

12.36 hrs.

MOTION RE: PANCHAYAT RAJ—
contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Tangamani on the 25th November, 1961, namely:—

“That the situation arising out of the working of the Panchayat Raj be taken into consideration.”

Time allowed is two hours and time taken is three hours. I understand that the other day hon. Members agreed to limit their speeches to seven minutes. Ch. Ranbir Singh may continue to his speech.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta—South West): Sir, I want to make one submission. The other day it was said here that the Motion which the Government had brought forward regarding the proposal for setting up a Joint Committee on public sector undertakings was to be redrafted and made available to us today because the discussion is to be taken up tomorrow. That has not been given to us so far and it will be difficult for us to move any amendment in time.

Shri Rane (Buldana): Sir, in that connection, the Law Minister had made certain observations. He is not here at present. He is coming tomorrow morning and, therefore, I think it will not be possible to give the amendments today.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): In the Order Paper that is put down as the first item tomorrow.

Shri Rane: It is for the Minister for Commerce and Industry to say if it would be possible to give the amendments today.

Mr. Speaker: Does the hon. Member mean to say that the Minister for Commerce and Industry would present the statement to the House today

so that it may be discussed tomorrow? If on account of the absence of the hon. Law Minister that cannot be done and the Law Minister would make a statement only tomorrow, in that case possibly we may not be able to have the discussion tomorrow. We must give some time for hon. Members to study. Then it will stand over for one more day.

Now, Shri Ranbir Singh may continue his speech.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): How much more time will be given to this today?

Mr. Speaker: What are the other items on the agenda?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: That will not take much time. The Members who are interested on the subject of sugar are not present.

Mr. Speaker: What time will Shri Braj Raj Singh, Shri Khushwaqt Rai and Shri Patil take?

The Minister of Food and Agricultural (Shri S. K. Patil): I do not know. Normally it should not take any time at all. It all depends on them.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It will not take much time.

Mr. Speaker: A suggestion has been made that if we can dispose of this business on sugar, the balance time can be devoted on Panchayat Raj. If this would not take much time as Shri Braj Raj Singh himself said, let us dispose of the resolution and the Bill first.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: There is one difficulty. The Members have not been informed that these will be taken up immediately. Also, I have to collect certain things from the library, and I am not immediately ready to move the resolution. Therefore, I may be allowed some time.

Mr. Speaker: How long does he expect his resolution and the Bill take?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Not more than two hours in any case.

Mr. Speaker: Does the hon. Minister feel that two hours will be enough?

Shri S. K. Patil: It all depends on what they have to say. So far as I am concerned it is a statement of only five to ten minutes. But supposing the debate develops, then of course I have to reply.

Mr. Speaker: All right. I shall close the discussion on Panchayat Raj at 3.00—3.15 to be on the safe side. I will guillotine the Bill at 5.00.

Now, Ch. Ranbir Singh may continue his speech. All the same, let hon. Members stick to seven minutes each.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Sir, I had to move the motion, but I could not be present on that day.

Mr. Speaker: I shall try to give ten minutes.

श्री ० रणवीर सिंह (रोहतक) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रस्तावक महोदय श्री तंगामणि जी को यह ऐतराज था कि पंचायती राज का उद्घाटन प्रधान मंत्री क्यों करे और प्रधान मंत्री पंचायतदारों और ब्लाक समितियों के मेम्बरों से क्यों मिलें। आप जानते हैं कि प्रस्तावक महोदय जिस पार्टी से ताल्लुक रखते हैं उनके यहां आम तौर पर यह होता है कि प्रधान मंत्री आइरन कर्टन में रहते हैं और उनका आम जनता से कोई मेल मिलाप नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन इस देश ने तो तरीका ही दूसरा कबूल किया है। यह जरूरी है कि प्रधान मंत्री पंचायत या ब्लाक समिति के जो मेम्बर चुन कर आये हों उा से मिलें, उनका हासला बढ़ायें। इसमें प्रस्तावक महोदय को कोई डर नहीं होना चाहिये इससे कोई कांग्रेस

पार्टी का दखल होगा या उसका प्रचार होगा। और अगर इस तरह से कोई प्रचार होता है तो वे इसको कहां तक रोक सकते हैं? यह उनके बस की बात नहीं है क्योंकि हम उनकी पार्टी की तरह से प्रधान मंत्री को आइरन कर्टन में नहीं रखते हैं। उनको तो लोगों तक जाना ही है और उनसे मिलना ही है।

प्रस्तावक महोदय कल यह चाहते थे कि जो हरिजन हैं वे भी ब्लाक समिति के प्रधान बनें और उन्होंने अपने हलके की मिसाल दी। मुझे पता नहीं है कि यह जान कर उनको दुःख होगा या खुशी होगी, लेकिन मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के अन्दर पांच या दस ब्लाक ऐसे होंगे जिनके प्रधान हरिजन हैं। पर पता नहीं उनको यह जान कर दुःख हो या खुशी हो कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का कोई भी मेम्बर पंजाब के अन्दर ब्लाक समिति का प्रधान नहीं बन सका, और न ही कम्युनिस्ट बन सका। हाँ, एक बात है, पंजाब के अन्दर पंचायती राज में लोगों ने कितना उत्साह दिखलाया इसका अन्दाजा इसी से हो सकता है कि असेम्बली चुनावों के अन्दर मतदाताओं में से सिर्फ ५० फी सदी ने अपनी राय डाली लेकिन पंचायत के इलेक्शन जब हो रहे थे तो वहाँ पर हालांकि मास्टर तारा सिंह का पंजाबी सूवा आन्दोलन चल रहा था, ८० फी सदी मतदाताओं ने अपने मत डाले और अपने सदस्यों का चुनाव किया।

12.42 hrs.

[SHRIMATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair]

जब ब्लाक समिति के चुनाव हुए तो १०० फी सदी मेम्बरों ने राय दी। इससे यह बात जाहिर होती है कि आज लोग कितनी उत्सुकता से पंचायत राज के तजुर्बे को देखना चाहते हैं और इस तजुर्बे में आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं।

इसके अलावा उन्होंने हरिजनों का भी जिक्र किया। मैं उनको बतलाऊँ कि जहाँ तक पंजाब का ताल्लुक है, मैं नहीं समझता कि किसी और प्रदेश ने ऐसा किया हो, लेकिन पंजाब के अन्दर हमने यह किया है अगर किसी ब्लाक के अन्दर जो सदस्य होंगे उनमें से कोई हरिजन चुन कर न आये तो जो मेम्बर चुन कर आयेंगे वे चार हरिजनों को सदस्य कोआप्ट करेंगे। मैं नहीं जानता कि मद्रास के अन्दर क्या कायदा रखा गया है, लेकिन जहाँ तक पंजाब का ताल्लुक है वहाँ यह है कि ब्लाक समिति का जो एलेक्टोरल कालेज बनता है उसके अन्दर सारे पंचायतदारों और सरपंचों को मतदाता माना जाता है। जैसा वह चाहते थे। यहाँ तक कि पंजाब के अन्दर जो चुनाव हुए उसमें भी यह रखा गया था कि जितने सदस्य चुन कर आते हैं उनमें से हर पांच सदस्यों के पीछे एक शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स का सदस्य चुन कर आयेगा। इस तरह से एक ब्लाक के अन्दर अगर ५०० सदस्य होंगे तो उनमें से करीब १०० सदस्य हरिजन होंगे। एलेक्टोरल कालेज में इतनी बड़ी तादाद होने के बावजूद भी पंजाब के अन्दर यह रखा गया कि अगर चुनाव में हरिजन चुन कर न आ सकें तो हर एक ब्लाक के अन्दर ४ हरिजनों को रखा जाय। इसी तरह से अगर जिला परिषद में हरिजन चुन कर न आ सकें तो चार हरिजनों को जिला परिषद कोआप्ट करेगी। यही नहीं, आप जानते हैं कि एक जमाना था, खास तौर पर पिछले जमाने में, जब कि बहनों को पंचायत में जाने का अधिकार नहीं था। ऐसा समझा जाता था कि जहाँ पंचायत बैठती है वहाँ वे जा नहीं सकतीं, उनके लिये वहाँ जाने की मुमानियत थी। लेकिन आज बदले हुए जमाने के अन्दर यह रखा गया है कि अगर कोई बहन चुन कर पंचायत में न आये तो हर एक पंचायत में एक बहन जरूर रखी जायेगी। इसी तरह से जो ब्लाक समिति

होगी उसमें भी दो बहनें सदस्य जरूर होंगी। या तो वे चुन कर आ जायें, और अगर वे चुन कर न आ सकें तो उन्हें कोआप्ट किया जायेगा। इसी तरह से जिला परिषद के अन्दर भी उन्हें रखा जायेगा।

जहाँ तक चुनाव का ताल्लुक है, कई भाइयों को एतराज है कि चुनाव सर्वसम्मति से नहीं होने चाहिये। वे समझते हैं कि अगर सर्वसम्मति से चुनाव होंगे तो वहाँ पर किसी खास किस्म के आदमी शायद चुने जायें और वे लोग आगे न बढ़ पायेंगे। मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता। मैं मानता हूँ कि देहात की जिन्दगी अभी तक मिली जुली जिन्दगी है और जो वेस्टर्न तरीके की डिमाण्ड है, उस में जो चुनाव की पद्धति है वह उस समाज को दरहम बरहम करने की एक तरकीब है। पंचायत राज के अन्दर हमें इस चीज को बहुत आगे नहीं बढ़ने देना चाहिये क्योंकि वह पंचायत की बुनियाद को ही खत्म कर देगी। मैं लोक सभा का सदस्य बना, मेरे मुकाबले में चार भाई और खड़े हुए, कोई १०० मील का, कोई ५० मील का, कोई कहीं का, कोई कहीं का। मेरे रहन सहन का उन से कोई वास्ता नहीं, लेकिन इस के बावजूद जब कभी भेंट होती है तो कौन नहीं जानता कि हम ने जिन जिन भाइयों को हराया है हम हरीफ की तरह उन की आंखों में रड़कते हैं। हम कितनी ही कोशिश करें, लेकिन उस वैर भाव को भूल नहीं सकते। जिन को गांवों में रहना है, मिली जुली जिन्दगी में अपना जीवन व्यतीत करना है, वहाँ अगर पंचायत के अन्दर यूनिनिमस एलेक्शन न हों तो हम गांवों की जितनी तरक्की चाहते हैं, हम पंचायती राज की जितनी कामयबी चाहते हैं वह सम्भव नहीं हो सकती। इस लिये पंजाब के अन्दर जहाँ यूनिनिमस एलेक्शन हुए पंचायतों को जितनी भूमि कर दी, दी गई। पंचायतों को इस तरह ४२ लाख रु० की ग्रांट दी गई। इस तरह से ब्लाक समितियों में जहाँ पर यूनिनिमस एलेक्शन हुए, उन को बढ़ावा

[चौ० रणवीर सिंह]

दिया जा रहा है। यही नहीं, जहाँ तक आर्थिक पहलू का ताल्लुक है, पंजाब के अन्दर पंचायतों का बजट २ करोड़ रुपये का है।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: The hon. Speaker has given the ruling that speakers can have ten minutes.

Mr. Chairman: The ruling with me is that they can have only seven minutes.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: The hon. Speaker revised it to ten minutes.

Mr. Chairman: If it is ten minutes, I am afraid the majority of speakers will not get a chance. There are at least 20 hon. Members who want to speak. Therefore I would request hon. Members to try to make their remarks short and concise and finish within seven minutes.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: I am doing my best.

Mr. Chairman: He should try to wind up now.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: I suppose I would have finished by now.

मैं आप को बतला रहा था कि पंचायतों के काम के लिये और पंचायत राज के काम के लिये रुपये की जरूरत होती है। तो पंजाब के अन्दर २ करोड़ रुपये का पंचायतों का बजट है और हर एक ब्लाक समिति का तकरीबन ५ या ६ लाख ६० का बजट होगा। कोई २२८ के करीब ब्लाक समितियाँ पंजाब में बनी हैं, और उस में शहरों और कस्बों को छोड़ कर सारे पंजाब का इलाका आ जाता है, चाहे वहाँ ब्लाक हो या न हो। इसी तरह से करीब १६ लाख एकड़ भूमि है और पंचायतों की तरक्की के लिये ७० लाख ६० इंटररेस्ट फ्री लोन दिया गया है ताकि वह कोई ऐसा काम धन्वा कर सके जिस से पंचायत की आमदनी बढ़ सके। प्रस्तावक महोदय को यह

जान कर खुशी होगी कि मेरे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में कुछ ऐसी भी पंचायतें हैं जिन की आमदनी २५ या ३० हजार ६० सालाना है। उन से मैं ५०० ६० की बात नहीं कहता हमारे यहाँ एक एक पंचायत की आमदनी २५ और ३० हजार ६० तक है, और हर एक पंचायत की आमदनी और भी बढ़ाई जा सकती है। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन पंचायतों को अपने प्रोग्रामों को पूरा करने के लिए लोन दिये जायें जैसे कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को दिये जाते हैं, पर इन लोन्स पर कोई इंटररेस्ट न लिया जाये। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को जो केन्द्रीय सरकार लोन देती है उन पर तो यह उन से सूद लेती हैं। लेकिन अगर पंचायतें कोई अच्छा काम करने के लिए जैसे अच्छे पीने के पानी की सप्लाई करने के लिए या आमदनी बढ़ाने का कोई खास काम करना चाहें तो उनको उसके लिए इंटररेस्ट फ्री लोन दिया जाना चाहिए और इसके लिए मंत्रालय को प्लानिंग कमिशन से १०० करोड़ रुपये के करीब हासिल करना चाहिए।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Mohan Swarup Absent. Hon. Members send their names and within a minute, they disappear. I will not call such Members.

Shri Narasimhan (Krishnagiri): The hon. Deputy-Speaker announced the probable speakers.

Mr. Chairman: I am not going to announce any probable speakers.

Shri Narasimhan: I do not request you to give the names. He had given the names that he would call.

Mr. Chairman: There are a very large number of speakers who have sent in their names. Shri D. C. Sharma.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Madam Chairman, I think Panchayat Raj has to be welcomed in India by every one

irrespective of his party affiliations and if any one says that this Panchayati Raj is being worked under the auspices of one political party or another, I think, he is doing a great deal of injustice not to the Panchayati Raj, but to the people of India. I was amazed to see in the Punjab how the people have taken to it, enthusiastically, fervently and gladly. I think democracy has gone to the homes of the people, and has made people feel what the glow of democracy is. If anybody says that Panchayati Raj has lost its validity because it has come under the auspices of the Congress Government, I think he is not talking something which is true to facts.

Nor do I think there is much validity in the criticism that our Prime Minister should not have been present at the inauguration ceremonies of these Panchayati Raj celebrations. Apart from the fact that our Prime Minister is the head of a political party which is ruling at the Centre and also the head of the political party which is ruling in the States, I think our Prime Minister has a status and position by himself. He stands not only as the Prime Minister of India before the public but also as a person who has dedicated his life to the good and welfare of the common man. When people go to see him at these celebrations, they do not go to see him as the Prime Minister, but as one who has identified himself with the welfare of the masses, as a person who has the good of the people at heart all the time, as a person who wants to build up a structure of democracy all along the line. I believe democracy at the State level and the Central level will be a mockery, will not be true democracy, unless its foundations are laid in the villages, in the Block samitis, in the Zilla Parishads. This is what has happened. Therefore, I believe that this unique experiment which India is conducting, this grand experiment which India is conducting is something of which every Indian has got

to be proud without taking into account his own party affiliations.

It has been said that in these panchayat elections, Harijans have not been treated adequately and women have not been treated adequately. I may tell you, Madam Chairman, that, so far my experience goes—and I think every Member of Parliament has first hand experience of these elections—the Harijans have done very well in these panchayat elections. There are some Block samitis of which Harijans are Chairmen. There are some places where Harijans are masters of these samitis. Therefore, I think, the Harijans have had a good deal at the hands of the panchayat people. In addition to that, in my own State, Harijans have been given the right of nomination by Panchayat samitis and others. The same is true of women. I know one noble lady, who belongs to my constituency who was elected a member of the Block samiti. Of course, we have also provided for nomination of women. Therefore, I think the Panchayats are going to be an experiment in giving equality of opportunity, equality of rights and equality of doing good to persons whether they are men or women, whether they are Harijans or not Harijans, whether they belong to this community or that community. I believe that this is a step which our Government has taken in the right direction.

There are certain problems. What is the value of these Panchayat elections? What is the value of these Samitis and Zilla parishads? I think their primary function is to take part in developmental activity. They are going to be the right arm of the development wing of our country at all levels. I can assure you that most of these Panchayat samiti people are getting development-minded even from now. They are thinking in terms of schools, they are thinking in terms of service co-operatives, they are thinking in terms of co-operative farming, they are thinking in terms of schools, dispensaries, cottage industries and all that kind of thing.

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

I believe, formerly, they had to go to the district officer or some other big officer or to some other functionary in order to have these things done. But, now, they have got the initiative in their own hands. They have got the power of implementation of the plans in their own hands. I believe that these things are going to do a lot of good to the villages. After all, we cannot deny that democracy has to grow in the villages, not only in the towns. I think this Panchayati Raj has given a chance to the village people to build up democracy in their own right and with their own efforts and with their own ability.

Of course, there are certain problems. Some hon. Members who have preceded me have referred to certain problems which we have to face. What is life if there are no problems? I think this life will be a dull insipid affair if we will not have any problems to face. I think we must be facing problems. I am very happy that these Panchayats will have to face problems. We do not want these Panchayats to be carbon copies of this thing or that. Therefore, there are problems. I believe that these problems vary from State to State: what is going to be the relationship between the District officer and the samitis, what is going to be the relationship between all these bodies. I think all these problems will settle themselves gradually and slowly and there is no reason to get panicky that there are problems at this time. Time is a great settler and solver of problems. As it solves problems in other spheres of life, so it will solve problems in this sphere of our life also.

13 hrs.

In this connection, I would like to say one thing, namely that the State Governments should give plenty of money to these panchayats at all levels, so that they can function properly and they can deliver the goods to the people, if I can use that expression. Of course, in my State, about

1½ million acres of land have been given to these panchayats; a sum of Rs. 2 crores has been set apart for this purpose, and some loans also have been given for this purpose, that is, interest-free loans. All that has been done, but I believe that this should be the pattern all along the line.

Moreover, I would say to the Minister of Community Development, that after the zilla parishads and block samitis have functioned for about a year, he should try to bring together the persons in charge in those organisations and evolve a pattern of a administration, of development, of expenditure and all those things, which would be conducive to the development of panchayat raj with the least amount of friction between the different levels of our administration. I think that such a conference should be called.

At the same time, I believe that every district should have a school with a refresher course for these *panches*. After all, there is no harm in having this school and this refresher course for the *panches* and *sarpanches* so that they can be injected with the real spirit of panchayat raj.

I welcome this panchayat raj. It is something unique that has happened in my country, and I see nothing but a bright future for it. I have every hope that this panchayat raj will do a lot of good to the villages of India which comprise about 80 per cent of the population of the whole country.

Shri Mohan Swarup (Pilibhit): I am very sorry that when my name was called, I had gone out. I hope I would be given an opportunity to express my views.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will have to await his chance.

Shri Aurobindo Ghosal (Uluberia): We are discussing the motion on panchayat raj. But, unfortunately, in my State, wherever I go, I find that

there is no panchayat raj but it is only Congress raj, and all the vices and defects which we find in the administration of the Congress raj are also embodied in these local institutions.

Recently, of course, the Panchayat Act has been passed by the West Bengal Government, and panchayats also have been formed in several places, but nowhere have they started functioning. In some places, the old union boards and district boards are still functioning. As regards the contents of the Panchayat Act that has been passed by the West Bengal Government, I do not think that any principle that has been envisaged in panchayat raj in other States is reflected in that Act. Unless the fundamentals of panchayat raj are laid down, nowhere can panchayat raj function properly.

So far as I understand it, panchayat raj means democratic decentralisation. But, unfortunately, neither the power has been made democratic nor has it been decentralised. Mass consciousness and a sense of responsibility are the basis of any democracy. For that purpose, some sort of literacy and some sort of social consciousness ought to be imparted to the people who are being asked to participate in self-administration. But no such attempt has been made on behalf of Government. Of course, they are training some block development officers, gram sevaks and gram sevikas, but that alone will not do. Unless they can train people, and inspire confidence in the people about the various projects and inculcate in them some social consciousness and impart to them some education, it is impossible to run panchayat raj properly.

At present, in West Bengal, three organisations are functioning, namely the panchayats (wherever they have been formed), the union boards and the blocks. There is no co-ordination between these three organisations. On the other hand, they are quarrelling

with each other and they are trying to outwit and outbid each other. That is the problem in our State.

The union boards were formed by the British Government for a specific purpose under the garb of giving training in self-government. So, there was no income for these union boards; they had to depend for their finance on district boards and the Government. Most of these union boards were, therefore, powerless and they could not render any service to the people. These union boards are still lingering in some of the areas, and they are not able to do any service to the people. It is well known that the procedures of the union boards are also very undemocratic and bureaucratic too. The vested interests who wanted to get some privileges were crowding into these union boards, and those people are now transferring their affection from these union boards to the blocks.

The income of the panchayats, wherever they have been formed, is very inadequate. The social condition of the masses has also not undergone any change. Naturally, the blocks are also not functioning properly.

As regards the elections to these panchayats, I have had the experience of these elections, having been present at some of these elections, and I find that the same communalism and casteism are prevalent, and all the vices of the present elections are also present in the elections to the panchayats. I do not find any difference between these elections and the elections that used to be held in the case of the union boards and district boards. The only difference now is that this time the franchise is more liberal, whereas in the case of the elections to the union boards, it was restricted only to the rate-payers.

In the name of decentralisation, at the present moment, in my State, all the powers, financial, administrative as well as executive, have been concentrated in the hands of the block

[Shri Aurobindo Ghosal]

development officers. They are all-powerful in the rural areas. Recently, an SDO was expressing his regrets and was saying that he wanted to be a BDO rather than an SDO because all the powers had been snatched away from the SDO and the administrative officers and vested in the BDO's. Besides, in my State, these BDO's are also *ex-officio* circle officers. Further, when there is famine or flood, they become relief officers; they also become agricultural officers on some occasions; on some other occasions, they also become administrators of colleges and schools which are taken over by Government. All these functions are being given to the BDO's. Since these BDO's have got the financial powers now, you will find that in the block areas, the contractors always crowd the houses of these BDO's, because they want some favour in the shape of contracts.

In my State, these blocks have not been popular, whatever might be the ideal of Government. People call it the jeep government, because we see the jeep only. I might give one instance here. In one of the block in my constituency, the jeeps were used by the BDO's for their own personal use, and the whole thing had come to such a stage that the BDO's used the jeeps to send their children to the schools and colleges and so on, only and for no other purpose. I had to ask the people to throw stones at it. After throwing stones, that was stopped. This is the way in which BDO's are functioning. I wrote letters of complaint to the Government, but no reply came.

Another thing is that most of the gramsevak and gramsevikas are not local people. In one area in the district of Howrah, a gramsevak has been appointed who comes from Chittagong. How could this gentleman possibly look after the interests of those people in that locality? So only duties are allocated to him. They are not done. For this reason, the Blocks

in my State have become a cockpit of corruption and bribery.

Another matter concerns the attachment of social welfare officers to these Blocks. They are mostly society ladies. There is a lot of scandal and corruption in connection with these social welfare officers who are attached to these Blocks.

Regarding co-operatives, our State has got a Co-operative Department. But the Co-operative Department and the Blocks are quarrelling with each other. They are very strict about observing all the formalities before giving recognition or registration to any co-operative society. It is difficult for the co-operative societies to observe all the formalities. On the other hand, the Blocks are wanting that no restrictions should be put on them and they should have unlimited freedom and there should be no audit of the accounts by the Co-operative department. Naturally, in this tussle, the co-operatives are not functioning.

Yesterday's papers from West Bengal carried some statistics. Out of 13,000 co-operatives, 7,000 are running at a heavy loss and Government have got to wind them up. This is the state of affairs.

This is the appalling condition of panchayat raj. Unless there is proper education and a sense of community feeling and a sense of responsibility are inculcated, real transfer of power to the people cannot be effected and decentralisation will be a mockery. National integration should start at this level, but the Government have failed in their attempt to do so in my State.

Shri Narasimhan: One of the previous speakers referred to problems and said that without problems life would be uninteresting. The problem of problems that we have in this country is how to rouse the rural people from their apathy, stupor and severe inertia and how to make them

conscious of their potentialities for economic and cultural regeneration.

Lokmanya Tilak inspired us at first, later Gandhiji inspired us. Now we are facing the problem of how to rouse the masses. One of the methods that we chose to tackle it was panchayat raj. I have had enough contact with the panchayat unions and panchayat councils in my district and I have come to feel that as a method to rouse the masses for their regeneration, economic and cultural, panchayat raj has come to stay. I am sure given proper trial and with full co-operation and sympathetic understanding at all levels, it will fulfil our expectations.

No doubt, references were made to birth pangs and growing pains of these institutions. Let us not forget that they have been born and they are growing and they are on their legs. I have had occasion to see them functioning, having been specially invited to some of the seminars which these panchayat union councils have had and even to some of the meetings that they had. I was very happy to note that all the deliberations were at the highest imaginable level. Proposals were made for projects, allocations were suggested and the question of location of these projects within the panchayat area discussed. All this was done with the highest sense of responsibility. One would suggest the scheme, another would raise the question of financial provision and a third would discuss the question of location and so on. All the discussions held in the panchayat union councils or panchayats displayed a sense of responsibility of the highest character, and as a Member of Parliament, I was pleased to see this kind of thing developing at the panchayat union level. After all, even at the parliamentary level, these are our problems, how to make allotments, how to locate projects, what kinds of projects we should have and so on. Otherwise, the usual custom is that we as representatives of people make the demand to be met. Instead of asking

for projects, even at the panchayat union council level, the members are thinking about the financial resources, how the revenue could be raised, what should be the allocation and how the best location could be ensured. This is the field for democracy, this is the field for responsible government. Therefore, I am very hopeful that democracy at all levels is functioning very satisfactorily and the panchayat union councils, notwithstanding their birth pangs and growing pains, will settle down to their tasks. All that they need is our co-operation.

There are certain things which the panchayat union councils need. There should be district level meetings. These should be organised. At the State-level and the all-India level, there should be created a machinery for the panchayat union chairmen to meet. At the district level, they could discuss common problems and ventilate common difficulties. As a matter of fact, in my own district, unofficially all the panchayat union council chairmen have formed themselves into a kind of association and the District Collector himself was good enough to come and encourage it by giving it a kind of unofficial recognition by his presence. We are all very hopeful of ventilating difficulties and securing redress at the district level in view of the District Collector's co-operation. I recommend a similar thing everywhere.

Shri Balakrishnan (Dindigul—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Zila Parishal.

Shri Narasimhan: This is separate, only for panchayat union chairmen to discuss their problems. There they feel at home.

In one case one of the panchayat union councils wanted to upgrade the local post office and the postal department required guarantee. The panchayat union council itself came out with a guarantee. I do not know whether ultimately Government would approve of this kind of arrangement. But I commend this kind of steps for

[Shri Narasimhan]

Government's examination and consideration. Otherwise, if no guarantee is forthcoming, a particular place may go without a post office if people are not able to unite themselves. Therefore, it will be quite within the competence of panchayat union councils to guarantee such a thing and secure upgrading.

With the panchayat union councils functioning, we have the grand spectacle of officials and village leaders at the village level working in good partnership with a view to achieve results. The ultimate object of these panchayat institutions, namely, democratic decentralisation, is taking place to our satisfaction and we see a spirit of dedicated service at the official level and also at the village leadership level.

One regrettable feature is that in my State the revenue resources are tagged on mostly to land revenue. That shifts the burden to one class of people. There is a certain amount of imbalance in this. I would like experts at high level to see whether this is proper or whether anything should be done to rectify it. Now most of the resources are to be collected through land revenue, and most of the burden of payment is passed on to the landholders. This has been done to enable easy collection. Somehow we have begun somewhere, but there should be greater distribution of this burden.

On the whole, when I see the panchayat union councils functioning and the leadership comprising them, I feel that they are working more like a miniature Parliament, and by and by, I am sure the democratic way of functioning will become rooted in the country and there will not be any danger of our feeling that democracy is not safe in this country.

श्री भोलानाथ बिश्वास (कटिहार) :
चेयरमैन महोदय, पंचायती राज के बारे में बहुत सी चर्चा यहां पर हुई है और माननीय

सदस्यों ने अपने विचार आपके सामने रखे हैं। इस पर काफी चर्चा की जा सकती है। जहां तक मैं समझ पाया हूँ पंचायती राज का मुख्य उद्देश्य यह है कि ग्रामीण जनता जो कि पिछड़ी हुई है, उसको ऊंचा उठाया जाये, उसके स्तर को ऊंचा किया जाये। यह तभी हो सकता है अगर जितनी भी आवश्यक सुविधायें हैं वे उनको पहुंचाई जायें और उन को सभी सम्भव साधन उपलब्ध किये जायें। इस को दृष्टि में रख कर हमारी सरकार ने एक पंचायत एक्ट बनाया है और उसके जरिये पंचायतों की स्थापना की है। इसके साथ ही साथ ब्लाक्स की भी स्थापना की गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि देहातों की जनता तक पहुंचने के लिए यह एक अच्छा तरीका है जो कि अपनाया गया है। अपने इस प्रयास में हम अपने आपको तभी सफल समझ सकते हैं अगर ग्रामीण जनता के रहन सहन में उन्नति हो, उसको शिक्षा की तमाम सुविधायें उपलब्ध हों, उनको चलने फिरने के लिए सड़कें मिलें, उनके दवा दारू का संतोषजनक प्रबन्ध हो। संक्षेप में अगर कहा जाये तो कहा जा सकता है कि हम सफल हुए तभी समझे जायेंगे अगर शहरों में रहने वालों के बराबर की सुविधायें ग्रामीण इलाकों में रहने वाली जनता को भी उपलब्ध हो जायें।

पंचायतों के जरिये हम गांवों का बहुमुखी विकास करना चाहते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह विकास, यह उन्नति तब तक सम्भव नहीं हो सकती है जब तक कि पंचायतों को पूरे शासन के अधिकार नहीं दे दिये जाते हैं। मेरे कहने का आशय यह नहीं है कि जो अधिकार भारत सरकार के या पार्लियामेंट के हैं, वे सभी अधिकार उनको सौंप दिये जायें। लेकिन उन के दायरे में जितने भी अधिकार आते हैं, वे उनको पूर्ण रूप से दे दिये जाने चाहिये। जब तक उन को ये अधिकार नहीं मिलते हैं तब तक मैं समझता

हूँ कि ग्रामीण जनता को आवश्यक सुविधायें पहुंचाने का काम, उसके स्तर को उन्नत करने का काम वे सुचारू रूप से नहीं कर सकेंगी।

कुछ वर्ष पहले जो शासन व्यवस्था थी, उसके अन्तर्गत जिले को एक यूनिट माना जाता था और उसके द्वारा राज्य अपना शासन चलाता था। उस समय जो जिले का इंजाज हुआ करता था, डिप्टी कमिश्नर या कलक्टर उसके पास बहुत ही कम वलफेयर के काम होते थे, बहुत ही कम डिवेलपमेंट के काम होते थे। उसका काम सिर्फ रेवेन्यू कोलकट करना और ला एंड आर्डर को मेनटेन करना होता था। लेकिन आज डिवेलपमेंट के सारे काम भी उन्हीं के ऊपर लाद दिये गये हैं जिस को सुचारू रूप से चलाना उन के लिये मुश्किल हो गया है। इस वास्ते यह पंचायती राज अस्तित्व में आया है। यह जो पंचायती राज है यह बहुत बढ़िया प्रयोग है जिसके द्वारा हम डिवेलपमेंट का काम कर सकते हैं। इसकी सफलता का मापदण्ड पंचायती राज एक्ट का सफलीभूत होना है। यह एक्ट तभी सफलीभूत होगा जबकि गांवों का उत्पादन बढ़ जाये, वहां के रहने वाले लोगों को सही रूप में रोजगार मिल जाये, सही रूप में साधन मिल जायें। इस व्यवस्था को चलाने के लिए इन वलफेयर के कामों को करने के लिए हमारे यहां जिला परिषदें या म्यूनिसिपलिटिज भी हैं। लेकिन वे आजकल इस तरह के कामों को सही रूप में नहीं कर पाती हैं, इस वास्ते हम ज्यादा जोर पंचायत राज के ऊपर देते हैं और इसके द्वारा हम लोग डिवेलपमेंट के काम करवाना चाहते हैं।

पंचायत राज का मुख्य उद्देश्य जैसा मैं ने कहा है यही है कि विकास का सारा कार्य उनके द्वारा किया जाये। विकास कार्य जो हुए हैं वे सफल हुए हैं या नहीं, इसका पता इसी से चल सकता है कि गांवों के रहने वाले लोगों का स्तर कम से कम उस ढंग का हो पाया है या नहीं जैसा कि शहर वालों का है,

या उन को भी वही सुविधायें सुलभ हो गई हैं या नहीं जैसी कि शहर वालों को मिली हुई हैं।

पंचायती राज को सफल बनाने के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सब से जरूरी बात है कि उनके पास अपना कोष हो। उनके पास इतना अधिकार अवश्य होना चाहिये कि वे अपने कोष रख सकें। उनको राज्य सरकारों से जो अनुदान प्राप्त होता है वह तो होता ही रहेगा लेकिन साथ-साथ उनके पास जब तक अपना कोष नहीं होता है तब तक उनका काम सुचारू रूप से नहीं चल सकता है। राज्य सरकारों को भी भारत सरकार से अनुदान प्राप्त होते हैं लेकिन फिर भी जिस प्रकार राज्य सरकारों के अपने कोष हैं, उसी प्रकार से पंचायतों को भी अपने कोष रखने का अधिकार होना चाहिये, कोष पैदा करने का अधिकार होना चाहिये।

आजकल देखा जाता है कि हमारे जो ग्राम पंचायतों के मुखिया हैं या जो प्रमुख हैं या जो अध्यक्ष हैं, उन को उतने अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं हैं जितने अधिकार कि वहां काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों को प्राप्त हैं और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वे उनके पंजों से बाहर निकल नहीं पाते हैं। उनको इस कारण से काफी परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ता है। जब तक ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं कर दी जाती है कि जो उनकी मदद करने वाले हैं, जो उनके कर्मचारीगण हैं, उन पर उनका पूरा शासन हो, तब तक उनको उन से पूरा-पूरा सहयोग प्राप्त नहीं हो सकता है। इस वास्ते यह बहुत जरूरी है कि कर्मचारियों पर उनका पूरा शासन हो। आजकल देखा गया है कि वहां पर ऐसे-ऐसे उनके असिस्टेंट हैं जिनका उन को पूरा सहयोग न मिलने के कारण जितना काम होना चाहिये था, नहीं हो पाया है। अगर उनका पूरा-पूरा सहयोग मिला होता तो काफी उन्नति हो सकती थी। मेरा यह पक्का विश्वास है कि ब्लाक्स के जरिये जितना पैसा खर्च किया

[श्री भोलानाथ विश्वास]

गया है उसको अगर सही कामों के लिए खर्च किया गया होता तो हम बहुत प्रागे बढ़ चुके होते। लेकिन दुःख की बात यह है कि हमारे यहां जो ब्लाक आफिसर भेजे जाते हैं वे ऐसे होते हैं जोकि कालेज से निकले होते हैं और उनको थोड़े दिन की ट्रेनिंग देकर ब्लाक आफिसर बना कर भेज दिया जाता है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वहां जो काम करने वाले पुराने कर्मचारी होते हैं, जोकि उसकी मदद करने के लिए रखे जाते हैं, वे इस तरह से कार्य करते हैं कि ब्लाक आफिसर अपने आपको लाचार अनुभव करता है और बिना उनकी राय के काम नहीं कर पाते हैं और उसको उनके पंजे में फंस जाना पड़ता है। वे समझदार तो होते हैं लेकिन चूकि नये-नये कालेजों से निकले होते हैं और काफी अनुभव नहीं होता है इस वास्ते उनके लिए उनके पंजे से निकलना मुश्किल हो जाता है। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि केवल उन्हीं को ब्लाकों में भेजा जाये जिन्होंने कि कम से कम पांच वर्षों तक मेजिस्ट्रेसी का काम कर लिया हो। अगर ऐसा किया गया तो वे सही रूप में काम कर सकेंगे।

आज इसकी भी चर्चा होती है कि माचं का महीना जब आता है तो लोग इधर उधर दौड़ते हैं और रुपया किसी न किसी तरह से खर्च करने की कोशिश करते हैं। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जैसे तैसे वे रुपया खर्च कर देते हैं और उसका कोई लाभ नहीं निकलता है। रुपया खर्च करने के बाद वे फिगरजं भेज देते हैं कि इस काम में इतना रुपया खर्च किया गया है और इतनी सफलता प्राप्त कर ली गई है। लेकिन होता यह है कि उस रुपये को सही रूप में खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। जहां-जहां हमारे इंजीनियरिंग डिपार्टमेंट हैं और ओवरसीयर हैं, टैक्नीशियन हैं, उनके काम करने का ढंग बहुत ही गलत होता है। वे समझते हैं कि जैसे ही कोई क्लवर्ट बन गया, था नहर खुद गई, उनका काम समाप्त हो

गया। लेकिन वह चीज स्थायी नहीं होती है, थोड़े दिन तक ही चलने वाली होती है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो पैसा उस पर खर्च किया जाता है वह बरबाद जाता है। इस वास्ते ऐसे जो काम किए जाते हैं उन पर निगरानी रखी जानी चाहिये।

यह कहा जाता है कि १९६३ तक सारे देश में ब्लाकों की स्थापना हो जाएगी और सारा काम सुचारू रूप से प्रारम्भ हो जाएगा। जिस ढंग से आज तक ब्लाक खोले गए हैं या जिस ढंग से आज उनका काम होता है यदि इसी ढंग से वह होता रहा तो मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि जिस उद्देश्य को पूरा करने के लिए हम प्रागे बढ़े हैं और जिस उद्देश्य को हमने हाथ में लिया है, वह पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा। आज जब हम किसी चीज की फिगरजं को देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि नीचे के तब्ले के जो लोग हैं वे सही रूप में फिगरजं नहीं देते हैं और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि पालियामेंट तक को गलत फिगरजं पहुंच जाते हैं और बता दिया जाता है कि प्रोडक्शन इतने प्रतिशत बढ़ गया है, एग्रीकल्चर में इतनी तरक्की हो गई है। इस वास्ते जब तक हमारे ब्लाक के आफिसर के और पंचायत के मुखिया वगैरह के कर्मचारी इस ढंग के नहीं हो जायेंगे कि ठीक रूप में वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझने लगे तब तक जिस उद्देश्य को ले कर हम प्रागे बढ़े हैं, उस तक हम पहुंच नहीं पायेंगे और वह पूरा नहीं होगा। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस ओर भी आपका ध्यान जाए।

श्री मोहन स्वल्प : सभानेत्री महोदया, पंचायत राज्य का भारतवर्ष में जो प्रचलन हुआ, उस से बड़ी-बड़ी आशायें थीं, और यह स्थूल था कि गांवों का बहुत विकास होगा और पंचायतें इस प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली में अच्छी यूनिट बन सकेंगी। लेकिन तजुबें ने बतलाया कि वह सब उम्मीदों स्वाव में मिल गईं। जाहिर है कि पंचायत राज्य का मतलब

यह है कि देश में जो ५ लाख ५८ हजार गांव हैं उन के रहने वाले लोग डिमाक्रेटिक सेट-अप में भागीदार हों और हमारे गांवों की तरक्की हो, गांवों में सुख समृद्धि आये। अनुभव ने हमें बतलाया कि आज हमारे गांवों में पंचायत राज्य नहीं है, बल्कि आफिशल राज्य है। बहुत से आफिसर हैं, चाहे कलेक्टर हो, चाहे ए० डी० एम० हो, चाहे तहसीलदार हो, जब वे गांवों में आते हैं तो हैट लगा कर और पतलून पहन कर। रोब जमाते हुए आते हैं और सब अपनी २ बात कहते हैं। समझ में नहीं आता कि किस के हुकम की तामील हो और कैसे हो।

आप एक बात देखिये कि पंचायत का प्रधान तो एक जगह का होता है लेकिन उस के नीचे जो सेक्रेटरी होता है वह बीस गांव के लिये होता है, कभी ३० गांवों के लिये होता है। एक अजीब बात है कि जो राजा है वह तो एक गांव का है और जो उस का मंत्री है वह २० या ३० गांव का है। जाहिर है कि जो पंचायत सेक्रेटरी बीस गांवों का काम सम्भालता है वह किस तरह से सारा काम सम्भाल सकेगा। इसी तरह से जो गांव पंचायतें हैं उन को कोई अस्वयारात नहीं है। अगर मेरी जमीन है और उस पर किसी दूसरे का नाम है तो मेरे चाहने पर भी गांव पंचायत उस में परिवर्तन नहीं कर सकती है, उस को इस का अधिकार नहीं है। वह मामला तहसील में जाये या कलेक्टर के पास दर्खास्त जाये तब ही परिवर्तन हो सकता है। मान लीजिये कि मैं अपने पिता जी का एक ही वारिस हूँ, लेकिन पंचायत को अधिकार नहीं है कि मेरे पिताजी का नाम निकाल कर मेरा नाम जोड़ सके। इस तरह से पंचायतें एक मजाक सी हैं, उन को कोई अस्वयारात नहीं, उन के काम करने का कोई ढंग नहीं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि अगर पंचायतों को तरक्की देनी है और सही रूप में प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली में भागीदार बनाना है तो पंचायतों को सही रूप में स्वतंत्रता देनी होगी, पंचायतों को अधिकार देने होंगे।

मेरे जिले में एक पंचायत गोष्ठी हुई और उस में सवाल हुआ कि क्या पंचायतों के प्रधान और सरपंच अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन कर रहे हैं। मैं ने उस में पूछा कि जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट में मंत्री बैठे हैं, सरकार है और जो प्राविशल सरकारें हैं, व सही रूप में अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन कर रही हैं या नहीं। आज सवेरे पोर्चगोड़ हमले का जिक्र किया गया। प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि वह कोई जिम्मेदारी लेने को तैयार नहीं हैं। जब वे तैयार नहीं तो जिम्मेदारी कौन सम्भाल सकता है? खाली पंचों पर यह आरोप लगाना कि वे अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन नहीं कर रहे हैं, यह मैं सही तौर से समझ नहीं पाता हूँ। यह एक मजाक है और अगर इस किस्म की बात जारी रहेगी तो न पंचायतों का कोई विकास हो सकेगा न गांवों की कोई उन्नति। यहां मंत्री बैठते हैं, हम सब बैठते हैं और संविधान ने एक जिम्मेदारी सीपी है। अगर कर्तव्यों का प्रश्न न हो तो आगे की कार्रवाई कैसे होगी? मैं पंचायतों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ सजेशन देना चाहूँगा।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि पंचायतों का जो चुनाव हो उसके अंतर्गत खाली प्रधान का ही चुनाव हो और जो अमरीकन प्रेसिडेंट के चुनाव का पटर्न है उस पर आधारित हो। जो पंच हों वह प्रधान की राय से रक्खे जायें और गांव के सलाह मशवरे से रक्खे जायें। पांच पंच हों बजाय इसके कि २५, २८ या ३० पंच हों। उस का सभापति जो हो अगर उस पर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव पास करना हो तो पूरे गांव के लोगों की मीटिंग हो और उस में अविश्वास प्रस्ताव हो सके।

इसी के साथ-साथ मैं चाहूँगा कि गांव के लेवल पर जितने वर्कर हों, चाहे स्कूल टीचर हो, चाहे लखपाल हों, पंचायत सेक्रेटरी हों, चाहे अमीन हो, वह पंचायत के अधीन रक्खे जायें। पंचायतों को इस तरह से बनाना चाहिये कि वह सैल्फ-सफिशिएंट हों। जो भी काम

[श्री मोहन स्वरूप]

होता है गांवों में, चाहे सड़कें बनाने का काम हो या दूसरा काम हो, उन सभी के बारे में श्रमदान की चर्चा होती है। पंचायतों के पास पैसा तो है नहीं, किसी पंचायत का २०० रु० का बजट फंड होता है, किसी का ५०० रु० का। जाहिर है २०० या ५०० रु० से सड़क बनाने का काम नहीं हो सकता। इसलिए जब भी सड़क बनाने की बात कही जाती है तो जाता है कि श्रमदान होना चाहिए। लोग श्रमदान करते हैं, लेकिन अगले वर्ष जब वर्षा होती है तो सड़कों की मिट्टी बह जाती है। उसे पक्का करने का कोई साधन नहीं है पंचायतों के पास। इस लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि गांव की जो आमदनी हो, चाहे लगान से चाहे आबपाशी से, उस का १/४ भाग गांव पंचायत को मिलना चाहिये और उसे इस प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली में भागीदार बनाना चाहिये। उस को आमदनी में से हिस्सा मिलना चाहिए। इसी के साथ-साथ मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि भूमि के इन्दुराज के बदलने के सिलसिले में, लगान वसूली के सिलसिले में और आबपाशी की वसूली के सिलसिले में पंचायत को पूरी स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिए भले ही क्लेक्टर साहब या तहसीलदार साहब देखभाल करने के लिए आयें और मुआना करें। वक्तन फवक्तन गलतियां हों तो आ कर बतायें, उन का आडिट हो, यह सब कुछ हो सकता है, लेकिन जब तक गांव पंचायत को पूर्ण रूप से काम करने का हक नहीं मिलता तब तक पंचायत राज की बात स्वप्नमात्र है।

इस के अतिरिक्त मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आफिसस का जो दबाव है वह भी खत्म होना चाहिए। खेद की बात है कि आफिसस जाया करते हैं और पंचायत, गांव के लोगों को फटकारते व अशिष्ट बर्ताव करते हैं। जब भी गांवों की प्लैनिंग का सवाल आता है तो मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि प्लैनिंग वही लोग करते हैं जो शहरों में बैठे हुए हैं। प्लैनिंग कमिशन में वही लोग

हैं जो कभी गांवों में नहीं जाते। मैं ऐसे लोगों को जानता हूँ जो गेहूँ और जौ की बाली में फर्क नहीं बतला सकते, जो यह नहीं जानते हैं कि गांवों का कामकाज कैसे होता है। प्लैनिंग कमिशन में वही लोग हैं जो शहरों में रहने वाले हैं, जिन्होंने कभी गांवों की तरफ देखा नहीं, जो गांवों में कभी गये नहीं। भला बताइये कि वे किस तरह से गांवों के सिलसिले में प्लैनिंग का काम कर सकते हैं। मुझे इस चीज को देख कर बड़ी हंसी आती है। मैं कहूंगा कि गांवों की प्लैनिंग और पंचायतों के सिलसिले में जो गवर्नमेंट के नक्शे हैं वह गलत हैं और उनको सही होना चाहिए। गांवों में काम करने वाले वही लोग होने चाहिये जो कि गांवों से वास्ता रखते हों। अभी दूसरा वर्ष है, मैं दहरादून गया। वहां रिफ्रेशंस कोर्स का स्कूल है। वहां पर १२ ट्रेनीज थे और २५ पढ़ाने वाले थे। वहां पर जो १२ ट्रेनीज थे उनसे मैंने पूछा कि १२ में से कितने आदमी ऐसे हैं जो गांवों से सम्बन्धित हैं। मुश्किल से एक आध आदमी उठा। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे दादा साहब गांवों में रहा करते थे, हम तो शहर में रहते हैं। इस किस्म की हासत है। जिन लोगों का गांवों की जिन्दगी से कोई वास्ता नहीं, वह गांवों में जा करके गांवों की तरक्की के सिलसिले में सोच नहीं सकते हैं, तो फिर वह इस सिलसिले में क्या कर सकते हैं। मैं देखता हूँ कि रबी और खरीफ आन्दोलन की चर्चा चलती है। गांव वालों को बतलाया जाता है कि रबी और खरीफ आन्दोलन क्या है। बाजे बजाये जाते हैं, और उस के बाद वह चले जाते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या रबी और खरीफ के बारे में गांव वाले नहीं जानते हैं, उन लोगों को उसे बतलाने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सही तौर से सरकार पंचायत को बनाये और उन को समुदाई करे। तभी काम हो सकता है। ब्लाक्स का जिक्र किया गया। मैं सदा

सदन में मांग किया करता हूँ कि कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट डिपार्टमेंट को खत्म कर दिया जाये और उसकी एक्टिविटीज को विभिन्न महकमों में बांट दिया जाये। यहां इण्डिकेशन बहुत होता है, सरकार द्वारा अलग से पंचायत ऐग्रीकल्चर कोऑपरेटिव, हेल्थ, प्लेनिंग के महकमे बने हुए हैं और ब्लाक लेवल पर भी बने हुए हैं। उससे समय नष्ट होता है, मैं जब ब्लाकों में जाता हूँ तो लोग पूछते हैं कि ब्लाकों के अन्तर्गत यह आर्मी की आर्मी गांवों की तरकी के लिये बनी हुई है, करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है तो फिर कारण क्या है कि गांवों का कोई डेवलपमेंट नहीं होता, सभी जगह एक ग्लूमी पिक्चर नजर आती है। सब जगह लोग हतोत्साहित हैं। मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि क्यों गवर्नमेंट महसूस नहीं करता कि गांवों के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है। वह क्यों नहीं सोचती कि गांवों में कुछ नहीं हो रहा है और रुपया फिजूल खर्च होता है। अभी श्री घोषाल ने बतलाया कि जीपें सिनेमा देखने के लिये इस्तेमाल होती हैं। ब्लाक डेवलपमेंट आफिसर्स या दूसरे आफिसर्स की मर्जी पर वह चला करती हैं। मैं सजेशन पेश करता हूँ कि ब्लाकों में से जीपें हटा ली जाय। ब्लाकों में तो बैलगाड़ी या घोड़ा देना चाहिये ताकि उस पर दौरा करके ठीक ढंग से जन सम्पर्क स्थापित किया जाए उनसे हर स्थान में पहुंचा भी जा सकता है।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : (वाराणसी) : घोड़ों का चना खा जायगे।

श्री मोहन स्वर्ण : घोड़ों के लिये गांवों में चना और घास बहुत मिलेगी और अगर माननीय सदस्य गांवों में जाएं तो जो कुछ रूखा-मूखा ग्रामीणों के पास होगा वह उन को खिलाएंगे। अभी गांवों में इतनी सभ्यता बनी हुई है।

तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जो पंचायतों के सरकारी नक्शे हैं वह दुरुस्त हों और सही तरीके से काम चलाया जाए। तभी गांवों का

विकास सम्भव होगा, वरना ये सारी चीजें बेकार आ जाएंगी।

Shri A. T. Sarma (Chatrapur): Mr. Chairman, the administration of the Panchayat Raj is the main subject of the States, and here, we are considering the situation arising out of the working of the Panchayat Raj. In other words, the Centre has to maintain a certain uniformity of administration. That is why we are concerned about it here. But, how far we are maintaining uniformity is to be considered here. I regret to state that we are not maintaining any uniformity in the administration of the Panchayat Raj. It is certain that so far this administration of the Panchayat Raj has not been introduced in all the States. It is our intention to decentralise the power through the Panchayat Raj. But here also, I regret to state that the power has not been decentralised. On the other hand, it has been very recently centralised. I am going to prove this through some facts.

First of all, when the agitation took place, and the British were asked to grant some self-Government to the Indians, they were afraid of our agitation and then introduced the local-self-government system and the LSG department in 1920. Since then we are enjoying some sort of self-government through the municipalities and district boards. But it is regrettable to note that the district boards were abolished without consulting the district board authorities, and the functions of the district boards were assigned to the different organisations of the districts. Thus, the Health Department was assigned to the DHOs; the education department was placed at the hands of the DEOs, works department was assigned to the PWD. Thus, all the functions hitherto enjoyed by the local bodies and the district boards have been assigned to the Government officers as such, or, so to say, to the pure Government machinery itself. Thus, what we used to enjoy at the time of British rule, has been deprived to us.

[Shri A. T. Sarma]

That privilege has been deprived, and the States have been asked to enact rules and regulations for the administration of the Panchayat Raj. Bills were introduced and they were referred to the Centre for concurrence, but in the scrutiny, we found that they have not followed any uniform principle in approving those Bills. Thus, the administration of the Panchayat Raj varies from State to State, in the form of the Zila Parishad, the Gram Panchayat Samitis and the Gram Panchayats. There is no uniformity in all the States. The function of the Centre in the shape of attaining uniformity in all these Bills of the States has not been fulfilled in respect of the administration of the Panchayat Raj. Thus, we see that there is no uniformity in these three organs of the system: the panchayats, the panchayat samitis and the Zila Parishad. Even in the matter of the Zila parishad, I regret to state that there is nothing which is going to be tackled by the Zila Parishad. All the functions of the district board have been assigned to other organisations.

When I attended the meeting of a Zila Parishad, I found that certain subjects were brought up for discussion. The president was sitting in the chair, and one ex-officio member addressed the meeting, sitting. There was the mentality that Government officers were superior to the other members. There was the president, and with his direction, of course, the head of the department stood up, while he addressed the meeting. Of course, he rose when the president arrived and left. But that mentality that they are the governors and the other people are the governed is still working! The aim of the Panchayat Raj is not materialised through the administration of the Panchayat Raj system. That is my point.

The second thing is, we have to consider how far we have proceeded with this work on the lines aimed at. In my opinion, we have not materialised anything which was aimed at by the Panchayat Raj. All these three

administrative bodies have been taken to be recommending bodies. The executing power has been assigned either to the BDOs or to the district magistrates or to the special officers or any other executive officers. So, the executive power rests with the Government officers while the recommending power only is assigned to these three organisations. Therefore, if we want to decentralise the power, we have to do something, and if we are to fulfil the aspirations of our ancestors, we have to see that the power is decentralised properly, not on paper but by work.

I will give another example. There are some silly features about it. The villagers are paying huge amounts by way of so many taxes or cesses; they are paying educational cess; they are paying land cess; they are paying road cess; they are also paying quit rent and income-tax, agricultural income-tax, and so on. But when we are leaving the administration of the Panchayat Raj to the villagers, they are not given any finances; they are asked to raise funds from their own pockets and then to develop their villages. It is very funny.

13.48 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Here, I suggest that the Centre should take some steps to make provision for finances for the villages. That is the main point. If we do not do anything material and simply ask the villagers to raise their own funds to develop the villages, that means nothing. We are not assigning any power to them nor are we giving any finance to them; simply, we are asking them to raise their own funds for development. That does not fulfil the aim of our Panchayat Raj. There are provisions in the L.S.G. Acts for assigning some portion of the stamp duty and some portion of the excise duty to the district boards for running the administration and putting it on a sound footing. I also suggest that out

of our income that is derived from the stamp duty and the excise duty, especially from the agricultural income—tax a portion should be assigned for the development of these villages, so that Panchayat Raj may materialise.

Then, it is the duty of the Centre to ask the States to give more powers to the Panchayat Organisations and provide money for the development of the villages substantially to run the Panchayat Raj. It should not be done merely on paper, not allowing any power to them in actual practice. So, I request the Centre to give instructions to abolish the posts of executive officers and assign full power to the Presidents of the Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads.

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, democracy has been defined by Lincoln as government of the people, by the people and for the people. When the framers of the Constitution made provision for the establishment of panchayats giving more and more powers to villages, they had in mind this idea. By the introduction of democratic decentralisation, a revolutionary step has been taken. Now we have to give powers and responsibilities to the people. The object is to take swaraj to the people. As I have stated, we have to have a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

At present our democracy functions in a centralised way. We have got a Parliament at the central level and Legislative Assemblies in the States. Once in five years, the people cast their votes and elect their representatives; then for five years, they have no part to play. So, it was realised that in order to give concrete shape to the ideas put forward by Mahatma Gandhi—at that time there were 7 lakh villages and he said there should be 7 lakh republics having power and responsibility in their respective jurisdiction—democratic de-centralisation was introduced. So, the introduction of democratic decentralisation has its

origin not only in the traditions of the country, but in the provisions of the Constitution and in the ideas Mahatma Gandhi spread from time to time when we were fighting for freedom.

Later on when the Planning Commission made two Plans one after the other and the programme of community development was introduced in the country, it was felt that in spite of funds being made available to the blocks, public enthusiasm was not being created. Therefore, a committee was appointed to see and find out the reasons for the non-participation of the public in the community development programme. The committee headed by Shri B. G. Mehta suggested democratic decentralisation. So, the system of democratic decentralisation in the form of a three-tier system panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads—was introduced. Although this scheme has not been implemented in all the States, some States have implemented it and gradually others are taking steps to introduce it.

Now we have to examine the impacts of this democratic decentralisation politically, socially and economically. There is no doubt that by the introduction of democratic decentralisation, a political awakening has been possible in the rural areas. People are taking much interest in the elections. We find that there is very great enthusiasm regarding the elections to panchayats and panchayat samitis, but we have to guard ourselves against this, because though the movement has made a political impact and there is a political awakening with people taking much more interest in the elections, they are not taking as much interest in the implementation of the programmes of either community development or the Plan in general.

The social impact of this movement is not so effective. Factionalism is growing due to the methods of election. Factions are created and they continue even after the election is

[Shri Shree Narayan Das]

over. They do not take it in the proper spirit. Even after the election is over, animosity is carried. Even in the functioning of these bodies, this animosity appears. The party which comes into power does not realise that it is its responsibility to see that every section of the society is benefited by its work. Those who come into power see that special favours are done to those who voted for them and thereby social animosity is created. There is much to be done in that respect.

The economic aspect of decentralisation is still to be felt. The programme envisages that these panchayats and block samitis should take interest in agricultural production and every effort should be made to see that targets are fixed for agricultural production. At present, although it has been stated from time to time by the Planning Commission and others in authority that there should be planning from below, it is still on paper. So far no efforts have been made or even if made, they have not succeeded in framing Plan from the villages below. The objective is like that, but so far the objective has not been fulfilled.

I would like to dilate on some points stated by some other friends also. The BDO is the executive head at the block level. Trouble starts because there is rivalry between the President of Panchayat Samiti and the BDO. The officials feels that their jurisdiction has been transgressed and their powers have been delegated to the President. Decisions are made by block samities, but they are to be executed by the BDO. Decisions are made, but the execution is delayed. The samiti has got power over the BDO to ask him to do the work.

I would suggest that there should be a separate cadre for panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads. At present officers from the Government cadre are sent and after three or four years, they will have to go

again to their own work. So, they do not take sufficient interest. I would like to suggest that a separate cadre should be created with proper service conditions and privileges, so that the officers working in the panchayat samities are not transferred to Government.

As stated by some friends, at present revenue and development work are put together and that is done by the BDO. That creates much trouble. So, revenue work should be separated from development work. So, a separate cadre should be established.

With these words, I welcome the idea of democratic decentralisation. Those States which have not yet introduced this should be requested to give effect to it immediately at every level.

श्री रघुनाथसिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसी चर्चा आज यहां पर हो रही है, वैसी ही चर्चा आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पहले हिन्दुस्तान में हुई थी ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य की मौजूदगी में ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : प्राचीन काल में अज्ञात शत्रु के मन्त्री, वस्त्राकार, ने भगवान् बुद्ध से पूछा कि ब्रह्मिणियों लोगों के छोटे छोटे गणतन्त्रों पर कैसे विजय प्राप्त की जा सकती है । इस विषय में भगवान् बुद्ध ने उन से तीन प्रश्न पूछे । उन का पहला प्रश्न यह था कि क्या वे लोग सन्निपात बहुल हैं या नहीं, अर्थात् उन की मीटिंग्स रोज़ हुआ करती हैं या नहीं । दूसरा प्रश्न यह था कि क्या वे बूढ़ों और बुद्धिमानों का आदर करते हैं या नहीं और तीसरा प्रश्न उन्होंने यह पूछा कि क्या वे लोग अपने छोटे-छोटे गणतन्त्रों के सावजनिक धन और आय में से कुछ हिस्सा लेते हैं या नहीं

सत्तर देते हुए अज्ञातवाक्य के अन्वी ने कहा कि वे लोग सन्निपात-बहुल हैं, अर्थात् उनकी रीतिरिवाज प्रायः दृढ़ा करती हैं, वे बूढ़ों और बुद्धिमानों का आदर करते हैं और कोई भी आदमी साबंजनिक सम्पत्ति से एक पैंसा भी नहीं लेता है। इस पर भगवान् बुद्ध ने अन्वी को कहा कि अज्ञात वाक्य को जाकर कह दो कि लिच्छवियों पर विजय नहीं पाई जा सकती है। इस कथा में इस सिद्धान्त पर प्रकाश डाला गया है कि व्यष्टि के स्थान पर समष्टि का आदर होना चाहिए।

इतिहास में आप देखेंगे कि वैदिक काल से लेकर चौथी शताब्दी बी० सी० तक वेस्ट्रन पंजाब में स्थित छोटे-छोटे गणतन्त्रों के कारण विदेशी लोग भारत में प्रवेश करने में सक्षम-पुन न हो सके। अलेग्ज़ेंडर को भी इसी लिये पंजाब हटना पड़ा, क्योंकि छोटे छोटे गणतन्त्रों में उसका सामना किया। इससे यही प्रकट होता है कि छोटी-छोटी पंचायतें किसी भी देश की रीढ़ हैं। उनसे देश के नीजवान बनते हैं। उनके द्वारा देश के नीजवानों को लोकतन्त्र की शिक्षा प्राप्त होती है, उन के हृदय में व्यष्टि के स्थान पर समष्टि की भावना उत्पन्न होती है और उनको ज्ञात होता है कि सारा देश और सारी जनता उन की है और उनके लिये उन को काम करना है। किसी देश का शासन चलाने में जो संस्थायें भाग लेती हैं, पंचायत उनकी अंखला में सब से प्रारम्भ की कड़ी है।

महात्मा जी के अनुसार डेमोक्रेसी की परिभाषा थी राम-राज्य। वह चाहते थे कि हिन्दुस्तान में राम-राज्य स्थापित होना चाहिये। राम-राज्य का अर्थ यह है कि इस देश में हर एक आदमी का शासन में हक होना चाहिए और हर एक आदमी यह समझे कि यह देश और यह शासन हमारा है और हम भी देश के शासन में हिस्सा लेते हैं, पंचायतों, असेम्बलीज और पार्लियामेंट के सम्बर यह समझे कि वे देश के शासन में हिस्सा लेते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने शासन के विकेन्द्रीकरण का मार्ग दिखाया। यहां पर इंग्लैण्ड और फ्रांस

की तरह कोई यूनिटरी फार्म ऑफ गवर्नमेंट तो है नहीं। इसलिये शासन के विकेन्द्रीकरण के पीछे भावना यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान का प्रत्येक आदमी यह समझे कि भारतवर्ष मेरा है और उसके शासन में मेरा हाथ है, यहां पर केवल पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू शासन नहीं करते हैं, बल्कि पंचायत का सरपंच और गांव सभा का सदस्य किसी न किसी रूप में इस देश के शासन में हाथ बंटाता है।

इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान में यह एक नया प्रयोग आरम्भ हो रहा है, जिस को अगर हम ठीक तरीके से चलायें, तो इस देश में वास्तविक लोकतन्त्रीय शासन स्थापित हो सकता है। हिन्दुस्तान में अभिजात वर्ग के शासन, आली-गंकी या अरिस्टोक्रेसी के शासन की कोई गुंजायश नहीं है, क्योंकि हमारे यहां इतनी जातियां, धर्म और सम्प्रदाय हैं कि एक जाति या सम्प्रदाय के शासन को मानने के लिये दूसरे लोग तैयार नहीं होंगे। जब हिन्दुस्तान के लिये यह लोकतन्त्र का ही मार्ग है, तो उस को मजबूत करने के लिये यह सबसे आवश्यक है कि छोटे-छोटे स्थानों से लेकर केन्द्र तक प्रारम्भ से लेकर शीर्ष तक हम एक ऐसे कड़ी स्थापित करें कि लोकतन्त्र का अनुभव सब लोगों को हो और वे समझे कि हमारे देश में वास्तविक लोकतन्त्र है। इसलिये देश में जो अभिनव प्रयोग चल रहा है, उस को सफल बनाने को हम को तैयारी करनी चाहिये।

हमारे कुछ भाइयों ने कहा कि पंचायत राज की व्यवस्था में कुछ दोष हैं और बी० डी० श्री० जीप ले जाते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में भगवान् रामचन्द्र के समय राक्षस लोग थे और श्रीकृष्ण के समय कंस था। भगवान् ने स्वर्ग और नरक दोनों बनाए हैं। पहले भी अच्छे और बुरे दोनों तरह के व्यक्ति थे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : गिनती किन की ज्यादा थी ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : दुनिया में अच्छे लोग भी हैं और बुरे लोग भी हैं। अगर आप चाहें कि सब लोग अच्छे हो जायें, तो वह असम्भव है। पंचायतों में अच्छे लोग भी हैं और ऐसे भी हैं, जिन के दिमाग खराब हैं और उन के लिये शासन है। अराजकता को रोकने के लिये ही शासन की स्थापना हुई है।

श्री बजराम सिंह : अगर शासन का ही दिमाग खराब हो जाये, तो क्या होगा ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : तो लोगों का भी हो जायेगा। अगर शासन का दिमाग खराब होगा, तो लोगों का भी हो जायेगा और अगर लोगों का दिमाग खराब होगा, तो शासन का भी हो जायेगा। यह तो बाइस-बर्सा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : तो फिर ऐसी हालत में कोई खराब नहीं रहेगा।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : महात्मा जी ने जो मूल सिद्धान्त हमारे सामने रखा और उसके अनुसार जो अभिनव प्रयोग इस देश में ही रहा है, उस को हमें सफल बनाना चाहिये। उस के दोषों की तरफ नहीं जाना चाहिये, बल्कि उस के गुणों को देखना चाहिये। यदि हम दोषों को देखेंगे, तो फिर हम को दोष ही दोष प्राप्त होंगे। इसलिये हम को गुण देखने चाहिए और उन गुणों से लाभ उठाना चाहिये और इस तरह पंचायतों को सफल बनाने का प्रयास करना चाहिए।

श्री पद्म बेब (चम्बा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सब का प्रयत्न सुख, शान्ति प्राप्त करने और सम्मानपूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करने का है। कहा गया है कि मुंडे मुंडे मतिभिन्ना—देश, काल और बुद्धि के मुताबिक लोगों के साधन भिन्न-भिन्न हैं। परन्तु यह निर्विवाद रूप से सिद्ध हो गया है कि इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिये पुलिस, फौज और एटम बम निहायत ही विफल साधन सिद्ध हुए हैं। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि मानवता के विकास की दिशा

में ये साधन बिल्कुल असफल हुए हैं। भारतवर्ष के नेताओं ने ठीक समय पर पंचायत राज का जो सिद्धान्त जनता के सम्मुख रखा है और उस को क्रियान्वित किया है, उसके लिये वे प्रशंसा के भागी हैं। जब तक मानवता का विकास नहीं होगा, तब तक संसार में कमी भी सुख और शान्ति नहीं हो सकती। और मानवता का विकास होगा व्यक्ति के विकास से। और व्यक्ति तब विकसित होगा, जब उस को कार्य करने की स्वतन्त्रता और कार्य करने के अवसर और साथ ही साथ पथ प्रदर्शन मिलेगा।

पंचायत राज के सम्बन्ध में जो विचार यहां पर प्रकट किये गये हैं, उनसे ऐसा लगता है कि आज भी हम अंग्रेजी राज्य में रह रहे हैं और जितने सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, वे सब के सब अंग्रेजों के एजेंट हैं और देश का भला चाहने वालों का जरूरी तीर पर उन के साथ लड़ाई, झगड़ा और वैमनस्य है। आज के युग में सरकारी कर्मचारियों, नेताओं और साधारण जनता सब का ये ही प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि देश का विकास कर के उस को समृद्धि-शाली, शक्तिशाली बनाया जाये। इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के सम्बन्ध में महात्मा गांधी ने गांव को इकाई बनाया था और गांव में भी व्यक्ति का स्थान बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि वेद में कहा गया है, "मनुर्भव जनय दैव्यं जनः" अर्थात् आदमी बनो और अच्छे आदमी पैदा करो। उस में देश, काल और जाति का कोई वर्णन नहीं है। केवल यही कहा गया है कि आदमी बनो और अच्छे आदमी पैदा करो। यह हमारी प्राचीन परम्परा का सिद्धान्त है और उसके मुताबिक ही जो प्रयत्न किये जायें, वही ठीक ढंग के हैं।

जब हमने स्वराज्य के लिये प्रयत्न किया तो हम गलियों में लैम्पों वगैरह और नौकरियों की मांग करते थे। धीरे-धीरे हीमरूल की मांग, पुनः पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता। आजाद होने के बाद हम ने अपने देश के विकास के लिये योजनायें बनाईं। कुछ लोगों की ऐसी प्रवृत्ति है कि जब

पंचायत राज की रूपरेखा सामने रखी गई। उसके फौरन बाद वे आपत्ति करना शुरू कर देते हैं। यह तो वैसे ही बात है कि आज ही बच्चा पंदा हुआ और हमने यह सोचना शुरू कर दिया कि यह बच्चा जियेगा या नहीं, बड़ा हो कर कहीं यह देश का गद्दार तो न बनेगा। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो चीज हमारे सामने है, उसकी अच्छाई और बुराई को देख कर हम उसका मूल्यांकन करें और उसको अच्छा बनाने का प्रयत्न करें उस को ट्रायल दें, उस को कार्य रूप में परिणत करें।

पंचायत-राज की जो भावना हमारे सम्मुख रखी गई है, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह स्वाभाविक मौलिक और सामयिक है हमारे देश की पूर्व परम्पराओं के अनुकूल है। हमको इसके लिये मौका देना है और उसके लिये काम करना है। यदि हम इसका केवल विरोध करें और इसके नुक्स देखते रहे, तो ठीक नहीं, दुनिया में ऐसा कोई काम नहीं है, जिसमें नुक्स न हो। कुछ लोग यह समझते हैं कि अगर हमारे विकास-कार्यक्रम में सारी बातें नहीं हैं तो उसका कुछ लाभ नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि विकास का आदि है, लेकिन अन्त नहीं है। यह तो एक अविरोध क्रम है। विकास का जो लक्ष्य, जो भावना आज मेरे सामने है, उस तक जब मैं पहुँच जाता हूँ तो उसके बाद मुझे अगला शेष कदम नजर आने लग जाता है। भारत के सामने जो कल विकास का नक्शा था वह आज नहीं है और जो आज है वह कल नहीं होगा। एवं यह क्रम जारी रहेगा इस वास्ते अगर कोई यह समझे कि यह बी० डी० अ० खराब है, और वह आदमी खराब है और वह पंचायत के अन्दर कैसे है, तो इससे काम नहीं चल सकता। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, थोड़ा अर्सा ही हमें आजाद हुए हुआ है। आजादी से पहले हमारे ऊपर जो दबाव था उसके कारण हमारा नैतिक पतन हुआ और हम आर्थिक,

सामाजिक और राजनैतिक आदि सभी दृष्टियों से पिछड़े रहे। यही नहीं बल्कि जो हमारा आत्मिक विकास होना चाहिये था वह भी उस दबाव के कारण, उस रोब के कारण, ला एंड आर्डर के दबावों के कारण नहीं हो सका और हम ऊपर नहीं उठ सके। आज चूँकि हममें आत्म-विश्वास की कमी है, हम समझते हैं कि आज जो चीज हमारे सामने है वह शायद रहे या न रहे, इसलिये पोजीशन और पज़ेशन की लड़ाई में हम हर चीज को गलत ढंग से देखते हैं और अपनाते की चेष्टा करते हैं। इस पोजीशन और पज़ेशन की लड़ाई में हम यही सोचते और देखते हैं कि यह होगा या नहीं होगा, फलां ने खा लिया, मैं रह गया, फलां एक लाख का बना गया है, मैं पचास हजार पर क्यों बैठा हूँ। इस तरह सोचने की जो मनोवृत्ति है, वह गलत है। इसका हमें त्याग करना होगा।

मैं समझता हूँ कि पंचायतों के सदस्य गलती करेंगे और यह इसलिये कि उनको अनुभव नहीं है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह भी सही है कि गलती करते करते वे अपने आपको सुधारते हुए आगे भी ले जायेंगे। जिस सड़क को बनाने में गवर्नमेंट के कर्मचारी जो एक्सपर्ट और अग्र्यस्त लोग हैं ५०,००० रुपया खर्च करें बहुत मुमकिन है कि पंचायत के अनपढ़ ७५,००० करें। यह भी हो सकता है कि कहीं पैसे का दुरुपयोग हो। लेकिन इस सब के होते हुये भी लोगों को घबराना नहीं, प्रयत्न करना है और जिम्मेदारी देनी और लेनी है। अगर रास्ता हमारा सही है तो इस रास्ते से होकर हम को तेजी के साथ जाना होगा। हमें पीछे नहीं रहना है, आगे ही बढ़ते जाना है।

पंचायत राज के सम्बन्ध में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जितनी भी विचार दर्शन की किताबें निकली हैं, उनको देखने से यही पता चलता है कि जहाँ तक विचार की बात है, उनके अन्दर बाल की खाल निकाली गई है और

[श्री पद्म देव]

कोई बात ऐसी नहीं जिसको अछूता छोड़ दिया हो। शिक्षा के लिहाज से, गांवों में एजुकेशन पहुंचाने के लिहाज से, सचिवों और कर्मचारियों को कैसा प्रशिक्षण देना है, इस लिहाज से तथा जितनी भी दूसरी चीजें हैं, उनके लिहाज से मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी बात ऐसी नहीं है जो अछूती रह गई हो। इस वास्ते अगर आज कोई कमी है जिसको दूर करना है तो वह यही है कि मैं यह समझना छोड़ दूँ कि मैं बहुत बड़ा और बुद्धिमान आदमी हूँ और जो कुछ किया जा रहा है उसके खिलाफ जरूर कहूँ, दूसरा भी कहे और तीसरा भी कहे। जब देश को बनाना है तो हमारे सामने जो योजना है, उसको देखे कि वह कामयाब होती है या नहीं होती है और उसको कामयाब बनाने का प्रयत्न हम करें। और देखें कि हम उसके जरिये मानवता की सेवा कर सकते हैं या नहीं, जनता का राज्य वहाँ स्थापित हो रहा है या नहीं। ये सब चीज पंचायतों में आ जाती हैं। इसमें कहा गया है कि लोग न्याय और प्रबन्ध का इतिजाम खुद करें। इनको पैसा दिया जाता है उसको खर्च करने के लिये प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारी भी सुलभ किये जाते हैं। उनको अगर मार्ग निर्माण के हेतु कोई इंजीनियर मिल गया है और पंचायत का प्रेजीडेंट यह समझता है कि यह सड़क के काम में दखल देता है तब सड़क कैसे बन सकेगी। अगर अच्छी सड़क बनवानी है तो वह इसकी देखरेख में ही बन सकती है। हम देखते हैं कि जिला परिषदों के प्रधान नान-आफिशल हैं और यह अच्छी बात है। इस वास्ते हमें उन कर्मचारियों पर विश्वास करना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि केवल विरोध करने से काम नहीं चल सकता। अगर हमारा लक्ष्य दुस्त है, और उस लक्ष्य तक पहुंचने के लिये जो साधन अपनाये जाते हैं वे दुस्त हैं और अगर

हम लोगों के हाथ में शक्ति देना चाहते हैं तो उसका तरीका यह है कि उनको वास्तविक रूप में काम करने की छूट दी जाए और केवल मात्र उनका पथप्रदर्शन किया जाए साथ ही वन भी दिया जाए ताकि पंचायत राज जो कि मानवता का प्रतीक है, हमारे देश में सफल हो।

श्रीमती जया नेहरू (सीतापुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज यहां पर पंचायती राज की चर्चा हो रही है। पंचायती राज को हम अपने देश के लिये एक मुबारक चीज समझते हैं और आज यह मुबारक दिन है मानवता जब इस विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है।

जब हम पंचायत राज की बात करते हैं तो उसका अर्थ यह होता है कि जो डेमोक्रेसी है, उसका वह निचोड़ है। पंचायत राज का बेसिस है डेमोक्रेसी। जब हम पंचायत राज अपने देश में कायम करने चले हैं तो हमको बड़ी मेहनत से, बड़ी लगन से, बड़े विश्वास से अपने गांवों का संगठन करना होगा। हमें हर सम्भव तरीके से इस प्रयोग को सफल बनाने का प्रयत्न करना होगा।

मेरे कुछ भाइयों ने कहा है कि वहां पर जीपें चली गई हैं और लोग बिना जीपों के इधर-उधर जाते ही नहीं हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि जब इंसान स्पेस में उड़ने लग गया है, चन्द्रमा और सूरज तक पहुंचने की कोशिश कर रहा है तो जमीन पर चलने के लिए जीप की भी जरूरत होती है। लेकिन मैं समझती हूँ कि अगर जीप पंचायतों के वास्ते जरूरी समझी जाती है तो जीप से भी ज्यादा मुफ़ीद उनके लिये बैलगाड़ी है। देहातों में अगर किसी को काम करना है तो उसको जीप का प्रयोग नहीं करना चाहिये बल्कि उसी चीज पर जाना चाहिये जिस पर देहात के लोग आते-जाते हैं। देहाती माई जो पंचायत बना रहे हैं और जिस पर वे चढ़ते हैं, उसी पर मुझे भी चढ़ना है, ऐसी भावना लोगों में आनी चाहिये। शहर आने और गवर्नमेंट से मिलने में अगर जीप की

जरूरत पड़ती है, तो उसका इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है ।

जहां तक पंचायती राज का सम्बन्ध है वह सिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिये नहीं है । पंचायती राज, जितने भी देश के लोग हैं, जितने भी भारत के निवासी हैं, चाहे वे किसी भी पार्टी के क्यों न हों, सभी के लिए हैं और सभी को इस प्रयोग को सफल बनाने में अपना हाथ बटाना होगा । अगर कहीं कोई कमी है या कोई गलती है तो जिस तरीके से भी उसको दूर किया जा सकता हो, दूर किया जाना चाहिये । अगर कोई तरीका है और वह गलत है, तो उस तरीके को भी हमें बदलना होगा । अगर ऐसा किया गया तो पंचायत राज को हम आगे बढ़ाने में सफल होंगे वना नहीं ।

अभी कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि देहाती जो लोग हैं, जो पंचायतें हैं, उनके हाथ में हमें ताकत देनी होगी । मैं समझती हूँ कि ताकत ऊपर से नहीं आती है, ताकत नीचे से ऊपर जाती है और हमको भी यही करना है । इन पर विश्वास करके, इन पर श्रद्धा रख कर हमको आगे बढ़ना है ।

हमको वहां पर लोगों को शिक्षित भी करना है । शिक्षा हमारे देहातों में बिल्कुल नहीं के बराबर है । कहीं पर भी आप देख लीजिये, चारों तरफ नजर दौड़ा लीजिये, शिक्षा का नितान्त अभाव है । इस विषय पर मैं अक्सर सोच करती हूँ और सोचने के बाद पाती हूँ कि हम कुछ ऐसे किस्मत वाले हैं कि बगैर शिक्षा के हमारे यहां डेमोक्रेसी आ गई है । वैसे पहले शिक्षा आती है और उसके बाद डेमोक्रेसी आती है । लेकिन हम भाग्यशाली हैं कि पहले हमारे यहां डेमोक्रेसी आ गई है । लेकिन हमें उनको शिक्षा देनी है । और शिक्षा देते समय गम्भीरता पूर्वक सोचना है कि कैसे शिक्षा उनको देनी है आज हम देखते हैं कि देहातों में भी और बाहर भी हालत यह है कि कोई मर रहे हैं, कोई पिट रहे हैं और तरह-तरह की

अजीब बातें हो रही हैं । ऐसी-ऐसी अजीब चीजें निकलती हैं कि एक मनुष्य दूसरे मनुष्य से नफरत करने लगता जाता है । पंचायत राज के जरिये जो डेमोक्रेसी का एसेस है, उसको निकाल करके हमको लाना है । शिक्षा हमको अपने बच्चों को और बड़ों को इंसानियत देनी है । जहां पर इंसानियत होती है वहां पर लड़ाई झगड़े नहीं होते हैं । पार्टियां अलग-अलग हैं, स्थालात दुनिया में अलग-अलग हैं और इनमें मतभेद की गुंजाइश हो सकती है । लेकिन विचार और स्थाल अलग-अलग होने का यह मतलब नहीं है कि हम एक दूसरे को बर्दाश्त न करे और एक दूसरे का गला घोंटे । यह चीज भी, जब तक लोगों में शिक्षा नहीं आयेगी, जब तक लोगों में इंसानियत नहीं आयेगी, नहीं आ पायेगी । जब तक यह चीज नहीं आती है तब तक मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि हम आगे कैसे जायें । इस वास्ते इस तरफ भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये ।

पंचायत राज को सफल बनाने के लिये बहुत जरूरी है कि जो कार्यकर्त्ता हैं, उनमें मिशनरी स्पिरिट हो और मिशनरी स्पिरिट से प्रेरित हो कर वे काम करें । जब तक उनमें ऐसी स्पिरिट नहीं आती है यह काम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है । असली पंचायत राज तब आयेगा जब कि कार्यकर्त्ता मिशनरी स्पिरिट से काम करना शुरू कर देंगे ।

पंचायती राज का होना बहुत जरूरी चीज है । इसके पुराने इतिहास पर माननीय सदस्य श्री रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने प्रकाश डाला है । अगर इसकी विस्तार से चर्चा की जाए तो वह पांच या दस मिनट में खत्म नहीं हो सकती है । यह बहुत लम्बा-चौड़ा विषय है । पंचायतें जो अभी भी देहातों में हैं और वहां पर अगर कोई बे पढ़ा लिखा बुढ़ा बाबा है और वह सरपंच है, उसको आप देखें कि कितनी सच्चाई के साथ, कितनी

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

ईमानदारी के साथ और कितनी लगन के साथ वह काम करता है। जब तक यह चीज वापिस नहीं आयेगी यह पंचायत राज का जो काम है आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है।

मैं अपने भाइयों से जिन्होंने अभी कहीं इल-क्शन का और कहीं और कुछ जिक्र किया है, कहना चाहती हूँ कि अगर वे ऐसी चीजें देखें हैं जो नहीं होनी चाहिये, उनको वे मिनिस्टर साहब से आ कर कहें और मिनिस्टर साहब उनको दूर करने का प्रयत्न करें। मैं तो यह कहूंगी कि जहां तक पंचायतों का संबंध है, उनको इलक्शनों से दूर रखना चाहिये। जो राष्ट्रीय इलक्शन हैं, जो राजनीतिक इलक्शन हैं, पंचायत राज वालों को इस में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये। हमको बिल्कुल कंस्ट्रिक्टव बर्केंड की हैसियत से पंचायतों का काम चलाना है और पंचायत राज को रोशनी में हमको अपने देश को आगे चलाना है।

Shri Balakrishnan: Sir, in the olden days, Panchayati raj played a very important role in our country. Our forefathers were well versed in the administration of the Panchayats. Development works like the construction of temples, construction of chavadies, formation of roads, digging of common wells were carried out by the villagers collectively. Even criminal cases and civil disputes were settled by village leaders. They observed absolute neutrality in the settlement of the disputes. They felt a sense of responsibility in settling disputes in the villages. They felt a sense of dharma and justice in the administration of panchayats. If you want to make the panchayats a success, we have to create a sense of responsibility to the President, a sense of responsibility to the officials and non-officials. Then only, Panchayats will be a success. The village people will have to be made to have the mentality of self-reliance. What we are seeing now in the Panchayat areas is group system, factions caste-

ism and political rivalry. In my district of Madura, I am told that a Panchayat President does not want to sanction loans to the Congress people, because the Congress people, voted against him and so he is refusing to help the Congress people. In the last week, there was a Union election in Palani, in Thoppanpatti. They spent a lakh of rupees. People who spent more money think that money only made them President. I want to say that unless the Presidents of the Panchayats and the Presidents of the Unions are elected by the public, all these troubles, factions, group systems and casteism will continue. I think that the Presidents of the panchayats and the Presidents of the Unions should be elected only through adult suffrage. Then only we can put an end to all this trouble.

The hon. Member Shri Tangamani, the other day, said that he was very happy that a Harijan candidate was chosen by the Communist members for the Union elections. I am very happy that at least in the Union Panchayat elections, they have chosen a Harijan member. Because, communists does not make a practical realistic approach in the removal of social disabilities. At least for the propoganda of coming general elections, they have chosen a Harijan member, whereas the Congress does not want to interfere with the elections. The Congress does not want to put up any candidate because the Congress thinks that political parties should not interfere in the panchayat elections. It is no use to put up a candidate once and then blame the Government that Government is interfering in the elections. I request the other parties not to put up candidates. At least for some years until our Panchayat Presidents are trained and until the Panchayat Presidents are feeling a sense of responsibility, I request all the parties not to put-up candidates.

Regarding development work in the panchayats, I do not understand

in what manner the different, departments are coming together in co-ordination to execute development works. In a Panchayat union, there are so many departments: the Co-operative department, the Industries department, Animal Husbandry department—so many departments are there. Every department has got its own Act. The Co-operative department has got its own Act; the Industries Department has got its own Act; the Community Development department has got its own Act. Finances also are being derived from their own respective departments. For a concerned work, the department has to derive finances from the head of the department. I think this is the reason for the delay in the execution of the development works in the panchayats. I think there should be a proper agency, a strong agency, to co-ordinate the work of all the departments as well as the financial resources. Because, at present, financial resources are derived in the various departments and for sanctioning finance, it takes much time. There should be co-ordination for the speedy execution of the development works. If you want to start a co-operative society, you will have to apply to the Registrar. Then only, you can start a society in a panchayat area. It takes much time. Co-operative is the best friend and helper of the rural population. But, there is one thing. The Co-operative Societies Act should be amended or a new Act has to be brought forward to suit the present conditions. Then only, co-operatives will be more useful.

Regarding community development programme, I hope I will be excused by the Minister if I say that in the beginning, the people showed much interest regarding community development work. But, now, I see the interest is lacking. I do not know why. We must find out why the interest is lacking. I think in the beginning, there was a lot of development work taking place in the community development areas. Day by day, deve-

lopment works are lacking. As developments are lacking, the interest of the people is also lacking. Also I see, in course of time, day by day, administrative personnel are increasing and at the same time, development work is decreasing. Either you should give sufficient funds for development works or you should reduce the administrative personnel. Then only we can create a tempo.

Regarding tempo, as I said, there should be a new tempo among the people. So, we must expand development works. New industries, small industries, village industries should be started and co-operative farming should also be started.

Regarding the weaker sections in the community development areas, I think proper representation is not given in the panchayats to the weaker sections. Both the Ministers have a kind heart towards the weaker sections. They should give some special preference to the weaker sections in the development works.

I welcome Panchayati Raj.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: I would request hon. Members to be very brief. I would only call those hon. Members she had put in in the list.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: (Basirhat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I thank you for giving me five minutes. I wanted to make one or two points which I thought are rather important from the point of view of the development of the panchayats.

In my State of West Bengal, as the Minister knows, there are still very few panchayats. I think a very large number of districts have no panchayats at all, especially in the neighbouring districts of Calcutta. Whether for fear that the opposition will gain a large majority in the panchayats or not, the Twenty-four Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly—none of these districts has got panchayats. I also, of course, support the point that has

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

been made by many Members that during these elections, they are not only very bitterly fought, but they are fought with a lot of money. Sometimes in these panchayat elections in a small village, more money is spent in the fight than spent in any other election. Rank communalism is really preached. Therefore, this whole idea of importing more democracy will not at all be implemented unless all political parties decide that communalism will have to be given up. This has to be very seriously done. I am not at all against political parties fighting. I think to substitute politics by communalism is even worse. Therefore, the parties may fight and should fight, to my mind, but it should be devoid of communalism.

There is no doubt that in places where panchayats have been elected for the first time, there has been a certain amount of hope and interest raised among the people. But, the main difficulties will arise as the panchayats start working. The real powers of the panchayats are more illusory than real. For example, the executive really holds a whip-hand over the panchayats. One of the speakers on the opposite side made some very telling remarks and they also apply to the position in our State. One of the most important things which will have to be within the power of the panchayats is the question of finance. All taxation measures have to be okayed, countersigned and passed by the executive officer and unless the executive officer does them these taxes cannot be imposed. Not only that, taxes which really yield income, like land revenue, are still with the State Governments. In our State quite a good amount of money is raised from bazaar tax-tolls, as we call it—hut tax, ferry gate tax, etc. All these are taken away from purview of the panchayats. Then what is left? Very little is left for the panchayats, with the result that they cannot carry on their day to day functions

and fulfil the promises made to the electorate in the villages.

Again, we find great insistence laid on *shramdan*. *Shramdan* is made and works are constructed. But who is there to maintain them? There is no money for their maintenance. Then there is the question of industry in development blocks. It is the programme of industrial co-operatives that has been one of the most unsuccessful in development blocks. This is a very important part of the programme. Unless there is finance it is not possible for any panchayat to solve the question of unemployment. Even in regard to agriculture, the question of land reforms is not within the purview of the panchayats.

Lastly I wish to make one or two observations on the question of women's participation in the work of the panchayats. In a State like West Bengal we have no such provision as has been made in most of the other States in India, that where a woman is not elected normally to the panchayat she is taken on by nomination.

The Minister of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri S. K. Dey): By cooption.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Our State is supposed to be very advanced. But we find that very few panchayats elect women. We have no such system of nomination. Therefore, local women's part in the work of the panchayats is nil. (Interruption) I am told that directives have been issued on this subject. But that directive has been very successfully disobeyed by the West Bengal Government, and whether it is in the employment of gram sevikas, midwives or nurses, local women are not given a chance to work in the villages. No doubt, we get young girls from urban areas. They are better educated. But the very first thing they do on coming to the village is to ask for transfers. These are interior areas; and village politics are such that they have not the necessary background for it, with the result that all these problems

arise. Therefore, I want to underline that the participation of women in the work of the panchayats, at least in our State, is very little and unless this is looked into and changed you cannot expect women to evince much interest in this.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister, I am very sorry I have to refuse chance to two lady Members; but they were too late.

Shri S. K. Dey: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must confess at the very outset that I was feeling very unhappy and uneasy for months that while panchayati raj was growing to be a subject of interest not merely in this country but in many others adjoining us and farther from us, the Parliament in India, to my mind, was not showing the interest, even in a controversial way on this highly vital subject. I am, therefore, extremely grateful to my friends in this House who initiated this discussion and you, Sir, for having permitted so much of time for discussion on this subject. About twenty-four speakers have participated already over this matter and more were eager to join. It has aroused more interest, at least so it seems, than the annual discussion on the budget of a Ministry and I am very grateful to this House for all this warmth of interest that it has shown.

My hon. friend Shri Tangamani, while initiating the discussion day before yesterday, made some observations on the Panchayat Sammelan that was held at Madras a month ago and which was inaugurated by the hon. the Prime Minister. There were more than 15,000 representatives of the panchayat institutions in Madras who were elected on the basis of the mandate of the people irrespective of the political parties to which they belonged. If because the ruling party happens to be more represented than others in this sammelan, certainly this House will not blame the ruling party for it. I would certainly wish and I am quite sure that the ruling party in this House as also in all the States in

India would welcome all the parties in the opposition to come in power both at the bottom and also on the top by service to the people and on the mandate received from the people for service rendered to panchayati raj institutions. In fact, I would say that the panchayati raj system has opened an opportunity that never was present to political parties in opposition at the Centre and in the States to compete with the ruling party in constructive work. If the people in Madras or elsewhere say that it was a manoeuvre of the political party to show its grandeur and hold on the public, someone may equally say that this discussion in this House was also a manoeuvre by the ruling party somehow to show the importance that people attach to the panchayati raj system which was initiated by the ruling party.

The Deputy Minister of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy): Thanks to Tangamani.

Shri S. K. Dey: I would say at this stage that the C. D. programme and panchayati raj have been programmes which have never been discriminative of political parties and likewise the political parties have never been discriminative of these programmes. I say this to the credit of all the political parties in this country. Throughout these years that I have been struggling from village to village, district to district and State to State, I have never, except once at the very beginning of the programme, come across representatives of political parties or any group of people, who have not shown interest in the furtherance of this programme. The other, the question of a political party trying to manoeuvre a sammelan to impress the grandeur of its power and hold on the people should not arise. If, in spite of it, there are people in the country who think that way, I am afraid we cannot do anything to help them, and I am sure that this House can very comfortably ignore the views of such misguided people...

Shri Raghbir Sahaj (Badaun): Or sympathise with them.

Shri S. K. Dey:.....or sympathise with them.

Shri Tangamani: I said that those were the reactions of cross-sections of the press.

Shri S. K. Dey: I sympathise. Before I start answering many of the points that have been raised on the floor of this House during the two days' discussion, I would like to place the programme of panchayati raj in the proper perspective so that the House can judge, with all the objectivity it can bring to bear, whether or not the programme is moving on right lines, and whether the Ministry as the representative of this House is discharging its responsibility in this behalf.

As you are aware, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, nine years ago, in 1952, on the 2nd of October, we began work on community development only in 55 blocks. They were supposed to be pilot areas for development, in which all the departments would be working in a co-ordinated way, with staff provided for many of the nation-building activities. At that time, there was no question of entrusting responsibilities to the representatives of the people. Soon, it was discovered that Government officials could not go very far with the programme unless the people's representatives in some form or the other were associated with it.

So came the concept, at the second stage, of the block advisory committee. The block advisory committee and the vikas mandal at the village level were intended to be *ad hoc* institutions of the people to advise the Government on efficient and effective implementation of the programme, and they were to assist Government in arousing better participation from the people. It was discovered next that people who were worthy of substance did not like to function indefinitely as

advisers to Government, and particularly when they had no certainty that their advice would be accepted.

Therefore, came the third stage when these block advisory committees were designated as the block development committees. There was instruction issued almost universally in the country that the mandate of the block development committees should be implemented without question by the government administration placed at the block and other levels.

In the meantime came the recommendation of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee, recommending democratic decentralisation, which we designated as panchayati raj. The Prime Minister himself mentioned that democracy by its very definition means decentralisation, a system of administration and people's representation growing from the roots upwards; so the question of democratic decentralisation does not arise, if it is democracy at all. Therefore, after a good deal of thinking on this subject with friends outside and also with friends in the two Houses here, we decided to call it panchayati raj, and change the English expression 'democratic decentralisation' to 'panchayati raj'.

I have mentioned on several occasions in this House that panchayati raj is totally different from the system of panchayat raj which we have had in the past. Panchayat raj was a government of the village people for the day-to-day routine needs of their life. They functioned more or less as republics with very little control from above, and with resources, their own. Panchayati raj, on the contrary, is not a unit of government but a system of government which will grow from the village up to the Centre. In other words, what a village can do for itself, it shall do through the panchayat. What it cannot do, it will refer to the next higher body for which the second tier at the block level has been created under the name 'panchayat samiti'. What the panchayat samiti cannot do, it shall refer to the zilla

parishad. What the zilla parishad cannot do, shall be referred to the State, and what the State cannot do naturally shall devolve on the Centre. Where the Centre cannot, we shall secure assistance from the world government which is growing. That was the system which we visualised. In this system, we are trying to build up a democratic pattern for the functioning of our people and for administration of our affairs from the village upwards.

Article 40 of our Constitution says:

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

It is very difficult to say exactly what self-government is. It has not been clearly defined.

As panchayati raj has grown and developed in India, we find that it has already exceeded the term of reference under this particular article. And if we have gone ahead much beyond the scope of this particular article, it is because of the strength and support and sanction that this House has continued to give to the Ministry in this behalf.

Shri Tangamani: Then, the Constitution will have to be altered.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): May I ask one question of the hon. Minister?

Shri S. K. Dey: I shall listen to the hon. Member's question later. I may be permitted to go on. Yesterday, my hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur mentioned, and several other friends also voiced the same feeling, that we should have a much longer discussion in the House, because the whole system of government is undergoing a radical change at the district, block and village levels. If this is happening seriously, it calls for a much more exhaustive study by this

House. The problems that are tending to emerge and the new line of approach that we must adopt require a thorough consideration.

Four years ago, the Balwantrai Mehta Committee offered the particular concept. We are trying to run panchayati raj as a live movement of a live people. If the people are live, it is quite obvious that what has been said four years ago shall grow to be totally out of date today, if the nation is moving. Even from our own experiences of the working of this programme, we find that things are changing so fast that we can no longer derive lessons or guidance from the thinking that has been done earlier including the thinking incorporated in the Balwantrai Mehta Study Team's report.

Therefore, I heartily welcome the opportunity, whenever such an opportunity comes, for a much more exhaustive discussion on the subject of panchayati raj and the various implications that have emerged. Before I concluded, I would give to the House an indication of some of the basic and very vital and crucial problems which panchayati raj has precipitated. We must find a happy solution to these problems if panchayati raj is to make the whole system of our democracy as it is being practised, free from bad politics and lead it to good politics. If that does not happen, it is quite clear that democracy shall be inverted. If that happens, panchayati raj will also undergo a radical change. It will be subverted from the purpose for which it came into existence and we shall not have democracy; we shall have a perversion of it practised in large sections of the country to the detriment of the future of the country.

Therefore, it is very necessary that we have a much fuller discussion in this House, and if as a result thereof it is found that the time has arrived for a further look at what is happening and what has happened, what are the new steps that need be taken,

[Shri S. K. Dey]

what should be the pattern of district administration in the light of panchayati raj which has swept the country, in the light of the community development programme which would have established a new national extension service to cover the country as a whole, what the new problems are and what should be the new approaches, I should be most happy to abide by the dictates of this House as to how these problems are to be studied and tackled. I would welcome such a thing.

Coming to the issues that are emerging, many hon. friends in the course of the discussion during these two days have made direct, and, sometimes passing, reference to these. It has been said that officials are trying to dominate. Officials will try to dominate if panchayati raj institutions themselves are not alert enough. We cannot issue mandates from the top. The Central Government do not issue a mandate. In such matters, this House must appreciate that the administration is in the hands of the State. The Central Government agency can act only as a common forum rather as an agency to provide a common forum in which the State Governments can pool their experiences and arrive at common decisions which can be pursued by the central agency for the country as a whole. But even if the State Governments issue mandates to the blocks and the panchayat samitis and the officers, there is no certainty that those mandates would be honoured in practice. Therefore, comes the question of a widespread system of training, not merely of the officers engaged in community development, the panchayati raj programme, but also the non-official representatives of the people who are holding office and heading these institutions.

For this purpose, we have tried to the maximum extent we could, to build up resources, to set up institutional training centres from the apex institute at Mussoorie right down to the gram

sevak training centres, where not merely officials engaged in the programme at different levels but also non-officials, will receive their training. It has been suggested by an hon. Member that there should be in every district an institute for training of panchayati raj functionaries. That is precisely what the Ministry has already undertaken to do. 100 training centres have already been sanctioned to the States. Those are known as panchayati raj institutions to be set up in the districts. These institutions are not under Government but are to run under non-official auspices. Where non-officials are not available, the zila parishads of several neighbouring districts can combine together to run these institutions to offer courses in panchayati raj, sahkari samaj and samuhik vikas to non-official functionaries. We are trying from the Central Ministry as also from the States to produce literature, film strips, flash card exhibitions and material in other media which can help propagation of the idea of panchayati raj sahkari samaj and community development to all functionaries in the country, government as well as non-government. We are trying simultaneously to introduce panchayati raj, sahkari samaj and community development as part of the curriculum in universities, in schools and colleges. In fact, panchayati raj institutions are being set up in different parts of the country in schools and colleges in order to give practice in panchayati raj movement to pupils in the course of their studies in universities.

These are the steps being taken for training of functionaries and non-officials in the programme. But this does not solve all the problems. It has been suggested that there should be proper relationship defined between government officers and representatives in panchayati raj institutions. We are trying to do that. To some extent, we have attempted a definition, but in a matter of this complex nature, it is extremely difficult to define in concrete terms what the relationship between a government agency and a re-

presentative agency should be. We still do not have a definition as to the role, say, of the secretariat in the Government *vis-a-vis* the Minister who functions on behalf of Parliament. There are conventions that tend to grow with the passage of time and with the working together of government officials and representatives of the people. These conventions cannot be prescribed in writing in fundamental rules. Fundamental rules can be defined for government officials; they cannot be defined for relationship between officials and non-officials. Therefore, we have to go through the process of learning by trial and error. As my hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma said, there will be many problems which we will have to face. The very fact that there are problems coming, shows that something is happening. A world without problems will be a dead world and as he said, one would not like to have a country where there are no problems because that shows that there is no life. As we come across problems, we will have to deal with them.

One question that has to be determined is: how do we secure that there will be impartial recruitment of government servants to serve the cause of panchayati raj institutions? It is quite likely that it will be necessary to have Panchayati Raj Public Service Commissions or Committees just as we have a Union Public Service Commission and State Public Service Commissions. It will also be necessary to establish institutional procedures for discipline of the administrative apparatus that will be placed at the disposal of panchayati raj institutions. This requires careful examination. Unfortunately, we have yet not had experience, exhaustive enough on this subject, to be able to come to very dependable conclusions. Therefore, a little time has still to be allowed before we can begin a study of this subject.

15 hrs.

Many hon. friends have referred to resources of the panchayati raj insti-

tutions. It is fully recognised that mere entrustment of responsibilities to these institutions will not carry them far, howsoever loud we may be in our appreciation of the capacity of panchayati raj institutions to mobilise people's resources. Resources have to be shared by Government from above.

Many States are going ahead sharing a part of their revenues with these panchayati raj institutions. In the legislation which is now on the anvil in Gujarat and Maharashtra States a very substantial part, if not the whole, of the land revenue is expected to be transferred to these institutions, to finance their various activities. Apart from this, there are also financial provisions made by the Centre for many schemes under the Third Five Year Plan and will be so in future plans. The intention is that all the departments of Government of a nation-building character shall use the panchayati raj institutions as their vehicle for the implementation of their own programmes.

Here again, the coming in of panchayati raj institutions means the end of the potential arbitrariness on the part of departments and others running the departments. This is going to lead to a considerable degree of conflict. Such liquidation of arbitrary powers does not come easily, which will mean that in many places there will be recalcitrance, recalcitrance on the part not merely of officials but also on the part of representatives of the people to part with potentially arbitrary powers.

How to ensure that the panchayati raj institutions are receiving a fair deal in the hands of the State Departments is another question that will require to be examined fully.

In the very nature of things, I agree with Shri Tangamani and Shri H. C. Mathur that it is not possible altogether to avoid elections as things stand today. In fact, when there is no genuine unanimity of heart amongst the people, enforcement of unanimity through arti-

[Shri S. K. Dey]

ficial incentives may lead only to the encouragement of inefficient and undesirable people being elected. Therefore, we are not in favour of creating artificial conditions by which unanimity in elections will be assured. If unanimity comes out of universal enlightenment on the part of the people, it should be welcome. But it is a far-off goal. Till that happens, there will be elections and there will be political parties. If there are political parties fighting these elections to the panchayati raj institutions, as they inevitably must, at higher institutions like Block Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads, they may be there. How do we ensure that as between Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad, as between the State Government and the Zila Parishad, there is equity and fair deal, with Samitis, Parishads or Panchayats dominated by political parties other than the one ruling at a particular tier of this system?

15.04 hrs.

[DR. SUSHILA NAYAR in the Chair.]

Therefore, it must be necessary to devise a sort of a new Finance Commission for the panchayati raj institutions which can go into the resources of the panchayati raj institutions and find out how the relatively weaker areas can be given special assistance so that cases of unfair deal and partiality because of political considerations can be referred to an impartial and objective body free from the operation of the current political thoughts of the country.

Now, at the village level, as a Ministry, we are very strongly and unequivocally opposed to election on the basis of political parties, for the simple reason that at the village level there can be no room whatsoever for elections to the village panchayats on the basis of political ideologies. Because it is not a question of policies that are determined at that level but how the policies determined at the top can be most efficiently administered. For this

purpose, it is necessary that the village people are given an opportunity to elect people as their representatives whom they consider most competent to do the best in their behalf, with the limited resources that the panchayati raj institutions can secure from above.

It is in this context, we think, that the *gram sabha* should be and should grow to be the most important institution in panchayati raj. I am very happy to report to this House that, with the exception of only one State, all the States in India have accepted the *gram sabha* as a statutory institution.

Shri Tangamani: Which is that State?

Shri S. K. Dey: And even that one State, which is Madras, has agreed that, till it accepts the *gram sabha* as a statutory institution, through the issue of administrative instructions they can have periodic meetings of the entire adult population of the village for deciding all panchayat programmes and reviewing the activities of the panchayats.

As between the different panchayati raj institutions there are problems; there are similar problems as between different sections of the village community, the weaker sections and the relatively stronger sections. In order to find an answer to this, we appointed a committee headed by no less a person than Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan with many other friends, some representing this House also. We have received the report of that committee. And, according to that report, we shall try to take such measures at the earliest possible opportunity for offering such relief as we can within the existing limitations. Yet we feel that mandates from the top here also are not going to take us very far because, ultimately, it is the village community themselves and their institutions which will have to take the responsibility of giving relief to the weaker sections of the village community. Until such

time as the representatives of the people themselves take up this onerous responsibility on their heads, the weaker sections of this country are not going to receive the succour which is their due. We realise that there should be periodic opportunities for the panchayat raj institutions to meet and exchange experiences. With this end in view, we have suggested to the State Governments that they should have sammelans at the block level, of the representatives of the village panchayats; sammelans at the district level of representatives of the entire panchayati raj institutions and we hope, there will also be some kind of sammelans which will develop in course of time of representatives of the States in the country. It seems to us of the utmost importance that there should be a non-official all party or no party forum of the panchayat raj institutions themselves. Therefore, we are trying to encourage the growth of panchayat parishads in the States which will have representatives from all the panchayati raj institutions. There is already a national institution which was set up several years ago, even before the coming in of panchayati raj; it is called the All-India Panchayat Parishad headed by Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan with Shri Balwantray Mehta as Vice-President. The All-India Panchayat Parishad also is straining hard to see that all the States are represented and that they develop their competence for training non-officials, for holding of sammelans all over the country. Once the parishad in the States and also the All-India Parishad begin to operate effectively many of the problems which are emerging will find automatic expression and we shall be in a position to make much more effective decisions and offer correctives to the problems that are arising. When most of the countries in the world are beginning to wonder whether the current pattern of democracy will survive the sputnik age, when a number of countries around us are beginning to develop new patterns and new concoctions of democracy under the title of controlled and guided democracy, it redounds to the credit of

this House much more than anyone can comprehend today that it is this House which initiated the movement which is so counter to the prevailing trend in many parts of the world, where a Government fully seized of power is tending to decentralise it to institutions down below and in that it is opening the floodgate for the political parties in the country to compete constructively with the resources placed by the Centre and the States for a trial of strength in constructive activities and if need be, in course of time to displace the party in power in the States or even at the Centre if a position arises when a political party becomes flabby and is not in a position to operate the way it is expected to. The fact that when most of the countries in the world tend to centralise their activities and develop fat in the headquarters of their State and the Centre, this country is trying not merely to shed its fat at the Centre and at the level of the State, not merely to blunt its teeth, the teeth of the Government apparatus to bite in an undesirable way, but to transfer its powers and its resources to the fullest extent possible to the people and their representatives and to train people to take up those responsibilities and if need be, challenge the institutions above, is something which has very few parallels in the history of the world, if I may say so. This is the pattern of panchayat raj which we wish to implement.

I am glad to report that since I spoke on this subject last time, there has been considerable progress even in the coverage of panchayati raj in the country. Almost all States have gone ahead either implementing the panchayati raj programme or enacting panchayati raj legislation. The only two States which are slightly behind in this matter are the State of Kerala and West Bengal. Even here because of what has happened in the rest of the country and the encouraging response that panchayati raj has already given, West Bengal had already started drafting legislation. Therefore, the complaints that some hon. Members from West Bengal, Shri Aurobindo

[Shri S. K. Dey]

Ghosal and Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, had to make about panchayats being ineffective and not in operation will be a story of the past not long from now. A great American described democracy as we all know, as Government of the people, by the people, for the people. A great Chief Minister of India has added a fourth phrase and it is the most significant contribution that anyone can make to the concept of democracy at this stage and the type of democracy that we are trying to implement in India. He added the last phrase: "with the people". We could have a Government of the people, by the people and for the people but that does not necessarily guarantee that the Government will be with the people. It is Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. I am mentioning his name, particularly in order to impress on my friends, who are disappointed with the so-called slow progress of panchayats in West Bengal. The Chief Minister of West Bengal himself has made a new contribution to the concept of democracy and panchayati raj and I have no doubt that it will be followed by implementation of the process.

I would like to say, Madam Chairman, that I am deeply grateful for the opportunity that has been given to me for placing before the House once again what we are attempting to do, and some of the problems that are emerging for which we have to find a solution. I hope we shall have the opportunity of discussing these problems at greater length in the future and the sooner it comes, the better it will be. I am very grateful to you and to the House.

Dr. M. S. Aney: I wanted to ask a question. In view of the very comprehensive statement he has made, I think it is necessary for us to read the whole statement once more and understand the full implications. Therefore, I reserve my right to put that question at a later stage.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Tangamani. He will please be very brief.

Shri Tangamani: Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful to the many hon. Members who have contributed to the discussion on this subject, namely, the situation arising out of the working of the Panchayat Raj. I am one of those who wanted a discussion to take place even during the last session itself. At the outset, I want to make a submission that in future at least the Ministry will see to it that they have an annual discussion on the Panchayat Raj administration. We know that the Education Ministry, on their own, hold discussions on the report of the University Grants Commission; that the Home Ministry likewise organises discussions on the report of the UPSC. So, I take this opportunity to request the Minister, through you, to see that at least in future annual discussions will be organised by the Minister himself.

I must say that I was disappointed in the rather lengthy speech made by the hon. Minister. I thought he would refer to some of the points which I raised, particularly those points which have come up as a result of the working of the Panchayat Raj. He has merely touched a point like article 40 of the Constitution. It is of course a pertinent point. Article 40 of the Constitution is merely for the creation of the panchayats as units of self-government. But now, the Balwantrai Committee's report and the various pieces of legislation have gone far beyond that. Has the Minister considered the question as to how far the present administrative set-up of the Panchayat Raj is consistent with the present concept of the Constitution itself? Has he considered how far the Constitutional amendment is necessary if we are to prevent this diarchy that is existing in the administration of the Panchayat Raj and also these various letters? These points were raised not only by me but by the hon. Member, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, and others also. So, I expected that there will be a categorical reply to those

particular points, but I must say that I was disappointed.

I must also say that I was disappointed for this reason too, namely, he was trying to score, unlike as usual, a kind of debating point. He knows also that I was referring to a particular seminar which took place in Madras a month ago, where 15,000 panchayat leaders were assembled. There the discussions were held, but I asked why the problems covered were more as a propaganda for the ruling party. The Minister was at pains to explain that there was no such propaganda for the ruling party. In the same breath, he said that if it was really a propaganda for the ruling party, and if more members of the ruling party were present there, then the ruling party has got to be congratulated. Another Member belonging to his party and coming from the same State said that in none of the panchayat union elections the ruling party contested as such. So, the contradiction is there. The first point which I wanted to impress upon him was, as gathered from the newspaper cuttings, this method of organising seminars creates an impression in the mind of the people that after all the Government also are interested more in propagating their party politics rather than working out the panchayat system. I thought he would categorically analyse this and give a satisfactory reply, because many hon. Members from this side were more candid about it. On the other side also, they expressed a doubt about the danger which was always there. That is why the issue has got to be fought on political platforms, and ultimately a time may come when the real administrators have to face it when the working of the Panchayat Raj comes up.

I also wanted to know what has happened to the study group of the Panchayat Administration. The latest position is known from the circular, and that is to the effect that the Panchayat Raj Administration met on the 18th, 19th and 20th September, and they have finalised the report. We

were also told that this report is going to be circulated to the various State Governments. Our session is going to conclude very soon. Before the conclusion of the session I wanted to know whether we will be supplied with copies of this report, which will help us to know how the Panchayat Raj has been functioning in those areas.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Copies of the report will be circulated to hon. Members and also be discussed at the consultative committee.

15.26 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Tangamani: I am grateful to the hon. Members for pointing out several instances where these elections are not held. The hon. Member, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, pointed out that elections are not held in certain areas, and everybody knows, if elections are held in those areas, who are likely to be returned. I have experience of the Coimbatore district in the Madras State, where, in the ACC, the panchayat union is there. But the elections will not take place, because the ACC people know that they will elect only a particular individual belonging to a particular party when the elections take place. Such a position does exist at present. These dangers have been pointed out by many hon. Members.

Shri R. S. Murthy: What is the ACC?

Shri Tangamani: The Associated Cement Company. I am referring to the Madukkarai panchayat union. It is a colony of the ACC. The panchayat union exists; but the panchayats do not exist as elected bodies. For giving all such instances, I am grateful to hon. Members who have participated in this discussion. I am again very thankful to you for the indulgence shown to me, and I would like to repeat that at least in the future, we may be given an opportunity to discuss this, and the initiative should come from Minister himself and not from hon. Members. This is the

[Shri Tangamani]

second time that the initiative has come from Members. Even on the question of discussing the decentralisation scheme, the discussion was mooted by one of the private Members.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The discussion is over. The House will now take up the next item.

15.27 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: SUGAR (REGULATION OF PRODUCTION) ORDINANCE, AND SUGAR (REGULATION OF PRODUCTION) BILL.

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : (फिरोजाबाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने निम्न लिखित
प्रस्ताव को पेश करने की अनुमति चाहता हूँ :

"This House disapproves of the Sugar (Regulation of Production) Ordinance 1961 (Ordinance No. 3 of 1961) promulgated by the President on the 29th September, 1961."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This House disapproves of the Sugar (Regulation of Production) Ordinance 1961 (Ordinance No. 3 of 1961) promulgated by the President on the 29th September, 1961."

The hon. Minister may move his motion, and I shall place that also before the House. Then I will ask the hon. Member to support his motion by his speech, so that he will be able to speak on the resolution as well as on the motion of the hon. Minister.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri S. K. Patil): I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the regulation of production of sugar

in the interests of the general public and for the levy and collection of a special excise duty on sugar produced by a factory in excess of the quota fixed for the purpose, be taken into consideration."

I would like to know whether it is your intention that any observations on this would also follow the discussion on the motion by the hon. Member?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes; he will have an opportunity to speak on the resolution as well as on the motion for consideration of the Bill.

Shri S. K. Patil: May I submit one thing? On this motion for consideration of the Bill, the observations that I will be making will give a general picture of the whole position. That will be useful and the hon. Member of the resolution will have the advantage of knowing the position. Otherwise, the position is that he first makes a speech which is the negative part of this item of business, and then the Minister would make his speech. Of course, I leave it to you to decide which way you like.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Both the motions have been moved already. If the hon. Member agrees, I can ask the hon. Minister to make his observations, after I place his motion before the House. The hon. Member can speak after the hon. Minister has spoken, on both the motions.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: While I abide by your desire, I may point out that the practice has been that the mover of the resolution gets priority. He moves the resolution, speaks on it, and then the Minister makes his speech.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is his choice now. If he wants to get the benefit of the speech of the Minister and make certain comments on the