

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब"]

मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह बताया जाये कि सरकार को इस की इत्तिला मिली है या नहीं, और सरकार इस सिलसिले में क्या कर रही है। ढाई सौ किसानों ने इस वक्त भूख हड़ताल कर रखी है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस के मुताल्लिक कोई स्टेटमेंट वगैरह हो।]

श्री सभापति : आप फरमा चुके। यह मामला एजेंडे पर नहीं है इसलिये इस वक्त इस के मुताल्लिक मैं कुछ नहीं कर सकता।

شری عبدالغلی (پنجاب) : یہ اس لئے عرض کیا گیا کہ کل پلڈت ہی نے ادھر لوک سبھا میں اسٹیٹمنٹ دیا تھا تو اگر مناسب سمجھیں تو ایک اور اسٹیٹمنٹ وہ یہاں بھی دے دیں۔

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : यह इसलिये अर्ज किया गया कि कल पंडित जी ने उधर लोक सभा में स्टेटमेंट दिया था तो अगर मुनासिब समझें तो एक और स्टेटमेंट वह यहां भी दें।

श्री सभापति : यह ऐसा मामला है जिस के मुताल्लिक एक स्टेटमेंट दिया जा चुका है।

شری پیارے لال کوریل دہطالب :

اسٹیٹمنٹ کے بعد بھی تھائی سو کسانوں نے بیوک ہڑتال کی ہے۔ اس لئے ضرور بحث ہونی چاہیئے یا اسٹیٹمنٹ دینا چاہیئے۔

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" : स्टेटमेंट के बाद भी ढाई सौ किसानों ने

t/] Hindi transliteration

भूख हड़ताल की है। इसलिये जरूर बहस होनी चाहिये या स्टेटमेंट देना चाहिये।]

श्री सभापति : मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं इस वक्त इस की इजाजत नहीं दे सकता।

RESOLUTION RE. APPOINTMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO STUDY CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT—continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sapru was speaking on this Resolution the other day. He had not finished; he might do so now. He has already spoken for eleven minutes.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I have nothing very much to say except this that while I sympathise with the desire that this House should be consulted in regard to the co-operative movement, I do not think that it is necessary for us to have a committee of 30 Members to study the present state of the co-operative movement and make recommendations for its rapid development. I would like to say that the movement should, as far as possible, be free from official control. One of the reasons why the co-operative movement—I would not call it 'failure'—has not captured the imagination of the people is that it is guided very much by the officials. It is necessary that the co-operative movement should be a spontaneous movement and should have men and women who are not officials to work it. I would also suggest that it is necessary in the interest of the country that some attention should be paid to the question of cooperative farming. I know that there is a school of thought in this country which is very much opposed to co-operative farming. It looks upon cooperative farming as synonymous with collective farming. Well, it is not

collective farming that I am suggesting but it is co-operative farming. I think if we do that, it would be possible for our men in the villages to pool their resources to go in for large-scale farming, to go in for tractors and other machinery. Of course, individual rights will not be extinguished but it will be possible for those, who join a co-operative society, to work together in order to build up a good farming system. One of the reasons, perhaps, 'for the fact that our agricultural output is much less than that in countries like Japan, is that our individual farmer is not—intrinsically he is but not actually—as intelligent as farmers in some other countries. We need to have better seeds and more manure. We need to have fertilizers and we need to have good bullocks also, if agriculture is to advance. The price of bullocks in my State of Uttar Pradesh has gone up very much. I was talking to a farmer the other day and he told me that while it was possible for him to get a pair of bullocks for Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 a few years back, it was not possible for him to get a pair of bullocks for anything less than Rs. 1,000 now. These are matters to which attention should be paid by us and if attention is paid by us to these matters, it will be possible to improve the output from our fields.

We do need to keep pace and we do need a state of affairs in which our production keeps pace with the rise in our population. If democracy is unable to give results then it will be a terrible thing for this country, because we will have some form of totalitarian government then. I do not think that democracy has failed and I think democracy is capable, if properly worked, of yielding better results. So far as our dispute with China is concerned, it is not merely a question of borders. It is a question of ideologies, it is an ideological conflict also. If we devote some time to this co-operative movement, to the development of this co-operative movement, and if we cultivate the

spirit of co-operation among our people, then we will be certain that we shall have a bright future.

With these words, Mr. Chairman, I give my general sympathy to this Resolution which Mr. Raghunatha Reddy has promoted in this House. Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, we want to establish a socialistic pattern of society and we want to achieve that objective through peaceful means. When we were discussing the question of rise in prices, we had also discussed many matters. In order to check the rise in the prices, we started consumer co-operative societies. We do not want to impose control. We want to make the market control itself. That is to say, we are not for a cent per cent *laissez faire* policy, nor rigid control. And in order to achieve the golden mean, we want to open consumer co-operative stores. So also, as far as the production side is concerned, we do not want our economy to be controlled cent, per cent, by private entrepreneurs, nor by the public sector. Hence in my opinion, we are for co-operative production. No doubt we have started work in many directions. For example, we have started co-operative agriculture and Puja Vinobaji wants to have these experiments in his Gram-dan villages. He wants to try all sorts of experiments and to start all the industries on a co-operative basis and to make the village self-supporting. We have started credit societies and banks. We have started co-operative marketing societies. On the production side, we have started co-operative sugar mills. As far as sugar mills go, I can say that so far they have been successful in achieving their results. I know of many societies in Maharashtra which run sugar factories successfully. We want to open some cotton mills also on a large scale which will be run on a co-operative basis. Similarly we have some weavers' societies also. We are,

[Shrimati Tara Rarnachandra Sathe.] *to* some extent, successful in having co-operative housing societies. We have built houses. But, Sir, I want to know how many housing societies have repaid the loans that they had taken, whether they had repaid the loans cent, per cent. We have started industrial co-operative societies for small scale units such as match factories, for bricks and for other things which are necessary. We are trying whatever is possible.

I went through some of the reports published by this Department and I want to know how many societies were formed and how many are running without any aid from the Government. Are they self-supporting? That is what I want to know. Also, I want to know how many of them have gone into liquidation, what are the reasons, and what is the loan repaid by them, or what is the loan which they cannot repay at all.

As far as consumers' societies go, we had some experience. Before the Second World War, in the city of Bombay, the then government had appointed some of the honorary workers—lady workers—to start consumers' stores among women. We started one grocer's shop as a consumers' co-operative shop. Then the war broke out and there were some articles which were not easily available in the market. Our customers and other customers too, used to come to our store or shop and ask for those articles only. Naturally, we had to give them those articles at the price which was fixed and according to the rules we should not raise the price and that was not our desire either. We had to give them the articles. But as far as the other articles were concerned, a grocer or shopkeeper just opposite our shop was selling the same articles which were not controlled, and which were easily available in the market at a reduced price. So we had to face competition in that way and after some time it was impossible for us to stand that competition and we had to close our shop.

Then came the days of rationing and we started the work, because we have got full faith and belief in the co-operative movement. There were so many women amongst us who liked to work in the co-operative movement. So, again we tried it in some of our Mahila Mandals. We tried it in the Mahila Mandal near Kalyan in Bombay and we started one consumers' co-operative store. The Government gave us some ration cards and the store was running successfully. The turn-over was very big and the work was running successfully. Then the days of decontrol came and, naturally, we had to face again competition and we had the same experience which we had in the other shop and again we had to close down our store. Then, Sir, we started an industrial co-operative society. I am giving these illustrations, because I feel that still there is something wrong somewhere, maybe with the workers, maybe with the public, maybe with the atmosphere which is to be created, maybe with the Government staff. I do not think there is anything wrong with the principle, but I think we should find out where exactly the shoe pinches. Only for that, I am giving these illustrations. We started a match factory under the auspices of the Social Welfare Board. This was an industrial co-operative society and we enrolled nearly 500 women. We had taken much pains and this society was started. First of all, we had enrolled sympathiser members and then we had to enrol the workers, as the shareholders but as they had no money, we took one rupee as the entrance fee and some part of the share money. We found that the workers were not at all interested in being shareholders because we had to cut some money from their wages. On the contrary, we found them very much interested to have more wages. They did not feel that they should be members of the society and be the owners. In principle, it is quite good, and we tried our best to convince them but could not. This factory also proved

a failure and it pains me very much. We are trying to find out the causes of this failure. There are ever so many causes. I do not know whether the Government has gone into this question. The Central Government gives grants and I do not know how far they are repaid. The Central and State Governments should take interest in this and find out the causes. These will prove useful when such other societies are to be started.

We were also trying our best to give employment to women by using the Ambar Charkha and here also, I am afraid, we could not give the women what they expected from us. We have now started one ancillary factory in Poona. I can proudly say that we have returned the first instalment of the loan that was given to us for starting this factory. This, however, has got a special feature. This factory is run in co-operation with a big industrialist. We produce the bearings required by that factory. The raw material is obtained from them and the finished product is sold to them. We have, therefore, nothing to worry both as regards the raw materials and the finished products. We chose earlier the match industry because it forms part of the essential goods. We thought over this and said that it would prove a failure if we were to take the production of any luxury item and hence we took up the match factory. In the ancillary factory in Poona, we have to depend upon the industrialist both for the raw materials and for the disposal of the finished product. If something happens tomorrow, if they do not find the product good or if we do not accept their terms then perhaps the factory would have to close down, but for the present it is running very nicely. That is why I suggest that the atmosphere should be created. This is very important. Wherever we go, we must buy the products of co-operative societies even though the prices may be a little more. When I came here, I searched and I found a co-operative store in the President's

Estate and I am proud to say that I go there and buy things. For some, it might be a bit costly but then the atmosphere should be created to go to these co-operative stores. There are so many vested interests around these co-operative societies and the private entrepreneurs also compete. We have had to face the competition of WIMCO in the match factory enterprise. They used all possible tactics in order to put down these co-operative societies. People working under the private entrepreneurs work from morn till night, for the whole day perhaps, while in the factories run by co-operative societies, we have got rules and regulations. This is public work and being public work, it is nobody's work and in some of the societies, we have to face this also. There may be some co-operative consumers' societies, some producers' societies running successfully. Government should obtain a special report on these societies and circulate it amongst the people so that people may know how they are running successfully. This will serve as a sort of guidance to the public. There may also be societies which have failed and a report on the causes of their failure will also help. Government should find out why they have failed. These two things should be circulated for future guidance.

Then there is, what is called, red-tapism, if I am allowed to say, in the Government machinery. I was trying to organise a brick manufacturers' co-operative society. I wanted to organise the nomadic tribes. They had to come from the village to the cities and as they were nomadic, they had to approach the Social Welfare Department, the Co-operative Department, the bank, the Registrar and so on. Every time we tried, we could not find one or the other officer and these people had to come so many times and I had to accompany them. Such a lot of trouble was caused to them that they got fed up with all these things. There should not be such type of red-tapism.

[Shrimati Tara Ramachandra Sathe.] I want to suggest one or two more things. Strict auditing should take place, and the workers in the co-operative movement sometimes feel that Government does not take interest in the movement. Here I would like to suggest, if I can, that only those people who have belief in the co-operative principles should work in this Department. They, I think, will be more helpful to the public. Government and the supporters of the co-operative movement should sit together and find out the causes of the failures and the remedies and this will no doubt be helpful for us and we will be able to achieve our goal of a socialistic pattern of society through peaceful means.

Thank you.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Shri Raghunatha Reddy on the 16th August, 1963, which reads as follows:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a Committee consisting of 30 members representing both Houses of Parliament to study the present state of the co-operative movement in the country and to make recommendations to develop it as an effective instrument in the building up of a socialistic pattern of society."

This Resolution is a very important Resolution, in my opinion. We have accepted, as our goal, the socialistic pattern of society. We have also accepted the co-operative movement as one of the instruments to transform the present society into a socialistic pattern of society. It is necessary to find out whether the co-operative movement that has been working for the last so many years is working in the best interests of the country, particularly to further the objective that we have placed before

ourselves, the objective of attaining a socialistic pattern of society. On the whole the co-operative movement has done some good to the country. There are different societies dealing with different aspects of life. There are societies which are service societies which cater to the needs of the consumers and producers. There are specialised societies which deal with the produce of the agriculturists, particularly cotton, oilseeds etc. There are credit societies like the land mortgage banks which give long-term credit to the ryots, and the district banks which give short-term credit to them. The land mortgage banks on the whole have been doing very creditable work but the funds that are at the disposal of the land mortgage societies are not quite adequate to liquidate the rural debt of the agriculturists. Nearly Rs. 300 crores is the total amount that the agriculturists will have to liquidate and which they have borrowed from the moneylenders in the villages. The pace at which the land mortgage societies are working, is not quite adequate to liquidate this rural indebtedness within any foreseeable future. It would take at least fifty years or more to liquidate the rural debt. I therefore urge that more funds should be kept at the disposal of these societies.

Many a time we have received complaints that the applications for loans under the land mortgage system are not speedily disposed of. Unnecessarily a time lag of six months to one year takes place which needs to be reduced.

The rate of interest that the ryots have to pay to these land mortgage banks is very high, from 7½ to 8 per cent. Wherever this movement has succeeded in other countries, I understand that the rate of interest is about two to three per cent. Unless the rate of interest that the ryots have to pay to these land mortgage banks is reduced to two or three per

cent, it will not be of much service to the ryots.

Then, Sir, the district banks are catering to the needs of the agricultural community in the rural parts. They have been giving loans on short-term credit. In most of the cases these loans do not reach the ryots. The office-bearers of the societies misappropriate the funds for their personal use. They take the bonds from the illiterate ryots telling them that the moneys are not received from the District Central Bank and as soon as the moneys are received it will be disbursed. Unfortunately the ryots are put to loss and sometimes they are cheated by these office-bearers of these societies. It is happening because there is no proper check, no proper supervision, no proper investigation into the complaints that are made. Many a time when complaints are made against these office-bearers, either fortunately or unfortunately it so happens that most of the office-bearers of these societies happen to be persons who have some influence with the higher-up and sometimes Ministers themselves advise their subordinate officers not to proceed against these defaulters, mischief-mongers and others who are misappropriating the funds meant for the ryots. So much so, people lose faith in the very co-operative movement. I would therefore urge that the Department should be strengthened and proper investigation conducted and proper steps taken so that the faith which is now being shaken in the co-operative movement is restored.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is another aspect of this co-operative movement which would benefit the agricultural community to a great extent if it is properly organised. Regulated markets have been established in most of the places, though not in adequate number, but in these regulated markets the traditional merchants, the monopolistic interests try to dictate the rates for the produce that is brought for sale here. There are no organised co-operative societies to

compete with these merchants and many a time these merchants come to some understanding among themselves so much that the ryots, who bring their produce for sale, do not get adequate return for their produce. Often they will have to undersell their produce because they will have to keep their produce in the regulated markets sometimes for two or three days and in some cases for about a week. So, there is a great lacuna in this and unless the Government comes forward with financial assistance to some of the societies organised to buy and sell agricultural produce brought for sale to these regulated markets, it will be difficult for the ryots. These societies would require huge funds, sometimes even Rs. 10 lakhs, because in one day it may so happen that the transactions may be for more than a lakh or two. So, unless these societies are provided with huge capital, it will not be possible for them to compete with the merchants who are the agents of big cotton textile mills and oil mills.

Then there are many complaints against the functioning of the co-operative societies, particularly the service societies. We know that sugar is distributed to the people through these co-operative societies. In many cases the sugar is not at all distributed but on the other hand this sugar goes into the blackmarket and the benefit goes to the office-bearers of the societies. This means that there is no proper supervision and check. Unless the Department is strengthened, unless proper supervision is conducted, these complaints will continue to be made and people will not have faith in the co-operative movement.

Recently co-operative societies have been formed to take up manufacture of textiles and manufacture of sugar. Co-operative sugar factories have functioned very well. They have made good profit and it is in the interests of the ryots who grow sugarcane. So also, co-operative *textile* mills are being established. So this co-operative movement is going to

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.] envelop the entire fabric of our society. When the functions of the co-operative movement are so enormous, when almost all the important aspects of life are going to be covered by co-operative societies, it is necessary that we should have a probe into the working of these societies. Many a time tall claims are made by the Treasury Benches that co-operative farming societies are functioning very well, that they have established pilot co-operative farming societies and they are doing very well. There are some co-operative farming societies in Mysore State and to my knowledge, none of them is working in any effective manner. For purposes of accounting, for purposes of statistics, it is shown that they are co-operative societies but on the other hand each individual ryot will have his own accounting. For Government statistics he is considered to be a member of the co-operative farming society. Tussle goes on. The Government claims that the co-operative movement has done very well and there are critics who say that it is not working according to plans or to the satisfaction of the people concerned. So very serious doubts have been raised. It is necessary that a probe into the working of the co-operative movement should be ordered. Many a time when we say that a probe should be conducted by a Committee of Members of Parliament, the Government comes forward and says: "We have our own teams to evaluate the working of co-operative societies. So, there is no need for Members of Parliament to go into the question". May I say that the outlook of the Government officials will be entirely different from that of Members of Parliament who are representatives of millions of people? The 30-Member Committee, that has now been proposed to be appointed to make a study of the cooperative movement in the country, will be absolutely necessary in order to bring to bear the outlook of Members of Parliament, particularly of politicians, *vis-a-vis* the objective

which we want to attain, namely, the setting up of a socialistic pattern of society. How far the co-operative movement has helped to strengthen our objective in building up a socialistic pattern of society is a subject-matter to be discussed and reviewed by a Committee of Members of Parliament. If the Government thinks that a Committee of 30 Members is too big, they can bring forward an amendment to make it 15 Members. I do not think the Mover of the Resolution will have any objection. So, from this point of view, I urge that the Resolution moved by Mr. Raghu-natha Reddy be accepted by this House.

Thank you.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): Mr. Chairman, I support the Resolution moved by Shri Raghu-nath Reddy with a slight amendment. I want the number of Members of Parliament on the Committee to be reduced from 30 to 15, so that it may be smaller in size. I find no reason why anyone should oppose this Resolution and I believe the Government will accept the proposal. Now, I support the Resolution not because I feel that the co-operative movement is a panacea for all the economic evils existing in the present-day society. Nor do I feel that this movement has the inherent strength to replace capitalism. Nor will it be a substitute for socialism. But at the same time I do believe that this movement has a vital role, a decisive role to play in revitalising the rural economy of our country, *i* support the Resolution from this perspective. I admit that without a radical land reform and demolition of the social barriers that exist in the rural society today, unless these are accepted as pre-conditions, great changes may not be possible. Even after fulfilling these conditions, unless we come forward to help the agriculturists financially in their operations through the co-operatives, it would be very difficult to improve the situation.

Now, the Rural Credit Survey Committee, which looked into the entire

question in 1951 had made certain recommendations. In the drafting of our Plans, the recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee were given due weight. You know that in the First Five Year Plan it was stated that at least 50 per cent, of the villages should be brought under co-operatives. According to the Third Plan, all the villages and all the peasant families are to be brought under co-operatives. This is the perspective with which the Planning Commission has looked at the problem. What prompted them to do that was that in the Rural Credit Survey Committee's Report they have said that both through the Government and co-operative sources credits were available to peasants only to the tune of 6.4 per cent. Through co-operatives alone, it is, I think, 3:1 per cent, or so. The other sources of credit to the peasants are the original money-lenders. They have elaborately described all that. One point which they have stressed in their report is that even the co-operatives do not cater to the needs of the weaker sections of the village community. They have stated that in villages where the money-lender, the trader and the village chief function through one person, even the co-operative movement is controlled by them in many places. If they are outside the co-operative movement, they will sabotage it from outside. If they are in control of it, they will sabotage it from within. So, even the 3 per cent, credit, which had gone to the peasantry in the name of the co-operative movement, did not reach them really. So, they made it a point in their report to stress that in future we should see that the credit really goes to the weaker sections of the village community. Now, Sir, after the Report of the Rural Credit Survey Committee, we have been working for the last few years. I do not think that a proper evaluation has yet been made as to how the present-day co-operative societies are working. I agree that as far as extending facilities to a larger section of the rural population is concerned, the co-

operative movement has succeeded. My point is whether this emphasis that the Rural Credit Survey Committee had laid on taking special care to see that these facilities reach the lower sections of the community, has been properly worked out, and I do not know whether the Government have made a proper study of the whole question. With the little experience I have, I feel that after all these studies and recommendations co-operative societies are functioning in the same way as they used to do. Even today it is not proving beneficial to the really weaker sections in society. So that is why I say that when we have put up that as our perspective, there should be a body of Parliament to go and study and check up whether things are developing as we had planned them.

Another point is, even in the matter of extending the activities of the co-operatives we have not reached the target which was fixed in any of the Plans. Now they want to make it universal, but even during the First Five Year Plan or even during the Second Five Year Plan the target that was placed before the country was not reached. On an average it was estimated that Rs. 2,000 crores are needed for agricultural operations, every year, by way of credit for the peasants, of which it was calculated that Rs. 800 crores would be financed from their own earnings. The other Rs. 1,200 crores they have to get either through co-operatives or through other agencies, and this is needed for their short-term, medium term and long-term loans. For all this, of course, the Co-operative Department have laid certain plans and they have made certain studies under the leadership of the V. L. Mehta Committee, and they have really made certain concrete and helpful suggestions to improve the working of these co-operatives. But even here in spite of all the recommendations, in spite of all the studies, things are working not in the proper direction.

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] Now apart from these credit facilities, much has been said here about the processing factories like sugar factories, etc., which should go to help the peasants. I fully agree that apart from credit societies, marketing societies, processing societies, all these put together will be of great help to the peasants. But are they really serving the real agriculturists? I have heard some people speaking about the successful functioning of certain co-operative societies. I know one co-operative sugar factory. Among its members not even one per cent, are actual agriculturists. Just like a joint stock company, shares are sold, capital is raised, and they are running a proper factory. My point is that such factories should not be brought within the purview of the co-operative movement. They should be treated as ordinary joint stock companies. I will quote another example which is to be followed, and that is there is the weavers' society. There they have made it a point that among its membership at least 80 per cent, or 90 per cent, should be weavers themselves. They have made that a strict rule. If that is so, if such principles are accepted and adhered to, then these processing societies will be of immense help to the peasants. Otherwise in the name of helping the peasants some people escape the other obligations that may accrue from running a joint stock company and are taking the benefit. That should not be permitted.

Another point is, I do not feel it proper to invest the much needed money in large-scale enterprises on a co-operative basis just like running textile mills or steel plants, like that. Such ambitious schemes should be dropped. You should take into account the limited scope of the movement.

The next point is that the labour contract societies should not be brought under the purview of the co-operative movement, because I am speaking from the experience of functioning in certain societies. In a village, what is the contract you

nave? It may be Rs. 20,000 a year, and for that to organise a co-operative society is a wrong thing. At the same time, if the work is entrusted to a co-operative society that is already existing, that is another matter. But to organise a labour contract co-operative society as envisaged in the Second Plan, I find from its working in many places that it is not very helpful.

So I think that such a Committee is very helpful so that how this co-operative movement is functioning may be properly assessed from time to time and changes suggested and improvements made. So I welcome this Resolution.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, the resolution, whatever its ultimate fate may be, has done a very useful thing. It has enabled us to take interest for a few hours on a subject which is not only important but in the context of our accepted objective for our welfare state, the socialist pattern, I think, is of basic and crucial interest. The outlook, which guided the people when co-operation began in India in a formal manner almost 55 years back, was something different from what it is today. Then the objective of the movement was to help the weaker and vulnerable sections of society, largely the agriculturists.

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Therefore, you find co-operation taking the shape of credit societies, of marketing societies and things like that. Later on, with a wider vision, it was extended to labour, like the organisation of forest labour co-operative society and the rest. Then it came to industry. Recently, we have had the welcome phenomenon of numerous cooperative sugar mills being established in the country. Now, particularly in the context of our present situation, our attention has been directed to something which ought to have occupied our attention all the time. Ever since planning began, if there was one important factor or aspect which needed attention and which unhappily did not receive adequate atten-

tion, it was what you call the distributors' co-operative society or consumers' societies. Now, this subject is not something which can be easily discussed in such a short debate. It is something of a very large si:ope. Much can be said about the scope of co-operation; much can be said about the way in which it ought to be organised. My sister over there who is, if I might respectfully say so without her permission, a first class social worker with experience and sobriety, has had her very bitter experiences of co-operation at the hands of—I cannot specify, I can generalise—everybody. Whether it be amongst the people or amongst the services, people are not imbued always with adequate feelings of co-operation. She has placed before us a poigen-ant picture, a heart-rending picture of what sincere social workers feel like in some of their activities. Therefore, whereas the subject was always important from the point of view of the weaker sections of our society, it is today, to my mind, of decisive importance. Where we are going to achieve a full socialist—to my mind, socialistic appears to be a transitional one—economy, production and distribution will always be on the socialist pattern in the interest of the people. I have no doubt about it in my mind that some day we will come to a socialistic—not 'socialistic' it is a compromising word, a socialist—economy. If this is so, then co-operation is the only basis on which we can build it, whatever the difficulties. There have been numerous exceptions and instances where co-operation has succeeded. I come from a district where in every cotton-growing *taluk* co-operation has all along been a very mighty success, thanks to the organisers during the last thirty years. So far as cotton sale is concerned, there is nothing to be desired so far as that big *Taluk* is concerned, the *Gadag taluk*. But then, these things are exceptions. Now, we hear normally complaints many a time of organisers. Sometimes I cannot put the blame on the official machinery alone, |

and I have always said whenever anybody has put it to official discredit, "Well, whosoever might be in office, either my son or my relative, it comes from the people." Therefore, whenever you speak of any defect in the Government or amongst the people, there is one basic fact that whatever is among the people, is reflected in the Government. They are not imported from heavens. Exactly, the same incompetence which is among us will be directly reflected in the Government. That is the view that I have been taking. Therefore, whenever we speak about reforms in the administration or outside, we have to look at this basic factor that our people need, in certain sectors, what you call character-building, and it is particularly necessary in this field of co-operation. I would take a very small example. Nothing is more patent than the fact that ultimately, the consumers' co-operative society is the only answer. But many of our consumers would like to have things on credit. It is beyond their means to give cash. Therefore, at many places, consumers' co-operative societies cannot be a success because the consumer does not have his convenience served. But if the consumer co-operatiive society can give things on credit, well, it serves the purpose, but does not serve co-operation. Therefore, to my mind, just as this is a crucial movement, a basic movement, to the same extent, it is also a movement which requires full popular co-operation. Today, happily for us we are living under the aegis of a Government whose economic objectives are well directed and which we can call our own. But in that sense of things, it is not merely the election that leads to the formation of our Government. It is a Government which must invite our co-operation, which must deserve our cooperation and to which we must give willing co-operation, and it is only then that a movement like the; co-operative movement can succeed.

Now, we all know what a mighty progress it has made. As against

[Shri D. P. Karmarkar] only 2,000 societies that were started in the first, about fifty-five years ago, we have got now something more than three lakhs of societies with a membership of three crores and with a working capital of more than a thousand crores of rupees. Now it has grown to big dimensions. And I certainly feel that in a matter of this kind, I would say that introspection is the soundest policy. It is very obvious. I need not carry coal to Newcastle. My friend has been a full co-operator in the sense that he has understood the meaning of co-operation of the people. I must congratulate him upon the extent to which he has gone. He has been holding seminars for officials, seminars for candidates. And I am proud to read of seminars for Members of Parliament and Members of Assemblies and things like that. Though officially, technically, he will oppose the Resolution—I have no doubt about that in my mind—I would plead with him not to apply the normal outlook that any Resolution coming forward, if it does not suit them, should be opposed, but to spend a little time in introspecting over this Resolution.

Now, I am not at all for this typical Resolution—30 Members of Parliament, 15 and 15 or 10 and 20, whatever the proprieties may require,—to go into the matter. No doubt this Parliament has the supreme control. It can bring in a government, it can throw out a government. But it is not as if for every thing, important or otherwise, there ought to be a purely Parliamentarians' Committee. It is not as if this subject does not deserve a review, as in my mind it does deserve a review. Government have not lost anything by sound advice, by a review by experts. Therefore, while I would oppose this Resolution as it stands, I would say that the time has really come when we need to go into this basic question because ultimately we have always found in Government and outside Government that a correct introspection does good, and it is there that

the dole of an Opposition Member becomes very serviceable because more facts go to him than they come to us. The other day some people had come to me by mistake. They did not know that I was a Congress "member and it took about 20 minutes for those gentlemen from Gaziabad to realise that and then they asked me, "Well, Sir, Mr. Vajpayee is not there. Which is Mr. Vajpayee's residence?" I mean to say that they thought that it was a more congenial soil for their activities rather than mine.

Therefore, Sir, in a matter like this, it is not a question of doubt. If my house is infested with plague, it is in my interest to see as to how many rats are there and how to do away with them. Therefore, I would plead with the Minister, instead of giving his formal opposition to this Resolution, to think over this matter as early as possible because public opinion is very critical. We, from this side of the House, may not say anything. I myself was cognisant of this thing. Recently a directive, an advice came from the Central Government to organise consumers' co-operative societies. It came to the State Governments. The State Governments sent it to the district officers. There was an officer for each division, and he ran i helter-skelter to public-minded people to say, "If before the 28th February I am not able to organise the consumers' co-operative society for the people, I will lose my job." That is not how things are done. No doubt the job does not stand in jeopardy but he will be censured, "Why did you not do it?" Therefore, for paper's sake, you must organise, you must show results. It is a difficult thing. Things are so urgent that we have to go fast. Especially at such a time, any failure is going to bring great discredit to us. Any failure in organising a simple consumers' cooperative society in any district is going to cause greater damage to the Government and to public activities, even more than the failure of a big concern. If a steel plant fails, it

takes two years for us to know that. But if a consumers' co-operative society which is supposed to serve the people fails, it will be very bad. Therefore, it is that the success of the co-operative movement will always depend upon the co-operation we in this House can give and those whom we represent can give. It is not a mere bureaucratic machine that can build a bridge or a barrage or anything. But if a movement like this is to succeed, we have to give our fullest co-operation to the Minister, to the Ministry of Co-operation and to all the co-operative agencies.

While formally opposing this Resolution, I sympathise with the objective—if that is the objective—saying that the time has now come to make it an effective instrument. Of course, the Reserve Bank publications are there, wonderful publications, which we could read with profit. They give a review, sometimes what you call an advisory review also. The Reserve Bank in this matter has done yeoman service by way of giving us very nice studies. Their publications make things amply clear. But then they are not sufficient. Here you have to go to the hearts of the people. Therefore, we have to devise means. Seminars simply would not do; lectures simply would not do; simply moving about would not do. But what is necessary is what I would call a thorough, scientific study of the problem by a small committee including the best amongst us in co-operation. I would like to have a non-official of eminent international status, a non-official who could not be biased in favour of the Government, to be the chairman. Let members distinguished in the field of co-operation as also Members of Parliament be there. It may be, say, a small committee of nine Members which may be asked to report. May be it may take a year or two, a year for study and it may give us concretely not as to whether this movement is necessary—that is a past thing—but low this movement could be definitely

developed with the idea of developing a socialist pattern of society. Thank you very much.

شہدہ پیارے لال کپیل مدظلہ العالی -

(اگر پڑھیں) : جناب والا -
میں زیادہ وقت نہیں
لوں گا - اپنے ذاتی تجربہ کی بنا پر
میں چند باتیں اس سदन کے سامنے
دکھوں گا - ابھی ہمارے سابق منسٹر
صاحب نے اور آرہیل ممبر صاحب
نے یہ کہا ہے کہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹی
کی بڑی بھاری اہمیت ہے اور وہ اس
بنا پر اس قرارداد کی مخالفت کر
رہے ہیں کہ یہ ضروری نہیں ہے کہ
پارلیمنٹری کمیٹی بنائی جائے اور ہر
چھوٹے کام کے لئے ایسی کمیٹی بنائی
جائے جو انکوائری کرے - مگر
میں اس سदन کو آپ کے ذریعہ سے
بتا دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارا دیس
ایک غریب دیس ہے جہاں کہ زیادہ
تر آبادی جو ہے وہ غریب لوگوں پر
مستمل ہے اور خاص کر چوتھائی
آبادی ایسی ہے جو یہاں کے سماج
کے انہماچاروں کے نیچے دبے ہوئی ہے -
جن کو ہم اچھوت کہتے ہیں -
شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کہتے ہیں شیڈولڈ
ٹریبڈ کہتے ہیں اور ایسے ہی بہت
سے دوسرے لوگ ہیں - پچاس سال
ہو گئے ۵۵ سال ہو گئے مگر ہماری
اس کوآپریٹو تحریک کو اتنی کامیابی
نہیں ملی جتنی کہ ملنی چاہیئے
خاص کر اس غریب دیس کے اندر -

[شری پیارے لال کرپل : طالبہ]

(THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair)

یہاں پر بہت سی سوسائٹیز ہیں - کلزیومر سوسائٹیز ہیں انڈسٹریل سوسائٹیز ہیں مارکیٹنگ سوسائٹیز ہیں اور ان کے علاوہ بینکنگ اینڈ کریڈٹ سوسائٹیز ہیں سروس سوسائٹیز ہیں اور ہر प्रकार کی سوسائٹیز اس دیش کے اندر ہیں - مگر ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ ان سوسائٹیز کو جتنی کامیابی ملنی چاہئے تھی وہ ملی نہیں - اس کی کیا وجہ ہے ؟ جب کہ یہ غریب دیش ہے اور ہماری اس تحریک کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ یہاں کے گروے ہوئے جو لوگ ہیں یہاں کے غریب لوگ جو ہیں جن کی تعداد بہت زیادہ ہے ان کو فائدہ پہونچایا جائے تو ان لوگوں کو فائدہ کیوں نہیں پہونچتا - یہ ایک بہت اہم سوال ہے اور اس کی اتنی زیادہ اہمیت ہے کہ ہماری پارلیمنٹ کی ایک کمیٹی بننی چاہئے جو یہ پتہ لگائے کہ کیا وجہ ہے کہ اس تحریک کو اتنی کامیابی نہیں ملنی جتنی کہ ملنی چاہئے - اس کی بہت سی وجوہات ہیں - ہم تو چاہتے ہیں کہ اس تحریک کو زندگی کے ہر شعبہ میں لانا چاہئے اور اس تحریک کو ترقی ہونی چاہئے اور ہر طریقہ سے اس کو پیچ کرنے کی ضرورت ہے اور ہر جگہ پر یعنی گاؤں گاؤں میں ایسی سوسائٹیز بنا کی ضرورت ہے تاکہ عوام اور غریب لوگ

اس سے فائدہ اٹھا سکیں - ہم اس دیش میں سماج واد لانا چاہتے ہیں سوشلسٹک پیٹرن آف سوسائٹی بنانا چاہتے ہیں اس کے مد نظر بھی یہ ضروری ہے کہ ہم اس تحریک کو آگے لے جائیں اور اس کو بڑھائیں اور یہ معلوم کریں اور پتہ لگانے کی کوشش کریں کہ یہ تحریک کامیاب کیوں نہیں ہوئی اب تک - اس کی چند وجہیں ہیں - سب سے پہلی وجہ یہ ہے کہ جو سوسائٹی کے بنانے والے ہیں وہ کچھ کلچر آدمی کچھ چالاک قسم کے آدمی اور کچھ چار سو بیس قسم کے آدمی ہوتے ہیں - وہ چند غریب آدمیوں کو لے کر ایک سوسائٹی کی بنیاد رکھتے ہیں اور کچھ بڑے آدمیوں سے اور ڈپارٹمنٹ کے آدمیوں سے مل کر اس کو قائم کرتے ہیں - ان کے ایمر اینڈ آبجیکٹس یہ ہوتے ہیں کہ ہم غریب آدمیوں کو فائدہ پہونچائیں مگر وہ چند آدمی جن کو آفس بیورس کہہ سکتے ہیں یا جو سوسائٹی کو چلانے والے ہیں وہی زیادہ فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں - اس طرح کروڑوں اور لاکھوں روپیہ غریبوں کے نام پر ویسٹ ہوتا ہے اور صرف چند آدمیوں کی جیب میں جاتا ہے - یہ ایک حقیقت ہے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس سدن کا ہر آدمی اس اصلاح کو اچھی طرح جانتا ہے - ایک تو یہ چہیز دیکھنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ جن لوگوں کے لئے سوسائٹی بنانی طارہی ہے وہ اس سے فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں

یا نہیں - اور آفس بئرس میں ان لوگوں کی نمائندگی ہے یا نہیں یا صرف چند آدمی اس سے فائدہ اٹھانے کی نیت رکھتے ہیں - گورنمنٹ کو اس طرف زیادہ دھیان دینے کی ضرورت ہے اس کے علاوہ ان سوسائٹیز کو ہی مالی امداد دی جائے جن کا کنٹرول غریب آدمیوں کے ہاتھ میں ہو اچھوتوں کے ہاتھ میں ہو کسانوں کے ہاتھ میں ہو مزدوروں کے ہاتھ میں ہو مگر ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ صرف چند آدمی ان سوسائٹیز سے فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں -

ہماری کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز کی نا کامیابی کی دوسری وجہ یہ ہے کہ ان ڈیوانڈرفریلنس ہماری سوسائٹیز کے اندر ہوتا ہے کچھ سرکاری لوگوں کی طرف سے - بڑے افسروں کی طرف سے نہیں کیوں کہ وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز کامیاب ہوں - مگر یہ جو سپروائزر ہیں انسپکٹر ہیں یہ ذرا ذرا سی بات پر دخل دیتے ہیں ذرا ذرا سی بات پر سوسائٹی کے آفس بئرس کو تنگ کرتے ہیں پریشان کرتے ہیں اور یہ امید رکھتے ہیں میں ذاتی تجربہ کی بنا کہہ رہا ہوں کہ کچھ رویہ ان کی جانب میں جائے اور یہ اس سے ناجائز طور پر فائدہ اٹھائیں - بہت سی ناجائز طور پر کاروائیاں ہوتی ہیں اینگولرٹونز ہوتی ہیں اور ان کو

یہ چھپاتے ہیں اس لئے کہ سوسائٹی کے جو آفس بئرس ہیں ان کی طرف سے ان کو کچھ رویہ ملتا ہے - بعض اوقات سوسائٹی کے ممبرس جو ہیں یا آفس بئرس جو ہیں وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ ہم ان پیٹی افسروں کے متعلق سپروائزر اور انسپکٹر کے متعلق شکایتیں بھیجتے ہیں اور وہ بھیجتے بھی ہیں - میں ذاتی تجربہ کی بنا پر کئی سوسائٹیوں کے متعلق جانتا ہوں کہ وہاں سے شکایتیں جاتی ہیں مگر ڈیوانڈرفریلنس میں یہ ہوتا ہے کہ جو انسپکٹر نے لکھ دیا یا جو سپروائزر نے لکھ دیا وہ پتھر پر لکھ ہے اور اوپر سے لے کر نیچے تک سب آفیسرس ڈیٹو کرتے چلے جاتے ہیں کہ سپروائزر جو کہتا ہے وہ صحیح ہے انسپکٹر جو کہتا ہے وہ صحیح ہے - یہ کیا ہے - آپ بات بھی نہیں سنتے ہیں - آفس بئرس جاتے ہیں عام لوگ جاتے ہیں - شکایتیں کرتے ہیں - خط بھیجتے ہیں - بڑے بڑے افسروں تک پہنچتے ہیں مگر وہ شکایتیں دور نہیں ہوتیں - ہمارے یہ جو چھوٹے چھوٹے پیٹی آفیشیلس ہیں سوسائٹیاں بناتے ہیں اور سوسائٹیوں کی ناکامیابی کا کارن بھی یہی پیٹی آفیشیلس ہوتے ہیں - یہی ان کو ناکامیاب کرتے ہیں اور ان کی شکایتیں بڑے افسروں تک نہیں

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ]

پہنچ پاتی ہیں۔ اس طرح سے اوپر سے بھی انٹرفرنس ہے۔ منسٹروں کی طرف سے بڑے بڑے افسروں کی طرف سے۔ جن میں وہ پرسنلی انٹرسٹڈ ہیں ان کو وہ زیادہ سے زیادہ لون دلا دیتے ہیں تاکہ جو پارتی کے آدمی ہیں یا جن سے وہ کلنگٹڈ ہیں ان کو زیادہ سے زیادہ فائدہ پہنچ سکے۔ تو وہ بھی انٹرفیر کرتے ہیں اور وہ بھی عوام کی اور جنتنا کی شکایتیں پر غور نہیں کرتے۔

ایک رورل کمیڈٹ سروس رپورٹ ہے جو بڑی امپورٹنٹ رپورٹ ہے اور اس کی بہت اہمیت ہے۔ ۱۹۵۱ء میں شاید میرے خیال میں وہ رپورٹ آئی تھی جس میں ایک بات کی طرف خاص طور پر دھیان دیا گیا تھا اور پیپروں میں بھی آیا تھا کہ اس ذات بات کی لغت کی وجہ سے یہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز دیہاتوں میں کامیاب نہیں ہو پاتی ہیں۔ چھوڑ چھوڑ کی وجہ سے ہر شعبہ میں اور ہر اسفیر آف ایکٹیویٹی میں چھوڑ چھوڑ کا بول بالا ہے اور جب تک یہ چھوڑ چھوڑ دور نہیں ہوتی، تب تک کسی حالت میں کامیابی یہ کوآپریٹو سوسائٹیز خاص طور پر دیہاتوں میں کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتی ہیں۔ اس کا کوئی طریقہ نکالا جائے

کہ ان سوسائٹیز میں غریب آدمیوں کا اور چھوڑ چھوڑ سے دے ہوئے آدمیوں کا رپوزیشننگ تو بلکہ ان سوسائٹیز کا کنٹرول ان لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں ہو اور یہ لوگ ان پر کافی اثر اور اقتدار رکھیں۔ تو اس رپورٹ میں خاص طور پر اس بات کی طرف توجہ دلائی گئی ہے کہ چھوڑ چھوڑ اور اونچ نیچ کی بھاونہ جو ہے وہ ہمارے اس کوآپریٹو مومنت کو کامیاب نہیں ہونے دیتی۔ سب سے پہلے جب کوآپریٹو سوسائٹی بنانے کی تحریک اس دیہ میں چلی پچاس ساٹھ سال پہلے تو اس وقت یہ کہا گیا تھا کہ غریب لوگوں کو اس سے فائدہ پہنچے گا خاص طور پر ایگریکلچرل سوسائٹی یعنی کسان لیڈ لیس لبررز کو کہوں کہ آپ دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہمارے کسان اور ہمارے کھیتبھر مردور قرضہ کے نیچے کٹتے دے ہوئے ہیں کتنا ساہو کار ان پر انہماچار کرتے ہیں اور کتنا ساہو کار ان کو پریشان کرتے ہیں۔ ذرا سا قرضہ لے کر اگر کوئی اپنا کھیت بوتا ہے یا کاشت کاری کرتا ہے یا کوئی مزدور شادی بیاہ میں تھوڑا سا ضلع لے لیتا ہے یا کوئی آدمی اپنے روبرو کو چلانے کے لئے قرضہ لے لیتا ہے وہ ان ساہوکاروں کے نیچے سے زندگی بھر کے لئے چھٹکارا حاصل نہیں کر سکتا۔ تو سب سے پہلا کام یہ ہونا چاہئے کہ ان غریب لوگوں کے لئے یہ سوسائٹیاں بنیں اور ان غریب لوگوں کو قرضہ دیا جائے اور وہ بھی بالکل برائے

تاریخ پر دیا جائے - ہماری ویلنڈر
ہے - ہمارا ارادہ یہ ہے کہ
ویلنڈر اسٹیٹ بنے تو ہم کیوں
نہ ان غریب آدمیوں کو جو کہ اس
اتر یاچار نے نیچے دیے ہوئے
ہیں وہ طرح سے فائدہ پہنچائیں -
تو میں یہ چاہوں گا کہ پرزور
طریقہ سے درخواست کروں گا اور تائید
کروں گا اس ریزولیشن کی کہ پارلیمنٹ
کی ایک کمیٹی بنے اور وہ اس
مسئلہ پر غور کرے کہ کیا کارن ہے
کہ ہمارا یہ کوآپریٹو مومنٹ اس
دیکھنے کے اندر کامیاب نہیں ہوا -
جب تک ایسا نہیں ہوگا تب تک
ہمارا یہ کوآپریٹو مومنٹ کامیاب
نہیں ہو سکتا - اصلی وجہ معلوم کرنے
کی کوشش کی جائے کہ کیوں یہ
کوآپریٹو مومنٹ اس دیکھنے کے اندر
کامیاب نہیں ہو رہا ہے اور اس
مومنٹ کے واسطے میں جو رکاوٹیں
ہیں ان کو دور کرنے کی کوشش کی
جائے - جو بیشک رکاوٹیں ہیں جو
بنیادی رکاوٹیں ہیں جو چھاپھوٹ
کی رکاوٹیں ہیں اور سماج کے اندر جو
اور تروتھیاں ہیں جیسے ہم دو تین
آدمی بھی اکٹھا نہیں بیٹھ سکتے
ہیں اور اکٹھا بیٹھ کر کوئی کام نہیں
کر سکتے ہیں ایسی چیزوں کو دور
کیا جائے - اس کے ساتھ انڈسٹریل
سوسائٹیاں جو بنیں چند لوگ ہی
اس سے فائدہ نہ اٹھائیں اور
اپنے بھی کارخانے اور مل نہ کھولیں

بلکہ یہ سوسائٹیاں عام لوگوں نے
ہاتھ میں ہونی چاہئیں غریب
آدمیوں کے ہاتھ میں ہونی چاہئیں
اور اس سے غریب آدمیوں کو فائدہ
ہونا چاہئے - یہ نہیں ہو کہ بڑی
بڑی ملیں کوآپریٹو کے نام پر کھول
لی جائیں بڑے بڑے کارخانے کوآپریٹو
کے نام پر کھول لئے جائیں
ایسا نہیں ہونا چاہئے -
اس دیکھنے کے غریب آدمیوں کو دیکھ کر
کمزور آدمیوں کو دیکھ کر یہ تھوڑا
چلائی گئی تھی تو انہیں لوگوں کو
اس سے زیادہ سے زیادہ فائدہ پہنچانا
چاہئے اور اس کا جو مقصد بنیادی
ہے وہ پورا ہونا چاہئے -

میں زیادہ نہ کہتے ہوئے پرزور
الفاظ میں اس ایوان سے درخواست
کروں گا کہ وہ اس قرارداد کی اس
ریزولیشن کی تائید کرے اور آپ کے ذریعہ
سے گورنمنٹ سے بھی میری پرزور
درخواست ہے کہ وہ اس ریزولیشن کو
منظور کرے ایکسیپیٹ کرے تاکہ یہ
کوآپریٹو تحریک جو کہ بہت اہمیت
رکھتی ہے اور جس کا اس دیکھنے کے
اندر بہت اہم رول ہے وہ کامیاب ہو -
شکریہ -

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब'
(उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनावेवाला, मैं ज्यादा
वक्त नहीं लूंगा। अपने जाती तजुब की बिना

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तार्लिव']

पर मैं चन्द बातें इस सदन के सामने रखूंगा। अभी हमारे साबिक मिनिस्टर साहब ने और आनरेबिल मैम्बर साहब ने यह कहा है कि कोआपरेटिव सोसायटी की बड़ी भारी अहमियत है और वह इस बिना पर इस करार-दाद की मुखालफत कर रहे हैं कि यह जरूरी नहीं है कि पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी बनाई जाये और हर छोटे काम के लिये ऐसी कमेटी बनाई जाये जो इन्क्वायरी करे। मगर मैं इस सदन को आप के जरिये से बताना चाहता हूं कि हमारा देश एक गरीब देश है जहां कि ज्यादातर आबादी जो है वह गरीब लोगों पर मुश्तमिल है और खास कर चौथाई आबादी ऐसी है जो यहां के समाज के अत्याचारों के नीचे दबी हुई है, जिन को हम अछूत कहते हैं, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कहते हैं, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब कहते हैं और ऐसे ही बहुत से दूसरे लोग हैं। पचास साल हो गये, पचपन साल हो गये, मगर हमारी इस कोआपरेटिव तहरीक को इतनी कामयाबी नहीं मिली, जितनी कि मिलनी चाहिये, खास कर इस गरीब देश के अन्दर।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

यहां पर बहुत सी सोसायटीज हैं। कन्ज्यूमर्स सोसायटीज हैं, इंडस्ट्रियल सोसायटीज हैं, मार्केटिंग सोसायटीज हैं और इन के अलावा बैंकिंग एण्ड क्रेडिट सोसायटीज हैं, सर्विस सोसायटीज हैं, और हर प्रकार की सोसायटीज इस देश के अन्दर हैं। मगर हम देखते हैं कि इन सोसायटीज को जितनी कामयाबी मिलनी चाहिये थो वह नहीं मिली। इस की क्या वजह है? जब कि यह गरीब देश है और हमारी इस तहरीक का मकसद यह था कि यहां के गिरे हुए जो लोग हैं, यहां के गरीब लोग जो हैं जिनकी तायदाद बहुत ज्यादा है, उनको फायदा पहुंचाया जाये, तो उन लोगों को फायदा क्यों नहीं पहुंचा। यह एक बहुत अहम सवाल है। और इस की इतनी ज्यादा अहमियत है कि हमारे पार्लियामेंट की एक कमेटी बननी चाहिये जो यह पता लगाये कि

क्या वजह है कि तहरीक को इतनी कामयाबी नहीं मिली, जितनी कि मिलनी चाहिये। इसकी बहुत सी वजहें हैं। हम तो चाहते हैं कि इस तहरीक को जिन्दगी के हर शोबे में लाना चाहिये और इस तहरीक की तरक्की होनी चाहिये और हर तरीके से इसको इन्क्रेज करने की जरूरत है और हर जगह पर, यानी गांव-गांव में ऐसी सोसायटीज बनाने की जरूरत है ताकि अबाम और गरीब लोग इस से फायदा उठा सकें। हम इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसायटी बनाना चाहते हैं, इस के मद्देनजर भी यह जरूरी है कि हम इस तहरीक को आगे ले जायें और इस को बढ़ायें और यह मालूम करें और पता लगाने की कोशिश करें कि यह तहरीक कामयाब क्यों नहीं हुई अब तक। इस की चन्द वजहें हैं। सबसे पहली वजह यह है कि जो सोसायटी के बनाने वाले हैं वे कुछ क्लेवर आदमी, कुछ चालाक किस्म के आदमी और कुछ ४२० किस्म के आदमी होते हैं। वह चन्द गरीब आदमियों को लेकर एक सोसायटी की बुनियाद रखते हैं और कुछ बड़े आदमियों से और डिपार्टमेंट के आदमियों से मिल कर इस को कायम करते हैं। इन के एम्स एण्ड आबजैक्ट्स यह होते हैं कि हम गरीब आदमियों को फायदा पहुंचायें मगर वह चन्द आदमी जिन को आफिस बियर्स कह सकते हैं या जो सोसायटी को चलाने वाले हैं वही ज्यादा फायदा उठाते हैं। इस तरह करोड़ों और लाखों रुपया गरीबों के नाम पर वेस्ट होता है और सिर्फ चन्द आदमियों की जेब में जाता है। यह एक हकीकत है। मैं कहता हूं कि इस सदन का हर आदमी इस असलियत को अच्छी तरह जानता है। एक तो यह चीज देखने की जरूरत है कि जिन लोगों के लिये सोसायटी बनाई जा रही है वे इस से फायदा उठाते हैं या नहीं। और आफिस बियर्स में इन लोगों की नुमाइन्दगी है या नहीं या सिर्फ चन्द आदमी इस से फायदा उठाने की नीयत रखते हैं। गवर्नमेंट को इस

तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। इस के अलावा उन सोसायटीज को ही माली इमदाद दी जाये जिन का कन्ट्रोल गरीब आदमियों के हाथ में हो, अछूतों के हाथ में हो, किसानों के हाथ में हो, मजदूरों के हाथ में हो, मगर हम देखते हैं कि सिर्फ चन्द आदमी इन सोसायटी से फायदा उठाते हैं।

हमारी कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज की नाकामयाबी की दूसरी वज यह है कि अनड्यू इंटरफियरेंस हमारी सोसायटीज के अन्दर होता है कुछ सरकारी लोगों की तरफ से। बड़े अफसरों की तरफ से नहीं क्योंकि व चाहते हैं कि कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज कामयाब हों। मगर य जो सुपरवाइजर हैं, इन्स्पेक्टर हैं, ये जरा जरा सी बात पर दखल देते हैं, जरा जरा सी बात पर सोसायटी के आफिस बियरर्स को तंग करते हैं, परेशान करते हैं और यह उम्मीद रखते हैं—मैं जाती तजुबों की बिना पर कह रहा हूँ—कि कुछ रुपया उन की जेब में जाय और वे उस से नाजायज तौर पर फायदा उठावें। बहुत सी नाजायज तौर पर कार्यवाहियां होती हैं। इररेगुलरटीज होती हैं और इनको यह छुपाते हैं इसलिये कि सोसायटी के जो आफिस बियरर्स हैं, उनकी तरफ से उनको कुछ रुपया मिलता है। बाजअकात सोसायटी के मेम्बर जो हैं या आफिस बियरर्स जो हैं व चाहते हैं कि हम इन पेटी अफेयर्स के मुताल्लिक, सुपरवाइजर और इन्स्पेक्टर के मुताल्लिक शिकायतें भेजें और वह भेजते भी हैं। मैं जाती तजुबों की बिना पर कई सोसायटियों के मुताल्लिक जानता हूँ कि वहां से शिकायतें जाती हैं, मगर डिपार्टमेंट में यह होता है कि जो इन्स्पेक्टर ने लिख दिया या जो सुपरवाइजर ने लिख दिया वह पत्थर पर लकीर है और ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक सब आफिसर्स डिटो करते चले जाते हैं कि सुपरवाइजर जो कहता है वह सही है, इन्स्पेक्टर जो कहता है व सही है। यह क्या है? आप बात भी नहीं सुनते हैं। आफिस बियरर्स जाते हैं, आम लोग जाते हैं, शिकायतें

करते हैं, खत भेजते हैं, बड़े बड़े अफसरों तक पहुंचते हैं मगर वह शिकायतें दूर नहीं होतीं। हमारे ये जो छोटे छोटे पेटी आफिशियल्स हैं, सोसायटियां बनाते हैं और सोसायटी की नाकामयाबी का कारण भी यही पेटी आफिशियल्स होते हैं। यही उनको नाकामयाब करते हैं और उन की शिकायतें बड़े अफसरों तक नहीं पहुंच पाती हैं। इसी तरह से ऊपर से भी इंटरफियरेंस है मिनिस्ट्रों की तरफ से, बड़े बड़े अफसरों की तरफ से, जिनमें व पर्सनली इंटरस्टेड हैं, उनको वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोन दिला देते हैं ताकि जो पार्टी के आदमी हैं या जिन से व कनैक्टेड हैं, उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा पहुंच सके। तो वह भी इंटरफियर करते हैं और वह भी अबाम की और जनता की शिकायतों पर गौर नहीं करते।

एक रूरल क्रेडिट सर्वे रिपोर्ट है जो बड़ी इम्पार्टेंट रिपोर्ट है और इस की बड़ी अहमियत है। १९५१ ईस्वी में शायद मेरे ह्याल में वह रिपोर्ट आई थी, जिसमें एक बात की तरफ खास तौर पर ध्यान दिया गया था और पेपर्स में भी आया था कि इस जाति-पात की लानत की वज से ये कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज देहातों में कामयाब नहीं हो पाती हैं। छुआछूत की वजह से र शोबे में और हर स्फियर आफ एक्टिविटी में छुआछूत का बोल बाला है और जब तक यह छुआछूत दूर नहीं होगी तब तक किसी हालत में हमारी ये कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज खास तौर पर देहातों में कामयाब नहीं हो सकती हैं। इस का कोई तरीका निकाला जाये कि इन सोसायटीज में गरीब आदमियों का और छुआछूत से दबे हुए आदमियों का रिप्रजेंटेशन हो, बल्कि उन सोसायटीज का कन्ट्रोल इन लोगों के हाथ में हो और ये लोग उन पर काफी असर और इक्तर रखें। तो इस रिपोर्ट में खास तौर पर इस बात की तरफ तबज्जह दिलाई गई है कि छुआछूत और ऊंच-नीच की भावना

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब']

जो है, वह हमारे इस कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट को कामयाब नहीं होने देती। सब से पहले जब कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी बनाने की तहरीक इस देश में चली, पचास-साठ साल पहले तो उस वक्त यह कहा गया था कि गरीब लोगों को इस से फायदा पहुंचेगा, खास तौर पर एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट यानी किसान, लैंडलैस लेबरर्स को क्योंकि आप देखते हैं कि हमारे किसान और हमारे खेतिहर मजदूर कर्जों के नीचे कितने दबे हुए हैं, कितना साहूकार उन पर अत्याचार करते हैं और कितना साहूकार उनको परेशान करते हैं। जरा सा कर्जा लेकर अगर कोई अपना खेत बोता है या काश्तकारी करता है या कोई मजदूर शादी-ब्याह में थोड़ा सा कर्जा ले लेता है या कोई आदमी अपने कारोबार को चलाने के लिये कर्जा ले लेता है, तो वह इन साहूकारों के पंजे से जिन्दगी भर के लिये छुटकारा हासिल नहीं कर सकता। तो सबसे पला काम यह होना चाहिये कि इन गरीब लोगों के लिये ये सोसायटियां बनें और इन गरीब लोगों को कर्जा दिया जाय और वह भी बिल्कुल बराय नाम सूद पर दिया जाय। हमारी वेलफेयर स्टेट है। हमारा इरादा यह है कि हमारी वेलफेयर स्टेट बने तो हम क्यों न उन गरीब आदमियों को, जो कि इस अत्याचार के नीचे दबे हुए हैं, हर तरह से फायदा पहुंचाएँ।

तो मैं यह चाहूंगा और पुरजोर तरीके से दख्खास्त करूंगा और ताईद करूंगा, इस रेजोल्यूशन की कि पार्लियामेंट की एक कमेटी बने और वह इस मसले पर गौर करे कि क्या कारण है कि हमारा यह कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट इस देश के अन्दर कामयाब नहीं हुआ। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा, तब तक हमारा यह कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट कामयाब नहीं हो सकता। असली वजह मालूम करने की कोशिश की जाये कि क्यों यह कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेन्ट इस

देश के अन्दर कामयाब नहीं हो रहा है और इस मूवमेन्ट के रास्ते में जो रुकावटें हैं उनको दूर करने की कोशिश की जाये। जो बेसिक रुकावटें हैं, जो बुनियादी रुकावटें हैं, जो छुआछूत की रुकावटें हैं और समाज के अन्दर जो और त्रुटियां हैं, जैसे हम दो तीन आदमी भी इकट्ठे नहीं बैठ सकते हैं और इकट्ठा बैठ कर कोई काम नहीं कर सकते हैं, ऐसी चीजों को दूर किया जाये और इसके साथ इंडस्ट्रियल सोसाइटियां जो बनें चन्द लोग ही उससे फायदा न उठाएँ और अपने निजी कारखाने और मिल न खोलें। बल्कि ये सोसाइटियां आम लोगों के हाथ में होनी चाहियें और इससे गरीब आदमियों को फायदा होना चाहिये। यह नहीं हो कि बड़ी बड़ी मिलें कोऑपरेटिव के नाम पर खोल ली जायें। बड़े बड़े कारखाने कोऑपरेटिव के नाम पर खोल लिये जायें, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। इस देश के गरीब आदमियों को देख कर, कमजोर आदमियों को देख कर यह तहरीक चलाई गई थी तो उन्हीं लोगों को इससे ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा पहुंचाना चाहिये और इसका जो बुनियादी मकसद है वह पूरा होना चाहिये।

मैं ज्यादा न कहते हुए पुरजोर अल्फाज में इस एवान से दख्खास्त करूंगा कि वह इस करारदाद को, इस रेजोल्यूशन को ताईद करें और आपके जरिये गवर्नमेंट से भी मेरी पुरजोर दख्खास्त है कि वह इस रेजोल्यूशन को मंजूर करे, एक्सेप्ट करे ताकि यह कोऑपरेटिव तहरीक जो कि बहुत अहमियत रखती है और जिसका इस देश के अन्दर बहुत अहम रोल है वह कामयाब हो। [शुक्रिया।]

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION (SHRI S. K. DEY) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am deeply grateful to the hon. Member, Shri Raghunatha Reddy, for moving this Resolution in the House. Co-operation, as we have claimed throughout, is a movement of the people for their economic uplift. If it is to be a movement of the people

pie, it is imperative that the people's representatives have a vital say in its growth, and if there is a Ministry, that Ministry has the unqualified support of the people's representatives in furthering this people's movement. There can be no better way for a Ministry such as ours to receive a mandate than through free and frank discussion such as the one we have just had. I am grateful to the hon. Member who has moved the Resolution and also to my other friends who have participated in it. I have no doubt that co-operative movement will get a further push in a significant way from the discussion that has taken place and by the time I conclude what I have to say, it will be quite clear to the House. Before I begin answering some of the comments that have been made I think it will be quite appropriate, Madam, if I quote for the benefit of hon. Members some significant figures relating to the progress that co-operation has made over a period of ten years. These figures by themselves will answer many of the comments that have been made in this House.

Madam, the number of primary agricultural societies in 1950-51 was 1,04,998. By 1961-62 we had 2,14,942 societies. The membership during this period has increased from about 44 lakhs to 195 lakhs. The paid-up share capital has gone up from 7-61 crores of rupees to 68-61 crores of rupees. The loans advanced have gone up from Rs. 22-9 crores to Rs. 228 crores. The Third Plan target is about Rs. 550 crores including long-term, short-term and medium-term loans. In regard to co-operative banks Central banks, the paid-up share capital during this period of ten years from 1950-51 to 1961-62 has gone up from Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 47-64 crores, reserves from Rs. 4-79 crores to Rs. 14-12 crores, deposits from Rs. 37-79 crores to Rs. 124-36 crores, the loans advanced from Rs. 8283 crores to Rs. 382 crores. In regard to the State co-operative banks, the paid-up share capital has increased during this period from Rs. 1-58 crores to Rs. 21 '27

crores, reserves from Rs. 2-22 crores to Rs. 7-62 crores, deposits from Rs. 2208 crores to Rs. 8132 crores, the loans advanced from Rs. 42-13 crores to Rs. 25629 crores. In regard to marketing which has been a big feature of the co-operative movement the figure for the year 1950-51 was about Rs. 60 crores. It has risen to about Rs. 180 crores by the end of 1961-62 and the target by the end of the Third Plan is approximately Rs. 360 crores. In regard to processing societies, although we have just made a beginning, just started, even then there is not an insignificant progress already registered. There are 5,555 processing societies, including marketing societies, which are undertaking processing activities. The membership is approximately 3'17 lakhs. Then, Madam, co-operative sugar factories have also made a significant progress. Fifty-seven co-operative units have been licensed, of which about 40 units are already working. The sugar production in the year 1961-62 was 4-7 lakh metric tones which represented about 17-7 per cent, of the total sugar production. The estimate is that in 1962-63 the total sugar production in the country by the co-operative sugar mills would be of the order of about 21 to 22 per cent. It is expected that perhaps another 20 or so new co-operative sugar factories will be licensed which means that co-operation will claim a fairly significant share of the total production and, therefore, it is bound to have its salutary impact on the whole sector of co-operative sugar production in the country.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Of the sugar co-operative societies what percentage of membership are actual sugarcane cultivators?

SHRI S. K. DEY: Madam, the point was made by the hon. Member that not even one per cent.—if I understood him correctly—of the members of co-operative sugar factories were agriculturists. I am very happy to say that his statement totally lacks in foundation.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I was not making a general statement. I had in mind a particular sugar mill organised on a co-operative basis. It was in my own Slate.

SHRI S. K. DEY: If I have the name of that sugar factory, I will certainly enquire into the whole position. But I am making a statement in respect of the whole country and I can very safely say that more than 60 per cent, of the members of these co-operative sugar factories taken as a whole represent agriculturists. It will be more than 60 per cent, in some factories. In fact, in some it is 90 per cent. And, Madam, it is a very heart-warming experience to see the farmers selling their wives' jewellery to go in for the shares of these cooperative sugar factories which they are managing themselves.

Then, Madam, with regard to labour construction societies, in the year 1961-62 we had 2,872 labour construction societies with a membership of 2,02,407. The share capital was about Rs. 47 lakhs and the value of the works done was of the order of Rs. 5 crores. We are trying to take a much keener interest in labour cooperatives as a mode of construction in the country and also as a matter of providing gainful employment to the relatively weaker sections of the village communities. We have many obstacles, built-in handicaps, and we have to contend against many vested interests all along the line. But gradually we are trying to do something about it and we hope that the progress that we have already registered will continue and some day, even in the labour co-operative sector we shall have as significant a participation of labourers in the labour cooperatives' construction work as is the case in the sugar co-operative factories.

In the sector of industrial co-operatives, we had in the year 1950-51 as many as 7,259 co-operative societies, that is to say, industrial co-operative societies, and in 1961-62 the number

rose to 31,937. The membership rose from about 7 lakhs in 1950-51 to about 21 lakhs in 1961-62. The paid-up share capital rose from about Rs. 2,46 lakhs to Rs. 8,79 lakhs. The value of work rose from Rs. 27-67 lakhs to Rs. 54-94 lakhs. In 1961-62, we had milk societies numbering, 3,944 with a membership of 3,13,565 and the value of milk and milk products sold was of the order of Rs. 7-74 crores. The number of fishery societies has risen to over 2,518 in 1961-62 and the value of their sales was of the order of about Rs. 1,42,00,000 in 1961-62. This broadly, is the statistical picture. Of course, we will continue our efforts.

In the case of the sugar mills, I understand that 90 per cent, of the members are aptual sugarcane producers themselves. So this is a very happy situation.

Madam, there are certain comments which were made and I will first of all answer those comments and then deal with the main Resolution.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: On a point of clarification. You have given the figures and you have said significant progress has been made. Still it is not clear to me whether we were able to reach the target fixed in the Plan.

SHRI S. K. DEY: We have, Madam, reached the target of the Second Plan, I think the Second Plan target has, more or less, been reached in almost all the sectors. I do not know of any sector in which we have had any significant shortfall. In the Third Plan also, we hope—unless something very untoward happens in the international sphere—to give a very good account of this movement as against the targets set in the Third Five Year Plan.

Shri Raghunatha Reddy mentioned it—and others also supported it, namely, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar and others—that emphasis should be given to the training for co-operative leadership. In fact, whether it is the community development or the co-

operative movement, since both these happen to be based upon the people's movement and both these are intended to be based exclusively on the people's support, we have been trying to place the highest emphasis on training and education of the people for leadership in both the movements. There are at present about 548 peripatetic parties which are going out, training members of the managing committees. We have a central institute of co-operative training which is training both officials and non-officials. We have 13 co-operative training centres for training all intermediate level workers, both officials and non-officials. We have 67 junior level training centres all of which are intended for training office-bearers, as also junior level government workers in the cooperative movement. The number of such junior level training centres is expected to rise to about 85 by the end of the Third Plan. I am quite sure the House will be very happy to learn this, because this is a people's movement, a movement for training people and We felt that it was 'most appropriate that the entire programme of training and education must be vested in people's organisation. Therefore, about a year back we took the decision and we handed over the entire responsibility for training of both the officials and the non-officials to the National Co-operative Union and to its counterparts in the States— the State Co-operative Unions.

Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar and Shri Krishna Chandra mentioned that the co-operative movement's membership was exclusively dominated by certain groups. To some extent that is true. But I am happy to say that that is not universal. If it were universal, we would close down the cooperative movement. But wherever public opinion is alert and organised and where there is leadership, and leadership of a high order, there we have no difficulty. Where leadership is weak or non-existent, where public opinion is non-existent, there I am afraid, all our co-operative laws,

however stringent, and the wishes of the Ministry or of this House, however potent they may be, do not invariably find their application on the ground. Therefore, we should try to create that public opinion on the ground level and I do not believe that there is a short-cut remedy to this basic problem.

"Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar also mentioned that we must properly utilise all the persons trained in cooperation. This is being done. In fact, we have recommended to the State Governments concerned that those trained in the official and non-official co-operative organisations—and we have given them a list—in the universities and rural organisations and others which are training co-operative functionaries or people who have the general education and the bias towards co-operation, should be given preference in the matter of recruitment of personnel.

There is need to avoid delay in registration and this was mentioned by Shri Deokinandan Narayan. Most of the newly enacted State Acts provide for a time limit for the registration of societies and we do everything possible to expedite registration. Here again, pressure from organised public opinion is very necessary, starting from Parliament down to the village level.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan and Shri Murahari, and also Shri P. N. Sapru, mentioned that there is excessive political and official control in the co-operative societies. Well, I cannot say that it was not so. But I am very happy to report to this House that as a result of two years of sustained uphill and against the current effort, We have been able to ensure that no one who is holding a political office in Government as a Minister, Deputy Minister, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Parliamentary Secretary or any such capacity, would hold any office in a co-operative society or organisation. Today the entire co-operative movement is free of Government political office holders.

[Shri S. K. Dey.] We also try to ensure that officials do not find any elective places in the co-operative movement. Wherever under the old laws, rules or procedures, the officials still continue, the State Governments have issued instructions to see that these officials do not participate in the activities and that the non-official seconds in those organisations should deputise for the officials. Steps are being taken to see that the rules and procedures and also the laws are amended to ensure that no official in Government shall hold office in the co-operative movement.

There is confusion about the role of the co-operative and the pancha-yats, according to Shri Avinashilin-gam. A working group was appointed especially to study this problem which evolved certain remedies and these have been recommended to the States. I have no doubt that gradually these recommendations will come into effect. Unfortunately, both these institutions are relatively nascent institutions in their new vital shape and, therefore, it takes time for these institutions to find their level and also to realise that they are not competing organisations but complementary ones, one complementing the activities of the other.

Now, co-operative credit advances are not adequate in the agricultural sector. Shri Avinashilingam mentioned. We are completely in agreement with it and, therefore, every effort is being made through the State Bank of India, through the Life Insurance Corporation, through the Reserve Bank of India to increase short-term credit, medium-term credit, long-term credit and efforts are also being made to collect more deposits. Mr. Deoki-nandan Narayan mentioned that only four to five per cent, of the cultivators are benefited from co-operative credit. This is not quite correct. About fifteen to sixteen per cent, of the cultivators borrowed from cooperative societies in the year 1960-61 and such membership is increasing and with certain outright grant and other assistance that we are able to

give in order to give assistance to the weaker sections of the society, we are finding- that membership is increasing and the benefits of the co-operative movement are spreading out to sections of people heretofore not benefited by the co-operative movement. A uniform rate of interest is required throughout the country. This is what Shri Chordia mentioned. I wish we could have this but unfortunately, the country varies drastically from area to area and even the efficiency of the cooperative movement varies so widely from one end of the country to the other, from the West Coast to the Eastern-most part of India that it is impossible to prescribe one common condition. Ultimately, the interest rate will depend on the volume of business and the efficiency of the co-operative organisation and this again depends on the growth of non-official co-operative leadership. I am very sorry to say that in many parts of the country, co-operatives are just getting out of the primitive stage and in some States they are, relatively speaking, still in the primitive stage. When this is so, to prescribe that there should be a uniform rate of interest, I am afraid, will not be a practicable proposition.

Co-operative farming societies, Shri Raghunatha Reddy said, were not enrolling small farmers as members. Now, the very purpose of co-operative farming is to give collective strength to the weaker sections of the farming community which can combine together, pool their land, secure adequate assistance, both technical and financial, from the Government and in the societies which have been started during the past two years as a result of the recommendations of the Nijalingappa Committee, very high stress has been laid on the small farmers and predominantly, therefore, all the societies started under the new scheme recommended by the Nijalingappa Committee, consist in bulk of small farmers. Indeed, the big farmers have most reluctant to come everywhere for co-operative farming. In a way, they have been a handicap,

politically, administratively and in other ways. Now, successful, cooperative farming in our country is not possible, Mr. Chordia mentioned. I would only like this House to refer to the study made by several teams of Parliament Members consisting of about 38 Members, which went to the different parts of the country and the Report made by them. This Report is going to be submitted to the House in the next few days—I think copies of the Report are available in the Parliament Library—and I am quite sure hon. Members will appreciate that this very elaborate and broad study has confirmed that the purpose for which the co-operative farming programme was started is succeeding, although we are still at the preliminary stage, and in this country, if we wish to give succour to the weaker sections of the farming community there is no more effective way of doing this except through organisation of them into co-operative joint farming societies. Mr Sri Rama Reddy mentioned his visit to quite a number of societies, five societies which were all bad. I would only say that his own team visited a society in UP, a society in Khempur and they recorded:

"We wish we had such farms in every province, the best managed, the best planned and the best worked society we have seen 90 far. The zeal and the ideological clarity of the friends who worked in the society is the thing that impressed us most. The visit will give us ideas as to how an ideal farm could be run ... it will remain as an incentive to this nation."

This is the language that has been used.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): I was referring, Madam, to the fact that though this was the best managed society, with 85 adult members, this farming society had only 35 acres of land. The incompatibility between the land and the number of workers, that was available in the society, was the point I was stressing.

SHRI «3. K. DEY: I would agree with the hon. Member that if the society had only 35 acres of land, it would hold very limited potential for development and if I have the name of the society, I will certainly look into this question. In his own State of Mysore, from where the hon. Member hails, we have a Sarvodaya Cooperative Society, Sanka, Taluk Hanka, the Manjeri Co-operative Farming Society, another in District Tumkur. Habengad Co-operative Collective Society, Arsekere Taluka, District Hassan and I would refer these societies to the hon. Member for a visit.

Shri P. N. Sapru mentioned that great stress should be laid on fertilisers to the farmers. Every effort is being made to this end and the Agriculture Ministry, the Community Development and other Ministries and all the other connected agencies are trying to see that better seeds and fertilisers are made available and that the co-operative societies are enabled to distribute these effectively to the farmers.

Mrs. Tara Bai mentioned that officers with a co-operative bias should be appointed. Of course, that is the intention and that is the recommendation to the State Governments but sometimes you do not get an officer ready-made with a built-in co-operative bias. Sometimes the bias has also to be created through work. The cooperative movement as yet has to make a great impact and to make everybody pulsating with the spirit of co-operation but we are working in that direction.

Shri Govindan Nair mentioned the case of co-operative loans not going to the weaker sections. I would say that this is what we are attempting through these outright grants to cooperative societies against essential loans for expansion of credit to the weaker sections of the community. Membership is also growing and we are also trying to organise the weaker sections. He said that there is no evaluation of the working of the co-

[Shri S. K. Dey.] operative movement. In fact, I would say, Madam, that there is no programme anywhere in the Government of India which, I think, has been subjected to repeated and perhaps over-evaluation than the programme of Community Development and Cooperation. I just cited the working groups and the study teams and others appointed to look into all the different aspects of co-operation which will make a fairly formidable number.

Now, Mr. Karmarkar referred to introspection and made a point that this debate has enabled the people in the country and also, of course, the ministry to do a considerable degree of introspection. In fact, this House will be quite flattered to realise that the Ministry has been thinking identically in line with the thinking that has gone in this discussion here. In fact, two years ago it was felt by the Ministry that co-operation confined just to agricultural credit or in a way to the agricultural sector will not carry us very far. Co-operation must be something indivisible, in all sectors of the economy, industry, transport, housing etc. Everywhere co-operation must find a representation. Therefore, we posed this question to the Planning Commission and the Planning Commission took up an initial study to find out what plans different Ministries have on co-operation and they came to the staggering discovery that very few Ministries had any significant targets set for development of their activities through co-operation. Therefore, about six months ago the Planning Commission, Community Development Ministry and the other agencies of the Government of India came to the realisation that we must have some working groups and study teams appointed to study exactly what is happening in the different sectors of the economy. In line with this, a working group was appointed for industrial co-operatives, a working group was appointed to study transport co-operatives; a third working group was appointed to study housing co-operatives a fourth for fisheries co-operatives, a

fifth for animal husbandry and dairy co-operatives, a sixth for railways and P. & T. and a seventh for urban credit. Recently we have appointed a committee with Shri V. L. Mehta as the Chairman to look into co-operative administration in the country, both official as well as non-official. Now, the House will be quite interested to know that in these working groups we already have six M.Ps. For deciding the frame of the Fourth Five Year Plan, on co-operation, we have appointed a number of working groups and here again we have five M.Ps. and M.L.As. as members. We are looking into the different aspects of co-operation, which our own Ministry is handling. During the past two years we have had a working group to study cooperative policy, a working group to study cooperative credit headed by Shri V. L. Mehta, a working group to study co-operative farming headed by Shri Nijalingappa and a Committee on *taceavi* loans. There were many committees appointed by the National Cooperative Development Board, a study team on co-operative marketing of wheat, a study team on co-operative marketing of paddy, a study team on co-operative marketing of jute, a study team on co-operative processing, a Committee on Consumer Co-operatives, a working group on panchayats and co-operatives, a study team on cooperative training, etc. and 17 M.Ps and M.L.As have participated in all these studies. Co-operative farming has been studied by 38 M.Ps. Now, Madam, I would like to mention that the House will appreciate that we have already been making a systematic evaluation and study of the different aspects of the co-operative movement almost from quarter to quarter. These working groups which are now working on the different aspects of the co-operative movement, some of them have already submitted their Reports and the others are expected to do so in the next two or three months. The Fourth Five Year Plan frame on cooperation is being examined again by a separate group. The entire co-operative movement is being attempted to be deoffi-

cialised, as I mentioned earlier, by preventing political office-holders from holding office in the co-operative movement and also officials. We are trying to build up State and National federations of co-operative movement. We already have the National Cooperative Union, National Co-operative Sugar Producers Syndicate, National Co-operative Marketing Federation and a national land mortgage banking organisation. I think shortly there' will be a national organisation for dairies, a national organisation for fisheries and there will also be a national organisation of labour. Thus the movement is being attempted to be made a real live one and with all the studies that have been undertaken and which are in progress, we expect that once these Reports are received we shall have the basic material on which we can really work to make co-operation for the first time a significant instrument for the achievement of the socialist pattern of society to which we stand wedded.

I hope the mover of the Resolution will appreciate that while we deeply appreciate the spirit of the Resolution, if this Resolution were to be given effect to at this stage all the work that is being done now will suffer a significant setback because as soon as a Committee of this character is formed, thinking will be coldstored elsewhere. Almost everyone would think, let the Parliamentary Committee come forward with their findings and then we will think what is to be done. I would like to give an assurance to the mover of this Resolution and to all the Members who have participated in the discussion and also others that as soon as all the Reports of the Working Groups are in the hands of the Government, it is intended that there will be a preliminary study of these. Reports at the official level between the different agencies of Government As soon as that has been done it is intended that we should get a representative opinion of the country on these Reports *plus* also on a synthesis of all these Reports which will provide for a significant co-operative movement in the country. That will

be the stage at which Parliament Members and others associated with the co-operative movement should come into the picture; not today. If today we appoint another committee all the work that we have done, I would plead, Madam, will suffer a setback because everyone would say, let us have first the Report of this Parliamentary team. It will supersede the thinking and everything that we have done so far and defeat the very purpose that the hon. Member, has in view. I once again would like to reiterate that what he has in mind and others who have supported him will be fully taken care of and I give an assurance that no decision on this vital matter of what should be the picture of the Fourth Five Year Plan in co-operation and what should be the synthetic picture of the co-operative movement as a whole and the targets in the different sectors of the economy, will be taken without giving due opportunity to Members of both Houses to express their will and opinion significantly on the basis of which Government can ultimately take a decision. I would therefore, Madam, request the hon. Member in the interest of the very purpose he has in view in proposing this Resolution to withdraw the Resolution for the time being on my assurance.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The mover may reply later. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for
Inch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very highly thankful to all the hon. Members who have so eloquently participated in the debate on my Resolution and also to the hon. Minister who has given an impressive

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy.]

account of the development of the cooperative movement in the various fields. He has been kind enough to make a very valuable suggestion that this matter can be postponed for some time, waiting for the reports to be submitted by the various study teams appointed under the auspices of the Government. I am very thankful for the assurance given by him and the interest taken by him for the purpose of understanding the co-operative movement in its various ramifications in the context of sociological processes. I am in complete agreement with him that this Resolution may be withdrawn/ for the time being, so that the Government may have an opportunity to consider this question. After the various reports are submitted, they may appoint a committee on their own initiative to study the various reports so that that would form the basis of discussion and analysis and further approaches to the problem. In this context, I may bring to the notice of the hon. Minister the intention with which the Resolution has been brought forward. The co-operative movement is in operation even under the system of capitalism. We are not here concerned, however valuable the proposition may be, merely with the question of studying how far the co-operative movement is to be improved for the purpose of correcting the errors, like an auditor inspecting the ledgers and books of accounts. The purpose is how far the co-operative movement can be made use of as a stepping stone for evolving a society called socialist society, which we hold as our ideal. This is the purpose for which the Resolution has come up here. It is not merely a question of considering how the co-operative movement is going to be improved in its operations, but how it can act as an instrument, to develop a society called socialist society and how in the process of co-operative development you can throw up a personality to fit in such a society with such consciousness. This is the main context and intention with which this Resolution has come up for discussion.

I am very highly thankful to Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee who had properly expressed the content of my Resolution, with a proper understanding of the proposition. I am also thankful to all the various hon. Members who have been kind enough to go through this problem with sympathetic consideration. May I, in this context, point out this? If you just open the first few pages of the First Five Year Plan, you will find that the framers of the Plan have unequivocally stated that the pace of economic development depends on a variety of factors which constitute the psychological and sociological setting within which the economy operates. A major element in this setting is the community's will to progress and its readiness to develop and adopt new and more efficient methods and processes of production. Hence the framers of the Five Year Plans themselves, at the very outset, when they drafted the First Five Year Plan, were alive to the fact, *viz.*, how the sociological and psychological processes should be set in motion in relation to the economic development for the purpose of creating a personality to suit a society called socialist society. In that context, for the purpose of creating such a personality, what is the social motivation that is necessary and how far the cooperative movement will be able to play its role? That is the purpose which, I hope, the hon. Minister would kindly keep in mind.

Now, the impact of technological development on traditionalism, which is inherent in any society all through the ages, has given rise to what is called modern conservatism based on economic motivation. If it is purely a question of dealing with traditionalism, then traditionalism has got certain ethos or good qualities in itself. Traditionalism contains certain good aspects of human life and human values. I have no quarrel with it. But based on certain conservative aspects in traditionalism, with the impact of technological development, what is happening is that a modern conservative thought based on economic motivation is developing. From that point of

view, we should find out how far the co-operative movement is going to help us in breaking this modern conservative thought that has developed in the context of technological and economic development. I may point out in this connection that when we deal with human beings the problem is, we will have to develop an integrated personality as a result of the dynamics of social processes. This matter has been clearly dealt with by Prof. Karl Mannheim in his "Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology". On page 280, he says: —

"In describing an historical epoch or society the social scientist should not be satisfied with accepting the object of his studies as a unique mystical entirety; instead it is necessary to investigate and analyse the various factors and situations and their interrelations which make up the broad and variegated canvas of that particular configuration. Only through this analytical approach shall we be able to visualize how the emergence and development of differentiated personality might be ensured in a planned society."

On page 308, he further goes on to say: —

"Man is not pure intellect, but the intellect has its proper place in his personal life and in the life of the community; and the question is not how to avoid the use of conscious conditioning of habits and emotions but how to limit it to that basic sphere without which consensus, co-operation is impossible."

These are aspects, in my humble submission, which ought to be investigated by the various study teams. And in that context I thought that a Parliamentary Committee, being responsible to the public—they have close association with the members of the public—would be a proper body to go into this problem.

Now, Sir, to conclude my argument, I quote Prof. Karl Mannheim again: —

"To say one more word about the moral side of the question. The new society has to be based upon a new synthesis between the self assertive forces of liberal society and the overestimated possibilities of some kind of complete altruism. A synthesis which I have never found more exactly expressed than in a saying of the old Jewish sage Hillel: —

'If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am only for myself—then what am I for?' "

This is the dilemma through which a human being is passing in the social processes and the co-operative movement, I hope, will find a proper method to solve this dilemma which the great Jewish poet has expressed.

With these words, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my resolution in the hope that the hon. Minister will keep in mind that immediately after the various reports come in, he would take into consideration the question of appointing a Committee to go into this problem.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMIT- TEE TO STUDY EXISTING TAXA- TION STRUCTURE

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution: —

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a Committee consisting of 30 Members representing both Houses of Parliament to study the existing structure of taxation in the country and its effect on the growth of a socialistic pattern of society and submit a report thereon."

Sir, I may commence my speech on the subject with a very considered statement made by the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his book, "Discovery of India", dealing with certain ideals and ideologies. On page 518 of the book he said:

—