैदा हो रही हैं ।

इस वक्त चीज यह है कि देहात में रहने वाले जोश व खरोश के साथ इस तहरीक में हिस्सा ले रहे हैं लेकिन आबादी का आधा हिस्सा चाहते या न चाहते हुए, इस तहरीक से अलाहिदा है । मेरा इशारा औरतों की तरफ है । आपने देखा होगा कि देहात में औरत जिन्दगी में बाकययदा सान्नीदार होती है । वह बाकयदा खेतों में काम करती है और जिन इलाकों में खेतों में काम नहीं करती वहाँ अपने स्व.विन्द और भाई वगैरह के लिये खेतों पर खाना पहुंचाती है और घर में मलवेशी वगैरह की देखभाल करती है और सब कुछ करती है । लेकिन पंचायत और कोआपरेटिव तहरीक में उस का कोई हिस्सा नहीं है और उस का कोई मुकाम पैदा करने की कोशिश नहीं की गयी है और जहाँ है भी वहाँ सिर्फ नुमाइश के तौर पर । और जहाँ मैं कह रहा हूँ कि कुछ चीजें ऐसी आ रही हैं वहाँ सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि इस तहरीक को उन्हीं लोगों पर छोड़ा जाये जिन के लिये कि यह तहरीक है । वह ही इस को प्लान करें और जो कुछ चाहते हैं उस पर अमल करें । आफिशियलडम की तरफ से जो नुमायशी चीजें आती हैं वह नुमायशी चीजें असल काम को भी पीछे डाल देती हैं ।

जैसा मैं खवातीन के हिस्से के बारे में अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस तहरीक में दरअसल उन का हिस्सा तो बहुत कम है लेकिन यह दिखाने के लिये कि खवातीन इस से ताल्लुक रखती हैं कहीं सरपंच या पंच के तौर पर नुमायशी तौर पर एक औरत को रख दिया जाता है और उस को ले कर काफी पबलिसिटी की जाती है और उस पबलिसिटी में मेरा ख्याल है कि उस ब्लाक के और गिर्दा नवा के ब्लाकों का सारा का सारा वक्त इस पबलिसिटी पर खर्च हो जाता है । इस पबलिसिटी में यह कहा जाता है कि यह खवातीन इतने ज्यादा वोट ले कर और मदों को हरा कर सरपंच बनी है और यहाँ आई है । अब इस तरह की नुमायशी बातें की जाती हैं ।

[श्री समनानी]

इस तहरीक के मुताल्लिक पैम्लेट्स, ब्रोशर्स और जो माहनामे निकलते हैं वह अंग्रेजी में बड़े अच्छे छपते हैं। ठीक है अच्छी बात है। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जो यह कहें कि एसी चीजें नहीं होनी चाहियें। लेकिन इसी के साथ यह ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि यह जो लिटरेचर हम छाप रहे हैं वह सिर्फ शहरों में रहने वाले पढ़े लिखे तबके के लिये ही न हो। अब शहरों में रहने वाला पढ़ा लिखा तबका तो इस की दाद दे सकता है कि यह बहुत अच्छा है और इस का गेटअप बड़ा अच्छा है। लेकिन दरअसल जिन लोगों से इस लिटरेचर का ताल्लुक होता है उन के पास जब यह अंग्रेजी का लिटरेचर पहुंचता है तो सिवाय इस के कि फंट कवर की ऊपर की तस्वीर देख लें या उस के पिछले कवर की तस्वीर देख लें, इस के अलावा और कुछ उन के पल्ले नहीं पड़ता है। इस वास्तु जरूरत इस बात की है कि जहां हम नुमायशी तौर पर और प्रोपगन्डा के तौर पर अंग्रेजी में लिटरेचर छाप रहे हैं, वहां इलाकायी जवानों में में भी यह लिटरेचर छपे और सही हाथों को पहुंचे ताकि वह इस से मुस्तफीद हो सके।

मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस तरह की नुमायशी बातें इस तहरीक के मुताल्लिक चलती हैं। मैं स्टेट का नाम नहीं लेता लेकिन चूंकि इस मामले में मुझे दिलचस्पी है और मैं काफी घूमा हूँ इसलिये मुझे जानकारी है कि कहीं कहीं पर मॉडल पंचायतें भी बनाई गई हैं। एक मॉडल पंचायत इस तरह की मैं ने एक स्टेट मे देखी, मैं उस स्टेट का नाम नहीं लूंगा। अगर मिनिस्टर साहब उस का नाम जानना चाहेंगे तो मैं उन को बतला दूंगा। वहां पर जो मैं ने मॉडल पंचायत देखी उस के अपने रिजर्व फंड्स बहुत ज्यादा हो गये हैं। इस तहरीक की मंशा जो है वह यही है कि हर एक पंचायत के अपने फंड्स हो जायें और वह इतने हो जायें कि वह तामीर और तरक्की

के जो भी काम हैं वह खुद ब खुद कर सके। बगैर और सरकारी मदद के वह एक खुदमुस्तार इदारा हो जो कि अपने इलाके की और अपने देहात की तरक्की कर सके। यह ब्याल बड़ा अच्छा था लेकिन इस को नुमायशी बातों में डाल कर इस की मंशा को बदल दिया गया है। जिस मॉडल पंचायत का मैं जिक्र कर रहा हूँ वह पहले टाउन ऐरिया कमेटी थी। फिर जब शहर बढ़ने लगे तो इसलिये कि विजिटर्स और मिनिस्टर्स इस मॉडल पंचायत को देख सकें, इस टाउन ऐरिया कमेटी को मॉडल पंचायत में कनवर्ट कर दिया गया। अब चूंकि शहर बढ़ रहा है और वह शहर से बिलकुल मुलहिक है इसलिये वहां की जमीनों की कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं। वहां पर जमीन एक्वायर की गई और उस को पंचायत को दे दिया गया। पंचायत ने उस जमीन की प्लाटबंदी कर के भारी मुताफे से बेचा। पंचायत को जो जमीन २ रुपये गज के हिसाब से मिली थी वह उन्होंने ने १०० रुपये गज के हिसाब से बेची और उन को रिजर्व फंड में दिखाया। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की चीजें कागजों में दिखाने के लिये या बाहर के विजिटर्स को दिखाने के लिये और यह बताने के लिये कि हम बहुत अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, ठीक है, लेकिन इस के असरात जो हैं वह मुहलिक और दूर रस हैं और इस के मुताल्लिक लोगों में इतनी नफरत होती है कि सारी की सारी तहरीक जो हम बना रहे हैं और जिस में कि हम अचाम को मोब्लाइज करना चाहते हैं वह सारी तहरीक मस्क हो कर रह जाती है। सारी तहरीक का हुलिया सा बिगड़ जाता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस तरह की नुमायशी बातों से परहेज किया जाये और लोगों को मौका दिया जाये कि वह बगैर आफिशिलडम के डिक्लेशन के इस तहरीक में काम कर सकें और जो वह सोचें उस पर अमल करें। यह बेकार की बातें जो कि आफिशियलडम उन पर टूंसती है उन से बच सकें। इस तरह काम करने से यह तहरीक ज्यादा आगे जा सकती है।

पंचायत राज्य और कोआपरेटिव में तालमेल करने के लिये जो अभी नया पैटर्न आया है वह एक बहुत मुबारक कदम है और इस के लिये मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। लेकिन कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है उस के लिये जो बड़े बड़े सेमीनारों और कान्फेन्सेज में हम फँसने करते हैं उस में वह खयालत जो कि रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी में कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज के बारे में आते हैं वह उन में शायद शामिल नहीं हो सकते। चनाचे देखने में तो यही आता है कि एक गरीब आदमी जिस के कि पास जमीन नहीं है कुछ नहीं है वह एक सोसायटी में आता है, चाहे इंडस्ट्रियल सोसायटी खोली जाये या दूसरी सोसायटी खोली जाये जिस में उस की गुजाइश होती है वह उस में आता है। वहाँ जब आता है तो उस के पास अपना हिस्सा देने के वास्ते १०, २० या १०० रुपये ही होते हैं। उस से आगे नहीं हैं। कोआपरेटिव्स की फाइनेसिंग ऐजोसिज जो बनी हुई है वह भी अपनी अपनी रियासतों में अपनी जगह पर मजबूर हैं कि वह उन को खूल कर फाइनेंस कर सकें। इसलिये वह नई सोसायटियों को पूरा फाइनेंस नहीं कर सकती हैं क्योंकि उन के पास मोडियम और लॉग टर्म का रुपया नहीं है। ऐसी सोसायटी जब रजिस्टर हो जाये और वह फाइनेंस न हो तो पबलिसिटी चलाने के लिये नकशे में तो उस का नाम आ जाता है लेकिन अमलन वह काम नहीं कर सकती है। रजिस्ट्रेशन होने से और सोसायटी की क्रेडिट लिमिट मंजूर होने तक सब कुछ हो जाता है लेकिन जब अमलन काम करने का वक्त आता है तो उन के पास सरमाया नहीं होता और सरमाया न होने की वजह से एक फस्ट्रेजिन आता है और एक उन में कोआपरेटिव मूवमेंट से बेजारी आती है। इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि कोआपरेटिव तहरीक को लोगों तक पहुंचाने के लिये सिर्फ टर्गेट की ही तरफ न देखा जाये कि किस स्टेट में किस किस्म की और कितनी सोसायटियाँ बनेंगी और असिस्टेंट रजिस्ट्रार या इन्स्पेक्टर

साहब इधर, उधर दंड दाड़ कर २, ४ या ५ लोगों को बुला लायें और उन का अंगूठा दस्तखत करा लें और इस तरह से रजिस्ट्री का ठप्पा या मुहर लगा कर नकशे में दिखा दें कि यह सोसायटी रजिस्टर हो गयी है।

हर एक स्टेट में कोआपरेटिव यूनियन कोआपरेटिव एजुकेशन के लिए काम कर रही है। फाइनेशियल एजेंसी जिसने कि रुपया देना होता है और डिपार्टमेंट जिसने कि रजिस्टर करना होता है, इन तीनों में कोआर्डिनेशन हो और वह लोग यह सोचें कि जो सोसाइटी बनाने जा रहे हैं वह कामयाब भी हो सकेगी या नहीं और उसे फाइनेंस भी मिल सकेगा या नहीं। इन तीनों एजेंसियों का कोआर्डिनेशन ही इस कोआपरेटिव की तहरीक को कामयाब बना सकता है। इस के बाद सोसाइटी अगर रजिस्टर हो और उसकी मुश्किलत के बारे में पहले से ही सोच लिया जाये और जरूरी फाइनेंस प्रोवाइड कर लिया जाये तो हमारी कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज तरक्की कर सकती हैं।

एक आखिरी फिकरा जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि मिनिस्ट्री की यह देखना होगा कि इस तरह की जो सोसाइटियाँ बनती जा रही हैं और उन में जो मेम्बर्स आ रहे हैं वह सिर्फ कोआपरेटिव नाम के ऐक्सप्लायटेशन के लिए तो नहीं आ रहे हैं? हमें ऐसे आदमियों को ही इनमें आने देना चाहिए जो कि कोआपरेटिव्स को सही तौर पर मानते हों। ऐसा न हो कि नापसन्दोदा अनासिर आ जाय और बाद में कोआपरेटिव यूनियन को कहा जाय कि उनकी तालीम का इंतजाम किया जाय। इसलिए बेहतर हो कि हम कोआपरेटिव का सबर्जैक्ट बाकायदा स्कूलों के छोटे बच्चों से लेकर कालिजों तक के नौजवानों को पढायें और इसकी पढ़ाई कम्पलसरी कर दें। कोआपरेटिव सोशलिस्ट तर्ज निजाम के लिए एक अहम दर्जा रखता है इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि आने वाली नस्ले कोआपरेटिव के उसूलों

[श्री समनानी]

से पूरी तरह वाकिफ हों। यह नहीं कि ना-पसन्दीदा अनासिर उन सोसायटियों पर कब्जा कर लें और फिर स्टूडेंट्स यूनियस को कहा जाय कि उन को एजुकैट किया जाये। अगर मुहकमा तालीम इस तरफ तवज्जह दे और कोप्रानरेटिव के मजमून को तालीमी निसाब में एक कम्पजसरी मजमून करार दिया जाये और इस तरह से पहले से ही आने वाली नस्लों को कोप्रानरेटिव के बारे में तालीम दे कर तैयार कर दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आने वाले दिनों में ज्यादा अच्छे तरीके से इस रेहरीक को हम कामयाब बना सकते हैं। शुक्रिया।

श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बगहा) : मार्ननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कोप्रानरेशन और ग्रामपंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में, जो कि कम्प्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के अन्तर्गत आती है, चन्द बातें अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। देश की शासन-सत्ता उसूलो तौर पर सैंट्रलाइज्ड हो या डीसेंट्रलाइज्ड, इसी पर बुनियाद है ग्राम पंचायतों, को-प्रानरेशन और सामुदायिक विकास योजनाओं की। आजादी के बाद मुल्क के सामने यह सवाल आया कि इस समाज का विकास किस तरह से किया जाये और उसी के आधार पर सामुदायिक विकास योजना के अन्तर्गत ग्राम पंचायतों, को-प्रानरेटिव और दूसरी सब योजनायें चालू की गईं।

समाज के उत्थान के लिए दो बातों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है—एक तो उस की आर्थिक मदद की जाये और दूसरे दिमागी तौर पर उस का काफ़ी विकास किया जाये। जब तक समाज के लोग शिक्षित न हों और उन को इस बात का ज्ञान न हो कि वे किस तरह से अपनी उन्नति कर सकते हैं और वह समझ होने के बाद भी अगर उन के पास आर्थिक जड़ न हो, उन को इगए-पैसे की कमी पड़ जाये, तो वे अपना विकास नहीं कर सकते हैं। चूँकि अभी तक हमारा देश पिछड़ा हुआ देश गिना जाता है, इस लिए इन दोनों कामों की जिम्मेदारी सरकार के ऊपर आ कर पड़ी है।

इस सम्बन्ध में सारे देश से और खासकर उन लोगों की तरफ़ से, जो कि गांधीवादी हैं—यह मांग हुई कि सरकार के जितने अधिकार हैं, उन का विकेन्द्रीकरण होना चाहिए और हर बात में केन्द्रीकरण नहीं होना चाहिए। इस उसूल को मान कर हर प्रान्त में यह नक्शा बनाया गया और चारों तरफ़ यह प्रोग्राम लागू किया गया और मेरा ख्याल है कि जितनी अन्य पाटियां हैं, वे भी इस पर राज़ी हुई हैं।

अब देखना यह है कि सरकार ने जो यह स्कीम बनाई है, उस को वह ठीक तरह से कार्यान्वित कर रही है या नहीं। जहां आर्थिक सहायता की जरूरत है, वहां वह दे रही है या नहीं और लोगों के बौद्धिक विकास के लिए, उन में जागरूकता लाने के लिए प्रचार कर के या दूसरे तरीके अपना कर उन को शिक्षित कर रही है या नहीं। ये दो मूल बातें हैं, जिन पर हम को विचार करना चाहिए। इस के बाद ही हम को देखना चाहिए कि जनता इस कार्यक्रम को अपनाती है या नहीं।

मंत्रालय की १९६१-६२ की रिपोर्ट में इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ आंकड़े दिए गए हैं। उस में बताया गया है कि प्राथमिक कृषि ऋण समितियों की संख्या १९५०-५१ में १.०५ लाख, १९५५-५६ में १.६० लाख और १९६०-६१ में २.१३ लाख थी, जब कि तीसरी योजना का लक्ष्य २.३० लाख है। जहां तक उन की सदस्य-संख्या का प्रश्न है, वह १९५०-५१ में ४४.०८ लाख, १९५५-५६ में ७७.९१ लाख और १९६०-६१ में १७३.१८ लाख थी। इसी तरह से रिपोर्ट के पृष्ठ ५२, ५३ और उन से अगले पृष्ठों पर प्राथमिक कृषि ऋण और बहुदेशीय समितियां, चीनी के कारखानों और सहकारिता के बारे में अन्य आंकड़े दिये गए हैं।

इन आंकड़ों को देखने से यह मालूम होता है कि जब समितियों या ग्राम पंचायतों को

आर्थिक सहायता की ज़रूरत पड़ती है, तो सरकार उन को सहायता देती है। वह प्रापेण्डा की दृष्टि से कांफ़ेसिज और सेमिनार बुलाने, लिट्रेचर तैयार करने और बांटने, सिनेमा के द्वारा लोगों को शिक्षित करने और कल्चरल प्रोग्राम्ज के द्वारा प्रचार करने का काम भी कर रही है। ये बातें ठीक हैं, इस से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता, लेकिन साथ ही इस बात से भी इन्कार नहीं करना चाहिए कि कुछ खामियां भी हैं, फिर चाहे यह बात विरोधी दल के लोग कहते हों, या अपने पक्ष के लोग, कांग्रेसजन, कहते हों।

मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर कोई बात कही जाये और उस में सच्चाई है, तो यह सोच कर उस पर ध्यान न दिया जाये कि चूँकि यह बात विरोधी दल के व्यक्ति कह रहे हैं, अतः वे ऐसे ही क्रिटिसाइज कर रहे हैं, यह सरकार का रुख नहीं होना चाहिए। हमारे जो आफ्रिसर्ज हैं, जिन को वह काम करना है और जिन के जरिये यह प्रोग्राम लागू किया जाता है, उन का भी यह ख्याल नहीं होना चाहिए कि इस सदन में सदस्यों ने खरी-खोटी सुनाई है, वे तो सुनाते ही रहेंगे और जब जब यह हाउस बैठता है, इस प्रकार की बातें कही जाती हैं और इस लिए वे जो चाहे बातें कहते रहें हम तो अपनी रफ़्तार से ही जायेंगे।

इस सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कार्यकर्ता आज किसी ऊँचे पद पर है, मिनिस्टर या कोई आला आफिसर है, वह यह न समझे कि आज वह आफ्रिसर या मिनिस्टर या डिप्टी मिनिस्टर है, तो कल उस के बच्चे भी आफ्रिसर या मिनिस्टर होंगे। इस के अलावा जो आदमी आज किसी एडवान्टेजस पोजीशन में है, यह जरूरी नहीं कि वह कल भी वहीं पर रहेगा। इस लिए मैं बराबर कहता हूँ—खासकर आफ्रिसरों को मैं जरूर कहता हूँ कि हम आजादी के लिए अंग्रेजों के साथ लड़ें और फिर शासन का सारा काम उन के सुपुर्द कर दिया और अब उस को

बनाना या बिगाड़ना जितना उन के हाथ में है, उतना हमारे हाथ में नहीं है।

गवर्नमेंट की योजना तो ठीक है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्लानिंग की एजेन्सी एक है और उस के एक्सीक्यूशन की एजेन्सी दूसरी है। जहाँ तक प्लानिंग का सम्बन्ध है, वह बिल्कुल ठीक है, लेकिन जब योजना एक्सीक्यूशन की स्टेज में चली जाती है, तो उस का रूप ही अजीब हो जाता है और वह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जिस मंजिले-मकसूद पर मुल्क जाना चाहता है, हम उस से बहुत पीछे और कभी कभी उल्टी दिशा में भी चल रहे हैं। इस से लोगों को तक्लीफ़ होती है।

इस विभाग के सम्बन्ध में जो क्रिटिसिज्म किए गए हैं, वे काफी हैं और मैं उन को दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं दो चार सजेसन्ज आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। यह बात ठीक है कि इस सदन में बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने इस विषय में अपने विचार रखे हैं। मैं उन को कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि हमारी सरकार, मिनिस्टर, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर और आफ्रिसर्ज को उन का अनुभव है। मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर उन पर तबज़ह दी जायगी, तो यह काम—इस में शक नहीं कि यह एक रेबोल्यूशनरी प्रोग्राम है—बहुत अच्छी तरह से चलेगा। इस काम के जो इनचार्ज हैं, हम उन की बातों को सुनते और देखते हैं। उन में एक आग है, लेकिन यह सारी आग नीचे जाते जाते बुझ जाती है, जिस को वह महसूस करते हैं। बी० डी० ओ० का जो काम है वह रेवेन्यू कलेक्शन और डिवेलेपमेंट का है। ये दोनों काम उसके जिम्मे हैं। दोनों काम उसके जिम्मे होने की वजह से कोई भी काम ठीक से नहीं चलता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि बी० डी० ओ० के पास डिवेलेपमेंट का काम रहे और रेवेन्यू का काम उसके पास न रहे और रेवेन्यू का काम किसी और अधिकारी के जिम्मे किया जाए। इत दोनों को बाईकरके कर दिया जाए। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

[श्री क० ना० तिवारी]

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि ग्राम पंचायतों को एक वक्त में ही सभी अधिकार न दे दिये जायें। आप जब किसी डिप्टी कलक्टर को बहाल करते हैं तो फस्ट क्लास पावर्ड आप उसको नहीं दे देते हैं, एक ही रोज में और न ही उसको आप कलक्टर को पावर्ड दे देते हैं या कलक्टर बना देते हैं। जैसे जैसे वह अनुभव प्राप्त करता जाता है आप उसको अधिकार देते चले जाते हैं। ठीक इसी तरह से पंचायतों के काम को भी आप जज कीजिये। जब डिवेलोपमेंट का कोई काम ग्राम पंचायत के सुपुर्द कर दिया जाता है उसके बाद देखें कि डिवेलोपमेंट का कितना काम उसने किया है और किस तरह का किया है। पहली स्टेज पर उनको कुछ पावर्ड दे दीजिये, दूसरी स्टेज पर कुछ और दे दीजिये, तीसरी पर कुछ और इस तरह से उसको पावर्ड को आप बढ़ाते जा सकते हैं। उनको आप डिवेलोपमेंट वर्क से तथा दूसरी बातों से जज कीजिये। आप देखिये कि झगड़े बगैरह तो नहीं बढ़ते हैं, और अगर झगड़े बगैरह बढ़ते हैं तो क्या वह कम्प्रोमाइज कर सकती हैं या नहीं और कितने केसिस में उसने कम्प्रोमाइज करवाया है। इन सब चीजों से जज कीजिये तब पावर्ड उनकी आप बढ़ाइये। इसके लिए आप जो चाहें स्टैंडर्ड रख सकते हैं।

ग्राम पंचायतों को ज्यूडिशल और एग्जिक्यूटिव दोनों प्रकार को पावर्ड आज दी गई हैं। ये दोनों पावर्ड आप उनको मत दीजिये। ग्राम पंचायत चूँकि चुनो हुई होती है इस वास्ते उसके पंच सहाय लोगों को नहीं दे सकते हैं। जिन पंचायतों में झगड़े होते हैं वहाँ दो तीन या चार दल बन जाते हैं। ऐसी हालत में वे जस्टिस नहीं कर सकती हैं। ज्यूडिशल और एग्जिक्यूटिव ये दोनों अलग अलग चीज हैं। डिवेलोपमेंट का काम आप उनके सुपुर्द रखिये लेकिन ज्यूडिशरी का काम उनसे नहीं करवाइये। किसी भी चुनो हुए आदमी को आप वहाँ बिठा दीजिये, चूँकि उसको

दुबारा चुनाव लड़ना होता है और तभी वह उससे रह सकता है, इसलिए वह जस्टिस नहीं कर सकता है। इस वास्ते यह बहुत जरूरी है कि ये दोनों पावर्ड उसको न दी जायें।

एक शिकायत यह भी है कि कोओप्रेटिव और ग्राम पंचायतों के एकाउंट्स का आडिट नहीं होता है। इनका स्ट्रिक्ट आडिट होना चाहिये। इस वक्त जो हिसाब किताब है और जितना रुपया आप देते हैं, उसका आडिट नहीं होता है। यह होना चाहिये।

अन्तिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी कम्प्लेंट्स आती हैं ग्राम पंचायतों के खिलाफ, उनको इनक्वायरी होनी चाहिये। जिस तरह से दूसरे विभागों में चलता है, विलम्ब होता है, रेड-टेपिज्म चलता है, अगर यही चीज ग्राम पंचायतों में भी चलेगी तो काम ठीक तरह से नहीं चल सकेगा। वे टोटली फेल्योर साबित होंगी। इसलिए अगर कोई शिकायत आती है तो उनकी जांच होनी चाहिये और जो इनक्वायरी हो वह प्रापर हो और जल्दी हो।

जहाँ आप यह सब करें वहाँ लोगों को शिक्षित करने का काम भी अपने हाथ में लें। इसका बहुत बड़ा असर होगा। उनको शिक्षित करने का काम अच्छी तरह से किया जाना चाहिये। आपने टूरिंग सिनेमाज ब्लाक्स में भेजे हुए हैं और रिकार्ड लैट भी वहाँ भेज दिए हैं। जो रिकार्ड आज वहाँ पर सुनवाये जाते हैं, वे अच्छे नहीं होते हैं। देखा गया है कि "आवारा हूँ, आवारा हूँ" की तरह के रिकार्ड सुनाये जाते हैं। ये घटिया किस्म के रिकार्ड हैं और उनका बुरा असर लोगों पर पड़ता है। इस तरह के रिकार्ड सुनाये जाने चाहिये जिससे लोगों में देश भक्ति जागृत हो और वे अच्छे नागरिक बनें। आपको चाहिये कि आप अच्छे अच्छे रिकार्ड भी बनवायें। नैशनल सांख्य लोगों को आपको सुनवाने चाहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेरी घंटी की आवाज तो मीठी है, आप उसको भी नहीं सुनते ।

श्री क० न० तिवारी : मैंने खतम कर दिया है ।

श्री ह० च० सौय (सिंहभूम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट के बारे में जितने भाषण हुए हैं मैंने उनको सुना है । उनमें काफी दिक्कतों की जो बातें हैं, उनकी ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया गया है । मैं समझता हूँ कि देहाती जीवन को ऊँचा करने के लिए और वहाँ की गरीबी को मिटाने के लिए यदि कोई तीका हो सकता है, तो वह कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट का ही तरीका हो सकता है । मगर सवाल इतना सा ही है कि इसको किस तरह से ठीक तरीके से चलाया जाये ताकि हमारा जो उद्देश्य है, वह पूरा हो सके ।

जब मैं रिपोर्ट को देखता हूँ तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि मिनिस्टर साहब ने तसबीर का एक दख ही हमारे सामने रखा है, एक तरफ़ा सी रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने रख दी है । लेकिन जब हम लोग डिफैक्ट्स की ओर इशारा करते हैं तो उनकी तरफ़ से तो ध्यान दिया ही जाना चाहिये लेकिन उनके साथ ही साथ मंत्री महोदय को भी चाहिये कि वह रिपोर्ट में लिखें कि पिछले नौ सालों में किन किन क्षेत्रों में कितनी कितनी कामयाबी मिली है, क्या क्या गलतियाँ हुई हैं, क्या क्या डिफैक्ट्स देखने में आय हैं और किस तरह से उनको बह दूर करना चाहते हैं । कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट का उद्देश्य कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाना, ग्रामोद्योगों को बढ़ाना, जो जनबशक्ति देहातों में पड़ी हुई है, उसका उपयोग कैसे हो सकता है, इसको काम में लगाना है । इन बातों में कितनी तरक्की हुई है और क्या क्या कमियाँ रह गई हैं, इन सब की ओर रिपोर्ट में इशारा किया जाना चाहिये । अगर हम गौर से देखते हैं तो पता चलता है कि वाकई में इन सभी क्षेत्रों में हमें काफी कामयाबी हासिल नहीं हुई है ।

कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट में सब से बड़ी बात यह कि जो लोग ग्राम स्तर पर या ब्लाक स्तर पर काम करते हैं, वे कैसे हैं । अक्सर देखने में आया है कि जो काम करने वाले होते हैं, वैसे तबके के होते हैं जिन को उन लोगों के बीच में काम करके खुशी अनुभव नहीं होती है और न ही उन की उन लोगों के प्रति कोई असली हमदर्दी होती है । वे उनके साथ उ बैठ नहीं सकते हैं और न उनके साथ घुल मिल सकते हैं । विशयकर जब मैं अपने इलाके में, ट्राइबल ब्लाक में देखता हूँ तो बी० डी० ओ० की बात को तो आप छोड़ दें, विल्लेज लेवल वर्कर भी उन लोगों की भाषा को नहीं समझता । उनके बीच रह कर उनको काम करना होता है । अगर व उनकी भाषा को नहीं समझते हैं तो कैसे काम चल सकता है । उनके मन में इन लोगों के प्रति घृणा की भावना होती है और मजबूरी में उनको यहां काम करना पड़ता है । मैं मानता हूँ कि बी० डी० ओ० तथा दूसरे लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है और इसी तरह से ब्लाक डिवेलपमेंट कमेटी के जो लोग होते हैं, उनको भी ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है लेकिन जितनी ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है वह बिल्कुल नाकाफी होती है । इस वारते इस ट्रेनिंग के सवाल पर आपको गम्भीरतापूर्वक गौर करना चाहिये और जो लोग वहां रहें, उनको वहां की भाषा भी आनी चाहिये ।

कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट का जब काम आप कहीं पर शुरू करते हैं तो यह निहायत जरूरी है कि उस इलाके की सब से पहले जांच हो जाय और पता लगा लिया जाय कि उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति कैसी है, सामाजिक स्थिति कैसी है । उदाहरण के लिए मैं आपको अपने इलाके, छोटा नागपुर के बारे में ही बतलाता हूँ कि वह पहाड़ी इलाका है । वहां पर ट्रेनिंग-कम-प्रोडक्शन सेंटर में जो ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है वह लोहे का सामान बनाने की दी जाती है । यह ठीक नहीं है । बेहतर यह होता कि चूंक वहां पर बांस बहुत है, सवाई घास बहुत है,

[श्री ह० च० सौय]

कोकूज वगैरह काफी तादाद में है, इनके ही इस्तेमाल की और इन से ही चीजें बनाने की उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाती। इसकी ट्रेनिंग न दे करके एल्यूमीनियम का सामान बनाने की, लोहे का सामान बनाने की ट्रेनिंग उनको दी जाती है। यह एक नई चीज उनके लिए है और इसको जबर्दस्ती उनके दिमागों में घुसेड़ा जाता है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि आपकी स्कीम जो ट्रेनिंग देने की होती है वह नाकामयाब साबित होती है। इस वास्ते सब से पहले आपको सोशोइकोनामिक सर्वे करवाना चाहिये, लोगों की सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति की जांच करवानी चाहिये, तब जा कर किसी स्कीम को हाथ में लेना चाहिये। अगर इस केस में पहले से ऐसा करवा लिया गया होता तो इस तरह की गलती नहीं होती।

एक और भी आपकी असफलता का कारण है। नये-नये ब्लाक हम शुरू करते हैं। यह अच्छी बात है। मगर कई ब्लाक्स में हम ने देखा है कि बी० डी० ओ० के रहने के लिए स्थान नहीं होता है, आफिस के लिए जगह नहीं होती है और जब उसके पास ही कोई जगह नहीं होती तो विलेज लैवल वर्कर या दूसरे जो लोग हैं, एक्सटेंशन आफिसर वगैरह, उन लोगों के लिए कहां से जगह हो सकती है। आप ब्लाक्स की एस्टेबलिशमेंट के लिए और मकान वगैरह बनाने के लिए रुपये देते हैं। क्या कुछ रुपये का ऐसा इंतजाम नहीं किया जा सकता है कि कोई इम्पॉरेरी शैड्यूल, बी० डी० ओ० तथा दूसरे अफसरों के लिए तथा घूमने आने वालों के लिए बना दिये जायें तब तक के लिए जब तक कि उनके लिए परमानेंट स्ट्रक्चर्ज नहीं बना लिये जाते हैं। स्थायी मकान बन जाने के बाद इनको किसी दूसरे काम में लाया जा सकता है।

हमारे इलाके में खरसावां ब्लाक नं० २ एक ब्लाक चल रहा है। उसकी फर्स्ट स्टेज खत्म हो गई है। फिर भी उसके पास मकान

वगैरह न होने की वजह से दूसरे ही ब्लाक में उसका आफिस वगैरह आपने रखा हुआ है। अब यह ब्लाक किस के लिए है, क्या उनके लिए है जहां पर इसका आफिस रख छोड़ा गया है या दूसरों के लिए। जिन के लिए यह ह वहां पर तो इसका आफिस है नहीं, बाहर है। नतीजा यह है कि अधिक से अधिक लोग उस इलाके में १६, १७ मील दूर से आते हैं और दूसरे ब्लाक में उन्हें जाना पड़ता है। इसलिये जिन लोगों को इस स्कीम वालों से सलाह वगैरह लेने के लिये दूसरे ब्लाक्स में जाना पड़ता है उन्हें काफी दिक्कत आती है और वे तंग आ जाते हैं। मिनिस्ट्री के लिये यह कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं होनी चाहिये कि वह टेम्पोरेरी शेड्स वगैरह बनवा दें या कोई और इंतजाम कर दें।

मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी आज कई स्टेट्स के अन्दर कम्यूनटी डेवेलपमेंट के काम को पंचायत समितियों और जिला परिषदों के जरिये कराने की बात हो रही है। इस के लिये जो कानून बनाये जा रहे हैं वह बहुत अच्छी बात है और एक सही कदम है। मगर मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि इस नये कानून में इस बात की व्यवस्था की जाये कि उन की आमदनी बढ़ सके। उन के जो अपने रिसोर्सेज होंगे उन की जो अपनी आमदनी होगी अभी उस के १।६ या १।४ हिस्से का ही इन्तजाम उन के लिये किया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मालगुजारी अर्थात् लैंड रेवेन्यू का काम जिला परिषद् से ले कर ग्राम पंचायत को दे दिया जाये जिस से उन की आमदनी बढ़ सके।

मैंने एक और चीज अपने इलाके में देनी है कि वहां पर जंगल काफी तादाद में हैं और उन से काफी आमदनी होती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जंगलों की आमदनी का कम से कम आधा हिस्सा जिला परिषद् और पंचायत समिति के लेवल पर दे दिया

जाये। इतना ही नहीं मैं अपने और दूसरे इलाकों में देखता हूँ कि शराब की दूकानें सरकार बढ़ाती चली जा रही है। जहाँ एक ओर कम्प्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के द्वारा हम देहात के लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊँचा करना चाहते हैं वहाँ दूसरी ओर शराब की दूकानें दिनों दिन बढ़ती जाती हैं। यह बहुत बुरी बात है। लेकिन सरकार को कम से कम इतना तो करना चाहिये कि जो उस की एक्साइज की आमदनी होती है उस का ५० परसेन्ट पंचायतों को लौटा दिया जाना चाहिये ताकि वे अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति मुधार सकें। यह निहायत जरूरी है।

हम जानते हैं कि हमारे इलाके में एक ओर तो हम कृषि के प्रसार के लिये अधिक जमीन चाहते हैं और दूसरी ओर फारेस्ट डिपार्टमेंट के लोग कहते हैं कि हम को फारेस्ट बढ़ाना है और अधिक जमीन हम नहीं दे सकते। उन को जंगलों का एफारेस्टेशन करना है। मैं इस को मानता हूँ कि खेती की उन्नति के लिए एफारेस्टेशन बहुत जरूरी है, लेकिन सवाल यह है हमारे इलाके के अन्दर फारेस्ट्स से जो आमदनी हो उस का उचित फायदा लोगों को डायरेक्टली न हो तो क्या लाभ है? इस से वहाँ के लोगों को निराशा होती है। इसलिये मैं यह भी जोर दे कर कहूँगा कि जो नये कानून वगैरह बने हैं उस में यह जरूर शामिल हो कि जो जिला परिषद् और पंचायत समितियों वगैरह की अपनी इनकम होती है उस में उन को एक्साइज और फारेस्ट्स की आमदनी का ५० परसेन्ट हिस्सा और मिलना चाहिये। इस के लिये सलाह दी जानी चाहिये कि जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हैं वे इस तरह पर कानून को बदलें।

एक चीज मैं सोशल एजुकेशन के मामले में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस मामले में मैं देखता हूँ कि कई जगहों पर बी० डी० ओ० का जो स्टाफ है उस का ध्यान पूरी तरह नहीं जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वे म्यूजिक और कल्चर

की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दें। मैं छोटा नागपुर की तरफ इशारा करता हूँ। हर एक मौके पर जो हमारी अपनी संस्कृति है, हमारे जो अपने बाजे गाजे हैं, उन को सोशल आर्गनाइजर्स वगैरह जो होते हैं वे एनकरेज नहीं करना चाहते। दूसरी चीजों से जिन से हमारा अपना कोई वास्ता नहीं है, वे ज्यादा ताल्लुक रखते हैं। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्रीय जल्लों में, जैसे कि २६ जनवरी है, तमाम देश से आदिवासी लोगों के द्रूस आते हैं और उन को एनकरेज यहां किया जाता है। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है, मगर उन की अपनी जगह पर, कम्प्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के इलाकों में उन चीजों को कोई प्रेरणा या प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलता है। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। जबदस्ती उन्हें दूसरे ढंग के बाजे वगैरह दिये जायें यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है, जबदस्ती थोपने को चीज है। मैं इस ओर मिनिस्ट्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम वह ध्यान दे और जो लोग अपने म्यूजिक और कल्चर को सोशल एजुकेशन के जरिये बढ़ाना चाहते हैं उन की इज्जत करे।

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhaga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants for this Ministry I would like to make certain observations not with a view to make destructive criticism but to make some constructive criticism.

This movement of community development, I think, was in implementation of the programme chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi in the form of a constructive programme. When this programme was initiated, we thought that it will change the face of India and would enthuse the people towards the coming development programme which we envisaged through our Five Year Plans. But the working of this programme did not give any satisfaction to the people or to those who were interested in it. Even the Government realised that this pro-

[Shri Shree Narayan Das]

gramme is not able to stimulate initiative and develop institutions for the continuity of that programme through the public.

The various stages of the community development programme, as envisaged, required that the whole programme should be taken up in course of time by the people, but that was not done. Then a committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Balvantray Mehta was appointed to suggest ways and means as to how it will receive the co-operation of the people and in the form of Panchayati Raj a democratic decentralisation movement was started. Some of the States have accepted that proposal and have enacted measures in fulfilment of that programme.

I am one of those who support this and want that the whole of India should be covered by Panchayati Raj institutions. But even the working of the Panchayati Raj institutions has given us some experience which points out the dangers ahead in the programme. As has been emphasised by so many hon. Members of the House, the elections that are carried on with regard to the Panchayati Raj institutions create conditions in the rural areas which create factions and encourage casteism, communalism and so many things. But we should not be disheartened by this. In the higher set-up also, in the elections to the Assemblies and Parliament also we think that such instances are there which discourage us and which have led many thinkers of our land including Acharya Vinoba Bhave to think of another method of election. It has been suggested that recourse should be taken to indirect elections. But I am one of those who think that indirect elections, if accepted in our country, will bring out more corruption. In the direct elections there is no doubt that we have to incur expenditure on travelling from village to village for canvassing votes from the people, but in the condition that

is prevalent in India, I think, indirect elections would give rise to more casteism, more communalism and more corruption in the country. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the idea comes from Acharya Vinoba Bhave and a person like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who has also been emphasising throughout the country that we should take recourse to indirect elections, I think that the Government should think twice before accepting these suggestions. Even if the present system of election is costly, even then I think this is the best in the present circumstances, although there are some causes for anxiety here also. One has to spend a huge amount for the conduct of one's election, but since I have not much time I would not go into all those matters now.

But I would like to suggest that efforts should be made in one direction.

12:51 hrs.

[SHRI MULCHAND DUBE *in the Chair*]

As has been emphasised by so many persons, and as I also once suggested those who are interested in the implementation of this programme of democratic decentralisation in the form of panchayati raj, especially those who are social workers who do not take any part in politics, who do not belong to any party—and I think there is no lack of such persons in our country—should be constituted into a high-powered committee, not a Government committee, but a non-official one, with branches all over the country, to propagate the idea of unanimous elections in the panchayati raj institutions. We may not succeed fully in this matter, but even if we succeed to some extent it will give a new picture to this movement. As soon as the election is over we expect that the panchayats in the villages will take up their development programme in right earnest. But after the elections there are more factions in the villages, one party opposing the other party even in the matter of taking up

the developmental work. Therefore, if the present position with regard to panchayat elections is continued, I think it would be more harmful and the very purpose for which we are going to start these panchayati raj institutions in villages will be frustrated. Therefore, I would like to suggest that a high-powered non-official committee be appointed with branches all over the country, even in the villages, who will devote their time, unofficially, not at the instance of Government but of their own accord, and who will try in every village and block samiti to get these elections unopposed.

Then I would like to say something on the role of gram sabhas. As we are experiencing in so many States, panchayats are elected in the villages, executive committees are formed. They take up some developmental work. But the bulk of the village people remain indifferent. That is the experience practically of all. No gram sabha is active. No annual budget is passed. There is no real democratic decentralisation. Only a few selected persons, twenty or fifteen, in a village take some interest in the developmental work and even they not fully. But the whole village remains untouched. I think efforts and intensive efforts should be made to see that the gram sabhas become active and the energies of the people are harnessed in the direction of such kinds of developmental work.

And then, for the fulfilment of the community development programme as well as the implementation of panchayati raj we require rural leadership. Some efforts have been made to educate young people in the matter of carrying out the objects of panchayati raj and community development. But so far the results have not been successful. I think this also requires some efforts, and if continued efforts are made I think rural leadership will emerge at an early date and that will help in the development.

I would like to point out another fact. This is my own experience in

our State. I do not know the experience in other States. Developmental works are hampered very much on account of the financial procedures. These overseers and accountants are not sympathetic to those who are social workers who do not get any personal benefit from these developmental works. They go to the Block development offices. Some schemes are sanctioned and some money is allotted. After some work is done, when they go to get money from the office, every kind of hindrance is put up. The bill is not passed. They have to approach the officers or clerks so many times, for six months or more. Even then, they are not able to get the money. When contractors, in the name of social workers, get some programme in developmental works to be done by them, because they take recourse to some undesirable activities, their bills are passed easily. Most of that money goes to waste. The work is not finished. Even then the Bill is passed. When the work is done by social workers, who do not derive any benefit, their bills are not passed. It must be the experience of the hon. Minister also that huge amounts of money, allotted for this purpose in the villages, especially irrigation projects, remain un-spent. Even if the money is spent, that goes waste. The work is not done. Any enquiry will prove this fact. These things should be looked into. These overseers, who are technical men, in the name of technical objection, say that it is not good. If they are approached in any other way, the work is done. Therefore, all the social workers are disheartened. They do not go to the Block development offices for any development work. They become tired. They leave the work there. Therefore, there is not much progress.

I would like to point out one thing more. Recently a seminar was held in connection with the administration of these Panchayati Raj institutions. Some suggestions had been made. They are valuable suggestions. I hope

[Shre Shree Narayan Das]

they will be considered. I would also like to emphasise a point that has been stressed by so many Members here. Work has been taken up. Elections have been held, panchayats elected and block samitis have been elected. But, there is lack of life in the activities. This is due to the fact that no financial resources have been allocated. In some States, I have heard—in Bombay, for instance,—that a major part of the land revenue is going to be granted to these institutions. But, in other States that has not happened. They have been empowered to levy some small taxes. I would like to state that the Panchayati Raj institutions should prosper. Although they should be entitled to levy taxes, we should discourage that. Because we want that the people should take an interest in the development work, if the village leaders or the panchas or panchayats levy the taxes, they will become unpopular and they cannot carry on the work. I would like to state that there should be sharing of the taxes raised by the State Government. A greater part of the land revenue should be given to the panchayats. Besides that, if other taxes have to be levied, they should be levied by the State Government and the Panchayati Raj institutions should be given the allocation early, so that they may take up development work throughout the year.

Coming to co-operative movement, there is no doubt that recently, much interest is being taken by the Government as well as the public in the development of co-operatives in our country. Some years ago, a committee appointed by the Reserve Bank of India made some suggestions. Recently, a committee was appointed under the leadership of Shri V. L. Mehta. That also suggested some measures. The Reserve Bank of India as well as the State Bank in some spheres have been taking measures for the improvement of this co-operative movement. But, that has not proved so effective as it should have been. I would like

to suggest that an assessment should be made, especially with regard to the requirements of finance for agricultural development.

13. hrs.

So far as the co-operative movement is concerned, it is mostly agricultural. But the allotment that has been made during the Third Plan and during this year is likely to be spent on other heads also. For instance, there are the handloom co-operative societies, then there are the consumers' co-operative societies, and other such co-operative societies. Therefore, I would like to suggest that if we want these panchayat raj institutions to thrive successfully, and we want that these co-operative institutions should engage themselves in increasing the food production, then sufficient arrangements should be made to provide them with finance for this purpose.

My feeling is that it would have been better if an agricultural finance corporation had been set up. I made that suggestion some years ago in this Parliament, that an agricultural finance commission should be set up. Of course, the Reserve Bank is doing something in this respect, but that is not sufficient. An agricultural finance corporation should be established which can grant credit to the co-operative societies or to the individual farmers.

In conclusion, I would like to submit again that this dynamic programme of agricultural credit and its distribution will require the co-operation of the officials as well as the non-officials, of the panchayat raj institutions as well as the co-operative societies. Unless we make this movement successful, I am afraid that our dream of having a socialist society in our country will not be fulfilled, even though we may go on repeating this for years together. It is only if we take steps to make this movement successful, the movement of community develop-

ment, the movement of panchayat raj institutions and the movement of co-operative societies, that we shall be able to fulfil our aim of having a welfare State in India, of the kind which Mahatma Gandhi envisaged.

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी (कोप्पल): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तकरीबन नौ साल से इस मुल्क मे कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट और कोऑपरेशन का काम हम कर रहे हैं। इस में शक नहीं है कि पंचायत राज्य को इस देश मे एक खास मकसद के लिए बनाया गया है। यह मकसद यही था कि कि हमारी शासन की इकाइयां इन पंचायतों को माना जाय।

यह खुशी की बात है कि सरकार ने पंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में यह चीज मान ली है कि यह पंचायतें बिल्कुल निष्पक्ष होकर काम करें और कोई भी पॉलिटिकल पार्टी उन के काम में दखल न दें। एक बिल्कुल निष्पक्षपूर्ण दृष्टि से इन कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज को चलाया जाय। पंचायत समिति, ताल्लुका बोर्ड या जिला परिषद् जो भी हों यह बिल्कुल पार्टीलेस डेमोक्रेसी के उसूल पर चलनी चाहिए। लेकिन मूझे अफसोस के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि कांग्रेस दल ने खुसूसन हमारी मैसूर स्टेट में जब ताल्लुका बोर्ड का चुनाव हुआ तो उस वक्त बेजाब्ता कांग्रेस की मीटिंग कर के हर एक जिले में एक, एक अपने लीडर को भेज कर टिकट देने का एक बाजार गर्म किया और उसी का यह नतीजा है कि हर ताल्लुका बोर्ड को कांग्रेस के टिकट के उसूल पर ही बनाया गया है। इसकी वजह से काम में बहुत बाधा पड़ रही है। ताल्लुका बोर्ड के द्वारा यह जो इरीगेशन और तकावी लॉस दिये जाते हैं वह बिल्कुल पार्टी बेसिस पर दिये जाते हैं और वह कार्यकर्ता जो ताल्लुका बोर्ड में अब शरीक हो चुके हैं वह बिल्कुल एक पार्टी आफिस या कांग्रेस की सब कमेटी की तरह से काम कर रहे हैं।

इरीगेशन और तकावी लॉस मे किस तरह से तरफदारी की जाती है उस के लिए

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मूझे इस बारे में खास तौर से अपने जिले रायचूर और कुष्टगी ताल्लुके का अनुभव है जहां कि हम ने देखा कि बावली खोदने के लिए और इरीगेशन के लिए जो वहां पर पैसा बांटा गया वह उन्हीं लोगों को दिया गया जिन्होंने कि उन के लिए चुनाव में काम किया था, कांग्रेस के हामियों को ही यह पैसा दिया गया। अब इस चीज को लेकर वहां काफी बावला मचा और यहां तक नौबत आयी कि वह लोग जिन्होंने कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के उम्मीदवारों को वोट न देकर विपक्षी दल वालों को वोट दिया था उन लोगों ने एकत्र होकर बी० डी० ओ० के आफिस में इसके खिलाफ सत्याग्रह किया और उसके बाद कहीं जमकर उनको रैलीफ मिली। मेरे कहने का मकसद यह है कि जब तक हम पालिटिक्स को इससे बिल्कुल दूर नहीं रखेंगे उस वक्त तक इस कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट को सफलता नहीं मिल सकेगी।

इस के बाद मैं अपने जिले रायचूर की डिस्ट्रिक्ट डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल की ३०-४-६२ की मीटिंग के लिए वहां के डिप्टी कमिश्नर ने जो मीटिंग का एजेंडा भेजा है, मिनिट्स आफ मीटिंग भेजे हैं उन के चंद रिमार्क्स मैं यहां हाउस में पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। ऐसा इसलिए भी जरूरी हो जाता है क्योंकि यदि मैं कुछ कहूँ तो उसके लिए यह कहा जायगा कि विरोधी दल में होने के कारण और पार्टी स्पिरिट में कहा गया है। इस वास्ते मैं अपनी तरफ से कुछ न कह कर उन्हीं के शब्दों को यहां पर पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। डिप्टी कमिश्नर रायचूर ने ३०-४-१९६२ को होने वाली डिस्ट्रिक्ट डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल की मीटिंग के जो मिनिट्स भेजे हैं, उस के सफे ६ पर देवदुयं ब्लाक स्टेज-१ के बारे में यह रिमार्क किया है :—

“The progress of the Block work was reviewed. As some of the Extension Officers' performance remained unsatisfactory, the presi-

[श्री शि० स्वामी]

dent has instructed them to show good results and fulfil the target.”.

टार्जेट के फुलफिल होने का तो सवाल ही नहीं कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। सिवाय दो चार बावली खोदने के, एक, आष को तकावी देने के और दो, चार दवाखानों को मैडीसिन तकसीम करने के और कुछ नहीं हुआ। इस के अलावा जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ कोई और काम वहां पर नहीं हुआ है। इस रिपोर्ट से भी साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि क्या क्या काम वहां पर बिल्कुल स्टैंड स्टिल हो चुका है।

“The revised budget estimates of Taluk Boards for the year 1961-62 were received only from Manvi and Lingasugur and . . .”.

दस ताल्लुकों में से सिर्फ दो ताल्लुकों से रिवाइज्ड बजट एस्टिमेंट्स मिले थे।

“... were approved by the District Development Council at its meeting held on 9.1.62. The other taluk Boards did not send their revised budget estimates in time.”;

दूसरे ताल्लुक बोर्डस ने अपने रिवाइज्ड एस्टिमेंट्स समय के अंदर नहीं भेजे।

“The budget estimates for 1962-63 which were to be submitted by the Taluk Boards not later than 1.2.1962 under rule 29 of the Mysore Taluk Boards Budget and Accounts Rules, 1960 were not received in time from any of the Taluk Boards except Raichur and Manvi, despite emphasizing the need for timely submission of the same, vide District Development Council, Raichur's letter No. DDC/792/61-62 dated 19.1.1962. The budget estimates for 1962-63 received from Manvi were incomplete . . .”

सिर्फ दो ताल्लुक बोर्डस यानी रायचूर और मानवी ने ही अपने रिवाइज्ड एस्टिमेंट्स भेजे लेकिन उन में से भी मानवी ताल्लुक के बजट एस्टिमेंट्स इनकम्प्लीट थे

“.. and the same were therefore

returned for submitting after necessary modifications.

Works Programme: The taluk boards did not take sufficient interest in executing the various schemes . . .”.

Shri B. S. Murthy: May I know the date of the document from which the hon. Member is reading.

Shri S. Swamy: The date is 30th April, 1962. It reads thus:

“The taluk boards did not take sufficient interest in executing the various schemes with the result that there was shortfall in expenditure. Similarly the schemes transferred to the taluk boards for execution during 1961-62 under the Plan and non-Plan schemes were not executed satisfactorily due to partly lack of interest and partly lack of experience and also for want of timely action on the part of the taluk boards—specially to mention the taluk board, Raichur—as a result of which most of the funds were surrendered particularly under the rural water supply scheme.

“**General:** The Chief Executive Officers of the Taluk Boards have not taken keen interest in the work of the taluk boards. There should be proper coordination between taluk boards and panchayats. They must rise to the occasion and spare no time in improving the working of the taluk boards.

Abdul Jabbar,
for Deputy Commissioner,
Raichur.”

Dr. Melkote (Hyderabad): May I know to what extent the works in Manvi have been completed? The hon. Member has mentioned in a general manner that so many things have not been completed. I want to know the extent to which they have been completed.

श्री शि० स्वामी : सभापति महोदय, मैं आप से चार पांच मिनट और माँगूंगा, क्योंकि मैं उस की प्राप्ति बताना चाहता हूँ।

यह प्राप्ति रीव्यू आफ़ प्राइस ग्रंथर करल वाटर सप्लाई स्कीम (स्टेट) फ़ार वि यीअर १९६१-६२ के शीर्षक के नीचे दी गई है :

रायचूर ताल्लुका	तीन विलेजिज
मान्ची ताल्लुका	पांच विलेजिज
लिंगासुगुर ताल्लुका	तीन विलेजिज
यलवर्गा ताल्लुका	दो विलेजिज

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हर एक ताल्लुक में १५० से कम विलेजिज नहीं हैं, लेकिन उन में से दो तीन विलेजिज में बावलियां खुदवाने का काम किया गया है। जब तहसीलदार और मामलेदार थे, तो वे भी यह काम करते थे। अब इस काम के लिए स्पेशल स्टाफ़ रखा गया है और हर एक ताल्लुक में लाखों रुपए खर्च किये जाते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी एक दो विलेजिज में बावलियां खुदवाने का काम हो पाता है। इस के बावजूद सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि हम बहुत कुछ सुधार कर रहे हैं और देश में क्रांति ला रहे हैं। यह बात बिल्कुल समझ में नहीं आती है।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास (उज्जैन) : क्या वहाँ पर इन दो चार गांवों के अलावा किसी भी गांव में बावलियां नहीं हैं ?

श्री शि० स्वामी : हाँगी, लेकिन मैं इस फ़िर्नाल यीअर की बात कर रहा हूँ।

Dr. Melkote: Could the hon. Member tell us in how many talukas water from the Tungabhadra Project is flowing where it may not be necessary to dig wells?

श्री शि० स्वामी : वे सब बातें इस में मौजूद हैं। माननीय सदस्य उन को देख सकते

हैं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि रायचूर प्रापर के लिए अभी तक पानी का बहाव शुरू नहीं हुआ है। अगर माननीय सदस्य इस बारे में पूरी सूचना चाहते हैं, तो मैं यह पूरी रिपोर्ट हाउस के सामने रखने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

इस प्रकार आप देखेंगे कि इस सम्बन्ध में जो काम हो रहा है, उस में बहुत खामियां हैं। इस में शक नहीं कि इस में सरकार का कुछ सदुद्देश्य होगा और अपने तरीके से एप्रीकलचरिस्ट्स और विलेजिज में रहने वालों की खिदमत करने की उस की आर्जू होगी, लेकिन मैं इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि जितने उद्देश्य इस किताब में बताए गए हैं, उन की पूर्ति हो रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिनने विभागों के साथ इस का ताल्लुक है, उन का सब काम ठीक तरीके से होना नामुमकिन है। अब इस डिपार्टमेंट का प्लानिंग कमीशन और दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट्स से जो ताल्लुक है, उस को खत्म कर देना चाहिए, क्योंकि अब ताल्लुका बोर्ड इलैक्टिड बोर्ड हो चुके हैं। अब इस डिपार्टमेंट को गाइडेंस देने का काम सम्भाल लेना चाहिए। इस वक्त तो वह ग्रान्ट्स देने का महकमा बना हुआ है।

को-आपरेशन के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि को-आपरेटिव मूवमेंट पचास साल से इस मुल्क में चल रही है। उस में क्रेडिट वगैरह सैंकशन करने में बहुत सी खामियां हैं और विलेजिज और मवाजात में बसने वाले लोगों को हर एक स्टेज पर बहुत तकलीफ़ात का सामना करना पड़ता है उन तकलीफ़ों को दूर किया जाना चाहिए। इस के लिए आवश्यक है कि लैंड माटर्गेज बैंक्स को एनकरेज किया जाये। आज कल कर्जा लैंड रेवेन्यू के बेसिस पर दिया जाता है। जिस का लैंड-रेवेन्यू एक रुपया हो, उस को दस रुपए कर्जा मिल सकता है। इस का परिणाम यह है कि ग़रीबों को कुछ नहीं मिलता है और सिर्फ़ जमीन वालों, बड़े बड़े साहूकारों और पूंजीपतियों को पैसा मिलता

[श्री शि० स्वामी]

है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि छोटी छोटी जमीन पर खेती-बाड़ी करने वाले लैंडलेस लेबरर्स के लिए भी कुछ प्राविजन किया जाये।

श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) : उन की जमानत कोई नहीं देता है। उन की जमानत कौन देगा ?

श्री शि० स्वामी : वे लोग को-ऑपरेटिव सोसायटी के मेम्बर होते हैं और सोसायटी खुद रेसपांसिबिलिटी लेती है, तो फिर उन को कर्जा देने में कोई हर्ज नहीं है।

गांवों में हरिजन और अन्य मजदूरी का काम करने वाले बहुत से गरीब आदमी हैं, जिन को पांच, छः, सात महीने काम नहीं मिलता है और वे बिल्कुल बेकार बैठे रहते हैं। प्रश्न यह है कि सरकार की ओर से उन को काम देने और उन से सहयोग लेने के लिए क्या कार्यवाही की गई है। हमारे आफिसर्स डिक्टेटर और आटोक्रेट बन चुके हैं और उन का अपने गरीब भाइयों के साथ मिलना और उन का सहयोग लेना बिल्कुल दूर की बात हो चुकी है।

हाउसिंग की स्कीम के काम में बहुत घुसखोरी होती है। उस को खत्म करने के लिए सरकार को जल्दी से जल्दी एक्शन लेना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पञ्जातीत दृष्टि से स्थापित पार्टीलैस डेमोक्रेसी से ही वास्तविक सक्सेस हो सकती है। अगर हम देश का विकास और प्रगति करना चाहते हैं, तो हम को सेंटर और स्टेट्स के लेवल पर पार्टीलैस गवर्नमेंट बनानी चाहिए। पार्टी गवर्नमेंट से कुछ नहीं हो सकता है, सिवाये इस के कि उस के पीछे रहने वाले चन्द लोगों को फायदा होता है। लेकिन आम तौर पर देश की उन्नति करने के लिए इस मूलक में एक नैशनल

गवर्नमेंट बनाना अशद जरूरी है। पार्टीलैस गवर्नमेंट की त.ई.द करते हुए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

Shri Rajeshwar Patel (Hajipur): The Community Development Ministry has produced its 9th Report. As we all know, it has been in existence for 9 years. It came into existence to organise community development in the country. We are also aware that it could not succeed in its objectives. As a result of the Balwantraj Mehta Committee's investigations, certain suggestions were made, and adopted by this Ministry in introducing panchayati raj throughout the country. It is reported that up to date about 65 per cent of the villages have been covered, and we have succeeded in introducing the panchayati raj system in almost all the States except West Bengal where also the necessary legislation is being contemplated.

The panchayati raj scheme suggested by the Balwantraj Mehta Committee was to utilise the machinery of blocks for implementation of the plans, for enlisting the community's support in developmental activities in villages. I have been listening to the speeches of hon. Members yesterday and today; I have also heard references made by hon. Members to the panchayati raj system on the occasion of the debates on the President's Address and the General Budget. It seems there is still some kind of doubt in the minds of some Members whether there should be a thing like the panchayati raj system in this country or not. The other day, Shri H. N. Mukerjee of the Communist Party said that 'the mere incantation of panchayati raj, this *mantram*, which is supposed to dispel all our troubles, is not going to lead us anywhere because you have not got a really thought-out policy . . .'

Shri B. S. Murthy: Does he believe in incantation?

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: I do not know whether he believes in incantation, but his meaning is very clear, that he wants this Ministry to take this activity of panchayati raj a little more seriously than what they have done so far.

Shri Mathur also said:

"If panchayati raj has got to be fitted into parliamentary democracy as it obtains in Parliament and the State Legislatures, I do not see how we can keep politics out of panchayati raj. It is a self-deception, and I think the earlier we get out of it the better."

There have been other Members who have suggested that there should not be politics at this lower level of administration. The Swatantra Party has also made such references. I will not go into these things. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy of the PSP seems to be very enthusiastic about panchayati raj system, but he does not quite agree with the way things are coming up. He thinks that the State Governments are trying to utilise these basic institutions to their advantage, to the advantage of their own party, and things like that

I think I will do well to draw the attention of the House to article 40 of the Constitution of India, which reads as follows:

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

These words are very clear and need no elucidation, and if at all anything is needed, I shall try to bring before the House the real necessity and import of this article.

When the Constitution was being drafted, our present President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, suggested that steps should be taken to organise village

panchayats as units of self-government as our base. It was found that the suggestion was made rather late, and therefore they could not, because they had already proceeded with the business of constitution-making far enough, introduce this basic and revolutionary change in the system they had decided upon. So, they contented themselves with accepting an amendment of Shri Santhanam which has been incorporated in the Constitution as article 40. While moving that amendment, Shri Santhanam said:

"I need not elaborate the necessity for this clause. Many honourable Members had given similar amendments for village panchayats, but they had also attached to it conditions like self-sufficiency and other matters, which many of us did not consider desirable to put into the directives. What powers should be given to a village panchayat, what its area should be and what its functions should be will vary from province to province...."

In the end he said:

"What is attempted to do here is to give definite and unequivocal direction that the State shall take steps to organise panchayats and shall endow them with necessary powers and authority to enable them to function as units of self-government. That the entire structure of self-government, of independence in this country should be based on organised village community life is the common factor of all the amendments tabled and that factor has been made the principal basis of this amendment. I hope it will meet with unanimous acceptance."

The hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said:

"Sir, I accept the amendment".

I do not know whether this Ministry of Community Development ever

[Shri Rajeshwar Patel]

bothered to be drawn to this provision of the Constitution and made a real effort in getting it implemented by the State Governments. It seems, as I stated a few minutes back, that this idea of panchayati raj was reborn as a result of the recommendations made by the Balwantray Committee. It is really almost unpardonable that this Ministry should not have taken steps nine years back to get this provision of the Constitution taken up seriously by the State Governments. However, even now there seems to be a kind of doubt in the minds of many hon. Members here and the State Governments seem to be trying to do some good by the people of the villages and condescend to give them some powers. The Constitution-makers were very clear in their minds that they wanted a Government from below, not the type of Government that we have today. Unfortunately or fortunately we could not help it at that time because the type of Government obtaining in the country during the British regime was a Central Government and State Governments and therefore the same pattern was sort of followed. Mr. Rau and other gentlemen drafting the Constitution realised belatedly that this should have been provided for in the Constitution from the very start. Nevertheless, by having inserted that provision in the Constitution they assured themselves and they thought that the Governments to follow would take up the matter and do the needful. Now, whatever time might have been lost, I think it should be the endeavour of this Ministry to see it to that the panchayats in the villages are organised in the manner and spirit in which it was envisaged in this article of the Constitution.

Some people have been referring to the desirability and undesirability of the panchayat system, because they say that already there are many factions, caste, community and other problems facing the villagers, and if we introduce this panchayati raj system in the villages, we will be only ad-

ding to the trouble of the villages. Shri U. N. Dhebar and others who have given serious thought to the problem and the necessity of strengthening the grass roots, the basic institutions, which can assure the country a democratic way of life, have realised that it is absolutely necessary that democracy, our democracy which at the moment happens to stand on a pinpoint, should be so organised that the basic roots of democracy are firmly established in every village. In order to achieve this, it is absolutely necessary that a kind of feeling must be generated in the people of the villages that whatever they are doing, they are doing for their own good. The responsibilities must be given to them ungrudgingly, it must not be halting. As I said when I was speaking last on some other occasion, even if we think that they are not in a position to take care of themselves, we do not have the right to deny them the right to commit suicide.

We have during the last ten or twelve years of our rule, we must frankly admit, not done very much by the people in the villages, and it is not because of any want of desire on our part to do the best by them, but because the circumstances, the conditions, the form of Government, have been such that it has not been possible for this Government to do all that should have been done. I do not question the *bona fides* of the Government either at the Centre or in the States, but unfortunately as constituted they have not been very much helpful. So, without losing any more time, we should statutorily create panchayats and endow all the powers on this basic institution.

I have tried to follow the enactments of the different States regarding the panchayati raj system. I am sorry to disagree with most of them, particularly the one from Maharashtra State where it is sought to create a strong panchayat unit at the district level. With due respect I would draw the at-

tion of the framers of the Acts to the fact that that kind of panchayat is nothing better than decentralising power at a slightly lower level, which will again leave the villagers untouched. As we may have all experienced during the last election, the villagers are very clear in their minds that Swaraj has come to the country but not to them. They have not felt the sensation of Swaraj because they have not been allowed even to attend to local matters, small matters. Even now the ordinary officials of the village go about lording over them. As many hon. Members have narrated their own experience, the petty officers in the villages would not do the right thing by the people unless some bribe or things like that are made available to them.

If we want this scheme to succeed, we must be very clear in our minds that the panchayats have to be organised as units of self-government. This article 40 says, 'units of self government'. There must not be any strings. Then alone that kind of self-governing units will be possible in the villages.

The resources must be very clearly defined and they should not have to depend upon the goodwill of the State Government or of the Central Government to run their administrations. There must be some defined subjects and they should be supreme in those fields. I do not think that government at the lower level will be successful if the officers were to be in charge of these units. As the defaulting States of the Union can be taken over by the President, likewise, we should devise some kind of machinery whereby the defaulting panchayats will be taken over.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Rajeshwar Patel: Sir, a minute and I will close.

If we want real community life in this country to come up, if we want that the villages should be taken care
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of, if we want to wipe out unemployment which is raging in the villages, if we want illiteracy to be wiped out, then agriculture, education and sanitation are some of the subjects that could readily be passed on to these units of self-government which we are trying to create in the villages.

श्री कृष्ण देव त्रिपाठी (उन्नाव) :

सभापति महोदय, अभी अनेक सम्मानित सदस्यों ने सामुदायिक विकास योजना, पंचायती राज और सहकारिता पर अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं कि किस तरह से इन विभागों की योजनायें यहां काम कर रही हैं। उन के काम करने में क्या दिक्कतें हैं और कितनी सफलतायें उन योजनाओं को मिली हैं, इस पर काफी प्रकाश डाला जा चुका है। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं कि पिछले दस वर्षों में सामुदायिक विकास योजनाओं के माध्यम से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों का विकास करने का काफी प्रयास हुआ है। इस प्रकार की सामाजिक क्रान्ति के द्वारा—ऐसी क्रान्ति जिस से देहात के रहने वालों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा हो सके, वे प्रगति कर सकें, जो देहातों और शहरी में इतनी बड़ी खाई हो गई है, इतना फर्क आ गया है, इतनी असमानता है, वह दूर हो सके—इस दिशा में सामुदायिक विकास योजना के द्वारा एक बहुत अच्छा और बहुत बड़ा प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है, और इस बात की कोशिश की जा रही है कि इस के द्वारा जो पिछड़ापन ग्रामीण जीवन में है, वह दूर हो सके। लेकिन देखना यह है कि जिस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये यह योजना शुरू की गई थी और इस दिशा में जो प्रयास किया गया था या कदम उठाये गये उन में हमें कहां तक सफलता मिली है। वास्तव में दस वर्ष का समय काफी बड़ा समय होता है और दस वर्षों में एक योजना को कार्यान्वित करने से यह स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिये कि वह योजना किस हद तक लोगों के दिल और दिमाग को बदल पाई है और जिस उद्देश्य के लिये उस योजना को

[श्री कृष्ण देव त्रिपाठी]

प्रारम्भ किया गया था, उस उद्देश्य को कहां तक पूर्ति हुई है। मैं दो बातों की ओर इस सम्बन्ध में विशेष रूप से ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा जिस से यह स्पष्ट होगा कि यह योजना किस हद तक सफल हुई है और उस में क्या कुछ तब्दीली करने की आवश्यकता है।

13.35 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

एक बात यह है कि सामुदायिक विकास योजना लागू होने से देहात के व्यक्तियों का कितना सहयोग मिला है, कितना विश्वास मिला है और किस तरह से उन्होंने ने सक्रिय रूप से इस योजना में सहयोग दिया है? दूसरी चीज यह है कि जो साधन और सुविधायें देहात के रहने वालों के लिये उपलब्ध करने की बात इस योजना के माध्यम द्वारा थी, वह कहां तक सम्भव हो सकी है और उन लोगों को कितनी साधन और सुविधायें मिल सकी हैं। मैं बहुत अदब के साथ आप के ध्यान में लाना चाहूंगा कि जितनी सफलता इस दिशा में मिलनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं मिली है। जैसा मैं ने पहले भी कहा है, एक सही दृष्टिकोण—एक ऐसा दृष्टिकोण जो ग्रामीण जीवन के अनुसार हो और इस प्रकार के समाजिक कार्यों के अनुसार हो जो कार्य सामुदायिक विकास योजना के काम के द्वारा किये जा रहे हैं—ऐसा दृष्टिकोण उन कर्मचारियों में नहीं है जो इस योजना को देहाती क्षेत्रों में कार्यान्वित कर रहे हैं। इस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि उन का वर्ग चरित्र बिल्कुल भिन्न है। वे जिस वर्ग से आते हैं वह बिल्कुल भिन्न है, उस के हित बिल्कुल विरुद्ध हैं। ज्यादातर लोग ऐसे हैं जिन्हें ग्रामीण जीवन से कोई लगाव नहीं है, न ग्रामीण जीवन की उन को कोई जानकारी है, न ग्रामीणों से उन को कोई सहानुभूति है। इसलिये पहली बड़ी

अड़चन इस दिशा में यह आती है। यह कर्मचारी ऐसे नहीं हैं जो सही ढंग से काम कर सकें और उन का विश्वास प्राप्त कर के सहयोग पा सकें।

दूसरी बात, जैसा मैंने निवेदन किया, वह यह है कि इस योजना को कहां तक सफलता मिली है। इस में यह देखना होगा कि वास्तव में जिन पिछड़े हुए, दलित और शोषित व्यक्तियों के उत्थान के द्वारा ही ग्रामीण जीवन का उत्थान सम्भव है, उन तक वह सुख सुविधायें, वह सहूलियतें जो दो योजनाओं के माध्यम द्वारा देने की बात थी, पहुंच सकी हैं या नहीं। अगर इस की जानकारी की जाय, तो जहां तक ग्रामीण जीवन में इस योजना के कार्यान्वित रूप को मैंने देखा, है मैं बहुत अदब से यह स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन व्यक्तियों के लिये यह योजना है, वह उन तक नहीं पहुंच पाती है। निहित स्वार्थ इन योजनाओं को बीच में ही समाप्त कर डालते हैं और यह योजनायें वहां की नहीं रह जाती हैं।

तीसरी चीज यह है कि इस योजना के कार्यान्वयन का जो स्वरूप है—जिस तरह से इस योजना में प्रशासन तथा दूसरी चीजों पर खर्च किया जाता है—वह बहुत ही दोषपूर्ण है। बलाक विकास अधिकारी (बी० डी० ग्रो०) को एक जीप मिलती है। वे उस का गलत उपयोग करते हैं। हमारा जितना बड़ा प्रशासन है उस के लिये बड़ी बड़ी इमारतें बनाई जा रही हैं। यह चीजें ऐसी हैं जो हमारे देश के ग्रामीण जीवन से मेल नहीं खातीं। इस तरह इमारतों पर खर्च करना या जीप पर खर्च करना, निहायत फजूलखर्ची है। कर्मचारियों (स्टाफ) का जैसा दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिये और जिस दृष्टिकोण से ही ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में का

करना सम्भव है, ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के रहने वाले लोगों का विश्वास प्राप्त करना सम्भव है, वैसा नहीं हो पा रहा है।

इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस बात का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाय कि इस विभाग में काम करने वाले कर्मचारी वे ही लोग हों जिन का दृष्टिकोण ग्रामीण जीवन में काम करने से मेल खाता हो, और जो वास्तव में शहर से नहीं ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों से हों और समझते हों कि देशवासी एक बहुत बड़ा काम इस योजना द्वारा कर रहे हैं। इस के लिये दूसरी चीज है सादगी का वातावरण। यह भी बहुत जरूरी है। बगैर इस वातावरण के हम देहाती क्षेत्रों का विश्वास प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते।

थोड़ा सा में पंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में भी निवेदन करूंगा। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि हमारे देश में जो प्रजातांत्रिक राज्य व्यवस्था लागू है, यह उस के अनुरूप ही या कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पंचायतों की स्थापना की जाय। पंचायतें देश के लिये नई नहीं हैं। ब्रिटिश राज्य स्थापित होने के पहले इस देश में जगह जगह पंचायतें थीं और ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के प्रारम्भ पर ही इन पंचायतों को समाप्त किया गया ताकि ब्रिटिश हुकूमत यहां पर अच्छी तरह से अपनी जड़ें जमा सके। इसलिये यहां पर पंचायतों का स्थापित होना प्रजातंत्र के हित में नितान्त आवश्यक था। साथ ही साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि राज्य सत्ता का विकेन्द्रीकरण हो। लेकिन पंचायतों को जिस तरह से रखा गया है, उन को जो अधिकार दिये गये हैं, वे बहुत कम हैं। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उन के अधिकार बढ़ाये जायें और सरकारी कर्मचारियों का जो नियंत्रण और हस्तक्षेप पंचायतों पर अधिकांश जगहों पर है, उसे खत्म किया जाय।

एक सुझाव मैं यह भी देना चाहूंगा कि इन पंचायतों से प्राइमरी और जूनियर

स्कूलों के अध्यापकों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सम्बद्ध किया जाय। आखिर गांवों में वही पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं। देहाती क्षेत्र में हर गांव में प्राइमरी स्कूल हैं और वे अध्यापक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम कर सकते हैं और देहाती क्षेत्रों में उस सामाजिक क्रान्ति का नेतृत्व कर सकते हैं जो इस देश में हो रही है, और जिस का बहुत बड़ा माध्यम पंचायती राज है। अगर इन का सहयोग लिया जाय और इन को पंचायतों से सम्बद्ध किया जाय तो इस में कोई शक नहीं कि वह पंचायतों के कार्य को कुशलता से चलाने में बहुत बड़ा सहयोग प्रदान कर सकेंगे।

पंचायतों और सहकारी समितियों (को-ऑपरेटिक्स) के सम्बन्ध में अक्सर यह बात कही जाती है कि इन के काम में एकरूपता नहीं है; कहीं पर किसी प्रकार का काम हो रहा है, कहीं पर किसी प्रकार का हो रहा है। यह मुनासिब नहीं है। जब इस तरह की बातें उठायी जाती हैं तो कहा जाता है कि राज्यों की सरकारों ने यहां इस तरह से किया और वहां इस तरह से किया। लेकिन यह बात ठीक नहीं है। आज हमारे देश में सौभाग्य से से एक ही दल का शासन है। इसलिये सहकारिता में और पंचायतों में और ऐसे सभी कामों में एकरूपता होना आवश्यक ही नहीं संभव भी है। केवल उन क्षेत्रों को जिन में अभी राजनीतिक चेतना पैदा नहीं हुई है, दूसरी तरह का राजनीतिक स्वरूप देना होगा।

तीसरी बात मुझे सहकारिता के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। बहुत से लोगों ने बताया है कि सहकारिता के क्षेत्र में किस तरह से दिक्कतें आती हैं समितियों को पंजीबद्ध (रजिस्टर) कराने में और प्रशासकीय हस्तक्षेप (आफिशियल इंटरफरेंस) की वजह से। ये तमाम बातें कही गयीं। लेकिन मैं केवल सहकारी खेती (कोऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग) की ओर विशेष रूप से आप का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। अगर इस देश में कृषि

[श्री कृष्ण देव त्रिपाठी]

का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है तो सहकारिता नितान्त आवश्यक है। यह भी जरूरी है कि सहकारी खेती बलपूर्वक नहीं लादी जा सकती। लोगों में उस के लिए प्रेरणा पैदा की जानी चाहिये। उस के लिये मेरा यह निश्चित सुझाव है कि हर ब्लॉक में एक एक गांव ले लिया जाय और वहां के लोगों को समझा कर सामूहिक रूप से सहकारी खेती शुरू की जाये। लेकिन उन को यह आश्वासन दे दिया जाये कि आने वाले पांच वर्ष तक उन को कम से कम उतना अवश्य मिलेगा जितना कि औसतन वह अपने खेतों में पैदा कर लेते हैं। अगर ऐसा आश्वासन दे दिया जाय तो इस दशक में प्रचार के रूप में हम कार्य शुरू कर सकते हैं। वह जितना औसतन पैदा कर लेते हैं अगर उन को उतना मिल जायेगा तो उन को कोई शिकायत नहीं होगी और पांच साल में सहकारी खेती द्वारा एक गांव का उत्पादन बढ़ा कर हम दिखा देंगे कि किस प्रकार सहकारी खेती से इस देश की खाद्य समस्या को हल किया जा सकता है और देहात के लोगों को खेतों की एक अच्छी व्यवस्था प्रदान की जा सकती है। ऐसा एक बार प्रदर्शित हो जाये तो वह पूरे देश के लिए एक मिसाल होगी, और आज जो सहकारी खेती के खिलाफ तरह तरह का गलत प्रचार किया जा रहा है उस को भी दूर करने में सहायता मिलेगी।

Shri Mallick (Jaipur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this House. I also take this opportunity to congratulate our Minister and Deputy Minister. It is true that we have made progress in different fields of economic activities. In our vast country, the production has gone up. There has been tremendous progress in the production both in the industrial and agricultural fields during the last two Plan periods. From the bottom of my heart, I can say that no other country in the industry of the world has ever achiev-

ed so much in a brief span of fifteen years. Still the conditions of the village people had not improved, as much as the condition of the people living in the towns. The poorest in the village are still the most hard hit. Government should, therefore, take necessary steps to ensure, however, that the poorer sections of society also benefited proportionately from the developmental activities. More attention should be given to the peasants and landless people especially to persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and also to the States which are backward and flood-affected State like Orissa. Seeds, fertilisers and proper implements should be given to the agriculturists at the nick of time. Special attention should also be given to the people who have not come up to the level. Problems of housing, health, education and untouchability are still to be tackled in the rural areas of the society. The democratic decentralisation scheme in the community project areas has improved the lot of people in Orissa. Quick efforts had been made to set up some industries in the rural areas. The panchayat samitis have been accepted as the units of planning and agencies of all development works in the Blocks. As a major step towards decentralisation of administration, all types of primary schools in the State of Orissa have been transferred to Panchayat samitis with effect from September, 1961.

The social objective behind this programme is in keeping with the objectives of a Socialistic pattern of Society, which aims at ensuring social justice to the largest section of the country's population living in rural areas and bettering their standards of living by creating for them more remunerative pursuits and encouraging them to take up profitable vocations and enterprises through corporate forms of organisations.

I am glad to say that our hon. Minister had been to Bhubaneswar, the capital of Orissa to inaugurate the

panchayat sammelan there and he said that he would help the industries which have been located in the panchayat samities in the State. So, it is necessary that more funds should be made available to the State of Orissa. We have to make more efforts in the Third Plan period. It is hoped that we would make faster and faster progress in this glorious country.

Dr. Melkote: Sir, for the last two days I have been very carefully hearing to the various speeches made on the Demands of this Ministry. May I point out to this House that it is for the first time during the last ten or twelve years, during the regime of the Congress Government the villages have been receiving some attention. It was conceived that through this community development and co-operative movement we would be in a position to revolutionise the life of the villagers in our country and thus fulfil the promise that we held out to these people during the movement for Independence.

It is very easy to make criticisms of the various administrative lapses. I was carefully watching to hear what suggestions would emanate from hon. Members themselves. But I found that no suggestions have come forward so far. As Members of Parliament, I consider it our duty, as part of the machinery of the Government itself, to see that whilst making criticisms, we offer constructive suggestions to improve things. It is not only a question of criticism. It is not left to the Government alone to take wise decisions. It is up to every Member of Parliament to offer suggestions so that the Government may also consider those suggestions and take action wherever it is necessary. It is in that light that I would like to place before this House certain salient features in the development of community projects and co-operative movement.

It was somewhere in 1951 that the community development movement was conceived of and it was implemented actually in 1952. During the

first two or three years within this period of about ten years, if I remember correctly, money was spent in trying to make the people understand what exactly we wanted to do. It is not merely the people but the members of the Government's administrative machinery themselves did not know what they had actually to do. Then, when we went about working the details, what did we find? We were telling the people to go back to the villages and serve the people if our economy had to improve. We found also that in certain developed countries industries absorbed more than 60 per cent. of the population and only 40 per cent. or less were engaged on land. We found, therefore, to our cost that if asked the people to go back to the villages, it would mean actually that the population would increase in the villages and thereby hamper all progress. It, therefore, became necessary to find out what are the types of people that should be asked to go back to the villages in order to serve the villages. Going back to the villages is one thing. The other thing is, if you have got to industrialise, more and more people have got to go to the towns if you have got to relieve the unemployment problem that faces the agriculturists. India's poverty, the ever increasing in population and our dependence on agriculture are factors which one has got to understand, and it is in this aspect that we face innumerable difficulties because education was lacking in the villages. Therefore, unless we called upon our educated youngmen who lived in the urban areas, who did not know anything of the rural sector, to go to the villages, we could not face the problem of trying to educate our villagers. When we sent our educated youngmen or other officers to the villagers, we found that they could not adjust themselves to the rural atmosphere for a very long time. Meanwhile, frictions developed. The villagers wanted certain things to be done, but the young educated men went about teaching what they liked. These difficulties had to be overcome.

[Dr. Melkote]

Meanwhile, expenditure could not be incurred to the extent and desired to do so.

I say all these things because I have been taking a very keen interest in these matters; I have participated in a number of seminars on the subject, and have found out what the villagers wanted, and I have tried to make suggestions to the Government. It was in the light of these things that by constant discussion in the seminars and by constantly reviewing the whole situation that the Government brought in various measures. And today, in 1962, we find that we have covered more than 80 per cent. of the blocks and we have made various improvements. We are at various stages of development. Roads have been built; hospitals are being constructed. Educated young men in the agricultural, veterinary and medical sectors and teachers of various grades—from matriculation to graduation—are getting back to the village sector to serve the villagers.

But, after all is said and done, it is not the independent, social workers who go to the villages. It is again the officials who are going to the village centres and sectors to serve the interests of the villagers. But, in the meanwhile, a change has taken place. The villagers themselves are getting educated and are assuming leadership and are understanding what ought to be done. It is in this context that the system of panchayat samitis and zila parishads have got to be viewed.

I remember that in one of these meetings the educated officials and non-officials from the urban areas raised an objection with our Chief Minister, Shri Sanjeeva Reddi, who happened to be the President of the Congress at one time.

An Hon. Member: He still continues to be.

Dr. Melkote: Yes, he still continues to be the president.

When the village people pleaded that more and more money ought to be

made available to the panchayat samitis, those urban people took objection and said, "How can these ignorant, illiterate villagers be given such powers?" To that remark, Shri Sanjeeva Reddi replied: "I myself come from the village sector. I have now handled both power and money as Chief Minister, and if I can do this, coming from the village sector myself, should we not have confidence in our own villagers who come from the village sector to rule themselves and handle a little more money and power?" That was a very exhilarating experience for me to hear these words from the Chief Minister of my State. It is in that context that development in India has taken place and is taking place.

As I said, it is very easy to make remarks such as "such and such has been defective" etc. But what are the measures to alleviate the defects? It is ultimately the leadership that has got to come from village sector. We have not yet covered all the villages and we have not been able to create that kind of tempo to the leadership that is necessary. This takes a very long time. Therefore, unless and until we are patient enough, it will take a much longer time to overcome these things. Though it is necessary to make criticisms, it must be remembered that constructive suggestions have to be made as to what should be done to improve the village sector. We have to look to these matters in that light. Criticisms may be made by individuals, of certain things which may affect them. Sometimes, criticisms made may affect a larger population. Maybe there are criticisms of a very general nature which affect the whole country. So, Acts have got to be amended; the rules have got to be modified.

In this connection, I remember that in 1954 or 1955, when we had the rural credit societies and land mortgage banks and when money was made available by the Government,

we found that the people could hardly use the money. It could not be done, because the amount of property that these people owned, compared to the amount of money that they demanded, was very meagre. So, rules had to be modified, and today, we find that some of the land mortgage banks, irrespective of the amount of property, make available to the people a certain amount of money and in the third Plan we are going to extend this aid possibly to the extent of its 280 crores. In the past several centuries, have we ever spent so much amount in rural sector? Of course, there may be a question as to where all this money is flowing, and it may be that it is not being properly utilised. It may be a fact. But then a good deal of that money could be properly utilised if the local leadership comes forward to criticise itself and its people so as to improve the situation. It is not that we alone should go and tell the people what they ought to do, what their difficulties are, how they have got to work and how the work is to be developed.

During the past ten years we have developed tremendously, and we have yet to develop tremendously. Even for roads thousands of crores of rupees would be necessary. Sinking of wells needs a similar amount of money. It is said that for sinking wells and for the supply of drinking water to the village sector alone, it would need more than a thousand crores of rupees. Of course, we are doing these things, and are trying to make the villages self-sufficient, with cottage industries, etc. Roads are being built; hospitals are coming up and wells are being sunk. Of course, all this is not to our entire satisfaction. We all agree. Quality and standard have got to come in. But, by and large, we have got to give credit to the Ministry for taking us ahead in this colossal affair and make the villagers embark upon this great adventure with enthusiasm. I, therefore, commend wholeheartedly the Demands for Grants under this Ministry.

Shri P. Kunhan (Palghat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, year after year, we have been discussing the work of community development and have been putting forward certain specific points for consideration. But no result has been forthcoming in particular.

The Ministry of Community Development is dealing with certain important subjects which are directly connected with the ordinary people for the uplift of their social and economic life. Nine years have elapsed. We have spent large amounts of money to improve the conditions of our people particularly in the rural areas. The Study Group on the welfare of the weaker sections in the village community itself says that the community development work has not benefited the deserving rural people. The report further says that the living conditions of the ordinary people are still remaining as they were. If I am to state the reason, I would say that most of the schemes and orders of our officers are a failure not because of their inefficiency, but lack of practical knowledge. There is a great gap between the top-ranking and the lowest. Unless and until you are ready to mingle with the villagers, organise them and cooperate with them your Plan will be a failure.

14 hrs.

For instance, take agricultural development. Agricultural production continued to be the main task of the C.D. programme. After 15 years of independence and ten years of Plan, we are not self-sufficient and even now we are depending on imports of foodgrains from foreign countries. For the last 9 years, we had spent nearly Rs. 10.94 crores for the development of agriculture and Rs. 45.09 crores for irrigation facilities through the C.D. Ministry. But what is the achievement made so far? The people are suffering owing to the lack of foodgrains. The workers are getting 1½ measures of rice per day

[Shri P. Kunhan]

from the fair price shop. How can the workers and their families manage to live? This is a very pitiable condition. The Government are proclaiming day in and day out that we can solve our food problem within a very short period, but it is an utter failure.

There is another scheme accepted by the C.D. Ministry, i.e., the so called Japanese method of cultivation. It is very good for improving food production. But I want to know from the hon. Minister what is the financial capacity of the peasants in our country. There is a scheme for giving taccavi loans, but it is not distributed in the proper time. The provision is there, but it is not useful for the people who really need help. I would request the Minister to consider this matter.

Further, I wish to bring to your notice the activities of the BDOs and gramsevaks. They should come to the lowest ranks of peasants and give advice to them and make them understand things in a proper way. Then, it will be more useful for the achievement of our Plan targets. Unless the top-most people are willing to do it, we will hardly come anywhere near our Plan objective. Another pitiable condition is, most of the C.D. Blocks are spending 50 per cent. of the Plan expenditure for the publications, i.e., pamphlets, leaflets, etc. I am not entirely against their publications, but I doubt how far it will affect the rural peasants. If you give them practical as well as financial help, the food problem can be solved in a very short period. So, I request the Minister to consider this problem and pay great attention to the agricultural field.

Coming to the problem of industrialisation in rural areas, there is a provision made for setting up small-scale industries and cottage industries in the rural areas to reduce unemployment. But it is regrettable that the industrialisation of the rural areas has not received the attention

it really deserves. The result of ten years of planning has been almost negligible both from the point of view of creating employment for the rural communities and raising the standard of living, particularly of the economically and socially backward sections.

The summary of the report for 1961-62 mentions that some steps have been taken already in this regard. I wish to ask the hon. Minister to what extent it can solve the unemployment problem? In my constituency in Palghat in Kerala, the vast majority of the people are agricultural labourers. They are living in rural areas. What is the living condition of these agricultural labourers? The report of the Second Enquiry on Agricultural Labour in India has mentioned about this. It says:

"The Report of the Second Enquiry on Agricultural Labour in India 1960, examined the conditions of agricultural labourers. Its finding is that there has not been any improvement in the economic condition of this class. It is stated in the Report that "the landless agricultural labour households in 1956-57 accounted for 57 per cent. of all agricultural labour households as against 50 per cent. in 1950-51, and that the proportion of landless households as also attached-labour households was slightly higher in Community Project Areas than in non-community project areas". The report also adds that at the all-India level the average wage-paid employment of agricultural labour has shown a slight decline from 200 days in 1950-51 to 197 in 1956-57 for adult men.

As regards the annual *per capita* income of agricultural labourers, there has been according to the Report, a deterioration in the position. It was Rs. 104 in 1950-51 and it was 99.4 in 1956-57."

That is the living condition of the agricultural labourers. They are suffering due to lack of employment. The number of agricultural labourers is increasing year after year, but there is no scheme to give alternative employment. So, I request the Minister to consider this problem very seriously and take necessary steps to establish some cottage industries in the rural areas, so that the agricultural labourers will get some benefits.

Shri Parashar (Shivpuri): Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. I rise to speak with a sense of nervousness. I will say why. Speaking in the midst of the expert co-operators that I see sitting around me and myself being a humble worker in the field of co-operation and considering the importance of the subject before me, I am slightly nervous. I do realise that the subject 'co-operation' is the hope of the toiling masses of my Motherland. I know that if there is any subject which can give relief to the have-nots, to the down-trodden, it is this subject, viz., the implementation of the programme of co-operation which can bring a little relief to them.

The tasks before us are so tremendously heavy. Having been working in the movement I have some practical experience and I can say with some authority at my disposal that the obstacles in the development of the movement are equally tremendous. But come what may, India has come to realise that we have to make this a success. Whatever may be the obstacles, whatever may be the difficulties, whatever may be our limitations, our programme of co-operation has got to be made a success, and unless and until we realise that at any cost we have got to make it a success I think the economy of our country might suffer a setback. After political freedom if there is anything left to be done at a top priority it is the economic emancipation of the toiling masses of this country, and economic

freedom or arthic swaraj, whatever term you may apply to it, to my way of thinking, can come only if we systematically and methodically apply our energy for the implementation of the programme of co-operation.

Now, Sir, with this background when I see some defects in the working from both sides, not only from my side but also from from that side, not only from the official side but also from the non-official side, I think that a sense of co-ordination, a sense of co-operation from both sides will have to be realised and implemented, and the sooner it is done the better.

Sir, I may quote a few instances. A colleague of mine just now speaking from the State of Andhra was giving a true picture. Sometimes I come across such occasions when highly placed government officials of the co-operative department try to treat the non-official worker with a sense of superiority. Sometimes I have felt as if I were living in the days when the British people used to think whether we Indians were able to govern our country, or not, whether we non-officials were able to run the institution entrusted into our hands or was likely to be entrusted into our hands and they tried to judge our capacity, our capability and our qualifications. Then I realise that the days are far ahead when the cherished goal of our motherland can be realised. But, at the same time, I am conscious of the limitations and the shortcomings that are prevalent in the country today. What happens? They also are not very much to be blamed when we see very highly placed, well-intentioned citizens of this country eager to serve the co-operative movement of the country do not care to pick up even the small technicality of the subject. Sir, I feel, though it might appear to be a very simple one, co-operation is a highly technical subject. A mistake here or a lack of knowledge there or the misunderstanding of a bye-law at particular place, however highly

[Shri Parashar]

placed he may be, puts him into an embarrassment and an official of the co-operative movement or department is not able to accommodate him with the result that frustration, bickering, misunderstanding and all that happens. Then there is a setback in the development of the movement, in the better running and in the successful running of the co-operative societies and there are accusations from both the sides.

Therefore, Sir, I would like to commend to the honest, sincere and enthusiastic workers of the co-operative movement coming from both sides, official and non-official—as I feel they are just two wheels of the chariot which has to deliver the goods of the economic development of our country—to sit together, organise a conference, organise a congress and find out ways and means how they can work together, how this misunderstanding can be eradicated and in what time we can realise our goal.

I would like to bring to the notice of this House a few facts from the report just to substantiate my points. I have no grievance with anybody, but when we come to realise the facts I feel as if we are groping in the dark. On page 3 of the report about this department of co-operation I find a mention that the department realises that there are about 70,000 service co-operative societies which have taken up one subject or the other of the service co-operatives functioning. I presume, with the greatest latitude, that those 70,000 service co-operatives are working successfully. Now, they have a programme. 8,000 more are to be organised during the current year. With that the total comes to 78,000. I am prepared to add 2,000 more—let it be 80,000 for purposes of easy calculation. According to our bye-laws if ten people gather together they can form a co-operative society. I am prepared to make the calculation on the basis of 100 people forming one service co-operative society. At the

rate of 100 per society, for 80,000 societies it comes to 80,00,000. That means, Sir, 80,00,000 families would be served by service co-operatives at the end of March, 1963. I am prepared, again, to family. According to persons in one family. According to that, only 4 crores of the citizens of this country will be benefited by the service co-operative societies at the end of this current financial year. Taking into account the factor of development and growth in our population, I think for the remaining 40 crores if we have got to take them into the co-operative fold, perhaps at the rate of progress that we are making, we may have to wait for 100 years more. I would, therefore, request the Government....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must try to conclude now.

Shri Parashar: Sir, I do not want to add any more eloquence to my oration.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Only 40 minutes are left.

Shri Parashar: Therefore, Sir, my humble suggestion to the experts of the co-operative movement is that we should have a target. A date should also be fixed for the realisation of the target. Then we should pin down the responsibility of running a particular co-operative society on one particular person whether he may be an official or a non-official. With the successful running of that society his career should be linked. In that way, Sir, we can move forward for the achievement of the cherished goal of realising a co-operative commonwealth in this country, and the sooner we realise it the better it will be for the economic development of the country.

Shri P. R. Patel (Patan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this Ministry is a very important Ministry as it deals with community development, co-operation and panchayati raj. India

lives in the villages and the development of villages, the uplift of the villages is in the charge of this Ministry. Whatever I say is by way of suggestions and not criticism; I must be very clear about that in the very beginning.

Sir, co-operatives are meant to remove exploitation by the middlemen where it is done. The test of a successful co-operative society is that there is no exploitation by the middlemen. I would first of all take labour co-operatives. I have seen some labour co-operatives; I do not want to name them. But the labourers there get what an ordinary labour gets and the middlemen make money. This is only a fraud on the co-operatives. They enlist some labourers, some 20 or 40 labourers, and in the name of those labourers they take up contracts. They earn money and the distribution is done by way of salaries. So, very few of the labourers would get the benefit. That is why I suggest that a labour co-operative society should be allowed to work within a radius of ten miles. That would be quite sufficient. If the labourers living in that area are to be benefited, if they are to get the benefit of their labour, then the society should be allowed to work within a radius of ten miles. I would even suggest five miles but not more than ten miles in any case. The labour co-operatives get certain preference and certain concessions in Government contracts. Since it is the labour who contribute the work in that contract, they should be the persons who should be benefited by forming such societies. Instead of that, what is obtaining today? A society is formed and they call it a labour co-operative. Contracts are taken 100 miles, 200 miles or even 400 miles away from where the members of the society are living. Then how can the members of the society be benefited? Then what is the difference between a labour co-operative and an ordinary contractor's firm? What is the difference between Hindustan Construc-

tion and a co-operative construction society? Both of them engage labours, clerks, officers and engineers and both of them make profits. The labour is not specially benefited in either case. Then why call it a labour co-operative? Is it not a fraud on co-operatives? So, I would suggest that this may be looked into. I know that everything depends on the State Governments. The difficulty is whatever we say or write, it is the State Government which has to implement it. We are helpless in the matter. All the same, I would say that the Central Government should use their good offices in seeing to it that something good is done to the labour class who are members of such co-operatives.

Then I come to cotton co-operatives. I have seen some co-operative cotton ginning factories. We give them export licences. What for? Export licences are given to them with a view to see that those cultivators who are members of co-operative societies may be able, in the name of the society to export goods and get more money. So the object of a cotton co-operative is that the agriculturists and cultivator members should be benefited. But are they functioning in the way they should? Not at all, at least in the case of some. What do they do? They get the licence, go to Bombay and sell the export licence to some merchants for a profit. Of course, an entry is made that these people have bought some cotton bales there, or some seeds there, and sold it to the firm. To whom does the benefit go? Are the cultivators benefited in any way? So, I am of the opinion that if co-operatives are to be successful, we have to remove the exploiters, irrespective of whether they come from the right side or left side, whether they are merchants or exporters or middle class men. So, I would suggest that the hon. Minister should look into this matter and put a stop to the exploitation by the unscrupulous people.

[Shri P. R. Patel]

I will not refer to other co-operatives because then I will not have enough time to refer to other matters and will have to miss them. I will now come to panchayat raj. It is a good thing. When we want to give life to our democracy, we must build roots and the roots are in the village panchayats. If the village panchayats work democratically, if the people living in the villages are able to imbibe democratic principles, if the spirit of democracy runs in the veins of every villager, our democracy will live long and it will be a successful experiment. I do not think democracy is safe merely because we have got Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies. So, we have to establish our village panchayats democratically so that democracy will ever remain safe in our country.

There are two opinions in our country on whether political parties should enter into the working and the elections to the panchayats or not. Some people are of the view that political parties should enter the panchayat board elections. Others hold the view that political parties should contest only for the taluka and jilla samitis and not in the panchayat board elections. I feel that if political parties enter into panchayat board elections it will ruin our panchayat ideal. So, the political parties should wash away their hands, so far as this election is concerned. At the same time, there should be no ban on any person taking part in the panchayat elections. But it should be done openly. They should not play games. I am of the definite opinion that political parties should not take part in these elections. But we should not issue any instructions to the people not to stand for elections in their individual capacity. If they stand, let them stand.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): What about the Congress?

Shri P. R. Patel: What I say applies equally to Congress, the

Swatantra party and other parties. We know that the Swatantra party has indicated the desire to take part in that election. I think that is doing a disservice to the whole country and the panchayat philosophy; they should not.

So far as community development is concerned, I think we have made some progress, some visible progress. Because, we have dug some wells, opened some schools here and there. But I am not satisfied with that. What I want is that the spirit of community development should be imbibed in the people. Leadership should not be imposed; it should be created from the village level and should develop.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): And the Ministers should go.

Shri P. R. Patel: I did not say that the Ministers should go.

What I desire is that the customs and superstitions in the village should have changed after the introduction of community development and its functioning all these years. But I see no change; I see the same customs, the same superstitions, the same thinking, women folk covering their faces in the villages and all those things. What is the change? So, if community development could not bring any change, any evolution or revolution, it has not fulfilled its purpose. That is all what I have to say on this.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the framers of the Constitution deserve great credit for including in the Constitution the formation of panchayats on a sound footing. The father of the nation had very great faith in our people. So, he was advocating that the panchayats should be formed in that spirit. The framers of the Constitution, being alive to the importance of this idea, have included it in the Constitution. Even the President of India year after year

in his Address to the Joint Session of both Houses refers to the Panchayati raj. He is doing so because it is keeping with the tradition of this country and also because his faith and anxiety for rural development is so great that he feels that by giving self-government to the people they will acquit themselves very well.

In this connection I must say a word about our Prime Minister also because he has used the word panchayati raj more than anybody else. When the Balwantrai Mehta Committee reported on this matter the words used were "democratic decentralisation". But the Prime Minister thought that the words panchayati raj was better in keeping with our tradition, because the words "democratic decentralisation" would convey the impression that something is coming from above, whereas the key-note of panchayati raj is development from below.

Sir, the Minister for Community Development is a very enthusiastic person and he has carried this idea of panchayati raj to every nook and corner of this country. The achievements at the moment may not be commensurate with the amount we have allotted or spent during the Second Plan and a portion of the Third Plan. I notice that nearly Rs. 240 crores were set apart for this in the Second Plan and about Rs. 294 crores or so in the Third Plan. But there are certain shortcomings which the Ministry must take note of and correct.

Sir, I was listening to the first speaker from the Communist Group, who was referring to the lack of achievements in this movement. But nobody has said that panchayati raj is a talisman. It takes a lot of time for it to take roots. When my hon. friend spoke about the performance in Mysore he was referring only to one or two particular taluqs here and there. Even though my hon. friend Mr. Melkote asked him to explain certain matters, he did not do so. On

the other hand, I was happy to note that Mr. Chakravarti when he spoke the other day referred to the Mysore system and said how the multi-purpose constituencies would be more conducive to the development of panchayati raj.

Sir, the whole world is looking to the development of the panchayati raj in this country and no half-hearted measure should be taken either by the people or by the Government. The danger is inherent. If we have no faith and no hope let us give it up. But once we have taken it up in accordance with the desire of the Father of the Nation and in keeping with the provisions of our Constitution, we should put our heart and soul into it. Sometimes it pains me to see that though the Ministers are active, the officers below them do not feel the same way. Sometimes it has pained me very much that they laugh in their sleeves when we talk of decentralisation. It is very very unfortunate. I hope the Minister will take note of it and see that the officers play their part because on them depends the whole success of this scheme. They have to rouse the enthusiasm of the people. If this is not done, I think the movement as a whole may prove a failure. Therefore, I would appeal to all the officers to put all their efforts to see that this scheme is made a great success.

Sir, having said this, I would like to refer to some of the salient features of this movement. The most important point for us to see is how far this movement has benefited the weaker sections of the population. That is the test by which we should judge the success of the movement. The weakness of our economy has been in our low production. No doubt most of the States are going ahead with the plan. For example, in Maharashtra they want direct election for the zilla parishad. It is a very good thing. Even in Andhra Pradesh they have got a non-official zilla President, whereas in Mysore, as you know, we have not

[Shri Basappa]

got one as yet. In Rajasthan, I am told that there is an official direction from the Government itself that officers must feel as if they have divested their powers into the hands of local leaders and they are there only to guide the people. This kind of spirit in various States is taking roots and in Punjab there is a Public Works Department set up to do the work of the panchayats. Madras also is proceeding ahead. These are no doubt indicative of the fact that the various States are proceeding in the right direction. Of course, what is wanted is coordination at various levels between the Centre and the States and even among the panchayats, taluk boards and zilla parishads. There is hardly any coordination between the technical and administrative officers on the one hand and the non-officials on the other. The BDOs sometimes do not see eye to eye with the Chairman and sometimes resolutions passed by taluk boards are kept aside. These are matters which should be looked into most carefully. The resources of these bodies are meagre. If they are to take deep roots in our country, they should be helped to increase them.

On what aspects this movement should concentrate itself there are differences of opinion no doubt. Of course, we have definitely said in our Third Five Year Plan that they should concentrate more on agriculture. But we cannot forget that in our rural parts, communications have to be improved. In regard to community development, it is possible to allot priorities. But in the matter of panchayats, the whole scheme has to be developed in an integrated way.

For doing all this we require a number of trained people. I am glad that the Ministry is giving more attention towards the development of this aspect of the movement. But in some places where training centres are going on I notice that sometimes people with no interest at all are invited to Mussorie and other places. This is very unfor-

fortunate. People who have great faith in it and who will obtain great encouragement from this must be sent to these places. Old people—excuse me; I can give details—Deputy Commissioners of the age of 55 and 60 are sometimes invited.

An Hon. Member: At the age of 60 they are out of office.

Shri Basappa: So, people who could be benefited most by going there must be encouraged to go there because there is a lot of criticism that we waste our money. All these things should be looked into carefully and the movement must be put on a sound footing so that the enthusiasm of the people may go in the right direction.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Firodia. The hon. Member was not here when he was called earlier. The House expects hon. Members to be present when called.

Shri Firodia (Ahmednagar): I apologise for that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. I would have been happy if more funds were made available for this Ministry.

We have accepted village as a development unit and the co-operative movement as an instrument for the economic progress in rural areas. Our planners have also now accepted the idea that the Plan will be formulated from below and not fostered from above.

Co-operation is mainly a State subject and much will depend on how the States react to the schemes sponsored by the Central Government. It was really the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress in 1958 which gave fillip to the co-operative movement and in which it was categorically accepted that co-operation is the only instrument for the economic development of

the village. The principle of 'one village one society' was also accepted. By that time in the history of the co-operative movement the conception of service co-operative society was accepted. It was decided to make the constitution of the society so flexible as it would become the instrument of development in all sections of life.

The *seva sahkari* society is the base of the co-operative structure. The credit movement has expanded breadthwise and lengthwise, but we must find out the depth of the movement. Have people in general taken to this movement as their creed or have they taken to it as a necessity or as a lesser evil in the present circumstances? In my opinion there would be a majority of people who have taken to the co-operative movement as a necessity and not through faith.

The credit movement in Maharashtra, Madras and Gujarat has made spectacular progress during the last few years. In Maharashtra one District Central Co-operative Bank which was established with a share capital of Rs. 7 lakhs four years ago has collected about Rs. 87 lakhs within a short span of four years. That district bank gives, on an average, loan to the agriculturists which is at least three times the India's average for the whole country. The whole conception of loan is changed in Maharashtra. It is not a mathematical calculation now. Lending is based on the needs of the farmers of different crops. Crop loan system is put into effect. Loans in majority of the cases are given in kind and not in cash. This facilitates the use of the loan for the purpose for which it is sanctioned.

The Reserve Bank and the Government must be congratulated for accepting the recommendations of the Vaikunth Mehta Committee, thus making available a large amount of funds at concessional rates. In these recommendations the principle of self-reliance is accepted. The co-operative units would get additional accommodation only if it also raises locally its

own resources by way of share capital and deposits. It is a very healthy recommendation as it places some responsibility on local leadership.

One important aspect of the loan system is co-ordination between the co-operative and the Agriculture Department. We must admit that the co-ordination between the Agriculture Department and the co-operative societies is not as we really expect. There are schemes for intensive and extensive cultivation. The Agriculture Department fixes the targets. They ask the co-operative societies to give the loans but after that they do not follow the schemes and see that the advanced loans or the extra loans which are granted for the intensive and extensive schemes are returned back from the extra yield which the agriculturists get.

One more important recommendation of the Vaikunth Mehta Committee is the provision for outright grants to special bad debt reserves of primary societies and the banks. This would really induce the co-operatives to give credit to weaker sections of the community who do not have large acreage of land and who are on the subsistence economy level. This is a step in the right direction in the development of co-operative movement of this country.

Our credit structure also should be changed in the developed area. We should now really start the system of 'budget loans' which would enable the farmer to do more long-range farm-planning and exercise more latitude in daily operations without fear of inadequate funds. Loans made under such 'budget loans' can be made to carry loan protection insurance on the life of the borrowing member equal to the outstanding loan at all times.

Our progress in long-term loans is very slow. Increase of production is mainly dependent on the efficiency of the farmer and his methods. Facilities like electricity and irrigation require large long-term loans to make

[Shri Firodia]

the land suitable for irrigated crops. We must provide simple methods for getting these loans.

Development of marketing and processing is as important as the credit structure. Raising of per acre yield is not going to help the agriculturists unless arrangements are made to secure the best price for his produce or arrangements are made to process the goods and ensure adequate return. Lately, co-operative sugar factories have come up in Maharashtra. These factories are managed by the cultivators themselves and there is no interference from any source. Local leadership has sprung up. The processing units have given stability to the credit movement also as the loans taken by the members are returned automatically by the factories to the societies. At this stage, though we have made some progress in this direction of establishing co-operative processing units, we must agree that due attention is not paid to this important aspect. We have paid our attention to few commodities, such as, sugarcane, cotton, groundnut seed etc. But we must make an effort to take advantage of scientific development and try to put up processing units for different agricultural commodities.

So also we must learn a lesson from Japan and utilise the waste products in sugar factories. We get a lot of bagasse which must be utilised for establishing co-operative paper factories. We get large quantities of molasses which create problems of storage. Distilleries, acid manufacturing factories and rubber manufacturing concerns should be started in co-operative sector. It is found out on the contrary that licences for all these are given in the private sector and the co-operatives only remain as suppliers of raw material at the prices fixed by the private sector people. It would not suffice only to have processing units. Co-operation in the industrial field must grow. In these days there are so many restrictions

on establishing new concerns. So many formalities are required to be completed. The people in the rural areas are not able to do them and, therefore, many feasible schemes are not taken to final shape. Maharashtra State has given a lead in this matter also. The State Co-operative Bank, the apex institution, has established a Co-operative Industries Commission to prepare schemes, arrange for licences or collaborations and hand them over to different suitable institutions in different regions. I wish to request the Ministry to give all help, monetary and organisational, to such institutions, and I will also appeal to fellow co-operators to start such institutions in each State.

The co-operative movement is a voluntary organisation and interference from Government should be the least. Our Prime Minister is very critical about this. I was amazed to hear in this House that as yet Registrars or their nominees are the Chairmen of important co-operative organisations in some States. In this respect also the Maharashtra State has given a lead. It is accepted by Government as a policy not to nominate any person or official on any co-operative organisation. Formerly, when new co-operatives were established, Government used to nominate the first Board of Directors, but now as a policy it is accepted to have the elected board from the very beginning. It is a bold step. It gives scope for local leadership to manage their own affairs without any outside influence.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shrimati Sarojini B. Mahishi.

Shri Firodia: May I have one more minute?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, I have given him ten minutes.

Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi (Dharwar North): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to say a few

words on the Demands relating to the Ministry of Community Development; Panchayati Raj and Co-operation.

We have traversed a long distance in the history of our society from the days when there was voluntary social work and sacrifice to the day of paid social work. Now there are paid social workers. And a society which was used to voluntary social work and sacrifice may not be in a position to welcome paid social work at this time. But we want to progress and achieve progress at a very great speed, and accelerate the progress. That is what we want to achieve, and as a result our plans and the training of the people at the same time are running on parallel lines. We have to see that plans are introduced and, at the same time, that our people are also educated. There is, so to say, a three-legged race between the plan and the people: the plan is trying to go ahead of the people, and the people are lingering behind. Therefore, we want to educate the people. We want to see that the plans are introduced and that the plans also go to achieve success in the field.

We have a development programme with all the different blocks. It will now be something like 3,589, including the first and the second stage blocks, besides the 681 per-extension blocks, along with the welfare extension projects and the co-ordinated welfare extension projects. And with the number of socio-economic units, there will be a good network of all the institutions in the whole country. But the people must be in a position to appreciate this. The people should change their outlook. One of the hon. friends remarked that no change in the outlook of the people could be seen during all this period of ten years. That was how he remarked. But I would like to differ from him. This difference in the change of outlook cannot be seen all of a sudden. It cannot be concrete or visible like a school building or the Bhakra-Nangal project or the Tungabhadra project.

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There is a change, a revolutionary change in the outlook of the people, and slowly they are getting accustomed to this different kind of developmental activity. Otherwise we would not have been able to see a number of school buildings, a number of health units, a number of panchayat centres and other things.

Besides this material aspect of community development, I am glad to say that there is this other aspect, the cultural aspect, the educational aspect and the social aspect also. They are slowly accustoming themselves to this new outlook. Those people who were never accustomed to send their children to school are now trying to send their children to school. The women are trying to get the advantage of the societies in good number. They are also making use of the socio-economic units and the craft classes introduced in the villages. This, of course, is a change and we hope that a more radical change in the outlook of the people will be forthcoming in the near future, so that our people will learn to co-operate with the organisers, try to help them and also benefit from these plans.

Many times I have heard the criticism levelled against the officers. No doubt, certain officers may not be inclined towards putting in the maximum of effort in the implementation of the plan. But from a concrete and specific example we cannot all of a sudden jump to certain general conclusions. There are good officers also who act as the friend, philosopher and guide of the people, approach the people with a proper outlook and try to explain to the people the benefits that they can get. The urge should come from the people no doubt, but the people should know what are the benefits that they can get. Unless they know what benefits they are going to get, how can you expect them to place their demands before the organisers? Therefore, first of all, let us make them acquainted with the different

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facilities and amenities that the Government is going to give them, that the Plan is going to provide for them, and then expect the urge and the demand from the people.

In some places I see that the amounts sanctioned have not been released and that many a time the amount that has been sanctioned lapses on account of the non-implementation of the plan and also for want of proper caution on the part of the organisers. The other day in the Consultative Committee I gave an example about one of the five coir industry co-operative societies that have been given to Mysore State. That has not been implemented in spite of all the necessary formalities having been complied with, and even though the *ad hoc* committee has submitted the report that the necessary formalities have been complied with. There are certain cases where the officers also stick to red-tapism to which they have been accustomed for decades together. Our people also should change their slavish outlook. There is a slavish mentality among them and the officers are also accustomed to red-tapism which was once existing.

The relation between the people and the organisers should be modified and we hope that in course of time there will be better conventions that shall be laid down.

We are having a huge experiment of democracy, and this panchayati raj is the greatest experiment. However we may refer to the Directive Principles of our State Policy, our Government has ventured to put them into practice and see that power is decentralised. From the panchayat to the Parliament we have got a fine range of democratic institutions. Our people are to be trained still even in the powers that have been given to the panchayats.

The other day some of the panchayat members complained to me that even though they can survey a land

and fix the boundary of the land, they have not been given the power to execute the same for which they require the police force. That is how they complained. I hope that gradually they will be getting the powers and will come to know that they are in a position to place their demands before the organisers and before the Government. That, so to say, is a milestone in the development of the democratic system of government.

So also in the co-operative movement it has gone a long way in bringing the people nearer and creating good relations among the people. The co-operative society is the poor man's treasure house, as was remarked by Shri Rajendra Prasad. But the poor man should know what facilities and benefits he is going to get from the co-operative society. That is the difficulty that we are experiencing in the implementation of this scheme.

There are a good number of co-operative societies, credit co-operative societies, the first of its kind, as also a number of other co-operative societies, including the multi-purpose co-operative societies and the service co-operative societies. These societies have come into existence and are catering to the needs of crores of people in the country. Of course we do appreciate this, but the people and the co-operative societies should also try to bring a greater and greater number of beneficiaries into their own fold. I learn from the report that the co-operative societies have floated debentures to the tune of a total sum of Rs. 4:23 crores and that the outstanding loans in the names of members of co-operative societies during the year 1960-61 have risen to 15 hrs.

Rs. 49 crores. Of course, the material progress of society is good. In addition to that, we should also see that the co-operative societies cultivate a spirit of voluntary service and that the best that can be got from each person and the best that can be given

to each person through the co-operative is achieved. That principle should also be put into practice. Therefore, we say that the Community development programme is a huge experiment that is being carried on. After all, it is an experiment. All of us are together trying to see that it is a success. Therefore, whatever defects there are, whatever drawbacks, whatever lacunae, let us try to see that they are rectified; let us try to see that we all progress with full co-operation. Let us try to solve the difficulties with a sympathetic outlook so that the villagers may not be exploited, so that the un-educated may not be exploited, and the illiterate may not be exploited. So long as there exists a tendency to exploit the ignorance of the people, no society, no scheme can be successful. It depends upon the mutual co-operation of the organisers and the people. When the people become conscious of their duties also, then only we can achieve success in all these plans. People are now conscious of their rights. I am finding that our people are becoming conscious of their rights: not of their duties. Many a time, I may say, not only the villagers, but even the highly educated people, sometimes the representatives of the people also, I am sorry to say, are not conscious of their duties. All are only conscious of their rights. When we become conscious of both rights and duties, then only all the plans will succeed.

The Minister of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation (Shri S. K. Dey): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must, at the outset, confess that I suffer from a disability—disability of the villager that he rarely wakes up unless he is hit. During the past two days, many things have been said about the Community development programme, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation, many anxieties and misgivings have been expressed; so also pleasure and joy over the approach to the solution of the problems. The criticisms

themselves have been so mild that they are milder than even my own personal criticisms of the programme which I continue to be burning under. Particularly, the hon. Lady Member who just now spoke before me, has spoken with such a passionate understanding of the problems with which this programme is faced,—problems to which solutions have to be found—that I feel she has almost answered in the course of 10 minutes all that I might have liked to say. I do not wish to lull myself into a sense of satisfaction or complacency of any kind. It is necessary, if we are not to deceive ourselves today, deceive posterity, that we have a proper appreciation of what really is at stake, what are the problems we are trying to grapple with and how those problems are likely to be faced squarely and effectively.

Before this House is in a position to exactly appreciate whether or not this Ministry is playing its role as is expected of it, effectively or ineffectively or indifferently, it is necessary for this House to have an appreciation of their own representative whom they have made the Minister of this programme and his understanding of his responsibilities under this Ministry. As far as I see, his Ministry was expected, to start with, 10 years ago, to establish a co-ordinated service of all the developmental functionaries proceeding from the national level, right up to the village, being responsive to the needs of the people, all the developmental aspects of village life being represented in that agency.

The next item that was expected of this Ministry was to build up organisations of people—panchayats, co-operatives, voluntary agencies—which would pulsate with the plans of the Government for national reconstruction, which will try to guide the Government, support the Government and prod the Government. The next was to offer facilities for training of government functionaries, of people, of their representatives and leaders in

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various walks of life, engaged in rural reconstruction work, which were being brought to the surface to shoulder the new responsibilities. This Ministry was to ensure, and is to ensure, that the funds allocated by this House to the Ministry are utilised to the maximum advantage of the people. This Ministry is expected to ensure that the funds routed by the various Ministries in the Centre, through their counterparts in the States, and channelled through the National extension service agencies are, again, put to optimum advantage of the people. This Ministry has to ensure that the people at the village level are conforming to the national priorities. If national priority is agriculture, the bulk of the energies of the people and their organisations must be devoted to that priority; if it is family planning, it must be family planning and so on, whatever the national priorities are as they are prescribed by the Planning Commission with the approval of this House.

The next responsibility of this Ministry is to act, as this House decided some time ago, as the attorney of the dumb people and mute of the villages. In other words, if certain programmes of the Government were not properly geared for the service of the people, if adequate funds were not provided in the government schemes for the service of the people in the special aspects of their life which call for immediate attention, if the people were suffering under disabilities of supplies and services which the Government controlled or any one else controlled over which this Ministry could have some influence, this Ministry must act as the attorney of the village people and so to help modify the programmes and plans of the Government and the approaches of the different Ministries and the different agencies.

Lastly, this Ministry must be closely responsive to the impulses as emanating from the ground, from the village

people and the impulses that are generated in the representative institutions of the people, starting from Parliament down to the press and other agencies which control or reflect public opinion. I would, in this background, try to give as briefly as I can, within the compass of time available at my disposal, at the present moment, an indication of what this Ministry has tried to do during the past one year, especially some of the highlights of performances, what it proposes to do during the next year, what are the problems with which it is grappling, and for which it still has not found solutions, of which it wishes to make common cause with friends in this House, so that this House may come to the assistance of the Ministry now, and in the future, all along, at all levels, from here right up to the village.

This Ministry, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, as you know, through the kindness of the President, has been redesignated in the new Government as the Ministry of Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation. This is a recognition of the importance, if I may say so, that panchayati raj has come to acquire in the eyes of the people in the country and in the world. Therefore, I shall try to divide my description of what we have done and what we propose to do, under the three heads, community development, panchayati raj and co-operation.

First, I would talk in terms of community development. The discussions since yesterday will indicate, when compared in the background of earlier discussions in this House during the past several years, that there is, in the absence of adequate criticism, if I may use that word, considerable improvement in the emphasis by this Ministry on the subject of agriculture, which we have been trying to achieve all these years with a concentrated effort. As this House is aware, when we began this pro-

gramme, there was undue emphasis, very naturally, both by the Government agencies as also by the people, on the amenities side of the programme. The productive side of the programme was not receiving adequate emphasis, and we were being very strongly criticised all over the country and also in this House. For the past several years, we have been making a concentrated effort, all along in the Ministry in Delhi and in the States and at the *gram* level, almost a collective effort by everyone concerned in collaboration with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Centre, to bring about intensive emphasis in the field of agricultural production. I am talking of agricultural production in the wider sense, namely animal husbandry, fisheries, agriculture, fruit gardening, vegetable gardening, minor irrigation and so on. This has been brought about.

Of course, only a beginning has been made. If modern agriculture is to be introduced all over the country, we have hardly made a beginning. The only thing that we have so far done is to get recognition of the fact that there is need for improved seeds, fertilisers, compost and manure and insecticides. These do not constitute the whole gamut of improved agriculture. These represent just the beginning of modern agriculture. If agriculture is to be promoted so as to provide the long overdue protective food for the nation, such as milk, eggs, meat, vegetables, fruit etc. in very large quantities—we are almost the smallest consumers *per capita* of milk, eggs, meat, vegetables and fruit etc.—if we are to produce these commodities in adequate quantities, I would say that we have hardly made a beginning. We are only conscious of the problems and the needs of the programme. We have to struggle for the next fifteen to twenty years, but, fortunately, I can claim that at last, as a result of combined efforts of the two Ministries and other agencies

concerned, and because of the hampering, if I may use the word, that we have been receiving both within the House and outside....

Shri D. N. Tiwary: That is very mild.

Shri S. K. Dey:... the recognition has been achieved of the need for intensive agriculture, and from this, I think, we can proceed further to the extent that agricultural requisites can be made available for the farmers including technical assistance, apart from supplies in adequate quantities. The programme of rural industries has been a very difficult programme. Today, because of the emphasis placed, particularly, by the Prime Minister, on agricultural implements, for the past several years...

Shri K. N. Tiwary: May I make one submission? We would like to know from the hon. Minister how the plan has worked, and how far it has succeeded in its working. That is what we would like to hear from the hon. Minister. All these things that the hon. Minister is saying are already there in the papers supplied to us, and we have been hearing this again and again. But we would like to know about the criticism that has been brought forward against the Ministry, whether it is true, and what Government think about it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister has just begun his speech. The hon. Member may please hear him till the end and if there are any difficulties or any questions, he can ask them afterwards.

Shri S. K. Dey: I would answer as many points as possible. Of course, it would not be possible for me to quote statistics *ad infinitum*, because the statistics are already there in the report. In support of what I am saying, if any hon. Member of this House wishes to have the relevant data, I stand committed to the pro-

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duction of those data and their placement before this House any time.

About the rural industries programme, because of the Prime Minister's insistence on the supply of improved agricultural implements, we are at least trying to tie up production of agricultural implements through small industries in the villages with supply of these agricultural implements to the villagers. Similarly, there is an improved programme of housing in the villages. In that also, we require bricks, we require tiles, we require iron-mongeries and wood joineries. For these also, there would be automatic promotion of rural industries. In that way, we have tried to build up in collaboration with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the Centre an integrated programme of village industries. You may say that rural industrialisation which will start with the provision of improved implements and tools and supplies to the village artisans and the provision of common facility centres...

Shri P. R. Patel: What is the achievement up till now? Let us hear that.

Shri S. K. Dey: We have supplied quite a substantial quantity of tools and implements to them. I shall give the statistics later.

We started 20 rural industrial estates in the Second Plan. In the Third Plan, there is a programme of 300 industrial estates, of which 50...

Shri Parashar: Are they all in the co-operative sector?

Shri S. K. Dey: They are not all in the co-operative sector, but artisans are invited, wherever they are available, in sufficient number to come forward and establish industrial co-operatives in those industrial estates which will be located in predominant rural areas.

In the year 1960-61, already 50 rural industrial estates have been sanctioned to the States, and these are in the process of being set up. These industrial estates are linked up with the common facility centre for improved tools and implements to the artisans. Naturally, in the course of the year, this House will have ample opportunities of asking me questions from period to period as to the progress of these schemes. Partly, this Ministry is responsible, and partly it is the Commerce and Industry Ministry which is responsible. Between the two Ministries, we should be able to allay the anxieties and the curiosity of the hon. Members.

Considerable anxiety has been expressed about the weaker sections of the community, such as the tribal people, the Scheduled Castes and others. I shall come to this question a little later. As the moment, I shall deal only with the tribal people.

In the Second Five Year Plan, we had 42 tribal development blocks which were implemented in collaboration with the Home Ministry. In the Third Five Year Plan, we are expecting to implement 328 tribal development blocks covering almost the entire tribal population in the country. Of these, 35 tribal development blocks have already been allotted in 1961-62 and by the end of 1965-66, all the tribal development blocks will have been allotted. In this, we have Rs. 10 lakhs provided by the Home Ministry and Rs. 12 lakhs by the Community Development Ministry. This is apart from the funds provided by the various Ministries at the Centre for common programmes.

We have started a minimum programme for women and children. This was an extremely difficult programme. I have shared my anxieties over this matter with the House every year. I have explained it to

the House over the budget grants. This is one field where it is not possible to let loose a large number of women workers without creating many problems. Therefore, we wanted to have adequate numbers of trained women workers. To start with, it was almost impossible to get women workers except in States like West Bengal and Kerala, and perhaps Madras, where there was considerable education amongst women. But I am very happy to tell the House that today almost in every State there has been an improvement. Even in States where women never come out of the *purdah*, they have begun to send their girls in increasing numbers to new schools that are being set up, even co-educational schools, and we have already begun to have educated girls out of the schools established during the past five, six, seven or eight years, to this extent that about more than half of the number of women workers that we require in our projects have already been placed in position. The position is improving from year to year because larger numbers of educated women workers are forthcoming. Also the women's programme is becoming more popular. It has acquired a new dignity; it has lost the sense of stigma that it used to suffer from at one time in the eyes of their menfolk, thanks to the pioneering effort of the Central Social Welfare Board and its dynamic Chairman. In spite of all the criticisms levelled on the work of the women's programmes, she and her Board have certainly popularised the idea of the women's programmes. That is in a large degree responsible for the easy acceptance of the women's programme in the villages, wherever there are trained women leaders available or forthcoming. Already 8 States in India have appointed, after many years of effort on our part, State level officers to supervise and guide women workers at the field level and to give this programme the push that it called for.

Similarly we wanted—this House wanted and the Prime Minister wanted—that the school should be the community centre, and that school teachers should begin to talk in terms of the community development programme and radiate it both amongst the children and amongst the people in surrounding villages. At last, we have now a programme under implementation under which school teachers are receiving special training in community development co-operation and panchayati raj in the teachers' training colleges. Special teachers for these teachers' training colleges have been trained by the Ministry in the social educational organisers' training centre in these three subjects so that they could, in turn, train the school teachers who receive training in those teachers' training colleges. A large number of teachers have already been trained in the country; they have been oriented to this new programme of co-operation, panchayat and community development.

As regards training of non-officials, many hon. friends during the discussion yesterday and today have said that people who are working in this programme, government officers or others, do not have the proper approach and attitude. You cannot create proper approach and attitude except through training and education. Therefore, we are placing very high importance in this scheme of community development, panchayat and co-operation on the subject of training in education to all functionaries including the people. For this purpose, particularly for the training of non-officials, we have thrown open all the training centres, starting from the apex training centre at Mussoorie out to the gram sevak training centre at the village level, to train non-official members of various institutions and also the people. Similarly, we have started 100 panchayati raj training centres; these

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are to be run exclusively by non-official institutions like the Sarva Seva Sangh, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Bharat Sewak Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission. Wherever there are distinguished institutions, distinguished through public service, they have been requested, implored, to take up the responsibility of starting panchayati raj training centres for training all functionaries in panchayati raj institutions. At the apex level, the Ministry has entrusted the responsibility to the All India Panchayati Raj Parishad headed by Shri Jaya Prakash Narain to conduct a training programme in a new institution which they are trying to set up for the training of the trainers in these panchayati raj training centres. If these 100 panchayati raj training centres prove to be the success we hope they will be, there should be more training centres started till we have an adequate number to train everybody we want to train in panchayati raj.

We have started an expanded nutrition programme. As the House is aware, vast tracts of the country have been used primarily to consumption of cereals. There is very little balanced nutrition worth talking of. Vegetables, fish, meat and eggs are almost conspicuous by their absence in the diet of the vast majority of our people. Even if they are vegetarians—and they are in a large number—they should have plenty of milk, eggs—not eggs—vegetables and fruit.

Shri A. S. Saigal (Janjgir): Eggs is also a vegetarian food.

Shri S. K. Dey: Everybody does not admit it. I wish it was. For this purpose, the Government of Orissa started a pioneering programme in collaboration with FAO. Having been encouraged by the success achieved in Orissa and Madras, we have now taken up an expanded programme of

nutrition in all States of India. A good start has been made in Andhra Pradesh, U.P. and Madras. We are encouraging fisheries, poultry, horticulture, a school-feeding programme and programme of feeding expectant and nursing mothers. Encouraged by our work, the UNICEF has been good enough to offer to the Ministry an assistance of \$3½ million for taking up a still more expanded programme of improved nutrition.

So we are taking up this programme in 100 blocks to start within an intensive way. Each of the blocks will be given a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs for undertaking on an intensive scale a programme of horticulture, fisheries and poultry.

Then we are setting up this National Institute of Community Development and Research. We had that centre at Mussoorie, and that is now going to be transferred to Hyderabad, the centre of the country, because many friends felt it was too far up in the air to have intimate contact with the soil of India. Also, it was felt that it was too far off from the centre of India. Therefore, we are shifting this centre to Hyderabad in the midst of other training institutions.

Shri P. R. Patel: May I ask one question? Why was Mussoorie selected and who was responsible for selecting Mussoorie, and who are the persons responsible for changing it to Hyderabad now?

Shri S. K. Dey: Mussoorie had to be selected because of all the places that we looked for in India, that was the only place which offered us ready premises with which we could make a start.

Shri P. R. Patel: Only for that you selected it?

Shri S. K. Dey: We had to select it because we had no ready premises, and we would have had to wait for two years.

Shri Parashar: Was a search made for premises in Madhya Pradesh?

Shri S. K. Dey: Yes.

Shri P. R. Patel: There are in Shivpuri large buildings still vacant.

Shri S. K. Dey: Anyway, there is a comprehensive programme which is now under implementation for training of youth leaders. Last year a camp was held at Taradevi of representatives of the States and various organisations in the country dealing with the youth programmes. As a result of that camp, certain programmes followed. These were followed by camps at the State level and from the State we are now going down organising camps of youth for training them. This programme also promises to take roots in the near future. Already State-level camps have been held in eight States, and personnel have been employed for looking after the youth programme.

For the next year, I have already mentioned certain programmes we have taken up, namely training of the trainers for the All-India Panchayat Parishad for all the trainers of the training centres. We propose to take up an expanded, modified nutrition programme. We propose to expand our training programme in general. We have already started supplying basic and cultural literature in large quantities, produced in very small volumes, distributing them to every village panchayat library. A beginning has been made, and during the Third Plan we are hoping that adequate quantity of basic literature decided upon between the Education Ministry, our Ministry and the Information Ministry with the assistance of non-official representatives of the people, will be available. We shall be able to supply a nucleus of good books in the regional language to each village library in the country. There will also be a more intensive adult literacy programme. In the past this programme was being undertaken only by the Community Development

agency. Now with the decision of the Education Ministry to make the school the community centre and the focus of the community development programme, the school teacher and the school children also will come into the picture.

Many friends, Shri Lahri Singh for instance and others, complained about the acute shortage of drinking water supply in many of the villages. I would like to mention that till the end of last year the Community Development Ministry, through the community development funds, provided about 2,10,000 new wells and renovated about 3,39,000 old wells. There is now a proposal to spend Rs. 35 crores through the Planning Commission on a programme exclusively for drinking water supply to the villages. There is also a programme of national rural water supply under the Health Ministry, and of course, there are funds, limited though, with the Community Development Ministry, all of which are being pooled to ensure that the Prime Minister's mandate to have at least one positive source of potable water in every village is satisfied by the end of the Third Plan. I am quite sure that when the Budget Grants of the Planning Commission as also of the Health Ministry are discussed on the floor of the House, the two organisations will be able to give a good account of what is expected to be done by them in this common programme of ensuring that every village shall have potable water supply by the end of the Third Plan.

There is also an intensified training programme for women workers. In the Gram Sevika training centres and in the training for *mukhiya sevikas* run under the Community Development Ministry, special wings are being opened for training of women leaders who are coming to this office as a result of the programmes that are gradually being worked out. Apart from this, we also propose to follow with advantage our previous experience with farmers and others

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of taking out both youth leaders and women leaders on regional tours, so that they have also a Bharat darshan or an *amsik* Bharat darshan, where they can see what their counterparts elsewhere are doing, and for that purpose we are trying to collect from the States, experiences in women's programme and youth programme, so that these touring parties can be taken to these areas, and in that way all-India experiences can be pooled and the tempo as well as the character of the programme can be raised vertically.

Now I come to the real serious problems which we are facing, for which we do not find easy answers that the Ministry can by itself work out. The first is the problem of the weaker sections of the community. Throughout history, this House will appreciate, this has been the biggest problem: how to prevent the strong man from riding the weak. We are facing exactly the same problem. Government send out commonly agreed programmes, they send out financial resources, technical resources. What is the guarantee that all these resources will be utilised for uplifting the weaker sections of the community, that the stronger sections of the community will not divert the bulk of these resources which are meant for the others? We appointed last year, as the House is aware, a committee under no less distinguished a person that Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan and others of his choice who joined him in studying this question. Unfortunately for my immediate need, the committee went a little further than their original terms of reference. They almost tackled and dealt with the whole problem of India so far as this weaker sections is concerned, and went far beyond the terms of reference of the Ministry of Community Development. Therefore, this problem had to be remitted to the Planning Commission, and they are trying to work out various segments of the recommendations through the concerned Ministries in the Government

of India. But while the bigger decision is being taken, we have taken certain steps, and I would like to tell the House what those steps are, so that if not today, at a later date, either through the Consultative Committee or through other means it will be possible for this House to tell our Ministry what it can, situated as it is in Delhi and the programme being vested in the State Governments—now the programme is being increasingly vested in people's own institutions down below—can in the circumstances really do to do more for the weaker sections of the community actively. One thing we have realised, that if the weaker section of the village community is to be assisted, it cannot be done by a mandate from the top. The top government has to make common cause with the bottom government, at the village level, at the block level, and at the district level. Therefore, we have said that at the village panchayat, at the block panchayat and the zila parishad, there should be a functional sub-committee to assist the weaker sections of the community. They should be held responsible for ensuring that the assistance specially ear-marked for utilisation by the weaker sections of the community should be utilised by them only and that the community, whether at the village level or the block level or at the district level or otherwise should go out of its way to see that it creates opportunities for the absorption of the weaker sections of the community in gainful occupation so that they can earn a decent living.

We have tried to see that schemes like poultry, loans to artisans etc. are specially ear-marked out of the projects for Scheduled Class people in particular. There is always stress on utilisation of funds from the Community Development Ministry for schemes of community benefit and not for individual benefit. We have even tried to ensure that the State Governments provide conditions in which

the cooperative societies are in a position to offer loans to small holders of land, who are mostly the weaker sections of the community in the village, without any mortgage up to the extent of Rs. 500. Quite a number of States have already accepted this and, in fact, this is already under implementation.

There is also increased provision in the Ministry of Home Affairs, here and also in the States, through the State Welfare Committees to provide subsidised housing to the weaker sections of the community. I realise that all these summed up do not touch the fringe of the problem, because 25 to 30 per cent of the people in the villages are living at subsistence level or below. Therefore, a permanent solution of their problem will be through rural industrialisation.

The House will be aware that in that behalf also, the Planning Commission has appointed a sub-committee with the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission as its Chairman and representatives of the various organisations like the Khadi Commission as its members. Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan and others who are members of the Committee are looking into the question, not of village industries but of rural industrialisation.

There is a fundamental difference between village industries and rural industries. We are trying to ensure that as against the current gravitational pull of industrial development in big cities, we create, through government assistance, a pull in the reverse direction so that industries begin to be created or begin to be pulled in the direction of villages on a decentralised scale—cooperatives to some extent as my hon. friend Shri Parashar was eager to ensure. I hope, through the National Cooperative Union of which he is a member, he will try to promote the particular climate for the growth of cooperative industrial enterprises in various parts of the country.

Shri Parashar: I say full cooperation is assured.

Shri S. K. Dey: Then the block as the unit of administration. This is a problem which is almost like a hardy annual which we have to face for the past 10 years. When we say that the block should be the unit for planning and development for all activities of government, when we specify that all assistance of government should be routed through the panchayati raj institutions, it cuts at the very root of arbitrariness on the part of political functionaries in government or government servants.

It is not an easy matter overnight to cut across that sense of arbitrariness which has grown over centuries in the people and in institutions. There is always a resistance on the part of many recalcitrants—and they are not necessarily confined to government servants alone. In fact, they are much less confined to government servants than elsewhere. That is a problem which I cannot solve, as a Minister, from here. It requires very competent public opinion so that that public opinion itself ensures that the agreed decision to create the block as the unit for planning and development is actually honoured in practice.

Then, the voluntary non-official institutions. We are, of course, going ahead creating panchayati raj institutions. There will be 2,50,000 panchayats in the course of the next year or a year and a half; and there will be panchayat samitis functioning all over. In a general way, panchayati raj is the extension of the government that now functions at the Centre and in the States. Extension of the government institutions up to the village level does not necessarily mean a permanent extension of democracy. Permanent extension of democracy can only be ensured if there is the largest volume of devolution, not from a higher government agency to a lower government agency but to the largest number of voluntary associations of people, whether they be

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youth clubs, women's clubs or agriculturists and farmers clubs or otherwise.

15.47 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

That, again, is not easy for a government organisation to establish. If voluntary organisations are to be established, it is necessary that non-official voluntary institutions of the people without any political motive behind them should go out of their way from the big cities, to which they are largely confined, to the far-flung 550,000 villages and promote a climate for the organisation of voluntary institutions at the village level and above without necessarily imposing a compulsory condition of their affiliation to the All-India body. Because, the moment there comes this question of the affiliation of these to an All-India body, then, there are other competitors and politics comes in. That is the problem. This is so far as community development is concerned.

Now, I come to the question of panchayati raj. My hon. friend, Shri Rajeshwar Patel, General Secretary of the All India Panchayat Praishad has mentioned that the Ministry is not quite serious about panchayati raj. If the Ministry is not quite serious about panchayati raj, I do not know who is serious. (*Interruption*). Nobody can press this Ministry to go out and establish panchayati raj all over the country. In fact, if I may use that expression—I do not know whether it is parliamentary or not—I may say that this Ministry made itself almost a nuisance, going all over the country and trying to push the scheme of panchayati raj at a pace which many people have branded as too excessive.

We have already had 9 States in India which have implemented the programme of panchayati raj. They are; Andhra, Assam, Madras, Maha-

rashtira, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. In Bihar, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh legislation has been finalised. In the course of this year all these three States will have implemented the programme of panchayati raj. West Bengal has taken up legislation; the draft has been completed and I have the assurance of the Chief Minister and the Minister in charge of panchayat raj that in the July session of the State legislature, the draft legislation will be before the legislature. I have been told by the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir that he is appointing a committee to look into the implementation of the panchayati raj in several advanced States and gaining from their experience devise a pattern of legislation that can serve the special needs of that State in the context in which they function. This committee will be in operation very soon. Then comes Kerala. I am told that they have begun to draft the legislation.

My hon. friend Shri A. C. Guha mentioned that we should have Central legislation on panchayati raj so that there is uniformity. This is a question that has been discussed quite often in this House. In the first place we must recognise that panchayats is a subject within the jurisdiction of the State; it is not a Central subject.

Shri P. R. Patel: What happened to Maharashtra legislation?

Shri S. K. Dey: First class. It is the zilla parishads legislation. In the first place under the Constitution I am not authorised to bring legislation on panchayats in this House.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): There are ways; it can be done with the approval of the State Governments.

Shri S. K. Dey: I am quite certain that they would not like the idea. Secondly there is one other question; we must understand it. If the hon. Member tries to bring in that legisla-

tion here, he will try to find the lowest common denominator of what is implementable. So, this legislation will be guided by the weakest State. Now, having left the initiative to the State Governments, there is automatic pressure from the forward States on the weaker States without any initiative from my side, for moving forward. In fact I would say that it is one of the greatest advantages that we have. Having left the discretion and the option to the State Governments to go ahead as fast and as progressively as they wanted, the only responsibility that the Central Ministry can effectively discharge in this behalf will be to pool the experience of the States and find out what is happening and place that pooled experience available at the disposal of all the States so that each State can take steps emulating the example of the forward States. In fact instead of States trying to vie with each other in saying things against each other as used to be the custom at one time, already the States are vying with each other in emulating their good examples. Particularly, in matters of panchayati raj and sahakari samaj I would like to leave these matters with them. The informal consultative committees have grown into an institution today. According to my report last year there have been 28 meetings of the State consultative committees which means that almost every State will have had two meetings of the consultative committee. So far as our Parliament is concerned, we have had at least eight or ten meetings and that way both the Members of Parliament as well as of the State legislatures are having an opportunity for exchanging effectively their experiences on the common programme and reinforce each other's understanding of the grass root functions of this vital programme.

Sir, this House will be very happy to learn that the Committee which was appointed by the Law Ministry for going into the question of nyaya

panchayat, again a very vital subject, has at last submitted its report and I am quite sure that the Law Ministry will be able to give greater details of what that committee had recommended. Once that recommendation with which our Ministry was very closely associated begins to be implemented on the ground many of the complaints and misgivings expressed and ventilated by friends here and elsewhere will have been allayed. Shri K. N. Tiwary had made particular mention that the ordinary vikas panchayat must not be burdened with the responsibility of the nyaya panchayat work. That is precisely the recommendation of this committee and we wish to see that the vikas panchayat functions completely independent of the nyaya panchayat. In fact the levels are going to be different. But further details in this behalf can be supplied by the Law Ministry.

Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar): What is the attitude of the Government to the Law Commission's report on this?

Shri S. K. Dey: That is still under examination. I think the attitude of the Government should be very favourable. In any case I have no doubt about it that we are very determined to have nyaya panchayats established in this country which can really administer nyaya instead of anyaya. As this House is perhaps aware at the instance of the Planning Commission no less distinguished a person than Shri V. T. K., the ex-Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission undertook during the past eight months a special study of the district administration in the light of the panchayati raj programme and the upsets this programme is causing to the existing conventional structure of the administrative apparatus. Shri V. T. K. has been in very close collaboration of the representatives of the State Government and the representatives of the Central Ministries including the Ministry of Community Development. He is just in the final stage of his report. I am expecting

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that he will be ready to submit his report to the Government or probably to the Planning Commission or that it will come to the House in any case, not very long from now. Once this study is available with us, we propose to take this up in right earnest with the State Governments and bring about such administrative reforms as the present stage of development in panchayat raj calls for. Once that happens many of the problems ventilated by friends here during this debate, points such as the need for the appointment of a special collector to look after the development programme as was made by my hon. friend Shri A. S. Saigal will have been met.

Many friends outside and here mentioned that there is corruption at the ground level. I would place before this House my own experience of two months of intensive electioneering, shorn of all official armour, left only with my daughter and a broken down jeep travelling from village to village which I did not know. The first point that I wanted to know from every village that I visited was whether there was any corruption among the village level workers.

Shri P. E. Patel: Didn't they know that you were a Minister?

16 hrs. . . .

Shri S. K. Dey: They of course knew it, but it did not matter. During the elections, the hon. Member knows that the Minister works under a greater disability.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Radhelal Vyas: But they knew that he is also a worker.

Shri S. K. Dey: Anyway, that is my experience, and I am quite sure that there are 500 other hon. friends in this House; they will be able to exchange their experience.

Mr. Speaker: The Minister should not suffer any disability here.

Shri S. K. Dey: Except for complaints here and there of indifference on the part of either the extension officers or sometimes the Gram Sewaks, I did not come across one single case of pronounced corruption against any single employee.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): For God's sake, do not underestimate it so much.

Shri S. K. Dey: I do not wish to say much; I would only say that in the community development programme, with the responsibilities now vested in the representatives of the people, the Government employee is subjected to so many fires from all directions that it is almost impossible for him to get away with anything unless he makes common cause with his senior counterpart, namely, the representative who is in charge of the institution.

An Hon. Member: What about the officers?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: It is they who fire!

Mr. Speaker: If he is surrounded by so many fires, he might not be afraid of any!

Shri S. K. Dey: The Law Minister is the chairman of the committee, at the instance of the Home Ministry which is going into the question of the future pattern of administration in the Centrally-administered territories such as Himachal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur, etc. Once his report is out and simultaneously the studies that are being currently made of the administrative pattern for Delhi, we hope that we shall be able to introduce in the Centrally-administered territories the system of Panchayati

Raj, particularly at the higher tiers, of which this House can feel proud.

As far as the panchayats in all these territories are concerned, the panchayats either have been established or are in the process of being established. A complaint was made that—it was made by Shri Shree Narayan Das—the Gram Sewak is not acting at the base of the Panchayati Raj. We also know that many of our representatives in the Panchayati Raj institutions are not functioning institutionally. They are functioning also as individuals, arrogating to themselves the authority that normally should belong to others.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): There is a second conference also going on here.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri S. K. Dey: In order to examine this question threadbare and arrive at certain methods and procedures which can ensure that the Gram Sewak can really become the base of the Panchayati Raj institution and that the Sarpanch, the Pradhan and the president of the Zila Parishad can actually function as heads of institutions functioning on behalf of the institutions, we are appointing a study team, and I think it will be in position in the course of the next few days.

Many hon. friends have complained against elections. There have been two extreme views, with all the ramifications in between. One extreme view is there should be no election, or rather, there should be no election on the basis of parties. The other extreme is, party-based elections should be there. So, one is completely party-based, and the other is completely partyless, and in between there are of course many ramifications. If there is no genuine unity at the village level, if the people are not enlightened enough to distinguish between good and bad people, those

who can serve them and who will exploit them, I do not see how you can have a unanimous election and solve it. If that unity is not there, and even if there is an understanding between the political parties that they should not fight an election on the basis of parties, I do not see how in actual practice it can be implemented. This is the dilemma I am placed under. I find that if political parties go to the villages in the existing context, they add to the further atomisation of the village. If, on the other hand, they do not go there at all and there is ignorance, then the existing Dadhas of the village come in. What is the way out of it? I do not know.

Shri P. R. Patel: Is it not possible that the political party leaders may go to the villages and explain to them the democratic way in all these things?

Shri S. K. Dey: I am coming to all this.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): He has already gone and got the votes!

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Minister should be allowed to go on.

Shri S. K. Dey: In order to find out what is the best system, what is the best method in which elections should be fought or the representatives should be elected to these institutions which we are creating, we propose to set up a high-level team of people who know about it, as soon as most of the States in the country have had some experience of elections with the newly-created Panchayati Raj institutions—and it should come sometime before the middle of next year or so. Once we remit this study to this team, we would like to leave it to experts and the people who have the necessary experience and wisdom to go through it and tell us what should be done. I do not wish to come to any *ad hoc* decisions on it.

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nor do I wish to make any *ad hoc* recommendations because it is fraught with very serious dangers both ways.

Regarding resources and finances to the Panchayati Raj institutions, we are very fully alive to it. There is very little point in creating new institutions of people and endow them with responsibilities without the necessary resources. States have gone ahead on their own and created resources in varying measures. Some States such as Maharashtra are there. Maharashtra has gone out of its way to ensure that hundred per cent of the revenue shall be transferred to the Panchayati Raj institutions. Some others have done only six per cent or five per cent, and some others have not done any.

Shri P. R. Patel: I think Gujarat has ensured 100 per cent, but....

Shri S. K. Dey: It is going ahead.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is doing much more here!

Shri S. K. Dey: It has still to implement this programme. We propose to have a much more systematic study of this difficult subject of resources for Panchayati Raj institutions, because if it is done indiscriminately, it may create more difficulties than it can solve. So, sooner or later, perhaps sooner than later, we shall have this question studied threadbare. I hope this will allay the anxiety expressed in this behalf by my hon. friends, Shri A. C. Guha, Shri Yadav, Shri Shree Narayan Das and Shri Rajeshwar Patel.

Then, Shri Venkatasubbaiah mentioned that the responsibilities of Zila Parishads must be carefully defined. I agree with him that, as things stand today, both in Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan, which were the pioneer States in Panchayati Raj, the responsibility of the Zila Parishad is

in a fluid state. Andhra Pradesh has already decided on an *ad hoc* pattern to give specific responsibilities to the Zila Parishads and to appoint senior officers to serve as secretaries of the Zila Parishads and on the same lines, the State Government of Rajasthan is also proceeding.

I mentioned earlier the problems about voluntary organisations. We must get voluntary organisations assisting us to propagate the idea of Panchayati Raj and the concept of it. It is here that we require the assistance even of political parties. The political election now is another five years off. During this period, so far as this House is concerned, it is committed to the concept of panchayati raj and its implementation as we understand the panchayati raj programme.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Does the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs believe in panchayati raj?

Shri S. K. Dey: I am quite sure I could not implement the programme without his belief. If the panchayati raj programme is to be implemented properly, it is of the utmost importance that I secure—the Ministry and the Minister—the utmost assistance from all the voluntary institutions in the country, including the political parties, particularly in matters of education, in the philosophy and physics of panchayati raj.

Shri Basappa had mentioned that officers are apathetic to the panchayati raj programme. I would like to say that if the panchayati raj programme is being implemented today, the major burden of drafting the legislation, of drafting the rules of business, implementing the programme and supervising the programme during the initial teething period, the brunt of all these burdens has been and is being borne today and will continue to be borne by the officers. I do not say there are no exceptions; there are

plenty of exceptions, but they are not confined to Government officers.

Coming to the question of cooperation, we have in the Ministry's annual report given an indication of the improvement, particularly in membership and in credit offered. In fact, in the last 10 years, starting from 1950-51, there has been an increase nearly ten-fold in the number of members of cooperative societies and in credit offered. Even in distribution of supplies, about 75 per cent of the fertilisers in the country today are being distributed by the village cooperatives. Village cooperatives are taking up increasingly the responsibility for the distribution of seeds, kerosene, salt and other commodities which are in short-supply, particularly in areas distant from rail or road communications.

The House is already aware that about 15 per cent of the sugar in the country today is being produced in the cooperative sector. By the end of the third Five Year Plan, another 10 per cent will come into the cooperative sector, which will mean that at least 25 per cent of the total sugar produced in the country shall be in the cooperative sector, and it cannot but have a significant impact on the rest of the sugar factories in the country. In order to ensure that these cooperative sugar factories get a very high degree of technical skill in management and supervision, we have promoted an all-India National Cooperative Sugar Syndicate. That syndicate has already begun to build up a technical organisation of its own. It is already beginning to think in terms of processing and forging spare parts for sugar manufacturing units and other assistance which they can offer. I have no doubt whatsoever that this particular sector of our cooperative activity will give a very outstanding account of itself, thanks to the leadership that Maharashtra has offered in this behalf.

In the marketing of cotton, there has been notable progress in Gujarat and

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Karnatak. In the linking of credit with marketing, there has been progress with regard to wheat in western U.P., sugarcane in Maharashtra, cotton in Gujarat and paddy in Jammu and Kashmir. The intention is that processing and marketing will be linked up with the service cooperative and the credit that it offers. These are the two sectors which have been almost conspicuous by their weakness in most of the States in India. It is only in the last five years that a significant effort began to be made in the direction of building up something of a marketing and processing sector, but even here, except for sugar and something of cotton, we are almost at the beginning.

In regard to giving taccavi loans through cooperatives, a beginning has already been made in Madras, Maharashtra and M.P. Here also, the Planning Commission has appointed a committee with an adviser of the Planning Commission as the Chairman to look into this question and find out what difficulties the State Governments are experiencing and how those difficulties can be met and how taccavi loans or any loans for that matter, can be channelised through the cooperative institution, rather than having two agencies functioning at the same time, one the Government and the other the cooperatives, adding to the confusion.

Training and education in cooperation is again a subject of very high importance. It was felt that if cooperation is to be a people's movement, training and education must be conducted by the organisation of the cooperative institutions themselves. Therefore, last year we took a decision of transferring the entire responsibility of training and education both of officials and non-officials, to the National Cooperative Union at the Centre and to the State co-operative unions. This decision of the Ministers' conference is in the process of implementation.

There have been a lot of complaints by Shri Sarjoo Pandey, Shrimati Subhadra Joshi and Shri Guha about

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difficulties in cooperative laws. Here again, simplification was urged. Because of the urging on the Ministry by the Parliament and elsewhere, we can claim that Maharashtra, M.P., Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Madras and Gujarat have already enacted new laws. New laws are also being drafted in the other States, but let me utter a word of warning. The enactment of legislation does not mean easing of cooperative procedure. Easing of cooperative procedure ultimately will be achieved if there is a vital cooperative non-official movement in the country, which can provide the leadership to the people. If that is not there, all the legislation in the world is not going to affect anything.

If the gramdan and bhoodan villages, a sum of Rs. 1 crore has been made specially available for giving assistance to these villages. We are going to discuss this matter on the 25th June in a special meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh and representatives of the States and our Ministry.

We know there is a weakness in the marketing and processing sector. Therefore, so far as the Central Ministry is concerned, we are trying to place the highest emphasis on the development of this sector. But again, we are completely at the disposal of the State Governments and the State Governments again are completely at the disposal, so far as cooperation is concerned, of public opinion. If there is not an alert and dominant public opinion asking for a vital cooperative movement in the State, the State Government despite its best desires to the contrary is not in a position to implement the cooperative programme, because according to the mandate of their legislators and public opinion outside, they get compelled to open up new factories, open bridges, roads, etc., at the expense of the cooperative movement. In fact, in quite a number of States, particularly in the eastern region, we find that despite all the offer that we can make from our side,

from the Ministry—and we did make a special offer of a crore of rupees apart from the normal assistance which accrues to the State Government according to normal procedures—they are not in a position to avail of this assistance. So it is a hard world against which the Ministry is hitting its head, is dashing against. Here again, I cannot say that the State Minister can do very much. It is the public opinion which should ask of the Minister and then the Minister can respond, just as if I get a proper, collective organised hammering on a particular deficiency from this House I am in a position to use it as a lever to get the thing going. But if there is no public pressure . . .

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: As if all the hammering you got was not enough.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): Please tell us how much pressure you want.

Shri S. K. Dey: Now, Sir, we are trying in the package programme districts where intensive agriculture is being implemented on behalf of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture the special programme of full financing to the agriculturists. We expect to collect considerable experience about the implications of full financing, apart from processing and marketing which we have no doubt will be of enormous advantage to the rest of the country.

Similarly, we are trying to diversify co-operative activities including consumers co-operatives, labour construction co-operatives, printing press co-operatives, rickshaw pullers co-operatives and labour co-operatives. There has been considerable activity in these various fields, and in the coming year we hope we shall be able to make a significant dent in all these sectors. Therefore, the intention is that the co-operative movement in the country should not be confined merely to agriculture. It should spread into all fields of economic activity, industries,

transport, labour, printing, business and consumer goods.

The Finance Minister had mentioned that he would be prepared to give special assistance for promoting the growth of consumers co-operatives, particularly for government servants. We have almost finalised between the Home Ministry and our Ministry a scheme for establishment of a consumers co-operative society as a pilot enterprise in Delhi and which we shall also recommend to the other States particularly for all the government employees wherever they are working, whether they are working in the railways or in the secretariat.

Now I come to co-operative farming. Here again, we wanted to do this co-operative farming because we knew this is the only programme which can give relief and assistance to the small holders and the weaker sections of the community. But many sections of the people in the country do not wish this thing to happen, and therefore there has been a continual vendetta against this programme in spite of the assurances that we can give starting from the Prime Minister down to the gram sevak on the floor of this House and elsewhere, that this movement shall not be forced by coercion and it shall be entirely voluntary. Anyway, in spite of the opposition, we have begun to do something and I am hoping that by the end of the next financial year when I come here for the budget grant again, if I do, I shall be able to give an account on the co-operative farming programme of which this House can be mighty proud. Even today we have already made a significant . . .

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: May we know if the "ifs" and "buts" in your speech have any significance?

Shri S. K. Dey: It is significant. We have already started 255 societies in the pilot project. In the non-pilot project areas there have been 454 societies. There are 32,000 acres of land pooled and 4273 members in these 255

pilot societies and 9,960 members in the 454 non-pilot societies with an acreage of 62,000. We have had also definite indication of an increase in the yield. I shall be very happy to submit to this House a list of the successful co-operative farms in this country, which hon. Members at their discretion and at their leisure can visit and tell me something about as to what they think of them.

An Hon. Member: What are they?

Shri S. K. Dey: I will submit a list. I have only six more minutes now.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: You have spoken only for 1½ hours.

Shri S. K. Dey: I have already said that in the Plan outlay we had Rs. 70 crores plus some special funds being given by the Planning Commission for taking up co-operative farming programme and other special schemes. But, under the stress of competing priorities, in the absence of an alert and determined public opinion, it is the co-operative programme in a number of States which becomes the first martyr for a cut. It is there, again, I have to appeal to this House and through them to the members of the State legislatures and other representatives of the people to create a necessary climate.

Sir, with this I come to the end of my description of what I wanted to say about co-operation, about community development and panchayati raj. Naturally, we cannot say everything about it. I would like to say that this House has been critical for all the past ten years that the community development programme is working but the community is not there. I plead, Sir, in a very large degree it is correct. But the community is ultimately the sum total of the individual families, and if the individual families have suffered a complete disruption through history the present is a victim of the past, and you cannot correct what has been done, the wreckage of

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thousands of years of the past, just by the creation of a Ministry and allotment of a few hundred crores of rupees. If the community is to be the extension of the family, it is necessary that these three institutions—the village panchayat, the village co-operative and the village school as the centre of the community—must grow again to be the three vital institutions and activate life in the village. This cannot happen easily by giving a push to the co-operative programme, by giving a push to the panchayati raj programme with its integrated system from the village upwards. We have created a churning in the Indian Ocean and as a result of this churning lot of filth is coming up here and there. It was inevitable.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उसमें से अमृत भी तो आना चाहिये ।

Shri S. K. Dey: What was lying there was bound to come up first. With it *amrit* is also coming.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: As a result of these efforts and this churning, may I know how much more wealth you have been able to put in the village and what part of indebtedness you have been able to remove?

Shri S. K. Dey: Sir, that question naturally, I cannot answer. The Mahalanobis Committee is looking into this question as to the actual increase in the real income of the people both in the rural areas as also in the urban areas. I do not presume that at any time, today or in the future, the panchayati raj institution is going to establish the kingdom of God on earth. That cannot happen. The panchayati raj institution, the sahakari samaj and the school as community centre can create a climate in the country in which in the battle between good and evil and in the Kurukshetra that will continue to rise, the good will always triumph over evil. If that climate can

be created by this institution, I am quite content and I am quite sure, the House will also be content. If Panchayat Raj was to bring a complete eradication of evil for all times to come, in all humility I would say that God will be without employment, and nobody wishes to be unemployed. For the creation of this public opinion which must be enlightened, which must be determined and which must be also organised to support the good against evil, I need the utmost assistance of every single representative of the people, wherever he or she is. Therefore, the appeal that I made six years ago to this House and as a result of which I received considerable assistance, and to which is attributable to a large degree what we really achieved in the direction of a people's programme from a Government programme, it is necessary that this House particularly gives me the same assistance in educating public opinion. It is only free people who can give education in freedom. A Government servant is not politically free to preach political freedom to the people down below. A Government servant certainly can create conditions in which the representatives of the people, voluntary organisations or others can be enabled to impart education to the people. It is in this that I require the assistance of this House. Ultimately, this House will appreciate that what Lok Sabha is, or is going to be, shall be determined by the 2,50,000 gram sevaks; there is no escape from it. If the 2,50,000 gram sevaks are based on solid ground, this House is based on solid ground, unshakeable. If this does not happen, this House will continue to be based on Jamuna sand.

In order to enable the Ministry and the Members of this House to exchange ideas with each other on this vital subject of political education and their combined participation in this vital programme, the Ministry proposes to hold a study camp of the Members of Parliament at the end of this session in which I would invite all

Members of this House, as well as Rajya Sabha, to come and participate and tell us, in the light of what I have said.

Shri Inderajit Gupta: Will it be held in Mussorie?

Shri S. K. Dey: At Delhi in Vigyan Bhavan for two or three days. In that study circle we can discuss all aspects of this question, all the implications of how we can meet them. We can also discuss freely whether this Ministry has discharged the functions that I had specified earlier, which I understood to be its responsibilities.

I would certainly now like to thank you for giving me this time to unburden my heart before this House for whatever it is worth.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is worth a great deal.

Shri S. K. Dey: This Ministry will always look up to this House for directives. I claim credit on behalf of the officers working in the Ministry and also in the fields, hundreds of thousands of them, that they have been very responsible like a barometer to every change in the political directive that is issued to them from Parliament and also the State Legislature. I am quite sure when we meet for the next budget grant we shall be able to talk plenty more about what we have really achieved in the field of Panchayat Raj.

Mr. Speaker: Should I put any cut motion separately to the vote of the House? I find that no hon. Member wants any particular cut motion to be put separately. So, I will put all of them together.

All the cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that

will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 6, 7 and 113 relating to the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation."

The motion was adopted.

[The motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below—Ed.]

DEMAND NO. 6—MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,21,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation'."

DEMAND NO. 7—COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND CO-OPERATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,82,32,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Community Development Projects, National Extension Service and Co-operation'."

DEMAND NO. 113—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,56,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in res-

pect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation'."

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 16 to 22 and 116 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs, for which seven hours have been allotted. Hon. Members desirous of moving cut motions may hand over at the Table within fifteen Minutes the numbers of the selected cut motions. As hon. Members are already aware, the time limit for speeches is normally fifteen minutes, excepting leaders of groups, who may take from twenty to thirty minutes.

DEMAND No. 16—TRIBAL AREAS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,16,49,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND No. 17—NAGA HILLS— TUENSANG AREA

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,16,81,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963 in respect of 'Naga Hills—Tuensang Area'."

DEMAND No. 18—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,99,16,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of pay-

ment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 19—STATE OF PONDICHERY

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,33,88,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'State of Pondicherry'."

DEMAND No. 20—DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI AREA

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,75,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'."

DEMAND No. 21—GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,95,78,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Goa, Daman and Diu'."

DEMAND No. 22—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,60,18,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect

of 'Other revenue expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 116—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,65,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta—South West): Mr. Speaker, I think no consideration of external affairs in the present situation can be taken up without a reference to what the hon. Leader of this House had on several occasions to say in recent days, and that is a reference to the overshadowing danger which comes from the series of nuclear tests which are now taking place and under the shadow of which the whole world is at the moment apprehensively considering what to do. At Geneva talks are going on, interminable it seems, and resolutions, alternative resolutions, amendments to resolutions are being put forward how to halt nuclear tests as well as to bring about some initial stages of disarmament, but in the meanwhile we read in the papers that, in the present series of tests, the eighth test has taken place, probably only yesterday, and there seems no possible way at the moment of bringing these things to a halt.

Here I have to make a reference once again to a matter which was raised in this House, I think more than once, but which was not been dealt with to our satisfaction. Disarmament conferences are very good, no doubt, and it is also a matter of much gratification that India and a number of neutral countries are being included, or are actively participating, in the present disarmament talks. But there was a hope or a feeling among

the vast masses of people in all the countries of the world that, apart from relying simply on these disarmament conferences, which have not inspired very much confidence in the past, if we can find some other way, some other method, by which it could be put a stop to, by which a temporary halt could be effected, so that humanity can get a breathing space while the talks went on, I think everybody would have welcomed it and heaved a sigh of relief. It is in that connection that I must refer once again to the appeal which was directed to our Government amongst other governments by Earl Russel. I know there was perhaps some lack of clarity in the beginning as to what exactly was the implication of that appeal—it was raised here and certain remarks and comments were made—but I think we, as the leading country of the neutral and non-aligned countries, do have a certain responsibility, moral responsibility if nothing else, to take this appeal a little more seriously. We all know, now it has become clear after the matter has been further clarified, the suggestion of Earl Russel was that all the neutral countries by some means, whether official or non-official, should take the initiative to carry out a certain peaceful action which might act as a brake to these tests.

It is a well-known fact that no major nuclear power which carries out this kind of testing is able to do so without making a clear declaration before all the countries of the world that it is going to carry out the tests in such-a-such an area from such-a-such a date. Therefore, they appeal to all countries and all powers concerned to see to it that that area is kept free from any ships or personnel or anybody during that period. Testing cannot be carried out if it is known that certain persons, whether they be on land or in ships or in other way, are within that testing area during the period that has been notified. I think it was purely from this angle that Earl Russell made his suggestion. I do not know what exactly we could

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have done or could not have done, but it was never discussed on that plane. That is my complaint. Our country, not only as a country but as a nation, has a long tradition of non-violent and peaceful *satyagraha* and so on in other fields which has given us, no doubt, a certain moral stature in the world. It was primarily for this reason that it was addressed to the neutral countries of whom it was well-known that India was the most influential and the leading power. All that was meant was that we might explore some possibilities of sending some volunteers by ship or by some other means into that area, whether it was done officially or unofficially, is not the main point, which would have acted as a challenge and would actually have tested the *bona fides*, if I may say so, of these nuclear testing powers, particularly in the present case of the United States of America. But I think I must say that the failure to react a little more positively to this proposal, however Utopian it may have sounded to start with, is—something which may not be recorded perhaps later on in history books—I do not know, but certainly, I think, an opportunity was presented which, if properly seized, might have aroused a big wave of public opinion throughout the world and would have aroused a great deal of support too, I think. But for reasons best known to the Government we have not taken that initiative. If we had acted, I do not doubt that certain other uncommitted or non-aligned friendly countries might also have acquired the confidence to act along with us.

Now we have nothing to fall back on except the disarmament talks. I hope when the hon. Prime Minister speaks he will tell us a little more elaborately or concretely exactly at what stage these talks are now, particularly with reference to the role that we are playing there. It is not very easy to discern from the ordinary press reports. We see something. We

see certain proposals, compromise proposals if you like, that are being put forward by India and certain other countries from time to time. We also find, at least from my reading of the papers I find that of the major nuclear powers the Soviet Union seems to have accepted practically everyone of those compromise proposals which have been advanced so far on behalf of India. If I am wrong, I am liable to correction. But the press report says that. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister what exactly is holding up further progress. We know that there is a gulf of difference perhaps in the respective stands of the United States Government and the Soviet Union on various issues connected with testing. But on the compromise proposals which are being put forward what is the stand that the various countries have taken up, what stands in the way and who stands in the way? We would like to know that because it is necessary to confine these things, I believe, not only to the conference hall or the conference room where these talks are taking place but these issues must be clarified and made into popular issues which would arouse public opinion on a big scale in all countries because this is a matter which concerns everybody irrespective of political creeds and personality.

Coming to matters nearer home, in the course of the last year and since we last debated the Grants for this Ministry, of course the most welcome and the most inspiring and outstanding feature has been the liberation of Goa and its reunion with our motherland. I do not wish to dilate on this except to say that it is with some regret that I have to make just one reference to the fact that we know very well that at the time we went into Goa and immediately after there were people in the world who took violent objection to our action. Many recriminations and abuses and all sorts of violent criticism were hurled against us particularly by the Western

Powers or by certain spokesmen or people in those Western countries. By and large the hon. Prime Minister as the spokesman of the Government and of the country over a long series of statements and speeches was able, I think, to establish effectively our case and to silence that kind of criticism at least for the time being. We had a spectacle for some time which, to tell you the truth, made some of us squirm, if I may say so—the spectacle of certain Indians, I must say even people who are perhaps our accredited representatives in certain countries and who speak in the name of India abroad, seeming to be rather overcome by this barrage of hostile propaganda against us because we had decided to take what we considered to be a long overdue step. We have reports of how certain staff of our embassies abroad including that in Washington was thrown into a veritable sort of panic trying to explain away what we had done, as if it was something which we had to apologise about. I have no time to go into that now, but I hope that phase is over and it will never come back. That is why I have to make this reference. I earnestly request the hon. Prime Minister, through you, not to misunderstand what I am saying. It is nothing personal that I wish to make a reference to a news report which has appeared only very recently, on the 26th of last month. I wish with all my heart that it is a wrong and an incorrect report and, if so, I would request that it be refuted or corrected. I do not know if it is torn out of its context. We have no means of knowing. We only see what comes out in the press. This is a speech reported to have been made in Toronto, Canada, at a lecture meeting by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I know she is not a member of the Government. But the fact remains that she is a person of sufficient political eminence and a sufficiently high status in the ruling party of this country to give credence to her views abroad as something which is not flying against the official viewpoint of this country and

this country's government. I do not wish to misrepresent her. It is a very short statement which has appeared and I will read the whole of it out. This report says:

"Mrs. Gandhi said: Newspapers here called it an invasion."

She is referring to the action in Goa. It continues:

"If you enter a room in your own house, are you guilty of housebreaking?"

Very good. Then she says:

"She said the Government of India took the action after the Goan liberation movement..."

I wish to under line the words 'after the Goan liberation movement'

"...had threatened to seek Communist help".

I do not know what it means. Then it says:

"The Portuguese in Goa had become 'triggerhappy', and the Communists were exploiting the tense situation, she said.

She said she was asked to lead personally 5,000 Indian civilians who wanted to march into the Portuguese enclave to help the Goans' freedom movement. I hedged. My position would have been an embarrassment to the Indian Government'.

She was then told that if she could not help the liberation movement, the Communist Party would.

The Indian Army's entry into Goa. Mrs Gandhi added, was also found necessary as the liberation movement inside the colony had taken a violent turn and there was a fear that it might end in the massacre of the Portuguese."

I have made clear....

Shri Raghunath Singh: What is the name of the paper?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: This is the Statesman's report of the 26th of last month.

I know that this is a thing which we need not take official cognisance of because the speaker is not a member of the Government. But what would be the effect on public opinion abroad if this is a correct representation of what she has said? What stands out from the statement is that there were two overriding reasons which compelled us at that particular moment to act. One was some fear that if the Government did not act the Communists would act and therefore the lesser evil was accepted. The second thing which stands out is that the Portuguese were in danger of being massacred. Therefore we had to go in to see that violence did not take place. I do not wish to dilate on these points. I would humbly request the hon. Prime Minister to enlighten us as to whether this is the correct way of putting our case abroad even after so many months, when, by and large, those people who shouted and fulminated against us had to keep quiet, they know that it is an accomplished fact, nothing can be done and India's position cannot be challenged. I do not think that any prominent person from this country is well advised to make this kind of statement abroad.

Now, Sir, regarding Kashmir a great many things have been said in recent days in this House. It is a matter of deep concern to everybody here when we know of, what I might say, a deliberate plan and a deliberate offensive which seems to be launched at the moment by Pakistan on many fronts. It has so many aspects, not only raising up a discussion in the Security Council, not only the threats which are emanating from various quarters indicating that some sort of action, military action, will be resorted to if the U.N. fails to satisfy Pakistan not only that—but also this latest move

which is causing distress to everybody this reported rapprochement between Pakistan and China that they are going to discuss that part of the Kashmir border which is under the occupation of Pakistan. I think it has been made abundantly clear by everybody in this country without exception that we do not consider that any power or any government, be it China or anybody else, has got the right to discuss with Pakistan this border which is a part of Kashmir, which we consider to be under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, and we therefore do not consider that Pakistan has any *locus standi* whatsoever to negotiate or that border with any other country. Therefore, the country must stand united on this issue. Of course there is—I do not know whether there is a glimmer of hope, the Prime Minister referred to it the other day—this provision in the communique which has appeared that this would be only a provisional agreement pending the solution of this dispute between India and Pakistan. Nevertheless, it is an attitude which betrays some sort of equivocation on the question of Kashmir. And, therefore, on this question, as on other aspects of the Pakistani offensive, I hope that everybody will stand united and firm in seeing that the integrity of the whole of Kashmir is properly defended and upheld.

Then there is the question of our own border with China. The report of the Ministry has unfortunately been supplied to us only today. I am told by the Publications Counter that it was made available very late last evening to some Members who were fortunate enough to take delivery of it from the Counter, though I myself was told when I enquired yesterday—because I was going to speak and I enquired—I was told that it would not be available before today. And actually it has come into my possession only today. It could have been easily supplied to Members, I think, early this morning along with their other papers. Anyhow, for some reason or

other it was not. Nevertheless, I had a quick glance through it, and in that section relating to China the report says, surveying the last year that has passed, that the relations have worsened. Now, Sir, I do not think that worsening of relations is welcomed by anybody, should not be. I will no doubt be followed by certain other friends on this side of the House who may even tend to suggest that a worsening is all to the good, because it might help some people to advocate a more militant line. I am sure we are going to hear all these criticisms here, that the Government is carrying out a policy of appeasement, of weakness and of vacillation and should take a much stronger line and so on and so forth. We have heard it in the course of the whole North Bombay election, which was a pointer. But I will just remind you of the approach which was taken on this question just a year ago by the Prime Minister when he was speaking on these very Grants for his Ministry last year, on the 1st of April. May I, Sir, with your permission quote one or two sentences from what he said then? He said:

"We have tried to avoid, in so far as we can, taking any steps which may create unbridgeable chasms between these two countries. We have to look as I said in this dynamic of history not only to the present but to the future; and the future of two countries who are neighbours to each other like India and China, two countries with vast populations, is of the highest importance to both these countries and to the world.

So we have tried to steer a middle course between our strong resentment and the steps we actually take in this connection, and not allow ourselves merely in anger to do something which may create further problems and difficulties".

Now, Sir, this is what the Prime Minister said last year, and I think this is the only possible and same approach which can be taken. We have to remember that this is the one case of a dispute in which we are un-

forunately having to deal with a country which has been illegally excluded from membership of the United Nations. If it had not been, if it had been allowed to enter the U.N.—a cause for which our Government has very consistently struggled and praiseworthily struggle, despite its border dispute with China—if it had been a member of the United Nations, many other ways might have been open to us for a resolution of this border dispute. But facts are facts. The People's Republic of China is kept out of the United Nations despite our protests, despite our attempts, our attempts. Therefore, when we are involved in a border dispute with a neighbouring country, which is at the same time not a member of the United Nations—which has not got that privilege which Pakistan has or which Portugal had—then there are only two alternatives left. One is to go to war which whenever it is suggested, the other friends on this side say, "No, we never advocated war"; and the only other approach, I submit, by and large is the approach which the Government of India has been following: that is an approach of trying to ring about some sort of bi-partite settlement while at the same time strengthening our own defence preparations. What is the other way, I do not understand. There is no other way open to us—going to the Security Council or raising it in the General Assembly of United Nations or getting a resolution passed against China or something. It cannot be done. Perhaps the United States of America and its satellites are regretting now the fact that they have so strenuously excluded China from the United Nations all these years; perhaps they are regretting now, because they perhaps feel that if they had been in a position to use the United Nations machinery, they could have used it today against China. But they cannot do it now and they are caught in a dilemma.

What are we to do? We are a peace-loving people, a nation which has expounded a certain policy. We have

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never called for a war either with Pakistan or with any other neighbouring country. But we have a dispute here and that dispute has to be solved. And therefore, I would like the Prime Minister to tell us, apart from what we know already, whether the Government is applying its mind to any possible steps, however remote or slender they may seem at the moment as practical possibilities, in this direction.

I am provoked to ask this question simply because I find the Prime Minister himself, in his monthly Press Conference on the 21st March last, was asked a number of questions, and he has stated there that, in his opinion, if both parties would agree mutually to some sort of arbitration, then that could not be ruled out. I am not supporting this view, because it is not at all clear to me what is meant by it. But the Prime Minister has said something in his official Press Conference. Of course, arbitration presumes that there will be agreement between the two contending parties on the terms and conditions of the arbitration. But nevertheless the point is that an idea has been mooted, has been thrown out. I do not know what sort of reception it has had elsewhere or whether there is any proposal to follow it up at all. So we would like to be enlightened about this to some extent.

17 hrs.

Then, one other part of our territory I would like to mention, that is Pondicherry. Let us not forget that the *de jure* transfer has yet to take place, and I do not know for how many years more we shall have to wait. I would like to know what the position is now. I am tempted to think that it has some connection with the question of our attitude to the Algerian Provisional Government. Because, the Government which is involved, the Government of France, is the same

Government which is holding up and delaying the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry. Our Government, I believe, has adhered so far to the view that if we do not recognise formally the Provisional Government of Algeria it might put us in a better position to intercede with the French Government both on behalf of the Algerians and perhaps also to expedite this little remaining matter of ours regarding Pondicherry. I would like to ask the Prime Minister, what is the position now. Now, the Provisional Algerian Government has been set up with the agreement of the French Government itself. Through the Evian Agreement this Government is installed and recognised and treated with by the Government of President De Gaulle himself. Yet we are alone—not alone perhaps; we are certainly an exception to many other countries, about 34 countries which have recognised this Government. We still stand aloof. I would like to know what is the position of the Government. At a time when every attempt is being made to sabotage the Evian Agreement which would bring this whole unfortunate tragedy of Algeria to a close, we stand aloof. But, the very Government which was carrying on this was in Algeria against the Algerians has itself been brought to a position when it has to recognise this Government.

I have not much time left. Therefore, I would just mention one or two other problems which should engage the attention of our Government. I refer, first of all, to the threat of war which also seems to be looming large on the eastern or south-eastern periphery of our country. That is to say, in South Vietnam and Laos. We know the developments which are taking place there. But, we have a specific role to play since we are in the International Commission for Supervision and the Armistice Commission. We are Chairman in one case. I have no time to quote. I will refer the Ministry only to the latest issue of the *Time* magazine—the very latest. There are several pages in this which

will give you a very clear picture, a very frank admission of the extent to which open military intervention by the U.S. Government is taking place. This is their own journal; this is not a communist paper or anybody else's paper. Just read the admissions in this, packed with facts and figures which clearly show that the United States is openly and nakedly involved and has established a military headquarters there and is carrying on large-scale military operations.

Regarding the Congo, I have simply to ask one question. We had forewarned that this thing would come to pass one day. We are practically alone, if I may say so, holding the daby of the United Nations. So many other countries which had substantial contingent there have pulled out long ago. I am not saying that we should pull out tomorrow I am asking the Government to reconsider and re-assess what is the position, and in which direction the Congo is being taken. What has happened to the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of 21st February, 1961, in whose defence; to uphold which our military contingent was sent there? Has the Congo been integrated territorially? Has Katanga and the regime of Mr. Tshombe been brought to heel? Have the foreign mercenaries been expelled? Has Mr. Lumumba's murder been probed into? These were the terms of the Security Council Resolution on whose basis we sent 6000 or 7000 men to face all manner of risks there. Shri B. K. Nehru, our Ambassador in Washington has only 3 or 4 days ago, I find, expressed his great concern to the Secretary of State of the United States Government at the very slow, tardy progress which is being made by the United Nations in achieving its aims in the Congo. But, who is facing the music? Every time something happens there, it is our troops, because nobody else is left. We are alone. It is no doubt a very gallant gesture. We should estimate whether we are really making any progress in the direction we sought to go, and if

not, why should we not make a bold re-assessment.

Another point which I would plead with the Government—we plead every year for it, but it does not seem to have had any effect—is it consistent with their own policy of non-alignment on the question of attitude to the two Germanys? I find from the report which has been circulated that in the last year, we have established Consular missions in both the Koreas—both North Korea and South Korea. That is very good. We treat them equally. We have some sort of an equidistant or equal relationship with the two halves of Vietnam. That is to say, those countries which have been partitioned for some reason or other, the India Government treats both of them on an equal footing. Why is it only in the case of the German Democratic Republic, with whom we are building up trade relations and commercial relations and from whom we are taking technical assistance to set up factories and plants in our country, we recognise Western Germany, but refuse to recognise the German Democratic Republic? Is this consistent with non-alignment? Is it not alignment very much, alignment on one side?

I would just like to mention one or two points about the administrative side, if I may say so, of this Ministry. That is a point on which I am afraid, even in general terms, I cannot agree with the Government. Because, I find that there has really been no appreciable improvement, if I may say so, in the quality of our work abroad despite all that has been said in this report. I do not say that all individuals who represent us abroad or all our staff abroad are a bunch of incompetents or nincompoops. There are exceptions everywhere. But, by and large, can it be disputed that these high-ranking personnel of the Foreign service cadre, who man most of our leading Embassies, are not functioning in a way which will enable them to give proper expression to this policy of non-alignment, of peace, of anti-colonialism, which our Government

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professes and carries out and in which we are prepared to support them fully? The Foreign service cadre, I am talking about the higher echelons of it, I submit, have no proper understanding and no proper, if I may say so, passion. That passion which is required, the passion which the Prime Minister often displays is totally lacking among these gentlemen. I would say that they do not understand what non-alignment is. Their whole education, their social upbringing, if I may say so, their outlook is such that they are very much aligned to the West. This, on certain occasions, does land us in very embarrassing positions.

Similarly with the quality of our delegations to the United Nations. A paper like the *Statesman* has, from its special correspondent at the United Nations, published only a few days ago, a despatch which is a very humiliating thing. He lays there that a majority of the people who compose our delegations to the United Nations create a most unfavourable impression; they are not properly briefed; they are un-educated, some of them most ill-educated people. They do not know what they are supposed to do in the various Committees to which they are attached. They do not bother even to be briefed properly. Some of them are accused by a paper like the *Statesman* of exercising a sort of a superior or supercilious attitude towards the delegations coming there particularly from Africa and the Latin American countries which has put us in a very bad odour. All these things, I suggest, must be looked into more seriously.

A minor matter, *Foreign Affairs Record* is supposed to be a monthly bulletin produced by the External Publicity Division. It is said in this report which has been given to us today that it appears monthly and it is very useful. I find from the Parliament Library that there is no issue available after November, 1961. This is supposed to be a monthly record. I

do not know—the hon. Minister of State is shaking her head—it is certainly not supplied to the Lok Sabha Library.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has to conclude now.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I would suggest that these matters be given more serious attention. For example, I am told, I am surprised to be told if it is correct, that the Press Attaches who are working in our Foreign Legations and Embassies are still kept on a temporary basis. They are not made permanent up till today. They function on a temporary basis. They have not got even pension benefits, facilities which other people in government service have. They have no provision for pension or old age benefits. These are people who are supposed to work abroad in publicising our stand and our policies abroad and keep in close touch with public opinion in these countries. This is not the way of functioning. I think these personnel should be properly graded and educated. There is nobody who cannot be educated to do a thing. If those people who are lower down like Press Attaches—humble people like that—have got genuine grievances, they should be looked into and remedied.

I hope all these points which I have raised will receive due attention of the Minister.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): I wish that it was announced by the Prime Minister or on his behalf that the House would be having an opportunity to discuss the international situation separately from the discussion of the Demands of his Ministry, because this is the only occasion when we can take into consideration the working of this Ministry, and naturally we will be handicapped because of this being the only occasion some of us would like to say something about the way the Ministry, that is, the administrative side of the External Affairs Ministry, is functioning.

Perhaps the best comment on the way this Ministry is functioning is offered by the Report they have published. I was a little more lucky that my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, and I got a copy of the Report which I tried to study in the night. Actually it does not take a whole night to read the Report.

I think we have a very dynamic foreign policy. But this Report fails to reflect even in a very modest way, even in a remote way, either the dynamism of the individual who embodies the foreign policy, formulates the foreign policy, or the dynamics that promote and guide, that are underlying that foreign policy.

I will be very brief about it and will try to draw the attention of the House to certain aspects of this Report. Let us open up page 17. As regards Goa, this is what it has to say:

"These remnants of Portuguese colonial rule in India were reunited with India on 20th December 1961".

I think here was a day worth living many times, a day which we thought was our sheer luck that we were allowed to witness. But how is it reflected in the External Affairs Ministry's Report? On that day this was what happened—which I read out. So casually managed, so insipid and so uninspiring. There is nothing that the world could know from it about the agony of the country, how long we had been patient, how long we had been trying every possible means to persuade the Portuguese not to force us to use, of course, what is the sovereign right of every nation. You will not see any word about these in the Report. It was a kind of a minor operation like a vaccination that was carried out! In such insipid and cold language is the liberation of Goa mentioned in this Report.

But there are better specimens to come. Here is Nepal on page 21. These are the words:

"Relations between India and Nepal have, however, continued to be close and friendly".

What shall we say about this? Does it in any way reflect the present relations between our two countries? Does it show the concern the nation is feeling over a clear deterioration in the relations between two great neighbours? Nothing of the kind. This is just an insipid catalogue. But how insipid it can be is provided further in the Report. Right now everybody is concerned about it and we are making every effort to bring about an improvement in our relations with Nepal. But obviously those who composed this Report are not much aware of this fact, because this is how Nepal is dismissed:

"A Ramlila troupe performed in Kathmandu during Diwali and was much appreciated".

Here we are very eager, very anxious, very concerned, doing everything to improve this relationship. But here are these gentlemen telling us that a Ramlila troupe performed in Kathmandu. And the chapter on Nepal ends.

Now let us go to something even more serious and grave—our relationship with Pakistan. Not a day passes without causing some anxiety to those who think about the well-being of this country, as to what Pakistan has to say. We never know what that totalitarian regime may be intending towards our country. Such is the present delicate condition of the relations between the two countries. But this is how the External Affairs Ministry's Report ends on this on page 3f:

"The Indian High Commission in Karachi also arranged a concert of dance and music at the Rivoli Theatre in Karachi in aid of these victims".

[Shri Nath Pai].

The report on Pakistan is dismissed with a reference to a dance recital!

Now let us go to China, which to the Prime Minister symbolises the greatest single problem with which India is confronted, and perhaps will be confronted for a hundred years more. These were his words on 8th December in this House, but how are those who are trying to reflect this in the written cold word trying to see it is reflected, to see that it is properly mirrored? There are some good chapters in it to which I will be referring, but here is again an anti-climax:

- "Offers from the Governments of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa to provide land for the resettlement of Tibetan refugees in agricultural colonies are being considered."

This is how the report on China ends. We can go through page after page and only express our regret and lament that this kind of working does not give any kind of idea at to what are the dynamics, what are the ideals, what are the goals and objectives the foreign policy of this country is placing before itself. I think I would very much like to recommend to the senior officials of the Foreign Ministry to read a book called *The Ugly American*. It is a book which perhaps the Foreign Ministry of every country should read. It is a satire. Perhaps the Indian diplomats need to read it more than any other diplomat. I think that those of us who have to go abroad now and then get an impression that our Embassies abroad are creating the image of an ugly Indian by the way they function.

We will take a very simple example, Goa. I think never was India right as on the issue of Goa, but what happens? Precisely in the capitals where due to misunderstanding, due of course to determined hostility in some cases, but mainly because of the lamentable failure of the Indian mis-

sions, whose principal job is to interpret what we are trying to do, we were totally misunderstood. It was the wrong foot that was put forward in those countries. All kinds of excuses were given. The issue was never clinched by telling those people: what would England have done if Hitler had occupied a part of Portsmouth; what would France have done if a part of her land was occupied; how did France react when Hitler really occupied her territory; and that is what is precisely we are trying to do. We could have told the Americans: supposing New York was in perennial occupation of a foreign Power, what would you have done; that is what we did. But never was it done. Apologies were given. Again and again the sickening, stupid story of a bullet being fired on a merchant ship was repeated, and they were told that there was firing across the border. Did we need this kind of propaganda to convince the world that we were trying to save our self-respect and honour and exercise our basic right in this country? No. We never had the courage, nor the imagination, but the worst thing was how the Embassies functioned there.

I would like to ask some questions of the Government regarding the functioning of the Ministry again here. I think people remember and try to implement even when they become Ministers what they very significantly criticised when they had the privilege of sitting on back benches. One such very charming and intelligent young man now and then used to participate in the debates in the House. He has now been promoted to Deputy Ministership. He gave some testimony before the Estimates Committee. It is worth while studying it, and I should like to know what has been done with regard to that. Certain questions were asked regarding these missions and their functioning. How do we categorise them? It is very interesting. Posts in the Ministry are categorised, that means ambassadorial posts and missions, not according to the impor-

tance, not according to the territory, but according to the climatic conditions, A, B, C, D, E. The best is A and accordingly it goes down, and who goes there? Category A is of course Western Europe, and I think the Soviet Union too is included. I think she will be satisfied to know that. Where the climate is not very inclement, where the standards of living and creature comforts are of the highest order, these are A category, and who goes there? I think for fifty years we shall have to send idealists to try to undo the kind of work that Catherine Mayo has been doing for centuries regarding this country and try to reflect, try to express, try to convey the urge that inspires India, the tremendous tasks that face India and the mammoth effort this country is putting forth to be on its own legs. Nothing of the kind you will ever find being reflected in any of these Embassies. I know, of course, and I would readily agree with my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta, that there are exceptions and exceptions, and some of them we have seen trying to work in this dedicated spirit, but they are few and far between. It is a kind of patronage to be distributed that you want to go to Western Europe, but who will be going? Well, the senior civil servants. This is a kind of reward. He has been toiling somewhere, so this is the reward, because there everything that creature comfort and modern technology can afford is available. I would like to ask of the Prime Minister: is not Africa of vital interest? Is Asia not of vital interest to us? And, I would like to know how many of the civil servants have been put in charge of the Missions in South East Asia and in Africa. There is one single exception in the case of Ghana where a senior Civil Servant has been sent as the Head of the Mission. And, I am told he too will be going. Then we can study the entire missions. We should see the number of Civil Servants in Western Europe and also see who is manning the Missions in Eastern Asia and in South East Asia. They are young men; some of them are very brilliant and dedicated; some

of them have caught the spirit of the foreign policy, the spirit of this country; but they are few and far between. I think this area is of vital importance to us, those countries which surround us immediately; and the best talents will have to be sent there. But who will be bothering about these? After all, the weather in Saigon or the weather in the capital of Vietnam is not so good as the salubrious air in London or in Paris or Stockholm or in Copenhagen. There, of course, these gentlemen must go as reward for their services.

There is another thing. I do not know what kind of control is exercised on the Heads of these Missions. Other countries have Inspectorates of Foreign Affairs which consist of very senior Ambassadors who have retired from service and also Civil Servants, those career diplomats who have retired from Civil Service and who have no axe to grind, who have no cousins to promote or to connive at his follies. And this Inspectorate goes and checks what the Embassies are doing. They stay there and find out things.

Of course, a reply will be given that Shri Nath Pai should read the report more carefully. We also have an Inspectorate. What does that Inspectorate go and do? It goes and investigates into such matters of vital importance to the country, what should be the kitchen provision for an Embassy and whether Class A should get so many spoons and whether Class B should get so many knives and forks. This is what it goes and looks into. These are minor things that can be the job of a minor auditor who can look into these. We do not want our money to be wasted like this. What should the Inspectorate look into? It should look into how these Missions function, how they discharge their duties and whether they are exerting to the utmost. This is the shocking state of affairs. Some of those who might have had an opportunity of going abroad might have been shocked at seeing the contrast between the dedicated manner in which the Chiefs of other Embassies function and the indifferent

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and casual manner in which the Heads of the Indian Missions function abroad.

I would like to ask one more question. Do we take Africa seriously or not. In how many of these newly liberated countries have we tried to send our best men. I know our Prime Minister did not have a very happy experience when he tried to send political leaders, immediately after independence, as our Ambassadors. That is no reason why we should come exclusively to rely upon people to whom career comes before anything else. It will be far from me....

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): The senior politicians who were appointed have a tale of their own to tell. It is the Civil Servants that brought them to that embarrassing condition as a matter of duty so that those posts may be reserved to them exclusively.

Shri Nath Pai: I think we should give credence to this which it deserves as it comes from a very senior member of the ruling party. This only practically confirms what I have been trying to say. He has put it succinctly and cogently which I was trying to put in my own language all this time. I hope the Prime Minister would try to do something about it.

But, I will now come to my immediate national interest, the countries which were once near and dear to us. What is happening there? I think I had occasion to try to point out how the tremendous Chinese genius for dedicated effort, for ingenuity and their vitality with their single-mindedness and strength pushed us from the stage of Asia. We should look to the new trade offensive which they have launched against India in Burma, Indonesia and in Nepal. We sit down and try to tell somebody how they should behave. If today we feel exercised, and concerned about the fact that a road will be constructed between Lhasa and Khatmandu, who is responsible for that? Is it only the present regime whose callousness is responsible? Who can deny that every country has a right to have any kind

of relationship with another country? We simply respect the sovereign right of the Nepalese, and their right to pursue the steps which in their wisdom they think fit to pursue. But, certainly, this is a departure from the policy which Khatmandu used to pursue; and who is responsible for this? They drew a lesson from the kind of policy we were following. We were not attaching that kind of importance to these countries which we ought to have bestowed on them. We took them for granted for too long. It is no use saying 'no, no,' and angrily brushing aside our criticism. We did all that. We can bring too many facts here. Unfortunately paucity of time makes it very difficult—I would like to ask him, therefore, whether anything is being done with regard to this. One is afraid, precious little. We should take into consideration the myriad fronts through which China is trying to attack. May I assure my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta that I am not trying to sing as he accuses me, a hate hymn against China. But there is such a thing like realism in international affairs. He has tried to quote the Prime Minister's speech earlier. I will be quoting another. I wish that he had brought himself up to date. He feels particularly concerned regarding the illegal exclusion of China from the United Nations. I wish he had felt half as concerned regarding the illegal Chinese occupation of his motherland about which he did not reflect in this discussion . . . (Interruptions.)

Mr. Speaker, Chinese moves need to be watched. The Prime Minister has said something which Shri Indrajit Gupta should remember also. There is a Chinese tendency that every time China comes under a Central Government—today they have a real central government, an able government and I think, in a military sense a mighty government—the Chinese had always throughout their history shown a tendency to expand, to spill over the borders. That is precisely what has happened. But I am not so much immediately worried about any military clash between China and us because

the old leadership of the high command of the Chinese are marshals and generals; they are hard boiled; they know what the route march is. I do not think they will be tempted into any military adventure. But their policies are something different. Keeping us engaged on our long border they are trying to push us out from the stage of Asia where it was the Government of India and it was this Prime Minister who had introduced modern China to the people of Asia and to the people of the world. With their diplomatic onslaught, diplomatic offensive sedulously, adroitly and skilfully, with that master stratagem which they alone can bring in peace of day, the Chinese are pursuing that policy. There is no bombast. They are keeping us engaged on another front and are trying to pursue their policy. Are we aware of this? Are we trying to do something about this so that we are not pushed out by China from this?

Today Nepal thinks it useful to reach an agreement with China. I think we are principally to blame because the small nations as we have been repeatedly warning the Prime Minister drew their lesson: if the Government of India cannot defend her own territory against Chinese, what use is the assurance given by the Prime Minister that an attack against Nepal will be regarded as an attack against India? That promise needed firming, needed bones on which it could have stayed. No, it was like rubber. Because of that the small nations gradually began to draw their lesson thinking that if India cannot face China, what is the use of our trying to put up a bold face? It will be Don Quixote. They feel like that and we are responsible for it.

There is another aspect of this foreign policy which is assuming sinister proportions, and sinister undertones for us. There is an unholy alliance. What the Prime Minister said yesterday may perhaps be diplomatically correct. But I only wonder if it was enough for the House to be satis-

fied with that kind of a cryptic remark; Government does not sound its suspicions. You need not sound. Only we will be demanding whether there are policies which are adequate to these well based suspicions. There is a kind of an alliance which is not accidental between the Government of China and the Government of Pakistan. But such an unholy alliance the world has known before. I hope my communist friends will not be angry with me. China is not hesitating to come to terms with a totalitarian regime which otherwise would have been condemned as a fascist regime. It has all the tendencies of a fascist regime; there is no shadow of doubt. To spite India, to hurt India and get India in a corner, China is not hesitating to reach an agreement. There is something significant. The Chinese again are the most polite people. They know what good manners are. We are perhaps the people who may make some kind of a mistake sometimes in the field of manners but they never do. Therefore, something sinister happened. The day the UN was debating in the Security Council the Kashmir issue the Chinese broke all requirements of protocol and all the accepted decencies of protocol to see to it that the note sent to the Prime Minister of India was published and the content was known.

Simultaneously we hear that we have reached an agreement to demarcate the border in China, in Ladakh and in those areas of which Pakistan is in illegal occupation. And then comes a news item—which we have tried to raise here but which could not be raised because of technical reasons—the threat by Mr. Khurshid, the alleged President of the so-called Azad Kashmir Government, that they will seek the aid from China, to have an Algerian type of liberation movement of Kashmir—apart from the fact that this is a slander on the brave and heroic Algerians who are fighting on their own for the liberation of their country.

There is a meaning, there is a purpose, behind this new kind of alliance

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that is growing between them. Can we be supinely indifferent about this? I have one kind word, nonetheless, having expressed our anxieties. One is noticing one firming of the post, and it is that that I would like you to note. It is regarding the firming of these two posts about which a note was sent and which we raised in the House. The Prime Minister said that if anybody tries to demolish, to scuttle, to remove these posts, we shall resist. I think that this new kind of firming of the will is the true policy of the Government of India. These news notes exchanged between the two Governments are gradually reflecting this policy.

Even this otherwise deplorably disappointing report carries, I think, some good passages on this aspect of it. May I assure Shri Indrajit Gupta that nobody ever wanted a war with China because it is the height of folly. But you do not prevent aggression by saying all the time in the face of the aggressor, "We do not want war, we do not want war." What if he wants it? A war can be unilaterally imposed on a peaceful nation too. So, the policy towards China cannot be, "We do not want war." We want the Chinese to vacate the aggression. If you do not want war, we would push you out from every single inch of our territory, which you have illegally occupied." This is how we should try to react.

Taking into consideration all these, I feel that the new words which we have found—and it was a wonderful, thrilling experience for us, after being continuously ridiculed by the Prime Minister in this House by saying, "What shall I do? What do you want me to do"—to use the precise language which we always wanted him to use—are welcome, namely, that "we shall tell China that aggression shall not be suffered on bended knees, supplicating to you that peace be given unto us, but we shall resist with such might as we have at our disposal any kind of

encroachment on the territory of our country." We, therefore, congratulate the Government on the fact that this new policy has found expression in the policies of the Government of India.

There are some other aspects which I would like to refer to. Here again, the difficulty has been that we have like other things in this country, a supremely fine foreign policy. I know my party has been deliberately misrepresented with regard to the foreign policy. I think he will perhaps recall that we had a hand, when he was still a young popular idol of India, in formulating the basis of that foreign policy, when for the first time in 1936, he created a Foreign Affairs Section in the All-India Congress Committee. Whenever we have criticised it, it was not the basis of our foreign policy. It was the deviation from that foreign policy. It was the falling off the rigid adherence from that policy that we have criticised. We never challenged the soundness of that foreign policy, because it is the policy which any Government of India which bears at heart the interests of the country will be always following.

Having said this, may I say that this fine foreign policy of course lacks the adequate machinery. That means, our foreign policy reflects the statementship of a very high degree barring occasional lapses like Hungary, etc., But genuinely, basically, it is a very sound policy, but diplomacy does not go hand in hand with our foreign policy.

Here, in this connection, I would like to say one word. I should very much like to offer my felicitations to Shri V. K. Krishna Menon—perhaps very unusual from this quarter—(laughter). and the hon. Member is already laughing—I hope the laughter is genuine,—for the very able way the handled the Kashmir issue, but this time, also, by very rigidly adhering, I think, to the brief that the Government of India had given him.

But his very able advocacy and presentation of that brief definitely deserve perhaps applause from all of us. And we, who have always been very eager to find merit even in those with whom we have most disagreed, take this opportunity to offer him our felicitations on the way he had handled this question.

Having said about this, I would like to tell my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta and perhaps some others that in discussing international affairs it will not be useful to lose the perspective and to be oblivious of new changes. I think both in Washington and in Moscow, winds of change have begun to blow. The Russia of 1962 under Mr. Khrushchev is not the same as the USSR of 1953 when the almighty Stalin ruled supremely over the country. But it is equally true, as the Prime Minister said, that the United States under this Harvard idealist is not the same as the United States a little earlier that we used to know. In all our approaches, particularly those who are eager to see that the foreign policy of this country is faithfully implemented and respected will have to bear this in mind.

Concerned as we feel, as we are discussing today the international situation in such little time as we have, perhaps another cloud charged with all kinds of dangerous elements is settling on the world, because in the meanwhile perhaps the ninth or tenth—I have lost count—atomic test will have been carried out. I think the efforts the Government of India are making in this regard perhaps will bear fruit. In spite of the shouting that is being done from Moscow at Washington and from Washington at Moscow. I think the areas of agreement are developing and expanding. One is noticing that.

Having seriously expressed my many apprehensions regarding some

aspects of the policy of the present Government, I should also like to express our appreciation of the effort that our Government is making to bring sanity, to try to prevail that nothing will be gained by this insane race, but everything perhaps is to be gained by reaching even a *modus operandi* for the time being.

I should like to tell our Prime Minister that somehow the way we have acted with regard to Algeria has not done any credit to one of the basic principles of our foreign policy. I had occasion to plead with him when he proceeded to Belgrade for the conference, which I think was mainly saved because of the part he played, that he announced the recognition of the Provisional Government of Algerian people. But all kinds of excuses were given. Perhaps he was very worried that France may take it amiss, that France may misunderstand us. But then, we were taken a back. We were worried that France would be misunderstanding us if we recognise the Algerian Government. And, what happened? Within a few months, France herself started negotiations with the same Government. I think we have lost something, if not all, of our standing among the people of Africa, who are struggling for freedom by the way we have behaved towards Algeria.

After all, it is not the legalistic thing that we are interested in. There may be this Government in Tunis; there is this executive committee in Algiers. Are these issues ever solved in this legalistic manner? I think this is a political matter and we need to be among the first nations to welcome heroic people. I do not think in modern history, anybody has made such great sacrifice as the Algerian people at the altar of freedom and India should have been the first to show her appreciation by being the first to recognise this country. But somehow, in the mind of a man, who has been always the first to take a long-term perspective of history and the

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meaning of things, the legalistic considerations on this occasion weighed more heavily than the imperative necessity that before anything else, before even protocol, comes our fraternity with those who fight for freedom, since we have still been remembering the lashes of slavery on our back.

I am sure his Missions, his friends and his own personal knowledge must have been telling him that the agony of the Algerians today, when they are going through the second phase of their ordeal, facing the OAS murderers, is not so much that they are being called upon to give this toll, but that even in this hour of agony, the Government of India continues to stand by and watch, because the new Government will come in July. Discard this legalistic formality; dispense with it; do away with it and say, we welcome you, we salute you, we receive you; always we were with you in spirit, so that when we see the consummation of your goal, we rejoice with you. I hope that this wishy-washy policy based on a legalistic approach to this vital issue will be abandoned by the Prime Minister and we shall be trying to make good what we have lost.

I also hope fervently that the Prime Minister will give consideration to some of the criticisms I have made regarding the functioning of his Ministry, regarding categorisation, which was motivated by a single consideration and anxiety that out posts abroad carry something of his own dynamism, something of his own idealism and we have never seen a remote echo. It was in this spirit that the criticisms were offered and I hope they will be understood and replied to in this spirit.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members may now move their cut motions relating to the Demands under the Ministry of External Affairs subject to their being otherwise admissible.

Economic welfare of tribal people in the Third Five Year Plan

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100. (1).

Need for liberal policy to honour the tribale people's tradition

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100. (2).

Need to infuse national spirit among Nagas by respecting their legitimate traditional conventions

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Naga Hills Tuensang Area be reduced by Rs. 100. (4).

Need for strong action against anti-Indian activities among some mislead Nagas in the area.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Naga Hills Tuensang Area be reduced by Rs. 100. (5).

Plight of the overseas Indians in Burma, Malaya and Ceylon

Shri Umanath: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (6).

Heavy expenditure of our embassies in foreign countries.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (29).

Need to channelise foreign trade through our embassies

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (30).

Failure to liberate the Chinese and Pakistan occupied territory on the Indian border.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (31).

Failure to afford legitimate protection of the rights of Indian nationals in Pakistan territories.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (33).

Need to expedite settlement of the question of people of Indian origin in Ceylon.

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (43).

Need of removing the hardships experienced by Indians in Burma particularly regarding remittance of money.

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (44).

Failure to expedite the de jure transfer of State of Pondicherry to India

Shri Umanath: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head State of Pondicherry be reduced by Rs. 100. (34).

Status and administration of the State of Pondicherry

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head State of Pondicherry be reduced by Rs. 100. (36).

Need for de jure transfer of Pondicherry without further delay.

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head State of Pondicherry be reduced by Rs. 100. (56).

Need for amalgamating Mahe with Kerala State

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head State of Pondicherry be reduced by Rs. 100. (57).

Need to abolish collection of tolls on traffic in Mahe.

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head State of Pondicherry be reduced by Rs. 100. (58).

Need for inclusion of Goa in the State of Mysore

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Goa, Daman and Diu be reduced by Rs. 100. (38).

Need for responsible and democratic administration in Goa, Daman and Diu.

17.42 hrs.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:—

That the demand under the head Goa, Daman and Diu be reduced by Rs. 100. (39).

Present administrative set up of Goa, Daman and Diu

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Goa, Daman and Diu be reduced by Rs. 100. (40).

Need to remove the difficulties experienced by Haj pilgrims to Saudi Arabia.

Shri Koya: I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100. (60).

Mr. Speaker: These cut motions are now before the House.

डा० गोविन्द दास (जबलपुर) : अध्यक्ष जी, अभी जो भाषण मुझ से पहले हुए—श्री गुप्ता और श्री नाथपाई के—उन को सुन कर मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ। श्री नाथपाई ने हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के सिद्धान्तों का तो समर्थन किया, परन्तु रिपोर्ट के कुछ अंशों को पढ़ कर हमारे कुछ अफसरों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कह कर उन्होंने एक बहुत छोटी बात को। कम से कम मैं उन से यह आशा नहीं करता था कि जो वैदेशिक नीति इतने वर्षों के भीतर इतनी सफलता प्राप्त कर चुकी है, उस के सिद्धान्तों का समर्थन करते हुए भी श्री नाथ पाई इन छोटी छोटी बातों को कहेंगे,

श्री नाथ पाई : वे छोटी नहीं हैं।

डा० गोविन्द दास : . . . जो कम से कम मुझे उन के मद्द से बहुत शोभाप्रद नहीं जान पड़ें।

जहां तक हमारी वैदेशिक नीति का सम्बन्ध है, मैं आरम्भ से ही उस का बड़ा भारी समर्थक रहा हूँ और इस विषय पर कुछ न कुछ कहने के लिए मुझे सदा मौका मिलता रहा है। उस के समर्थन का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति भारतीय संस्कृति के सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार चलती है। भारतीय संस्कृति आज तमाम दुनिया को सब से पुरानी संस्कृतियों में से एक है। चार देश ऐसे हैं, जिन की संस्कृति सब से पुरानी मानी जाती है—भारत, मिश्र, चीन और यूनान। भारत का मैं रहने वाला हूँ। मिश्र, चीन और यूनान को मैं ने देखा है और मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आज हम इन देशों में जायें और वहाँ पर इन को प्राचीन संस्कृति के दर्शन करना चाहें, तो वे दर्शन हमें या तो वहाँ के खंडहरों में या वहाँ के अजायब घरों में होते हैं। वहाँ के जीवन में हमें आज वहाँ को प्राचीन संस्कृति को कोई झलक नहीं दिखाई देती है। केवल भारत ही दुनिया का ऐसा देश है, जिस को प्राचीन संस्कृति की परम्परा हमें आज के भारतीय जीवन में भी दिखाई देती है।

वह संस्कृति आघारित है दो मुख्य सिद्धान्तों पर—एक सत्य और दूसरा अहिंसा। गांधी जी ने एक नये रूप में हमारे उन पुराने सिद्धान्तों को हमारे सामने रखा और हमारी स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात्—बापू के सामने वह स्वतंत्रता मिली—और उस के पूर्व भी हमारी वैदेशिक नीति उन्हीं सत्य और अहिंसा के सिद्धान्तों पर चल रही है। आप देखें कि इती लिए हमें किजनी बड़ी सफलता प्राप्त हुई है। आज दुनिया के सारे देश दो गुटों में बंट गये हैं। एक का नेतृत्व अमरीका करता है और दूसरे का नेतृत्व रूस और चीन करते हैं। बातें ये दोनों गुट और इन दोनों गुटों के नेता शान्ति को करते हैं, पर लड़ाई को तयारा करते हैं। दुनिया में शायद ऐसा कभी

नहीं हुआ कि बात एक की जाये और कृति दूसरी की जाये। यह इस समय की दुनिया की विलक्षणता है कि बात तो शान्ति की की जाती है और तैयारी लड़ाई की की जाती है। लेकिन हमारी स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् के पहले समय को आप देखें। कभी हमारी आलोचना अमरों का करता था, कभी हमारी आलोचना रूस करता था। आज वे दोनों देश, दोनों देशों के विचारक, दुनिया के विचारक इस बात को मान गये हैं कि संसार का कल्याण अगर किन्हीं सिद्धान्तों से हो सकता है, तो वह भारत की वैदेशिक नीति के सिद्धान्तों से हो सकता है। तो इतनी बड़ी सफलता मिलने के पश्चात् श्री गुप्ता और श्री नाथपाई के वे भाषण मेरो समझ के बाहर थे। मेरो समझ में नहीं आया कि उस प्रकार के भाषण कैसे दिये जा सकते थे।

निश्चरित्रकरण की हमारी नीति का समर्थन दोनों गुट करते हैं। पर खेद की बात है कि एक तरफ निश्चरित्रकरण की बात होती है और दूसरी तरफ अणु और उद्जन बम के परीक्षण होते हैं। मेरा निश्चित मत है कि निश्चरित्रकरण ही नहीं सकता, जब तक कि ये परीक्षण समाप्त न किये जायें। हम ने सदा से इस का प्रयत्न किया। दुनिया के विचारक और इन दोनों देशों के नेता भी इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं, परन्तु दुख की बात यह है कि समर्थन करते हुए भी उस के अनुसार कृति नहीं हो रही है।

यहां पर अल्जीरिया की बातें की गईं। अरब देशों से हमारा मंत्री का सम्बन्ध दिनों-दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है। अल्जीरिया की स्वतंत्रता का हम ने हमेशा समर्थन किया है। आज भी हम उस का समर्थन करते हैं। हमें इस बात का बड़ा भारी खेद है कि फ्रांस और अल्जीरिया में समझौता होने के बावजूद, जिस के अनुसार चीन महाने के बाद रिफ्रेडम होने वाला है, वहां पर इस प्रकार का कल्ले-आम हो रहा है।

मेरा विश्वास है कि डोगाल साहब की इच्छा और नीति के विरुद्ध अल्जीरिया के फ्रांस से इस कल्ले-आम को कर रहे हैं। जिन लोगों के ऊपर यह विपत्ति आई हुई है, उन से हमें पूरी पूरी सहायुक्ति है।

जैसा कि मैं ने आप से निवेदन किया है, अल्जीरिया की स्वतंत्रता का हम ने सदा समर्थन किया है और आज भी हम उस का समर्थन करते हैं। मेरा विश्वास है कि जैसे सिद्धान्तों की अन्त में विजय हो कर रहती है, उसी प्रकार अल्जीरिया की स्वतंत्रता भी आ कर रहेगा। उसे कोई रोक नहीं सकेगा।

कांगो में हमारी क्रीजों को अत्यन्त कठिन परिस्थिति में शान्ति बनाये रखने का यत्न करना पड़ा है। इस समय का जब इतिहास लिखा जायेगा और कांगो की बात कही जायेगी, तो, मुझे इस बात का विश्वास है कि इस बात को इतिहास स्वीकार करेगा, इतिहास स्वीकार करेगा कि कांगो में भारतीय सेनाओं ने शान्ति स्थापित रखने का जो प्रयत्न किया, उस से बड़ा प्रयत्न शायद वहां नहीं किया जा सकता था।

लाओस और वियटनाम की स्थिति बहुत नाजुक है। हम रोज पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं कि लाओस में लड़ाई भी हो सकती है। परन्तु वहां भी शान्ति स्थापित रखने का हमारा प्रयत्न चल रहा है।

आप देखें कि स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् हम ने किस प्रकार से ऐसे झगड़ों को निपटाया है। कोरिया की लड़ाई के वक्त हम ने क्या किया। स्वेज कैनल के झगड़े के समय हम ने क्या किया। मेरा विश्वास है कि जिस प्रकार हम इस सम्बन्ध में चलते रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार भविष्य में भी चलेंगे और हमारी नीति को सफलता प्राप्त होगी।

अब कुछ बातें मैं अपने पड़ोसी देशों के सम्बन्ध में कह दूँ, जिन में चीन, पाकिस्तान

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

और नेपाल आते हैं। श्री नाथपाई को, रिपोर्ट में नेपाल के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहा गया है, उस पर मजाक करने की बात सूझी। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि नेपाल के सम्बन्ध में हम ने जो कुछ किया, आखिर उस से अधिक हम और क्या कर सकते थे। खुद नेपाल के महाराजाधिराज यहाँ आये। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री और उनके बीच बातचीत हुई। दोनों का एक संयुक्त वक्तव्य निकला जिस से नेपाल वालों और भारत वालों, दोनों को, संतोष हुआ। इसके बाद यदि हम ने यह आशा की कि नेपाल की और हमारी सैकड़ों नहीं हज़ारों वर्ष से जो मैत्री चली आ रही है वह कायम रहेगी और आगे बढ़ेगी तो इस में कौन सी गुनाह की बात हम ने कह दी, यह मैं स्वप्न नहीं पाया हूँ।

श्री नाथपाई : बड़ी गलतफहमी मेरे वारे में फैलाई जा रही है। मैंने इस पर टीका कभी नहीं की कि इतनी बड़ी कठिनाई पैदा हो रही है। मैंने तो इस रिपोर्ट का जिक्र किया है, मालूम नहीं माननीय सदस्य ने सुना है या नहीं।

डा० गोविन्द दास : गलतफहमी तो फैलाने का काम नाथपाई साहब ने किया है। मैं कोई गलतफहमी नहीं फैला रहा हूँ। मैं तो केवल यह कह रहा हूँ कि उनको सन्तोष होना चाहिये था उससे जो संयुक्त वक्तव्य प्रकाशित हुआ है। नेपाल के सम्बन्ध में अभी जो कुछ हुआ उससे उनके भाषण से मुझे मालूम हुआ कि उनको सन्तोष नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए मैंने यह बात कही है।

श्री नाथपाई : रिपोर्ट से सन्तोष नहीं है।

डा० गोविन्द दास : कागज के छोटों से टुकड़ों को लेकर, उसके पृष्ठों को इधर से उधर पलटकर और उसको पढ़ कर छोटी छोटी बातें करना, यह कहीं तक उचित है यह मैं

समझ नहीं पा रहा हूँ। मैंने पहले भी आप से कहा और अब फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेपाल के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध सैकड़ों नहीं हज़ारों वर्षों से मैत्री का रहा है। नेपाल के महाराजाधिराज यहाँ आये, उनसे हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की बड़ी मैत्रीपूर्ण चर्चा हुई और हम आशा करते हैं कि आगे चल कर इसका बहुत अच्छा नतीजा निकलेगा। चूँकि उसको बहुत कम समय बीता है और यदि उस सम्बन्ध में कुछ व्योरेवार बातें रिपोर्ट में नहीं कही गई हैं, तो इस में कौन सा अपराध हुआ, यह मेरी समझ के बाहर है। महाराजाधिराज नेपाल और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की जो बातचीत हुई है उसको हुए कितने दिन हुए हैं और उन बातों का क्या नतीजा निकलता है, इसको जानने में कुछ समय लगेगा। अगर रिपोर्ट में उस बातचीत के बाद जो अच्छी बातों की आशा है, उसका व्योरेवार जिक्र नहीं हुआ है तो इसमें रिपोर्ट लिखने वालों का कोई बड़ा भारी अपराध है, यह कम से कम मैं मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ। मैं इस बात पर विश्वास रखता हूँ कि नेपाल के और हमारे जो सम्बन्ध रहे हैं वे सम्बन्ध फिर से अभी की थोड़ी गलतफहमी के दूर हो जाने के बाद और महाराजाधिराज के यहाँ आने और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की उन से बातचीत होने के बाद, उत्तरोत्तर सुधरेंगे और नेपाल के हमारे साथ जो मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध उन गलतफहमियों के पहले थे, उस से भी बेहतर हो जायेंगे। मैं बड़ा आशावादी आदमी हूँ। इसलिये मेरा विश्वास है कि यह होने वाला है।

जहाँ तक चीन और पाकिस्तान का सम्बन्ध है मैं कहूँगा कि चीन के मामले में श्री नाथपाई साहब से मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ। एक बात में कम से कम मैं उन से सहमत हूँ। चीन से हम लड़ाई नहीं चाहते। यह सत्य बात है। लेकिन मैं उन के एक एक शब्द का समर्थन करता हूँ जब उन्होंने यह कहा कि चीन के कब्जे में

हमारी जो जमीन गई है, उस की एक एक इंच हम ले कर रहेंगे। इस विषय में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने स्पष्ट घोषणा कर दी है और इस सम्बन्ध में कोई गलतफहमी की जरूरत नहीं है। अक्सर कहा जाता है कि हम घोषणायें तो कर देते हैं लेकिन उन को कार्य-रूप में परिणत नहीं करते। गे.आ. का दृष्टान्त हमारे सामने मौजूद है। हम ने घोषणा की थी एक समय कि गे.आ. भारतवर्ष का अविभाज्य अंग है, और उस को हम ले कर रहेंगे हम मौका देख रहे थे, समय देख रहे थे। बेवक्त कोई बात नहीं की जा सकती। जब मौका मिला हम ने गोवा को ले लिया। इसलिये अगर चीन के ऊपर हम आज आक्रमण नहीं कर रहे हैं—आक्रमण तो हम कभी करेंगे भी नहीं—लेकिन चीन के पास जो हमारी जमीन है, उस को अगर वापिस लेने के लिये आज हमारी सेनायें चीन की तरफ कूच नहीं कर रही हैं, तो उस का यह मतलब नहीं है कि कभी नहीं करेंगी। मौका हम देख रहे हैं। जब मौका आयेगा मुझे विश्वास है, जिस तरह से गे.आ. हम ने ले कर छोड़ा उसी प्रकार चीन जो हमारी जमीन ले चुका है, उस को भी हम ले कर छोड़ेंगे। और एक इंच जमीन भी हमारी चीन के पास नहीं रहेगी।

पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में भी हमारी स्पष्ट नीति है। काश्मीर का ही एक मात्र ऐसी झगड़ा है जो कटुता बनाये हुए है पाकिस्तान और हमारे बीच में। लेकिन हम इस बात को स्पष्ट कह चुके हैं कि काश्मीर इस देश का अविभाज्य अंग है और रेफ्रेन्डम या जनमत-संग्रह की अब कोई चर्चा नहीं हो सकती। वह लिया नहीं जा सकता। पाकिस्तान चाहे कुछ भी करे, हम ने स्पष्ट कह दिया है कि जहां तक काश्मीर का सम्बन्ध है वह भारतवर्ष का रहेगा और उस को कोई नहीं छीन सकता।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जो पड़ोसी देश हैं, नेपाल, चीन और पाकिस्तान, उन

तीनों के सम्बन्ध में हमारी आज जो स्थिति है वह इस के पहले जब इस विषय पर बहस हुई थी उस से कहीं ज्यादा बेहतर स्थिति है। मेरा विश्वास है कि नेपाल से हमारे सम्बन्ध उत्तरोत्तर प्रेमपूर्ण होंगे। चीन जो जमीन हमारी ले चुका है उस को हम ले कर रहेंगे और पाकिस्तान कदापि काश्मीर हम से नहीं ले सकेगा।

मैं ने इस बात को आरम्भ में कहा और इस को अन्त में मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति का मैं बड़ा भारी समर्थक रहा हूँ। उस का समर्थन मैं सदा इस लिये करता रहा हूँ कि वह नीति भारतीय संस्कृति और गांधी जी के सिद्धान्तों के अनुरूप चलती है। हमारे पास आज घन नहीं हैं, हमारे पास आज सेना का बहुत बड़ा बल नहीं है। यह सब कुछ न होने पर भी उस नीति पर चलने के कारण भारतवर्ष का आज दुनिया में इतना ऊचा स्थान हो गया है। मेरा विश्वास है कि दिनोंदिन वह नीति दुनिया अधिकाधिक समझती जा रही है। हमारी इस नीति को अमरीका भी समझने लगा है, रूस भी समझने लगा है। दुनिया के दूसरे देश भी समझने लगे हैं। और दुनिया के विचारक आज इस का समर्थन करते हैं। उस नीति पर चल कर भारतवर्ष ही केवल उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति नहीं करेगा बल्कि दुनिया में वह सच्ची शान्ति स्थापित रखने का प्रयत्न भी कर सकेगा।

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

Shri D. C. Sharma: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the debate so far has proceeded along three lines.

Shri Nath Pai: Only three speakers have spoken; so only three lines.

Shri D. C. Sharma: In the first place, some of the hon. Members of this House have voiced their criticism or their discontent about the working and the functioning of our foreign

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

missions abroad. Some of them have also criticised the formation of the delegations which we have sent to the United Nations; and one Member has gone so far as to say that some of the Members of the delegations have not been educated.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: "Educated" means educated in that field.

Shri D. C. Sharma: It has also been said that our propaganda has not been all that is claimed to be and that it requires improvement.

I think before I proceed with the other problems that have been posed in this debate I would like to say something about the foreign missions, about our delegations and also about our foreign publicity abroad. I do not think I have visited as many countries as some of my friends have visited. But I have also been to some of the countries of the world, and I can say without fear of contradiction that our foreign missions abroad, within the financial limits at their disposal, are giving an excellent account of themselves. And the heads of our missions and the personnel of our missions in almost all the great countries of the world are such as command not only the respect of their own countrymen but also the confidence of the people amongst whom they work. I believe our foreign policy would have been a very very tame affair if our foreign missions had not given a very good account of themselves. After all, the enunciation of the foreign policy rests with Delhi; but the implementation of that policy rests with those missions, and I believe that implementation is as important as enunciation. Taking that in view, I would say that our foreign missions abroad have served their country very well, they have been doing a very good job, and as we gain more experience, as we have more wealth and more

money I think our foreign missions will also gain in strength and other things.

Now, Sir, so far as the delegations to the United Nations are concerned, I am surprised to hear something uncharitable said about them. It is because I have found the heads of so many States coming to Delhi and giving high words of praise to the diplomatic activities indulged in by our foreign delegations to the U.N. Only during the last session the President of Argentina came to our country, and it was in the Central Hall of this very Parliament that he said that he was simply amazed to see the diplomatic functioning of our delegations at the U.N., that the kind of functioning is such as would do credit to any country which has been independent for a number of years and which has had experience of foreign affairs for a long time.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My friend should lead a delegation to the U.N. next time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue his speech on Monday. Now we will proceed to the half-an-hour discussion.

18 hrs.

HOOGLHY PILOTS' STRIKE*

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta—South West): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this crisis which is gripping the Calcutta port is still continuing and I have raised this discussion in the hope that it may assist in bringing about an early solution and settlement. A statement was laid in response to a Calling Attention Notice the other day, on the 3rd of May. I wish just to make a few points regarding that statement on the lines of which, I find, subsequent statements have been issued by the Chairman of the Calcutta Port

*Half-an-Hour Discussion.