

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी हरिद्वार के अन्दर भूमिपतियों ने हरिजनों को मारा। सखनऊ में दो हरिजनों की हत्या की गई है। बिहार शरीफ के अन्दर हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे हुए हैं। इस सरकार ने अखबारों में खबर नहीं आने दी। कई लोगों की वहाँ हत्या हुई है। (*Interruption*) जो चीज हो रही है आज उसकी भी जांच करनी चाहिए। ये तो पच्चीस वर्ष से कांग्रेस के मंत्री रहे हैं, हजारों लोग जेल में आपने बन्द कराये। पच्चीस वर्ष तक इन्होंने हजारों हरिजनों पर, छात्रों पर लाठी और गोली चलवाई। हम लोगों को भी जेलों में बन्द करवाने की ये सोच रहे हैं

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : You have made your point, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : जेल कोई आराम-गृह थोड़े ही है। जब चौधरी चरण सिंह ने बयान दिया तो कहते हैं कि जेल कोई आरामगृह थोड़े ही है जिसमें बी क्लास दिया जाए। (*Interruption*)

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Sir, what is the issue that he has been allowed to raise ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Please sit down, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai. I proceed with the business. Mr. Yogendra Sharma.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176

Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1973-74—contd.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा: माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि बिहार के

भोजपुर जिले में ठीक उसी तरह हरिजन जलाये गये जैसे बेलछी में। इस सम्बन्ध में टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के दो विशेष रिपोर्टर, हिरण्मय धर और कल्याण मुखर्जी ने भोजपुर जिले का दौरा करने के बाद अपने पत्र के 26 जून के अंक में जो लिखा है उसकी तरफ हम आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने लिखा —

"For the Harijans and peasants of Bhojpur District in Bihar, the border line between peace and violence is water-thin. It is not surprising, therefore, that they come to expect terror, rape and bloodshed as part of their lives."

यह हालत पिछली लोक सभा के चुनाव के समय थी और मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि यदि उस वक्त इस तरह के हालात पर कब्जा करने की कोशिश की गई होती तो शायद बेलछी का कांड नहीं होता।

गृह मंत्री (श्री चरण सिंह) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पूछना नहीं चाह रहा था, लेकिन जिस तरह की बातें उभरी हैं उसकी वजह से मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि बेलछी का कांड पोलिग-डे से पहले हो गया था। आप कह रहे हो कि वह कांड नहीं होने दिया गया होता तो बेलछी कांड न हुआ होता। बेलछी का कांड पहले हो गया था।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : यह जो गुरपा कांड है यह लोक सभा के टाइम का है।

गृह मंत्री (श्री चरण सिंह) : लोक सभा के बाद क्या हुआ ?

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : गुरपा कांड का जो मैंने वर्णन किया है यदि यह गलत है तो आप बतायेंगे कि यह गलत है। यह एक रिपोर्टर ने नहीं दो-दो रिपोर्टरों ने कहा है। 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' में निकला है जो इनका विरोधी नहीं

है और इनके प्रति कोई खास द्वेष नहीं है, जहां तक हमको मालूम है। जब इस तरह हरिजनों पर जुल्म होते हैं, अत्याचार होते हैं तो पुलिस क्या करती है ? जिस पुलिस के भरोसे हम लोग समझते हैं कि इस तरह के अत्याचार रोके जा सकते हैं तब पुलिस क्या करती है ? उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है :

"The laws in Bhojpur villages are not executed in the court."

मान्यवर, हम लोगों ने पढ़ा था कि माओ-त्से-तुंग का कथन है कि क्रांति बन्दूक की नाली से निकलती है लेकिन यह रिपोर्टर भोजपुर के बारे में कह रहे हैं :

'Law flows from the barrel of a gun'.

ऐसी जब हालत हो जहां पर कि न कानून हो, न कचहरी हो, सिर्फ बन्दूक का राज हो और वह बन्दूक भी उन भूमिपतियों के पास हो जो हरिजनों के ऊपर अत्याचार करते हैं तो फिर क्या हो ।

श्री चरण सिंह : पहले से क्या हो रहा था ?

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : हम तो सिर्फ इस साल की कह रहे हैं कि हरिजनों को किस आतंक की हालत में अपनी जिन्दगी बितानी पड़ रही है। यह चीजें लगातार हो रही हैं। बेलछी के पहले भी हुई और इसके बाद भी हो रही हैं।

गुजरात के बारे में भी 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' ने आज ही के अंक में लिखा है। उसका शीर्षक ही बतलाता है क्या हो रहा है :

"The tide turns against the Harijans"

हरिजनों के खिलाफ धारा बदल गई है। इसके बाद उन घटनाओं का जिक्र है

जिसमें हरिजनों को मारा जाता है, जमीनें छीनी जाती हैं, फसलें लूटी जाती हैं। जब इन बातों को हम लोग सदन में रखते हैं, गृह मंत्री जी के सामने रखते हैं तो वह यह समझते हैं कि हम राजनीतिक द्वेष के कारण रखते हैं, हम कोई षड़यंत्र उनके खिलाफ रच रहे हैं और यही कारण है कि इस तरह के अत्याचार आज होते जा रहे हैं, अत्याचारों को दूट मिलनी जा रही है। हमारे माननीय मित्र भूपेश जी ने हरियाणा के पास एक गांव रूहालका का जिक्र किया था जिसमें कहा था कि हरिजनों की फसल लूट ली गई और जब दूसरे लोग, जिसमें सुरीम कोर्ट के अधिवक्ता श्री आर० के० गर्ग भी हैं, बीच-बचाव करने के लिये गये तो उन पर भी हमला हुआ। हमले में उनका सिर तोड़ दिया गया और उनके सारे कपड़े फाड़ डाले। उनका फोटो आज के 'नेशनल हैरल्ड' में निकला है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : These are the blood-soaked clothes, Mr. Charan Singh. This happened under the Chief Ministership of your friend.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : मैं सदन का समय हरिजनों पर होने वाले अनवरत अत्याचारों का वर्णन करके खराब नहीं करना चाहता। यह तो पूरे देश में हो रहा है। प्रश्न यह है कि क्यों हो रहा है ? क्यों यह हमले बढ़ रहे हैं। हमारे सामने प्रश्न यह है। जब तक इस प्रश्न की गहराई में नहीं जायेंगे, इस प्रश्न का सही जवाब नहीं पकड़ पायेंगे तब तक इसका निराकरण नहीं कर सकते। हमारी राय है कि इसके दो-तीन कारण हैं। पहला कारण तो यह है कि खुद सरकार ने और खासकर गृह मंत्री जी ने जो नीति अख्तियार की है वह यह है कि ये अत्याचार महज विधि व्यवस्था का प्रश्न हैं।

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

एक अखबार में छपा है कि चार मई को रतलाम जिले में, जो कि मध्य प्रदेश में है, चार हरिजनों को मार डाला गया। तो इस तरह की घटनायें रोज होती हैं। मैं घटनाओं का वर्णन करके सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहता। आज हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि हरिजनों के ऊपर ये अत्याचार क्यों हो रहे हैं। इस सिलसिले में एक कारण यह भी दिखाई देता है कि इस संबंध में नई सरकार का जो रुख है, वह मुख्य रूप से जिम्मेदार है। वह समझती है कि यह विधि और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। हम इसको विधि और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं मानते हैं और यह मांग करते आए हैं कि इस संबंध में जांच करने के लिए एक कमीशन नियुक्त किया जाना चाहिए जो इन सारी चीजों की जांच करें और जो हमलावर हैं उनको सामने लाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर ऐसा किया जाएगा तो हमारे देश में जो शोषित और पीड़ित आदिवासी हैं और जो हरिजन हैं उनके अन्दर सुरक्षा की भावना पैदा होगी।

दूसरा कारण जो मुख्य रूप से इसके लिए जिम्मेदार है वह यह है कि जो वीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम शुरू किया गया था और जिस कार्यक्रम के मातहत हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को जमीनें दी गई थीं, बंधुवा मजदूरों को मुक्ति मिली थी, वह समाप्त कर दिया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कार्यक्रम एक हद तक लागू किया जा चुका था। लेकिन संतोषजनक ढंग से लागू नहीं किया गया था। इस कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत हरिजनों और गिरिजनों को जमीन दी गई थी। मजदूरों की कुछ मजदूरी भी बढ़ी थी। लेकिन नई सरकार के आते ही गांवों के जितने भी बड़े-बड़े शोषक और धनी लोग थे वह सब हरिजनों और गिरिजनों पर टूट पड़े। ज्यों ही नई सरकार कायम हुई त्यों ही उन्होंने समझा कि अब बदला लेने

का मौका आ गया है। उन्होंने हरिजनों और गिरिजनों की जमीनें छीननी शुरू कर दी। जिस जमीन को उनको 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के मातहत दिया गया था वह उनसे छीन ली गई। इसी कारण से हरिजनों पर होने वाले हमलों की संख्या बढ़ गई है। सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि नई सरकार ने 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को क्यों छोड़ दिया? यदि आप हरिजनों से प्रेम रखते हैं, गिरिजनों से प्रेम रखते हैं तो यह 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम जो हरिजनों की सहायता के लिए था, यह आपने क्यों बन्द कर दिया? हम चाहते हैं कि यदि आप हरिजनों से प्रेम रखते हैं, हरिजनों का उद्धार करना चाहते हैं तो कम से कम इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को और इसके गरीब पक्षी नुक्तों को लागू कीजिये। आप कहते हैं कि यह काम राज्य सरकारों का है। मगर सवाल इस बात का है कि राज्य सरकारों ने भी इस कार्यक्रम को क्यों बन्द कर दिया? आज हरिजनों और गिरिजनों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं उसका एक कारण यह भी है कि नई सरकार ने जो नीति प्रतिपादित की है उसमें भूपतियों और धनी लोगों को बढ़ावा दिया गया है। नई सरकार ने विकास की जो नई नीति प्रतिपादित की है वह पहली नीति से भिन्न है। पहले जो नीति थी उस पर भी अमल नहीं होता था, लेकिन वह कागज में अच्छी नीति थी और उसमें डेवलपमेंट विद सोशियल जस्टिस की बात कही गई थी। लेकिन आपकी नीति में सामाजिक न्याय की बात नहीं है। सामाजिक न्याय के बिना विकास नहीं हो सकता है, इस बात को आप भूल जाते हैं। यही कारण है कि आज हरिजनों की जमीन छीनी जा रही है। छोटा नागपुर क्षेत्र के 50 हजार आदिवासियों और हरिजनों को जमीन से बेदखल किया गया है। यह बात मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि अम्बेदकर शोध संस्थान ने कही है। बिहार विधान सभा में इस विषय पर बहस के दौरान एक सदस्य ने बताया कि अब तक बिहार में 20 हजार एकड़ जमीन से हरिजनों

और आदिवासियों को बेदखल किया जा चुका है। इस प्रकार से हरिजनों पर अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं। इसका प्रधान कारण आर्थिक है। जो आर्थिक सुविधाएं उन लोगों को दी गई थीं, वे उनसे छीनी जा रही हैं। अगर आपको हरिजनों का उद्धार करना है तो आप उनके लिए आर्थिक साधन मुह्य्या कीजिये। इस सिलसिले में हम जिस कमिश्नर फार शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एण्ड ट्राइब की रिपोर्ट पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, उस रिपोर्ट में भी इस बात को कहा गया है। उस रिपोर्ट में भी कहा गया है कि हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये और आदिवासियों के उद्धार के लिये जो मूल समस्या है, वह उनके आर्थिक सुरक्षा की समस्या है। जब तक उनको हम आर्थिक सुरक्षा नहीं देते हैं, तब तक उनका उद्धार नहीं हो सकता है। मान्यवर,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : You have another 2-3 mummies only.

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा : इस रिपोर्ट में कमिश्नर ने कहा है कि :

"It is this economic dependence coupled with the present socio-economic system that breeds exploitation of man by man. At this juncture it may be reiterated that economic security is the only lasting and basic solution for the emancipation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

हम आशा करते हैं कि सरकार शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट की इस बात को स्वीकार करे और स्वीकार करके, उन को वे आर्थिक सुरक्षाएँ दे, जिन आर्थिक सुरक्षाओं से हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का कल्याण और उद्धार हो सकता है।

मान्यवर, हमारे बिहार में एक जगह है, मोकाना। वहाँ पर एक बाटा के जूते का कारखाना है, बाटा शू कम्पनी। उस जूते के

कारखाने में, जूते बनाने के काम के लिये, आप को सुनकर शायद आश्चर्य न हो, यदि आप इस बात को जानते हों, परन्तु यदि नहीं जानते तो सुनकर आश्चर्य जरूर होगा कि—ब्राह्मण और चमार दोनों कम्पीटीशन करते हैं, प्रतियोगिता करते हैं कि हम करेंगे और हम करेंगे। ब्राह्मण का ब्राह्मणपन खत्म और चमार का चमारपन खत्म। दोनों वहाँ मिलकर एक मजदूर होकर के, तमाम अपने भेद-भावों को भुला करके, जूते बनाने का काम कर रहे हैं। हम समझते हैं कि जितने भी उद्योग धंधे हैं, उनमें हिन्दू और मुस्लिम ब्राह्मण और चमार सब एक छत के नीचे बैठ करके काम करें, तो यह जो परम्परागत भेदभाव है, वह बहुत हद तक कम हो सकते हैं। यदि हरिजनों को परम्परागत मुसीबतों से निकालना है और उनको समाज में अन्य वर्गों के समकक्ष लाना है तो उनको हम, जो नये-नये कारखाने बन रहे हैं, या पुराने जो कारखाने हैं, उनमें उनको अधिक से अधिक जगहें दें, नौकरियों में उनको जगहें दें और जिस हद तक वह इन नये उद्योग धंधों में काम पायेंगे उसी हद तक उनकी जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमता है, वह खत्म होगी और उन पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, वह खत्म होंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम परम्परागत, युग-युग से आए हुए हिन्दू समाज के इस अभिशाप की बात करते हैं, सही बात करते हैं। लेकिन हम क्या देखते हैं कि हरिजनों में से जो धनी हो जाता है, जिसके पास पद आ जाता है, जिसको शक्ति मिल जाती है, उसकी पूजा ब्राह्मण भी करने लगते हैं। मैं माननीय जगजीवन राम जी को जानता हूँ, आप भी जानते हैं कि आज एक ऊँचे से ऊँचा ब्राह्मण भी उनके पैर छूकर उनकी पूजा करता है क्योंकि वे केन्द्रीय सरकार में एक बहुत जोरदार और बहुत ही असरदार मंत्री हैं। यदि आप हरिजनों को उठाना चाहते हैं, आदिवासियों को उठाना चाहते हैं, तो उन्हें आप अपने मंत्रिमंडल में ज्यादा से ज्यादा

[श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा]

जगहें दीजिये, आप दूसरी जगहों, पर उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा जगहें दीजिये। मगर यहां पर हालत क्या है? अभी इस रिपोर्ट में बतलाया गया है कि जो भी संरक्षण है, जो भी संरक्षण हरिजनों को दिया गया है, नौकरियों के लिये या जो आदिवासियों के लिये दिये गये हैं, वे सुरक्षित जगहें भी उनको नहीं मिलती हैं। कहा जाता है कि साहब, हरिजन नहीं मिलते, आदिवासी नहीं मिलते। लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि आज रोजगार दफ्तरों के रजिस्ट्रों पर हरिजन बेरोजगारों की संख्या 809899 है और आदिवासियों की संख्या 248579 है। यह रिपोर्ट 1973 साल की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन 5-6 सालों में यह संख्या बहुत बढ़ गई होगी। एक तरफ तो यह हालत है और दूसरी तरफ कहा जाता है कि साहब आदमी नहीं मिलते हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य: यह कांग्रेस सरकार के समय की बात है।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा: मैं कांग्रेस और जनता पार्टी की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं तो हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की बात कर रहा हूँ। आप कांग्रेस और जनता पार्टी के झगड़े में हरिजनों को बलिवेदी पर चढ़ाना चाहते हैं पर हम यह नहीं करने जा रहे हैं।

तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि न केवल उनके लिए जो सुरक्षित जगहें हैं हमारा ख्याल है कि 15 फी सदी और साढ़े सात फी सदी जो सुरक्षित जगहें हैं, उनको पूरे तौर पर लिया जाए। बल्कि जैसे कि कमिश्नर ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है और सिफारिश की है, उसको रिपोर्ट के अनुसार बढ़ाया जाए मान्यवर, मैं आपको सुना देना चाहता हूँ, और अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगा।

"It is therefore, suggested that reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be reasonably increased to 85 per cent and to per cent respectively."

यह शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट है कि अभी जो रिजर्वेशन है उस रिजर्वेशन के परसेंटेज को बढ़ाया जाए। हम समझते हैं कि गृह मंत्री को इसको स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए। यदि आपत्ति है तो हमको यह शक होगा कि हरिजनों के प्रति जो प्रेम वे प्रदर्शित करते हैं शायद वह हृदय से नहीं करते हैं और यदि वे हृदय से करते हैं तो कोई बजह नहीं कि इसको स्वीकार करने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए। एक बात हम और यह भी कहना चाहते हैं कि पुलिस जिसके बारे में कहा जाता है कि हरिजनों पर अत्याचार करती है, यह शिकायत आमतौर पर सुनने में आती है। आप पुलिस फोर्स में 50 प्रतिशत हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को लीजिए। इससे बहुत हद तक उनके प्रति अत्याचार की घटनाओं की संख्या में कमी हो जाएगी।

आखिर में मान्यवर हम कहेंगे, हम आपसे कहेंगे, आडवाणी जी नहीं हैं, चौधरी साहब से नहीं, क्योंकि चौधरी साहब हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए इतने चिन्तित नहीं हैं, आदिवासी और हरिजनों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं जिनसे सारा देश गूँज रहा है, उनकी रिपोर्ट पर हम यहां बहस कर रहे हैं। इसके लिये समय नहीं है, और आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं। बहस हो रही है रूल 176 के मातहत। सरकार ने तो हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रति बेरुखी अख्तियार कर ली है। हम समझते हैं कि पार्लियामेंट को इस कलंक से बचना चाहिए। और यदि पार्लियामेंट को इस कलंक से बचाना है तो हम आपसे निवेदन करना चाहते हैं और पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर से भी निवेदन करना चाहते हैं कि कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था निकालिए ताकि कम से कम इन

रिपोर्टों पर ठीक समय पर और सही तौर पर बहस हो सके। मेरा यह मुझाव है कि बजट सेशन में जब राज्य सभा एक महीने के लिए छुट्टियों पर चली जाती है, क्यों न उस समय का उपयोग किया जाए जिसमें इस तरह की रिपोर्टों पर बहस की जा सके जिन पर बहस करने के लिए समय नहीं मिलता है।

आज हम चार साल पुरानी रिपोर्ट पर बहस कर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं आपसे भी और पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स के मंत्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाए ताकि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की रिपोर्ट पर समय पर पार्लियामेंट में बहस हो और ठीक तरीके से बहस हो नहीं तो हमारी पार्लियामेंट भी हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रति सरकार की बेरुखी के लिए दुर्भाग्य से भागी हो जाएगी। हम समझते हैं कि पार्लियामेंट तो कम से कम भागी नहीं हो और यदि वह भी हो जाएगी तो फिर हमारे देश में क्या होगा, तब इन हरिजनों के लिए क्या रास्ता रह जायेगा ? और उस हालत में जबकि कानून हम बनाते हैं और उसके अनुसार न्यायालय निर्णय करता है। हरिजन और गिरिजन अपने उद्धार के लिए कोई दूसरा रास्ता पकड़ेंगे। यदि हम इस स्थिति को नहीं लाना चाहते तो हमें पार्लियामेंट के जरिए से उनके अधिकारों की उचित रक्षा करनी पड़ेगी।

3 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, from these Benches we are presenting to Mr. Charan Singh the blood-soaked clothes of the victims of landlord attack against the Harijans and others at Ruhalki village near Haridwar, yesterday. The hon. lady Member on our behalf will present these clothes to Mr. Charan Singh so that his conscience could be roused.

श्रीमती सरोज खापर्डे : श्रीमन, मैं अपनी ओर से तथा अपनी पार्टी का ओर से यह हरिजनों के खून से भोगा हुआ वस्त्र माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को प्रदान करना चाँगी।

श्री चरण सिंह : नहीं, नहीं, इसको आप ले जायें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWADA) : You can keep it here. (Interruptions). No, no, that is not correct. That is not correct. (Interruptions). I am sorry....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is highly derogatory.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. It is highly an arrogant attitude on die part of the Home Minister. This is an insult....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Will you please sit down ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He threw it away. It is highly arrogant. Probably this Home Minister does not know what he has done. He may not have liked it. He may have said something, but the manner in which, in a cavalier manner, he threw it away is an insult to the House. It is indecent. It is an insult to the lady, an insult to all of us.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you see, it is not in order to make a presentation in the House. Anyway, I said: You can keep it here. You made a statement. She also made a statement. She also made a statement and then said that she would make a presentation. That was not in order. And I am sorry the Home Minister threw it away; he need not have thrown it. Let us now go on with the discussion. Let us not go further into it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In this House never has a Minister behaved in this manner. Is he a dictator ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Order, order, please. (*Interruptions*). Order, order, please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is he an arbitrator ? What is he ? He can say whatever he likes . He could raise a point of order. You can make a statement. You can chide your colleague, rebuke us. But the manner in which the Home Minister behaved, threw it away... (*Interruptions*). Shame, shame.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I made my point. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, in protest we all walk out.

(*At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber*)

श्री सुजान सिंह (हरियाणा) : (*Interruptions*) यह हम नहीं टालरेट करेंगे । (*Interruptions*) हरिजनों पर जितने जुल्म हुए यह सारे जुल्म सितम कांग्रेस ने किये, यह कांग्रेस के समय में हुए . . . (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Order, order. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सुजान सिंह : लेकिन इन्होंने क्या काम किया । हरिजनों पर जुल्म इन्होंने किए और आदिवासियों पर इन्होंने जुल्म किये । अब ये सारे जुल्म 3 महीने से हमारे सिर पर थोप रहे हैं (*Interruptions*)

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, the parliamentary decorum, I think, has been completely shattered and spoiled by a very

Senior Member of this House, The hon. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta,. I am here for the past three years and I have never seen an incident like that. Because he is the seniormost Member, certain privileges are given to him.

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी (बिहार) : कोरम नहीं है मान्यवर ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : अभी बोल सकते हैं ।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : You can raise the quorum voice only after I have finished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Just sit down for a minute. Would you like me to ring the Quorum bell ? Now the Quorum bell is being rung. You can continue.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : I would have not worried so much if this had been done by a new Member of this House. I feel that you must take a serious note of it. Blood-stained clothes whether those were the clothes worn by the person who was actually assaulted or something like that—have come here and whoever is the Home Minister, without taking the permission of the Chair, he brings something here. Tomorrow he can bring anything else and throw it. Even a bomb can be brought here and it can be thrown at the Home Minister or the Prime Minister. Therefore, I want that this House must condemn this action of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and this issue must be placed before the Privileges Committee. I move that this should be placed before the Privileges Committee.

श्री चरण सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक कपड़ा लाल रंग जिसमें एक हिस्से में है हो सकता है कि किसी जानवर का खून हो, हो सकता है कि इन्सान के खून का

भी हो और हो सकता है कि किसी हरिजन के ही खून का हो, मगर सारा सवाल यह है कि क्या सदन में लाने की यह चीज है ? जैसा माननीय मित्र कह रहे थे, यह अब तक कभी हुआ नहीं। जो तरीका है बहस करने का उससे भी जाहिर हो रहा है कल को लाश भी ला सकते हैं। तो क्या सदन में उसकी इजाजत दी जाएगी ? और वे मुझे पेश करने के लिए कहते हैं कि "उनको हम पेश करेंगे"। तो मैं क्या उसे एक्सेप्ट कर लेता ? जब आपने कृपा की यह क्लियर देने की। होम मिनिस्टर को भी यह नहीं करना चाहिए—

Should I have accepted it ?

जो मेरे कालीग ने अभी ट्रिब्लेज मोशन दिया है वह लाएँगे वक्त पर तो मैं भी उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। लगता है कि बहस को सुनने वाला कोई नहीं है और बहस सुनने का भी कोई इरादा नहीं।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके जरिए विनती करूंगा चूंकि यह बहुत ही अहम मामले पर बहस हो रही है और दबे कुचले हुए लोगों की समस्या पर बहस हो रही है इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि अधिक समय देने की आप कृपा करेंगे और मैं गृह मंत्री जी से विनती करूंगा कि वे सुनें, माननीय सदस्यों की राय को सुनें, और सुनने के बाद देश में जो एक परिस्थिति बनी है उसको समझे। यह रिपोर्ट पुरानी है और मैं चाहूंगा कि माननीय सदस्य सुने। इसमें कोई व्यवधान करना अच्छी बात नहीं है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Mr. Thakur, will you kindly sit down ?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Sir, I have raised the privilege issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Will you kindly sit down ? You have made your statement. Now I don't want further

discussion on this. Anyway, there is quorum now. We shall proceed with the discussion. You are interested in having a discussion on this particular subject. You have all come back and there is quorum now. I suggest we proceed with the business. I now call Mr. Kureel. He is not there. Then Mr. Ramanand Yadav.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, what about my privilege issue ? I have raised it. What is your ruling ? On the behaviour of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I moved a privilege motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : I will look into it.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश में अनुसूचित जातियों अनुसूचित जनजातियों तथा पिछड़े वर्ग का शोषण बड़े ही भीषण रूप से सदियों से चला आ रहा है। इसके खिलाफ़ समय समय पर इस देश के आर्थिक क्रांति करने वाले लोगों, सामाजिक क्रांति करने वाले लोगों और राजनैतिक क्रांति करने वाले लोगों व देश के कर्तव्य भागों में आन्दोलन भी किए हैं जिससे आर्थिक रूप से सफलता मिली है और आज भी बहुत काम बाकी हैं। हमारे सामने कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है। यह कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आज से 4 साल पहले तैयार हुई थी। दुख की बात है कि सरकार ने, जो भी पहले रहीं हो, इस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पर गम्भीरता पूर्वक विचार नहीं किया। इस से मालूम होता है कि इस प्रश्न को जो समाज के अंगुष्ठा हैं जो समय समय पर सरकार में आते रहे हैं उन्होंने बड़े ही हलके ढंग से समझने की कोशिश की है और हल करने का कोशिश की है। यह हमारे हिन्दु धर्म के लिए एक लान्छन की बात है। दुख की बात और यह होती है कि जब दक्षिण अफ्रीका में वहाँ के लोगों पर और वहाँ के भारतीय जो वहाँ के मूल वासी हैं उन पर वहाँ के अंग्रेज अत्याचार करते हैं, विपरीत व्यवहार करते हैं तो वहाँ के अखबार और धर्म के ठेकेदार और बड़े

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

बड़े राजनीतिक नेता अपने बयान अखबारों में देते हैं, उसकी निन्दा करते हैं। उन के मामले अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं में उठते हैं, लेकिन इस देश में जब यहाँ के हरिजनों पर, आदिवासियों पर और पिछड़े वर्गों पर अत्याचार होते हैं, उनका शोषण होता है तो यह उसपर गम्भीरता के साथ विचार भी नहीं करते। उसपर मनन नहीं करते कि उस समस्या को कैसे हल किया जाये। आज यह मानी हुई बात है कि इस देश में जो जाति जितनी ऊँची कही जाती है उसके पास जीवन के उतने ही साधन हैं, राजनीतिक ताकत है, सामाजिक ताकत है और जो जाति नीची कही जाने वाली है उसकी आर्थिक हालत, उसकी सामाजिक हालत, राजनीतिक हालत उतनी ही नीची है और उसके पास साधन उतने ही कम हैं। लेकिन इसको दूर करने के लिए क्या कभी हम लोगों ने कोई प्रयास किया है? किया है तो अधूरे ढंग से किया है और कुछ राजनीतिक लालच से, कुछ बोट पाने की लालच से या दूसरे कारणों से किया है। सचमुच अगर आज आप आँख उठाकर देखें तो पायेंगे कि इस देश के जो आदिवासी हैं उनका किस तरह से शोषण गैर-आदिवासियों ने विभिन्न इलाकों में और प्रान्तों में किया है। मैं अपने प्रान्त को लेता हूँ छोटा नागपुर सब डिवीजन में संथाल परगना में बहुत आदिवासी रहते हैं। मेरी आँखों के सामने देखते-देखते बीस सालों में वह आदिवासी जो कभी भूमिहीन नहीं थे आज उनमें से दस परसेंट भूमिहीन हो गए हैं और यही नहीं, आदिवासियों की जमीन उन्हें शराब पिलाकर उनकी अनभिज्ञता से, उनकी अज्ञानता से और उनकी निरक्षरता के कारण सरकारी मशीनरी के बल से गैर-आदिवासियों ने लिखा ली है और इतना ही नहीं, उन्हें भूमिहीन बना दिया है। आज तक जो आदिवासी कभी भूमिहीन नहीं थे, हरिजन भूमिहीन थे, लेकिन आदिवासी नहीं थे, उनके पास चाहे जिस किसी भाग में हो अपनी जमीन थी, उनका अपना घर था और अपनी जमीन

पर वे कायत करते थे, आज उनके पास कायत करने के साधन नहीं हैं और उनमें से दस परसेंट भूमिहीन हो गए हैं। जो बाकी है उनकी जमीन भी धोखा धड़ी से शराब पिलाकर सरकारी मशीनरी के जरिए लिखा ली गई है। आज राँची में चले जाइए, जमशेदपुर में चले जाइए, बोकारो में चले जाइए, स्थिति क्या है? आस पास के सारे आदिवासी जो हैं उनकी जमीनें लिखा ली गई हैं। बिहार की कांग्रेस सरकार ने एक ऐक्ट बनाया था कि 20 वर्ष के अन्दर जितनी भी जमीनें आदिवासियों को फुसलाकर, शराब पिलाकर या सरकारी यंत्र के माध्यम से लोगों ने लिखा ली हैं उनको वापस लौटा दी जाय। इसके लिए कानून बना लेकिन दुःख की बात है कि उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ क्योंकि सरकार में बैठने वाले जो बाबू लोग हैं जिनको अफसर कहिए उन सब का इंटरैस्ट उनमें है और इसलिए वे उसको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं होने देते। हमारे सारे मंसूबों पर उन्होंने पानी फेर दिया। तो मैं चाहूँगा कि आपकी सरकार इतने दिनों से बैठी हुई है आप कहते हैं कि हम गरीब तबकों को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं आप ने नारा भी दिया हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की माली हालत सुधारने के लिए आप कानून बनायेंगे तो आप दूसरे कानून न बनायें, जितने कानून कांग्रेस सरकार ने बनाए हैं अगर आपमें ईमानदारी हो तो उन्हींको अगर आप इम्प्लीमेंट कर दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि 75 फीसदी उन गरीब तबकों के लोगों को राहत मिल जाएगी। लेकिन आपके अन्दर उनको इम्प्लीमेंट करने का जरा बल होना चाहिए, हिम्मत होनी चाहिए। जो लोग सरकारी मशीनरी में बैठे हुए हैं वे इसको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं होने देना चाहते क्योंकि सरकार से वह मिले हुए हैं। बिहार सरकार के बड़े बड़े ओहदों पर जो हैं अगर उनका छोटा नागपुर में तबादला हो गया तो राँची में भूमि खरीदकर पक्के मकान बनाए जायेंगे और नहीं तो भाड़ा तो कम से कम आयेंगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि इस सदन में भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं

और आदिवासियों को जमीन लेकर उनके बड़े बड़े घर बने हुए हैं। मैं कहेगा कि आप इन्वॉयरी कराइए, आप देखेंगे कि जिस तरह से आदिवासियों की जमीनें छीनी गई हैं।

दूसरी बात मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में, आप जानते ही हैं, अथवा जी, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बने हैं वे भी आदिवासी पहाड़ी इलाकों में ही बने हैं। सरकार भी उनका शोषण करती है। सरकार ने लाखों एकड़ जमीन लेकर हटिया का कारखाना बनाया, बोकारों का कारखाना भी बनाया लेकिन उन जमीनों का मुआवजा अभी तक नहीं दिया गया। बोकारों का लगभग 4 करोड़ रुपए के करीब मुआवजा अभी देना है। जब मैं कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में था तो मैंने पूछा कि कितना रुपया अभी बाकी है तो बताया गया कि 4 करोड़ रुपए उनके मुआवजे के बाकी हैं और मुआवजा जब हटिया के कारखाने का देने लगे तो आप जानते हैं कि उन गरीब आदिवासियों को पैसे नहीं मिले। उनके नाम पर दूसरे आदिमी हाकिमों से मिल गए। आदिवासी सीधे सादे, कम पड़े लिखे आदिमी हाकिम के पास जा नहीं सकते थे, उससे डरने वाले थे, उनको रुपए नहीं मिले। हटिया के कारखाने में जितना परसेंटेज नौकरी में मिलना चाहिए था और आज भी बोकारों कारखाने में जो आदिवासियों की रिजर्वेशन आप करते हैं कि इतने परसेंट नौकरी मिलेगी, लेकिन बड़े-बड़े कारखानों में जहाँ कहीं भी आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कारखाने बने हैं उनकी जमीनें लेकर बनाए गए हैं। लेकिन उनकी जमीनें लेकर उनके बाल-बच्चों को नौकरी न देकर जहाँ के अफसर गए अने व. के लोगो को बुला कर नौकरी दे दी (Interruptions)

आपके समय में भी हो रहा है। मुआवजे के पैसे नहीं दिये गये, नौकरी में जितनी सुविधा मिलनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं मिली। सरकारी नौकरियों में चाहे केन्द्र में, चाहे प्रान्तों में, कितने आदिवासी और हरिजन हैं? कितने

आई० ए० एस० अफसर हैं। जब आई० ए० एस० अफसरों के लिए क्वालीफाई कोई हरिजन करता है प्रमोशन के माध्यम से तो उसके पहले अगर कोई सवर्ण लोग है और अगर ऊपर का कोई अफसर है जिसको करेक्टर रोल लिखना है तो उसको खराब कर दिया जाता है ताकि उसको प्रमोशन नहीं मिल सके। आई० ए० एस० के प्रमोशन में आने का जो क्रम बांधा है तो उस क्रम को, उस तारतम्य को तोड़ने के लिए सरकारी मुलाजिम कांसिपिरेसी करते हैं। आज आदिवासी पुलिस में नहीं हैं, बड़े-बड़े ओहदों पर नहीं हैं इसलिए यह होता है। कितने आई० जी० हैं, बताइये। कितने डी० आई० जी० हैं हरिजन या आदिवासी? कितने एस० पी० हैं, कितने डी० एस० पी० हैं, कितने दारोगा हैं और दूसरे महकमों में हैं। तो इस तरह से गरीबों का शोषण होता है। जो आज इनके लोग होते तो इनकी हत्याएँ नहीं होतीं और इनकी रक्षा करते। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता है। कमीशन आये लेकिन उसकी रिपोर्ट कस्टमरी बन गई है। हम डिस्कशन करेंगे, डिस्कशन के बाद भूल जायेंगे, सरकारी मुलाजिम सोचेंगे कि हमारा काम खत्म हो गया। पिछले चार-पांच वर्ष से इस पर कोई चर्चा नहीं हुई। कैसे लोग कमीशन में बैठायें जाते हैं और कौन-कौन लोग इसका कार्य-संचालन करते हैं, इस पर भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हरिजनों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में गहराई से सोचा जाये। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि किसी एक व्यक्ति के आने से हरिजनों का उद्धार हो सकता है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि यह एक आर्थिक लड़ाई है। आर्थिक लड़ाई हिम्मत के साथ लड़ी जानी चाहिए। इस समस्या के अन्दर जो निहित स्वार्थ हैं, जो बड़े-बड़े भू-स्वामी हैं, जनता पार्टी की सरकार आने के बाद उनकी हिम्मत बढ़ गई है। जनता पार्टी में ऐसे लोग हैं, चौधरी चरण सिंह और श्री मोरारजी देसाई, जिन्होंने बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का विरोध

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

किया। अन्य निहित स्वार्थों के लोग भी इसमें हैं। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से इन लोगों की स्थिति को सुधारा जाय। समाज के जिस वर्ग की आज सरकार है उसमें यह हिम्मत नहीं है कि वह हमारे सामाजिक और आर्थिक ढांचे में कोई परिवर्तन लाये। कांग्रेस पार्टी के रिजि. में जो लड़ाई शुरू की गई थी और जिस प्रकार से हरिजनों को जमीन दी गई थी उसको आज पूंजीपति और भूस्वामी वापस ले रहे हैं। आज स्थिति यह हो गई है कि हमारे समाज के अन्दर जो बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति और भूस्वामी हैं और जो करप्ट होर्ड्स और स्मगलर्स हैं उन्होंने समाज के कमजोर वर्गों के लोगों को सताना शुरू कर दिया है। गांवों के अन्दर जो भूस्वामी हैं...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Kindly wind up. There are a large number of speakers from your party.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Please give me five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): No. You were allotted 10 minutes. You have already taken more than that. One minute you can take.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : श्रीमन्, मैं कह रहा था कि हमारे देश में जो बड़े बड़े भू-स्वामी हैं, नई सरकार के आते ही उनकी हिम्मत बहुत बढ़ गई है। वे समझते हैं कि हमारी सरकार है और इसीलिए हरिजनों पर अत्याचार करते हैं। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत बड़े बड़े भू-स्वामियों से जमीन लेकर हरिजनों और मजदूरों में बांटी गई थी। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह हो गई है कि हरिजनों से यह जमीन वापस ली जा रही है। बिहार में चम्पारण जिले में हरिजनों को जो जमीन दी गई थी, वह उनसे वापस ली जा रही है। रोहतास जिले में जो श्री जगजीवन राम जी का क्षेत्र है, वहां पर भी यही हालत है।

परवत्ता में हरिजनों को अपनी जमीनों से हटाया जा रहा है। कई लोग अपनी जमीन से अपदस्थ कर दिये गये हैं। आदिवासियों और हरिजनों को जो आवास भूमि आवंटित की गई थी वह भी छीनी जा रही है। रोहतास, भोजपुर, पटना आदि जिलों में लगभग 600 से अधिक हरिजन नवयुवकों ने अपनी मजदूरी के लिए आन्दोलन किया। लेकिन उनकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं की गई। एक नवयुवक को तो गोली से मार दिया गया। जब से जनता पार्टी का रिजिम आया है तब से ये अत्याचार बहुत बढ़ गये हैं। सरकार को अपनी मशीनरी को सतर्क करना चाहिए।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ सजेशन देना चाहता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए हॉम डिपार्टमेंट के अन्तर्गत एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट कायम किया जाना चाहिए और इसका जो कमिश्नर हो वह कोई हरिजन हो या आदिवासी हो इसमें जो बड़े बड़े अफसर रखे जाते हैं वे ऊंची जाति के होते हैं। उनकी इस काम में कोई श्रद्धा नहीं होती है। यह जो ओल्ड लिगेसी है या जो पुरानी पृष्ठभूमि है उसको बदला जाना चाहिए। ऐसे आदमी को कमिश्नर बनाया जाना चाहिए जो हरिजन या आदिवासी हो और इन लोगों का ख्याल रखता हो। दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स कमीशन बनाइये आपने जो रेजोल्यूशन रखा है, सरकार ने जो रेजोल्यूशन रखा है, उसे इन-टोटो मानिये और जैसा भां हो इसको आप पूरा कराइये।

मैं एक और सजेशन देना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि आप जितने भी हरिजनों के लड़के बी० ए०, एम० ए० पास हैं, जितने भी आदिवासियों के पढ़े लिखे लड़के हैं, उनको नौकरियों में प्राथमिकता दें। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के पढ़े-लिखे लड़के मारे मारे फिरते हैं, लेकिन सवर्ण और दीगर

जातियों के पढ़े-लिखे लड़कों की क्या हालत है? क्योंकि उनके अपने लोग सर्विस में होते हैं, इसलिये उनके माध्यम से उनको नौकरी प्राप्त हो जाती है, लेकिन यह हरिजनों के साथ नहीं होता। उनके लड़के मारे-मारे फिरते हैं। आदिवासियों के लड़के मारे-मारे फिरते हैं। आप रिपोर्ट निकाल कर देख लें। एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में रजिस्टर्ड नौकरी तलाश करने वाले में कितने आदिवासी हैं और कितने हरिजन हैं तथा दूसरे लोग कितने हैं? यदि वहाँ का आप रजिस्टर देखें कि तो आप पायेंगे कि उनमें से अधिकांश हरिजन और आदिवासी अन-एम्प्लायमेंट हैं। उनको एम्प्लायमेंट देने के लिये, उनकी हालत सुधारने के लिए क्या कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं? यह तब है कि आर्थिक साधन उनके हाथों में नहीं हैं, इसलिये उन पर अत्याचार होते हैं, क्योंकि आर्थिक साधन उनके हाथों में नहीं हैं, इसलिये उनके आर्थिक मरडस होते हैं। अगर आप इन अत्याचारों को खत्म करना चाहते हैं, उनको मरडस से बचाना चाहते हैं, यदि आप उनके शोषण का अन्त करना चाहते हैं, तो उनकी आर्थिक हालत को सुधारने के लिये जो भी सम्भव उपाय हो, वह करें, यह मैं आपसे आग्रह करूँगा।

काका कालेलकर कमीशन

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN
(SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr.
Yadav, will you kindly wind up?

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV : One minutes

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K.
LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : No, no. Otherwise I
will have to restrict the time for the other
speakers. There are 16 speakers. One more
suggestion.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं आपसे अपील करूँगा कि काका कालेलकर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट जो इस सभा पटल पर नहीं रखी गई है, उसको यहाँ रखा जाये। उसका कार्यान्वयन नहीं किया गया है। आप यह भी देखने की कोशिश करें कि जो पिछड़ी जाति के लोग हैं, उन पर क्या कम अत्याचार हो रहे हैं? हरिजनों की ही तरह तेली, नाई, कुम्हार, और धोबी आदि गरीब तबकों के जो लोग हैं उनकी आर्थिक हालत हरिजनों से भी खराब है और आदिवासियों से खराब है। ऐसे लोगों की हालत सुधारने के लिये पिछड़े वर्ग के कमीशन की जो रिपोर्ट है, उसके अनुसार कार्यवाही की जाये। मुसलमानों में जो अन्सार हैं मोमिन हैं तथा दूसरे जो पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग हैं, उन की भी हालत खराब है। इसलिये मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूँगा कि काका कालेलकर कमीशन की जो रिपोर्ट है, उस रिपोर्ट पर अमल किया जाय। यदि इस पर अमल न किया गया तो क्या होगा? इस देश का जो सताया हुआ तबका है, इस देश का जो गरीब मुसलमान है, इस देश के गरीब और पिछड़े वर्ग के जो लोग हैं, इस देश का जो गरीब आदिवासी है, इस देश का जो गरीब हरिजन है, वह सिविल राइट्स के लिये आन्दोलन करेगा, क्योंकि उस पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, उसका शोषण हो रहा है। अगर आप इस आन्दोलन को बचाना चाहते हैं, अपने देश की इज्जत बाहर के मुल्कों के सामने बचाना चाहते हैं, तो आप उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के बारे में गंभीरता से सोचें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K.
LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : That is enough.
Please sit down.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आपने देखा कि इन तबकों के जो लोग हैं, उनको जनता

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

पार्टी की सरकार ने कितना प्रतिनिधित्व दिया, कितने लोगों को मंत्रिमंडल में लिया। आप देखें कि केन्द्र में केवल एक हरिजन मंत्री है बाबू जग-जीवन राम। कोई भी आदिवासी मंत्री मंत्रिमंडल में नहीं लिया गया है। पिछले सरकार के मंत्रिमंडल में भी नहीं था, कोई आदिवासी मिनिस्टर नहीं रखा गया था, मैं मानता हूँ कि कांग्रेस की सरकार में भी रखा जाना चाहिये था। क्या इस समाज में आदिवासियों का कम स्थान है? क्या उन्हें मंत्री नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिये? मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : If it goes on like this, we will not be able to finish this business today.

श्री रामानन्द यादव: मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको हरिजनों और आदिवासियों से प्रेम नहीं है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : If this goes on like this, nothing will go on record. It will not go on record,

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV : (Continued to speak).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) : Hon. Members, unless you co-operate or if time is taken like this, I do not think we will be in a position to dispose of this business at all. I would suggest that we restrict the time to 10 minutes each from now on. We said in the beginning '10 to 15 minutes each' from now on, but many of the hon. Members have taken more time. There are a large number of Congress Members. Now, I call on Mr. Mahendra Mohan Mishra. He is not here. Mr. Santosh Kumar Sahu.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today when we are discussing the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is in the discharge of one of the constitutional privileges that we have got. The framers of the Constitution were very considerate to the need to improve the Socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and to fulfil their ambitions and desires. The founding fathers of the Constitution incorporated Article 338 saying that there should be a special officer who would look into the working and development of the socio-economic conditions, the educational development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and report to the President and then the report should be discussed by the Houses of Parliament. The report which we are now discussing is for the year 1973-74. It was submitted to the Home Ministry in 1975 and printed in 1976. And it has come before us for discussion in 1977. What sort of importance is being assigned to these reports can be visualised from this. There are 79 million Scheduled Castes and 38 million Scheduled Tribes people in our country and 7 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes are living in forests. Now, what is the crux of the problem? Why did the framers of our Constitution give so much importance for the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people? It was because these people have been the most exploited. They have been backward in their economic conditions since centuries. These people made a terrible impact on the Indian movement. That was why the founding fathers of our Constitution and Mahatama Gandhi wanted that the centuries old economic backwardness of these people, their exploitation, should be put to an end and prosperity be brought to these downtrodden million. Now, after so many years of our independence only figures and statistics have been given in the reports and not much of progress or

improvement, in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The little progress that I see is not worth mentioning when compared with the aims and objectives that we set before us in our attempt to develop a welfare state in the world. When we are discussing this report it is very important to know what is happening to the people of these communities daily. Daily we see in the newspapers reports of atrocities committed on the Harijans. Especially in the last two days I have come across many such incidents reported in the newspapers. I will not talk of Belchi incident now. It has already been discussed in the House. I shall now read out to you a news item appearing in the Hindustan Times Weekly of Sunday :

"RATLAM (MP) : four Harijans were killed in a clash with a group of Gairi community at Kanadia village of Adote tehsil of Ratlam district on August 4. The clash reportedly occurred when the agricultural land allotted to Harijans was allegedly seized by non-Harijan villagers."

Then, Sir, I bring before you another news item which appeared in the Times of India. Here again there is another clash where at Ruhalka village near Hardwar the Chauhan landlords allegedly occupied lands held by Harijans, and when the Harijans went to persuade the landlords, they were allegedly attacked by the landlords.

Sir, I relate another situation which has arisen. I have no personal animosity against the Home Minister. But as has been reported in this paper, the Hindustan Times of Sunday, the honourable Minister of Health, Shri Rajnarain, told the Lok Sabha that Mr. Charan Singh is the saviour of the Harijans and whenever the hears of atrocities on Harijans he— Mr. Charan Singh—cannot sleep in the night. I have nothing personal against Mr. Charan Singh. **But then**, when atrocities continued to be committed on

the Harijans, it is the truth that he is the Home Minister. The Home Minister has a special responsibility for the upliftment of Harijans and Adivasis. I humbly submit, let there be no atrocities. This must be the guiding principle. There is no use of giving figures and statistics saying last year it was so much, this year it is better, and so on. It is the ruling party which has a responsibility. We are discussing a national problem in the House. It is a slur on the Government and on the society. And I am part of the society also. We cannot allow this exploitation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to continue.

Now I come to another question. That is what is given in this book: The First Hundred Days in office by the New Government—that is, the Janata Government. It is said on page 9 of this book—

"Government are pledged to preserving the secular and richly diverse character of our country.. . In pursuance of this objective it has been decided to set up a Civil Rights Commission to ensure that the minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes do not suffer from discrimination or inequality."

And in the last paragraph they have said:

"On the other hand, the Commission will ensure a more effective enforcement and implementation of the provisions included in the Constitution in respect of these categories, of the other laws in force such as Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and of the administrative schemes evolved especially for the purpose."

Coming to this question, I say it will not serve any purpose. This will not protect the rights of the Adivasis and Harijans. I would like, in this connection, to refer to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

Though the questions before them were slightly different. I would like to quote from this report to indicate what are the functions of the Civil Rights Commission there. If you go through the pages of the report, you will find that basically that Commission is of a different character. I humbly point out that it is time that we go through the Dhebar Commission's report on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He had said in his report that the Commission should be bifurcated into two—one for Scheduled Castes and another for Scheduled Tribes. This is much more important than anything else. Now I will quote from the Civil Rights Commission's report of 60-61 of the United States Government to show that Civil Rights Commission here will not serve any purpose for the development of the conditions of Adivasis and Harijans in this country. The United States Commission on Civil Rights was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as a bipartisan agency to study civil rights problems and report to the President and the Congress. Originally created for a two year term, it issued its first comprehensive report on September 8, 1959. This is what they have said in the preface. Then they say:

"The Republic began with an obvious inconsistency between its precepts of liberty and the fact of slavery. The words of the Declaration of Independence were clear:

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalcnable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In the next line, they say:

"Equally clear was the fact that Negroes were not free. The great American, experiment in self-government began, for white people only."

What are the civil rights? The report has given these. There is not much time at my disposal to elaborate on this. But the first basic question before them was the right to vote because certain people were denied the right to vote. But in our Constitution we have conferred this right on every poor man of this. country. That is why I said in the beginning the problems are different. Here in our Constitution we have provisions for the growth and development, economic development of Adivasis and Harijans. I would like to read out to you what their Commission has said about the American Indians. They have said that they are not of much help-for the economic development of the Red Indians. They say:

"Much of what concerns the Indian is outside the specific scope of this Commission's jurisdiction—for example, his desire to retain "home rule", his worry over the loss of tribals lands, his fear that the Federal Government will abruptly end its "trusteeship," his need for economic development. Most of these were covered by the recent report to the Secretary of the Interior by the Task Force on Indian Affairs."

This Task Force was created to see that the poor people were developed. That is the clarity of perception of that Commission.

My fundamental submission is that it is necessary, therefore, that the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be bifurcated. There must be two Commissions—one for Scheduled Castes and the other for Scheduled Tribes. There must also be some new ideology and new thinking so that our Adivasis and the Harijans

get some facilities for education, employment and economic development. This is one of the very important things. It is not important to find out in which year more atrocities on Adivasis and Harijans were committed. What is important is to have some research wing to get all details and statistics of these people. The Leader of the Opposition demanded a Commission of Inquiry into the various atrocities committed on the Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So many Commissions of Inquiry are being appointed. Today when the hon. Member on the other side was initiating the debate he referred to a letter from a doctor and suggested that there should be an inquiry to find out who told the doctor *to* say what. These are wild allegations, God above knows about it. But, Sir, it is necessary that, in this country, if we want the welfare of the people and if we want the people to live with self-respect and dignity, a chance of surviving must be assured to the people and that was the purpose of the Constitution which contains the provision that the welfare of the Adivasis and the Harijans must be assured by the State and that they should not be kept in isolation because they have been exploited for centuries.

Now, I come to the other question. I was going through this Report. If you go through the Report of the Kalelkar Commission on Backward Classes, you will find that the fundamental question is not one of developing one class of people here and one class there. But it is a question of restructuring the whole society and it is a question of seeing how we can bring the down-trodden people into the mainstream of national life. It has been aptly said that it is not a question of framing new schemes to be put into operation. The original provision was that the handicrafts on which these people have been dependent for ages should be developed. So, the question is how these handicrafts can be developed. But, unfortunately, we find

that in this Report there is no mention of such things and there is no such recommendation because they could not get the statistics from the All-India Cottage and Village Industries Board and from the Handloom Board. But, Sir, I would say that these things should be given preference. Here, I must congratulate the Karnataka Government and the other Governments which have started giving financial Corporation to develop new entrepreneurship talents among the adivasis and the Harijans. The fundamental question is that in this country we should not allow the principle of 'might is right' to work. These poor Adivasis and the Harijans must be given opportunities to have better education. They must be assured of Compulsory primary education and there must be schools in larger numbers where the Adivasis and the Harijans can get seats and the Government must provide them with all the facilities and these people must get admission in all the schools and institutions so that they do not go away and get segregated. The main question is one of bringing them into the national mainstream. That is much more ideal. More emphasis should be put on developing polytechnics for these people. The Adivasis and the Harijans, when they get trained, they are better fitted for it and there is no use telling them that they must go back to their original and age-old customs of their family life. There is the problem of economic development and there is the problem of development of industries for these people. The Adivasis and the Harijans are mostly living in forest areas and these areas are rich in forest produce. These forests and the forest-based industries have not been properly developed. After independence, we did not do much in this respect. The British Government followed the policy of non-development of communications in these areas; If you go to these areas, you will find that the communication in these areas has not been developed and the development of communication facilities lags behind the general availability of these facilities in the

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

country as a whole. This question also should be looked into. Now, Sir, sometime back, a new hope was given to these Harijans and the Adivasis and they were to be given lands. The land distribution programme which was taken up earlier must be continued and lands must be given to the landless in right earnest. At the same time, we must develop the Co-operatives which are there for the Adivasis so that they can help these people to develop the land and we must aid Land Development Corporations to take up this task also. I say this because it is not enough if land is given, but the land given must be cultivable also and the expenditure for that must be borne by the State. If we go on taking steps like these, there can be improvement and we can bring about a new development in their way of life. Sir, now I come to the other point. I come from the Mayurbhunj area in Orissa and there is a report about the problem of the people living in this area. The basic problem is that the forests have been incessantly cut by the Contractors without thinking of forest growth by the State Government for greater royalty. The result of this is that the Adivasis who have been living in these areas and who have been making a living out of the forests have been deprived of their livelihood. Now, the question that naturally comes is the development of forestbased industries. We do not think of that and because of that we are neglecting them and we do not seem to realise the role of industrial development in the the of these people in the backward areas. If we want these Adivasis and the Harijans to develop, there must be many other programmes. There must be health programmes for these people and there should be more communication facilities and also, Sir, the Minimum Needs Programme which was taken up earlier must be continued and followed up. I 'want to say that there must be change in the rules so that this programme is implemented properly. There is no

point in giving money alone. But we must see that the programme is properly implemented. These Reports give some suggestions. Unless we implement them things will not help. I would like to suggest that there must be another report of the commission to go into all these details particularly because the Sixm Five Year Plan is coming. This Report was prepared before the emergency and it was there before the elections. Now, many of the political ideas have undergone a change and a new Government has come to power at the Centre and new Governments have come to power in many of the States and the Sixth Plan is going to be formulated now. So, Sir, it is my suggestion, that there must be a commission which can go into the question of how to develop the Adivasis and the Harijans and the other backward classes. More than fifty percent of the people are living below the subsistence level and the planning in the country does not take care of these people. The important question is how to raise the standard of living of these people. We must make the planning body stronger to take care of all these problems. One of the obstacles in the development of these people is the bureaucratic set-up in the country. We have tried to impose programmes from above and we have never tried to consult the Adivasi or the Harijan people or the non-official sections. Institutional credits are being provided in this country. But it is unfortunate that in credit societies we have forgotten new strategy of organising the LAMPS to take non-official Adivasis as members or as chairmen. At the same time, the expansion of the economic development of the society has taken place, now the apprehension is whether the land distributed to Harijans under 20 point programme can be returned by them in view of recent report of atrocities. The State Governments are not implementing these policies. How can you expect any development under such circumstances. *(Time bell rings)*. Sir, one minute more, and I will conclude. The Commission on Rights I welcome. **But** it is for another

purpose. It will not serve the purpose of development of the Adivasis. I have quoted from the report of the US Commission on Rights. If we see the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955, what does it say? It mentions mainly the rules and principles regarding untouchability. But is it sufficient to develop the Adivasis and the Harijans? So it is necessary that this commission must be strengthened. More finance should be put into it. We must be determined that within ten years we must bring about literacy to Adivasis and Harijans to a high level. We must make provision for their scientific development, for having more craft-oriented education for their economic rehabilitation, for land programme, and so on. We are in a vicious circle of poverty. We cannot develop a better society, unless we develop them economically, until we take it seriously. So I believe that the hon. Home Minister will take the initiative to make this committee more strengthened and to have a parliamentary committee for Scheduled Castes and another one for the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.

With these words, I thank you.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, it has been a ritual over since this Parliament was constituted to have an annual debate on the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I do not know whether all these debates all these years have served any purpose at all. They have not served the purpose because we do not go into the root of the whole problem.

In this country there have been social reformers right from the time of Nanak. There have been social reforms who have been thundering against untouchability. Swami Vivekananda thundered against untouchability. In my own State, for example, a great Vaishnavite reformer by the name Ramanuja came on the scene. Vaishnavism was born in our State after Ramanuja came on the scene. He also thundered against untouchability. He went

to the extent of saying that if a person asks another Vaishnav person as to which community he belongs, he comments: "He is guilty of having cohabitation with his mother."

This is how he condemned a person who asked another person as to which caste he belonged. And Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene and he started the Harijan movement. Here is our Constitution which has abolished untouchability. On paper, untouchability has been abolished altogether. Despite all these things, we find today we are still debating the question of Harijans and the atrocities that are being committed on the Harijans and again and again we are debating it.

In this connection, I would like to point out that whenever such atrocities are committed on the Harijans, if the reports made by those who have inquired into who have been abetting these crimes, are collected and placed on the Table of the House, it will serve no purpose whatsoever. I would like the Home Minister to bear this in mind. Noting, as we do—that the Police Department and the various officials are intimately connected with the upper castes in the hierarchy of the society—it is absolutely useless to have any reliance or to place any credence on the reports that they submit to the Government. Unless we have an independent agency which will inquire into all these incidents and unless we have a report on the basis of that inquiry sent by that independent authority, it serves no purpose whatsoever. That is by the way. I am coming to the root of the whole question. Why is it that in spite of all these things, untouchability continues to exist and the caste system continues to exist? Why is it so? Unless we recognise that there is an economic basis at the root of the whole problem and unless we also have a clear problem and unless we also have a clear perspective as to how that root has got to be completely obliterated, we shall not be able to solve that problem at all. We will

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

have debates only year after year. Now, I would like to point out that there is an intimate connection between the caste system as it exists and particularly the untouchability system as it was evolved in this country and the economic exploitation, the slavery and the feudal exploitation. In this country, the caste system, and particularly untouchability, has become a big weapon by means of which you are able to continue the economic exploitation of the Harijans and the weaker sections of the society. Today, when a certain amount of class consciousness has risen among these people and they begin to fight also, then this caste system happens to be a weapon in the hands of the upper classes—I am talking of the classes—to divide the toiling people, to sow seeds of disruption in the unity of the toiling people and to use this weapon to fight them. This is what has happened. Sir, if the landlords happen to come from a particular caste or community and the peasants belonging to different communities including his own community join together and fight the landlord, then the landlords are able to create a division amongst the fighters by saying: Why do you join such and such a community? They are a lower class people. Why do you join the Harijans? Therefore, in our country, during the last few years, this question of untouchability and this question of Harijans *versus* non-Harijans has become a peculiar weapon in the hands of the land-owning classes to fight the growing consciousness among the Harijans, the growing consciousness not only among the Harijans but also the landless labour who may come from all communities. So, this is the basic problem with which we are concerned. Sir, tears are being shed by the Congress Benches about what is being done during the last three or four months. In this also, there is a particular charge that is made. I am amazed at it. In this also, the atrocities committed against the Harijans in Bihar are quoted. The atroci-

ties committed on the Harijans in U.P. perhaps might be quoted. But why do you not quote the atrocities committed against the Harijans in Andhra Pradesh? Why do you not quote the atrocities committed against the Harijans in Mysore? Did they not appear in the newspapers in recent times? Why do you make a discrimination? If the atrocities are committed against the Harijans in Andhra Pradesh, you don't mention them because the Vengal Rao Ministry is there.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RABI RAY: Since you are politicalising the whole thing, you must take it. You cannot have it both ways.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am not trying to hit at you. I am presenting the picture as it is. If it hurts you, I cannot help it. Why do you make a discrimination between all these things? Why do you mention only Bihar? I am seeing that here from morning till evening, the other side of the Benches is talking only about Bihar. (Interruptions) All that I am saying is that I do not want to make any distinction. I am talking of the atrocities committed in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, in Mysore and elsewhere.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav) in the Chair]

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। अब राममूर्ति साहब बोल रहे हैं लेकिन जब इस सदन के विरोधी दल के नेता माननीय कमलापति जी त्रिपाठी बोल रहे थे तो गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र, आंध्र, तमिल नाडू और देश के हर हिस्सों का नाम ले रहे थे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है।
Please continue.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Therefore, you are talking of the problem. I am saying that you should go to the core of the problem. These atrocities are happening in every part of the country excepting in those States—I want to emphasise this 'excepting in those States'—like, for example, West Bengal or even I would say Tamil Nadu today or Kerala, where a social reform movement has been developed not on the basis of uplifting the Harijans but on the basis of asserting the self-respect of the downtrodden, rousing their consciousness. In Tamil Nadu, for example, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker started the self-respect movement not by telling the upper caste people that you have got to be considerate towards the Harijans but by telling the Harijans that you have self-respect, you have also got your self-respect and assert that self-respect. And where such movements during the last so many years were there and where those people have begun to assert themselves and bigger movements of assertion have come, you find that such atrocities are not easily indulged in. That is one aspect. But here it takes a different form. It takes on the class conflict, the exploiting *versus* the exploited classes. Here in Tamil Nadu also some incidents took place where the Harijan women and children were burnt. But they were burnt not because they were Harijans but they were burnt because they were the members of a militant agricultural labour organisation which the landlords could not tolerate. Therefore, such things have happened there also. I do not deny that. Therefore, Sir, when such people are shedding such copious tears, all that I want to point out is that this problem is not going to be solved by any amount of discussion in this House, by any number of commissions that you may appoint. What are these commissions going to do ? Somebody is asking for new commissions. What are these commissions going to do ? We know the problem. We know how they are being attacked. I am also sure that such attacks are going to mount

hereafter. Why ? And I am not surprised that after the last elections, such attacks are mounting in State after State. Why ? Somebody was saying as if these things are new and happening now. What happened during the last 30 years throughout the country, nobody says. They speak as if everything was good all these 30 years. What happened during the emergency ? Were not the attacks against the Harijans and the weaker sections of the society concentrated not only by the landlords but also by the administration itself, the police administration itself ? What is the number of atrocities that have been committed against these people..

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Order, please.
Let him conclude.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Why do you try to white-wash all these things ? Don't try to white-wash all these things. You are the loudest in shouting, "We are the champions of Harijans; we are the champions of weaker sections of the society." By shouting you cannot wash off the sins of the last 30 years of misrule. You cannot wash out the sins.. .
(Interruptions) Sir, I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Order, please.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I do not want these interruptions. If they cannot take something in a chivorous way, that is not the way.. .
(Interruptions). I am speaking for you. You answer me. You have got a right to answer. You have got so many people to speak.
(Interruptions). 4 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please do not disturb.

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL URF
PIARE LALL TALIB: But, at that time
there were not such barbarous...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please take
your seat.

SHRI RABI RAY : The people have
lost confidence in the Congress Party.

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL URF
PIARE LALL TALIB:.. and in human
acts of violence, murders and rapes. In
Andhra Pradesh one incident took place
where a tribal man was beaten to
death and his wife was raped before the
whole village. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Nothing that
he says will go on record. Please take
your seat.

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL URF
PIARE LALL TALIB: (Continued to speak)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I want the
House to be regulated. I do not want
my time to be taken away like that.
(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Mr. Kureel,
please take your seat. When your turn
comes, you can speak. Please do not
disturb because the time is short. (In-
terruptions)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Much of
my time is taken away like this.

स्वास्थ्य और परिवार कल्याण मंत्री
(श्री राजनारायण) : श्रीमन्, मेरा निवेदन
है कि श्री प्यारे लाल जी अपने नाम
को सार्थक करें।

(Interruption)

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL URF
PIARE LALL TALIB: Mr. Raj Narain,
you should also resign.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Mr. Kureel,

please take your seat. I will request
you not to interrupt.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Therefore,
Sir, the point that I want to make is that
I am not blaming the Congress Party
as such. But the main question that I
want to raise here is that they were para-
ding so many laws that they have passed:
yes they have passed so many laws, they
are experts in passing laws, but when it
came to the question of implementation,
they said the officials were responsible
for it, unfortunately the officials have
not done that.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD
NANDA (Orissa): Sir, I want to say
that...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV): No, Mr. Nanda.
Please listen to me and please sit down.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD
NANDA: Sir, water is pouring here.
How can I sit here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAMLAL YADAV): Please shift
to some other place.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : These
are the crocodile tears that they are
shedding now. (Interruptions).

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I hope you
will be kind enough to regulate and
stop them from interrupting. Otherwise,
I will be taking more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV): No, no, please
continue.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Now, Sir,
they are certainly experts in passing laws.
I grant that. But when it comes to the
question of implementation they say that
these had not been implemented because
of the officials. We know that officials
are in collusion with landlords; nothing
new. But, then, there is the Implemen-
tation Committee of the Planning Com-

mission which has reported that there was a Government in a State which had the political will and within a few months of its coming into existence in 1967 and 1971 lakhs of acres of land were distributed among the landless labourers in West Bengal. The lack of political will arose not only because of the collusion between the landlords and officials—that is one aspect of it—but also on account of the character of the Governments that had been set up in all these States, which were States of the landlord, States of the big monopoly capital. Therefore, where can we get that political will which will overcome the obstacles placed by these officials and be able to implement these laws? For example the emergency was there. Who were the victims of the emergency? We are talking of the implementation of the Minimum Wages Act; we are talking of the implementation of Land Reforms Act. Now, who were the victims of the emergency? Apart from this, we want to conduct the agricultural labour movement in Tanjoore; we want to conduct the agricultural labour movement in Kerala; we are conducting agricultural labour movement in Andhra Pradesh. In Delhi, for example, Miss Sri Lata was picked up and put in jail. What was her crime? Her crime was that she had gone and organised the agricultural labour movement in Shrimati Indira Gandhi's farm. That was her only crime and for that she was picked up and put in jail under MISA immediately after the emergency. Therefore, Sir, the whole question is, if they are serious—and I am serious about it; I am absolutely serious—this problem of the Harijans has got to be tackled on a war footing and this can only be tackled by our going out, if we are really serious about it, and not by shedding crocodile tears over the conditions in which they are. All these tears will mean crocodile tears. Unless we are able to go to the agricultural labourers everywhere, unless we are able to go to the Adivasis,

unless we are able to go to the Harijans and tell them what their rights are and tell them how their rights are being exploited on a social basis as well as on a class basis and unless we rouse their sense of self-respect and make them fight against this exploitation, we cannot improve their lot, we cannot bring about their emancipation. It has to be done by their own effort; it cannot come from above. By any amount of talk you cannot improve the situation. To ask the Home Minister or any Government to bring about their emancipation is just to hit the head-lines and these things will not succeed. Therefore, I would even now say that if they are serious, I would welcome them. If they are serious, let them go to the villages. We will be prepared to co-operate with them. It may be from the Congress Party or the Communist Party or the Janta people, we are prepared to co-operate with anybody who is prepared to go to the villages and organise agricultural labourers and the Harijans and make them assert through their co-operative, constructive and concerted effort. Otherwise, I am afraid, there may be more repression and more atrocities committed against them. They have to assert themselves and by an organised effort, they will be able to bring about emancipation for themselves. They will be able to liberate themselves. This is the approach of our party to this problem and if this approach is adopted by those people who profess so much of sympathy for the Harijans, I would be glad; otherwise, I would take it that this show of sympathy is just like shedding crocodile tears in order to hit the headlines. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Mr. Havanur.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA:
Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please take your seat.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA
: Please listen to me. I am raising a point.. .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM
LAL YADAV) : Kindly resume your seat.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD
NANDA: Please allow me to state.. .
(*Interruption!.*) Kindly listen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SHYAM LAL YADAV): No, Mr. Nanda.
I have requested Mr. Havanur to speak
-and the Member is standing. So, please
resume your seat.

SHRI L.G. HAVANUR [(Karna-taka) : Sir,
we are now discussing the report of the
Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and
Scheduled Tribes for the year 1973-74- This
report was required to be placed on the Table of
the House by the President and I doubt very
much whether this report has been placed by the
Government. We are now discussing this report
on a motion by a private Member. I raise an
initial and fundamental objection to the
discussion of this report unless the Government
says that it shall be discussed as required by
Article 338(2). Now, the reports of the Commis-
sioner are being placed almost every year from
1951, but the Government, whether this
Government or the previous ones, have not
taken the requisite measures for the eradication
of untouchability and the abolition of the caste
system. Unless we abolish the caste system, as
we had done under Article 17 abolishing un-
touchability, the caste distinctions are bound to
continue in the Hindu society and we cannot
eliminate untouchability. Castes are social
categories based on heredity and so long as we
accept the principle of hierarchy, one caste
above the other, and the Scheduled Castes being

at the bottom of the hierarchy, it is not possible
to achieve an egalitarian society. The
Constitution, in its Preamble and in the Chapter
relating to Fundamental rights, has guaranteed
equality of opportunity and equality of status to
all individuals. Unless we ensure equality
among all the castes, there could be no equality
among individuals. The caste system has its
sanction in the Hindu religious scriptures. So
long as we continue endogamy in the system,
the caste groups are bound to continue and so
long as we follow the religious and the ritual
purity or the distinctions, untouchability cannot
be eliminated. The caste system is opposed to
the principle of democracy. It knows no
principle of equality at all. There could be no
equality in the political and social life unless
there is equality in the economic field. The caste
system, as such, is not opposed to our very
Constitutional prescriptions. In November,
1949, when the Constitution makers adopted the
Constitution, they did not want to abolish the
caste system, but they wanted that some under-
privileged communities or castes should be
uplifted by making them strong enough to fight
against the Hindu superstitious beliefs and to
fight against traditionalism. But the measures for
their upliftment have not been undertaken in the
desired direction and in an adequate manner.
One who goes through the Constituent Assem-
by debates is bound to believe that even in the
Constituent Assembly, there were caste
tendencies and there were vested interests who
did not want the abolition of the caste system.
Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar had to yield to the
pressures of the orthodox Hindus who were in
large number on the Constituent Assembly and
he agreed for reservations. I could recall the
days of 1932 when Dr. Ambedkar wanted
separate electorates for the Harijans, the
Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis and others.
Mahatma Gandhi persuaded him to accept
reservations and not separate electorate. Now in
spite of 30 years' working of the Constitution
not

one problem of the Scheduled Castes, not one problem of the Scheduled Tribes, not one problem of the backward classes, minorities like the Muslims and Christians has been solved and we have got to evolve a method or a procedure by which there should be no distinction between one group and the other, between one man and the other. This could be done by abolishing the caste system and by providing equal opportunities to all the castes and religions based on their population. That was a principle that was adopted during the British regime. The Britishers could rule the country, because they satisfied every section, every community of the Indian society.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Let us bring them back.

SHRI L. G. HAVANUR : If you don't introduce this, they will come here. If you don't introduce this whether it is the Britishers or the Muslims, whoever it might be, they will come here. You are inviting them. You invited the Muslims. Unfortunately, when the Hindus followed the principle of inequality, the Christians came in prominently, because they followed the principle of equality. The principle of equality is enunciated in Islam and in Christianity. Well, our neighbours, the Pakistanis, are there. They are going to embrace us and it will not be a wonder, gentleman, when, we the weaker sections, come what may, may be a danger to the Hindu society. Then, Hinduism will be in danger and in that event you have got to thank yourselves. Sir, my submission is that some of the gentlemen are not prepared to realise the feelings that some of us have for the Hindu Society. They want to provoke our feelings by saying that we could invite the Britishers. We did not invite the Britishers. In those days when Islam or Christianity came here, it was not the Harijans or the Girijans or the backward classes who were ruling the country. It was the upper

strata which invited Islam and Christianity. If you want to keep us at the bottom, well you are inviting the foreigners and in that event we shall have to wage a war against you. If the political positions are not for us, if the Parliament is not open to us, if the Parliament is not giving us an opportunity to express our feelings, we shall have our own parliament. If you do not implement the measures, if you do not satisfy the hopes and aspirations of our people, well, we shall have our own secretariat, our own legislature, our own government. If you want it, we shall give it.

Now I want to come to the relevant point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Please wind up.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI : It is his maiden speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV) : No, no maiden speech. (*Interruptions*). I would like to tell Mr. Kalp Nath that he should not make such cheap remarks every time. If the Member takes so much time, it cannot be helped. Time is allotted to all the parties and we go according to that.

SHRI L. G. HAVANUR : I was attentively listening to the speech of my predecessor, Mr. Ramamurti, and I was attentively listening to the reply of the hon. Home Minister, Shri Charan Singh, on the Belchi issue. I fully agree with the opinion of both of them that unless we abolished the caste society we cannot eliminate untouchability. And unless we abolish the caste system, we cannot avoid the atrocities. These atrocities on the weaker sections like the Harijans and the Girijans are bound to continue so long as we sustain the caste system. Our Hindu society sustains inequality. It is a part of the Hindu society to treat some sections as inferior to others and in this social scale of honour, one sec-

[Shri L. G. Havanur]

tion is sitting at the top and the others crushed at the bottom. So long as this heirarchical gradation continues, untouchability is bound to continue and the atrocities on the Harijans are bound to continue. They shall continue in perpetuity, because under our Constitution, although the reservations in Parliament and the State legislatures were intended only for a period of 10 years initially, they have now been fex-tended to a period of 30 years. But it shall go on in perpetuity. So long as untouchability continues, so long as backwardness continues, reservation has got to continue. None of us is interested in removing inequalities ; none of us is interested in abolishing the caste system.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Please conclude.

SHRI L. G. HAVANUR : Insinuations and provocations are now being made by some hon. Members. I am a new-comer; I have had no experience of such insinuations and provocations. On a subject like this one cannot speak without offending the feelings of some of the Members here because this House is composed of all manner of people— people drawn from all strata of society. If I say that I come from the bottommost section and I express my feelings, I am bound to wound the feelings of those who are the exploiters, who have been exploiting us. But one should have a dispassionate and objective approach. One who has a sense of social justice would bear with me. We shall not allow exploitation hereafter. The hon. Member who just now went outside said that I should have a Harijan Prime Minister or a Harijan President. I think that day is not far off.

Lastly, my submission is— the hon. Home Minister is here—that Article 338 says that so far as this problem is concerned,

references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to other backward classes and also to the Anglo-Indian community. Under Art. 340, within a period of 5 years from the coming into force of the Constitution, the President of India was required to appoint a Backward Classes Commission. That Commission was appointed in 1953 under the chairmanship of Mr. Kalelkar, who was a Member of this august House during 1953—55. The report of that Commission has not been accepted by the Central Government. Although the Janata Party, in its election manifesto, has stated that the Kalelkar Commission's report would be implemented, I would suggest that that report is obsolete. It did not conduct socio-economic survey. It did not collect any statistical data. It went on the sole basis of castes or on the principle of hierarchy. It was rejected by the Central Government in 1956 by the then Home Minister, Shri Pant.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please conclude. I call upon the next speaker, Shri Swami-nathan.

SHRI L. G. HAVANUR : I feel that the promise of the Janata Party that the Kalelkar Commission report should be implemented may not be a bonafide and genuine promise. My appeal to the hon. Home Minister is that he should appoint one more Commission for identification of the backward classes throughout India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : That is all. I think the point is quite clear. Mr. Swaminathan.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil-Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must first refer to the status of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He says he has been stripped of 17 Regional Offices and he is not commanding the respect that he is expected to

command under the Constitution. It is true, Sir, that this post of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is a decorative post. He says he is not supplied the annual reports of the Liaison Officers. This is necessary under the Constitution. The post of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be made more commanding and respectable. If the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes asks the State Governments to furnish him with some facts and figures, not all the State Government do furnish him with the facts and figures; some State Governments do not furnish the facts and figures for years together. As my colleague, Mr. Ramamurti said, if any atrocity is committed against the Harijans, we have to rely on the report sent by the officials. The Commissioner should have an independent organisation of his own for investigating such things, if necessary.

With regard to educational facilities and - economic development, in the Report there is a reference to the Aligarh Muslim University Medical College's refusal to reserve the stipulated percentage of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is very regrettable but I may point out that same is the case with the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, the Post-Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research, Chandigarh, the Sainik Schools under the Ministry of Defence and also the Kendriya Vidyalay Sanghathan under the Ministry of Education. All these institutions, private or Government, do not provide the requisite representation of 15 to 20 per cent of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students. This is a pitiable thing and it is very important that the Minister of Home Affairs must devote his attention to this matter and see that these universities Indian Institute of Technology, Institute of Management and schools are persuaded to give them due representation.

Sir, I want to submit that the meetings between the appointing authorities and the Liaison Officer are not frequent. Also, the meetings of the Departmental Promotion Committee are not conducted frequently with the result that promotions, as and when necessary, are not taking place. Cases of de-reservation of (*reserved*) vacancies are increasing year by year and the tendency among the appointing authorities to ignore the rules and seek *ex-post facto* approval of appointments in the de-reserved vacancies is increasing. This menace has to be curbed. Also, frequency of periodical meetings between the Liaison Officer and the appointing authorities and also the meetings of the Departmental Promotion Committees must be as much as possible.

Sir, apart from this, rules for appointments, promotions and reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not being observed in many Government offices and public sector undertakings. In as many as 15 to 20 public sector undertakings the rules are not being observed. In the Report there is a reference to Hindustan Steel Limited and Indian Airlines Corporation not being prepared to observe or comply with Government instructions regarding promotion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because, according to them, there is already an agreement between the management and the trade union. There should be strict instructions from the Government about this and, if necessary, a warning to Hindustan Steel and Indian Airlines that agreements between their managements and the trade unions should not have precedence over and against Government orders.

Sir, the Home Ministry should set up a separate cell to assess how many students are admitted into the medical colleges and the post-graduate institutions and what is the percentage of their passes and failures ?

Shri V. Swaminathan] Sir in some States special classes are conducted to coach Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students appearing for Medical College examinations. This coaching should not be confined merely to IAS examinations and professional colleges. Coaching must be extended for preparing the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates for the Stenographers' and Assistants' examinations. We see that in most of the departments, stenographers' posts reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are de-reserved because they are reported not qualified. Therefore, there must be special coaching for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes so that they can get qualified and get more of these jobs. About their representation in the Judiciary, I want to submit that when Dr. Ambedkar could be one of the founding fathers of our Constitution, there should be no difficulty in selecting candidates from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes to occupy positions in the High Courts of our country. Very rarely do we find it now. The Tamil Nadu High Court has got one Harijan as a High Court Judge. So it is time for the Central Government to see that the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes also represent the Judiciary.

About the list of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, I would say that we have to revise it and publish it again. From page 269 of the Report I find that the Ministry of Home Affairs have laid down certain points which should be observed when caste certificates are to be issued. If a person belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe migrates from one part of a State to another part of the same State, he is declared as such. But, suppose, the same citizen belonging to Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe migrates to another State, he is not given the benefits of a

Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe. If it is so, the instructions of the Home Ministry are highly unconstitutional and discriminatory. Wherever he goes, a person belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe must be declared as such. Otherwise, he would not be able to get the benefits. Sir, we had been to Bihar some months ago. What we found was mat on one side of the river in Bengal, one caste is classified as a Scheduled Caste, but on the other bank, which is in Bihar, that particular caste is not classified as a Scheduled Caste. So we have to prepare a consolidated list of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There is a constant and continuous pressure from barbers, washermen and also fishermen insisting upon the States to declare them as belonging to the Scheduled Castes. But it is for the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Ministry of Home Affairs to re-classify the revised list and see that, if necessary, these castes are also included in the Scheduled Castes.

About the re-conversion, where a person belonging to a Scheduled Caste gets converted to a religion other than Hinduism to or Sikhism, then re-converts himself back Hinduism or Sikhism, he will be deemed to have reverted to his original Scheduled Caste. There is no re-conversion process, there is no institution which can reconvert. Unless there is some mechanism, some institution for re-conversion from one religion to another, it will not be operative. There on the same page, in sub-clause (ii), they have said that in the case of a descendant of a Scheduled Caste convert, the mere fact of conversion to Hinduism or Sikhism will not be sufficient to entitle him to be regarded as a member of the Scheduled Caste, but he must be declared as such by the people residing in the area. It is very difficult. It is vague. The Home Ministry must prescribe some competent authority, like the Revenue Divisional Officer or some other

officer, to certify that even after conversion, or re-conversion, so and so belongs to a Scheduled Caste.

Regarding the encouragement of inter-caste marriages between the Harijans and the non-Harijans, usually cash and gold medals are given in some States; other States do not follow this. But, the cash and gold medals alone cannot wipe out untouchability. They must start long term and short-term incentives—some benefits in education, employment and also allotment of houses or housesites or land— which can wipe out untouchability.

And, as my colleague, Mr. Ramamurti, said, by mere commissions and legislations we cannot wipe out untouchability. In Tamil Nadu, there was one great woman poet, Avvai. She said that there are two castes, man and woman. But in the Constitution, there is only one caste; even that difference between man and woman disappears and only one caste is recognised. We have to wipe out illiteracy and superstition. Not only Periyar Shri E.V. Ramaswamy but after him our great beloved leader who is called 'Anna' and also the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (Shri M.C Ramachandran) have carried on propaganda, emphasising the importance of equality, that untouchability should not be observed in any form in any part. So, it is for all of us not to depend on legislations but to carry on social propaganda to wipe out untouchability and to bring about the upliftment of the Harijans and tribes to the level of economically forward classes.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE (Maharashtra): Before I speak on the Report proper, I must register my strong protest against the way this particular Report has been brought in for discussion. As a matter of fact, under art. 338 it is obligatory and it is a special feature of article 338 that a Special officer is appointed by the President to investigate all the matters relating to the sefe guards that are guaranteed

under the Constitution to these people and to report to the President upon the working of these safeguards. And, it is the President, as a matter of fact, who, through the Home Ministry, brings the Report to the House. Unfortunately, I do not know why a private Member, under rule 176 of the Rules of Procedure, has brought this particular matter. This shows the utter callousness on the part of the Government in treating this particular Report and its apathy towards the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Thus giving a go-by to the Constitution by twisting the article and bringing it under the Rules of Procedure.

Sir, as Mr. Ramamurti pointed out—and I do agree with him—the discussion of these Reports has become a ritual. Every year, the Reports are discussed a lot of heat is created from both sides, the Members condemn this particular practice of untouchability and everything is over. It is just like "Men may come and men may go; I go on for ever." Like that, the Reports may come, may be discussed and may go, but these things go on for ever. We sometimes blame this particular party, sometimes that particular individual and they talk of 30 years of Congress rule. But let me point out that it is not for 30 years, but it is for 3,000 years that this particular practice is going on. The founding fathers of the Constitution laid stress on this, and they were having a very high hope that after 10 years of the implementation of this Constitution, all these safeguards would go away and the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people would be brought on at par with the other people. But, unfortunately, immediately, in the year 1959, we had to bring in the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution and instead of 10 years, 20 years was inserted. Again in 1969 we had to bring in the Twenty-third Amendment and instead of 20 years, we inserted 30 years. I think that the time is not very far off when we will have to make it 40 years, 50 years and so on.

[Prof. N. M. Kamble]

i a criticism from some people, both from the High Castes and those who are, so to say, the non-Scheduled Castes, that the untouchables want to remain untouchables so that they can take advantage of these safeguards. Sir, may I ask you. Does any untouchable feel that he should remain an untouchable throughout his life? On the other hand, it is a slur, we say; it is a blot, we say. With all this, these things are going on. Some people were blaming the Congress Government. My friend, Mr. Ramamurti, asked "What were you doing for 30 years?" And my friends on the other side are saying that they are the champions of the Scheduled Castes. But the things that are happening for the last three or four months will show that it is not a particular Government but it is the approach of this present Government towards the problem that matters. As the Leader of the Opposition has just now pointed out, that the present Government probably is under the impression that the Scheduled Castes people and the Scheduled Tribes people and these weaker sections of the society, may be taken for granted. Not only that, their followers are now openly saying "It is our Government; we can take back our lands which were allotted to the Scheduled Castes". This impression the Janata Party is not in a position to wipe out from the minds of the people. It is a matter of shame on their part, as a matter of fact, that not a single individual from their party or their allies like the DMK, the AIADMK, the Marxists, the Akalis—I do not know how many there are—has come forward to condemn the atrocities of this type that are going on for the last three or four months. It is nothing but mass murder.

**श्री चरण सिंह : कोई बचा या नहीं
बचा इन तीन चार महानों में ?**

PROF. N.M. KAMBLE: Earlier also there were, but

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI
(Uttar Pradesh) : In the last 30 years.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE: Yes, 30 years. I am not going to spare anybody. It is not a question of the Government; it is a question of the society to which you belong. At the same time, it is a question of the Government's approach towards this problem. And your approach is known to all the people, especially to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the atrocities and other things are sought to be politicalised. It is not that the DMK and others were silent. We have referred to them. It has been referred to the Commission also.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE Thank you so much.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : You have politicalised them enough.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI :
For them it is a political stunt.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE : The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people are socially segregated and suppressed, educationally deprived and deceived, economically exterminated and exploited and politically stranded, shelved and subjugated. For their upliftment, they being the weakest of the weak, the Constitution has provided these safeguards. So on all these planes, they require social justice, they require economic justice and they require political justice also. But the question is why, in spite of independence, in spite of having our own Government, we are not in a position to solve this problem. Let us, not as a Government but as a nation as a whole, look at this particular problem. Have we got any national policy for this particular problem? Do we accept that this is a national problem? And if we accept that this is a national problem, then we must find out a national solution for it. It is no use simply blaming this party

or that party. As the hon. Home Minister said, it is the social structure of the Hindu society which must be blamed. Well, if that is so, then what are the efforts of the Government to change this social structure? We have got the same old formula of giving alms to these people. And if they start asserting their rights, the atrocities are committed. It is not the Congress Government, it is not the Janata Government, but it is some other Government; from whom encouragement is there. From what sources and from what quarters it comes, everybody knows. So, let us not blame a particular Government ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : One minute more.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE : As my friends pointed out from this side and that side, untouchability is the crux of the whole problem. Under Article 17 of the Constitution we have declared from housetops that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form will be dealt with according to the law and one who practices untouchability will be punished. With all these provisions the present position remains the same. On the other hand, things are getting from bad to worse. And that is only because what we profess, we do not practise; what we promise, we do not perform, and then go on blaming this Government or that Government. We do not have the political will, and, as I said, we do not treat this as a national problem. At the time of framing the Constitution it was accepted as a national problem; otherwise, there would not have been any provision regarding the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If I go through some of the pages of this report ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Please do not take up any more points. Please wind up now.

PROF. N. M. KAMBLE : I am touching this important point because my friends

there raised some question. Sir, appointment of special officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is made under the Constitution, but we know how this particular office was stripped of its authority, and now there is a move for the appointment of a Civil Rights Commission. Well, if that is so, I would like the Government to come forward with some details and state what authority this Commission will have otherwise amalgamating all the commissions together is nothing but bypassing this particular problem of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Shri Rajnarain.

(*Interruption*)

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन, मैं इस रिपोर्ट पर ...

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, on a point of information. I want to know whether Mr. Rajnarain is going to speak as a Minister or as a Member of Parliament.

AN HON. MEMBER : He can speak as a Minister.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं उन कांग्रेसी सदस्यों को मुबारकवाद करना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने बहुत ही क्लीयर शब्दों में कहा है ...

(*Interruptions*) SHRI K. K.

MADHAVAN : Sir, this is a very serious matter. They want to deprive us of the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please sit down. The Minister is not yielding.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : Sir, the time taken by the honourable Minister should be excluded from the time given for the discussion.

SHRI K.K. MADHAVAN : Let the Minister speak, but not at our cost.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं उन कांग्रेसी दोस्तों को मुबारकवाद करता हूँ जिन्होंने ईमानदारी के साथ इस सदन में अपने जज्ञवात का इजहार किया। मैं उन्हीं के वाक्यों को पढ़ देता हूँ। यह है हमारे श्री माझी जी,

"In 30 years nothing has been done for the Harijans and they live below the poverty line."

बहुत सही बात है। अगर मैं उनको मुबारकवाद न करूँ तो मैं कृतघ्न हूँ। मैं उन्हीं के भाषण को कोट कर रहा हूँ। ऐसा नहीं है कांग्रेस के सब लोग बोल रहे हैं तो उसमें अधिकांश ऐसे भी हैं जो अपने भरे हुए दिल को किसी न किसी प्रकार से निकाल कर रख रहे हैं।

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): From what records he is reading ?

श्री राजनारायण : अभी जो यहां भाषण हुआ। जो हां।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं उस विषय पर आना चाहता हूँ जो मूल विषय है। जैसा कि हमारे सी०पी०एम० के नेता राम मूर्ति जी ने कहा। अभी हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्र बोल रहे थे कामले साहब। असल में मूल जड़ कहां है उस जड़ को न पकड़ते हुए केवल हम हरिजन हरिजन चिल्लाएँ तो हरिजन, हरिजन अगर केवल यह शब्द है तब तक तो पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी को कोई मात नहीं दे सकता है और अगर हरिजनों के लिए कोई कर्म है तो चौधरी चरन सिंह को कोई दूसरा मात नहीं दे सकता है। दोनों को मैं ले आ रहा हूँ। मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई जब मैं इस समय बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ तो कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी भी यहां विद्यमान हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश का विधान सभा में जब

डाक्टर अम्बेडकर का निधन हुआ था और डाक्टर अम्बेडकर के निधन पर हमने एक शोक प्रस्ताव रखा था तो कांग्रेस पार्टी ने कहा कि डा० अम्बेडकर के निधन पर शोक प्रस्ताव उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा में नहीं रखा जा सकता है। फिर हमसे पूछा गया, हम ने कहा क्यों? कहा गया कि डाक्टर अम्बेडकर उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा के सदस्य नहीं थे।

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : You speak about those who live now and not about the dead.

श्री राजनारायण : डाक्टर अम्बेडकर उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा के अध्यक्ष नहीं थे इसलिए उनके निधन पर शोक प्रस्ताव नहीं आ सकता। तो हम ने फौरन ही उठकर कह दिया कि सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल जी भी उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा के सदस्य नहीं थे फिर उनके निधन पर उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा में शोक प्रस्ताव क्यों रखा गया। इसका कोई जवाब नहीं है। अब मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो हरिजन दोस्त हों और कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर किसी कारणवश पड़े हुए हैं वह स्थिति जरा गम्भीरता से समझें। डाक्टर अम्बेडकर हमारे लिए इस देश के मनु हैं जिनका बनाया हुआ संविधान आज हम सब पर लागू है। मगर डाक्टर अम्बेडकर के निधन पर जब मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा में शोक प्रस्ताव रखा था तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता ने उठकर विरोध किया था।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : कौन थे नेता उस समय।

श्री राजनारायण : श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द जी। कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी भी उस समय मंत्री थे गृह विभाग और शिक्षा विभाग में भी कमलापति जी, सूचना विभाग में भी कमलापति जी, सम्पदा विभाग में भी कमलापति जी, सिंचाई विभाग में भी कमलापति जी, ऐसा कौन सा

विभाग था जिसमें कमलापति जी न हों। एक प्रकार का नाम था सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की सरकार का लेकिन काम सब चलता था कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी का।

(Interruption)

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और हमारे सम्मानित सदस्य भी समझ लें कि राम स्वामी नायकर, जो द्रविड़ कड़गम के नेता थे तो राम स्वामी और राम मनोहर लोहिया के बीच जो खतो किताबत हुई अगर हमारे सम्माननीय सदस्य हमारे देश के हरिजनों को, पिछड़ों को या जाति संबंधी नीति को समझ लेना चाहते हैं तो उसको पढ़ें। राम स्वामी नायकर लखनऊ में आते हैं वहाँ पर एक गंगा प्रसाद हाल कहा जाता है हुनने उतमें मीटिंग करायी। मगर कांग्रेस पार्टी की ओर से राम स्वामी नायकर की मीटिंग में अनेक प्रकार की बाधाएं खड़ी की गयी कि मीटिंग को हरगिज नहीं होने देंगे। क्योंकि जब नायकर जी बोलने लगते थे तो सचमुच उनके दिल का फफोला फूटता था और वे कहते थे कि किस तरीके से हरिजनों पर, पिछड़े बर्गों पर, दलितों का शोषण आज यह लोग कर रहे हैं, अत्याचार कर रहे हैं। जरा लोहिया की किताब को पढ़ें। वाल्मीकि और वशिष्ठ, एक हैं वशिष्ठ ब्राह्मण और दूसरे हैं वाल्मीकि ब्राह्मण। इस वशिष्ठ और वाल्मीकि ब्राह्मण का भी अंतर समझ लेना है। अगर वाल्मीकि ब्राह्मण चलेगा तो हमारे देश में समता की बात आयेगी और वशिष्ठ ब्राह्मण चलेगा तो हमारे देश में विषमतावाद की बात आयेगी इसलिए मैं अपने मित्रों से निवेदन करूंगा कि जरा रुट में जायें, जड़ में जायें। ऊपर ऊपर की बात कहने से कोई फायदा नहीं होता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ : हमारे माननीय कमलापति जी वाराणसी के रहने वाले हैं, क्या कमलापति जी के घर-मंत्रित्व में राजनारायण की दाढ़ी नहीं नोची गई,

क्या कमलापति जी के घरमंत्रित्व में 3 फलांग तक उनको नहीं घसीटा गया . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : किस लिए ?

श्री राजनारायण : कारण था हरिजन मन्दिर आन्दोलन। विश्वनाथ जी के मन्दिर में प्रवेश के लिए हरिजन मन्दिर आन्दोलन। हरिजनों को हमने प्रवेश कराया था, हम ले कर आये थे हरिजनों को। . . . (Interruption) बैठिए, आप क्यों परेशान हो रहे हैं। एक शेर है :

“उतरने वाला अभी तक बातों से नहीं उतरा और तड़पने वाला तड़प कर फलक को छू आया”

तो इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, हरिजनों को मन्दिर प्रवेश कराना बड़ा भारी काम था। यहाँ पर बैठे मामा बालेश्वर दयाल जी जो एकमात्र भीलों के, कोलों के नेता हैं, मध्य प्रदेश के, उन्होंने कहा : नहीं कहाँ हरिजनों को मन्दिर प्रवेश कराया है ? और हरिजनों के मन्दिर प्रवेश के ऊपर किस तरह से हमारे ऊपर एट्रासिटीज हुई हैं, किस तरह से डंडे पड़े हैं ? क्या माननीय कमलापति जी को याद नहीं है। कमलापति जी की जिह्वा, उनकी वाणी पर सरस्वती है। कमलापति जी भाषण दे रहे हैं कि जनता पार्टी . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : राजनारायण जी, देखिए कमलापति जी कुछ कहना चाहते हैं।

श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी : मन्दिरों के प्रवेश के आन्दोलन में तो मैं भी शरीक था। हरिजनों को लेकर मैंने विश्वनाथ जी के मन्दिर में प्रवेश किया था।

श्री रबी राय : नहीं, नहीं।

SHRI G. LAKSHMAN : It is to get more votes.....(Interruptions).

श्री राजनारायण : कल्पनाथ जी, विनती कर रहा हूँ आप बैठ जाइए । श्रीमन, यह हमारे समय में नहीं जोड़ा जाए ।

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, राजनारायण जी तो समाजवादी हैं . . .

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : क्या पॉइन्ट आफ आर्डर है ?

श्री कल्प नाथ राय . . . लेकिन क्या चौधरी चरण सिंह ने राजनारायण को एक बार नहीं कई बार लाठियों से पिटाया कर जेल में बन्द नहीं किया ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह पॉइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिए कल्प नाथ जी, सीमा से बाहर जाने से क्या फायदा ? देखिये मैं कमलापति जी के वाक्य को पढ़ रहा हूँ : जब से जनता पार्टी हुकूमत में आई है, हरिजनों के ऊपर अत्याचार के अम्बार का पहाड़ ढह गया है । क्या मैं यह मान लूँ कि काशी में उत्पन्न कमलापति जी त्रिपाठी की जिब्हा से यह वाणी प्रस्फुटित हो रही है । मैं ऐसा मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हो रहा हूँ । जब कमलापति जी कहते हैं कि हरिजनों को लेकर मैं विश्वनाथ मंदिर में खुद गया था—मैंने आज तक न कभी सुना, न कभी जाना, न कभी देखा । मैं अब भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या काशी विश्वनाथ मन्दिर में अब भी हरिजन जाकर हाथ रख सकते हैं ? अब भी नहीं रख सकते हैं ।

SHRI N. G. RANGA : Is it so ?

SHRI RAJ NARAIN : Yes, It is so; it is so. I belong to Varanasi. Even now it is so.

SHRI N. G. RANGA: Even now ?

SHRI R. A. NARAIN: Yes.

SHRI N.G. RANGA : Then shame on all of you in U.P.

श्री राजनारायण : यानी रामेश्वरम में नहीं जा सकता था । जब मैं रामेश्वरम गया तो वहाँ पर हमारा झगड़ा हो गया कि हम तो हरिजनों के साथ वहाँ पर जायेंगे और जो वहाँ शिवालिग है उस पर हाथ रखेंगे (Interruption)

श्रीमन अब मैं इसको छोड़ देता हूँ । घबड़ाने की बात नहीं है । यह रिपोर्ट कब की है? कांग्रेस के लोग जरा अपने दिल को टटोलें । तोड़-मरोड़ करने से कोई फायदा नहीं । 19070-71, 1971-72, 1972-73 और 1973-74 ये चार साल की रिपोर्ट पर बहस हो रही है ना ? क्या 1975-76 या 1976-77 का वर्ष नहीं था कि इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस होती ? तो इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस कब हुई ? जब जनता पार्टी की सरकार आई, तब । शरम नहीं आती है—छोटे मुंह बड़ी बात । श्रीमन, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे भाई कल्प नाथ जी को इसकी जरा भरे दिल से सुन लें । मैं गिनाये देता हूँ और चौधरी चरण सिंह जी से निवदन करूंगा कि व इन घटनाओं की जांच कर लें कि इसके पीछे क्या था ? अभी अभी नाम मैं लेता हूँ* * * * *

और कल्प नाथ जी कहते हैं

श्री देवन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर । मान्यवर, अभी अभी माननीय राजनारायण जी ने अपने स्वभाव के अनुरूप एक बहुत ही गैर-जिम्मेदाराना ब्यान दिया है । एक उत्तर प्रदेश के विधा-

यक जो इस सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं उन पर हत्या का आरोप लगाया है। यह बहुत ही गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बात है। यह सदन के नियमों के विपरीत है और मैं आप से अनु-कलंगा कि आप इसको एक्सपंज करायें।

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD
(Continued to speak)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
शाही जी की बात नहीं लिखी जाएगी।

श्री देवन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी : या तो वे इसके लिए कोई प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करें अथवा उनके आबजर्जेशन को एक्सपंज किया जाये।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं श्री द्विवेदी जी का बहुत आदर करता हूँ और उनके वक्तव्य का भी आदर करता हूँ। हमसे अगर कहीं कोई गलत बात हो जाय तो मैं क्षमाप्रार्थी हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि (Interruption)
मैं फिर कह रहा हूँ कि * * * *

इसमें घबराने की क्या बात है। (Interruption)

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
राजनारायण जी, आप बैठिये। (Interruption)
जब मैं बोल रहा हूँ तो आप लोग आसन ग्रहण करें। कल्प नाथ जी की बात नहीं लिखी जाएगी। आप आसन ग्रहण करें।

जब मैं खड़ा हूँ तो आप बैठें। जो प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर अभी द्विवेदी जी ने उठाया है, दूसरे सदन के सदस्य के बारे में जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उसको यहाँ नहीं कहा जाना चाहिये था। वे दूसरे सदन के सदस्य हैं। उस सम्बन्ध में जो बात कही गई है उसका रेकार्ड देख लिया जाएगा और उसको नहीं लिखा जाएगा।

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन् आप की जो व्यवस्था है उस व्यवस्था को मानने में मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं क्योंकि आपने कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं दी जो असाधु हो। आपकी व्यवस्था साधु है। आपने यह नहीं कहा कि आप किसी को निकाल देंगे या हटा देंगे। इस सदन में सदन के बाहर के लोगों की चर्चा क्या नहीं हुई है? क्या नहीं होती है? बाहर के लोगों की चर्चा क्या नहीं हुई है? क्या नहीं होती है? यह सम्बन्धित है किस से? यह सम्बन्धित है कांग्रेस पार्टी से या जनता पार्टी से? यह सम्बन्धित है हरिजनों पर हुई एट्रोसिटीज से। क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग आज हरिजनों के नाशक नहीं हैं? शोषक नहीं हैं या दोहक नहीं हैं? या जनता पार्टी के लोग ही हैं। यह हमारा कर्तव्य है कि मैं साबित करूँ कि आज भी कांग्रेस पार्टी हरिजनों का उतना ही शोषण उतना ही दोहन कर रही है जितना कि पहले कर रही थी। (Interruption)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
शान्त रहिये शान्त रहिये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन् इटावा के बंकवर कांड में मिर्जापुर के सकरिया कांड में क्या हुआ? देवकान्त बरुआ पटना हवाई अड्डे से जा रहे थे तो रास्ते में उनकी गाड़ी से आदमी कुचले गये (Interruption)
चार हरिजन मारे गये गोली से। उस समय किसकी सरकार थी?

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : श्रीमन् मेरा पाइंट आफ आर्डर है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
राजनारायण जी कृपया बैठिये। पाइंट आफ आर्डर है।

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह महान दुर्भाग्य की बात है

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

कि हरिजनों के ऊपर सब से ज्यादा अत्याचार हो रहा है। हरिजनों के सब से बड़े शत्रु (Interruption)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : इसमें पाइंट आफ आर्डर क्या है ? आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : यह पाइंट आफ आर्डर है ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : आप कृपया आसन ग्रहण कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन् मैं इस सदन से करबद्ध प्रार्थना कर रहा हूँ कि भाषण के दौरान कम से कम श्री कल्प नाथ राय जी 10 बार उठे होंगे । ऐसे भाषण कैसे चलेगा ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV): He is on a point of order. Kindly take your seat.

SHRI K.K. MADHAVAN : My first point is whether the Minister is allowed to exceed the time allotted to him. My second point is whether the Minister is allowed to indulge in cruel enjoyment at the expense of the lower sections of the society also suffer all sorts of oppression.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAN LAL YADAV) : There is no point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को जानकारी देना चाहता हूँ
(Interruption) एक पार्टी हुई थी जिसमें दिनर हुआ था । . . . (Interruption) बीच में बोलने से कोई फायदा नहीं है मुझे तो तूफान भी नहीं रोक सकता । अगर

जहलूम भी चहे कि हमको निगल ले तो हमको पचा नहीं सकता । (Interruptions)
मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे चांद राम जी जो लोक सभा के सम्मानित सदस्य हैं और करीब 80 हजार हरिजनों को जेल में भेजा क्योंकि कांग्रेस के लोगों ने हरिजनों की जमीनें जबरदस्ती छीन लीं और उस जमीन को जब लीटाने के लिए चांदराम जी के नेतृत्व में हरिजन चले तो उन पर लाठियां चलाई । हरिजनों के नेतृत्व करने वाले चांद राम जी गये । (Interruption)
मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो आज हरिजन भक्त हैं जो हरिजनों के लिए दान करते वाले हैं उनको जेल जाना ही होगा । क्योंकि जो सरकार अनजस्ट है वह जस्ट लोगों को जेल भेजती है —

These who are fighting for a just cause, will have their good place in prison.

कांग्रेस के लोग कितनी बार जेल गये ? कहाँ रहे कब जेल गये ? बाबा हमारा घी खाये हमें फांसी हो ?
(Interruption)

इस समय जो हो रहा है वह क्रांति की बात सम्पूर्ण क्रांति की बात हो रही है । तो सम्पूर्ण क्रांति में गांधी जी ने क्या कहा ? गांधी जी ने यह कहा कि जो समाज में जितना पिछड़ा है उसको उतना ही आगे बढ़ाओ । बी०एल०डी० का घोषणा-पत्र पढ़ लो । जब जनता पार्टी नहीं थी तब का है । अब तो जनता पार्टी है । पूरे तरीके से इसमें लिखा हुआ है कि जब तक जाति प्रथा का निर्मूल नहीं होगा तब तक शान्ति नहीं रहने देंगे । जाति-प्रथा का नाश करना जाति-प्रथा को निर्मूल करना पूर्णरूपेण चौधरी चरण सिंह और मोरारजी देसाई और जनता पार्टी का काम है । हम उस के लिये कटिबद्ध हैं, वचनबद्ध हैं और कार्य कर रहे हैं । क्या कमलापति जी इस बात को जानते

हैं कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश में हरिजनों को सीरदारी का अधिकार दिये जाने की बात चल रही थी उस समय माल मंत्री कौन थे ? कमलापति जी ने उन पर उस वक्त पांच गुणा लगान के मसौदे की तजवीज की थी और जब हमने सत्याग्रह की बात की पांच गुणा लगान माफ कराने के लिए तो अंत में चौधरी चरणसिंह ने बिना पांच गुणा लगान के सीरदारी का अधिकार दिलाया । सब सीरदार बन गये और सब से ज्यादा जमीन हरिजनों को मिली बिना एक पैसा दिये । हरिजनों को सीरदार चौधरी चरण सिंह ने ही बनाया । जो हरिजन को जानते हैं जो हरिजन हैं और सच्चे हरिजन हैं और हरिजन होते हुए भी हरिजन का शोषण नहीं करना चाहते हैं वह चौधरी चरण सिंह के गुण को समझेंगे कि उन्होंने हरिजनों के लिए क्या किया । मैं किसी व्यक्ति का नाम नहीं जानता । एक बात है कि सुग्रीव और बाली दोनों सगे भाई थे । मगर राम ने बाली को मारा और सुग्रीव को राजगद्दी पर बैठाया क्यों ? क्योंकि बाली और रावण में आक्रमण संधि हो गई थी इसलिये बाली का निघन करना राम का कर्तव्य था । इसलिये कल्पनाथ जी चाहे हरिजन हों मगर कल्पनाथ इस समय शत्रुता के रूप में हरिजनों का नुकसान करेंगे तो कल्पनाथ जी को जेल में भरना हमारा कर्तव्य हीना (Interruption) । आज जो हरिजनों का हक छीनेगा, जो हरिजनों का हक छीनेगा, जो हरिजनों की जमीन छीनेगा जो हरिजनों पर अत्याचार करेगा जो हरिजनों को कुएं से पानी नहीं लेने देगा तो जनता पार्टी की सरकार उसे ऐसे ही नहीं छोड़ देगी । हरिजन हमारा प्राण हैं । हरिजन हमारा दिल है । (Interruption) । हरिजनों के लिये कुछ भी करने के लिए हम तैयार हैं ।

मैं कांग्रेस पार्टी को चेतावनी देना चाहता

हूँ कि खबरदार अगर हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हुआ तो जेलों में सफर करना पड़ेगा । जेलों के दरवाजे चौड़े होंगे । कमलापति जी जो हरिजनों को सतायेगा उसे जेल जाना पड़ेगा । मैं बता सकता हूँ क्योंकि मैं चुप्पी साधने वाला नहीं हूँ ।

अभी हाल में मैं बंगलौर गया था । बंगलौर में एकदम यह आफत आई कि इस सवाल का जवाब दो । उनका यह नारा था कि इन्दिरा को हराया है, इंडिया को बचाया है यह नारा वह लगाते थे और साथ ही यह कहते थे कि इन्दिरा को जेल कब भेजोगे ? वहाँ सब हरिजन थे पिछड़ी जाति के थे (Interruption) उन्होंने इन्दिरा के राज को हरिजनों के लिये बहुत ही कठिन बताया है, हरिजनों के लिये नुकसानदेह बताया है, अहित बताया है ।

इसलिये वह कहते हैं कि इन्दिरा को जेल जाना चाहिये (Interruption).

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI
(Assam) : Sir, I am on a point of order.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है ।

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI :
Sir, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): What is your point of order ?

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI :
Sir, we are discussing some current incidents of atrocities on Harijans in our country, in context of consideration of the report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We expect replies from the Ministers on the report and about the present situation and not past history with politics incidents. But instead of replying to those points, Mr.

[Shri Shrimati Prafulla Goswami] Raj Narain, being a Minister, was narrating stories about past history, avoiding the issues.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : There is no point of order.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : I can also speak about his grand-father.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Please resume your seat. Nothing will go on record.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI :
(continued to speak)

श्री राजनारायण : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बड़ी विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ
(Interruption) ।

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : श्रीमन्, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन् मैं बहुत ही नम्रता के साथ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि . . . (Interruption) . . .

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चौधरी चरण सिंह की संविद सरकार ने श्री राजनारायण पर गोलियाँ चलाई थीं और उनको बनारस की जेल में बन्द किया था ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I am on a point of order. I have nothing to say about the speech. The point is that the debate is taking place on the Report. Some Minister must be in charge of it. I take it that the Union Home Minister,

Sh. Charan Singh, is in charge of it. Mr. Raj Narain—if you don't mind, you are not a Member of this House—is intervening on behalf of the Government. He cannot intervene in his capacity as a Member because he has no *locus standi* as he is not a Member of this House. But, certainly, if Mr. Charan Singh allows him to speak on behalf of the Government, I can understand that. Exceptionally, Sir, a Minister also intervenes in addition to the Minister in charge. Now, Mr. Raj Narain is not speaking on the subject in the sense in which a Minister should reply or intervene. He is taking this opportunity to make a harangue on the political situation. Therefore, I want to ask, first of all, whether it is proper for a Minister, other than the Minister who is dealing with this matter, to intervene? Even if he did intervene out of the way, whether what he has been saying here is relevant? His job is to answer questions in the light of what has been said in the Report and he should defend the Government's position. Does not his talk here amount to something what the other Members can say. Therefore, Sir, Mr. Raj Narain is exceeding his authority in this matter. Do I understand that Mr. Charan Singh will also be speaking?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, Mr. Raj Narain is only intervening now, and two Ministers out of twenty are speaking.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : मैं चाहूँगा कि श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी ने जो बातें कही हैं उनका आप ध्यान रखेंगे और समय का भी ख्याल रखेंगे ।

श्री राजनारायण : समय तो हमारा उन्होंने बहुत ले लिया है । ये लोग बारबार पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर उठा रहे हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे दोस्त और मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी ने जो सुझाव दिया है उसका मैं आदर करूँगा

और उनके मुझवानुसार ही अपना मन्तव्य व्यक्त करूंगा। मैं मानता हूँ कि रिपोर्ट पर बहस होनी चाहिए। जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है वह 1970-71, 1971-72, 1972-73 और 1973-74 की है। इस बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले सालों में जो जबरदस्ती नसबन्दी हुई है, उसके सबसे ज्यादा शिकार हमारे देश के हरिजन हुए हैं.....
(*Interruption*)

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : श्रीमन्, मेरा पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। मेरा पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर यह है कि यह महान शर्म की बात है कि श्री राजनारायण जैसे आदमी चौधरी चरण सिंह जैसे जालिम आदमी को डिफेन्ड कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा शर्म की बात दूसरी नहीं हो सकती है.....
(*Interruption*)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह कोई पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : श्रीमन्, आपकी रूलिंग के बावजूद बारबार पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर उठाये जा रहे हैं।

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : I can also say about Mr. Raj Narain's grandfather.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, has the Government decided to filibuster?

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमने बंगलौर की बात इसलिये की, क्योंकि बंगलौर में जो तमाम शोषित, पीड़ित गरीब हरिजन आदिवासी एकत्रित थे, वे सब जानते थे कि इंदिरा जी के राज में उनका शोषण हुआ, उनका दुहन हुआ। इसलिये वह हम से कह रहे थे कि जो लाखों-लाख, दो लाख हजार लोगों को, बड़े बड़े नेताओं को इंदिरा जी ने बिना किसी कारण के जेल में बन्द कर दिया, तो फिर जनता सरकार इंदिरा जी को जेल

में क्यों नहीं भेजती। जिन इंदिरा जी ने नसबन्दी करके तमाम हरिजनों का शोषण किया, दुहन किया, इसलिये उनके खिलाफ नारे लगा रहे थे।

श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी : मान्यवर, . .

श्री राजनारायण : पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वे बैठे रहें तो अच्छा होगा, क्योंकि उनको देखकर मुझे प्रेरणा मिलती है।

मैं यू० पी० और महाराष्ट्र के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। यू० पी० में है इस समय जनता पार्टी की सरकार . . .

श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी : मान्यवर, . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : आप कृपया बैठ जाइये।

श्री राजनारायण : I am not going to yield.

मैं यील्ड नहीं कर रहा हूँ। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य जो मैं कहे दे रहा हूँ, वह सुन लें।

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर, . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर सुन लीजिये।

SHRI RAJ NARAIN : Let us go by the rule. If a gentlemen of the House repeatedly rises on a point of order and wants to hinder the proceedings of the House, you are totally entitled to say that no point of order is going to be allowed. You ask him to sit. down;

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Let us hear him.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राजनारायण जी का बहुत आदर करता हूँ। मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : यह कोई प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है ?

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह कोई प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर नहीं है ? आप कृपया संक्षेप में बोलिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं संक्षेप में बोल रहा हूँ ।

उत्तर प्रदेश में इस समय जनता पार्टी की सरकार है। कब से ? जून से। मगर यह जो पहली जनवरी से 30 जून तक अट्रोसिटीज आन हरिजन्स हुये है, उत्तर प्रदेश में 1977 में वह हुए है 860 और 1976 में हुए थे 3886। अब महाराष्ट्र को ले लीजिये। वहाँ पर 6 महीने में हुए 231 जब कि पिछले साल हुए थे 354। जहाँ कांग्रेस की सरकार है, वहाँ हरिजनों पर अट्रोसिटीज ज्यादा हुई हैं, हरिजनों पर अत्याचार तीव्र गति से बढ़ा है और जहाँ जनता पार्टी की सरकार है, जहाँ वह केवल एक महीने या डेढ़ महीने ही चली है, वहाँ हरिजनों पर अत्याचार होना बन्द हो गया है। श्रीमन्, अगर कहीं कहीं कुछ घटनायें हुईं यह जाति भेद के कारण हुई है। मेरे भाई विपिन पाल दास जी

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : वह आपसे क्लेरीफिकेशन चाहते हैं ।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : May I ask a simple question of my friend, Shri

Raj Narain ? If whatever he has been saying is true, why are they afraid of appointing a Commission of Inquiry to go into the acts of atrocities on the Harijans ? If you have conscience, if you are truthful, if you are true, come on and have a Commission of Inquiry. We will face it.

श्री राजनारायण : श्री विपिनपाल दास जी ने जो बातें कहीं हैं, कमीशन विठाने के लिये उनका वह मकसद पूरा होने जा रहा है ।

श्री राजनारायण : जो एट्रोसिटीज ड्यूरिंग इमरजेंसी हुई है, शाह कमीशन बैठा है वह (Interruption)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Why not today ? Why not for the last four months ? Why not an enquiry for the last four months ?

श्री राजनारायण : भाई विपिनपाल दास जी, अपनी सहनशीलता को अपने भाई कल्पनाथ राय में मत बदलिए। आपकी जो महिमा है, गरिमा है, उसको कायम रखें। मैं आपकी इज्जत करता हूँ। मैं समझा रहा हूँ हरिजनों के ऊपर जो एट्रोसिटीज हुई है, शाह कमीशन इनको तथा बहुत से बड़े बड़े मसलों को खोलेगा और सामने रखेगा। इधर दो साल तक जो हुआ उसको ले लें और दो साल में अगर सारी चीजें नहीं आ पाती तो फिर चौधरी साहब से रिक्वेस्ट कहेगा (Interruption) बैठा देंगे, क्या परेशानी है। कोई परेशानी की बात नहीं है। धबराइये नहीं। ऐसा न समझिए कि हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्र (Interruption)

श्री विपिनपाल दास : चौधरी साहब धबराते हैं। आप बनाइये ।

श्री राजनारायण : जहाँ तक विहार सरकार का सवाल था, चौधरी साहब ने

लिखा कि ज्युडिशियल इन्क्वायरी बैठाओ और बिहार की विधान सभा ने कमेटी बना दी कि वह जा कर जांच करे। आप बताइये कांग्रेस पार्टी की जहां पर सरकार है ऐसी कोई कमेटी बनाई है ?

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : क्या प्रश्न है ?

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : माननीय श्री राजनारायण ने कहा कि शाह कमीशन एटरोसिटीज की जांच करेगा। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ क्या इस पिछले चार महीनों में भी जो एटरोसिटीज हुई है उनको भी उसमें ऐड किया जाएगा ? क्या इसको भी उस रिपोर्ट में जोड़ा जाएगा कि हरिजनों के ऊपर ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है। आप बैठिए।

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : पिछले चार महीनों में जो अत्याचार हरिजनों पर हो रहे हैं, उसकी भी जांच वह करें।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान् दुनिया का हर बड़ा आदमी (Interruption)

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Sir, hereafter, if you call any Member from the Congress side, you need not call them by names, but only as "points of order".

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, दुनिया का हर बड़ा आदमी मारा गया है तो अपने शिष्यों और साथियों से मारा गया है। सारी हिस्टरी आप पढ़ कर देख लीजिए, आपको यही मिलेगा। यही हमारे साथ हो रहा है। इन्हीं पुराने दोस्तों से। यह है हमारे रईसे-

बिहार जो सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में ही बने। कल्प नाथ राय सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में बने, विपिनपाल दास जी का खून, भांस, मज्जा, हड्डियां सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में बनी। हम सब को बना कर के ऐसी जगह पर जा कर यह बेचारे फंस गए। अगर यह हमको छोड़ कर न गये होते तो कांग्रेस पार्टी का पूर्ण रूप से सफाया भी न हुआ होता। तो इस बात के लिए मैं विपिनपाल दास जी की दाद दूंगा कि उत्तर भारत में, पंजाब में 13 में से 13 जनता पार्टी को, हरियाणा में 10 में से 10 जनता पार्टी को, दिल्ली में सातों जनता पार्टी को, उत्तर प्रदेश में 85 में से 85 जनता पार्टी को, बिहार में 54 में से 54 जनता पार्टी को, राजस्थान में कांग्रेस को केवल एक, मध्य प्रदेश में भी एक सीट प्राप्त हुई। एकदम उत्तर भारत में सफाया हो गया। 'रहा न कोऊ कुल रोवण हारा' रावण के कुल में कोई रोने वाला नहीं रहा इसलिए कांग्रेस पार्टी का राज्य जनता पार्टी ने खतम किया है। इसलिए खतम किया है कि पिछड़े हुआं को उठाएं, हरिजनों को उठाएं, आदिवासियों को उठाएं, पिछड़ी जातियों को उठाएं। जनता पार्टी अपने वचन पर, अपने कर्म से अपने को शुद्ध करेगी जो भी उसने कहा वह पूरा करके दिखाएगी। (Interruption)

SHRI DEVENDRA NATH DWIVEDI : Sir, I would like to seek a simple clarification from Mr. Raj Narain. Mr. Raj Narain has intervened on behalf of the Government in the debate and in the course of his long discourse, he has made certain points. He referred to the role of Chaudhuri Charan Singh when he was the Chief Minister of U.P. and about his liberal attitude. He has referred to that. I would like to ask him a simple question. When Chaudhuri Charan Singh was the Chief Minister of U.P., Mr. Raj Narain had been arrested here in Delhi and he was in the Tihar Jail. I had gone to meet him at that time.

[Shri Devendra Nath Dwivedi]

And no sooner had Mr. ... (Interruptions) I was told that he was not feeling well and I want to see him. No sooner did Mr. Raj Narain see me from a distance of 50 feet, he asked: Devenji, have you removed that *rakshasa*? He said that in Hindi.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI : How is it relevant ?

यह सही नहीं है, गलत है ।

(Interruptions). I am seeking a

SHRI DEVENDERA NATH DWIVEDI : I asked in Hindi :

clarification. Do not tell me rules. Now, what I मैं समझ नहीं पाया आप किसके लिए कह रहे हैं ? He said in Hindi :

श्री उत्तर प्रदेश का मुख्य मंत्री है वह राक्षस है

want to say is that having held this view that the then Chief Minister was a *rakshasa*, a demon, how he has changed his view to such an extent that he has gone to the *charans* of Shri Charan Singh.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : On a point of clarification. He says that Mr. Raj Narain told him that Shri Charan Singh is a *rakshasa*, a demon. I say that Mr. Charan Singh is an incarnation of Ravana. He belongs to the depressed and oppressed classes. He is against religious fanaticism he is against casteism and unruly elements. I am proud to say that he is an incarnation of Ravana.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं अपने मित्र द्विवेदी जी का बहुत ही अनूषहीत हूँ ।

खिल उठा स्नेह दीपक सा नवनीत हृदय था मेरा
वह एक अबोध अकिंचन चिन्तित कर रहा
अंधेरा

उस विकट वेदना को ले किसने सुख को
ललकारा

वह एक अबोध अकिंचन बेमुग्ध चैतन्य हमारा ।

हमारा जो बेमुग्ध चैतन्य था वह बिल्कुल खिल उठा है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस चैतन्य को लाकर सदन के सामने रख दूँ मगर मुझे अफसोस है कि माननीय कमलापति जी यहाँ से चले गये हैं । अगर वह यहाँ रहते तो मैं दूध का दूध और पानी का पानी कर देता । हमारे मित्र द्विवेदी जी ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब आप ज्यादा लम्बा न करें ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे यहाँ से ही गये हैं . (Interruptions) यह भी बनारस से ही हैं (Interruptions) जरा सुनियेगा या बैठ जाय । जितनी भी बातें उन्होंने कही हैं वह बिल्कुल विकृत, निराधार, अनर्गत, असत्य हैं और बात सत्य क्या है कि यह गये थे हमको मनाने के लिए कि कमलापति जी को हम मुख्य मंत्री मान लें । हमने कहा बिल्कुल गलत (Interruptions) हम कमलापति जी को मुख्य मंत्री मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । हमने यह कहा कि अगर हमको चूज करना पड़ेगा कमलापति और चरण सिंह में, तो आई बिल चूज चरण सिंह जी, नाट कमलापति जी ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV) : Yes, Mr. Makwana.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was hearing Mr. Raj Narain with great interest and .

श्री चरण सिंह : गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जवाब तो होगा । तो जवाब के लिए समय देंगे आप मुझे ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
सात से पहले नहीं होगा।

श्री खरण सिंह : आज डिबेट खत्म नहीं होगी ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
आज ही खत्म होगी मगर सात बजे से पहले खत्म नहीं होगी और सात के बाद ही आका जवाब होगा।

श्री राजनारायण : आज 6 बजे खत्म करा दीजिए जवाब कल हो जायगा।

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB : I have to make one submission. The debate should be allowed to continue in the next session. It should be allowed to continue in the next session. It is a very important debate. As a matter of fact the Government ought to have moved the motion.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Sir, may I make a suggestion for the consideration of the hon. Home Minister ? This Report should have come to this House in the form of a motion from the Government. This is the usual practice. I do not know why they have not brought in a motion before the House. It has come under Rule 176. My submission is that since a large number of Members want to take part in it and the debate may be prolonged till late hours, we should suspend this particular Rule and agree to carry on the debate in the next session. If the Government agrees, this can be a solution; otherwise I don't know up to what hour we may have to sit today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : There is no difficulty. No rule comes in the way. As far as the debate is concerned, we can do it again. Some motion can be moved and it can be done. There is no difficulty. You cannot just suspend the rule that way. Now the question is whether you will continue the debate today or conclude it tomorrow. That is the main thing. We are not obstructed by rules anyhow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : Kindly see 'the rules.

रूल 176 में शार्ट ड्यूरेसन डिस्क्शन है जिस को कि टाई घंटा में समाप्त होना चाहिए लेकिन यह दिन भर चल रहा है। लोक सभा में शायद वह एक मोशन के रूप में था जिस पर डिस्कशन हुआ था। मोशन में और शार्ट ड्यूरेसन डिस्कशन में फर्क है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : परम्परा भी है कि उसी दिन में खत्म हो जाता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :
शार्ट ड्यूरेसन डिस्कशन है इसलिए इसको अगले दिन के लिए नहीं रख सकते।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this has been the practice in this House that such a Report comes before it only in the form of a motion. I do not know why they have not done it this time. That is why I am asking for the consideration of the Government whether they can continue the debate in the next session in some form. As he says, the rules do not stand in the way. But even if the rules stand in the way, they can be suspended. But let them agree to continue the debate. Why don't they agree to that ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : A very important point has been made. When you bring a Government motion, we can move amendments to the Government motion and express our opinion. Under the present rule, this is not possible. Neither the Government can bring a motion, nor anybody from this side or that side can give an amendment. Now, Sir, I don't know whether at this stage, it can be converted into a Government motion. It cannot be, it seems. Then, I think let it be agreed upon that in the next session a Government motion will come, with a motion which we can debate.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] Here there is really no motion. It is just a discussion in the light of other discussion we have had over the issue. This is not fair. It is a very important report and such reports in the past had been considered on substantive motions brought by the Government. The Members moved amendments. There was a reply by the Government. Nothing of the kind has been done.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra) : Sir, I have to make a small submission. Today we are discussing it as Short Duration Discussion. In fact, we had no opportunity to study the Reports. We were all alone under the impression that this will be discussed in the next session of Parliament. We had no time. So my request is that this should be concluded and the Government should give an assurance to us that all these three Reports will be discussed on a motion to be brought by the Government. In fact, this is a statutory requirement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV) : That is always open to the Government.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी ने इस पर ढाई घंटे का समय दिया है । आपने बिलकुल सही बात कही है । अब इसको बदलना . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : मैंने कहा ढाई घंटे का समय होता है लेकिन दिन भर का समय हो गया है

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, तो आप दिन भर कर लीजिए . . .

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I do not know why Mr. Raj Narain stands up and talks about the Business Advisory Committee of this House of which he is not a Member. He does not know what happened there.

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा मान लीजिए, आप नेक्स्ट सेशन में ले चलें और जिस तरह से पॉइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर उठ रहा है उसी तरह से पॉइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर हम उठाने लेंगे तो उस पर कोई चर्चा होगी । पांच-छ घंटे हो गए— क्या यह कोई बात है ?

श्री चरण सिंह : मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी ने जैसा कि आप ने फरमाया इस के लिये ढाई घंटे दिये थे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : मैंने कहा कि रूल में समय ढाई घंटे का है ।

श्री चरण सिंह : और आज सात घंटे बहस हो चुकी है और बेलची कांड पर जो बहस हुई थी लगभग इसी प्रकार की दलीले उस में दी गयी थीं । पूरा एक दिन उस में लगा था । एक प्रकार से दो दिन हो गये । मैं इस बात के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि यह बहस अगले किसी दिन ही । मैं इंसिस्ट करूंगा कि आप आधे घंटे, 15 मिनट और ले लीजिए और इस बहस को पूरा होने दीजिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : जैसा कि मैंने निवेदन किया नियमानुसार यह 176 में बहस हो रही है । उस में आज दिन भर को बहस हो रहा है और मेरा ख्याल है कि 7 बजे तक आप जवाब दे पायेंगे तब तक सब मेम्बर बोल चुकेंगे ।

श्री नृपति रंजन चौधरी : रिपोर्ट पर बहस होना दूसरी बात है । (Interruption)

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was hearing Mr. Rajnarain— राजनारायण जी, बैठिये, बैठिये—

with great interest and when I was hearing him I was reminded of the old days which he was narrating here. Mr. Rajnarain, before 1974— When he was

in the Socialist Party- was a different Rajnarain. That Rajnarain who was showing his shoes to Chaudhari Charan Singh and telling him in the U.P. Assembly that Mr. Charan Singh could understand that language only, was different. That Rajnarain who was saying that Chaudhari Charan Singh was the chieftain of defectors, that Chaudhari Charan Singh was chair Charan Singh, that Chaudhari Charan Singh was a pea-headed Charan Singh, that Chaudhari Charan Singh was a Ravan—that Rajnarain died in the year 1974-

[The Vice-Chiirmja (Shri M. H. Trivedi) in the Chair]

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI : On a point of order. How is it relevant to the Report ? (*Interruptions*)

श्री राजनारायण : प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर । मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि अगर आप इस तरह का भाषण यहां पर एलाऊ करेंगे तो पूरी हिस्ट्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी की यहां पर आ जायगी कि किस समय में वह क्या थीं, कब क्या हुई, किस समय किस से संबंध था, किस समय कैसे आयीं यह सारी बातें यहां आ जायंगी । इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह शड्यूलड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट पर बहस हो रही है, इसी पर चर्चा होनी चाहिए और अगर चौधरी चरण सिंह किस समय क्या थे, राजनारायण क्या थे, इन्दिरा जी क्या थीं, नेहरू जी क्या थे, मोतीलाल जी क्या थे, उन के पिता क्या थे, क्या वह पुलिस के हवनदार थे, इस सब की चर्चा सदन में करने की क्या जरूरत है । मैं चाहता हूं विनम्रता के साथ शान्ति से बहस हो, मर्यादा की रक्षा हो और उस की रक्षा करते हुए जो चर्चा हो रही है, उस पर बहस हो ।

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : Sir, I do want to maintain the dignity of this House and I do want to respect where respect is due to a person, but at the facts which I have narrated why is he agitated--to hear the facts which he uttered in the past in the U.P. Assembly?

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Baseless.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : However, we admired and we appreciated that Rajnarain who was there before 1974 but unfortunately that Rajnarain had expired - he died in 1974—and a new Rajnarain was born.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Why ? Because I have become a Harijan ? And you don't like me today because I have become a Harijan, Today I am a Harijan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI) : Mr. Makwana, please confine yourself to the discussion of the Report.

SHRI N. G. RANGA : It was Mr. Rajnarain who provoked; it was he who asked for it.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : Now, a new born Raj Narain quoting something and abusing some leaders seems like the devil quoting the Bible. I cannot but have to pass these remarks because Mr. Raj Narain has totally changed his ideology and has become more Jana Sangh or RSS-minded . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJ NARAIN : You will have to give me time to explain what I am. If he goes on like this, I would request you kindly to give me some time to explain what I am.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : I am deeply pained and surprised to hear the cause of the communal people being advocated by that new Raj Narain and one Communist (Marxist) Party Member, Mr. Ramamurti. He, of course, rightly said that a political will is required for this purpose. Has the Janata Party the political will to protect the Harijans and to punish the anti-social and communal elements in the society? Sir, I would like to read from the *Times of India* of today where a report is published—I quote :

[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

"Some indication of the change in the atmosphere of villages can be had from the fact, after the election results were out, the district collector of Mehsana had to announce publicly that the Protection of Civil Rights Act was *still* in force, He had to do so because rumours swept the villages that the anti-untouchability law had been scrapped !"

This was the impression given by the Janata Party when they came into power, or when they were gaining a majority in the elections. When the election results were being declared, in all the villages of Gujarat, it was declared by their workers that the Protection of Civil Rights Act which the Congress Government had passed recently would be scrapped immediately by the Janata Party.

Sir, I would like to quote further from the newspaper, where it is stated :

"The frequency of such incidents and the death toll apart, recent reports speak of an ominous development since the Lok Sabha poll. The traditional class of oppressors in the villages have interpreted the Janata Party's victory as freedom for them to deal with Harijans and the down-trodden "appropriately". Their war cry is : "Your mother (reference to the former Prime Minister) has gone; we will see you now."

So the Harijans were thus suppressed and were told : Your mother has died and gone and our reign has come. We will deal with you with high-handedness. Since then, Sir, this has started. And what has happened during the course of these four months? Every day there is a news item that a Harijan has been attacked or a Harijan has been murdered.

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Are we discussing the four months or the four years? Are we not discussing that Report for the last four years ?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA :

We are discussing the four months also along with the four years. During the four years also there were such incidents; we never denied them. We say that there were atrocities on the Harijans in the past also, but the quantum was less. When an attack was made, protection was given by the Government But, during these four months, the Government has totally failed to protect the Harijans. Recently we conducted a survey of the incidents of the last three months only. I was one of the members. We came across a hundred incidents where the Harijans were beaten severely, some murdered and some burnt alive. These have occurred only during the course of the three months only, and, therefore, while discussing this Report, we cannot ignore the incidents which had occurred during these four months. And why have these occurred Only because there is lack of political will on the part of the present Government, and they do not want to protect the Harijans. That is the only thing, and, therefore, the incidents are repeatedly occurring throughout India. It is not an affair of one State, but of every State of India, Even in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar or U.P. it has occurred there is no exception.

Sir, we, the Harijans especially of this country, have always brought these things to the notice of the Government wherever they have occurred, and the Government has given proper protection. When there was a law on the untouchability, the Untouchability Offences Act, a Bill was brought in Parliament and a new law, the Civil Rights Protection Act, was passed. (*Time bell rings*). I have hardly started and you are ringing the bell. What should I do? I should be done

soms justice. Sir, in the Untouchability Offences Act there were many loopholes, and till the Civil Rights Protection Bill was not passed, nobody was punished. So, this Bill was brought before the House, and it took four years to pass it, because there were certain elements within the Congress Party also, who were not interested in passing that Bill. But now when the Bill has been passed, an impression has been given by the Janata Party that they have scrapped that Civil Rights Protection Act, and, therefore, these incidents occur. The elements which are there in the Janata Party, not only herd but in the States also are all reactionaries and are from the R.S.S. Even some two days back, some RSS people went to a high school in my State and said, "We have come for cultural development. We are giving a cultural programme". And then they started their political talk and preaching. The Headmaster of the school said, "This is a school. You can talk about some cultural things, about some educational matter but not about politics". And they were driven away. This has been started in every village, in every high school. They have started capturing them and at every place of importance, they are bringing people from the RSS. Now, what can we expect from the RSS people?

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH : On a point of order, Sir. My friend seems to be bothered about our party organisation. I think he should take care of himself and speak on the subject.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : When I speak about atrocities on Harijans, I would have to describe the things which occurred in my State and which are relevant . . .

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA (Bihar) : How is it relevant to this Report ?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : It is relevant and, therefore, I am referring to it.

SHRI JAGBIR SIGNH : May I know whether our party organisation is relevant or the Government is relevant to this subject ? Sir, I want your ruling.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI) : Mr. Makwana, you are losing time. Please conclude.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA : All right Sir, I will have to submit to the Chair.

As I said in the beginning, there is a lack of political will on the part of the present Government to protect the Harijans and they have totally failed in giving proper protection to the Harijans. The Ministers and their party members shout here and say that they are for the Harijans. But how can we believe it? When Mr. Rabi Ray was speaking, I was hearing him patiently. He said something about the Dalit Panthers but he does not know why this movement was started and how they argue. The young Harijan youths have now started arguing in the language of Shylock, a character in the famous drama of Shakespeare, the "Merchant of Venice". There, Shylock, the Jew, argues : "If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you poison us, do we not die ? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?" That sense of revenge is now prevailing among these Harijan youths and they are there to take revenge. Though they are incapable, though they are in a minority, though they are weak, yet they are for that. And as love begets love, hatred begets hatred only. And the hatred has been started by your party. Unless that hatred is removed from the grass-root level, from the level of the village, you will never get results. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I will finish. Now I do not want to go into details. At the same time I want to make some suggestions to the present Government. The Harijans are not given proper protection. That is one thing. And the fore-

[Shri Yogendra Makwana] most thing which is required is to give them adequate and proper protection in the villages. For that, it has been rightly pointed out that there should be some commission to go into this matter and to suggest ways and means. The second thing is about the educational

facilities extended to the Harijans. 6 P.M. I said in this House previously also,

the scholarship which is given at the beginning of the year is collected by the schools and put in the bank and is disbursed at the end of the year. Government should take action against these schools also. As regards reservation of posts, this facility is always avoided, both in the past and in the present. Recently

in Gujarat Mochi community, which is a high caste community, is included as a Scheduled Caste community by this Government. In the past there was a circular issued to the State Government and the State Government in turn issued the circular to all the organisations that this caste should not be considered as a Scheduled Caste. But the present Government gave orders to the State Government stating that this should be treated as a Scheduled Caste and that the people of this caste should be given all facilities of reservation as given to other communities belonging to the scheduled Castes. This is what is going on. Unless this is stopped, I think the Harijans will not get any benefit of this facility of reservation.

In a tribal belt the population limit for a village is 1500, that is, a village must have a population of 1500 or more to be connected by road. The tribal people, as everybody knows, live in scattered houses and in fields and they hardly make a population of 500 to 800. If their

villages are to be provided with road links, the limit of 1500 should be reduced to 500 or 600, otherwise, the tribal people will not benefit. Tribal villages are scattered throughout the jungle belt. (*Time-bell rings*) There are many suggestions which I wanted to make, Sir. But since you are ringing the bell, I do not want to embarrass you. With these words I end my speech. Thank you.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : Sir, the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which was constituted on 18th November 1950 has so far submitted 22 reports and this House has discussed so far 19 reports. But never was a report discussed so hurriedly as it is being done now by the Janata Party Government. When I came to this House in 1972 the first thing I did was to speak on this report and at that time the discussion took place for three days. I do not know the reason why it is allotted less time now. Perhaps Choudhuri Sahib might have felt the topic of atrocities on Harijans has been discussed time and again in this House. But in the report reference is made not only to this thing, there are several other things which have been referred to in the report. Perhaps Mr. Rajnarain, the Minister, who spoke here has spoiled the atmosphere of the House and diluted the seriousness with which we were discussing this issue in the House. In their anxiety many Members described Choudhuri Charan Singh in many ways. And my friend, Mr. Lakshmanan, described him in his own DMK style as Rawana. Perhaps he wants to take him via Madras to Sri Lanka. Anyway, I will not speak that way. I want to touch on certain categorical issues, the sufferings and also the remedies so that the honourable Minister may give serious thought to them, so that the Ministry may give serious thought to them, and do something for these downtrodden people. For the last 30 years as Mr. Ramamurti was saying, all through this party is shedding crocodile tears, or, for that

matter, everyone who is not a Scheduled Caste man has been shedding crocodile tears for the last 30 years over this important matter. It is a matter of shame. We are hiding whenever their sufferings are highlighted. Whenever we take up for a political positions, we start talking in the name of some Pullaiah or Yellaiah to bypass somebody, but not with any sincere motive. We often say that Gandhiji had desired a Harijan to be appointed to the highest post in the land. We suggest the names of Harijans only for the Presidentship, never for the Prime Ministership. I am not speaking only of the Janata Party. The Congress Party also has not done it. But there is no point in beating about the bush. Let us do something for these people.

Earlier also, when we were discussing the Home Ministry, I said that this is not a party issue at all. Yesterday Shri Raj Narain went to Bangalore and said that Harijan atrocities are more in Congress run States. Is it proper for a Cabinet Minister to make such uncharitable remarks? Will the Home Minister support his statement? I have with me number of names and details of atrocities in Uttar Pradesh and even in his own district of Meerut. But I will not say that there are no atrocities in my own State. This is a social problem for which all of us are responsible. What is the point in saying that there are more atrocities in Congress governed States or this is a planned attack on Shri Charan Singh? Unfortunately or fortunately Shri Charan Singh is the Home Minister and he is very much concerned with this problem. Otherwise nobody would have said anything against him. If Shri Rabi Ray or Shri Lakshmanan had been in charge of this subject, we would have attacked him and nobody would have said anything about Shri Charan Singh. Therefore, this is not an attack on Shri Charan Singh personally. He happens to be the Home Minister and our attack is against the Home Minister.

Shri Raj Narain was saying that much heat was generated while discussing. Yes, it is bound to generate heat. The atmosphere outside the House is being reflected. Never previously it was like this. What happens inside the House is only the reflection of what happens outside. As I said this is not a party issue.

I will divide this problem into social and economical. Shri Rabi Ray, while speaking on this, used up all his 45 minutes to do Party propaganda. He did so perhaps he is the Secretary of his Party. Finally he said that his Government is going to constitute a Civil Rights Commission, merging the Backward Classes Commission, the Scheduled Castes Commission and the Linguistic Minorities Commission. Probably this idea is being copied from the United States of America where they have got the Civil Rights Act of 1953. That Commission is altogether different. There Negroes were being treated as coloured people. Here untouchability and economic backwardness are the problems so far as the Harijans are concerned. These are not really problems for the Civil Rights Commission. If they look into these problems, I am afraid they will be diluted.

Whenever we go through newspaper reports, not a day passes when there are no news of atrocities. These may be in the north, south, east or west. These are so many in number that we wonder whether we are living in the land where Gandhiji was born. Sir, the Janata Party people have taken an oath and they have taken a pledge at the Samadhi of Gandhiji. I will not say that nothing has happened during the past thirty years. But it is for these people to act now. They have said that they are going to adopt the Gandhian way. So, it is for them to act now. Can we say that this society is a society which Nehruji dreamt of? No, Sir. It is a great disappointment and our prestige in the international sphere has gone down because of the atrocities that we are committing on our fellow-men.

[Shri Janardhana Reddy]

Sir, I am not going to repeat all those things that have already been said and attribute them either to Mr. Charan Singh or somebody else. But, Sir, definitely I cannot accept the theory that these atrocities are merely because of the caste system that is there. I cannot entirely attribute these atrocities to the class system or caste system. But, Sir, definitely I can say that during the thirty years of Congress rule, we have created a certain awakening amongst the weaker sections of the society and that is a thing which is important in the present context. It is not the hut that a Harijan is being given which is important or it is not the money that you give him which is important. These things may not help him much. What is important is the awakening that we have created among them and the awareness that we have created among them. That is far more important than anything else. We have created among them the awakening and the awareness of their rights in the society and their place in the society and this is what we have given to them. We have made these things known to them and it is because of that only that they are living in the society with their rights and it is because of this only that they are able to move about in the society in the midst of the higher castes who are unable to tolerate this situation created by us. These people were waiting for an opportunity and you created the opportunity by forming Janata Government. But I

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

do not say that the Janata Party or the Janata Government encourages these things and these incidents. But it is for the Government to condemn such things and to make categorical statements and to give them protection. The other day, Sir, I saw an item in one of the newspapers. In a village in U.P.—I have forgotten the name of the village—the police went to a village and beat up the Harijans there telling

them, "Look, your Harijan Government has gone." Sir, this is what happened. But I cannot attribute this to this Government. But this is the thing that has taken place. No less a person than the constable a Government man has gone there and told them like this.

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH : Just a minute. Have you verified the facts?

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : I said that I have read it in the newspapers.

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH : I am asking you whether you have verified it.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : I said that I have come across that news item in the newspaper. You verify it.

SHRI CHARAN SINGH : It is a baseless allegation.

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH : You are making a baseless allegation. I think you are reading the "Blitz" and other papers and making such allegations.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH (Bihar) : Sir, on a point of order. Please request the honourable Member, Shri Jagbir Singh, to speak from his seat. This is important. When we do like that, other Members do not allow it. So, kindly ask him to speak from his seat. It is more dignified.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : Then, Sir, there is a lot to be done. If what I said is incorrect, I will stand corrected. I am subject to correction. Mr. Charan Singh, I did not want to humiliate you or anybody else. It is a thing which is known and it is a matter of concern to me and to you if it is proved correct. That was why I said in the beginning itself that we should not take it in that spirit and we have to find out whether it is correct, and if it is correct, we have to make amends for it. I feel that the present administrative set-up or the

police set-up is not suitable to do this job and that is why I appreciate the suggestion that has come from the other House that there should be a separate Ministry for this because this is not a small matter or a small problem. The Home Ministry plays only an insignificant role with regard to this problem and it has only an insignificant part in it. The problem being of such a magnitude, the Home Ministry has got a very insignificant part in it. Further, I am also of the opinion that there should be a separate cadre to undertake these departmental activities. Whenever an officer is posted as a Social Welfare Officer or a Tribal Welfare Officer to a particular place, he feels that it is a punishment for him to go to that place. Of course, certain officers are doing very well and we have to appreciate them. But some people are feeling that it is a punishment to go to these agency areas and work there. Therefore, what I say is that we have to build up a separate cadre of people who are really interested in such welfare work and we must give them some incentives and send them to these places. We have to post these people in areas like the tribal areas or forest areas where the forest officers are exploiting the Tribals. There is an urgent need to do this. . . (*Time bell rings*). . . Sir, you are ringing the bell now. Mr. Raj Narain took about 45 minutes and I am not taking even half of that. Sir, I will broadly identify the problem under three heads—insufficiency of developmental effort, exploitation and inefficient administration, as I told you, just now.

I would like to give some figures regarding the earmarking of funds for Harijan welfare. In the First Five Year Plan, out of a total Plan outlay of **Rs. 1,000** crores, 1.5 per cent was earmarked for the Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the Second Plan, out of Rs. 4,000 crores 1.6 per cent had been earmarked. In the Third Plan, out of Rs. 8,000 crores, **1 • 1 er cent** had been earmarked. In the

Fourth Plan, out of 11,000 crores, 1 per cent has been earmarked. In the Fifth Plan, *i.e.*, the current Plan, out of Rs. 3,900 crores, 1.3 per cent has been earmarked. Sir, do you think we can do something with these funds for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I agree with Mr. Kamble when he said what we do not want to be Scheduled Castes permanently. We should also fix up a time-limit and make them feel that we are all one. And for that there is no need to give special protection and deschedule them. But for this we have to do a lot.

Then, Sir, another filing that I would like to say is that we are getting 'Abkari cess' in almost every State, except in one or two States. Nearly 100 crores of rupees were being collected by way of this cess in each State. Out of that, definitely I can say, the amount drawn from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections was nearly 70 per cent. It is enough if we spend what we collected for them. Not even 30 per cent of that is spent on them. Mr. Charan Singh being a powerful Minister in the Cabinet must prevail upon his colleagues and tell them that one per cent is nothing. We can do nothing with this. We have to do a lot in an effective manner to do away with these Scheduled Castes and de-schedule them and make them feel that we are all one in this society. A time limit is essential.

Sir, some schemes are suggested both by State Governments and the Planning Commission. I feel that the Planning Commission is again one of the glorified universities created with all theoreticians. The other day, it appears, one of the members of the Planning Commission asked: How looks a paddy tree ? This is the type of people we have there. We need people with practical knowledge. Sir, the Planning Commission has suggested some

[Shri Janardhana Reddy] incentive schemes which are not at all useful. Mr. Raj Narain, at Bangalore has suggested that incentives should be given for inter-caste marriages—incentives like Rs. 1,000 and also vessels. Nothing will, I think, happen with such incentives. What I feel is that the Home Ministry should come forward *with* bill to give protection to children of inter-caste married people that their children will get education, jobs, etc. Such things should be given, so that it can be a real incentive.

Recently, they have asked the Harijans to take over as VMs. I can understand if they are made Post Masters, teachers, and *so* on. But such things will serve no purpose.

Thirty-eight per cent of our agricultural labourers are from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am an agriculturist and Chaudhury Charan Singh is also an agriculturist. We make use of them for years together as agricultural labourers. When they reach the age of 60 and are physically disabled, they are seen with a begging bowl, going to every house. Can we tolerate this, Sir? Can't the Government think of setting up homes for disabled and retired people who have served the community and produced food for the nation? Such a thing can be done—if not tomorrow, at least in the near future, by collecting tax from agriculturists as we *do* with regard to Pension Scheme. Sir, this exploitation of the tribals is a particular serious matter. I strongly feel that justice should be delivered at the door-steps of the tribals and tribal districts should be carved out as viable units. Sir, these tribals districts are being linked with the general districts and no attention is being paid towards the tribals. Unless we carve out the tribal district as viable units, the tribals will continue suffering and this exporta-

tion will be perpetual.' Previously, the Tehsildars and the Collectors of Tribal areas were given administrative as well as judicial powers and they could dispose of the cases then and there. But that is not the case now. The judicial powers are not given to them. How can you expect the tribals to go to the lower courts and then to the High Court? We should change this and make the Government deliver justice at the door-steps of the tribals. Otherwise we cannot do justice to them and it will be a perpetual problem. Sir, finally, I would like to speak about certain schemes.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : We have all given our names. The hon. Members on the opposition side are taking more time. The Minister has got to reply. When is he going to reply?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : At 7.00 O'clock.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Before his speak, we have to speak. We have given our names yesterday itself.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: You should have said this when Mr. Raj Narain was speaking. I am finishing, Sir.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : They did not have their righteous indignation about the wastage of time when Mr. Raj Narain was speaking.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN' : He was interrupted all the time. He was not allowed to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No one is debarred from speaking for any length of time. But it has been pointed out rightly that the time is very short. The hon. Minister is going to reply at 7-00 o'clock. If the hon. Member is short, more Members can take part in the debate-

SHRI N. G. RANGA : The Vice-Chairman could have told Mr. Rajnarain that there are other Members also. But he did not do it.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Mr. Rajnarain would have finished in time but for our Congress friends bringing in Ravana, Rama and all that thing. They brought these things into the discussion.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : Even small parties have to be accommodated.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : They are becoming small parties in the long run.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY : Mr. Rajnarain was referring to the Congress-run States. He talked about the atrocities in the Congress-run States. I request you to come to my State along with me. I have seen in the newspapers that Mr. Charan Singh is visiting our State. Let him spend one day more there and see how the schemes for Harijans have been implemented. Sir, out of 36 lakh acres of land that has to be surrendered under the land Ceiling Act, 7 lakh acres have been distributed and out of that 2 lakh acres have been distributed in my State. How can you say that Congress-run States are lagging behind ? I can quote a number of instances where other States have been exploiting the situation. (*Interruptions*) There is no point in accusing Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi. (*Interruptions*) There is no point in talking about separate colonies. My State has experienced about it. Having separate colonies is going to add to the segregation. In the report it is stated that there should be separate hostels for the Scheduled Castes. I quite disagree with it. Separate hostels will be another segregation. Sir, unless we sit together and work together, this problem would not be solved. Our State has done it we started separate colonies. But now we are going back in the matter. There is nothing

wrong in finding out mistakes and rectifying them. Similarly, Sir, I said about the student-managed hostels which we have started, separately for Harijans and now we are going back in the matter. Now they are mixed with others. They are given the money that they want as expenditure and the students are now feeling happy.

Sir, there is another thing which I would like to point out. There is always a thinking that social welfare activities can be run by the Government. It is a wrong thinking. Unless we involve voluntary organisations into this work and press them to do this, we cannot succeed in this. Of course, the Government can give guidance, the Government can give them help and encouragement. And, Sir, there is no point in accusing Mr. Charan Singh or anybody. It is not a personal attack. Mr. Raj Narain has unnecessarily diluted the seriousness of the situation. He said here that these atrocities are more in Congress run States. There in Lok Sabha he said that it is a planned attack on Mr. Charan Singh. It is not a planned attack on Mr. Charan Singh. He is the concerned Minister. Let us not dilute this and let us not give a go by to the whole affair. Sir. my only request to the Janata Government is this : We are here to co-operate. When we ventilate some of the facts, do not think that it is an attack on you. It is only bringing a threatening situation to your notice. It is not a threat to you. We are only bringing a threatening situation to your notice. Thank you, Sir.

DR. RAJAT KUMAR CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will be very brief. Sir, for the whole day today, this House is witnessing some sort of dramatics. Sir, in the past few months, cases of atrocities against the Harijans have come out in the newspapers. Some people started saying that the kulaks of the rural areas have started saying that because the Janata Party has

[Dr. Rajat Kumar Chakrabarti]

come to power and they are our Government, we can do whatever we like. So, my request to the ruling party will be to scotch this by their action, by taking stern measures against the real culprits and punishing them properly. Sir, at the same time, I would also like to request the hon. Home Minister whether he has got the figures of such atrocities during the period of emergency and what action the previous Government took in order to redress those grievances and atrocities which have been perpetrated on the Harijans. Sir, what I find is that during the last five and a half years or even during the last 30 years, the symbol of the term 'Harijan' has become a political football which is being kicked from one side to the other. Sir, may I ask one thing? How many of our politicians lived in any of the Harijan villages for a single day? Sir, as I understand, Gandhiji used to live in a bhangi colony. Sir, we say big words of plan of action and so on. In the same manner as Gandhiji used to live, how many of our politicians—MLAs and MPs—have cared even to live among those people? Sir, in that respect, I have got much respect for the Naxalites of West Bengal. Young people, bright people, boys coming from rich families, went into the interior villages and lived there with these Harijans months after months. Then they started fighting about all these things. I am not going to discuss about their path, their action or their belief or their policies. What I would like to bring out is that we may be saying many things here and it is not a question of policies and the appointment of commissions, but it is the question of society. Until and unless we change in our heart, this problem cannot be solved. How many of us can say that we are all for the Harijans and we invite them into our kitchens and so on? We cannot say that. So, it is no use passing the laws and appointing the commissions. Sir, if we are going to take the help of the local

police in order to protect the Harijans, it is not going to help in any way I will give you one example of the United States. A fight used to go on between the Blacks and the Whites in the Harlem District of New York. White police used to patrol the district and the complaints lodged with them were to the effect that white tortured the Black³ and the Negroes. Do you know ultimately what they did? The recruited Black people in the police force and even at present usually the areas inhabited by these people are patrolled by the Black police. So, my suggestion to this Ministry is to try to recruit as many as possible from the Harijans and the Adivasis and put them as constables and A.S.Is. in the police force wherever there is concentration of Harijans. If we can do at least this much, we can be sure that as soon as a complaint is received police will take immediate action because they will have a feeling in their hearts that they are doing it for their own brethren. In this caste-ridden society it is very difficult for us to change our habits. So, if we still depend on the same constables and A.S.Is. or those people who are posted in the local police stations, who have no feelings towards these people, I do not think any action is going to be taken by them as the recent incidents have shown that nearly 36 hours after the burning had taken place the police reached on the spot to investigate. Sir, such a delay will not occur if we try to recruit Harijans and Adivasis and post them in the police stations in these areas.

Sir, I want to make one more point. I will not take a long time because the time is short. I would have liked to speak on this subject for hours. At one time many people, Harijans and Adivasis, came to my house. They took tea with me. Afterwards they asked me 'Sir, you are a Brahmin. How are you allowing us to take tea with you?' They also said 'Even if we go to the house of a rich Harijan, who has acquired a position and money, he will not like to offer us even a

cup of tea in his house'. Sir, I am not going into that. I am going into the feelings of the human heart. This superstition in the Hindu society has been going on in our country for a very long time.

Sir, twenty years ago I was a student in the United States. I used to argue with the white students and ask them 'Why do you behave with Negroes like that?' They used to say because they have a black skin. They used to counter-argue with me and tell me. 'You have a caste system in your country. Do you allow Harijans to enter your houses ? Do you allow any Harijans to enter your kitchen? That is number one. Secondly, when you go for marriage for your son through advertisement in newspaper, what is it (hat you prescribe ? Will you please look into the matrimonial advertisement column? A bride with a fair complexion is wanted. Nobody says : A dark complexion bride is wanted. Can you show me a single parent who will like his son to be married to a dark complexion girl, or any bridegroom who will marry a girl with black complexion.' This student asked me and taunted me 'Why do such advertisements appear in the matrimonial columns ? So there is something in your mind regarding colour. The colour factor is there. So they do not want that their children, the children of the white people, should have a black complexion'. This question of complexions is running throughout our minds. Commissions or no commissions is going to solve this problem. Our leaders, our politicians and our people will have to go and live with these people and educate the masses.

Lastly, Sir, I want to make one more point. I want to emphasise the question of education that is needed. This question also I raised with the students in the States. I asked them : 'How is it that out of the total unemployed labour force, you have so many of Negro people and black people who are unemployed and why not I that many white people ? The answer was 'They are not educated'. I

asked another Negr 'Why are you not educated ?' The reply was 'We do not have money. If we do not have money we cannot send our children to schools. We have nothing; not even money to feed ourselves'. That raises the same question whether chicken came first or egg came first; or, in other words, whether money come first or education comes first. Without education you cannot get a job and without money you cannot get education. So, Sir, unless and until we give them enough financial help so that they get enough education and they come to the same level as the people in the rest of the society, I do not think the problem will be solved. Thank you.

SHRI SHOWALESS K. SHILLA
(Meghalaya) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, much has been said today on this Report of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Commissioner for the year 1973-74. One cannot help wondering, Sir, that it is for the year 1973-74 that we are discussing when it could very well have been for 1976-77. That means, three more issues would be there and in eluding the present one it should be four. If one looks at it from that point of view, one cannot help feeling that not much of care has been shown either by the Government or by the Commissioner, depending upon whoever is responsible for bringing out this Report. The fact of the matter is that if we are to discuss any report of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Commissioner, we have to consider it in the light of what is happening now. And confining ourselves to what is happening now, the recommendations made in 1973-74 will have no bearing on the present situation or the present circumstances. I am emphasising this, Mr. Deputy Chairman, because of the way in which this discussion has been brought here. I do not remember of an occasion in the past when this report has been brought to the House in this way under Rule 176, almost deliberately trying to avoid a discussion. In

[Shri Showaless K. Shilla]

the past, it has never been done for less than three days. The Lok Sabha has been discussing it for three days and will continue the discussion in the next session. But here, we are faced with a situation where we just have to finish it today. And we are requested to hurry up. But one would like to do justice to it. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, why I am laying a stress on this point is because of the vital fact that it shows the attitude of the Government, the attitude, may be, of all of us. And when I say the attitude of the Government, I agree with one hon. Member who said—and it is true—that the real problem that we are facing is one of many social problems arising out of our society. The caste system and untouchability are the few of the many problems, probably the worst ones. To solve them, we need the co-operation of each and every one of us, the big, the high, the small and the low. But when such an attitude is being shown by the Government of bringing a report of 1973-74, it seems—I would not say that they do not care; probably they do care—but it seems—that it just did not occur to them to care for it. I am sorry to say this. While the Government cannot, by a legislation, hammer or force people to care, the Government being a part of the society, the Government which holds the administration, has the responsibility to initiate a policy and understand the problem. And in that context, this attitude comes into play. I would, therefore, strongly urge upon the Hon. Home Minister to bring in the next three reports in the next session. I am sure the Report for 1976-77 also must be ready by now. After all, Mr. Deputy Chairman, four months of April, May, June, and July are passed. I do not think the Commissioner takes four months to prepare the report. Otherwise, what will he be doing? With more than half the year gone, I should have expected that the report would be ready. I would

earnestly request once again the Home Minister to bring forward the three reports properly not under Rule 176 as if they are trying to complete a formality, but under Article 338 of the Constitution.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I cannot help touching some of the points. As I said, though we are discussing some of the things that had happened three years ago, we have to come to the realities, to what is happening now around us. There is not a single day—here, I want to be careful when I say this—when we do not read in the newspapers instances of atrocities on Harijans here and there, in some State or the other. I do not want to challenge so as to prove it. I have no proof. But I have read them. I am sure the hon. Minister or his colleagues or his Government must have also read them. Having read them, as responsible Ministers of a responsible Government, and I hope of a responsible party, they must owe responsibility at least in regard to what had happened during their regime. In regard to what had happened during the earlier years, it is the responsibility of those people. There is no doubt about that. But they must owe responsibility at least in regard to what had happened during the last four months after they took over. Now, as I said earlier, there is not a single day when we do not read about these things. But what has been done? When hon. Mr. Raj Narain came thundering here, I was expecting that he would come with a perfect solution to our problem. But I am sorry to say that he has wasted more than an hour here. *(Time-bell rings)*. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg of you, I seldom speak. I crave your indulgence to allow me. I would have imagined, rather expected, that he would come with a perfect answer. But no. Apart from Wasting the time of the House and making you ring the bell at us who seldom waste their time, I am sorry to say this does not give us any hope. On the contrary, it gives

us misgivings. I would like to stress that the report that we read the other day in the newspapers cannot possibly be a mere report. Something must be happening somewhere. I am trying to make it as mild as possible. True, in the past, there might have been instances, but not to this extent. It breathes a foreboding of things *to come*. It goes with-out saying that it is against nature that these things should continue for long and indefinitely. There is always an end to everything, in life. There must be an end to this also. How ? If the Government cannot solve it, if we, here cannot solve it, if the country cannot solve it, somebody must solve it. Who will be let person? It is said that if nobody helps you and if you do not help yourself, not even God will help you. This gives a challenge to the Harijans themselves. What have they to do for their own salvation ? It is for them to decide. More talking here cannot help them. As I said in the beginning, it is a question of attitude. When that seems to be totally lacking, how do you expect them to solve this ? I would not dwell much on that. I will come to the other point. We have read in the newspaper that the Government is going to constitute a Civil Rights Commission. I do not know if this is going to solve the problem, for one can see that the year is trying to solve many problems in one stroke. It is always said that trying to do many things at a time means doing nothing. I hope this will not meet the same fate. Here I would like to make one suggestion that instead of this or instead of doing this, I shall appreciate if the powers of the Commissioner are not flowed to be the same, not only of a compiler of a report. Even as a compiler he has totally failed in his job. Not only in this report, but in all the reports—I do not remember an exception, at least for I he la it five years I have been here—he has always pleaded that this office or that office has not given him this or that detail and therefore, the missing link here and the missing link there. In this

report also he has stated the same thing. I think he should not only have powers to call for the report, but to take necessary action if the reports are not given to him, Not only that, Mr. Deputy Chairman, he should also have the enforcing authority. He should have the executive power to enforce all that he is meant to do. Otherwise, it will be a meaningless thing. He will be just like been ordinary spectator in a football match where he just watches how the players play, how the teams fare is none of his business. I think the time is long enough that we have made him a mere spectator in a football match. I do not think that was the role for which he was intended to be there. He is not even a referee or even a linesman. He is only a spectator.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will come to the other aspect. I shall be brief here. Much has been said that in admissions to schools and colleges a certain criteria will be adopted to help the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students, in the sense that they will not insist on the requisite percentage of marks that are obtained by general students. On paper it looks to be clean and bright but it means nothing when it comes to the actual practice. Most of the students who come to Delhi with high hopes and expectations of getting admission to schools and colleges, go back empty-handed. I think something should be done about it. Coming to the question of appointments in government departments or government organisations, yes, they right in advertisements—I have known it on many occasions—that such and such vacancy is reserved for the scheduled caste and the Scheduled Tribe candidates, but they will not even care to call them for an interview. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I shall end with a few words. I do hope,—before the Home Minister goes, I wish to draw his attention to this that he will bring up the remaining reports so that we can have an opportunity to say more on these. My time is almost up. I want to give a chance to others. I shall try to make up next time.

श्रीमती सरोज खापडें : उपसभापति जी, मुझे यहां बैठे-बैठे एक शेर याद आ रहा है :

“करीब है यारों रोजे महशर,

छुपेगा कुशतों का खूं क्योंकर

जो चुप रहेगा जुवाने खंजर,

लहू पुकारेगा आस्तीन को”

श्रीमन्, कमिशनर फार शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एण्ड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की रिपोर्ट पर बहस शुरू हो कर करीब दो घंटे हो रहे थे, माननीय गृह मंत्री श्री चौधरी चरण सिंह इस बहस की गंभीरता को न समझते हुए दो-ढाई घंटे इस सदन में उपस्थित नहीं हो सके। और, चौधरी चरण सिंह इस बहस की गंभीरता को समझ कर, अपने कार्यों में व्यस्त रहने के बावजूद भी इस सदन में ढाई घंटे के बाद माननीय सदस्यों के हरिजन और गिरिजनों के विषय में विचार सुनने के लिए तथा उनके नोट लेने के लिए उपस्थित हैं, पर अभी मुझे कहीं नजर नहीं आ रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं उन के तथा उनकी सरकार के हरिजनों के प्रति दिखायी हुई हमदर्दी के कारण कहूंगी कि गृह मंत्री जी, आप वाकई अभिनंदन के काबिल हैं।

श्रीमन्, कुछ देर पहले हमने हरिजनों के खून से लथपथ कपड़ों को माननीय गृह मंत्री को तोहफे के रूप में प्रदान किए। गृह मंत्री जी, जीते-जागते हरिजनों को देख कर तो आप आगवबूला हो जाते हैं, क्या आप उन के खून के बाद भी उन के खून से भरे कपड़ों का तोहफा हंस कर ना सही, किन्तु एक गंभीर मुद्रा धारण कर एक महिला सदस्य की तरफ से यह स्वीकार करते हुए भी आप तसल्लो के साथ स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते, ऐसी भी क्या बात है? हरिजनों के प्रति नाराजगी, घृणा और नफरत का क्या राज है? मेरी अपेक्षा थी कि मंत्री जी इन

खून से भरे कपड़ों को देख कर हरिजनों के प्रति सहानुभूति दिखाएंगे परन्तु गुस्से में ही सही, उन्होंने अपना असली रूप दिखा दिया। इन कमजोर लोगों के खून के कपड़ों को... *Interruptions* इस कदर फेंकने से इस देश में क्रांति भी हो सकती है। उपसभापति जी, मैं अभी आपके सामने अपनी तकरीर की शुरुआत कर रही।

आज, जब कि हमने 24वीं रिपोर्ट की नुबताचीनी यहां करनी थी, तब हम 22वीं रिपोर्ट पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं और वह भी सेशन जब समाप्त होने को आ रहा है तब यह रिपोर्ट पेश की जा रही है। शासन का वश चलता तो शायद इसकी चर्चा यहां होती ही नहीं परन्तु संविधान के अंतर्गत नियुक्त आयुक्त की रिपोर्ट यहां चर्चित करना आवश्यक है। यह संवैधानिक जिम्मेदारी का पालन करने के लिए जैसे जैसे कल जब सभा का सत्र अवकाश-प्राप्त करेगा तब जा कर आज कहीं इसे प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है। मैं चाहती थी मुझे गृह मंत्री जी सुनते तो कुछ नोट भी कर सकते थे, पता नहीं कहां चले गए...

श्री राजनारायण : नोट हो रहा है...

(*Interruptions*)

श्रीमती सरोज खापडें : 1973-74 की रिपोर्ट पर आज भाषण हो रहा है। आपने जब इतना समय लिया था, राजनारायण जी इतना समय ले रहे थे तब आपकी आवाज कहां गई थी। अब हमें सुनिए आप। श्रीमन् इस के पहले 21 रिपोर्टों की चर्चा यहां पर हम कर चुके हैं। इन पिछले 25 वर्षों में हम ने यहां पर जो चर्चाएँ की हैं उन्हीं पत्रों को यदि हम पलट कर देखें तो हमें पता चलेगा कि हर साल वही-2 बातें यहाँ दोहरायी गयी हैं। सदस्यों की ओर से शासन से आग्रह किया गया है कि वह हरिजनों और गिरिजनों की समृद्धि के लिये अधिक प्रयत्न करें और शासन की ओर से भी प्रत्येक बार कहा गया है कि उन की ओर से प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। बहुत कुछ हुआ है परन्तु बहुत कुछ करना

बाकी है। वह भी करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। श्रीमन्, विगत 25 वर्षों में वही धिसा पिटा रेकार्ड चला है जो आज यहां बज रहा है। हां, सदस्य नये जरूर हैं। शब्द भी नये हैं, बोलने का ढंग नया है, शासन भी नया है, परन्तु वही पुराना आलाप पुराने ही ढंग से आलापा जा रहा है। हरिजनों की नयी पीढ़ी, इस दृश्य से संतुष्ट नहीं है। स्वतंत्रता के बाद जिस पीढ़ी ने जन्म लिया है वह पीढ़ी, आज बालिग हो कर बोटर बन गयी है। वह किसी की चिकनी चुपड़ी बातों से फिसलने वाली नहीं है। वह तो रिजल्ट मांगती है। जैसी कि मराठी में एक कहावत है "बाप बना नहीं तो श्राद्ध कर" इसी न्याय से वह परिणामों को जानना चाहती है। वह वायदों पर जिन्दा रहना नहीं चाहती है। इतने वर्षों के वायदों के पश्चात् और चुनावों में हर पार्टी के मैनीफेस्टो के आश्वासनों के पश्चात् जब प्रगति का रथ आगे बढ़ता सा दिखायी नहीं दे रहा है तो वह नयी पीढ़ी इंगेज हो रही है। हरिजन और गिरिजनों के आयुक्त ने स्वयं कहा है पृष्ठ दो, परिच्छेद 1. 4 में कि :

"When we look at the balance-sheet of our socio-economic achievements, particularly relating to the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is observed that the benefits of the socio-economic progress have not fully reached these communities and that there is lot of ground to be still covered "

आयुक्त ने अत्यंत सौम्य शब्दों में नग्न सत्य को अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है। वे इस से अधिक और क्या कह सकते थे। आजादी के 25 वर्षों के बाद भी आयुक्त को यह बात कहनी पड़ी इससे अधिक देश का दुर्भाग्य और क्या हो सकता है। जिन लोगों के हाथों में हरिजनों और जन जातियों के भाग्य का निर्माण है उन में अपने कार्य के प्रति निष्ठा की कमी है। तब काम कैसे हो सकता है। इस लिये

प्रश्न निष्ठा का आता है। न केवल राष्ट्रीय परन्तु शासकीय स्तर पर भी निष्ठा का अभाव है। न केवल नीचे के स्तर पर परन्तु चोटी पर भी उस का अभाव और आन्तुष्टि पायी जाती है। यह एक मूलगामी प्रश्न है और इसे हल करने के लिये इस के मूल में ही जाना आवश्यक है। क्या हम इस स्थिति को सुधार सकते हैं? यह विभाग गृह मंत्री जी के हाथों में है। पिछले कुछ दिनों से इस सदन में और इस के बाहर भी समूचे देश में जो चर्चाएँ हुई हैं उस से साफ साफ जाहिर हो गया है कि गृह मंत्री के हाथों में इन जाति जमातों का हित सुरक्षित नहीं है। गृह मंत्री जी होते तो मूझे भी जरा तसल्ली होती।

श्री राजनारायण : मालूम है। मालूम है।

श्रीमती सरोज खापडें : आप को सुनने से क्या मतलब? मैं तो गृह मंत्री जी को सुनना चाहती हूँ। *Interruptions* श्रीमन्, गृह मंत्री जी के हाथों में इन जाति जमातों का हित सुरक्षित नहीं है। उन की मंशा पर संदेह व्यक्त किया जाता है। फिर चाहे वह वस्तुस्थिति हो या न हो। मेरी मान्यता यह है कि ऐसी स्थिति में यह विभाग जून के पास से हटा लेना चाहिए। कहते हैं कि *Interruptions* एक महिला सदस्य बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुईं तब यी आपके पेट में पीड़ा होने लगी।

7 P. M.

कहते हैं कि सीज़र की पत्नी संशय से ऊपर होनी चाहिए। उसी तरह से मंत्री के बारे में भी यही कहा जा सकता है। शासन ने इसे प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिए। जिनके लिए विश्वास में कमी आ गई है, उनके लिए तो यह आवश्यक है कि वे इस विभाग से दूर हटें। धन्यवाद, गृह मंत्री जी पधार गये हैं। इसमें उनकी प्रतिष्ठा की जगह श्राम हरिजन तथा गिरिजनों के विश्वास और मान्यता का प्रश्न प्रथम होना चाहिए। परन्तु

श्रीमती सरोज खापड़ें

क्या यह होगा? क्या हरिजनों और गिरिजनों का हित शासन और मंत्री की प्रतिष्ठा से ऊपर समझा जाएगा? गृह मंत्री ने जिस तरह बेलछी कांड को हँडल किया है, उससे हरिजनों का विश्वास उन पर से हट गया है। राज्य के शासन पर उसकी जिम्मेदारी थोपने के पहले यह क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि जिस वक्त यह कांड हुआ, उस वक्त बिहार में राष्ट्रपति का शासन था। सारे वक्त गृह मंत्री ने दो गुंडों के दलों का झगड़ा बता कर, उस कांड को दूसरा ही रूप देने का प्रयत्न किया। ये सारी बातें सदन के सामने आ चुकी हैं। ऐसी अवस्था में, यदि देश में और विशेषतः हरिजनों में, यह भावना मूल पकड़ती है कि वर्तमान गृह मंत्री के द्वारा हरिजनों को न्याय नहीं हो सकता है, तो इसमें मुझे कोई अस्वाभाविक नहीं लगता है। मेरी यह मान्यता है और संग-संग यह भांग है कि ऐसी अवस्था में गृह मंत्री से इस विभाग को हटा लिया जाए। और उसे या तो प्रधान मंत्री या कोई ऐसे मंत्री को सौंपा जाए जिनके लिए, हरिजनों और गिरिजनों के मन में विश्वास हो।

हरिजनों-गिरिजनों का प्रश्न प्रमुख रूप से सोशियो-इकानामिक, आर्थिक प्रश्न पर आधारित समाज रचना का है। जैसे कि आयुक्त महोदय ने भी, अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है, पृष्ठ 4, परिच्छेद 1. 14—

"At this juncture, it may be reiterated that economic security is the only lasting and basic solution for the emancipation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The cause of many social evils and the incidents of harassment and atrocities has been mainly the economic dependence of these communities on the better off people in the society. It is this economic dependence, coupled with the present socio-economic system, that breeds exploitation of man by man."

ऐसी अवस्था में, इस प्रश्न का हल समाज की आर्थिक रचना में दृढ़ने का प्रयत्न आवश्यक है। केवल इसे सामाजिक प्रश्न बना कर, हम हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठ नहीं सकते हैं। शिक्षा और औद्योगीकरण से समय के जाते यह प्रश्न आप ही आप सुलझ जाएगा, यह समझना गलत होगा। इन वर्गों के इकानामिक प्रश्न बना कर इंडिपेंडेंस आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता के लिए हमें विशेष रूप से प्रयत्न करना होगा और वह भी, टाइम-वाउंड होना चाहिए। केवल नीति निर्धारण कर, उसकी घोषणा कर देने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा करने के पश्चात् देश की आर्थिक और अन्य मौजूदा स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए 20 सूची योजना को अमल में लाने का प्रयत्न किया। उसके लिए समय निर्धारित किया। परिणामस्वरूप हजारों लोगों को जमीनें मिलीं, लाखों कर्ज मुक्त हुए, करोड़ों को बढ़ती हुई कीमतों के रुकने से राहत मिली। देश में बेघर वालों को चाहे छोटा सा क्यों नहीं हो, घर मिला। पढ़ने वाले बच्चों को किताबें, वजीफे मिले और कई बातें हुईं। बंधुआ मजदूरों को मुक्ति मिली जो इस सदन के प्रत्येक सदस्य को मालूम है। श्रीमन्, आपातकालीन स्थिति को बुरा भला कहने वालों से मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि क्या ये सभी बातें गलत थीं? मेरा तो यह दावा है कि देश को सुस्थिर और अनुशासित करने के लिए हुए प्रयोगों में आपातकालीन स्थिति ही ऐसा प्रयोग था जिसमें हमने वांछित परिणामों को मूर्त स्वरूप आते देखा है। आपातकालीन स्थिति से बहुत नाराजगी फैली। पर यह नाराजगी क्या थी। बड़े कास्तकार इसलिए नाराज थे कि उनसे बंधुआ मजदूर मुक्त हुए? क्या वह नाराजगी इसलिए थी कि शासन में एक प्रकार की चुस्ती और अनुशासन आया था? जिससे भ्रष्टाचार को रोक लगी थी, दफतरो में सेवाएं अनुशासित से हुई थीं, रेलों और अन्य सेवाओं

में एफिसिएन्सी बढ़ी थी । अन्य पब्लिक सेवाएं लाभप्रद पहली बार सावित होने लगी थीं ? क्या इसलिए व्यापारी नाराज हुए थे, उन्हें कालाबाजारी का मौका मिल नहीं रहा था ? और कीमतें संगीन की नोक पर रुक गई थीं ? क्या प्रेस इसलिए नाराज हो गया था कि उसे अपनी पीत पत्रकारिता करने पर रोक लगाई गई थी ? क्या इसलिए नाराजगी थी कि जातिवादियों की चढडी उतारी गई थी ? और राजनैतिक एड-बेंचरिस्ट्स को मुंह की खानी पड़ी थी । यदि ये नाराजगी के कारण थे तो आपत्कालीन स्थिति बहुत जायज थी । मैं चाहूंगी कि यदि सचमुच ही हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का हित शासन के मन और कार्यक्रमों में निहित है तो इन समुदायों के लिए इमरजेन्सी ऐक्शन और कार्यक्रम हाथ में लेना आवश्यक है । जिम्मेदारियां निर्धारित करना जरूरी है । समय निर्धारित कार्यक्रम देना जरूरी है । और किसी को इन कार्यक्रमों की जिम्मेदारी देकर, यदि वे उसकी पूर्ति नहीं कर सकते हैं तो उन्हें राजनीति से ठोकर मारने का प्रावधान होना चाहिए । पर इस शासन से मुझे ये कोई अपेक्षा नहीं है । ये शासन, जिसमें कैपिटलिस्ट और कम्युनेलिस्ट के समर्थक और रक्षक आम तौर पर दीख रहे हैं और जिस शासन में मौकापरस्ती की भरमार दीख रही है उनसे मैं यह अपेक्षा नहीं कर सकती ।

इनका उपाय यही हो सकता है । इस शासन के तो मुंह में राम और बगल में छुरी है । विगत साढ़े चार महीनों में इनका पित्तल दीखने लगा है । प्रगति के और अनुशासन के चक्र को इन्होंने उल्टी दिशा में चालित कर दिया है । रोटी या स्वतंत्रता इस घोष वाक्य की दुहाई देने वाले इन लोगों से मैं कहना चाहूंगी कि आज हरिजनों में भी इस तरह का दूसरा घोष वाक्य कानों में गूंज रहा है और वह यह है कि जीवन या आत्म-सम्मान । आत्म-सम्मान की आहुति देकर आज हरिजन और गिरिजन अपना जीवन व्यतीत नहीं

करना चाहते हैं । एक बेलची क्या मैं आप के द्वारा इस शासन को यह बता देना चाहती हूँ कि ऐसे सैकड़ों बेलची काण्ड इस देश में हुए तो भी हरिजन समाज अपनी आत्म-सम्मान की रक्षा के लिए आत्माहुति की वेदी पर चढ़ाना चाहेंगे, पर झूठी बातें और झूठे वादों में आकर दूसरी श्रेणी के नागरिक बनना पसंद नहीं करेंगे ।

आज देश में हरिजनों में जो आन्दोलन की लहर उठी है उससे दिवाल पर लिखाई को शासन को देखना चाहिए । जगह-जगह हरिजनों के हजारों के मोर्चे निकल रहे हैं और वे इस अवस्था में निकल रहे हैं कि जब बेलची काण्ड के तुरन्त पश्चात् हरिजनों पर ज्यादतियों की घटनाएं बढ़ती जा रही हैं । कल ही के अखबारों में आप देखेंगे कि चार हरिजन मध्य प्रदेश में अलोट के पास रतलाम जिले में एक ग्राम में मारे गये हैं । मध्य प्रदेश में भी जनता पार्टी का राज है । श्रीमन्, राज्य शासन में, जनता पार्टी को विजयी परराष्ट्र मंत्री श्री वाजपेयी जी के कथनानुसार जनता ने शायद जनता पार्टी को चढ़ी पहना दी है । परन्तु उन्हीं के राज में, जब यह वाक्यात हो रहे हैं तो अब इस स्थिति पर विचार करने की आवश्यकता और अधिक महसूस होने लगी है । देश के कौने-कौने से इन अत्याचारों के समाचार आ रहे हैं । संख्या के जोर पर, आर्थिक कमजोरी का फायदा लेकर, होने वाले इन अत्याचारों का मुकाबला करने की हिम्मत आज हरिजन युवक करने लगा है । परिणामस्वरूप बम्बई के वरली विभाग में हमने कुछ वर्षों पूर्व जातीय दंगे देखे थे । और अन्य जगह भी इस प्रकार की घटनाएं देखी गई हैं । इनको रोक लगाना आवश्यक है । स्थानीय पुलिस इनको रोक नहीं सकती है । उनका रोक लगाने का तरीका, हरिजनों पर ही जुल्म करना और सवणों को संरक्षण देना होता है । ऐसा ही बेलची में हुआ और ऐसा ही अन्य जगह हुआ है । यह मानते हुए भी कि कानून और व्यवस्था राज्यों की जिम्मेदारी है, मेरी धारणा है कि

[श्रीमती सरोज खापर्डे]

जहां इस प्रकार की स्थिति पैदा होती है, वहां केन्द्र की रिजर्व पुलिस को ऐसे मामले सौंप देना चाहिए और तहकीकात सी०बी०आई० से कराना चाहिए। तब कहीं शायद हरिजनों को न्याय मिल सकेगा।

श्रीमन्, हरिजन और गिरिजन आज अपने हकों के प्रति जागृत हो गया है। शायद यही कारण है कि इन पर अत्याचार अधिक मात्रा में बढ़ गये हैं। परन्तु इससे मायूस होकर, वह बैठ जाएगा, ऐसा समझना गलत होगा। वर्णभेद पर आधारित वर्ग संघर्ष का सिपाही बनकर वह उत्पन्न स्थिति का मुकाबला करेगा। इस संघर्ष को टालने की जिम्मेदारी वर्तमान शासन पर है। यदि वे इस स्थिति को समझते नहीं हैं, तो साउथ अफ्रीका और उत्तर अमेरिका में कालों ने गोरों के प्रति जो विद्रोह किया, वही स्थिति भारत में भी होकर निम्न वर्ण के लोग सबर्गों के प्रति विद्रोह कर उठेंगे और उसकी जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार पर होगी।

श्रीमन्, मुझे अन्त में कहना है कि आयुक्त ने अपनी पिछली रिपोर्ट में 246 सिफारिशों की हैं और आज तक की गई सिफारिशों की संख्या शायद कई हजार हो। सिफारिशें होती हैं, पर उन पर अमल नहीं होता। इस रिपोर्ट की सिफारिशों का क्या हुआ? मैं श्रीमन्, आपके मार्फत गृह मंत्री जो से जानना चाहूंगी कि उन सिफारिशों का क्या हुआ और उन पर क्या कार्यवाही की गई। इसकी रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने नहीं है। मेरा आज तक का यह अनुभव है कि ये कार्यवाहियां केवल कागज पर ही होती हैं। यह निरी आत्मबंचना है, इससे हम किसी बात को साध्य नहीं कर सकेंगे। मैं चाहती हूँ कि वर्तमान शासन आयुक्त की इन सिफारिशों पर शीघ्र से शीघ्र अमल करने की कोशिश करें। श्रीमन्, मेरी मान्यता है कि अगर ईमानदारी से इन सिफारिशों पर अमल करने का प्रयत्न हुआ तो समस्या का सारा हल, सारा समाधान हो सकता है।

श्रीमन्, अन्त में मैं एक वाक्य कहना चाहूंगी। मुझे एक चीज सीखने को मिली है जो मेरे गुरु ने मुझे सिखाई है कि मांगने से भीख मिलती है। अपने अधिकार या हक अगर चाहिये तो उसके लिये लड़ना जरूरी है और इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैंने जो अपने विचार आपके सामने रखे और जो बड़ी शांतिपूर्वक आपने इन विचारों को सुना, इसके लिये जनता पार्टी की सरकार को धन्यवाद देते हुए मैं आपसे बिदाई लेती हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Lakshmanan, only a few minutes, please.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : Sir, please give me a few minutes. I will not take more time. I have got one or two very important points to make.

SHRI K.K. MADHAVAN : Sir, I am from Kerala. You should give me some time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have called Mr. Lakshmanan now.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Sir, I am very glad that I have been given some time. I shall confine myself only to a few minutes which you have fixed. I condemn the activities of the anti-social elements who are responsible for this attack on our Harijan friends whoever they might be. It is a shame to the people of India, whether they belong to the Congress Party or the Janata Party or the DMK. I am not going into the party question. In spite of 30 years of our independence such things are taking place in our country. Would not the people in the world outside think that we are still an uncivilised people? The Congress Party commits a mistake in their anger against the Janata Party which has completely finished them in the last election. They approach every problem in a political manner. As far as my party is concerned, we approach this problem, in a national spirit. Whatever has happened to the people of this country, it is a disgrace to the entire nation. The Congress people are satisfied by saying that

it was done under the Janata Government forgetting that there were also so many incidents at that time but when we in the Opposition never blamed the Congress Party. Is it that a Janata Party man killed a Congress Party Harijan ? These are acts of civilised savagery in a society which should be condemned by everybody. We must go into the roots of this thing, these acts are being committed by antisocial elements because of a certain historical background. These acts are being committed because of two things: one, the caste system in the country, and two, the private property system in the country.

These are the two reasons for these uncivilised acts being committed against the downtrodden or the ordinary people of this country. How did this caste system invade this country of ours ? Before the Aryan invasion the Indian people had no caste system in this country. We got this system after the Aryan invasion. And when the Aryans invaded our country for their own benefit—not with bad motives—they introduced caste system in this country, that is, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. All of us who are sitting here, a few, are Sudras. You know the meaning of the word Sudra. The meaning of the word Sudra, according to Agamas/Vedas, is son of a prostitute. In Tamil it is called *vesimagan*. Do you know why Harijans are being ill-treated like this ? It is because we accepted the caste system which was introduced by the Aryan invasion

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : The Scheduled Castes are not sudras, they are called *panchamas*.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Anyway, that is the meaning of the word. Therefore, Sir, this caste system should be completely eradicated. Unless and until we do that, all this tall talk here is not going to take us anywhere. I want to ask the Congress Party. During the past 30 years of the Congress rule what social reform have they brought into this country either at the State level or at the All India level ? You have not brought any reform. You

followed the same policy of the British imperialists that they should not interfere in God and religion. You did not bring any social legislation into this country. You wanted one-party system. Whatever party rules at the Centre must also rule in the States. Whatever legislation is brought at the Centre, the same should be done at the State level also. Why did you not bring in any social legislation ? Why did you not put an end to all the superstition and bad things ? You see in the newspapers, in the big newspapers, one full page is devoted for horoscopes. All sorts of people are cheating the instinct of the ordinary, smaller, people. I know that even our former Prime Minister—I do not know how far I am correct—used to go and consult Shankaracharya ...

AN. HON. MEMBER : Shri Rai, Narain also.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Might be. Under the Hindu caste system we call Shankaracharya as Jagatguru. Has he ever visited a Harijan colony or a Harijan's house and taken food in his hut ? No. But this Adi Shankaracharya visits" houses only of the rich Brahmins and there gold coins are placed at his feet. This is how-caste system is developed and further encouraged. As long as these things exist, these uncivilised acts also will continue.. The Janata Party has told the people that it shall bring many pieces of legislation. The most important legislation that is needed in this country is in the direction of social reforms. I would request the Janata Government to introduce a social legislation abolishing caste system.

So far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, the D. M. K. Government had decided that if a Brahmin had given his son or daughter to a Harijan girl or boy in marriage he would be given a medal worth Rs..

[Shri G. Lakshmanan]

1,000. Not only that, he would be provided a job and his family would be given an advance and he would be given preferential treatment in the selection of Deputy Collectors and Revenue Officers and District Judges . . .

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : You have copied it from Kerala.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : For appointment we used to select people from among the cobblers and other down-trodden people -who are the so-called untouchables, even though they did not fulfil all the required qualifications. We were able to do all these things even though you were ruling here. But with your own Government there, you could not do any of these things. We had constructed 40,000 to 50,000 houses for Harijans and we saw to it that no Harijan lived in a hut in the city of Madras. If the former Prime Minister had allowed our DMK Government to continue for another 56 days more and face the election thereafter, we would have completed these houses and given them to the Harijans free of cost. Even now if you go to the Marina Beach, you can see these houses. Shri Kalpnath Rai was recently to Madras and I took him round and he said that Tamil Nadu was the best administered State.

My submission is that you should get rid of the caste system first of all and for that purpose some social reform should be introduced. I would even suggest that whoever is to be elected either as a Member of Parliament or the Assembly should have, before his election, given his son or daughter in marriage to a Harijan family. Will any Member of Parliament be prepared to do this ? Please stand up so that I know whether any one of you has done this ? But the ex-Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Kalaignar Karunanidhi, whose Government was dismissed and who has been put to all sorts of difficulties, got his son married to a Harijan girl...

SHRI N. H. KUMBHA RE : He should give his daughter also ...

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : He **has** no daughter to be given now. Sometime back Shri Janardhana Reddy was speaking. Why does he keep a tail behind his name? The President of India also keeps the word 'Reddy' after his name. Why should it be there ? I appeal to the President of India from this House to remove the word 'Reddy' from his name. Let our President be known by the simple name of Neelam Sanjiva. People give big advertisements in the papers.

What do they advertise ? You know, they advertise not only mentioning their caste as Brahmin caste, but also they will mention so many sub-castes and these things appear in the papers. So, if the things are there, how can you expect any progress ? Sir, I belong to a rational movement and we do not give any importance to the caste system. You cannot say which caste I belong to and I also do not accept that I am a member of the Hindu society because the Hindu society has been responsible for this and in no other religion you will find such a group as the Harijans. In no other religion Sir, will you find such communities and such castes, who are treated worse than animals. That is why I am ashamed to call myself a Hindu and that is why I say that a society must be formed in this country not on the basis of any religion and it should be the Indian society of which all the people are members. We will call ourselves as Indians. If I want to call myself as so and so, I would call myself as a Tamilian Indian. Therefore, such a reform should be brought about. Now, why do all these troubles come ? It is because of the private property system. He says, "This property was handed over to me by God, by the Almighty, because in the last birth I was born to a very good man who worshipped God and, therefore, he gave me a lot of wealth and that is now I have got that wealth and I shall not give that wealth to anybody." He says like this.

Therefore, this property system should also be abolished. Unless and until we abolish this private property system, this evil cannot be removed. I am very happy that in their election manifesto, the the Janata Party people have very clearly stated that they would bring forward a legislation to this effect, to abolish the system of private property.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA
(West Bengal) : No. They said that they would remove it from the Fundamental Rights only.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : So, I say that unless and until the Janata Party brings forward this kind of a legislation which the Congress failed to do for its own reasons—I do not want to attribute any motives to them — it is not possible to remove this evil. Of course, this Report is there running into hundreds of pages. But nobody is prepared to do any thing really. People will talk much here in Parliament. Unless and until this caste system is completely abolished and also the system of private property is abolished, you cannot expect any improvement. It does not mean that I want a communist society. We can have that kind of a society because we have a tradition of five thousand years or so in this country and we are the most civilised people and we are a people having a tradition or civilization which is five thousand years or so old. No other nation in the world is five thousand or six thousand years old and no

other nation has got a history which is five thousand or six thousand years old. We have got our Bhagawat Gita and we have got our Tirukkural and we have got our Upanishads. You will see what our religious heads wrote. They wrote that Ravana removed Sita from the forest, but went in a car. You know what happened ?

Our people wrote like this. But the Westerners, taking the clue from us, invented the aeroplane. Our work was over with writing about Ravana. But the Britishers and the other Westerners took, the clue from us and they invented the aeroplane. But **our** peoples' thoughts were diverted towards

something else and this happened because of the Aryan invasion... (*Time bell ring*,). After the Aryan invasion, the thoughts of our people, who were so much educated and who were scientific minded, were diverted to something else for the advantage of the Aryans who invaded this country and the thoughts of our people were diverted towards God, religion, etc. Therefore, we must see that this caste system, which was actually introduced during the time of the Aryan invasion, is completely removed and we must also see that the system of private property is abolished in this country. Then, Sir, we can build one country, which of course, is India and then, Sir, the Indian people will live together in peace.

Then , Sir, I have got a request to make to my MP friends here. Before they leave this House— not today—how many Members of Lok Sabha or how many in this House will say openly that they would remove their tail after their names and also say that at least their sons or daughters will be given in marriage to the daughters or sons, as the case may be, of the Harijans ? Also, there must be an amendment which must be brought forward to the effect that unless and unless a person, who wants to contest an election to Parliament, gives his son or daughter in marriage to a Harijan girl or boy as the case may be, he shall not be allowed to contest the election. You bring forward this legislation and bring forward this amendment. Let us see how far the Congress Members, who are speaking so much here, are sincere in their words. With these words, Sir, I conclude.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KUL KARNI (Gujarat): How can he compel other hon. Members to give their sons or daughters to the Harijans ?.....

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. V. CHANDRASHEKHARAPPA
(Karnataka): Mr. Lakshmanan, **in 1971** you had taken all the advantages

[Shri T.V. Chandrashekarappa]

when you were with them, and now you are criticising like this. . (Interruptions). SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I may tell you that you go through another legislation which was struck down by the Supreme Court, that Archakas should also be appointed from among the Harijan community. That Act was passed. We have said that Archakas should also be from the Harijan community, till today the Congress Government has not brought any constitutional amendment. They have brought so many amendments. Therefore, I am saying that they are not sincere.... (Interruptions) MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Naik. Just five minutes.

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have heard with rapt attention several Members of this august House, speaking on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and various atrocities that have been committed against them. But it pains me to bring to your kind notice that none of the Members has spoken about an equally important subject which has been discussed in this Report, that is to say, about the de-notified tribes. It would, therefore, be necessary to say a few words about the problems of the de-notified tribes in this country.

Now, Sir, as you are aware, these de-notified tribes are facing very acute problems in their day-to-day life. The question may be asked who these tribes are. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of this august House to the British regime. As you know, Sir, the Indian economy, especially the village economy, depended upon several craftsmen. Our village economy was self-sufficient and Mahatma Gandhi has said so much about it. But with the coming of the Britishers in this country several communities who had their own professions—who were carriers, transporters,

etc.—lost their profession. The result was that they were reduced to utter poverty. Now, in Sanskrit it is said:

वृद्धितः किं न करोति वापम्”

What happened was that when they were reduced to poverty, they committed some offences. It became inevitable. Poverty is a source of evils. They were over a crore of people in this country. Some of the interested social workers, who devoted their attention the upliftment of these people, have arrived at this figure of nearly one crore.

Now, in 1924 the British Government brought one of the most heinous and obnoxious laws called the Indian Criminal Tribes Act, 1924. Under this Act, no individual was held responsible for any offence that were committed, but the community or the caste of that individual as a whole was held responsible. The whole community was registered as a criminal community. Every member of that community or caste was forced to visit the village office or the police station to give his roll call. That was the law that had existed. Now, under the same law what was done was that several settlements were created in this country, especially in big cities and all these so-called criminal tribes were dumped there. They were, thus, segregated from the mainstream of our society. The result was that they were reduced to ashes. This was brought to the notice of the Father of the Nation. When he studied this subject, who at once took up their cause and gave a clarion call to Congressmen in 1937 or 1938 that this law must be repealed throughout India. That repeal was done in the year 1952. But mere repeal of the law will not help these tribesmen to improve their lot. Several measures were required to be taken for their advancement. After all, they were backward classes under Article 15 of our Constitution. Such backward classes are required to be taken care of. Suitable measures should be adopted by the Central Government and the

State Governments for their advancement. But what has been done ? (*Time bells rings*) I will just complete. I will not take much time. I am only drawing the attention of the hon. Home Minister to these problems. What I want to urge upon him, through you, is that here is a class of people who are equally suppressed and oppressed and it would be his bounden duty to take care of them. That is a very important point. In this connection, I have gone through several reports of various study groups appointed by the Government of India. If you were to peruse these reports, you would find that they recommended time and again that these tribes are in no way different from the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, it would be necessary to put them in the list of Scheduled Tribes. For that purpose I urge upon the hon. Home Minister to bring in a comprehensive law as early as possible so that all such communities are scheduled under Article 342 of the Constitution. It is a very important point. I could have elaborated on it in detail and brought home the magnitude of the problem. But unfortunately, I am the last speaker and I do not have enough time. However, I end by appealing to the hon. Minister kindly to take care of these forgotten children of India, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to call them. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Hon. Minister.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : I will speak only for five minutes, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We have already exceeded the time. There are still a lot of people who want to speak.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : I re-present the Republican Party. So many Members have spoken both on this side and that side. Why should I not be given an opportunity ?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : Despite our parties, we are deprived of the opportunity to speak.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : I am very much concerned. I will not take more than five minutes...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There must be some limit to it.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : Sir, give me just five minutes. Five minutes will not make much difference. I will only deal with the outstanding problems which the Janata Government is confronted with.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN : Sir, give me just one minute...

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : We shall share five minutes.

श्री चरण सिंह : आप ऐसा कीजिए कि सबको समय दे दीजिए मैं आध-एक मिनट बाद बोल लूंगा ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right, Shri Kumbhare. Please stick to your promise.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : I will not take more than five or ten minutes. Sir, the root cause of the sufferings of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is the attitude of the society, the attitude of hatred, the attitude of prejudice. And the House will agree with me that so far as this problem is concerned, the scope for the Governments is also limited. The Government cannot change the attitude. It does not come exactly within the realm of the Government. The Government can only formulate certain policies which will ameliorate the condition of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But, Sir, I want to say that unfortunately in this country prejudice operates not only in the society but it operates even at the Governmental level. That is my impression. Even the officers are not free from caste prejudice and hatred. I do not say that they totally ignore the problems. But there is also an attitude

[Shri N.H. Kumbhare]

of indifference. Sir, I will just give few examples. Now, Sir, here is the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Of course, this relates to the year 1973-74. The Commissioner had presented this Report to the President on the 15th September, 1975, and almost a period of two years has since passed. It is not a short period, It is a period of two years. When the Commissioner's Report is submitted to the President, the Administration is duty bound to examine the Report. And they should also take action on the Report. Now, I would like to know from the hon. Minister—he may kindly take note of this and he may ask his officers also—as to what they have done with the Report. In fact, Sir, when this Report comes before the House, it is not only this Report which should be with us, there should be another report—the action taken report—that should be with us. And my information is that there is no action taken report so far as this Report is concerned. Then, how can we discuss the action of the Government? The Report is there. It is only one part of it. But it is actually necessary that there should be an action-taken report of the Government. It is not there. What is the use of any discussion? We do not know the mind of the Government on the recommendations contained in the Report. But I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what the officials have done and whether they have taken any action or not. That is one point Sir, I am only speaking on the point of prejudice at the Governmental level.

Secondly, Sir, no Government can afford to ignore the problem of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The day the Government ignores it, the Government is doomed because we constitute one-fifth of the total population of our country. But, Sir, it is wrong to say that the Congress Government has not done anything. The Janata

Government may say that the Congress Government has not done anything. If they say so, they will be ignoring the past-action. Sir, I can give, at least, two examples of what they have done. Sir, they had taken the courage to amend the Untouchability Offences Act. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you had been there in the Government and it is under your stewardship that the Untouchability Offences Act was amended. Now it is titled and named as the Protection of Civil Rights Act. It has been made more stringent, the scope has been widened. Not only the practice of untouchability has been forbidden but even the justification of untouchability on any grounds of religion or philosophy has also been forbidden. So, the scope has been widened. Sir, I say that the greatest disservice which has been done to the untouchables in the country has been done by the Congress Government when they made this law more comprehensive, more meaningful and more perfect.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of scholarships. It is only in the recent past that the Congress Government had taken the decision to enhance the amount of scholarships by 50 per cent. So, what I am submitting is that no Government can ignore the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If these matters are not attended to the Janata Government will be immediately taken to task. There are certain outstanding matters in respect of which they will have to take a decision.

Then there is the problem of area restrictions. Now, let us take the example of Delhi itself. Here in Delhi, the capital town of this country, you will find Scheduled Caste people coming from every nook and corner of the country. There are lakhs of these people who are residing here. I will take the examples of Ma' ras, who come from Maharashtra. They live in *jhuggis* and *ihonpris*. They come here to earn their livelihood. They work on the roads and they do all sorts of manual

jobs. So far as this community is concerned it is not a recognised Scheduled Caste community in relation to the Union Territory of Delhi and, therefore, the little benefits, like educational facilities and some concessions, are not available to them even though they are Scheduled Caste. (*Time Bell rings*). They cannot get these facilities and concessions in the Union Territory. So, the problem is to take immediate action to remove the area restrictions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That -will do.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: Sir, only one more point. Sir, at present the reservation in employment opportunities are restricted only to the Government sector and the public sector. I remember, Sir, when you were the Minister, you had stated that employment opportunities for Scheduled Castes should also be afforded to them in the private sector establishments. It was pointed out very specifically at that time that there are several hundred industries which are assisted, helped and financed by the Government. It was asked why should not these private sector undertakings also fall in line with the Government policy in the matter of reservations in services? You had said, Sir, that they too should fall in line with the Government policy. But, unfortunately, as I have said earlier, the bureaucracy has come in the way. No doubt, you had said that this will be done but actually when it came to be implemented, an order was issued, which was an altogether different order. What was the order? The order was that the reservation policy will be followed in organisations and institutions which are receiving grant-in-aid. Thus the purpose of expanding the scope of opportunities for more employment to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been cut short. That is how the bureaucracy has been acting against the interests of Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is another problem with which the Janata Government is confronted. Sometimes in resolving the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes there will be a clash of interests. There will be a section of the people who will ask: Why do you want the private sector to be covered by reservation policy (*Time Bell rings*). These are the main points. I hope the hon. Minister will give a reply to these points.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I want to make a submission only. I also wanted to speak but I stand fooled by my party. I congratulate him for the wisdom, for the surreptitious wisdom, that he has exhibited. I also congratulate the Government for the surreptitious method by which they have rushed in this discussion and deprived us of opportunities for proper discussion of the matter.

Sir, I am a Harijan by birth and I represent the State of Kerala. We have been deprived of opportunities to speak. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI RAJ NARAIN: You are acting just like a Brahmin.

RE. LETTER OF DR. R. K. CAROLI

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : उप सभापति महोदय, अभी यहां पर चौधरी चरण सिंह और श्री राजनारायण जी जो कैबिनेट मंत्री हैं, बैठे हुए हैं। जब यह बहस शुरू हुई थी तो मैंने यह कहा था कि डा० करौली ने जो चिट्ठी लिखी थी, श्री जगजीवन राम जी के बारे में मैं चाहूंगा कि चौधरी साहब इसको सभा पटल पर रखें और आप इस चिट्ठी को सभा-पटल पर रखने की अनुमति दें।

गृह मंत्री (श्री चरण सिंह) : श्रीमान्, मैं इस पत्र को सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ।
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-992/77].