

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On a point of order...

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Sir, I introduce the Bill...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On a point of order...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The point of order is this. If a motion is moved, then one is entitled to make some remarks.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no such thing. If you want to oppose, you can oppose at the introduction stage. Those who want to oppose can do so. You please go through the Rules.

The House stands adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is unfair.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtyone minutes past one of the clock

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock. Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

MOTION RE. TWENTY-FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES FOR THE YEARS 1971-72 AND 1972-73—contd.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I speak on the twenty-first report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73. Sir, this report comes too late. Even when it has come for discussion, it is incomplete because the reports from the States have not been received. That shows the scant courtesy the State Governments are showing to this important social and national subject. In spite of the difficulties, the report seems to be a good one.

Yet, with all that, this report seems to be a ritual. If the ritual is not followed up with faith and devotion, it becomes a part of the sin which the Government and the leaders of this country have been committing.

It is said in the Report that 22 per cent of the population is covered. While introducing the motion, the Minister made a speech and said that Rs. 450 crores have been spent during the last four Plans. And about the implementation he was apologetic. I can understand his helpless position. But I only want this House to realize the seriousness of the situation. I only want the Government and the leaders of different sections of the society in this country to realize the gravity of the situation and to own up their responsibility. When we analyse this Report, it looks as if it is a charge-sheet against the Government and also the socio-economic and political set-up or system of this country. A human problem, which is naturally a social problem has become a national problem. And challenges are there, challenges to our very existence and challenges to the very fabric of our democracy. Sir, they constitute 22 per cent of our population. I want to say today that the days of building up the administration and implementing machinery to look after these as an elite section of the population have gone. I want the Government to open their eyes to the realities of the situation because there are certain other sections also, backward sections of society, backward classes, who will form not less than 30 per cent of the population and who also must be taken into consideration. That is why, I am suggesting that while we try to remove the social disabilities and economic inequalities of these people, we have also to keep in mind the ramifications of the problems that we are facing today. We cannot afford to forget Mahatma Gandhi and what all he did to the cause of untouchability. Even in the Report it is said and many of the speakers have expressed that untouchability has not disappeared from this holy, sacred land. In spite of what we have been doing, untouchability is going on and different kinds

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of untouchabilities are arising. One thing that we have to remember is that by the way the policies and programme are implemented, classes within classes are being created. By the way these programmes are being implemented, inequalities are increasing, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening, and class interests are being created, and class consciousness has come and class conflicts have arisen. And those will certainly create a situation in this country where the frustration, discontent and anger of the people will take a turn towards revolution, and we will have to face that revolution.

Sir, one point. Not only the rulers of today but all the leaders must open their eyes to the realities of the situation. I can say I have got the experience of knowing the way of living of these people. If there is honesty, if there is truth, if there is gratefulness left in the people of this country, then 90 per cent of it is only in these areas and it is only among these poorer sections of the people. But, what is happening? Mahatma Gandhi is being forgotten and one morning—the gratefulness of the people is such—they have started thinking of Ambedkar, of what he has done. I want to say in little detail about these things. It is necessary that everyone of us must be grateful to the Father of the Nation and to all those who have sacrificed, who have done their best in the cause of the suffering humanity. There are many caste Hindus who have done so much to the cause of these people, but all those are forgotten. One thing is there. The younger generation among the Harijans, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, is having greater and greater confidence in the name and the message that Ambedkar has given. No doubt a number of them remember Mahatma Gandhi, but I can dare say that all the Harijans are having greater confidence in the message that has been given by Ambedkar. I am saying this because the trend of development in this country is that people are getting more and more disappointed about the way the governmental

machinery is functioning. When we think of the vulnerable sections of society, who are the people? Two years back we heard the people under poverty line were 40 per cent. I can say, Sir, it has now increased to 65 per cent or even more, because the purchasing capacity of the people is so poor, unemployment is increasing in every respect, and scarcity is there, and the prices go on increasing like anything; and these down-trodden, neglected sections of people are groaning under these pangs. Sir, in the implementation part of it, we have failed miserably. Throughout, it has been the case.

One word about equality before the eye of law and equal opportunities for all. Has there been any serious attempt at these things?

And what are the educational facilities that have been given to these people? Illiteracy in this country is 70 per cent. If there is literacy among the 30 per cent people, who are those people who have really got the advantages of these things? It is only the already privileged sections of the people, those people who are living in towns and cities. It is our bounden duty to see that the ignorance, the superstition and the illiteracy is removed and employment opportunities are created for them. But even today there is no uniformity in thinking and in implementation of these things. Are all the States in our country giving opportunities to these people for coming up? When the question of appointment comes, the thinking is that they do not have the proper qualification.

Sir, I say their drop-out in schools is so much that if their average is 60 per cent in the primary school, when they go to high school level, it is 10 per cent. And in a number of States, for higher education there is no encouragement. For post-graduate studies and training there is no encouragement. I suggest, Sir, with all humility, let there be truth. It is not a question of simply answering questions and telling this august House, but what we should practise is truth in our life, truth

In our doings. Let us be true to our conscience and true to this sacred land when we serve these neglected people. I must say a word about prohibition. Of the 450 crores of rupees, spent in four Plans what percentage is it of the total budget? I can say it is not even 1 per cent of the budget. And what is the amount that has been collected by prohibition? It is the money which comes mainly from these sections of the society. At least if they do not have the courage to remove prohibition and make all the States do that, let them spend 90 per cent of the amount that they are collecting to ameliorate the conditions of these people and bring about upliftment of these people. Sir, they are now far far away from the mainstream of public life and national life. A wave of disappointment and frustration and anger is there. It is for the rulers to remember this. We can build up this country but no attempt whatsoever is made for the unity of the people of this country. On the other hand, as I said earlier everything is in terms of politics. Socio-economic wellbeing of the people is the only solution. Peoples' fullest co-operation is the most important thing. There has to be national integration and also emotional integration. National integration can be brought about by emotional integration but we cannot have this emotional integration when there are half starved, half naked and completely disappointed and neglected people of the society. Our main idea of the planning was to bring about equality, to lift up the masses and to set right the disparity, inequality and imbalances. But what is the position today? Has anything been done? Even in implementation of these programmes, what is going on? Patronage is given mostly to the politicians. Why I am saying this is, it is the ruling party and all the political leaders also who are responsible for it. The main responsibility is of the ruling party and it is for the ruling party to realise that. It is not the question of looking into these problems in isolation. They must have the co-operation of all the people and all the parties for the implementation of the programmes. It is a

question of winning the confidence of these people. Here what has happened is unfortunately in all walks of life—and it pains me most—it is exploitation like the big fish in the sea eating the small fish. That is what is going on in this country. Only the opportunist politicians or other exploiters in the society are encouraged to come into these committees and institutions while they are formed. It is necessary that the Government should have a broader view of these things. My suggestion is, there must be committees at all levels, State level and even at district level and 75 per cent of the members of that committee should be non-politicians and even non-Harijans. I am saying this with a purpose because even among Harijans, I must painfully submit, Sir, only those privileged sections who have somehow or other come up in life, have become touchables and the others who are really down-trodden people have become untouchables. And then, Sir, about the indebtedness of these people. It is simply unthinkable. They are indebted in so many ways and other people are taking advantage of it. There is a sense of insecurity and economic helplessness on the part of these people. In fact, in slums and other difficult areas people are living in sub-human and inhuman conditions.

I would like to give certain suggestions. One suggestion is there must be a Minister of Cabinet rank with the portfolio of welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. Sir, I know that in certain areas there are backward class people living in miserable conditions. Their conditions are worse than the Harijans. Then, I would also suggest that there should be a Chief Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. His office must be strengthened. He must be given all assistance. There must be four Commissioners for the four regions, viz., north, south and east and west. They must submit reports. They must function in a competitive way. All their problems and difficulties must be analysed and action must be taken by the Centre.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have to wind up.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA: The Commissioner must be a Harijan, but the Minister need not be a Harijan. There have been certain reports, the Backward Classes Commission's reports. They are in cold storage. The suggestions are not being implemented at all.

As regards the Untouchability Offences Act, 1955, it is not being properly implemented or implemented at all. As I said earlier, Harijans and Adivasis have got a great heritage, a great culture and civilisation. They are truthful even today. It is necessary that confidence should be created in them. Ignorance and illiteracy must be removed from them, so that they may be partners in the great work of building up this nation. To what extent a shock therapy must be given it is for our Prime Minister to consider. The time has come when God has started testing us. God will test us in the way we serve these down-trodden people. She has started giving a shock therapy, but I must again painfully say that it is not a shock therapy to those people who do not use their power and strength to serve the people of this country. The shock therapy is only to the opposition parties. Let it be given to the opposition parties, but the shock therapy must be more to the rulers and the administrators, so that the bureaucracy which does not function well and the politicians who do not serve the down-trodden people must be taken to task. The responsibility should be fixed on them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would call the next speaker. Mr. N. R. Choudhury.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA: Only one sentence.

I am suggesting that the entire set-up, the policy, the attitude and the programmes must change. A new set-up must be created so that all these problems can be

studied and remedies found by proper and effective implementation of these recommendations and programmes.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam): Sir, while rising to speak on this Report, a story comes to my mind ..

AN HON. MEMBER: Must be very interesting.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I was studying in a private college. Every month we had a farewell meeting of our teachers. Every month we had to bid a farewell to some one. We had an old teacher in that college. The students were very much agitated against the management. He narrated a story on the occasion of one such farewell meeting. He said that there was a village. There used to be an annual meeting. Stock was to be taken as to how many marriages, how many births and how many deaths took place. Like that, since I came to this Parliament, every year we have been discussing several kinds of reports on the floor of this House. And that story comes to my mind; this happens to be that occasion referred to by my respected teacher, that we take stock of how many total atrocities took place on the Harijans, on how many occasions the police excesses were there on the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes. This is a stock-taking meeting.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is wrong there?

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: But, Sir, this goes on as it used to go on in the past. No change comes there. Sir, when we discuss things on the floor of the House, unless some action is taken on the basis of those discussions, it is futile. This is the feeling what is also observed by the Commissioner in his Report wherein he says that there is no lack of enthusiasm among the leaders, the national leaders of this country, about the well-being or the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and the

Scheduled Tribes. But that enthusiasm is not reflected on the political workers, at the lower level and also it is not reflected on the officers who are put in charge of the implementation of the welfare programmes at the lower level. This is the first time that I find that the Commissioner in his Report has observed about failings in the implementation of the welfare programmes for these people. Though I may not call him a revolutionary, he has suggested some bold steps about organisation about making structural changes. In that respect, we can call it a bold Report.

3 P.M. Sir, this is the third day we are discussing this report. Many hon'ble Members narrated in detail the grievances of and the atrocities committed on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I do not propose to repeat those things. I would submit my observation in brief.

Sir, hon'ble Member Mr. Niren Ghosse, as also others referred to police excesses. They are also mentioned in the report. In some of the States police connivance was mentioned. Now let us see what motivation the police has got in this country. We have not motivated them to side with the weaker section in this country. The administrative set-up we borrowed from the British is still being continued. Atrocities on Harijans concern mostly land in rural areas, in the urban areas where the interest clashes. An in such cases the police sides with the moneyed men. In the rural areas they side with the landlord instead of the workers. They side with the landlord and not with the Harijans, not with the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, what is required is a strong political movement throughout the country for the upliftment of the Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes. Unless such a movement is there, their fundamental rights, their political rights and civil rights will never be protected.

Sir, the hon'ble Member from the C.P.I., Mr. B. D. Barman, and Goray Saheb

suggested the creation of a separate Ministry. Shri N. P. Chaudhuri suggested that either the P.M. or Babuji should be in-charge of this Ministry. Sir, this suggestion is an aspersion on the Minister in-charge. Sir, if Babuji is put in charge or anybody, for that matter, is put in charge of this Ministry, what can he do under the existing system? If the property relationship, as it exists now, remains as it is then even Babuji, an old stalwart, a very big leader of the Scheduled Castes in this country will not be able to deliver the goods. We are passing land legislations in some States. We are equipping ourselves with progressive land legislations but the atrocities have increased in large numbers. We talk of land legislations but I am sorry these land legislations are not being effectively implemented in the true sense of the term.

Those village landlords and the vested interests in urban areas also, those who are sucking the blood of these down-trodden, weaker sections in the rural areas, want to retain their interest intact and thereby these clashes come up. If you really look into them, you will find that they are not merely cases of atrocities on Harijans. You will find that some land litigation is there. Sir, some people raise the question of casteism, caste Hindus and Harijans. It is not that. It is a question of one economic class exploiting the other. I know one such case. In a very big area, a very big man is there. I am not going to name him. He belongs to the Scheduled Castes community. He owns in "benaami" thousands of acres of land in Assam. You know, in Assam land ceiling law is there. It is a very progressive ceiling law. There you cannot own any amount of land you want to. So, just to avoid this land ceiling law, he has converted all his land into "benami" land and the entire area is inhabited by Scheduled Castes people. No Caste Hindu people are there. He takes from every individual one stamped, signed blank paper. He is exploiting all the people and he is ousting all the people from their homesteads. They

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are Scheduled Caste people and he himself is a Scheduled Caste man. He has policemen on his pay-roll. He has got good relations with the police officers. He is a very big man, moneyed man and he can move with the administrative authorities also. These poor people do not get any help from the local administration. Now, for instance, my area in Assam is on the border with Bangladesh. Since he has this blank, stamped, signed paper with him, if he thinks that any man may go against his interests, he will file a case against that man in the Calcutta court because he has landed property in Calcutta also. The affected person cannot go to the Calcutta court. And the value of the suit will be something like Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000. On the blank paper he can write anything. This is the way this Scheduled Caste man is exploiting other Scheduled Caste people in collusion with other people belonging to the same class. These landlords are a class by themselves. It is not a question of caste Hindus against the Scheduled Castes. The trouble in the rural areas today is one of "haves" and "have-nots". Now the "have-nots" are joining together, forming associations and organising themselves. They are fighting for their rights. So the atrocities on them are increasing now-a-days.

Now, Mr. Goray said that if it has to be stopped, then a structural change must be there. I think a structural change on caste basis cannot come. You cannot change the structure on the basis of caste. So, for a structural change, my submission is that a separate Ministry for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will not do. Also the suggestion that the Prime Minister should take over the affairs of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will not do. The suggestion that Babuji should take over also will not do. The way out is that it should be an integrated part of the Community Development Programme.

And that programme must be properly and fully implemented. For that, our Minister, whoever he is in charge of this...

SHRI B. RACHAIAH (Karnataka): Instead of helping the Scheduled Castes, people in charge of Community Development Programmes have retarded their progress at the rural level.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: That is your allegation against the people in charge. What I say is that there should be an integrated programme of community development which should include the development and well-being of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This programme should also be properly and fully implemented. If you want to bring about a structural change, it cannot come on the basis of castes. Structural change can come only on the basis of economic class. That is what I am saying. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I am concluding with only one point. I come from Assam and we have a peculiar problem. In our State we have so many Scheduled Tribes. The problem is that several hill tribes like Garos, Khasis and Mikirs reside in plain areas and when they reside in plain areas they are not treated as Scheduled Tribes. That problem is there. A large number of Santhals, Oraons and Mundas are permanently residing in Assam. But in our State, these people are not treated as Scheduled Tribes. They are agitating against this. But they do not have a very big leader among them. They have no education. They cannot come to Delhi to place their grievances. Also they cannot create a big halla. As a result of this, after independence during the last 27 years, these people have been deprived of whatever benefits are available to Scheduled Tribal people. It will be in the fitness of things that Government should take some steps so that these people are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. Actually Santhals, Oraons and Mundas are Scheduled Tribes. These people who are residing in Assam are being deprived of privileges available to Scheduled Tribes because they were a floating population. Twentyseven years have passed and now they are no longer a floating population. They are residing permanently as agricultural labourers. I would urge the Home

Minister to see that these people are given all the benefits applicable to Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the outset, I must express my gratitude to Shri Om Mehta for having placed the Commissioner's report for the consideration of this august House. I say this in the context of my experience in the Lok Sabha where this report is not considered every year. It has been found that the reports relating to two-three years are discussed after a period of two-three years.

Now the first point would be that we are considering the report here for two years, namely, 1971-72 and 1972-73, I do not understand why the Commissioner has failed to submit reports every year.

Sir, according to the provisions of the Constitution—I am referring to article 338 here—there should be a Special Officer for this purpose. The provisions of this article lay down that there shall be a Special Officer and that it "shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and to report to the President on the working of these safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct". Sir, I am referring to the words in this provision, "at such intervals as the President may direct", and it is stated therein that the President shall cause all the reports to be laid on the Table of each House of Parliament. Now, Sir, it has been found that during the last twenty years the report has been submitted every year. There were only annual reports. But this time it is not an annual report Sir, this Report covers a period of two years. So, unless the President so directs that in future the report will cover a period of two years, it should not be for a period of two years and, therefore, submission of the present Report which covers a period of two years is obviously contrary to the directions of the President and this position needs to be clarified. Let there not be a report for two years; but let there be

a report for every year, let there be annual reports, and let us have an opportunity to discuss the report every year. This is my humble request to the Government and I hope this will not be repeated in future and we shall have one report for every year.

Then, Sir, coming to the Report of the Commissioner, this is my impression that the attitude of the Government appears to be one of indifference. Now, in the report which pertains to the year 1970-71, as many as 157 recommendations have been made. Now, it is expected of the Government to tell us as to how many recommendations have been accepted and if we make a close scrutiny of the reaction of the Government to these recommendations, I think I will not be wrong in arriving at the conclusion that the attitude of the Government is rather unfavourable. I may say that the reaction which is reflected in the replies which are given by the Government shows that they want to avoid as much as possible rather than accept the recommendations and this is not a good attitude. In fact, the Commissioner's Report is there only to help the Government in locating and identifying the problems and to suggest ways and means of solving them and to offer remedies. Therefore, before rejecting any recommendation, the Government should think twice. In a large number of cases, the Government says that the recommendations are under their consideration. If some recommendations are under consideration, then, naturally, we expect that the Government should decide the matter finally, say, within about six months or a year. So, saying that the recommendations are under the active consideration of the Government does not help us in knowing the finality of the Government's decision and the decision of the Government is not known for years. In this connection, I can give you two examples: One is about the organisation of the Commissioner. I understand from the statement indicating the action taken by the Government that this has been under the consideration of the Government and I think the assurance that the Government was

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considering the demand of the Commissioner with regard to this organisation was given about three or four years ago. I would now like to know from the honourable Minister how many more years he will require to decide this matter finally.

In fact, there has been a pressing demand that without this organization the Commissioner cannot function effectively and, therefore, such an organization should not be done away with; it has to be restored. But here we find that the Government is not taking a decision.

I will also refer to another important matter. That relates to the power of the Commissioner to look into individual grievances. The Commissioner has been consistently maintaining that even in respect of individual grievances it may involve a very vital question relating to the violation of Government directives or defiance of the constitutional provisions. But here the administration has taken a negative attitude. They say: No, you cannot call for the records; at best you can call for reports. Now, is it possible in a case where a grievance has to be examined against a particular authority for not giving promotion to an employee though he was found competent to hold a higher post? If the Commissioner's power is restricted only to call for a report and not to examine the papers, I do not think that it will be possible for the Commissioner to do his duty effectively. Now, this is also a matter which was raised and the Government says that it is under consideration. I would request the hon. Minister, Mr. Om Mehta, to look into the Report he will see that it is only written, "It is under consideration". Therefore, this attitude remains. I don't accuse 'A', 'B' or 'C'. I can certainly say with all the emphasis at my command that there is an attitude of inaction, indifference or lack of seriousness about the problem. This is my impression. And, therefore, I would like to say that the recommendations of the Commissioner should be taken in all seriousness and, as I said earlier, before

rejecting any recommendation the Government should think twice, because his recommendations are based on his own experience.

Sir, then I would refer to the assurances which have been given by the Government. When we discussed the last Report, Mirdhaji, while dealing with the various problems and suggestions which have been made, said that the Government would consider the extension of reservation to private sector as well. In the course of his statement, he said :

"A very good suggestion was made by Shri Kulkarni and certain other Members that if a financial institution, that is to say, a financial corporation, gives a loan to a private company, it should be made on the condition that it will also implement the reservation clauses. We have taken note of that and we feel that if a similar condition can also be put when loan and financial assistance is given. . . ."

Now, Sir, as I understand the statement of the hon. Minister, the Government has given this assurance that it will be the endeavour of the Government to see that the right of reservation is not only restricted to Government undertakings or Government departments or such other, organisations to which reservation is now applicable but Government will also see that private undertakings are also brought within the purview of reservation. Now, a period of one year has passed since an assurance had been given and it was naturally expected that some steps would be taken to give effect to this assurance.

Sir, we have to deal with the problems of 13 crores of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people. The reservation should be extended to private sector undertakings. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes boys who are being given education will

not be able to be absorbed in Government service. Therefore, the scope of reservation should be widened and the private sector should also be brought in. All that I want to say is that when assurances are given, it should be the concern of the Government to take the follow-up action in order to secure the implementation of those assurances. According to me, this is a very important and vital matter. In fact, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also made a suggestion that reservation in services should also be extended to the private sector undertakings. It is true that the Government did take some action. But, according to me, only half-hearted action has been taken. I would refer to a recent Office memorandum dated 7th October, 1974. It relates to extension of reservation. It says :

"The question of providing adequate representation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the services and posts under the control of voluntary agencies or organisations which receive grants-in-aid from Government has been under consideration of Government for some time. The matter was also discussed at the last meeting of the High Power Committee held on the 9th April, 1974, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, to review the performance in the matter of recruitment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe candidates to posts under Govt., etc. It has now been decided that all the Ministries/Departments should include a suitable clause in the terms and condition under which the voluntary agencies/organisations, etc. which are given grants-in-aid by Government ...".

Sir, I say that an half-hearted step has been taken by the Government. I cannot understand why the coverage could not be widened and why it has been restricted only to the organisations and institutions receiving grants-in-aid. The private sector undertakings which receive financial assistance in any form should also be included. Sometimes, they get land at concessional rate or electricity at concessional

rate. My submission is that even the loans from the nationalised banks should be considered as financial assistance to the private sector undertakings. If the loans from the nationalised banks are taken to be financial assistance, then it will have wider coverage. I think that 90 per cent undertakings in the private sector would be covered by this and it is not difficult for the Government to rope them in for the purpose of giving reservations. It is not only the responsibility but also a social obligation to do this. I should say it is the obligation of the society as well and the private sector should be called upon to share that responsibility.

The Government has got the power to direct the private sector to assist them in discharging this social obligation. Therefore, the Government should not act in this half-hearted manner. (*Time bell rings*) Therefore, the Government should extend this reservation to the private sector also. As Mr. Mirdha has said, when the Government approach some associations or when they make certain rules for reservation, then those rules are not being implemented.

It is too much to expect that private sector undertakings by persuasion will readily come forward to provide reservation in services. It is impossible. They would not do it. And, therefore, Sir, the Government should now decide that reservation should also be extended to private sector undertakings and if need be necessary legislation should also be enacted for this purpose.

Then, Sir, I would refer to service matters. It is true that Government issued a number of orders and adopted a number of rules and regulations but none the less it has been found that even in government departments, even in public sector undertakings, the representation is not adequate. There is a deficiency, there is a short-fall. And, therefore, Sir, the entire machinery which has been provided to secure adequate representation need to be revised. In this connection, I would like to submit that reservation now does not cover all

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posts and all appointments. As I understand the constitutional provisions, the makers of the Constitution had in their mind the idea to make reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in all posts and all appointments, without any exception. This is what I understand from the provisions of the Constitution. But here, the Government has made a number of exceptions. I mean to say that by certain rules, the Government has excluded many of the Departments from the purview of reservation. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I will take only ten minutes. I will try to be very brief. Sir, there is no reservation in the Armed Forces, either in the Navy or the Air Force or the Army. I cannot understand why it has been excluded from the purview of reservation because the whole policy of reservation is to give more opportunities to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. And the makers of the Constitution have also taken sufficient care to see that by reservation, efficiency in the administration is not impaired. And, therefore, they have provided that a candidate should be appointed in a reserved post provided he is found suitable. My submission, Sir, is, if a candidate belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, when not found to be suitable, cannot claim a matter of right to be appointed to a reserved post and the appointing authority can reject him on the ground that he is not suitable, then, what problem would arise in providing reservation to all the posts, whether it is in the Defence services or anywhere? Then, Sir, the scientific and technical posts are also excluded from the purview of reservation. I do not find any rationale in making an exception so far as these posts are concerned. For certain posts to which appointments are made by promotion or by making a selection, there is no reservation.

Recently they have issued an order according to which up to class I posts there shall be reservation, even though the post has to be filled in by selection. But what about appointments within class I? I think it will be wrong if you exclude promotion

within class I from the scope of reservation, and I would request the hon. Minister to see that reservation is there in other posts also irrespective of the fact whether the appointment is made by promotion or not because the mode of appointment or the method of making an appointment should not come in the way, and take away this important right of reservation in services, of this oppressed community.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR) in the Chair.]

Sir, there is no reservation in transfer or deputation. Then, if the direct recruitment does not exceed 50 per cent, there shall be no reservation. These are some of the cases in which no reservation has been provided. Therefore, my submission is that all these exceptions which have been made should be done away with and reservations should be made in all posts and appointments. I will go even to the extent of saying that for posts like Governors, Ambassadors, and Chairmen, let there be reservation and let them share the prosperity of the country. Therefore, the demand for reservation without any exception should now be accepted. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, the Deputy Chairman has said that he would give me five minutes more.

In respect of service matters I have got a few more suggestions to make. There is a grievance of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe employees in Government that their legitimate claim to promotion has been denied on the ground of confidential report and their confidential reports are spoiled deliberately. I understand that the Tamil Nadu Government has done away with confidential reports. It is therefore my request to the hon. Minister that he should also consider the demand for abolishing the system of confidential reports which have very much come in the way of due rights in the matter of promotion of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe employees.

Then the other point is about dereservation. Under the existing rules, if a suitable candidate is not available within a period of three years, then the post is dereserved. The effect of this deservation is that the right of that post is permanently taken away. I think this is a very harsh rule and it is not in keeping with the spirit of providing more opportunities to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of appointments. This provision of dereservation must be done away with.

Then, there is another rule of interchange of vacancies. If a Scheduled Caste candidate is not available for a post, then a Scheduled Tribe candidate may be appointed to it and *vice versa*. But this rule has never been given effect to. There is also a flaw in the rule, that is, a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribes candidate will have exchange of vacancy only after a period of three years. This rule need be modified so that in case a Scheduled Caste candidate is not available preference must be given to a Scheduled Tribe candidate or *vice versa* and he may not be required to wait for three years. But today's practice is that this exchange is not made at all but a general candidate is immediately appointed. So, this is also a bad rule and it should be suitably modified.

Then, there is another rule. If there is only one vacancy, there is no reservation. So, some of the appointing authorities used to advertise only one vacancy every year with the motive of not appointing any Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe candidate.

One such case was referred to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court has now observed that if in the first year first vacancy has gone to a general candidate, in the next year, if there is only one vacancy, it should not go to a general candidate but it must go to a reserved candidate. This is the Supreme Court's judgment and it was expected that a suitable directive will be issued by the Government so that the Supreme Court's decision could be

given effect to. As far as my information goes, no such directive has yet been issued.

Then, there is another point about recognition of association of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is about 8 or 9 years back that a decision was taken that the service associations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should not be recognised because they represented the communal association. Sir, I fail to understand how the associations which are agitating for legitimate claims relating to service matters of the weaker sections of the society could be branded as communal associations. This was something which was not understandable. Now the time has come and I would like the hon. Minister to take note of these things. It was really insulting to say that those who represented the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes association are encouraging communal activities. These are not communal activities. They are working to secure their constitutional rights pertaining to services and the associations would like to function for a limited purpose. The purpose is to deal with all the problems arising out of their service matters. Nothing more than that. They do not want to function as parallel unions. Unions have wider fields. They have got the right to agitate, they can go on strikes but here they want recognition only for a very limited purpose where they can deal with their grievances by having a discussion across the table with the concerned authorities. Their representations should be entertained; they should be given interviews; their problems should be discussed. It is only for a limited purpose that they have been seeking recognition. Because of the old decision which was taken about 7 years back these associations are not recognised. Therefore, I will earnestly request the hon. Minister to revise the decision and see that they are helped. That is the only way that in the matter of services they can also give their effective cooperation to the Government.

Sir, I will not take more than two or three minutes. As regards atrocities over the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled

[Shri N. H. Kumbhare.]

Tribe people, I think several hundreds of people are murdered and if among them some one happens to be an earning member the whole family members are thrown on the streets, without anybody to maintain them. Therefore, my suggestion is, whenever on account of atrocities or on account of any caste bias or hatred any Scheduled Caste people are killed or murdered, if their properties are burnt, if they are put to a financial loss, in that event Government should come forward to give them some financial assistance so that they can be rehabilitated. I think this suggestion has been made in the past and I would like to reiterate it and hope that the Government will give its utmost consideration to this demand.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to bring to your notice an incident which took place at Ghaziabad on 6th November, 1974 when Baba Saheb Ambedkar's statue was disfigured by some persons by smearing it with mud and cow dung. This is really a very unfortunate incident and I have been told that so far no culprit has been taken into custody. This incident has taken place in the daylight because a procession was taken out and some of the bad elements, bad character people have done this mischief. I do not think it will be difficult for the police to apprehend those culprits, book them and put them to trial. This has created a lot of discontent and unrest and I am apprehensive that if nothing is done there is going to be a sort of agitation. Therefore, through you, Sir, I would request the Government to ask the State Government or depute any of their own officer to investigate into the case so that the person who has committed this mischief is taken into custody and dealt with under the law.

SHRI G. C. TOTU (Himachal Pradesh):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been facing great social injustice and economic disparities since ages. The highly organised Varnashrama, though giving stability to

the society, did great havoc to this section of the society. Our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was conscious of it and in his own way he tried to draw the attention of the Indian society again and again to this problem. Therefore, at the dawn of freedom, the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehruji gave adult franchise to the country, thereby giving the right to vote to the humblest and the lowest in the society. One vote to each person meant that the humblest and the lowest in the society has come on par with the highest in the society. This political process was generated to right the wrongs done to this section of the society. The framers of the Constitution provided for the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Perhaps they were not aware that the administrative structure which we inherited from the Britishers was very expensive and at the same time incompetent and inefficient.

Now, coming to the Report, it has been presented after three years. The report is for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73, but it contains certain incidents which do not relate to those years. While I was going through the initial pages of this report I was reminded of the unfortunate book 'Mother India' by Miss Mayo, which the Father of the Nation termed as a drain inspector's report. It collects stray incidents and caste them in such a way as to give a sensational view of things. Nobody can deny it and it is a fact that injustice is being done to the Harijans and Scheduled Tribes, but then they are part of the society. Even if you have twenty Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes these injustices will continue as long as the society is there. If they are not stray incidents but it is the order of the day, then it is a great indictment of our present political system and the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that after twenty-five years of the existence of this institution and the attainment of freedom by us, this section of the society remains so bad. Our country and our people have spent a huge

amount on the institution of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and on the various State Welfare Boards and Departments. Keeping in view the fact that fifty per cent of the people in our country are below the poverty line, one would be appalled by the amount of donations given to these bodies and one would be pained to see that the result of this has been negligible.

And that is because of this system. One of my friends, Mr. Choudhury, said that **this system is incompetent or—I should say—this system cannot deliver the goods which we expect from it.** You earmark any amount of funds. You give any amount of power to the office of the Commissioner. When I speak of the Commissioner, I mean the office of the Commissioner. I do not mean any individual. It is the office, it is the office which I am talking about. Our people who joined the Government service, they joined a career, and their whole endeavour in this service is to get promotion, to get a better pay, without working much. Our working hours are very few; we have a large number of holidays. But even then, people just do not work in offices. So, if you look to the various schemes coming from the district, coming from the mofussil the feeling sometimes is that either we are deceiving ourselves or we are only playing to the gallery when for a population of five lakhs we say, 'Oh! we will give subsidy to house-building to 20 or 30 families, when twenty thousand families may be in the district. Some of my friends have demanded separate Ministries, separate departments. But I assure them that the funds which are meant for this section of society would be eaten up by those ministries and departments, and the problem which has not been solved even partially during the last 25 years would be aggravated further by the creation of more ministries and more departments because they are going to be manned by the persons who can be called persons from the stronger sections of the society.

As I was saying, you see the various schemes which are applicable to the districts and you just try to account for the expense

ratio of those departments. I feel that the Social Welfare Department accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of the expense ratio. They eat up the funds, the whole establishment itself eats up the funds meant for these people, and the system is such. There is untouchability no doubt. But the real problem is that you must give equal opportunities to these people; the real problem is that you must bring them on to the economic level which exists in the society. I have seen in my own area. The richer persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes do not suffer those injustices which are suffered by the weaker sections of the society. When I was reading this Report, I noted the repeated mention of 'weaker sections of the society'. I have not been able to follow how this confusion is there. Weaker sections of the society and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not synonymous. There are some families, quite a big number of families, in our country who belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, who are well to do, and there are large sections of the society belonging to the high caste who come under the category of weaker sections of the society. How is it that in this Report the weaker sections of the society have been confused with the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes?

Sir, all my friends have been demanding reservations for the Scheduled Castes. If I am not wrong, the framers of the Constitution provided for these reservations for an initial period of ten years and they thought that political processes which were initiated here would be able to bring about equalisation within a period of ten years. But twenty five years have passed and nothing appreciable has been done.

Sir, as the Report rightly says, framing of laws is not sufficient. While reading the various incidents reported in the Report, I was wondering that the whole institution of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must be belonging to high castes. It shows that the leadership in the districts has not come up to their expectation. Certainly, they should

[Shri G. C. Totu.]

4 P.M.

have been able to say where a high caste person from these institutions has been able to do a certain single good act.

Coming back to reservations, I say these reservations are just a drop in the ocean; this does not touch even 1 per cent of the problem. When you look to the population in India our job remains, our problem remains of giving equal opportunities to these people. Therefore, would it not be better to do away with the present office of the Regional Commissioners and commissioner and the Welfare Departments in the States? Instead these funds could be utilised for giving scholarships to each student of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the primary stage up to the college and higher education level. Students who do not have schools within three to five miles can be given additional scholarships for staying in hostels. I am afraid, Sir, by the present welfare schemes we have brought in the society corruption, favouritism and nepotism. Suppose there are 25 house building loans. Now so many people will run after the local M.L.As. They will try to grease the palms at various levels in the administration to secure a house loan. Therefore, would it not be better to devise one single scheme where each student should be able to get a scholarship? Likewise there might be some schemes which may bring up these sections of the society in a better economic way. I would again urge that the creation of Ministries and Departments is in the reverse process. The more you spend over the departments, the more problems it will create and the less is given to these sections because the present administrative structure is so expensive. Whatever funds you may visualise, 90 per cent of it is eaten up by way of administrative expenses and the problem remains where it was. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to explore the possibility of having a single scheme from which everybody may be benefited. This will minimise corruption, nepotism and favouritism. Now for ten scholarships or ten posts everybody is running here and there.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset let me quote what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had said in his speech in the Constituent Assembly on the 25th November, 1949. He said:

"On the 26th January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man, one vote and one vote, one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will low up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

This is what Dr. Ambedkar said in his famous speech. He said this 25 years ago. What is the position to-day after 25 long years? Inequality in social and economic life between man and man has not changed in spite of all the laborious work by the leaders of this country. We say that one man will have one vote and everybody will be equal. Is it so, Sir? When elections come, leaders of political parties will be going to the villages and there the leader of the village will be saying, "I have got 500 Harijan votes". It is a fact, Sir. They would be saying "I have got 500 votes with me". Another man will be saying, "I have got 1,000 votes with me". The votes of the Harijans, the backward sections of the community, would be commanded or kept by a few people. Why is it so? As has been said by Dr. Ambedkar, it is because they do not have equal status in life, they are not treated as dignified

citizens of India. They feel that they cannot exercise their votes according to their choice. So, that is the plight of the Harijans to-day. Not only Harijans, but other backward sections of the community also suffer to-day. What is most important to-day is not only giving jobs and positions to the Harijans but also making revolutionary social changes in the country. The first changes should be brought about in the minds, hearts and souls of the progressive communities or the caste Hindus. They should feel that the Harijans are no more an inferior class in this country, and they are our own brothers and sisters. Unless this psychological change is there, how can we change the structure of the society? So, what is important is that we must see that these structural changes, psychological changes and emotional changes are brought about in the country. Even to-day in many villages I have seen that if even an educated Harijan takes water from a particular well, from the same well even uneducated caste Hindu people will not take water. I know in a particular village, one school teacher, a Harijan lady, was asked not to take water from a particular well because the so-called forward community people were taking water from that well. As a matter of fact, I found that the people who were taking water from that particular well were not educated people though they were calling themselves progressive or higher community people. So, what is most important is that instead of merely helping them to get jobs in Government service and so on, we must bring about revolutionary changes in the hearts and souls of the people.

Social reformers may come and go. But the position will be what it was 25 years ago. Actually when you go to remote villages in the country, you will find that the condition of weaker sections has not improved. As far as Harijans are concerned, every day we are reading in papers of Harijan houses being burnt, Harijan tenants being evicted and Harijan women being raped or molested. These types of criminal offences are being committed against Harijans from one State to another.

Is it not high time that we put a full stop to this type of atrocities against backward sections of our people. We should be ashamed of these things happening even after 25 years of our independence.

As far as employment is concerned, it is still insignificant. Take for instance, the Railways, the biggest Government sector which employs 35 lakhs of people. What is the percentage of employment given to Harijans? It is insignificant. We have pointed out this here on so many occasions. Not only Harijans. There are other sections of the community which are as good or as bad as Harijans. In remote villages Muslims are socially and educationally as backward as Harijans. Not even half percentage of Muslim women is literate in our land to-day. Muslims are as backward as Harijans, if not more backward. Is it not the duty of this Government to lift these people to a higher level, socially and educationally? I appeal to the Government of India to give due share of representation to Harijans, Muslims and other backward communities in all Government sectors. I also appeal to them to make reservations for them in IAS and IPS cadres and in all other Government services. It is not against the provisions of the Constitution. In Kerala they have reserved seats in Government service for Harijans and other backward communities including Latin Christians, that is, Harijans who are converted into Christianity. They have reserved 9 per cent for Muslims and other backward communities. Muslims are given reservation not because they happen to be Muslims, but because they are found to be educationally and socially backward according to a survey conducted there. A similar survey should be conducted in India and if Muslims are found to be backward, they should be given reservations in all Government services. Some hon. Members suggested creation of a separate Harijan Ministry. It is not a question of creating a Harijan Ministry. It is a question of our intention to do good things for this community. Another thing I want to point out is that in various States we have Harijan colonies. Why so?

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamanad]

By this, are we not trying to isolate them from the rest of the Society? Instead of that, I would suggest that Harijans should be allowed to mingle with others. Similarly, why do we have Harijan hostels for students? I suggest that Harijan students should be accommodated in the general hostels and should be allowed to mix with other students belonging to other communities. Instead of having separate hostels for the Harijan boys and girls, as many States are having now, you have the reservation system, that is, there should be reservation for the Harijan boys and girls in the public hostels so that they mingle with the boys and girls of the other sections of the communities in the country. Such things are there even in Kerala which is supposed to be one of the progressive States. Even in many parts in Kerala, in the north and south Wynad regions, in the Malabar region of Kerala and in the Coorg region of Karnataka, there is the picture of backwardness only and there are some roads which the Harijans cannot use. There are roads belonging to certain temples and there are roads belonging to certain private parties which are open to the public, but not to the Harijans! This sort of custom is still prevailing in this country even now. Similarly, you will also find in certain parts of Kerala like the Wynad region where the tribal people, some tribals, are being sold like chattels and this is there even in some other parts of the country also. The Harijans and the tribals are not treated with dignity and atrocities are committed on the Harijans according to some paper reports. I think the Government should look into this matter. I appeal to the Government to see that the Harijans are not ill-treated, but they are absorbed in the Government service and are given big positions. Of course, that also is not enough. They should be made to feel psychologically that they are no more inferior to any body and that they are as good as the other communities like the Brahmin community and that there is no differences between a Brahmin and a Hari-

jan. It is absolutely necessary to create this type of feeling and this type of revolutionary change is necessary in this country. Similarly, I put the Muslim community also in the category of backward communities like the Harijans as far as education is concerned, as far as their social status is concerned and as far as their economic condition is concerned. Therefore, they should also be given equal treatment and there should be reservations for them also and they should also be raised to the level of the other communities, progressive communities, so that our nation can flourish. Thank you, Sir.

श्री देवेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिम जातियों पर चल रही इस महत्वपूर्ण बहस में बोलने के लिए आपने जो अवसर मुझे दिया है, उसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि इस बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बहस में इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य, चाहे सदन के इस ओर के लोग हों या उस ओर के लोग हों, उतनी रुचि नहीं ले रहे हैं जितनी लेनी चाहिए। इस बहस के दौरान कोई भी ऐसा समय नहीं हुआ है जब दो दर्जन से ज्यादा सदस्य सदन में उपस्थित रहे हों, इसमें चाहे मंलिगण रहे हों, चाहे विरोधी दल के नेता रहे हों। इसलिए ऐसी स्थिति पर मैं अपना दुःख व्यक्त करता हूँ।

हमारे सदन के माननीय सदस्य मुझ से इस बात में सहमत होंगे कि भारतीय संविधान द्वारा प्रदत्त इस संसद् को कोई अन्य कर्तव्य या उत्तरदायित्व ऐसा नहीं है जो इतना पवित्र और महत्वपूर्ण हो जितना प्रति वर्ष हमारे हरिजन भाइयों और अनुसूचित जातियों ने कितनी उन्नति की है, कितना विकास वे कर पाये हैं, इस पर जो हम सालाना चर्चा करते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे अधिक पवित्र और महान उत्तरदायित्व सदन को दूसरा नहीं सौंपा गया है। जब हम यहां पर हरिजनों की स्थिति पर चर्चा करते हैं तो वस्तुतः हम अपनी स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा करते हैं

इस चर्चा का सम्बन्ध भारत की आत्मा से है। इस चर्चा में केवल आंकड़ों पर चर्चा करके कि कितने लोगों को नौकरियां मिलीं, कितने लोगों को वजीफे मिले, कितने लोगों को मकान दिये गये, केवल यह चर्चा करके गणित के आंकड़े देकर हम अगर अपने को भुला देंगे, भ्रमित कर देंगे तो शायद हम संविधान द्वारा दिये गये उस कर्त्तव्य के प्रति न्याय नहीं कर पाएंगे।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहता। मैं इस समस्या को ऐतिहासिक परिपेक्ष्य और ऐतिहासिक सन्दर्भ में देखना चाहता हूँ जिसको हम सभी जानते हैं। भारत की आजादी के दौरान महात्मा जी के नेतृत्व में जो स्वराज्य की लड़ाई हमने लड़ी उसमें अंग्रेजों को इस देश से हटाना या राजनैतिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करना, बड़ी लड़ाई का केवल एक हिस्सा रहा है। महात्मा जी ने हमेशा यह कहा कि स्वराज्य की लड़ाई सिर्फ यह नहीं है कि अंग्रेज इस देश से चले जायें। स्वराज्य की अमली लड़ाई तब समाप्त होगी जब इस देश में व्यक्ति की गरिमा और स्वतंत्रता और समानता पर आधारित एक नये समाज की संरचना होगी। और यह लड़ाई अभी चल रही है। इस लड़ाई में हम बहुत कम आगे बढ़ पाए हैं। यह लड़ाई कब पूरी होगी? इस लड़ाई में तब हमें सफलता मिलेगी जब कि केवल सरकार को और हम नहीं देखेंगे, हम केवल राजनीति के माध्यम से देश में इस समस्या के समाधान करने का प्रयास नहीं करेंगे। जब तक केवल ऊंचाई पर बैठे हुए, टाप पर बैठे हुए कुछ लोगों के जिम्मे इस काम को हम सौंपे रहेंगे तब तक हम उममें सफलता प्राप्त नहीं करेंगे। पिछले 25 वर्षों के हमारे अनुभव में एक बहुत ही दुःखद स्थिति हमारे सामने आई है जो मुझे कभी-कभी परेशान करती है और वह यह है कि हमारे देश में एक खास किस्म का राजनीति-अभिमुख विनिष्ट जन प्रभावित संस्कृति का प्रा-दुर्भाव हुआ है—पोलिटिक्स ओरियेंटेड एनीटिस्ट कल्चर का उद्भव हुआ है। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि राजनीति का बहुत महत्व हो गया है। राजनीति के माध्यम से सब कुछ हो सकता है,

एक दृष्टि यह लोगों के सामने आई है। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि जो सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक संस्थाएँ हैं उनको वह भूमिका हम नहीं दे पा रहे हैं या दे पाए हैं या वे अपनी वह भूमिका निभा नहीं पाए हैं जो किसी लोकतांत्रिक देश में होती है। किसी लोकतांत्रिक देश में परिवर्तन केवल राज्य के माध्यम से नहीं होता। राज्य आर्थिक मामलों में भले ही दखल दे लेकिन सांस्कृतिक मामलों में, शैक्षणिक मामलों में, अन्य मामलों में स्वैच्छिक संस्थाओं को महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करनी चाहिए। दुर्भाग्यवश सभी क्षेत्रों में विशेषकर हरिजनों के कल्याण के क्षेत्र में हमने देखा कि सभी काम राजनीतिक लोगों के जिम्मे हमने छोड़ दिया है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हरिजनों की समस्याओं की सतह को ही हमने अभी तक टच किया है। कितने लोग विज्विद्यालय में गए कितने लोगों को नौकरियां मिलीं, ये सारी बातें होती हैं। कुछ पढ़े-लिखे जो हरिजन भाई हैं उनको समाज में क्या स्थान मिलता है इस पर विशेष रूप से चर्चा होती है लेकिन जो करोड़ों-करोड़ों हमारे हरिजन भाई देहातों में रहते हैं जो असंगठित हैं जो अनआर्गेनाइज्ड हैं जिनकी आवाज यहां तक नहीं पहुंच पाती, जिनको यह मालूम भी नहीं होता कि प्रति वर्ष सदन में अनुसूचित जातियों के आयुक्त की रपट पर वृहस होती है उनकी उपेक्षा होती है। उन लोगों की आवाज न तो सदन के पास पहुंच पाती है और न उन लोगों की दृष्टि में रखकर हमारी योजनाएँ ही अधिक बनी हैं। उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि चाहे देहातों में हरिजनों की रहने की समस्या हो और चाहे उनके मिनिमम वेज की समस्या हो चाहे समाज में उनके एकीकरण की समस्या हो उनके सम्बन्ध में हमारे पास जानकारी बहुत कम होती है और उस जानकारी की कमी के कारण यह जो पूरा विभाग है जो उनके लिए अलग से बनाया गया है वह भी शायद उतनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा नहीं कर सका है। इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष जी मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन सदस्यों से और देश के नागरिकों से कहना चाहूंगा कि जो सबसे बड़ी

[श्री देवेन्द्र नाथ वेदी]

वह यह है कि हरिजनों के कल्याण की दृष्टि से और हरिजनों का समाज में इंटीग्रेशन हो उनका उचित स्थान हो व्यक्ति की गरिमा का जो आदर्श है उसके अनुरूप उनको ला सके उसके लिए जरूरी है कि पूरे देश में राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर फिर से एक जबर्दस्त आंदोलन को प्रारम्भ करना है—एक सांस्कृतिक आंदोलन कल्चरल रिवोल्यूशन का एक भारतीय वर्शन हमको लाना पड़ेगा और तभी हम जाकर जो एक मनोवृत्ति में परिवर्तन करने की आज आवश्यकता है उस पर बल दे पाएंगे।

श्री काली मुखर्जी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : ब्राह्मण के द्वारा भी हो सकता है।

श्री देवेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी : हां वह उसी समाज के एक अंग हैं—उसमें ब्राह्मण भी भागीदार होंगे, बंगाली भी भागी दार होंगे, हरिजन भी भागीदार होंगे। सब लोगों को एक साथ प्रयास करना पड़ेगा। वह तभी होगा, जैसा एक माननीय वरिष्ठ सदस्य ने कहा था, जब हम जाति-व्यवस्था पर आक्रमण करेंगे और जाति व्यवस्था तोड़ेगे, वर्ण-व्यवस्था तोड़ेंगे। उसके लिए देश में एक आंदोलन की स्थिति पैदा करनी होगी। उसके लिए मैं राजनैतिक और सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वे अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करें। कुछ निश्चित सुझाव मैं आपके माध्यम से देना चाहूंगा। मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि यद्यपि हम प्रति वर्ष इस पर बहस करते हैं कि जो प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसमें क्या किया गया है क्या नहीं किया गया है लेकिन उसकी जो सिफारिशें हैं और जो सुझाव हैं, उनको प्रति वर्ष कितना स्वीकार किया जाता है इसका लेखा-जोखा पिछले 27 वर्षों में किस हद तक उन रपटों में दिए गए सुझावों, सिफारिशों और संस्तुतियों पर सरकार ने कितना काम किया है, उसका एक पूरा चित्र समाज के सामने और सरकार के सामने आना चाहिए। इस मामले में मेरा आपके माध्यम से सरकार को यह सुझाव है कि वह इस बारे में एक श्वेत-पत्र निकाले जिसमें जो सारी स्थिति है,

जो इसके बारे में सम्पूर्णता है, उसका पूरा लेखा जोखा होना चाहिये और सारा चित्र समाज के सामने आना चाहिये। चूंकि यह 21वीं रिपोर्ट है, इसलिए अब तक जितने भी आश्वासन और सुझाव इस समस्या के बारे में दिये गये हैं और उनको किस हद तक सरकार ने कार्यान्वित किये हैं वह सब लेखा-जोखा इस श्वेत-पत्र में होना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जितनी भी सार्वजनिक संस्थाएं हैं पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग हैं, जितने भी विश्वविद्यालय हैं, जो भी महत्वपूर्ण संस्थाएं हैं, उनमें जो सर्वोच्च स्थान है और उन पदों पर जो आफिसर बैठे हैं, उनमें से कितने प्रतिशत जगहें हमारे हरिजन भाइयों ने पाई हैं? जैसे एल० आई० सी० बैंक है इस तरह की जितनी भी संस्थाएं हैं उनको कैटिगरीज करके उनसे इन लोगों को कितना प्रतिनिधित्व दिया गया है, किस हद तक ये लोग इन जगहों के भागीदार हैं, उनको कितना प्रतिशत प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जा रहा है, इस तरह का पूरा चित्र इस श्वेत-पत्र में होना चाहिए।

मेरा दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि इस समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए कई विभागों के बना देने से काम नहीं चलेगा। इस बारे में जो एक बात पर बल देना चाहिये, उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव यह है कि एक उच्चस्तरीय राष्ट्रीय समिति, जो परमानेंट बाडी के रूप में हो, जैसे सिटीजन कौंसिल है, उस ढंग की एक बाडी हो, जिसकी अध्यक्षता प्रधान मंत्री जी करें। इस तरह की एक समिति बनाई जानी चाहिये जो इस बात को देखे कि हरिजनों का किस हद तक इंटीग्रेशन हो रहा है और नीचे से लेकर ऊपर तक किस ढंग से उनकी उन्नति में अवरोध उत्पन्न किये जा रहे हैं। यह समिति जो बनेगी वह इस बात पर नजर रखेगी। इस समिति में राजनीतिक लोग ही न रहें बल्कि सांस्कृतिक लोग भी समाज में जो बौद्धिक लोग हैं उनका भी इसमें प्रतिनिधित्व होना चाहिये। यह जो समिति होगी वह सिटीजन कौंसिल की

तरह काम करेंगी और बीच बीच में इसकी बैठकें होती रहेंगी जिसमें हर मामले पर विचार हो सके।

तीसरा मुद्दा मेरा हमारी उच्चस्तर पर जो प्रशासनिक सरकारी संस्थाएँ हैं, उनके द्वारा किये गये प्रयासों को बल देने के सम्बन्ध में है। जैसा आप जानते हैं कि प्रांतीय सरकारों और भारत सरकार द्वारा क्या क्या होता है, यह बात तो हमको मालूम ही है, लेकिन पंचायती राज जैसी जो संस्थाएँ हैं, जिला परिषदें हैं, उसके नीचे की जो संस्थाएँ हैं, वे इस सम्बन्ध में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा नहीं कर पा रही हैं। आज वास्तविक समस्या वही पर है क्योंकि आज गांवों में स्वर्ण के कुएं में हरिजनों को पानी नहीं मिलता है। इसकी सूचना न किसी राज्य सभा और न ही किसी लोक सभा के एम०पी० को मिलती है या न गृह मंत्री जी को ही मिलती है। इस बात में अगर कोई कुछ कर सकता है तो वह जिला परिषद या जो गांव का सभापति है, वह कर सकता है। इसलिए सरकार जिला परिषदों और गांव सभाओं का जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है, उसको इस कार्य के लिए लगाना होगा और उनको इन कार्य को करने के लिए ट्रेनिंग देने की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। आजकल जो टकराव होता है वह स्वर्ण और हरिजनों के बीच में ही होता है और जो प्रशासनिक अधिकारी होते हैं वे स्वर्ण के साथ बायस्ड होते हैं। और किसी मामले में व्यूरोक्रेसी कमिटेड हो या न हो लेकिन हरिजनों के कल्याण के सम्बन्ध में हमें कमिटेड बनना पड़ेगा और इसके लिए एक रिक्रेशर कोर्स की ट्रेनिंग की विशेष व्यवस्था करनी होगी। मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि वह इस दृष्टिकोण पर बल दे और इस बात पर विचार करे।

इसके साथ ही साथ चौथी बात जो मेरे दिमाग में है वह यह है कि हमारे देश में जो मास मीडिया की भूमिका है, वह अपनी भूमिका अच्छी तरह से नहीं निभा रहा है चाहे वह आकाशवाणी हो या चाहे अखबार हो। दुर्भाग्य से ये संस्थाएँ वह काम नहीं कर रही हैं जो उन्हें इस सिलसिले

में करना चाहिये। अखबारों में तो कांग्रेस के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है, कौन किस से मिल रहा है, विरोधी दल के नेता किस से मिल रहे हैं और क्या कर रहे हैं, किन की बात कह रहे हैं, इन सब बातों की चर्चा होती है। लेकिन जो अहम मसला है कि समाज में किस तरह से प्रगति हो रही है, हरिजनों की भलाई के लिए क्या क्या किया जा रहा है, क्या क्या किया जाना चाहिये, मैं समझता हूँ पत्रों को इस सम्बन्ध में एक विशेष भूमिका निभानी चाहिये। विशेष रूप से सरकार से सम्बद्ध पत्र और आकाशवाणी को इसमें बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करनी चाहिए।

मैं एक रिपोर्ट पढ़ रहा था। उसमें इस बात का जिक्र था कि पाँचवीं पांच-साला योजना में सरकार की ओर से चार करोड़ रुपये स्वेच्छिक संस्थाओं को दिया जायगा, जो इस समस्या के समाधान में सरकार की मदद करती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह धनराशि बहुत कम है और स्वेच्छिक संस्थाओं को सरकार को निश्चित रूप से बहुत ज्यादा धनराशि देनी चाहिए, कम से कम उतना रुपया तो अवश्य दे जितने हरिजन भाई इस देश में रहते हैं जिसमें इन स्वेच्छिक संस्थाओं का पूरा उपयोग हो सके, जो आप चाहते हैं।

इसके बाद इस समस्या का एक दूसरा पक्ष है जिसकी ओर अन्य माननीय सदस्यों ने सदन का ध्यान आकषिप्त किया है और वह यह है कि आर्थिक क्षेत्र एवं कार्यवाहियों में नीचे के स्तर पर हम हरिजनों का प्रतिनिधित्व कर देते हैं, लेकिन जब ऊँचाई पर जाते हैं तो हरिजनों का प्रतिनिधित्व आप उम ढंग से नहीं दे पाते हैं, जैसे बैबम, एल०आई०सी० या स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज के लोगों के सिलसिले में हम हरिजनों को कितना महत्व देते हैं। कोऑपरेटिव के माध्यम से जो रुपया दिया जाता है उसमें हरिजनों को कितना प्रतिनिधित्व होता है। बहुत सी एजेंसीज हैं जो रिटायर्ड सैनिकों को दी जाती हैं। मेरा मुद्दा है कि ये एजेंसियाँ उन हरिजन माधियों को दी जायें जो अनप्लायड हैं और उनको रिटायर्ड आर्मी पर्सनल तक सीमित नहीं करना चाहिए।

[श्री दबेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी]

मैं अपना निवेदन समाप्त करना चाहूंगा लेकिन एक अपील के साथ अपने नौजवान माधियों से जो सदन में उपस्थित हैं या बाहर हैं एक अपील करता हूँ— इस हरिजनों की समस्या को हमारी पुरानी पीढ़ी ने जिस ढंग से हल करने का प्रयास किया है और उसमें कितनी सफलता मिली, कितनी असफलता मिली इस पर इतिहास अपना फैसला देगा—लेकिन अगर हम चाहते हैं कि नचमुच हरिजनों का समाज में इंटीग्रेशन हो और नचमुच हमारे हरिजन भाई हिन्दुस्तान को बनाने में बराबर के हिस्सेदार हो सकें तो हमारे नौजवान भाइयों को निश्चित रूप से उस कल्चरल रिवोल्यूशन का नेतृत्व करना पड़ेगा, मनोवृत्ति का परिवर्तन करने की दिशा में नेतृत्व करना पड़ेगा जिसकी मैंने चर्चा की है।

श्री रोशन लाल (हिमाचल प्रदेश) : वाइस चैयरमैन बाहब,

न तड़पने की इजाजत है न फरियाद की है।

घुट के मर जाऊं, ये मरजी सय्याद की है ॥

हरिजनों, पिछड़ी जातियाँ और कबायलियों की जो समस्या है उनके बुनियादी पहलुओं पर गौर किया जाय तो यह कोई जज्बाती समस्या नहीं है। जज्बाती भी है लेकिन इस वक्त इसके दोनों पहलुओं पर बड़ी संजीदगी के साथ गौर करना जरूरी है। इसके ब्राइट पहलू भी हैं और डार्क पहलू भी हैं। जहाँ तक डार्क पहलुओं का ताल्लुक है, कोई ढाई हजार साल पहले की कहानी है जब इस देश के अन्दर छोटे छोटे टुकड़ों में राजाओं का राज था और जो उनके दरबारी लोग थे, उनके महलों में रहने वाले, काम करने वाले लोग थे उन्होंने राजाओं के साथ अपना रिश्ता जोड़ लिया, उनकी बेटी, बहिन या माँ का रिश्ता उनके साथ हो गया। दूसरी तरफ जो मेहनत करने वाले मजदूर लोग थे, जो खेत में काम करते थे, उनको आईनी, माशी, सामाजी और अखलाकी कदंगे से महकम रखा गया जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वे लोग जो मेहनतकश थे, जो मजदूर थे वे गुलाम और पसमांदा हो गए। उनको इकितसादी मुश्किलात का सामना करना पड़ा; मजलिसी और तालीमी तौर पर वे और

पसमांदा हो गए जिसका नतीजा आज हम अपने सामने देख रहे हैं। जो लोग महलों में दरबारी थे उनकी हालत यह थी—मैं एक फारसी का शेर अजं कर देता हूँ—

अगर, शह रोझ शह गोयत शब अस्त ई।

व बाएद गुफ्त एक माओं परबोन ॥

अगर बादशाह रात को दिन कह दे और दिन को रात कह दे तो दरबारियों का यह हाल था कि जहाँपनाह, जो कुछ आप फरमा रहे हैं वह ठीक है, तारे नज़र आ रहे हैं। बल्कि वे सामने आममान की तरफ मुह करके कहते थे जहाँपनाह, आलीजाह चांद भी नज़र आ रहा है। उनकी यह हालत थी। उसका बैकग्राउंड क्या था कि दरबारियों का वहाँ पर बोल वाला रहा। मुतलिकअलनान और रजत-पसंद वे लोग बन गये और जो खेती का काम करने वाले मजदूर थे वह खेतीहीन हो गये। वह उनकी जमीन को कहते थे कि वे गैर काश्तकार हैं। मर छोटूगम जी थे, जब पंजाब यूनाइटेड था उस वक्त उन्होंने एक कानून बनाया था कि जो खेती का काम करने वाला था उसे गैर काश्तकार करार दिया गया वह न जमीन खरीद सकता था और ये लोग अपने दरबार में बैठे राजा महाराजाओं के यहाँ खाने थे। उस समय यह सवाल था कि वे काश्तकार नहीं थे।

दरअसल आज जो मसला है हिन्दुस्तान में वह नाकम जरी इमलाहत और इक्नमादी बदहली का मसला है और बोसीदा रस्मों रिवाज का है।

गृह मंत्रालय, कार्मिक और प्रशासनिक सुधार तथा संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री श्रीम मेहता) : इंग्लिश हमने यह कोशिश की कि उन गब राजाओं को खत्म कर दिया।

श्री मेरों सिंह सोखानत (मध्य प्रदेश) : जो नये राजा बन गये इनका क्या होगा?

श्री रोशन लाल : उसके बजूहात ये थे कि जो दरबारी लोग थे वह पहले हिन्दुस्तान में जब हम गुलाम थे तो हरिजन जो थे वह गुलामों के भी गुलाम थे। देश गुलाम था। उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ कि यहाँ पर कितने ही हमने बाहर से हुए।

हिन्दुस्तानी कहते थे कि सबसे बड़ा अपना आदर्श है। वे मजहब को ऊँचा समझते थे लेकिन उन्हें हमेशा बाहर के हमले से शिकस्त हुई।

अब सवाल यह है कि अगर इसका दूसरा पहलू देखा जाए तो वह यह है कि सरकार ने 25 साल के अन्दर जब देखा कि हरिजनों के मसलों का हल किस तरह से तलाश किया जाए तो जो हमारे कंस्टीट्यूशन फ्रेम करने वाले थे उन्होंने देखा कि गवर्नमेंट को कानूनी तौर पर और कुछ ऐसे कानून लागू करके इस मसले का हल तलाश किया जाए। चुनावों 26 जनवरी, 1950 को हमारा विधान डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक आफ इंडिया का ऐलान हुआ और हमारे देश के काबिलेफ़ख़र और काबिले एहनराम नेताओं ने यह ऐहद किया कि हम एक ऐसी सल्तनत का कायमे अमल करने चले हैं जिसका नसबोउल्लयन यह था कि हम एक इंसान को, हर वर्ग के आदमी को अपने ख्यालात रखने का और बड़े और छोटे को एक से हकूक हासिल होंगे। वह हकूक जो कि आपके कंस्टीट्यूशन में दिये गये हैं वह अभी तक इंप्लीमेंट नहीं हुए। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि वह अपने कंस्टीट्यूशन को देखें। या तो आप कंस्टीट्यूशन की तोहीन करते हैं या जो आपने ऐहद किया था, जिसको जमाना बड़ी गौर से मुन रहा था, हम ही सो गये दामतां कहते कहते।

जो कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट सामने शायद हुई है उस मिलसिले में मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे उस कमेटी में, जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की कमेटी थी, उसमें 1971-72 और 1972-73 में काम करने का इतिफाक हुआ और मैंने मुह्तलिफ़ सूबों का दौरा किया और हरिजन और कबायली लोगों की समस्याओं को देखा। तो उसकी तरफ जब हम देखते हैं तो कई अनुमान ऐसे हैं जो तड़पा देंगे खत्म होने तक कौन सुनेगा इन अफसानों को। अभी आपने रिपोर्ट देखी कि गुजरात, पंजाब, बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश इस कदर जुल्म और सितम, इस कदर एट्रोसिटी और इस कदर नंगा नाच हो रहा था जो कि हमारे सिविलाइज्ड नेशन, सोशलिस्ट नेशन के लिए या कैप्युलर डेमोक्रेसी के लिए बदनुमां घब्बा है। 22 जून, 1973 को गुजरात के सुन्दर नगर जिले के अन्दर

एक ऐसा शर्मनाक और लज्जाखिज वाक्या हुआ जिसने तकरीबन सारे गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र को लपेट में ले लिया। सारे गुजरात के अंदर—बजाए उसका कोई अच्छा असर हो गवर्नमेंट ने कोई एक्शन लिया तो उसका बुरा असर हुआ। 22 जून का ही वाक्या है कि हरिजन के कुछ भी सूख गए थे हरिजन अपनी प्यास को बुझाने के लिए पब्लिक वेल से पानी लेने की कोशिश कर रहे थे उसी वक्त 500 आदिमियों का मोब आया और उन पर हमला कर दिया। जिससे दो कत्ल मौके पर ही हो गये और कई जख्मी हो गए। गवर्नर ने फौरी इकदामात उठाए। लोगों को गिफ़तार किया और मुकदमा रजिस्टर किया जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि दूसरे गांवों में भी जाकर वहां के कांस्टेबल और लोगों ने, जो धर्म के ठेकेदार कहलाते थे हरिजनों के कुआं में टट्टी डाल दी, उसमें गन्दगी डाल दी। यह सब चीजें कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में है। रिपोर्ट में यह भी देखेंगे कि दो औरतें पानी भरने गईं, उनको नंगा कर दिया और उनके जिस्म को दागा गया। इस किस्म के वाक्यात अकसर होते हैं। दिल्ली के नजदीक अभी गाजियाबाद में एक नौजवान लड़के को दरख्त से लटका कर नीचे से आग लगा दी जिस प्रकार कि सुअर को भूना जाता है। इस तरह हाथरस, उत्तर प्रदेश में भी हुआ है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हिन्दुओं के अन्दर जो अपने आप को हार्ड कास्ट हिन्दू कहते हैं उनमें नफरत का जज्बा है। मैं आपको इसका एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। कालिज में एजूकेशनल इन्स्टीट्यूशन के अन्दर एक लड़का बहुत ब्रिलिएंट था। दूसरे लड़कों ने देखा कि यह हमारे से टाप कर जाएगा, फर्स्ट निकल जाएगा। चुनावों उन्होंने तैयारी की और उस लड़के को कत्ल कर दिया गया।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस किस्म के वाक्यात उत्तर प्रदेश बलिया डिस्ट्रिक्ट के अन्दर भी हुआ। एक नौजवान लड़की को और उसके भाई को दरख्त से बांध दिया गया। उसके सामने उसकी बहन का रेप किया गया। इस तरह की घटनाओं के होते हुए या हम अपने देश में डेमोक्रेसी को रख सकते हैं। मैं हिन्दू धर्म के ठेकेदारों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो धर्म और कर्म में विश्वास करते हैं वह हर चीज में जान देखते हैं। वे दरख्त के पत्तों, फलों और फूलों

[श्री रोशन लाल]

में जान देखते हैं। जनद्वरो में, कुत्तों में जान देखते हैं। कुत्ता अगर रसोई में बला जाएगा वहाँ उनके बर्तनों को चाटेगा, उनके मुँह को भी चाटेगा गंदगी खाकर उससे उनको कोई नफरत नहीं होती लेकिन अगर एक हरिजन आपके कुएं पर चला जाएगा उससे आपको नफरत हो जाएगी। उससे आप को नफरत का जज्बा पैदा हो जाता है। यह आपका धर्म है। मैं अर्ज कर रहा था धर्म के ठेकेदारों से कि यह जो मसला है इकतसादी मसला है।

मैं बड़ा मशकूर हूँ प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का। उन्होंने 73 में हम को इजाजत दे दी। इससे पहले कोई भी रिपोर्ट इस बारे में आती थी तो उस रिपोर्ट पर कोई डिस्क्शन नहीं होती थी, न इस एगान में और न उस एगान में। कोई भी रिपोर्ट आती थी प्रेजीडेंट को पेश कर दी जाती थी। हमें नहीं पता लगता था कि उनमें हरिजनों के खिलाफ क्या है हरिजनों के लिए क्या कहा गया है। लेकिन प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने 1973 में इजाजत दे दी। पहले यह महकमा सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट एजुकेशन मिनिस्टरी के तहत था अब यह हॉम मिनिस्टरी के तहत कर दिया गया है। यहां से एक सर-कुलर भी भेजा गया है। तमाम स्टेटों को कहा गया है उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने के लिए। उन्होंने कहा है कि उन पर फीरी अमल हो। जहाँ तक सर्विसेज में रिजर्वेशन का ताल्लुक है उसको भी पूरा किया जाए। हमारी स्टेट के चीफ मिनिस्टर को भी लिखा गया है। मब का हिदायत दी गई है कि जो एट्रोसिटी, जुलम-ग़लतम हो रहे हैं और जो लोगो में रिजर्वमेंट हो रहा है उनको फौरन दूर किया जाए। तो इस किस्म की जो समस्याएँ हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इसमें थोड़ी-सी तरमीम करके हम इस मसले को हल करेंगे तो हमें इस में कामयाबी मिल सकती है।

मैं आपकी मारफत कुछ तजवीजे अपनी हुकूमत को देना चाहता हूँ। हमारे भूलक में चार हजार पांच सौ के करीब पार्लियामेंट के और स्टेट लेजिस्लेशंस के मेम्बर हैं और हजारों की तादाद में जिला परिषदों, ब्लॉक कमेटियों और पंचायतों के पंच आदि हैं। अगर हम इन सब के लिए एक कोड आफ कडक्ट बना दें और हर एक मेम्बर के लिए यह ज़रूरी कर दें कि कोई आदमी यदि हरिजनों या आदिवासियों के ऊपर जुलम

या अत्याचार करेगा या छुआछूत को मानेगा तो उसका हम सोशल बाइकाट करेंगे और जो सदस्य इस बात को नहीं मानेगा वह उस संस्था का सदस्य नहीं रह सकेगा तो इससे भी हम इस बुराई को दूर करने में काफी हद तक कामयाब हो सकते हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि आजकल हम देखते हैं कि हरिजनों के घर जला दिये जाते हैं और उन पर एट्रोसिटीज की जाती हैं और उनको कुओं पर पानी तक नहीं पीने दिया जाता है। रेलवे के अन्दर अगर कोई एक्सीडेंट हो जाता है तो आप हर एक आदमी को 50 हजार रुपये देते हैं, लेकिन इन गरीब लोगों के घर बरबाद कर दिये जाते हैं और यहाँ तक इनको कुएं से पानी लाने के अपराध में जान से मार दिया जाता है, लेकिन सरकार की तरफ से कोई इस प्रकार की मदद नहीं दी जाती है। गुजरात के अन्दर, बिहार के अन्दर और उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर इम किस्म के वाक्यात हो चुके हैं, लेकिन उन लोगों के लिए किसी किस्म की कोई राशिमुररर नहीं की गई है। मैं यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के अन्दर जब सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों चीफ मिनिस्टर थे तो उन्होंने हरिजनों के कल्याण के लिए एक कल्याण टेक्स जारी किया था। चूकि वे ज्यादा दिन तक जिन्दा नहीं रह सके, अन्यथा वे एक बड़े आला रिफार्मर थे। अगर वे जिन्दा रहते तो काफी कुछ काम करते। वे यह चाहते थे कि हर एक जिले में एक आदर्श गांव हरिजनों का हो और वे यह भी चाहते थे कि हर एक नवजवान जो हरिजन है वह दूसरे नवजवानों के मुकाबले में तालीम के लिहाज से और जिस्मानी लिहाज से किसी भी रूप में कम न हो और इस प्रकार से कल्याण टेक्स के जरिए उन्होंने 3 करोड़ 86 लाख रुपये जमा किये थे। लेकिन उनकी जिन्दगी ज्यादा दिन नहीं चल सकी। उनका ख्याल था कि 5 करोड़ रुपये वे सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट से लेकर पंजाब के हर एक जिले में हरिजनों का एक आदर्श गांव बना देंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन जातियों की तरक्की के लिए कोई इस तरह का तरीका निकाला जाय। जब तक आप इनकी तरक्की के लिए कोई स्पेशियल कदम नहीं उठाएंगे तब तक ये लोग अन्य कौमों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए अगर आप अभी आदिमियों पर और बड़ी बड़ी जमीन वालों पर इस प्रकार का कोई टेक्स लगाएंगे और उस पैसे को हरिजनों के कल्याण के लिए खर्च करेंगे तो इन

लोगों की इक्तसादी हालत बैटर हो सकती है। इसके अलावा जहाँ तक एजुकेशनल इस्टिट्यूशन्स का ताल्लुक है या जो टेक्स्ट बुक्स होती हैं उनका ताल्लुक है, इसकी तरफ भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। इस देश में छुआछूत का मसला काफी बढ़ चुका है। आज हर एक आदमी के अन्दर जाति-बिरादरी का रिवाज घर कर चुका है। अगर कोई इलेक्शन लड़ना हो तो जाति बिरादरी का सवाल सामने आ जाता है, हरिजन नान-हरिजन का सवाल आ जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये सब बातें डेमोक्रेसी के लिए बहुत बड़ा खतरा है। इसलिए हमारे देश की टेक्स्ट बुक्स के अन्दर इस किस्म की बातें रखी जानी चाहिए जिसमें यह बताया गया हो कि जाति-बिरादरी और छुआछूत की बातें खत्म होनी चाहिए। हाथरस के अन्दर जिस प्रकार से एक नवजवान का कल्ल कर दिया वह हमारी आंखे खोल देने वाला वाक्या है। क्या इस किस्म की बुराइयों से मुक्त पाक हो सकता है? एक और सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि अब तालीमी असर रपता रपता बढ़ रहा है। सरकार ने कुछ मेहरबानिया की है और हमारे देश में हरिजनों में से आई० ए० एस०, आई० पी० एस०, आई० एफ० एस० इस किस्म के एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव्ह जाव्स के लिए आला आफिसर्स काफी काफी निकल चुके हैं, तो जहाँ एट्रोसिटीज होती हैं, जिन जगहों में छुआछूत है; गुजरात है, बिहार है या उत्तर प्रदेश जैसे इलाकों में जहाँ इस किस्म के वाक्यात दरपेश होते हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ वहाँ ज़िला के स्तर पर आई० ए० एस० आफिसर हरिजन लगाएँ, आई० पी० एस० आफिसर भी हरिजन लगाएँ ताकि कोई बुराईयाँ हों या खराब वाक्यात हों उनकी छानबीन हो सकती है क्योंकि हमारे दोस्तों ने भी अपनी सक्ती में कहा है कि पुलिस में रिपोर्ट दर्ज नहीं होती है, उनको इन्साफ नहीं मिलता है।

तो मैं बाकी छोटी-छोटी बातों पर जाकर बक्त जाया नहीं करना चाहता, न रेपिडिशन करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन यह आखिर में यह कहना जरूरी समझता हूँ कि यदि अस्पृश्यता की तमाम बुराइयों से इस कीम की बचाना है तो आपको हरिजनों को इन्साफ देना होगा। ज्यादा न कह कर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI SCATO SWU (Nominated): Our Constitution embodies fraternity, equality and justice. But, I should say that in res-

pect of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, these three things are not fully implemented. And since the day of the beginning of the caste system, we have allowed man to exploit man. Today we do not believe in man exploiting man. We do not tolerate a man exploiting another man. But, however, this is very much prevailing in our country. I am glad that our country has become one of the nuclear powers of the world and we have as such gained recognition in the eyes of the international community. But there is every possibility of our being looked down upon by them because of the plight of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I do not understand why this kind of disparity should prevail in our country whereas our Constitution guarantees absolute equality among men, some of our people are being treated worse than dogs. There are many people who are fond of keeping dogs and playing with dogs and they take care of them. But in India there are some people who cannot take anything touched by these people. That means that these people are treated worse than dogs.

At the outset, I would make a plea. This kind of treatment to these people should immediately go from this country if we really mean to implement the things guaranteed in our Constitution. Otherwise, it will be difficult. This is the time when extreme equality, extreme justice and extreme fraternity should be realised. So, we should never talk about anything which we do not mean to carry out. In the case of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, they speak the same language, they put on the same dress and they live in a similar fashion like others. So, I do not see any reason why there should be such a disparity in our social life. In the matter of our tribals, we have our own different dialects, different dresses, different ways of building our houses and different ways of living.

So in the matter of Scheduled Tribes there is no fault of the society. But in the matter of Scheduled Castes I would appeal that the nomenclature should be changed because it discriminates

[Shri Scato Swu]

against the social status. Because of this nomenclature there is every possibility of my becoming your servant whereas there is chance of your becoming my servant in spite of my qualifications and capabilities. Therefore, the nomenclature "Scheduled Caste" should be totally abolished. So long as this name is there I do not think we shall ever realise the extreme equality of social life.

It is true that the Government is trying their best to improve upon the living conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But I am sorry to say that there are some who are extremely lazy, who have no interest in developing themselves, who are beyond correction. For such people the Government should take what steps they deem fit. But there are others who are ambitious enough and want to develop themselves as best as others. But timely assistance is not given to such people. That is why they are much behind others—there is no such word as "backward". I should say there are less privileged people and better privileged people. If the same facility is afforded to us we can become even better than others. To quote the example of one Dr. Senka Yaden He is an eminent scientist and a research scholar now in America. Because facilities are not given to us we are backward. But, as I said, I do not recognise the word "backward". I would rather say that we are less privileged people, and these less privileged people have been all along exploited by better privileged people although these less privileged people have done much for the privileged people for hundreds of years together. I would, therefore, appeal to the better privileged people to look to the interests of the less privileged people in as much as they have been exploited by these people; otherwise social confusion and social chaos will continue to prevail. As one of my colleagues put it, what is required is some social structural changes and a revolution in the society. So I would appeal to the Government to give proper and due attention to these less privileged people on priority

basis, not on economical basis. The tribal people living in the north-eastern sector are very ambitious and want to be as good as other people. So unless their interests are looked into in right time, I may submit to this august House, they would always run to other countries where they think they have better stakes.

So, I would appeal to all the concerned Ministers to pay spot visits so that they can do the needful in right time and thereby bring about all possible revolution in different parts of the country. Otherwise, as I see it, the signs are not good, are not very encouraging. So, I would make an appeal to the better privileged people as well as to our Government to look into the interests of the less privileged people so that we will be able to implement and carry out our commitments in full.

श्री कल्पनाथ (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स पर जो सरकार की तरफ से रिपोर्ट पेश की गई है उसका हम समर्थन करते हैं। आज हमें याद आती है अपने देश के महान नेता महात्मा गांधी की जिन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई के पूर्व हिन्दुस्तान के दस करोड़ हरिजन और आदिवासियों के जीवन को सुखमय बनाने का सपना देखा था, लेकिन यह देश की बदकिस्मती थी कि सामन्तशाही और प्रतिक्रान्तिकारी ताकतों ने हमारे महात्मा गांधी जी की हत्या ऐसे समय पर कर दी जब देश के अन्दर बहुत सी समस्याएं थी। हम अपने देश के महान नेता प्रधान मंत्री जी का अभिनन्दन करते हैं जिन्होंने सरकार में आने के बाद लगातार हरिजन और आदिवासियों को शासन के विभिन्न हिस्सों में हिस्सेदारी देने की कोशिश की है। हमें इस बात का फर्क है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने चाहे हिन्दुस्तान में बोट का राज कायम करने का सवाल हो, चाहे हरिजन और आदिवासियों को राजसत्ता में भागीदार बनाने का सवाल हो, चाहे नौकरियों में हिस्सा देने का सवाल हो, जमीन में हिस्सा देने का सवाल हो, हर मामले में एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम उठाया है। हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने हमारे हरिजन और आदिवासियों को न केवल गरीबी हटाओ को ही प्राथमिकता दी है बल्कि उन्हें राजसत्ता में भी हिस्सेदारी देने का सवाल

उठाया है। हमारे देश की समस्याओं को हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग नहीं समझ पाते हैं। केवल सवाल यह नहीं है कि हमारे देश से गरीबी दूर हट जाय; सवाल इस बात का भी है इस देश के राजकाज में हिस्सेदारी हमारे देश के हरिजनों और आदिवासी और पिछड़े लोगों को भी मिलनी चाहिए। कांग्रेस पार्टी ने न केवल जमींदारी को, बेगारी को समाप्त किया है, न केवल उसने हरिजन और आदिवासियों की रोटी-रोजी, कपड़े और मकान के सम्बन्ध में भी एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम उठाया है बल्कि उन्हें राजसत्ता में भी हिस्सा देने का कदम उठाया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब हम हिन्दुस्तान के ऐतिहासिक पहलुओं पर विचार करते हैं तो दिखाई देता है कि हिन्दुस्तान लगातार विदेशी हमलावरों के सामने पराजित रहा है दो हजार वर्षों में। विदेशियों ने बीसियों हमले हमारे देश पर किए और हमारा देश पराजित होता रहा, लेकिन अब से इस देश की राजगद्दी सीता के साथ आई और इस मुल्क की राजगद्दी शम्भूक के हाथ आई तो विदेशी हमलावरों के नक्शे लगातार चकनाचूर कर दिए गए। पिछली लड़ाई में पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले हिन्दुस्तान की निर्णायक विजय हुई थी। लेकिन, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, केवल इन्हीं बातों से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। हमारे अम्बेडकर साहब, जो हमारे देश के हरिजन और आदिवासियों के बीच देवता के रूप में माने जाते हैं, उन्होंने 26 जनवरी 1950 को कहा था—

“We are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man, one vote and one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man, one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow

up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up”.

5 P.M.

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश के 10 करोड़ हरिजन और आदिवासी जिनके विषय में हम यहां चर्चा कर रहे हैं वह न केवल तन से टूटे हैं, न केवल मन से टूटे हैं, न केवल उनकी वाणी हीन है, न केवल 15 सौ वर्षों की गुलामी के अन्दर जकड़े हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की 5 हजार वर्ष पुरानी जाति प्रथा के शिकंजे में जकड़ करके जोर जुलम की चक्की में पिसकर नरककाल के रूप में उठ खड़े हुए हैं। आज जब हम इस देश की समस्याओं पर विचार करते हैं, इस देश के हरिजनों की समस्याओं पर विचार करते हैं तो इनको न केवल रोजी, रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान की जरूरत है, न केवल दवा दारू की जरूरत है बल्कि इनके मन टूटे हैं, कई हजार वर्षों से जब देश में छुआछूत के कारण हरिजन और आदिवासी लगातार कास्ट सिस्टम के कारण हमारे देश में न केवल सामाजिक उत्पीड़न के शिकार हैं, बल्कि आर्थिक उत्पीड़न भी उनमें है। हमने अपने देश में हरिजन प्रथा को चलाया और हम दुनिया की विरादरी में हरिजन खुद बन गये।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 25 हजार रुपये की आमदनी करने वाले देश अमरीका, रूस और तीसवी अक्षांश के यूरोप के देश आज दुनिया की विरादरी के ब्राह्मण हैं और तीसवी अक्षांश के देश चीन, कुवैत, ईरान, ईराक, ये दुनिया के जो पिछड़े मुल्क हैं वे देश ऐसे हैं जैसे हमारे देश में यादव, कुर्मी या कापू जातियों के लोग हैं। तीसवी अक्षांश के दक्षिण में हिन्दुस्तान, पाकिस्तान, लंका, बर्मा और एशिया के अधिकांश मुल्क हैं, उनकी हालत आज वैसी ही है जैसे कि हरिजनों की हालत होती है। हर हिन्दुस्तान के गांव के दक्षिण में एक चमरोट होती है। गांव के उत्तर में या अगल बगल में अहीर, गौड़ या कुम्हार होते हैं। दक्षिण में चमरोटे होते हैं जिसको हरिजन बस्ती कहते हैं। आदिवासी होते हैं जिसको हम जनबी कहते हैं। जब तक हम हिन्दुस्तान से जाति व्यवस्था को नहीं तोड़ेंगे, जब तक उस

[श्री कल्प नाथ]

खाई को पाटकर समता और बराबरी नहीं करेगे तब तक दुनिया की बिरादरी में ब्राह्मण नहीं बन सकेगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान का सवाल केवल आर्थिक सवाल नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में आज उससे भी बड़ा सवाल सामाजिक सवाल है, उससे भी बड़ा सवाल समाज में हिस्सेदारी का सवाल है। आज हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी बड़ी नौकरियों में, हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े बड़े व्यापारों में, हिन्दुस्तान की धन दौलत में, हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन में, हिन्दुस्तान की राजसत्ता में मूट्ठी भर लोगों का कब्जा है। हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े व्यापारों में, हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी नौकरियों में कितने प्रतिशत हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की राजगद्दी में कितने प्रतिशत हमारे हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं। कितने गिरिजन हैं, कितने पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, कितने कुचले हुए लोग हैं, कितने दबे हुए लोग हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की धरती जिसके माध्यम से हमें इस देश की जनता का पेट भरना है, उसमें कितने हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं, इस सवाल पर भारत सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए।

आदरणीय, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान की शासन सत्ता देश में लगातार विदेशी हमलावरों के सामने पराजित होती रही है। इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान की 10 करोड़ जनता के मन टूटे हैं और इस जनता का तन टूटा है। इनके पास वाणी नहीं है, ये 15 सौ वर्षों से यहाँ विदेशियों के हाथों में गुलाम रहे हैं ये हिन्दुस्तान की जाति प्रथा के भी 5 हजार वर्ष तक गुलाम रहे हैं। जब तक हिन्दुस्तान की 10 करोड़ जनता के मन में आशा का चिराग नहीं जलायेगे, उनमें विश्वास के अकुर नहीं प्रस्फुटित होंगे, जब तक राजकाज में इनको हिस्सेदार नहीं बनाया जाएगा, जब तक देश की जमीन में इनको हिस्सेदार नहीं बनाया जाएगा तब तक आजादी के उसूल को हम प्राप्त नहीं कर सकेंगे।

मैं आपके सामने कहना चाहता हूँ कि —

The Adivasi problem is both economic and cultural. An unhelmed cultural interchange between the Adivasi and the non-Adivasi is necessary. The sense of cultural superiority among the plain-dwellers and the effort of some Adivasi leaders to set up iron and bamboo curtains is condemnable. All India is poor but the Adivasi in spite of his poverty has known how to preserve his spontaneous gaiety in mirth and in dance. From these forest and hill dwellers, the rest of India must learn the culture of gaiety, and to them it must carry some devices of agriculture and industry. All India must remember that the blood in its veins is in substantial part Adivasi, although the coming of this blood may have taken place several thousand years ago. A new comingle is inevitable.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने समाजवाद की बात कही है और मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे देश में कांग्रेस पार्टी ही एक ऐसी पार्टी है जिसने केवल हरिजनों की समस्याओं को देखा गांधी जी ने देखा और समझा, उस परम्परा को हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने लागू करने की कोशिश की। उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने अभी एक एकड़ से कम खेत जोतने वाले सभी हरिजनों, आदिवासियों को जो कर्जा पुस्तैनी या उमको आर्डिनैन्स के माध्यम से खत्म कर दिया। उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने सभी नौकरियों में जितने उन्नति के पद हैं उनको कायम कर दिया है। मुझे दुख इस बात का है कि आज जो हिन्दुस्तान के 22 प्रांत चल रहे हैं उन्होंने, जो हमारे संविधान में हरिजनों को सुविधाएं दी हैं, आदिवासियों को सुविधाएं दी हैं उन सुविधाओं को लागू नहीं किया है और जिन मुख्य मंत्रियों ने हरिजन आदिवासियों को सुविधाएं नहीं दी हैं उनके बिनाफ कोत मो कार्रवाई की गई है यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ।

मैं भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि यह देश का सवाल है, एक तीन का सवाल है। यह मुल्क की तरक्की का सवाल है। मुझे भर 50 लाख या एक करोड़ लोग जिनके हाथ में दौलत है उन्हीं लोगों के बल पर इस मुल्क में जनान्त्र को कायम नहीं रखा जा सकता।

मुझे खुशी है कि इस समय हरिजनों के मन में विश्वास का अंकुर पैदा हुआ है और इस राज के कायम रहते हुए मुझे आशा है इस मुल्क में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए कुछ काम हो सकेगा। किन्तु मुझे दुःख है कि 10 करोड़ जनता के सवाल पर यहां बहस हो रही है लेकिन आज भी आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के ऊपर जो रिपोर्ट पेश हुई है वह अंग्रेजी में है...

माननीय सदस्य . हिन्दी में भी है।

श्री कल्प नाथ : आदरणीय, हमारे देश के हरिजनों का सवाल ऐसा नहीं है कि इस सवाल को उसी तरह से टाल दे जिस तरह से औरों को टाल देते हैं। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने, हमारे देश की नेता ने समाजवाद का नारा दिया है लेकिन समाजवाद को अगर सही अर्थों में इस धरती पर उतारना है तो हमें गुन्नार जारिंग ने जो लिखा है उसकी तरफ देखना होगा और मैक्स बैबर ने भी अपनी किताब में लिखा है :

"All the countries of the world are either vertically divided or horizontally divided. But India is the only country in the world which is vertically as well as horizontally divided".

हिन्दुस्तान ही दुनिया का एक ऐसा मुल्क है जो सामाजिक जात-पात की गैर-बराबरी और आर्थिक गैर-बराबरी दोनों को डिवाइड करते हैं। इन दोनों समस्याओं को हल करने का सवाल आज हमारे सामने है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इस देश में हरिजनों का आदर नहीं होगा, जब तक इस देश में आदिवासियों का आदर नहीं होगा तब तक भारत की आजादी की सुरक्षा नहीं रह सकती है।

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नीरेन घोष कह रहे थे मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधी दल की सरकार नम्बूदरीपाद ने कितने हरिजनों को अपनी गर्वनमेंट में जगह दी है। पहले जब ज्योति बसु की सरकार थी उन्होंने भी क्या अपनी गर्वनमेंट में हरिजनों को जगह दी थी। मार्क्सिस्ट हिन्दुस्तान

की समस्याओं को समझने में बिल्कुल फेल हो रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या को तो कम्युनिस्ट कभी समझ नहीं सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या क्या है? हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या मन की समस्या है, हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या पेट की समस्या है। हिन्दुस्तान की समस्या जोर-जुल्म के खिलाफ है। समाजवादी मुल्क की रचना का सवाल है। इस देश में जब उनकी संविद की मरकार थी तो क्या उन्होंने अपनी सरकार में कोई रिजर्वेशन किया है। जो संविद की मरकारें बनी थी उन्होंने, कांग्रेस की सरकार ने हरिजनों को जितनी सुविधाएं दी थीं वह सारी सुविधाएं वापस ले लीं चाहे वह केरल में रही हों या बंगाल में रही हों संविद की सरकार ने वे सुविधाएं वापस ले ली थी। मेरा उनसे कहना है कि गांधी जी का समाजवाद दर्शन, डाक्टर लोहिया का समाजवादी दर्शन और नेहरू जी का सपना और इन्दिरा जी ने जो आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के लिए महानतम कदम उठाए हैं उनको आपको समझना चाहिए। आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय "Socialism is a doctrine of equality and unless we are careful, it may deteriorate into a system of inequality".

"If merit were to be the sole criterion for election or appointments, the high castes with their 5000 years old traditions of specialization in mental pursuits would be unbeatable. They would continue to be at the top in a socialist society as they have been in previous societies".

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हमारे देश में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को विशेष अवसर नहीं दिये जाएंगे तब तक उनकी उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि : special opportunities for the depressed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. दिये जाने चाहिए। हमने इस सिद्धान्त को अपनी पार्टी का नारा बनाया है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक

[श्री कल्पनाथ]

हिन्दुस्तान में पिछड़ी और जन जातियों को विशेष अवसरों के आधार पर उनकी चातुर्विक विकास का प्रयत्न नहीं किया जाएगा तब तक इस देश की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है। हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी ने पिछले 27 सालों में इस दिशा में जो महानतम कार्य किया है और हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के उत्थान के लिए जो कदम उठाये हैं, उनको नौकरियों में विशेष स्थान दिया है वह बहुत अच्छा कार्य हुआ है। इस रिपोर्ट में जो सन् 1972-73 की है, उससे यह लगता है कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की समस्याओं पर सरकार ने ध्यान दिया है और उनके लिए ठोस कार्यक्रम के आधार पर उनकी चातुर्विक तरक्की करने की कोशिश की है। हमारे देश के महान् नेताओं ने, महात्मा गांधी ने, श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने हरिजनों की तरक्की के लिए काफी कदम उठाए हैं। इन महान् नेताओं ने हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के उत्थान के लिए जो रास्ते बताये हैं, अगर हम उन पर नहीं चलेंगे तो हमारा देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता है। इस देश से जाति-प्रथा को खत्म करने के लिए इन नेताओं ने अपनी जिन्दगी भर प्रयत्न किया है। जाति प्रथा इस देश की तरक्की में रोड़े अटक रही है। इसलिए इस जाति प्रथा को इस देश से सदा के लिए खत्म किया जाना चाहिए। इस जाति प्रथा ने इस देश की प्राणवाहिनी नसों को सुखा दिया है। इसी प्रथा के कारण इस राष्ट्र की धमनियों में जातिविहीन और वर्गविहीन समाज की रचना नहीं हो पा रही है और इन धमनियों में जातिविहीन और वर्गविहीन खून का संचार नहीं हो रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति

में हमें कोई टाइम बौण्ड कार्यक्रम बनाना चाहिए जिससे कि इन जातियों का शीघ्र से शीघ्र उत्थान हो। जब तक देश में इस प्रकार के समाज की रचना नहीं होगी तब तक इन जातियों की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है और वे जोखिम नहीं उठा सकते हैं और उनमें जोखिम उठाने की क्षमता नहीं आ सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को स्पेशियल अपोर्च्युनिटीज दी जाय। उनको बड़ी नौकरिया दी जाय और व्यवसाय के अन्दर जो लायसेंस इशू करने की प्रथा है उसमें हरिजनों को हिस्सेदार बनाया जाय। हिन्दुस्तान में इतनी जमीन है, यहां पर इतने नेचुरल रिमोसेज हैं, लेकिन फिर भी हम उनका पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों को राजनीति के अन्दर, आर्थिक क्षेत्र में, बड़ी-बड़ी नौकरियों में, पलटन की नौकरियों में तथा जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में प्राथमिकता दी जाय। जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तब तक गांधी जी का सपना साकार नहीं हो सकता है। जब तक हमारा लक्ष्य समानता के आधार पर राष्ट्रीय समाजवाद की स्थापना का नहीं होगा तब तक हमारा देश एशिया और अफ्रीका में पिछड़े मुल्कों का नेतृत्व नहीं कर सकेगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-DISH PRASAD MATHUR): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifteen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 21st November, 1974.