



Dalit Sarpanch, Pyarchand

In the People's Own Court A Village Demands Right to Information

**This article is put together by Sherally Munshi
with files from Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan**

DECADES of government spending in the name of development has neither improved the infrastructure in rural areas nor bridged the rural-urban divide by providing extended income or access to opportunities for impoverished rural communities. For instance, in Rajasthan, hundreds of small development projects - building houses, roads, schools, wells - have been undertaken in the name of the poor. The main beneficiaries of these schemes, however, are not the poor but a mafia of rural contractors, bureaucrats and village leaders who have looted public funds for private gain. This has encouraged a strong criminal nexus between the bureaucracy and elected representatives, whereby village and district level "leaders" are allowed to embezzle public funds in exchange for delivering votes. The casualty, therefore, is not just development but also the culture of democracy.

The failure of development and democracy in rural areas has brought about a general disenchantment with the government. Many among the disenchanting have turned to direct

democracy - both as a last resort and as an avenue of unrealised potential. In institutions of direct democracy, people themselves are asked to shoulder the burden of directing government efforts intended to reduce poverty and increase equity. The legal promise for direct democracy was made in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, which guarantees that gram sabhas consisting of all adult voters in a panchayat would meet to make decisions, exercise powers and perform functions specified by state legislatures. The promise, however, remains unfulfilled in nearly every region, as weak state laws and government orders have created dysfunctional gram sabhas with little autonomy.

Umarwaas Panchayat is a glaring example. In the past few years, it has suffered rampant corruption. The election of the Dalit sarpanch (head of panchayat) here was orchestrated by a coterie of upper caste ward and block members, who essentially made him a political puppet in their hands. After the sarpanch took office, this coterie actually used him as a sort of rubber stamp, exercising all powers on his behalf, and making him affix his signature under coercion to misappropriate funds originally allocated for development projects in the village.

On December 18, 1999, a *Jan Sunwai* (public hearing) was held at Bori in Umarwaas Panchayat, to conduct a people's evaluation of development works. The *Jan Sunwai* is an opportunity for the participants to demand accountability from the development establishment, fight corruption, focus on certain aspects of decentralisation and build real democracy in villages. It was the first time that the *Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan* (Organisation of Farmers and Labourers) had been approached by a sarpanch to hold a *Jan Sunwai* in the panchayat, the hope being that an exposure of the truth would finally highlight the widespread corruption taking place.

Before the *Jan Sunwai*, the *Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan* (MKSS) obtained a copy of all the accounts relating to development works in Umarwaas Panchayat, and cross-checked their findings through visits to relevant sites, discussions with villagers, and inquiries from labourers employed on development works. This process uncovered massive frauds. The *Jan Sunwai* itself included an introduction by MKSS, describing the malpractices that were identified in different works; testimony from witnesses; questions and statements from the residents of Umarwaas; cross-examination by the panelists; and finally an appeal to the government

The Jan Sunwai

Objectives of the Jan Sunwai

During the *Jan Sunwai*, the people of Umarwaas and nearby villages of the panchayat had an opportunity to openly question the use and misuse of development funds in the area, and to initiate action against any fraud they identified. The exercise of a *Jan Sunwai* thus has several objectives:

- First, to reclaim development. Through the *Jan Sunwai*, the people assert their right to the proper use of development funds and demand accountability from elected representatives and officials.
- Second, to fight corruption. The *Jan Sunwails* a weapon to expose and further eradicate corruption at the village level.
- Third, to build democracy. The *Jan Sunwails* a practical exercise in government for the people, by the people, without the intermediation of political parties or elected leaders. It is a small step toward the transition from representative to participatory democracy.

The Right to Information

➤ The *Jan Sunwai* is also part of a broader movement for the people's right to information. It is an example of the tools that can be used to assert the right of all citizens to transparent and accountable government. For instance, before the *Jan Sunwai*, the MKSS was able to make use of the public right to scrutinise and obtain certified copies of all official records at the panchayat level - a right conceded by the government of Rajasthan in June of 1997, after a long struggle launched as part of the National Campaign for the People's Right to Information. In the current climate of all-pervasive corruption, the Right to Information campaign is one opportunity for ordinary citizens to break out of the vicious circle of collective apathy and individual hopelessness.

➤ A *Jan Sunwai* is useful as a first step in that it focuses on forms of corruption which ordinary people constantly encounter, are able to directly investigate, and feel empowered to challenge. The *Jan Sunwai* process and the Right to Information campaign call to attention to systemic problems which undermine development and democracy (e.g., the reluctance to pay minimum wages, or the pressures faced by officials who try to do their job honestly). These systemic problems need to be brought within the realm of public debate.

➤ We would like to have access to government information so as to ensure that funds intended to promote village-level employment and development are not siphoned off by corrupt officials but actually benefit those in need. We would also expect it to lead to a better understanding of the problems faced by people who have been elected because of reservation quotas, but are bereft of any other political power or support.

– MKSS

officials present that the problems identified be rectified in a swift and fair manner.

Dalit Sarpanch as a Pawn

Only a few weeks before the January 1995 elections, it had been declared that the post of sarpanch for the panchayat of Umarwaas had been reserved for a Scheduled Caste (SC) candidate. The most numerous SC group in the region, the Meghwal (weaver) caste, consisting of several hundred households, responded quickly by meeting to discuss this unprecedented political opportunity

and by nominating a consensus candidate - Bhuralal. An upper caste gathering of Rajputs and others, however, also responded. They decided to nominate a candidate to counter the Meghwal selection. Their choice fell on Pyarchand, a member of the Khatik community, which consists of only a handful of households in the entire Panchayat. Pyarchand is the son of a wandering tradesman. His father, having lost control of his land and wanting to escape debt and harassment, bought a small house and shifted to Kakriya village of panchayat Umarwaas. Pyarchand was pulled out

of primary school to support his family. He wandered through a succession of jobs, began a few petty businesses, alternating between trading in sheep and hides - the traditional occupation of his scheduled caste - and selling clothing, which he carried from village to village on foot. His trusting nature and tendency to extend credit made his petty business financially unsustainable. Pyarchand decided to move to Surat, where his brother-in-law helped him become a vendor of kerosene, and thus earn enough to meet the needs of his family, which includes seven children. Having spent

18 years in Surat, Pyarchand was surprised when right before the 1995 panchayat elections, he was asked to return home to contest the reserved sarpanch seat. Pyarchand arrived a week before the election. A meeting was organised by upper caste members to declare Pyarchand the unopposed sarpanch. The Meghwals objected and insisted that a proper election be held. Bhuralal, the Meghwal candidate, lost by less than 250 votes. Pyarchand won, but elected by proxy at the same time was the triumvirate of subordinate ward panchas (panchayat members) who would manipulate, threaten and control him throughout his tenure as sarpanch. Pyarchand's election victory was thus the commencement of a personal nightmare.

Pyarchand was chosen for his pliability; he could be easily managed by upper caste groups and was already subservient to individuals intending to stand for the ward pancha elections. Although in theory the ward panchas are under the direction of the sarpanch, their plan was to take real control of the panchayat.

The leader of the coterie is Nain Singh Solanki, a member of an influential and landholding Rajput family. For years he had profited by diverting grain from a ration shop, which he owned - much as he would later divert funds from government works during his tenure as ward pancha. He had also been arrested for the illicit sale of alcohol.

Another important link in the chain of embezzlement is Bhanwarlal Sewak, the deputy sarpanch.

After the election, the trio told Pyarchand that he had only two responsibilities as the sarpanch -first, to go to the Panchayat Samiti office and collect funds and second, to sign all papers presented to him. Everything else would be the responsibility of the ward panchas. They would determine



Aruna Roy of MKSS speaking at the Umarwass, *Jan Sunwai*

which development works to take up, how to purchase materials, appoint labour, record attendance, disburse wages and arrange with the junior engineer to measure works on completion. They would also determine who would benefit from government programmes and receive land allotments for housing.

These activities are usually decided by the sarpanch, but not in the case of Umarwaas. This unusual division of labour was also mandated by a resolution in a gram panchayat meeting held in October of 1995. The resolution had made explicit that the sarpanch no longer held any authority over the allocation and expenditure of funds once he handed them over to the ward *panch*. Pyarchand was in fact physically threatened whenever he expressed his wish to visit work sites.

The ward panchas were confident that by obtaining the signature of the sarpanch on all expenditure documents, Pyarchand would be indicted for any misappropriation of funds, rather than themselves. Their own illegal activities could be conveniently camouflaged.

The arrangement encouraged unprecedented corruption and

fraud, much of what was exposed in great detail in the *Jan Sunwai* of December 1999. Supposed "public works" were in fact built at the houses of ward panchas; the muster rolls were filled with ghost workers; bills were made out for materials that were never supplied. The wealthy appropriated money reserved for the homeless poor, and even from a "public work" that exists only on paper.

Funds withdrawn by Pyarchand from the Panchayat Samiti bank were usually taken from his hands by the accompanying ward panchas, right outside the bank gates. Pyarchand began to grow anxious for he knew that the funds taken from him - which were not accounted for by the bills and muster-rolls - would appear as cash-on-hand withdrawals in the account books maintained by the panchayat secretary. Such withdrawals, he feared, would be made his liability since he signed the accounts regularly, in the same way he was made to sign all other documents. Over time this figure of unaccounted funds grew to 40 or 50 thousand rupees. Pyarchand pleaded with the Panchayat secretary and ward panchas to reduce the amount lest the

blame should fall upon him. They promised to do so in the future; Pyarchand was in no position to press them further.

Pyarchand grew increasingly worried about the consequences of his mounting financial responsibilities, and began to resist signing blank documents and approving unqualified beneficiaries, related to ward panchas. He also requested a public disclosure of accounts and turned to the MKSS for help.

The infuriated trio then served notice of a no-confidence motion, which would have resulted in Pyarchand's removal from office. While Pyarchand might have been relieved about the impending release from the torment of being a puppet sarpanch, he felt that such removal would also be shameful and result in all financial irregularities being attributed to him. He thought that he should stay in office in order to save himself from disrepute and plaintiff recovery. Pyarchand invited all surrounding villagers to a meal and meeting with the ward panchas. The assembled voters challenged the right of the panchas to remove Pyarchand on charges of which he was not guilty (ironically the charges were corruption and willful decision making). Bowing to pressure, the ward panchas withdrew their no-confidence motion.

The frustrated ward panchas developed another strategy for removing Pyarchand from his post, this time taking advantage of their connections to locally influential politicians and officials. The chief executive officer of the District, acting on an anonymous complaint, chose Umarwaas for a surprise inspection in March 1998 and indicted Pyarchand on the charge of having a large outstanding cash balance. Pyarchand was thus held responsible by then Chief Executive Officer, Mr. B.L. Kothari, for funds that he never spent. The elaborate process of a preliminary

inquiry, detailed investigation and final orders went through swiftly in the sure hands of Mr. Kothari.

Pyarchand's written rebuttal defending himself against the charges was as swiftly rejected without any reason having been given. Pyarchand was suspended from office in October 1998 and finally dismissed in July 1999. Yet, no action has been taken against any ward pancha or government servant for the unaccounted funds.

Pyarchand did not benefit socially from being a sarpanch. His title never changed the fact that when Nain Singh visited his home, Pyarchand sat by his feet on the floor while Nain Singh sat on the cot. Financially, he was worse off than before. He had given up his livelihood, lost his savings in debt, and remains unable to meet the hospitalisation expenses of his ailing wife. Now the government is threatening liquidation of his assets if he does not pay 1.6 lakhs. This amount cited in his dismissal order was the sum total of unaccounted funds and overdue interest on these.

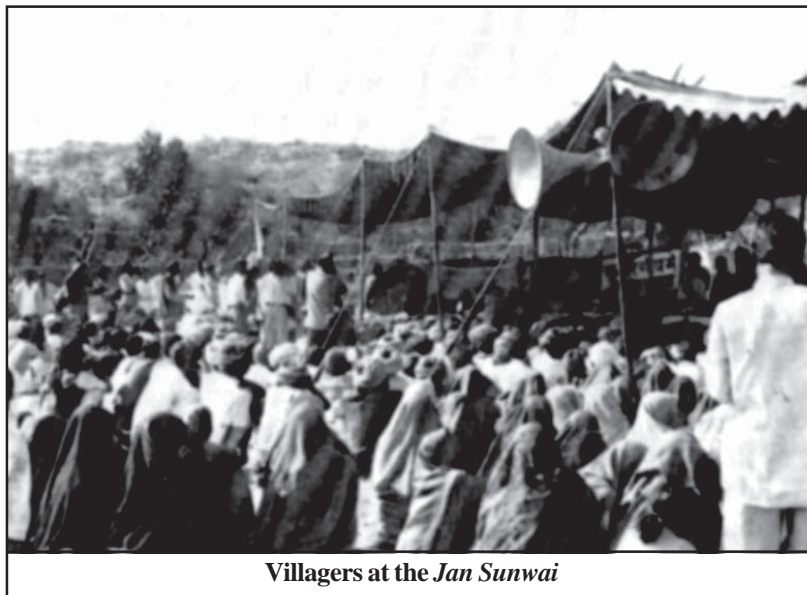
Pyarchand is of course unable to repay. The nominal amounts of money that he had been given by the ward

panchas from time to time to meet his expenses were only part of the manipulative hold they exercised over him. The amounts given to him were often recovered through demands of repayment of the election expenditure undertaken on his behalf, or as appeasement fees for withdrawing the no-confidence motion, and so on.

Pyarchand's story is only one of the many cases of corruption and manipulation that must exist among the thousands of reserved seats created by the 73rd constitutional amendment. Pyarchand was essentially a person who accepted office because of the opportunity for greater self respect, not out of a desire to make money. Wanting to exonerate himself publicly, Pyarchand came to the MKSS and requested a *Jan Sunwai*. For those who cannot reach groups like the MKSS the only alternative is to succumb to the pressure placed on them by those in power.

Revelations of the Hearing

On December 18, 1999, the MKSS held a public hearing in Umarwaas panchayat, attended by over a thousand residents of the gram



Villagers at the *Jan Sunwai*

panchayat, including members of the panchayat council, the district collector, the EDO (Block Development Officer), the SDM (Sub Divisional Magistrate), the Gram Sewak and the Superintendent of Police. A distinguished panel of legal experts, editors, authors, and auditors along with the district collector and superintendent of police chaired the public hearing. The regional and metro press were also present in large numbers.

During the course of the public hearing, it was found that:

➤ There was widespread corruption, misuse and diversion of public funds in nearly all cases of allotment of Indira Awaas Yojana, India's largest and most comprehensive housing programme for the rural poor. The Government of India currently provides a grant of Rs. 17,800 to the beneficiary. Of the 30 houses sanctioned in the Umarwaas panchayat during last five years, many have been allotted to affluent upper caste people. Of the few allotted to deserving candidates, several have no knowledge of allotment, although records show money had previously been spent in their names. Money and allotments have also been issued to dead or non-existent individuals and wealthy ward members of the panchayat council who already own houses.

➤ In some cases public funds were used for purely private works. For example, funds meant for community halls were used to construct rooms in the residences of influential ward members. Similarly, funds meant for minor irrigation canals were used to construct private channels to irrigate fields at the residences of the ward members and their families.

➤ For nearly all development works, muster rolls contained several fraudulent entries. Several works were only partially constructed, one was



Dali, Amri, Faifibai Rawat

never constructed, and yet completion certificates and final disbursements were filed in all the cases.

Through extensive testimony, the *Jan Sunwai* established that the dismissed sarpanch had been manipulated by the various ward members. The District Collector himself cited a resolution of the gram panchayat, passed on October 30, which stated that the sarpanch would be limited to the task of obtaining funds which would in turn be handed over to the ward members. The collector also quoted from the latest report of the CEO Rajasamand, which had been sent to the State Administration after Pyarchand's dismissal, stating that the sarpanch was only nominally responsible for the unpaid cash balances by virtue of being head of office. The report suggested that in reality, political maneuverings prevented the sarpanch from exercising control over the fund management of the panchayat.

The Collector publicly pledged to the panel, press and residents, that police cases would be filed against all wrongful beneficiaries of Government funds. He further promised that all involved government officials,

including the junior engineers (JENs) would be prosecuted along with the elected representatives. In order to facilitate the prosecution, he asked the MKSS to furnish the evidence produced at the *Jan Sunwai*, which would serve as the basis for subsequent action.

The *Jan Sunwai* concluded with panelists appealing to the Collector that justice should be meted out to the real crooks rather than once again making a scapegoat out of the likes of Pyarchand Kathik.

Government Protects Criminals

After the *Jan Sunwai*, on December 24, 1999, the MKSS handed over to the District Collector detailed documentation of sixteen of the most serious cases related to fund misuse along with photographic evidence. The MKSS requested that in addition to following through with police action, the district administration fulfil its responsibilities (outlined in the Panchayati Raj Act) to recover defalcated funds and to initiate proceedings for suspension and dismissal of the implicated officials and panchayat members. It also

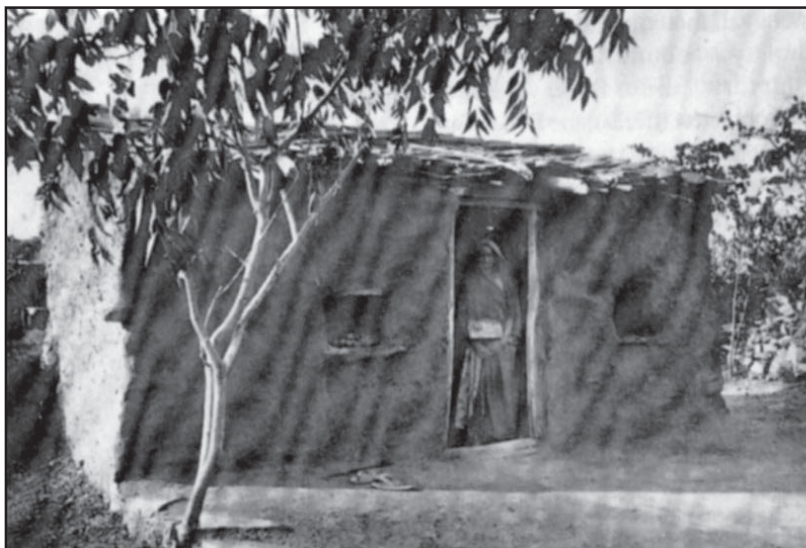
submitted to the Collector the legal opinion of a panelist at the public hearing, the noted Supreme Court Advocate, Pashant Bhushan, who opined that the extent to which sarpanch Pyarchand was criminally intimidated by the ward panchas establishes the limited responsibility of the sarpanch and the culpability of the ward panchas.

On January 7, 2000, the BDO of Kumbalgarh filed a First Information Report (FIR), no. 9/2000, at Gadbor police station. But the manner in which the FIR was framed was altogether contrary to the facts brought to light by MKSS in the public hearing on December 18, 1999. The first and main complaint in the FIR was never made at the hearing. The complaint was the one-and-a-half year old administrative recovery of the cash book balances from Pyarchand for which he had already been punished through dismissal and recovery proceedings, a recovery that the government's own report finds erroneous.

The FIR thus succeeds in making Pyarchand Kathik the main accused while ignoring the most significant findings of the public hearing regarding the widespread fraud in Indira Awaas allocations. Of the 17 cases presented, 14 were of Indira Awaas allotments made between 1995 and 1998. The FIR, in contrast to the detailed treatment of other issues dismisses this in a single sentence at the very end:

“Shri Pyarchand poorv sarpanch ne apne karyakaal mein ward pancho vah unke parivararon ko bhi Indira Awaas Yojana me bhi labhanvit kia hai.”

In all 14 cases of the Indira Awaas cases, funds were never used to create housing for the homeless poor. In eight of these cases, funds were given to ineligible ward members and their immediate families. The grounds for ineligibility include having



Lahri a Bhil woman of village Gartalahi

previously possessed a permanent house, having an income far in excess of the qualifying norms and applying in the name of the deceased. In another three cases, no persons possessing the name of the beneficiary exists. In the last three cases, recipients exist but have received no money and have no knowledge of being selected under this scheme.

The FIR should have identified the wrongful beneficiaries by name in order to allow for investigation of the fraud committed. Its passing mention of Indira Awaas, and that too of the houses allotted to ward members, thus preempts investigation of the many other types of cases in which genuinely poor individuals who were entitled to receive funds in fact received none.

The FIR implicates only two other elected representatives, Nain Singh and Kamla Nath, listing only one charge against each of them. It excludes all government servants except for one of the gram sewaks, Gopi Lal Regar, who had already been previously suspended. The FIR further excludes the names of all the government

servants involved in the allotment of Indira Awaas. A full list of those accused should have included the Gram Sewaks, Gopi Lal Regar, Moti Singh, the BDOs, Kumbalgarh Bhanwar Lal Jain and others who served in 1997. They were responsible for having approved and recommended applications of ineligible/nonexistent/dead recipients. In addition, the Junior Engineers (JENs) Kumbalgarh, including V.K. Arora, have in each case verified in writing that they visited, measured, and certified the completion of houses that in fact were never built. Moreover, the FIR makes no mention of the bank managers and account officials who made disbursements to non-existent and dead individuals.

Finally, the FIR contains only two of the seventeen cases presented by the MKSS, therefore taking into consideration only 1.1 lacs of the total 4.71 lacs of defrauded public funds identified.

The largest single case presented by the MKSS relates to Rs. 2.52 lacs of famine relief funds spent on Basa Talaab Nahar, a canal constructed for the irrigation of

fields owned by Nain Singh's family members. This has been entirely excluded from the FIR filed by the EDO. In this case, the present collector Nirmal Wadhwanit himself had ordered an inquiry by the tehsildar at the behest of the villages in Basa. At the public hearing, the villagers provided evidence showing that public funds had been privatised despite their protest. By excluding this work in the FIR, the EDO has not only concealed a crime but also reduced Nain Singh's liability to only the Rs. 50,000 he used to construct a supposed community hall in his residence.

Of the cases discussed at the public hearing, the FIR refers to only the construction of the two community halls, which were basically residential extensions by ward member Nain Singh and Panchayati Samit member Kamla Nath. In the latter case, Pyarchand Kathik has been held responsible, despite the fact that the collector had received of his written orders dated March 31, 1998 in the panchayat files prohibiting Kamla Nath from proceeding with such a construction out of public money.

Even in these two cases, only gram sewak Gopi Lal Regar has been made an accused. The EDO and the JEN who supervised the works, filled in the measurement books and certified completion are never mentioned in the FIR.

The MKSS believes that the FIR represents a selective use of the evidence it provided the District Collector, in order to exclude the more significant abuses of public office and funds from investigation and protect those most responsible. Even the minister of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, addressing a meeting in Jaipur on Right to Information, stated on December 22, 1999, that since the officials - especially the EDO - played

Varieties of Fraud and their Victims

There are various ways of looting development funds. The main tricks are the following:

- Purchase overbilling. A government contractor pays for and uses only 50 bags of cement, but gets a bill for 100 bags from the supplier.
- Sale overbillings. Suppliers often overprice their material or sell inferior or adulterated material at the full price. For example, low quality cement may be sold for the price of high quality cement. In this case, no irregularity may appear in the panchayat accounts, though the public has been robbed - in this case, by the supplier.
- Fake muster rolls. A government contractor enters fictitious names in the muster rolls - often times with forged finger prints or signatures - and appropriates the wages of the fictitious workers.
- Underpayment of wages. Labourers are paid less than their due, while government officials - after getting labourers' fingerprints or signatures for the full amount - keep the difference.
- Tinkering with labour-material ratio. To circumvent the official 60:40 ratio between wage payment and material expenses, fake wage payments are entered in the accounts in order to pay for extra material (without bills). Based on the official 60:40 ratio between wages and material, each time one rupee is appropriated, 60 paise are stolen from labourers. Further deductions from wages occur because the official 60:40 ratio is routinely violated. Of the small amount actually spent on wages, a large share often goes to skilled labourers (and owners of tractors or bullock carts), who tend to be better off than unskilled labourers. As a result, the real share of unskilled labourers in development funds is very small - sometime as low as 10 per cent or even less. These crooks are not just robbing the poor, but the poorest.

Although such so-called "adjustment" may not sound like a major issue (e.g. it need not involve any direct misappropriation) it is, in fact, a serious fraud insofar as all these malpractices enrich a few at the expense of the general public.

a crucial role in the allotment of Indira Awaas funds, in cases of defalcation, they too should stand for prosecution.

The FIR clearly reneges on the assurances made by the district collector at the public hearings, mocking any notion of achieving real justice.

Victimising the Victim

The main text of the FIR is the one-and-a-half year old administrative recovery for the cash book balances. As mentioned earlier, the collector himself quoted from the latest report of the Chief Executive

Officer (CEO) Rajasamand, which had been sent to the state administration. It finds that:

- the sarpanch was only nominally and partially responsible for the unpaid cash balances by virtue of being head of office.
- the responsibility lay at least equally with the three gram sewaks who actually maintained the cash books. At the very least the CEO recommends that the sarpanch's liability be equally divided with the three gram sewaks of his tenure.
- the financial liability claimed from the sarpanch in the dismissal order

itself was an exaggeration and incorrect representation of the actual books inspected.

In spite of such clarity, in the latest government document, which has reopened the case for the dismissal of the sarpanch, the EDO has converted the old erroneous charge into the main crime in an FIR purportedly meant to prosecute others who were actually responsible for the corruption. The FIR has been recast to punish a Dalit sarpanch for the second time through criminal proceedings. By indicting the person least responsible, the motives of the district administration seem to be:

➤ to divert attention from the wide-spread corruption revealed and the documented complicity of a chain of government officials, including three gram sewaks, two BDOs and at least one JEN.

➤ to protect the more powerful and influential elected representatives by booking them on minor charges.

➤ and to penalise Pyarchand, whose insistence on holding a public hearing resulted in the exposure of corruption.

➤ To date, the district administration has sent no recommendation to the state government to take action against either government servants or the elected representatives, or to recover funds, thus abdicating its responsibility to protect public money and punish defalcators.

Demands For Justice

On behalf of the people of Umarwaas, who testified in the public hearing with such courage and trust, and in the interest of justice, the MKSS demand the following:

➤ a supplementary FIR which will explicitly reintroduce and detail all 14 Indira Awaas cases and the privately appropriated canal (Basa Talab Nahar) which together represent over 75 percent of the defrauded public funds submitted to the district collector.



This community centre has been converted into an extension of the personal house of ward member; Nain Singh

➤ the supplementary FIR list accusations against all the other government functionaries and elected representatives responsible for the misappropriation on the above-mentioned works. Government servants are not exempt from obeying the laws that apply to all other citizens. Apart from Gopi Lal Regar, the government servants involved include the BDOs Bhanwar Lal Jain, the JEN, V.K. Arora, and the gram sewaks, Moti Singh and Nirdesh Kumar.

➤ time bound disciplinary actions against the implicated government functionaries leading to their dismissal.

➤ recovery of the Rs. 4.71 lacs identified in the public hearing from both the elected representatives and the government officials according to the Ordinance of January 6, 2000, amending the Raj Panchayati Act (1994).

➤ during the course of its investigation, the district administration must present to the police the December 4th report of the CEO, which makes clear the sarpanch's limited involvement in the cases of fraud relating to the outstanding cash book balances.

➤ acceptance of the review petition against the final orders dated July 31, 1999, which have been pending before the Minister of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj since October 1999.

➤ action against the powerful ward members who have been persecuting villagers who deposed in the public hearing. For instance, Anshi Bai, belonging to a scheduled caste of village Asan, has been physically prevented from filling water from the village well by Kamla Nath, an accused in the above stated FIR.

➤ an inquiry into all Indira Awaas allotments made in Kumalgarh block. In nearly all 25 cases, some diversion of allotments made in the last four years in Umarwaas panchayat has taken place; in 14 cases, 100 percent of the allotment was misused. This is indicative of the fact that the programme probably has not been delivering benefits to the intended beneficiaries in the entire block. The misappropriation in the name of Indira Awaas in Kumalgarh block must be exposed at the highest level and the inquiry must bring to book all those involved in the defalcation. □