

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेगड़ी) : ठीक है ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I entirely agree with him. When such matters took place I am surprised that the Statesman did not publish it. When the Statesman was publishing everything against the Prime Minister, why did it not publish it? I am completely against the "Statesman."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Please take your seat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to know whether the P.D. Act was used. Holding a black-flag demonstration is the right of a citizen and surely we are not here for detention without trial, not within the procedure of law.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Now, you have mentioned it. Kindly take your seat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friends there in the Congress Party are keeping quiet and do not say anything. Why? Because you are. . .

THE CONSTITUTION (TWENTY-THIRD AMENDMENT) BILL, 1969—
contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Mr. Gupta, you have mentioned it. Now, no more debate. Motion moved : "That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India. . ."

SHRI S. N. MISHRA (Bihar) : Sir, I want to rise on a point of order. What I want to submit is that there has been no formal motion and the Chair has not taken the sense of the House that the Bill be taken into consideration. So, we do not take cognizance of what has happened or what has not happened. Let this be moved formally again.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : I agree with him. Even if there was a formal motion, that was moved within herself and we did not hear anything. Much as I would like to hear it—I am supposed to participate in the motion and also participate in the speech which has been delivered here and meet the arguments made—when I did not hear a word about the speech, how do you expect me to participate in the debate? Therefore, let there be encore. Encore means, perform it again. According to my friend, it has not been performed. All right, if so, then perform for the first time.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : We are all interested in this Constitution (Twenty-third Amendment) Bill, but we did not hear what exactly she said. We would like to know what are the reasons why the Government is bringing forward this Bill. We are also in support of the Bill, but we would like that the Minister should read out the full statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : As the Minister has not been heard—there is no question of prestige—she can again make the statement.

PRESENTATION OF PETITION

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, before proceeding to the next item on the agenda, I have to present a petition. (*Interruptions*) It is in the Order Paper. Sir, I present a petition signed by eighty-two students of the Ladakh Institute of Higher Studies, Delhi.

THE CONSTITUTION (TWENTY-THIRD AMENDMENT) BILL, 1969—
contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : I have called the Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let her do it, but was it proper for the Government to put a lady in this kind of situation, harass her in this manner? She comes from my State and I have to look after her. She has been made to read out something again which she has already read out. I am very kind towards women and I would not like women to be harassed in this manner by the Treasury Benches.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated) : I would like to tell my hon. friend that it is an insult to the womanhood of India to say that because the Minister is a woman she is in a difficult position in dealing with Parliament. I think women are fully as effective as men.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have made no reflection on women. All that I say is that women should not be harassed. You can molest a man, but you cannot molest a woman.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I take serious objection to what the hon. member Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said from his party's

[Shri S. N. Mishra]

point of view because he is incidentally casting a reflection on the first lady of India, that is, the Prime Minister.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मैं भी यही कहना चाहता था, मगर हमारी आदत है कि हम जब खड़े होते हैं, तो जब तक आप कहेंगे नहीं, तब तक हम बोलेंगे नहीं ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, Sir, I withdraw it. My friend knows that one woman never troubles another woman. Miss Shanta Vasisht never troubles Mrs. Yashoda Reddy.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारी तो मुमोबत यही है । हम भी भूपेश गुप्त जी की तरह से बात करें तो कर सकते हैं । भूपेश जी ने जो बात कही उस पर मुझे सख्त एतराज है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां पर पुरुष और औरत, मर्द और औरत, पुरुष और महिला का विभेद नहीं होना चाहिये, जो मंत्री है वह मंत्री है, चाहे वह महिला हो अथवा पुरुष और भूपेश जी ने जिस ढंग से बात कही उससे महिलाओं का अपमान होता है । अनजाने श्रीमती इन्दिरा नहरू गांधी को भूपेश जी नोचा कर दे रहे हैं ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : आर्डर पेपर में संविधान संशोधन विधेयक श्री गोविन्द मेनन के नाम पर है और वह यहां उपस्थित हैं । इसलिये अच्छा होगा कि वे इसे मूव करें ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मुझे भी यही कहना था ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : That is an internal matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is discrimination against a woman.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : It is not a discrimination.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : She is only repeating the speech. Nothing more.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE (DR. SHRIMATI PHULRENU GUHA) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, according to the order paper, I have asked the House to consider the Amendment Bill. As my colleagues were mentioning to you that they were not able to hear because of all the noise, I am moving it once again.

Sir, I beg to move :

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

As the House is aware, articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution provide for the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies, in proportion to their population. There are also provisions in articles 331 and 333 for the nomination of members of the Anglo-Indian community to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies if they are not adequately represented in these Houses.

These provisions for reservation and nomination were originally intended for a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, that is, up to the 26th January, 1960, but by the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act, 1959, the period was extended by ten years. The extended period is now due to expire on the 26th January, 1970. The present Bill seeks to extend the period by a further term of ten years.

During the past twenty years many welfare programmes have been undertaken for the improvement of the social, educational and economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and significant strides have been made by these classes, particularly in the field of education. The problems of untouchability and the isolation of the tribes are however age-long problems; the efforts made are bearing fruit, but considering the population involved, it will be a long time before these classes can be brought upto the level of the general population.

It must be remembered that a good deal of the progress made by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes has been due to their representation in the Legislatures; such representation enables them to influence the decisions of Parliament and the Government and to strengthen the measures

that are undertaken for the improvement of their social, economic and educational conditions.

Taking the conditions as they exist today, it cannot be said that the time is now ripe to allow the Constitutional provisions for reservation to die out. We have therefore proposed an extension for ten years more.

The case of Nagaland requires special mention. More than 90 per cent of the population of this State is tribal, and therefore normally most of the seats in the State Legislature and the single seat in the Lok Sabha will have to be reserved. The Nagaland Government do not want any seats in the Legislature to be reserved, as the tribal community is the majority community. The Bill, therefore, excludes Nagaland from the provisions for reservation.

As regards the Anglo-Indian community, the Constitution had made a number of special provisions for this community, e.g., special representation in certain services and special educational grants on a tapering basis; side by side provision was also made for nomination to the Legislatures. These provisions were included evidently to give the community special opportunities to adjust itself, and since Independence there has been progress in its assimilation with the rest of the population. Extension of the period of nomination is desirable considering the special difficulties of the community. However, under the present provisions of the Constitution, no limit has been placed on the number of Anglo-Indian members who can be nominated to a State Legislative Assembly. In the present Bill it is proposed to restrict the number to one in each State. It will be observed that the provision for nomination is only permissive and not mandatory.

The problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are a national problem and deeply concern all the people of our country. The intention of the Bill is to hasten the amelioration of these classes, and I commend it to the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : There is one amendment by Shri Ganeshi Lal Chaudhary for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee. You may just move it now. You may speak subsequently.

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I move :

“That the Constitution (Twenty-third Amendment) Bill, 1969, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be referred to a Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of fifteen members, namely —

1. Shri S. N. Mishra
2. Shri M. P. Bhargava
3. Shri Abid Ali
4. Shri A. C. Gilbert;
5. Shri A. D. Mani,
6. Shri Rajnarain
7. Shri Krishan Kant
8. Shri Man Singh Varma
9. Shri Neki Ram
10. Shri G. A. Appan
11. Shri Niranjan Varma
12. Shrimati Vidyawati Chaturvedi
13. Shri M. P. Shukla
14. Shri Bhupesh Gupta, and
15. the Mover

with instructions to report by the 1st day of the Seventy-first Session of the Rajya Sabha.”

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have never given my consent.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat) : Are you not interested in their amelioration ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want the Bill to be passed immediately. If it goes to the Select Committee, I do not know, it would mean extension and all that. Therefore, it is a risky matter. I think the Bill should be passed immediately. It is coming into force in 1970. I am grateful to my friend that he has given my name. I appreciate his kindness, but he should not kill me by kindness.

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY : If Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does not want to remain on the Select Committee, then I will suggest Shri A.P. Chatterjee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, on a point of order. The rule is that when you give names of people, you have to take their consent. If my friend says that he has taken the consent of Shri A.P. Chatterjee, then it is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : According to rules you have to take the consent of the persons who are to be included in the Select Committee. Have you taken the consent of all those mentioned ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. I would like to know from you whether the consent has been placed before you. Are you satisfied that the consent of each Member has been obtained? This is a matter I want to know because I want to speak on the Select Committee motion. You are entitled to ask him, and I do not distrust the hon. Member. If he has taken the consent of everybody, it is all right.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I will try to solve this. I would request the hon. Member not to press this motion. He should not move it at all. Probably he will have your permission not to move it.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह मंडारी : मेरा भी सदस्य महोदय ने अग्रह है कि सॉलेक्ट कमेटी को भेजे जाने का यह संशोधन वह मूव ना करे ।

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY : I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

**The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) Motion moved :

“That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

3 P.M.

श्री महाबोर दास (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज भारत की आबादी लगभग 55 करोड़ की है और तीन पंचवर्षीय योजना में 2 खरब 5 अरब और 10 करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये गये हैं। शिक्षा जो 1951 में 16.6 परसेंट थी, वह बढ़ कर आज 30 प्रतिशत हो गई है। राष्ट्रीय आय भी जो 1950-51 के स्थिर मूल्य के आधार पर 8,850 करोड़ रु० थी, तो वह बढ़ कर 1966-67 में 15,706 करोड़ रु० हो गयी है। परन्तु अछूतों के संबंध में छूट-छात के लिये जो शिड्यूल कास्ट और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स कमिशनर ने एक ओरियोनियन सर्वे कराया था और उसमें ब्राह्मण, कायस्थ, बनिये, वैद्य आदि थे। कुल चुने हुए 57 व्यक्तियों से जांच किया गया तो पता चला कि साथ बैठ कर खाने में छूत माना जाता है और इसका समर्थन 52 ने किया। घरों में हरिजनों को अलग बैठाया जाता है, इसका समर्थन 42 ने किया। घर के बरतनों को छूने नहीं देते, इसका समर्थन 52

ने किया। मंदिरों में हरिजनों को अभी भी प्रवेश नहीं मिलता है, इसका समर्थन 50 ने किया। हिन्दू त्यौहारों में भी छूआछूत व्याप्त है, इसका समर्थन 38 ने किया। इस ओरियोनियन सर्वे को देखते हुए रिजर्वेशन की अवधि बढ़ाने के लिये सरकार ने जो विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है वह उचित ही है। यद्यपि मैं समझता हूँ कि संरक्षण की अवधि 10 वर्ष से बढ़ा कर 20 वर्ष कर दिया जाता, तो उपयुक्त होता; क्योंकि उनका अभी तक सामाजिक, नैतिक और धार्मिक सुधार नहीं हुआ है और इस चीज में सुधार को बात को सार्वजनिक रूप से स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिये।

यद्यपि स्वतंत्रता के बाद यह जो अवधि बढ़ाई गई है, वह 10, 10 वर्ष के लिये बढ़ाई गई थी और इस 20 वर्ष की अवधि में कुछ सुधार हुआ है। परन्तु मैं समझता था कि इस साल 10 वर्ष के लिये अवधि नहीं बढ़ाई जायगी, बल्कि यह अवधि 20 साल के लिये होगी। परन्तु सरकार इस अवधि को केवल 10 साल के लिये ही लाई है और 10 वर्ष के बाद यह समाप्त हो जायगी। मैं भी नहीं चाहता हूँ कि यह अवधि 10 वर्ष, 20 वर्ष या 100 वर्ष के लिए बढ़ाई जाय। मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि यह अवधि दो ही वर्ष में समाप्त हो जाय और हरिजन तथा आदिवासी लोग दूसरी जातियों की तरह समानता में आ जायें। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों तथा आदिवासियों की भलाई के लिये जो मशीनरी काम कर रही है, उससे ऐमा महसूस होता है कि 10 वर्ष या 20 वर्ष की जो अवधि हम बढ़ाते चले आ रहे हैं, इस अवधि में भी यह काम पूरा हो सकेगा या नहीं। अगर यही स्थिति रही तो फिर सरकार को इसकी अवधि बढ़ाने के लिये भविष्य में फिर विचार करना पड़ेगा।

श्रीमन्, आप देखेंगे कि 1967 तक की अवधि में आपको यह मालूम होता है कि हरिजनों की आबादी 89.33 प्रतिशत ग्रामों में रहती है और 10.67 प्रतिशत शहरों में रहती

*For text of amendment, vide col. 4376 supra.

। इसी तरह से खेतिहर मजदूरों में हरिजन 34.5 प्रतिशत हैं, जबकि आदिवासी 19.7 प्रतिशत हैं तथा अन्य जातियों की संख्या 12.5 प्रतिशत है। इस चीज में साफ जाहिर होता है, ग्रामिणों में जो हरिजन रहते हैं, उसमें से अधिकतर खेतिहर मजदूर हैं और इन खेतिहर मजदूरों की हालत यनीय है। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को नौकरियों में संरक्षण दिया जाता है। मैं आपके सामने एक मिमाल देना चाहता हूँ। आज केन्द्रीय सरकार के मातहत हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को सुपरमीड किया जाता है और हरिजनों के हक को नहीं दिया जाता है। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के संरक्षण के हक को सुपरमीड किया जाता है। इस संबंध में होम मिनिस्टर्स से ताल्लुक एक केस है, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर्स के 2, शिक्षा विभाग के 10 और डिफेंस विभाग में 15 केसेज हैं और आर्मी में 31 केस हैं। इस तरह से कुल 51 केस सुपरमीड के हुए और यह आंकड़े मैं 1967 के दे रहा हूँ। जब सरकार खुद ही अपने विभागों में इस तरह से सुपरमीड की कार्यवाही कर रही है, तो इससे साफ जाहिर होता है कि उनके काम से संरक्षण इन लोगों के लिये और भी चाहिये; क्योंकि जहाँ पर बड़े बड़े अधिकारी बैठे हैं, उनके होते हुए भी इन लोगों को सुपरमीड कर दिया जाता है।

मैं आपकी सेवा में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि तीसरी क्लास की ग्रेड के लिये 1967-68 में शिड्यूल्ड वास्ट के लिये 437 और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये 174 सीटें रिजर्व थीं, लेकिन इनमें से 252 और 29 ही भरी गई हैं। इसी तरह से सेंट्रल और स्टेट्स में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की 9,617 सीटें रिजर्व थीं और इसमें से केवल 4,002 ही भरी गई हैं। अब आप ही बताइये कि 5 हजार सीटें इन लोगों की नहीं भरी जाती हैं, तो फिर इस रिजर्वेशन का क्या अर्थ हुआ। इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जिस चीज के लिये सरकार कानून बनाती है, उसको वही अच्छी तरह से अमल में नहीं लाती है। अगर इन चीजों पर अमल होता तो आज इस तरह की हालत

नहीं होती और अगर हम इन 10 वर्षों में 100 प्रतिशत लोगों को भी इस तरह की सुविधा देते, तो इतने लोग बेनौकरी के नहीं होते। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि 9 हजार में से केवल 1 हजारों को नौकरी मिली है और 5 हजार से ज्यादा व्यक्ति नहीं लिये जाते हैं।

मैं आपको बतलाना हूँ कि क्लास वन सर्विस में 1960-61 में जितने लोग थे और आज 1969 का वर्ष है, उसको आप देखें तो अच्छी तरह से मालूम हो जायेगा कि उन लोगों ने कितनी तरक्की की है। क्या आप लोगों ने इस ओर ध्यान दिया है। 1966 में इनका हिस्सा 1.2 प्रतिशत था और 1967 में कितना बढ़ गया। वह केवल 1.9 ही बढ़ा। यह जो ग्रेड 2 है वह 2.5 से बढ़ कर 3 हो गया और तीसरी ग्रेड की सर्विस, वह 7.2 से बढ़ कर 9 हो गई। इसी तरह से चौथे ग्रेड की सर्विस में 17.2 से बढ़ कर 18.2 हो गई। यानी इस प्रकार से इन लोगों को कितनी सहूलियतें मिलीं और यह चीज मैं आज आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ।

इतना ही नहीं 1961 में 1.4 पद हरिजनों को मिले और 1962-63 में घट कर 1.3 हो गये। यह सब चीज एम्पलाइमेंट एक्सचेंज की रिकार्ड से मालूम पड़ता है कि 1967 के अंत में अनएम्पलाइड कितने रजिस्टर्ड थे। एम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंज के आंकड़ों से विदित होता है कि 1967 के अंत में 55,968 पढ़े लिखे हरिजन नौकरी की तालाश में थे। इन पढ़े लिखे हरिजनों में डाक्टर और इंजीनियर सब तरह के लोग शामिल हैं। इसलिये मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इन लोगों की अनएम्पलाइड में बढ़ाने के बजाय उन्हें हर तरह का संरक्षण देने की कोशिश करें ताकि वे हर क्षेत्र में प्रगति कर सकें। आप इन लोगों को पार्लियामेंट में और विधान सभाओं में ज्यादा से ज्यादा सीटों का संरक्षण दें। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करूंगा कि आप इन लोगों को आर्थिक क्षेत्र में भी तरह-तरह के संरक्षण दें और इस बारे में आपको विचार करना चाहिये।

[श्री महावीर दास]

आप देखेंगे कि पार्लियामेंट और प्रान्तों की असेम्बलियों में इन लोगों के लिये संरक्षण बढ़ा दिया गया है, लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि लोक सभा में 521 सीटें हैं और इन सीटों में से केवल 77 हरिजन हैं और 37 शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के हैं। इसी तरह से राज्य सभा में 240 सीटें हैं और यहाँ पर हरिजनों की संख्या 13 और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स वालों की संख्या केवल 9 है। अगर प्रपोज़नेटली भी देखा जाय तो उनकी संख्या यानी शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की 23 होनी चाहिये और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स वालों की 15 होनी चाहिये। इससे यह पता चलता है कि जहाँ पर इन लोगों को संरक्षण दिया हुआ है, वहाँ पर भी इन लोगों की कोई खास प्रगति नहीं हुई है। जहाँ संरक्षण है और जहाँ संरक्षण नहीं है वहाँ के फिगरस देखिए। असेम्बलीज की हालत देखिये, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में 3,563 सीटें हैं, जिनमें हरिजन 503 हैं, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स 262 हैं किन्तु विधान परिषदों में, लेजिस्लेटिव कौंसिल में समूचे हिन्दुस्तान में हरिजन 17 हैं और आदिवासी सिर्फ 9। यह मिद्ध करता है की पोलिटिकल संरक्षण जहाँ दिया गया है वहाँ वे आते हैं, जहाँ पोलिटिकल संरक्षण नहीं दिया गया है वहाँ वे कम आते हैं।

मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एजुकेशन के सम्बन्ध में दिल्ली की हालत देखिये। हरिजनों के लिये कहा जाता है, शोर मचाया जाता है कि उनके लिये निशुल्क शिक्षा है। मैं देखता हूँ कि हरिजनों से कालेजों में फीस ली जाती है। करोड़ीमल कालेज, सनातन धर्म कालेज, हस्तिनापुर कालेज, विसेन्स इन्द्रप्रस्थ कालेज, इनमें हरिजनों से पूरी फीस वसूल की जाती है। काश्मीर में सभी जातियों के लिये निशुल्क शिक्षा है, यहाँ हरिजनों के लिये कम से कम कालेज तक में तो निशुल्क शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा कि स्कालरशिप देने में वे जो भी विचार करें। लेकिन कम से कम कालेज तक पढ़ने में हरिजनों और लड़कियों की शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध तो करें।

मैं आपका अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता, मैं आपके द्वारा यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि मैं नहीं चाहता कि केवल हरिजनों को ही रिजर्वेशन दिया जाय। मैं कहता हूँ कि एक-एक व्यक्ति के लिये, सच्ची जनता के लिये निशुल्क शिक्षा हो, निशुल्क न्याय हो, निशुल्क चिकित्सा हो, कोई डाइरेक्ट कर न हो, कोई बेकार न हो। मेरा उद्देश्य यही है। डेमोक्रेसी की सफलता इसी से नापी जायगी। इसके लिये मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ। लेकिन जो प्रबन्ध दबी हुई कम्युनिटी के लिये किया जा रहा है, उसको देखते हुए मैं सोचना हूँ कि हमारी जनता कैसे आगे बढ़ेगी। सरकार का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ कि वह यह बिल लाई, लेकिन साथ-साथ निवेदन करूँगा कि आर्थिक संरक्षण के लिये भी सरकार आगे कदम बढ़ाये।

SHRI S. N. MISHRA Mr Vice-Chairman, I rise to support this motion. In fact, I am sorry that the Government has woken up to the necessity of bringing forward this measure before the House so late for we are now confronted with a situation in which this Bill will not have the ratification by the majority of the State Assemblies by the Republic Day, 1970. The Government should have taken steps earlier so that all the processes for formal incorporation into the Constitution, of the provisions of the Bill, that is the substance of the Bill, could have been completed by the Republic Day next year. So this is a serious lapse on the part of the Government which cannot escape the attention of this honourable House.

Mr Vice-Chairman, my party support this Bill as a national duty. But why has it become a duty, after all? It has become a duty in the wake of the serious failure on our part to stand by certain sections of our society. Therefore, this is not, to my mind, an act of commiseration with certain sections of our society but, in fact, it is an act of self-pity so far as the leader of public opinion in this country are concerned. I repeat this is not an act of commiseration; it is a confession of national guilt. So let me hope that next time, after ten years, we do not feel the necessity of repeating this duty because of the repeated failures to stand by certain sections of our population. The habitual offender, Mr Vice-Chairman, does not receive the sympathy of any

person and if the society remains a habitual offender in this respect, it will not deserve the sympathy of anyone again.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a great tragedy that the society is facing. That this should be so when the Centenary year of the birth anniversary of the Father of the Nation is being celebrated is sad indeed ! It is our shame that we are not able to announce to the world that we have been able to bring up all sections of the society to the level of political equality. This is indeed a matter of great national sin.

Mahatma Gandhi's birth a hundred years ago represented a challenge. That was a challenge against injustice. That was a challenge against religious malpractices and superstitions. But even after hundred years, if we are not going to assert the vitality of this nation, if we are not able to announce to the world, after the birth of that challenge a hundred years ago, that we have been able to bring up all sections of the society to the level of political equality, it is a great tragedy, so far as I see it.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this nation is in a peculiar state at the present moment. We cannot continue in this state for long. With one foot on the rocket and another on the donkey the society cannot exist; the political structure of this country can not continue with any amount of stability for long. We have hitched our wagon to the highest pole star, that is, democracy that is we have one foot on the rocket or on the moon and another in the abyss of superstition, religious malpractices, economic squalor and misery. This state of affairs cannot endure for long. So this honourable House will have to make it clear to itself and to the nation that this has to be ended after ten years. I must sound a note of warning that we would not be permitted any repetition of this performance on the floor of this House. There would be a social revolution in this country if conditions are not created to bring a radical transformation in the lives of a vast section of our population.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, having said that May I also say that the speech of the honorable Minister of State was not her speech but the speech of the Government ? This speech was a great disappointment to me. What was required was an assessment of the conditions which have come in the way of the realisation of the objective so that there was no need for this reservation.

I am quite confident in my mind that particularly the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes do not want to be in a permanent state of weakness so as to deserve this reservation; they do not like it at all. They would like their economic and social conditions to be built up in such a way that they are able to claim absolute equality with other. But what I find is that there was not assessment of the factors which are coming in the way of the wishes of the Constitution-makers and, may I say, of the wishes of the society as a whole. We wanted an analysis of those factors which have come in the way of the realisation of our objectives. Were the factors social? Then what are those factors and how does the Government propose to overcome those social factors? Can the Government do anything in this matter? Or would the Government try to mobilise public opinion or the opinion of the leaders of public opinion in that respect? On that the Government has absolutely nothing to say. Were the factors economic? Then to what extent progress has been made in order to overcome the economic barriers to the realisation of these objectives? There also the Government has not been able to say anything. Similarly, there has been no analysis of the political factors which have come in the way of realisation of these objectives. Therefore, so far as the future is concerned, we are not able to know whether there is a phased, practical programme to overcome these factors to prevent these factors from coming in the way of realisation of these national objectives, there is no assurance of that kind. Therefore, I would say that the Government's stand is a great disappointment. We would like to know clearly what the plan of the Government is.

Now, Sir, in the next ten years, as I see it, if the Government goes at a sedate trot when events have been moving at a gallop then this objective is not going to be full filled, and probably we would require this provision to be permanently in the Constitution. There can be no getting away from this. The Government must give a clear, convincing assurance that it is going to take steps so that after 10 year it does not become necessary at all to come up with this. It is not that we grudge any reasonable facility that must be given to these sections of the population. We would, in fact, want them to be strengthened politically, economically and socially in such a way that they do not need it at all. And that is also their wish, that is also their desire. But there we

[Shri S N Mishra]

find that the Government seems to be moving in the old rut and it has nothing new, fresh and challenging, to say in this respect. It has got no plan at all.

Now, Sir, we have got an economic plan and we have got a Planning Commission. I should think that the greatest thing lacking in our country at the present moment is that there is no social plan and no sociological analysis of the economic development that are taking place in this country. It is absolutely necessary that like the Planning Commission, there should be a Social Commission or a Commission which would take into account in an integrated way the social developments that are taking place in the country and the impact they are making on the lives of the different sections of the society. It does appear to me that in spite of the considerable economic progress that we have made, this is one thing which has been lacking.

Now, Mr Vice-Chairman, as I see it there can be two things which can be greatly helpful in this respect. The first thing is that the light of education must reach every hut and hovel. Progress is being made in this regard. But at the moment, if the population of the Scheduled Castes and that would be true of the Scheduled Tribes also, when I am speaking of one section, it is only by way of illustration that I am doing it—would be of the order of 11 crores, I am speaking from memory, the number of families of the Scheduled Castes would be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores. I would like to know how many families have got the light of learning and education by this time? There are no statistics. So far as the Government is concerned, it has not been able to show us any statistics. But if I were to make a rough guess, probably by this time, after independence, education might have been made available to about 50 lakh families. Now, if that is so, then two crores of families would require the facility of education being made available to them. And if the programme of the Government is to make available education to at least 50 per cent of them, then during the course of the next 10 years, we should have a programme for making education available to at least one crore of families. That would require, Mr Vice-Chairman,—I would require only three minutes more to complete my point—at least one million families to receive education every year. Then in the course of the next 10 years, we can cover at least one crore of families. If that is done then probably their economic uplift also will have been brought about

because, to my mind, there is no other effective way of distributing income except through employment opportunities at higher levels of skill and incomes. That is the only way, as far as I see. We do not have land in abundance which can be made available to them. We do not have other forms of property which can be made available to them. So, this is the only effective way of distributing income and we really do not know whether the Government has a programme of that kind or not.

The second thing, Mr Vice-Chairman is that we always make a kind of 'Qutab Minar' approach. This is essentially a problem of national integration and this process, to my mind, in order to be effective must begin at the grassroot level, i.e. the panchayat level. What does the Government propose to do to bring this about the grassroot level so that discrimination or for that matter any form of segregation is removed and national integration is brought about? I would suggest that during the course of a year, there should be a week celebrated by every panchayat so that all sections of the society mix together and bring about an atmosphere of social integration. That also must be done. Probably it is through these functions at the grassroot level—many people sitting together, and so on—that we can bring this about.

I have spoken about the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. One word more about the Anglo-Indian community. I must tell you that it does seem to me that that community deserves nomination more than any others because they have not misused their nomination in the other House. They have not joined any party. We may have to come forward with a Bill to abolish the nomination by the President in this House. Now, it might sound somewhat rude on my part to suggest it. But considering the way in which nomination is being misused—and it becomes a backdoor method of getting persons in the ruling party—we will have to come forward with a Bill for the abolition of nomination here. But this section of the community, the Anglo-Indian community, which has a wonderful record of service to the country in times of the greatest stresses and strains and during conflicts with other countries, a community which has not misused the trust which has been reposed in them through nomination, very legitimately deserves this nomination. Again, this is not by way of sympathy for them, they have even earned it by their record of

service, and selfless service at that. So, I heartily support this motion and I think the entire House would support this motion with one voice.

SHRI K S CHAVDA Sir, on a point of procedure. How much time has been allotted to this Bill? Also, I would like to know whether it will be allotted party-wise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D THENGARI) The procedure is normal. Only one thing that I should like to ascertain from the House is, to-day we have taken it up rather late and it may not be possible for us to complete it to-day. So, is it the pleasure of the House that we sit one hour longer to-day?

HON MEMBERS No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D THENGARI) Mr Vero

SHRI M VERO (Nagaland)
M Vice-Chairman the Constitution's (Twenty-third Amendment) Bill which is before the House is really a welcome step in the sense that the extended provision will help the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people to come up to the level of the other communities in the country. The intention of the framers of the Constitution was to help these communities which were neglected for centuries to improve their economic and social standards so that justice and equality could be secured in the land.

I think the past experience has told us that we should take positive steps to help these people so that after the expiry of the present period of extension they will be in a position to work shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the people in all spheres. No self-respecting people will like to call themselves Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or backward classes. But due to the economic, educational and social conditions they have to push themselves into this category, and I am sure the whole country will sympathise with them. I would like to point out that mere inclusion of this provision will in no way help these people unless the Government takes up this matter in hand very seriously, honestly and sincerely. The appointment of various committees or sub-committees will not serve any purpose unless their needs and requirements are implemented in the coming period of extension.

I would also like to say something about the Anglo-Indians. They are a dutiful people. They are more loyal to the country than most of us. They are law-abiding people. Their courage and efficiency in the field of the Armed Forces, the Air Force and the Navy should not only be appreciated, but their needs and requirements in the field of education and employment should be recognised with sympathy as far as possible.

I am supporting this Bill with reservations because the report of the Joint Committee under the chairmanship of Mr Anil Chanda suffers from a serious defect. Here in the recommendation they have taken religion as the criterion for determining the scheduled tribes. The report says—"No person who has given up the tribal faith and has embraced Christianity and Islam should be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Tribes."

This is really a very dangerous suggestion because it is against the fundamental right in regard to the freedom of religion. I do not understand why they have particularly mentioned about Christianity and Islam. What is wrong with Christianity and Islam in our country? What will happen if a Christian or a Muslim embraces Hinduism? Will he or she be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes? Is it not an indirect pressure on the people not to embrace any religion except Hinduism? Is it not an infringement of the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of India? India is after all a secular State in which all religions have got an equal place and no religion is superior to another. Secularism is the only link or the only cementing factor which binds together the different communities in the country, and if this link is broken, there will be serious consequences affecting the unity and solidarity of India. Besides this I would like to remind the House that the tribes in the north-eastern region are mostly Christians. In the hills of Assam and Nagaland the people are predominantly Christian. Honourable Members are aware that the people in the eastern region are still restive and there are forces which work for secession from the Indian Union. And at this stage if we make religion, either of Christianity or of Islam, the criterion for determining a member of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or otherwise there will be serious political repercussions, especially in my State, Nagaland. This is a discrimination which I do not accept.

[Shri M. Vero]

Sir, in conclusion I would like to remind you that the people of Nagaland have taken a bold step even in this Bill by not asking for any reservation in the State Legislature or in Parliament except the special provisions for development in matters of appointment, recruitment, education and other social facilities because they require some time to come up to the level of other sections of the people in the country. And therefore, it is imperative that the Naga race has to be included in this provision for another ten years. The Nagas have shown in the past initiative and progressive lead in politics as well as in the social reformation of the other hill tribes in the country, and I hope that after this ten-year period the Nagas will be able to work with other sections of the people hand in hand and on an equal footing. I have great confidence in my people that they will come forward after the expiry of this period, that they no longer require such special treatment, but that on the other hand, they will be able to work and contribute all they have in the interests of the country, in the interests of the other backward people in the country. In order to achieve this objective, the Nagas require your goodwill, sympathy and help during this period.

With these few words I conclude.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स को पार्लियामेंट और असेम्बलियों में प्रतिनिधित्व को दस वर्ष तक बढ़ाये जाने के प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। यह एक दुख का विषय है कि रिजर्वेशन जिन कारणों से शुरू हुआ, इन बीस वर्षों के बाद भी उन परिस्थितियों में अंतर नहीं आया। सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक परिस्थितियाँ यहाँ सीधे इन्वाल्ड नहीं हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र काफी बड़ा है और उस सारी चीज को हम समान स्थिति में समाज के स्तर तक ला मने यह देश के सामने बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है जिसको पूरा करना पड़ेगा। लेकिन यह विषय पार्लियामेंट और असेम्बलीज की सीटों को सुरक्षित रखने तक सीमित है और यह तथ्यों पर आधारित है कि शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स और हरिजन लोगों को हम सब लोगों के समकक्ष राजनैतिक प्रतिनिधित्व

के रूप में खड़ा नहीं कर सके। आज भी अधिकांश शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स के व्यक्तियों को चुनाव जीतने का अवसर मिलता है, केवल रिजर्व सीट्स से। मैं उन सारी दलीलों की सराहना करता हूँ और यहाँ मैं अपने दिल भारतीय जन संघ का भी उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन जिन स्टेट्स पर शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को खड़ा करने का हमको गौरव प्राप्त है उन उन सीटों को जीतने का भी असवर हमें मिला है।

श्री बी० डी० खोबरागड़े (महाराष्ट्र) : कहां से जीतने का अवसर मिला है।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : श्री राम और शिव शर्मा दो एम० एल० ए० चुन कर आये हैं।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : पीताम्बर दास जी मुझे सबस्टेन्शियेट कर रहे हैं, दो एम० एल० ए० उत्तर प्रदेश में जीत कर आये हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि अभी भी शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को संरक्षण देने की आवश्यकता है ताकि उनका प्रतिनिधित्व विधान सभाओं में और लोक सभा में ठीक प्रकार से हो सके। मैं उन सब चीजों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, नौकरियों के क्षेत्र में, उनकी आजीविका के साधन ठीक प्रकार से उपलब्ध हो, पड़ती भूमि उनमें बाँटी जाये, जितने भी इरिगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उनके अंदर सिंचाई की जाने वाली भूमि के वितरण में शिङ्चूल्ड कास्ट और शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को प्राथमिकता मिले और हम हर प्रकार से विशेष कर शिङ्चूल्ड ट्राइब्स के वह लोग जो कि सर्वसाधारण समाज से अभी तक आइसोलेशन फील करते हैं, ऐसे मार्ग अपनाएँ जिससे उनका वह आइसोलेशन समाप्त हो। आइसोलेशन शिक्षा के माध्यम में समाप्त होगा नौकरी के माध्यम में समाप्त होगा, वह आइसोलेशन उनके लिये उद्योग और छोटे छोटे नये खोल करके और गावों में ग्रामीण आधार पर प्रारम्भ करने से होगा तथा सब को साथ लेने में यह आइसोलेशन समाप्त होगा। इस

तरह का आइसोलेज न ट्राइबल्स के लिये समाप्त होना नितान्त आवश्यक है। एक बार अगर यह आइसोलेशन समाप्त हो जाता है तो वे मनुष्य की विशेषताओं से परिचित हो जाते हैं, मानव धर्म से परिचित हो जाते हैं। यह स्वाभाविक है। मुझे अफसोस है कि अब भी इस संकशन को विशेष रूप से संरक्षण देने की आवश्यकता पड़ रही है। उन्हें हमें आर्थिक, शैक्षणिक, सामाजिक, सरकारी नौकरियों और काम धंधों में लगाने की व्यवस्था करनी होगी और जिन तरह से इम शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट श्रेणी के लोगों के लिए हर तरह से आज चिन्ता करते हैं उसी तरह से इन लोगों की भी हमें चिन्ता करनी पड़ेगी। लेकिन शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों के अन्दर छूआछूत का अभिशाप और ट्राइबल्स वालों के लिए प्रभक्ता का अभिशाप, अगर ये दोनों चीजें समाप्त कर दें तो इस देश में हम एक अच्छी जाग्रती पैदा कर सकते हैं और इन लोगों का उत्थान कर सकते हैं। मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि अपने देश की ऐतिहासिक परम्परा के आधार पर अपने देश का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा बैकवर्ड है, उसको हम आज आर्थिक दृष्टि से ऊंचा नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। आज हमें इन लोगों की चिन्ता करनी होगी और सरकार को इस बात की जिम्मेदारी लेनी होगी विशेषकर सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट द्वारा इन लोगों के लिए जो आर्थिक दृष्टि से, सामाजिक दृष्टि से, शैक्षणिक दृष्टि से, जो साधारण लोगों के लिए मुकाबले में पीछे है, उन्हें भी और लोगों के समकक्ष लाना होगा। उन्हें तब तक सहायता देते चले जाय जब तक वे समान समाज के आधार के साथ एक रूप लेकर सब अवसरों का समान रूप से उपयोग करने के अधिकारी नहीं बन जाते हैं। इसलिए हमें तब तक उनकी मदद करनी चाहिये जब तक वे सब के समकक्ष नहीं आ जाते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि केवल सामाजिक स्तर पर ही नहीं बल्कि राजनीतिक स्तर पर भी जो लोग पिछड़े हुए हैं उन्हें हमें राजनीतिक सुविधा देनी चाहिये और जब तक हम उन्हें इस तरह का संरक्षण नहीं देंगे तब तक वे प्रगति नहीं कर सकेंगे। पर रिजर्वेशन वैसेट डेन्टरस्टेन बने इस बात की

सुविधा प्राप्त करते हुए हम वस्तुस्थिति की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं। वस्तुस्थिति आज यह मांग करती है कि 10 वर्ष का समय कम से कम उनके लिए और दिया जाये और इस 10 वर्ष में देश के अन्दर जो भी तक सरकारी स्तर पर, सामाजिक स्तर पर उनके लिए वृद्धियाँ बनी हुई हैं उन वृद्धियों को हम सब को मिलकर चाहे गवर्नमेंट लेवल पर हो या नान-गवर्नमेंट लेवल पर हो, सामुहिक रूप से प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि 10 साल के बाद इस तरह की स्थिति कायम न रहे ताकि उन्हें फिर से राजनीतिक संरक्षण देने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हो। इसलिए स्वाभाविक है और मैं इस सबध में सभी राजनीतिक दलों से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि केवल सुरक्षिता सीटों पर ही नहीं बल्कि जो बाकी जनरल सीटें हैं उनमें भी इन लोगों को लाने के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा अवसर दिया जाना चाहिये। हर पार्टी का इस तरह का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइबल्स और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की अपनी अपनी पार्टी की ओरसे उम्मीदवार खड़ा किया जाय और इस तरह से उन्हें संसद तथा विधान सभाओं में सदस्य के रूप में लाया जाय।

लेकिन इस बिल का एक भाग अँग्लो इंडियन के लिए भी है। अँग्लो इंडियनो की जो डेफिनिशन कास्टीट्यूशन के आर्टिकल 366 के सबक्लॉज (2) में दी हुई है वह इस तरह से है।

“An Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent, but is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.”

मैं मान सकता हूँ कि जब तक अंग्रेजी का शासन अपने यहां पर था तो इस बात का जोड़ने की जरूरत थी। ‘Whose father was of European descent’ यह बात तो इस परिभाषा में समझ में आ सकती है। लेकिन अंग्रेजों का शासनकाल इस देश में 100 साल से भी अधिक समय तक

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

चला और ऐसे लोग अंग्रेजी शासन काल में सुविधा प्राप्त करते रहे। एंग्लोइंडियन लोग उस समय साधारण समाज में अलग गिने जाते थे, ऊँचे गिने जाते थे, नौकरियों के मामलों में और दूसरी चीजों के मामलों में उन्हें प्रिफरेंस दिया जाता था। जब 1951 में संविधान को स्वीकार करना पड़ा तो उस समय यह जान-बूझकर किया गया था और कहा गया था—

It will be difficult for these people to abandon those claims or those concessions. That may not be proper at present. It is better we give them time for adjustment.

इस मामले में सरदार पटेल ने ये शब्द कहे थे और जब एक्सटेंशन की बात चाही गई थी तब कहे थे। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बुनियाद में कुछ रीजनिबिलिटी थी। क्योंकि अंग्रेज इस देश को छोड़ चुके थे पर उनके शासनकाल में एंग्लोइंडियनों को जिस प्रकार की सुविधा मिली थी, जिन परिस्थितियों में वे थे, उसमें इस सारी चीज को एडजस्ट करना था और सब प्राबल्स के लिए हमारा इसी तरह का एप्रोच भी था। हम एडजस्टमेंट करने के लिए और उन्हें समय देने के लिए तैयार थे ताकि बदली हुई परिस्थिति में देश के सर्व साधारण समाज के साथ वे भी अपने आप को अच्छी तरह से तथा आसानी के साथ घुल मिला लें तथा उनके दिमाग में इस तरह की कोई भावना पैदा न होने पावे कि उनके साथ किसी तरह की कोई हार्ड-शिप की जा रही है या कोई डिस्क्रिमिनेशन किया जा रहा है। हमने 10 साल तक ही नहीं बल्कि 20 साल तक यह चीज की।

मैं यह तो स्वीकार करता हूँ क्योंकि यह 20 साल का एक्सटेंशन एक कामन आर्टिकल में दिया गया है। शिड्यूल्डकास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब के लिए एक सब क्लाज और सब क्लाज 'बी' में है। लेकिन ओरीजिनली एंग्लो-इंडियनों के लिए रिजर्वेशन दिया जाये इसके लिए अलग आर्टिकल है। शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स, शिड्यूल्डकाल्ट और एंग्लो इंडियनों

के लिए डिफरेंट 3 आर्टिकल्स है। इन तीनों आर्टिकलों में एक्सटेंशन आफ ट्राइब्स को एक आर्टिकल में कवर टुगेदर कर दिया गया है। हालांकि उनमें भी 'ए' और 'बी' है। तो मला मिनिस्टर माहब के सामने एक बात यह लाना चाहूंगा कि चूँकि यह प्राविजन कांस्टीट्यूशन में एक साथ है और कांस्टीट्यूशन में यह 20 साल वाला शब्दावली, दोनों क्लाज एक साथ लिखे हुए हैं और केवल इस आरग्यूमेंट को वे एंग्लो इंडियनों के लिए 20 साल के समय को 30 साल तक लागू करने के लिए न ले। मेरा कहना है कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए 20 वर्ष की बजाय 30 वर्ष कर लें, जो कि 334 (9) में है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि एंग्लो इंडियनों के लिए 20 साल का समय ज्यादा हो गया है। अब भी जिनके फादर्स योरोपियन हैं, तब भी वे उस परिस्थिति में नहीं रहते हैं क्योंकि आज इन्टरकास्ट मैरिज और इन्टरनेशनल मैरिज चलती है फिर भी एंग्लोइंडियनों ने अपनी विशेषता बनाई रखी हुई है। इस प्रकार यहाँ के लोगों में से एक मैक्शन को बनाए रखना तथा उनको पोलिटिकल संरक्षण देना इसको अब जरूरत नहीं है। आप उन लोगों को इस तरह का प्रोटेक्शन दे जिससे यह महसूस हो कि वे साधारण समाज से अलग हैं सूपीरियर हैं, सीनियर हैं इस तरहकी कोई भावना उनके मन में लाने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि वे लोग भी अपनी मांग को सीनियर या सूपीरियर होने के आधार पर नहीं मांगेंगे। लेकिन यह बात सच है कि इस सैक्शन में भी बैकवर्डनेस है और यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि अपने समाज के एक बहुत बड़े हिस्से में बैकवर्डनेस है। अगर एंग्लो इंडियनों में भी बैकवर्डनेस है तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी भी देश पर है, स्टेटों के ऊपर है और इस चीज की जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार को भी निभानी चाहिये।

यह वे स्वयं स्वीकार करते हैं कि अनटचेबिल नहीं होने के कारण, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट में वे नहीं आ सकते और इस लिए उस प्रकार की प्रिविलेजेज डिमांड नहीं कर सकते। उनमें ट्राइबल कैरेक्टरिस्टिक नहीं हैं। एंग्लो-इंडियन्स के नाते

जीवन को कुछ विशेषताएं होंगी। आज हिन्दु-स्तान के कामन मेन के घर में भी वहीं रीति-रिवाज, उसी प्रकार की जीवन-पद्धति मिलेगी। जो अंग्लो-इंडियन्स के घर में मिलता है, वही शुद्ध हिन्दुओं के घरों में, क्रिश्चियनों के घरों में मिलता है। इसलिये अब कुछ विशेषता की जरूरत नहीं है। अब कुछ अलग से डिमांडेशन की जरूरत नहीं है। अंग्लो-इंडियन्स के सम्बन्ध में जो प्रावीजन्स है अब उन्हें बनाए रखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यह बात मैं मानता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति को, गवर्नर को हमने परमीशन दी है कि वे चाहे तो एपाइन्ट करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि यह विलयरली ले-डाउन करें कि अब इस चीज की जरूरत नहीं है। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो इस क्लॉज में अंग्लो-इंडियन्स के लेनिस्लेचर और पार्लियामेंट में रिजर्वेशन और नामिनेशन का समावेश है, जिसे 20 साल से 30 साल किया जा रहा है, उसे न रखा जाय। उनमें से जो अच्छे लोग हैं, जो राजनीतिक दृष्टि से परिपक्व हैं, वे समाज के साधारण व्यक्तियों के साथ पार्लियामेंट का चुनाव लड़कर, विधान सभाओं का चुनाव लड़कर नेचुरल कोर्स में 1-2 नहीं, 2 से जितनी ज्यादा संख्या में वे डिजिट करते हैं पीपुल्स कान्फीडेंस उस संख्या में वे देग की संसद में, विधान सभाओं में आ सकते हैं। इस लिये मैं इस बात पर आग्रह करना चाहूँगा कि ला मिनिस्ट्री इस बात को फिर से एग्जामिन करे। जहां शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स में यह नेसेसिटी आफ फैक्ट है वहां अंग्लो-इंडियन्स के साथ ऐसा नहीं है। इस कारण इन दोनों के बीच एक लाइन ड्रा करते हुए जहां मैं शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट एंड ट्राइब्स के लिये समर्थन करता हूँ, वहां असेम्बली और पार्लियामेंट में अंग्लो-इंडियन्स के नामिनेशन के इस एक्सटेंशन का मैं विरोध करता हूँ। इसी रिजर्वेशन के साथ इप बिल पर मैं अपने विचार व्यक्त करता हूँ।

SHRI E. M. SANGMA (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to say something on this very important matter. First of all I would like to express my grati-

tude to the Government for extending the period of this reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes by 10 years more. Mr. Vice-Chairman, on this subject some of our friends have spoken and I would also like to say something which I feel is essential and important.

During these 20 years when the seats were reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the intention of the Government was quite noble, to improve the conditions of these people, economically, socially and educationally. But my personal experience shows that even after these 20 years the condition of these people remains as it was; the progress is very slow and negligible. So my humble request to the Government and this august House is that they still need some special attention and care from the Government, not only at the Central Government's level but also at the State Governments' level and that care and attention should be bestowed on them. That is my humble request to the Minister in charge of the Department of Social Welfare.

Then although this reservation is made for the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes in the matter of seats for the Legislatures and Parliament, the implementation part of it is not very satisfactory; it is rather disappointing. Therefore I would request the Minister in charge of the Department of Social Welfare that a complete assessment must be made in this respect. Otherwise mere reservation of certain seat for these people without looking after their welfare in the various fields will have no meaning. Yes, it is very good that we, the Scheduled Tribe and the Scheduled Caste people, can have representation and can have reserved seats in the State Legislatures and in Parliament and we can have some voice here as well as in the State Legislatures. But whatever the intention of the Government, which is quite noble, must be promptly and honestly implemented. That is my humble request to the Government and to all those concerned with it.

I am very glad to find that many of the Members who have spoken in regard to this matter have unanimously supported this matter with regard to reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But in the matter of implementation I do not know whether during this period of 10 years the condition of these people can be brought up to the same level as that of the people who have much more advanced. Mr. Misra was saying that after

[Shri E. M. Sangma]

10 years there must be a full-stop and there should be no more reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But my genuine doubt is that even during the next ten years they will not be able to come up to the required level and this kind of reservation will still be required, because they have remained as down trodden people for centuries together and they have not been looked after properly by the Government and they have been kept somewhere uncared for and unattended to. So within these 30 years *i.e.* 20 years which have already elapsed and the coming 10 years, I very much doubt whether our condition can improve to the extent expected by our friends. So my humble request to the Government is that proper assessment must be made about the progress these people have made so far and the progress which they are likely to make during another 10 years, and, if necessary, some extension must be given even after the 10 year period is over.

I am glad that Anglo-Indians have got some representation by way of nomination; they are having nomination facilities and I support their nomination.

Now another thing is about Nagaland. There is a mention about the Nagaland people in the Bill. They were there 4 P.M. in the tribal areas of Assam previously. But when they were out from the tribal areas of Assam, no doubt they became politically excluded. I am very grateful and thankful to the Government that these people have been brought back again to have the reserved seats for ten years more. I would like to remind the Government about one point which my friend, Mr. Vero, from Nagaland, referred to, namely that the basis for the determination of people as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for purposes of inclusion or exclusion in and from the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should not be based on religion.

With these words I conclude and I thank the Government once again.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have great pleasure in supporting this Bill because it seeks to extend the electoral concessions and privileges that have been granted by the Constitution to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Anglo-Indians. It is not merely on account of their backwardness, economic and social backwardness, that these privileges have been given, but also because

they are a minority, and such a helpless minority on account of their economic backwardness, on account of their educational backwardness, that they have to be given this special privilege. The Anglo-Indians especially are a microscopic minority, not more than about thirty or forty thousand but in education, in the service of the country both in the army and in the civil service, and also by their services in Parliament, as we have seen in the Lok Sabha, they deserve the special treatment, and they deserve the continuation of this treatment. For the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes this electoral privilege has been given both on account of their social backwardness and their economic backwardness, and on account of their position as minorities who cannot through their own strength help themselves to play a vigorous part in the political life of the country. And I support this concession for minorities because the worth of any democracy is tested by the position of security, by the position of social status, by the political influence they are able to exert upon the Government of the country. There is an old cruel Liberal saying that minorities must suffer. It was all very well in the West where minorities are political minorities. But in our country our minorities are social and religious so that they are permanent minorities. In the West the minority of one day may become the majority of tomorrow. So the Liberals could say that the minorities must suffer. But in our country, where the minorities are permanent because they are based upon religion and upon social status, the minorities have to get special protection. But does a vote give special treatment to these minorities? The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have been enjoying this privilege for the past twenty years. No doubt there has been a considerable number of their representatives in Parliament and in State Legislatures. In the Panchayats also they have found their way. But what is their influence? What is the pressure that they are able to exert upon the majorities, upon the ruling party for instance? In the Panchayats we know that, although they have the vote and they have equal rights with other members of the village, although they get elected, it is the castes, the higher castes that possess the majority. Report after report on Panchayats shows that the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes do not get the fair and square deal they are entitled to. In the schools, in technical education, in all these respects they have been lagging behind in spite of the voting strength that has been given them. And what is

the record of Government in regard to raising of the social and economic condition of these backward classes ? According to the Fourth Five-Year Plan (Draft, in the past eighteen years about Rs. 277 crores have been spent on the social, the educational and the economic upliftment of these backward classes, Rs. 100 crores for the Scheduled Castes, Rs. 150 crores for the Scheduled Tribes and Rs. 27 crores for other backward classes. This works out to about Rs. 27/- per head for five years. Now is it possible to effect any considerable progress in the educational and economic condition of these backward classes with such a miserable allotment of Rs. 117 crores on education, Rs. 91 crores on economic development and Rs. 69 crores on health and housing ? With this miserable allotment what can be done ? All that can be done is to make the condition of these backward classes slightly better than it has been before. There is a striking paragraph in the Fourth Five-Year Plan report (Outline) which gives the key to the slow snail-like progress that has been the lot of these classes. In the matter of tribal development blocks the report says :

“ For the last two years, tribal development blocks have not obtained their normal allotment of funds on account of financial constraints. The schemes of development undertaken in these blocks through special allocations have not been properly integrated with the general development plans of the region. These were also not related to the special problems of the communities living in the area. In the sphere of education, the incidence of stagnation and wastage has been high, particularly at the primary and secondary stages. Enrolment in technical and professional courses has been low. Schemes of economic development have tended to rely on standardised patterns. They have not been co-ordinated properly with other programmes of development in the district. ”

“ The functioning of the tribal research institutes has not been sufficiently development oriented. Improvement in working and living conditions of those in unclean occupations has been slow. The development of cooperatives has been rather uneven. There have also been weaknesses in the implementation of legislative and executive measures for the protection of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. ”

Whether we take literacy or housing or any other sphere of development we find

that the progress in regard to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is miserably slow. Therefore, if we are to seek an end to the continuation of these special voting rights and privileges, Government should see to it that the social and economic condition of these backward classes is raised so high that they can depend upon themselves at voting time in order to defend their own rights and their position in the political life of the country. Government having failed miserably, it is necessary that the Government should invite and welcome voluntary work and service among these people. And these voluntary organisations should be liberal and cosmopolitan. Anyone coming from any country, foreign missionaries and even other lay people working for the amelioration of the social and economic condition of these people should be encouraged and not discouraged. These people should not be hurried out of the country or out of the districts in which they are working on account of all sorts of extraneous reasons. Voluntary work and service by other organisations should also be encouraged. Fortunately there are other organisations in the field like the Ramakrishna Mission which has followed closely upon the footsteps of Christian missionaries. Other organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha and others have also to be invited and they should divide the field among themselves and not quarrel with each other in regard to any particular location or any particular item of social work. The field is wide enough for all to serve for the improvement of the lot of those miserable people. The work of no one, wherever they may come from, whatever they may be able to organise, should be resented by any organisation in the field, least of all by the Government which has failed very miserably in their record of work and service for these backward people. As I said, voting right has also failed. We have seen how it has failed in raising the political, social and economic condition of these people. The votes of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are sought by the ruling party and by other parties also. Unfortunately the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been misled into voting for the ruling party for the past twenty years. Whatever it is, it is a shield in their hands and without that they would have been even more helpless than they are at present. Although this vote is not an adequate shield for them, it is something and that is why I welcome the extension of this voting privilege for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Anglo-Indians and other backward classes.

SHRI B D KHOBRAGADE Mr Vice-Chairman Sir, I thank you very much indeed for giving me this opportunity to express my views on this very important measure. I welcome the Bill which has been moved by Government in this House to extend the period of reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha as well as in State Assemblies and I extend my full support to this Bill.

The House knows that the Republican Party had opposed the continuation of these reservations so far but only about a couple of months back the Republican Party revised its stand and decided that these reservations should be supported and the reservation of seats in Lok Sabha and State Assemblies should continue even after 1970 not only for 10 years as proposed by Government but for as long as the problems arising out of untouchability, problems arising out of the social and economic insecurity are not solved. Therefore I feel this amendment moved by the Government making it 30 years in place of 20 years will not be enough. I think the period should be extended by at least 25 years, that is, one generation because today the problem that the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people are facing will not be solved during the next 25 years. Unless a new generation comes up which will be growing up in an atmosphere free from all such feelings, in an atmosphere of social and economic equality, I do not think we can bring about a social and economic revolution in the country. Therefore we have suggested that the period should be extended by 25 years.

It has been pointed out by the hon. Minister while moving the Bill that a lot has been done to ameliorate the condition of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people. Of course it is not satisfactory, we all know. Many previous speakers have ventilated the grievances of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in today's debate. I have got a number of cases with me. One is from Mysore where one Assistant Commissioner, Mr Nanjappa has been working as Temporary Assistant Commissioner for fourteen years. He was not confirmed and when the question of promotion came he was not considered. Can you imagine one Assistant Commissioner being kept unconfirmed as a temporary employee for such a long period of 14 years? I am not concerned with these problems. Educational concessions should definitely be there, representation in services should definitely continue and

it should increase every day. But I want to pose another problem, another question before this House. Supposing there is an all round improvement and development in the economic and educational condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, will they be in a position to elect their own representatives? I doubt if they will be in a position to elect their own representatives. So it is not a question whether they are economically rich or whether they are educationally advanced, it is a question of the social conditions that are prevailing in the country. Sir, ours is a backward community but what about the brahmins who are the most educationally advanced? Can any brahmin imagine to contest any election in Tamil Nadu and get himself elected to the Assembly or Parliament from there? Can any brahmin in Andhra contest any election to the Assembly or Parliament and get himself elected? Can any brahmin in Maharashtra contest an election to the Assembly or Parliament and get elected?

SHRI B T KEMPARAJ (Mysore). Dr Melkote has been elected to the Lok Sabha from Andhra.

SHRI G A APPAN (Tamil Nadu). You sit down, why do you shout?

SHRI B D KHOBRAGADE It is not a question of educational advancement or economic advancement.

SHRI B T KEMPARAJ Sir, I rise on a point of order. That hon. Member used the expression 'shut up', that has to be expunged from the proceedings. He has no business to say like that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) We will consider that.

SHRI B D KHOBRAGADE I would request my hon. friend that he must not interrupt me at least today.

SHRI B T KEMPARAJ Sir, that has to be expunged from the proceedings.

SHRI G A APPAN I withdraw if you can correct yourself.

SHRI B T KEMPARAJ Sir, this also should be withdrawn. He is really casting an aspersion on me. My submission is, if he has to submit anything he has to do it through the Chair. He cannot directly address me and ask me to correct myself. I do not know what he has found extraordinary in my behaviour which he wants to be corrected.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Kindly take your seat.

SHRI B. D. KHOBRADE : As I said it is not a question of social and economic advancement. The question is whether with the present system we can fulfil the cherished ambitions and aspirations of the minority communities. Everybody says that communalism has increased in the country. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan only a couple of months back while commenting on the Gujarat riots said that every political party exploits the communal and regional feelings during elections. What about the mid-term elections in U.P. and Bihar? More than 25 political parties participated in the mid-term elections in Bihar and U.P. On what basis were these political organisations organised? Was it on the basis of any policy, principle or programme? I can say that these political organisations were organised on the basis of caste alone. When they had majority in a particular caste in any one district, they gave the label of a particular organisation and they formed a party. If that is the position, in such a communal atmosphere, is it possible for any person belonging to a communal minority to get elected? A communal minority and majority, different from a political majority and political minority. A person belonging to a political majority can tomorrow become a person belonging to a political minority and a person belonging to a political minority can become a person belonging to a political majority. Unfortunately a communal majority will always be a communal majority and a communal minority will always be a communal minority. Just now I think Mr. Bhardwaj referred to one or two instances where the Scheduled Caste persons were nominated by his party and fortunately they were elected, but in my opinion they may be exceptional and stray cases. What is the general experience? I can quote Mr. Tripura's case. He contested from the general constituency on behalf of the Congress and just because he belonged to the Scheduled Caste all the Congress workers in his constituency worked against him. He was defeated. Mr. Sonavane was a former Minister of the Maharashtra Government. He was given a Congress ticket from the general constituency in 1967. All the Congress workers belonging to a community which is in the majority worked against him and he was defeated. What about Dr. Ambedkar? Such a glorious person, a eminent man, a learned person, contested a number of elections during his life, but he was elected

only once, in 1937. In all the other cases he had to face defeat. Why? It was because of the electoral system. It is because of the communal atmosphere that we find in this country. There may be one or two instances where the negative aspect is more important. For example, a particular organisation sets up a person who is a caste Hindu. He is not liked by the majority caste people. They want to defeat him somehow or other. If there is a Scheduled Caste person, an eminent person, and he has ten thousand votes, they say they have got fifty thousand votes. They say with the sixty thousand votes they must defeat the caste Hindu man. In that case only a person belonging to the minority has some chance, some hope to get elected. In the normal atmosphere it is not possible for any such person to get elected. The Muslim, Christian and Scheduled Caste communities remain. It is not possible at all to get those people elected to the Assemblies or Parliament. Therefore, we have to see what kind of system we can introduce. We were opposed in the beginning to the continuance of reservation for these people in the Assemblies and Lok Sabha. The main reason was that the persons who were elected were not the representatives of those people whom they claimed to represent. Under the general electorate system these persons have to depend on the votes of caste Hindus who are in a majority. If they want to get elected they can never dare to hurt the feelings of the caste Hindus. It does not matter how much the Scheduled Caste people in that constituency might suffer. I do not want to mention many cases. I will only quote the instances of Meerut and Aligarh districts. During the last mid-term elections, the Scheduled Caste people, hundreds and thousands of them, were prevented from voting. Even then some of the Scheduled Caste people contested the election on the tickets of the BKD. Why? It was because the BKD could put up some person, some 'Yeoman' with the support of the caste Hindus. The Scheduled Caste person who contested the election, on behalf of the BKD, never thought that hundreds and thousands of persons would be prevented from casting their votes. That is why the Scheduled Caste people and the Scheduled Tribe people are not in favour of those political organisations which are dominated by the majority caste. They want only to safeguard their own personal interests, not to safeguard the interests of the community for whom they claim to come here and fight. We want effective representation before 1967 a number of Scheduled Caste

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representatives were elected, but unfortunately they were afraid of raising their voice in the Assemblies or Parliament, even though a large number of atrocities were being perpetrated against them. After 1967 there has been a change in the political atmosphere in this country. Only after 1967 some of the Scheduled Caste representatives have got some courage to raise their voice in the Assemblies or Parliament. Before 1967, if you go through the proceedings of any Assembly or Parliament, you will find that even though there were hundreds of Scheduled Caste representatives, they were afraid to raise their voice against the atrocities perpetrated against them. So, our Party had suggested that we should have such an electoral system which would give them a chance to send their effective representatives. First, they do not want reservation. They want such a system by which they can send their representatives, effective representatives. We have demanded that there should be the separate electorate system again introduced. Experience of the past seventeen or eighteen years has proved that all those representatives who have come here are not in a position to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Caste and unless and until they are assured of success or victory of their own persons, they will not be in a position to safeguard the interests of those people, as the representatives have to depend on the caste Hindus. Therefore, we have said that separate representation should be introduced. I do not think that in today's circumstances it will be possible for a large number of people in this country to accept the system of separate electorate. They say that it will lead to discord among the different communities, but what do we find today? There is already discord among the different communities. Everybody thinks of his own community, whether he is a Jhat, Kayasth, Brahmin, Lingayat, Vakkaliga, Maharashtrian, etc. Therefore, they only think of their communities. They do not think of the other communities. There is communal hatred already in the country. It might be that it might increase because we are demanding separate electorate. I may say that only Muslims have got the advantage of the separate electorate system. The separate electorate system was introduced for the Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians but did anybody go out of this nation? So, I may say that just because you are giving us separate electorate there will be no separatist tendency. Now, there is the separatist tendency in other areas. Can you say

that it is because of the separate electorate or the electoral system? It is because of the particular social conditions that are prevailing. It is not due to the electoral system. If the Government and the people of this country feel that it would lead to the disintegration of the country it would lead to discord between the different communities. I have to suggest that these are our problems. We want representation and effective representation. We do not want reservation of seats, but we want representation -- whether he is a Brahmin, Christian or Muslim -- to the down trodden people. They must have some sort of system so that they can satisfy their particular aspirations and ambitions. For that purpose we can have the joint or multi-member constituencies. We can introduce the proportional representation system or the single transferable vote system. There are a number of systems whereby the minority communities of this country can get their representatives elected without depending on other persons and if such persons are elected their representation can be effective representation. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Mr. Balachandra Menon.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : (Kerala) Mr. Vice-Chairman ...

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, मैं एक स्पष्टीकरण करना चाहूंगा। खोबरगड़े ने कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए थे उनमें सब पार्टियों ने कास्ट बेसिस पर अपने उम्मीदवारों को खड़ा किया। जहां तक संसोपा का सम्बन्ध है, मैं इसका खंडन करना चाहूंगा। संसोपा एक ऐसी पार्टी है जो कास्ट बेसिस को मानती ही नहीं और न ही उस बेसिस पर उसने अपने उम्मीदवार खड़े किये।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : संसोपा जाति बिरादरी की पार्टी है।

श्री राजनारायण : शीलभद्र याजी का शील भंग हो चुका है।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I am not in a position to compete with my hon. friend in shouting. The force of my lungs is not so much. I consider this is too bad. When one Member gets up and when he has to speak, he is interfering. What is all this? We saw the horror

this morning. Again this continues. I am sorry this cannot be accepted

श्री राजनारयण : ये समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं, इनको समझ दीजिये । बुद्धि की कमी हो तो हम कहाँ जा दें ।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I am on my legs. You should at least ask me to sit down. I have no quarrel. I would have sat down if he had got up. You did not tell me. I object to this method.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I support this Amendment Bill and I am glad that we are again extending the time by another ten year. But as our friend, the previous speaker, has said, even if we give 25 years, will it help? Even 50 years after you will not be able to improve the position if you continue the same policy as you have been doing for the last twenty years. That is a fact. The most oppressive community in the whole world is our community, the Hindu community. Even the Negroes are not treated so badly as the Scheduled Castes and the Harijans are being treated today. We know that in this Gandhian Centenary year there had been instances of Harijan girls being paraded naked in certain places. Thirteen Harijans were burnt alive. Why is it so? It is because we have built up an economy in this country which has helped only such oppressive forces both in the industrial field as well as in the agrarian sector, both in the great cities as well as in the villages. This oppression is because we have seen a huge, rich peasant economy coming up which will not allow the Harijan any little right which he had till now. We have built up a system of a monopoly which will not allow the small man to survive. It is the wrong policies that we have followed that have brought us to this miserable position. Gandhiji tried his best. Why did he not succeed? The Ramakrishna Mission did its best. Why did they not succeed? The Christian missionaries did a good number of conversions. Why did they not succeed? In Kerala there is a demand even among the Christians that a certain section should be considered backward community. The Latin Christians have demanded that they should be given a certain amount of help. So conversions will not help. Reservations will not help. Even separate electorate will not help. These are all mere tricks. It is a question of how we bring about the social change. That is what is necessary. While I support

the proposal that we again extend this time, we may give as much time as they want, ten years or whatever it is, till we feel that we have brought about the necessary change down below, till that time this reservation has to continue, that is what I would like to suggest.

I want to point out that mere fight for democracy will not be enough. Fight for social justice has to be made. Have we done that? I know there are all political parties now here who also speak very well that we should see to it that we give all protection to the Harijans and Scheduled Castes. I am sure they do it because they want their vote. But they will not allow any slight change in the social set-up we have got today. They will not allow anything which will be progressive. Every progressive measure will be opposed by them and then they will shed crocodile tears for those very sections, for those very Harijans who are the most downtrodden, but they will not allow any change in the social set-up. I am sure if any attempt is made, they will not allow that. They will resist. What happened in Tamil Nadu? What happened in Andhra? This will be repeated. The only thing that we can do is to help the Harijan to stand for his right, for his land which he ploughs, for his right to occupy the land which should be his, for his proper share not only in the Legislature, in the Assembly but for his right to be recruited as a worker -- 25 or 20 per cent should go to him which should be his in the Government industries, that must go to him. In every place that should be done. That is, in the social set-up he should have a right place everywhere, whatever it is, whether it is the Panchayats, whether it is the factory, whether it is the land that has to be distributed, we must see that his due share goes to him. Once social justice is done, it will sound the death-knell of the horror that has been perpetrated by this damned Hindu community for the last so many centuries. This sort of society we cannot allow to continue. My friends think of democracy. Is that enough? What is the idea of separate electorate? No, Sir. I know its implications. The Caste Hindu will get elected if he is prepared to go and serve the class. I am sure any Caste Hindu will get elected if he is prepared to go and serve the people down below. I am sure so many have been returned to Parliament and assemblies because it is a question of organising the class, of organising the oppressed classes. They can get

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returned. But unfortunately after our independence we have found that we have been only fanning communalism and hatred between one community and the other. In the villages, in the backward areas, the slogan of "down with discrimination" is in prominence today. "I am neglected", "this area is neglected". Why do they feel like that? Because of the uneven development of the economy in our country that is taking place for which you are responsible. Let us know that. Today this unhappy situation is being brought about because of the wrong policies of the Government. Will you have the courage to move forward or will you continue in the same condition? I know the Harijan worker today who is becoming a little class conscious knows how to answer this. I do not believe merely in the extension of time that you are bringing. Extension of time will not help much. But he knows how to help himself because he has also begun building up his class organisation. This is the answer to you. That is the answer which will see that social justice is done. Gandhiji worked hard for giving the Harijans their right place. Now all of us will have to go down below. As much as you fight for him, here you organise him for his land, organise him for his better wages, organise him in his class organisation, fight for him for his right for recruitment in factories and in every other place. I can say this much that even the industrial set-up is caste-ridden. Have you ever thought about it? Would you believe it? Go to a factory and you will see that the unskilled workers are Harijans and the semi-skilled workers are those people who belong to the upper community. When it comes to the managerial class, you will see that they are the highest people, and the traditional Vaisya or moneylender, the traditional Chettiar continues to be the owner of the factory. Even there you see the caste system. Twenty centuries of oppression cannot be wiped out unless we help them build their class organisation. We do not want the help of those who today believe that they are also speaking for them but who really stand for the *status quo*. That will have to be answered and that will be answered by the Harijan workers in the field organising. It is the class organisation which every democrat must help so that this dark reaction that we have in this country is finished for ever. (Interruption) I do not point out to anybody. I still believe there are good people everywhere. Whatever it is, it is a question of all of

us honestly doing good work so that this country can move a little forward. Otherwise you will only move too slowly or sometimes even move backward. Why do we have the present position? I believe this country has not made much progress, and it has not done much during these twenty years. However much the Government might say that something has been done, they have done very little and they are not prepared to do much for the backward community. The greatest of the epics, who gave us? I would say it was a tribal who gave us the Ramayana. It was the son of a fisherman who gave us the Mahabharata. The Hindu community must do justice to those people who are the real creators of our epics and who are also the creators of our wealth of our food. They are mainly the Harijans and other so called backward people. We owe them a great deal. They are the people who have contributed something to the great heritage of India and I think others were only interpreters and nothing more. The Brahmins interpreted the Vedas but Vyas codified the Vedas and gave it to us. That is what I have to say. The Harijans are now on the verge of revolt. This revolt is a protest. It is also prophecy—Remember!

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी (मध्य प्रदेश) :

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के सामने जो सविधान सशोधन विधेयक प्रस्तुत है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। समर्थन के बाद यथार्थ में बोलने की कोई आवश्यकता थी नहीं, परन्तु मुझे दुःख के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि इस तरह का यह पहला सशोधन इस सदन में नहीं आया है। इसके पूर्व भी दो बार इस तरह के सशोधन यहाँ पर आ चुके हैं और आज तीसरी बार यह सशोधन यहाँ पर पुनः उसी प्रकार का आया हुआ है। अगर हमने इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया तो हरिजन और आदिवासियों की स्थिति में सुधार नहीं हो पायेगा। उनकी विभिन्न समस्याएँ हैं, अगर उनको हल करने के लिये हमने उचित रूप से ध्यान नहीं दिया, तो मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि इस तरह के सशोधनों का अंत नहीं होगा और दूसरी बार पुनः हमें सशोधन लाना पड़ेगा और उसके दस वर्ष बाद फिर हम को सदन में सशोधन के लिये आना पड़ेगा। तो मैं निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूँ

कि इस सशोधन के केवल एक कानूनी कार्य-वाही के रूप में हम न मानें, इस पर कुछ ठोस कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये, जिससे इन हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की समस्याओं का समाधान हो सके, वह प्रगति कर सके, वह उन्नति कर सके। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमारा संविधान बना था, उसके पहले हमारे यहाँ के नेताओं ने यह देखा था कि यह जो हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की समस्या है यह सैकड़ों वर्षों से नहीं, बल्कि हजारों वर्षों से चली आ रही है और पहले भी उनके ऊपर इसी तरह से बराबर अत्याचार किये गये थे, उन पर अन्याय किये गये थे और इसके कारण ही वे दूसरे समाजों की तुलना में इतने पिछड़े गये थे कि बिना सहारे के, बिना संरक्षण के वे देश के दूसरे अन्य समाज के साथ नहीं चल सकते थे। इसलिए उस समय जब हमारा संविधान बन रहा था, इस देश में इस बात की आवश्यकता अनुभव का गयी कि हमें इनको संरक्षण देना चाहिये उसके बाद इनको संरक्षण तो दिया गया, परन्तु हमने इस दिशा में कोई ठोस कार्यवाही नहीं की। मैं अपने देश के नेताओं से कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्रता के पहले गांधी जी, जो हमारे राष्ट्रपिता थे, उनके दिल में कितनी हमदर्दी थी हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिये इस को आप देखें। वह जहाँ भी जाया करते थे, वहाँ ही उनकी समस्याओं को देखते थे और उनको हल करने का प्रयास करते थे और इस प्रकार उनको समाज में बराबरी का स्थान देने की कोशिश करते थे और यही एक मूल कारण था, जिसके कारण हम गिरे हुए समाज को संविधान में इस प्रकार से संरक्षण प्रदान किया गया था। गांधी जी की जो भावना थी, उनके कार्य करने की जो पद्धति थी, वह हमारे देश के नेताओं को एक प्रेरणा देती थी। परन्तु आज 22 वर्ष हो गये हैं और हम कुछ नहीं कर पाये हैं। यह सशोधन आज हम पास तो जरूर कर लेंगे, परन्तु अगर इसके ऊपर हमने कोई ठोस काम नहीं किया तो हमारी वही स्थिति बनी रहेगी। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ अपने देश के नेताओं से,

अधिकारियों से और अपने मंत्रियों में कि वे इसको साधारण चीज न समझें। इस को एक नीति के रूप में हमें मानना पड़ेगा, इसके लिये हमें एक आंदोलन चलाना पड़ेगा और इस दिशा में एक क्रांति लानी पड़ेगी जिससे कि हम इस उपेक्षित समाज की कुछ सेवा कर सकें, उसकी कुछ उन्नति कर सकें।

इस समस्या के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर अगर आप ध्यान देंगे, तो आप देखेंगे कि आज हमारे देश को आजाद हुए लगभग 22 वर्ष हो गये हैं, किन्तु उसके बाद भी उन पर अत्याचार और अन्याय में कमी नहीं हुई है। समय समय पर आपको समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ने को मिलता है और विधान सभाओं में और संसद के सदनों में भी कई बार ऐसे मामले आये हैं, जिनमें इस वर्ग पर लूटपाट, अत्याचार, अन्याय, बलात्कार आदि की बहुत सी घटनाएँ प्रकाश में आयी हैं। हमें बराबर आश्वासन मिलता रहा है मंत्री महोदयों से, अधिकारियों से कि वे इस बात को देखेंगे कि ऐसी घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो, परन्तु दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उन समस्याओं का अभी तक कोई समाधान नहीं हुआ। अभी अभी पिछले हफ्ते में भी एक घटना भोपाल के पास सिहोर में हो गयी, जहाँ पर कुछ हरिजनों की हत्या की गयी है। तो इस पर भी आपको ध्यान देना पड़ेगा ताकि उनको संरक्षण मिल सके। इसी तरह में आप हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की चाहे कोई भी समस्या ले लें, आप देखेंगे कि यही हाल हर जगह है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में भी हम उन्हें स्कालरशिप्स जरूर देते हैं, परन्तु स्कालरशिप्स भी बहुत में लोगों को नहीं मिल पाती और जो हायर स्टेडीज की स्कालरशिप्स हैं, वह तो बहुत कम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को ही मिल पाती हैं। जहाँ तक विदेशी शिक्षा का प्रश्न है, उसकी स्कालरशिप का प्रश्न है, आप अगर आँकड़े उठा कर देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि बहुत ही कम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को विदेशों में शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के लिये स्कालरशिप मिलती है, वैसे यह बात नहीं है कि हमारे इस समाज में उसके योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं मिलते, उसके योग्य

[श्री एन० पी० चौधरी]

छात्र नहीं मिलते, लेकिन पक्षपात के कारण विदेशी शिक्षा के लिये जो छात्रवृत्तियां मिलती हैं, इस समाज के लोग उनसे वंचित रह जाते हैं ।

शासकीय सेवाओं का जहां तक प्रश्न है, उसके भी कई मामले आपके सामने आये हैं । सैकड़ों बार इस सदन में प्रश्न उठाये गये हैं और उनसे आपको पता लगा होगा कि जिस अनुपात में सरकारी नौकरियों में या अशासकीय नौकरियों में इस समाज के लोगों को जगह मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं मिल पाती । मेरे पास एक चार्ट है, मैंने कुछ आंकड़े इकट्ठे किये हैं, उनसे आपको मालूम होगा की कितनी उपेक्षा इस समाज के लोगों की शासकीय और अशासकीय सेवाओं में की गयी है । क्लास 1 सर्विसेज में आपको जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि केवल 1.2 परसेंट हमारे लोगों को नौकरी मिलती है । क्लास 2 सर्विसेज में केवल 3 प्रतिशत हरिजन और आदिवासियों को जगह मिली है । क्लास 3 में केवल 8 परसेंट लोगों को नौकरी मिली है और क्लास 4 में मुश्किल से 18 परसेंट लोगों को जगह मिली है । यह जो अंतर है, यह अगर पूरा नहीं किया जायगा, इस समाज के लोगों को जो अधिकार है, वह अगर पूरी तरह से नहीं दिया जायगा और उसका संरक्षण नहीं किया जायगा, जो नौकरियां उनको मिलनी चाहिये वह उनको नहीं दिलायी जायेंगी और उनके लिये जो अनेक कानून बनाये गये हैं, उन पर अमल नहीं किया जायगा, तो यह अंतर बढ़ता चला जायगा और हमारा समाज नीचे गिरता चला जायगा । जो यह दलित और पिछड़ा तथा शोषित समाज है यह और भी नीचे गिरता चला जायेगा और फिर हम इस तरह के एक नहीं अनेक संशोधन इस सदन में लायेंगे और उनका कोई अर्थ नहीं निकलेगा ।

इसी तरह से बेरोजगारी की समस्या भी इस समाज में कोई नयी नहीं है । आप देखेंगे कि इस समाज के करोड़ों लोग बेकार बैठे हैं । उनकी नौकरियों के लिये हम यहां पर प्रश्न करते

हैं । माननीय सदस्यों ने अनेक बार यहां प्रश्न उठाया कि गवर्नमेंट उनके लिये क्या कर रही है । इस समाज के लोगों को नौकरी देने के लिये आश्वासन जरूर दिया जाता है कि हम उनको प्राथमिकता देंगे और जो गैप है उसको फिल-अप करेंगे, उसे कम करने की कोशिश करेंगे, लेकिन दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वह आश्वासन केवल इस सदन की चारदीवारी के अंदर ही समाप्त हो जाते हैं । इसके बाहर नहीं निकलते और आज यह स्थिति है कि करोड़ों लोग इस समाज के बेरोजगार बैठे हैं । ऐसी बात नहीं है कि उसमें योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं हैं ।

नयी भर्ती का जहां तक प्रश्न है, उसमें भी हमने देखा है कि इंटरव्यू के लिये लोग जाते हैं । रिटेन टेस्ट में तो हमारे लोग पास हो जाते हैं, परन्तु उसके बाद जब पर्सनल इंटरव्यू के लिए बुलाया जाता है, तो उनको रिजेक्ट कर दिया जाता है । उन का केवल दोष यह होता है कि वे अछूत वर्ग से आते हैं, पिछड़े वर्ग से आते हैं और पिछड़े हुए समाज से आते हैं, और जो अधिकारी लोग रहते हैं, वे उनको हेय दृष्टि से देखते हैं, घृणा की दृष्टि से देखते हैं और उनको उनके अधिकार नहीं देना चाहते और जब हम लोग प्रश्न करते हैं, तो हमको यह यह जवाब दे दिया जाता है कि योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं मिलते इसलिये नयी भर्ती में वे नहीं लिये गये । मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां करोड़ों की संख्या में हमारे समाज के लोग उपलब्ध हों, उनमें से अगर हम भर्ती नहीं करेंगे तो क्या हम उनको आसमान से लायें या हम उनको विदेशों से इम्पोर्ट करेंगे ? इन सब चीजों को हमारे मंत्री महोदय को देखना पड़ेगा ।

इसके अतिरिक्त एक बहुत ही विचित्र बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं । यह जो एक अन्य समाज हमारे देश का है, जिसकी जनसंख्या मुश्किल से दस प्रतिशत है, उस की स्थिति विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में काफी अच्छी है । अगर आप आंकड़े इकट्ठा करेंगे तो आपको मालूम होगा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि यह समाज, जिसकी जनसंख्या मुश्किल से दस प्रतिशत इस

देश में है, वह आज करीब करीब 80 प्रतिशत जगहों पर कब्जा लिये बैठा है। चाहे वह छोटी नौकरी हो या बड़ी चाहे कोई राजनीतिक पद हो अथवा सामाजिक पद हो आप देखेंगे कि इस समाज के लोगों को प्रश्रय दिया जाता है। क्या हम यह मान कर न चले कि उनके साथ पक्षपात किया जाता है? वे एक विशेष वर्ग के लोग हैं, इसलिये उनको प्रश्रय दिया जाता है और हमारे इस पिछड़े वर्ग और आदिवासी वर्ग के लोगों को उनकी जाति के कारण हेय दृष्टि से देखा जाता है, घृणा की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है और उन्हें कोई अवसर नहीं दिया जाता। प्रमोशन के मामले में भी हमारे इस सदन में अनेक बार आया है कि कई मामलों में अन्याय हुआ है, अन्याचार हुआ है। एक रूटीन कोर्स में भी अब हमारे एक हरिजन या आदिवासी भाई को किसी डिपार्टमेंट में, प्रमोशन मिल जाना चाहिये था, नियमावली के अंतर्गत और जो आदर्श रखे गये हैं, उनके अंतर्गत वर्षों पहले उसको प्रमोशन मिल जाना चाहिये था, किन्तु खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अधिकारी लोग उसे प्रमोशन देना नहीं चाहते। (Time bell rings) यहाँ पर सैकड़ों मामले ऐसे आये हैं, जहाँ पर उन 5 साथ पक्षपात किया गया है, उन्हें प्रमोशन नहीं दिया गया है। ट्रांसफरों के मामले में भी इस तरह की बातें हम लोगों के सामने आती हैं, जब कि शासन का यह आदेश है कि हर एक आदिवासी जो शासकीय सेवा में है, उसे दूर के क्षेत्र में ट्रांसफर नहीं करना चाहिये, पास ही रखना चाहिये, परन्तु दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उसे दूर के शहरों में, जहाँ आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण वह जा नहीं सकता, जहाँ नौकरी नहीं कर सकता, उसको वहाँ ट्रांसफर कर दिया जाता है और सवर्णा जाति के लोगों को, उन्नत कौम के लोगों को, जो आर्थिक स्थिति से बहुत मजबूत हैं, उन्हें उनके घर में सारे जीवन नौकरी करने का अवसर दिया जाता है।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको एक बात और बताना चाहता हूँ। स्लम क्लियरेंस की योजना हमारे बड़े-बड़े शहरों में चली

है। बम्बई कलकत्ता दिल्ली और मद्रास का उदाहरण मैं आपको देता हूँ। दिल्ली का ही उदाहरण आप ले लीजिए। हमारे इस दिल्ली शहर का नवनिर्माण हो रहा है, उसमें लाखों की सख्या में हरिजन और आदिवासी जो मजदूरी करते हैं और मेहनत करके अपना पेट पालते हैं, अपने बाल बच्चों को पालते हैं, वे झुग्गी और झोपड़ियों में रहते हैं, उनको स्लम क्लियरेंस के नाम से हटाया जाता है। यह कहा जाता है कि हम आपको अलग करके नये मकान आपके लिये बनायेंगे, नयी एरिया डेवलप करेंगे और उसमें आपको जगह देंगे और उन बेचारे गरीबों को दस-दस पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह मील की दूरी पर शहर से बाहर उठा कर फेंक दिया जाता है। इस तरह से जो एक सिद्धांत हमारे देश के लोगों ने माना है कि हम छोटे और बड़े लोगों को एक साथ रहने का अवसर देंगे, एक साथ मरने और जीने का अवसर देंगे, उसका पालन न करके दूध की मक्खी की तरह निकाल कर उन्हें शहर के बाहर दस दस पन्द्रह पन्द्रह मील की दूरी पर फेंक दिया जाता है। (Time bell rings) मैं थोड़ा सा समय और चाहता हूँ। श्रीमन्, जब हम उनके अधिकारों के लिये उनको संरक्षण देना चाहते हैं, तो जो नयी बस्तियाँ बनी हैं, नयी एरिया डेवलप हुई हैं, उनमें उन गरीब हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को प्लाट दीजिये, जो सैकड़ों वर्षों से यहाँ रह रहे हैं, उनका अधिकार दीजिये वहाँ रहने का। उनके सामने इतनी बड़ी समस्या रख दी जाती है, इतनी कीमत उन मकानों और प्लाटों की लगा दी जाती है, जो एक पीढ़ी नहीं अनेक पीढ़ी तक कमायी करके भी वह नहीं दे सकते हैं। हमारे समाज कल्याण मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं, वह इस वक्त को देखें कि स्लम क्लियरेंस के नाम पर जो लोग हटाये जाते हैं, उनके लिये स्लम क्लियरेंस के बाद जो नयी बस्ती बनती है, वहाँ उन नयी डेवलप एरियाज में निश्चित प्रतिशत में प्लाट निश्चित किये जायें, जिसमें उन गरीब और छोटे तबके के भाइयों को रहने का अवसर मिल सके।

इसी तरह से आर्थिक समस्या की ओर भी अगर आप देखेंगे तो यद्यपि आर्थिक लाभ के

[श्री एन० पी० चौधरी]

बहुत से प्रावधान किये गये हैं हमारे देश में, बहुत सी सुविधाएं भी उपलब्ध हैं, परन्तु दुःख के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि ये गरीब लोग उसका कोई फायदा नहीं उठा सकते। जितनी भी सरकारी योजनाएं हैं, चाहे लाइसेन्स हो या पर्मिट हो या उद्योग धंधे हों या कारोबार हों या कारपोरेशन हों, जहां जैसा मिलने का सवाल है, वह बड़े-बड़े सेठ साहूकार लोग ले जायेंगे और ये बेचारे गरीब लोग मुंह ताकते रह जायेंगे। उनको कोई पैसा देने वाला नहीं होता। मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं, अपने मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं, कि वह इस बात को देखें कि ऐसे मामलों में भी एक निश्चित प्रतिशन तय कर दिया जाना चाहिये, जिसका लाभ केवल ऐसे पिछड़े हुए समाज के लोगों को मिलना चाहिये जो कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं। वह हैं हमारे हरिजन और आदिवासी भाई।

वैसे और बहुत सारी बातें मैं कहना चाहता था, परन्तु दुःख के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है सभापति महोदय, कि आपने बहुत कम समय दिया है। मैं केवल आपके माध्यम से पुनः अपने मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यह जो दस साल का समय इस संशोधन के माध्यम से हमें दे रहे हैं, हमारे समाज को दे रहे हैं, वह इस बात को देखें कि यह जो पिछड़ा हुआ समाज है, वह दस साल में कम से कम इतनी उन्नति कर जाये कि दूसरे उन्नत समाज के समक्ष आकर खड़ा हो सके और कंधे से कंधा मिला कर इस देश की प्रगति में सहयोग दे सके।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं पहले ही इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दूँ कि मैं इस विधेयक का स्वागत करने नहीं जा रहा हूँ। मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करूँगा, मगर स्वागत नहीं जैसा कि हमारे बहुत से बुजुर्ग दोस्तों ने इस विधेयक का स्वागत किया। मैं इस भ्रष्ट कांग्रेस सरकार जन्य उन वर्तमान परिस्थिति से विवश होकर आज इस

विधेयक का समर्थन करूँगा, मगर इसका स्वागत नहीं करूँगा। "स्वागत" तो तब होना चाहिये जब कि कोई ऐसी चीज हो जो पसन्द हो और जिसको लेकर समाज की महिमा और गरिमा विकसित हो। मैं चाहता हूँ मंत्री जी संविधान के अनुच्छेद 336 को पढ़ें और उसका उत्तर दें। आरम्भ में जब यह संविधान आया, तो इसमें केवल यह लिखा हुआ है कि इस संविधान के प्रारम्भ से 10 वर्ष की कालावधि की समाप्ति पर प्रभावी न रहेगा। यह संविधान में साफ लिखा हुआ है कि दस वर्ष तक ही यह जो विशेष व्यवस्था है, अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिये, वह रहेगी। तो यह विधेयक स्वतः अपने में इस कांग्रेसी सरकार की भर्त्सना करता है। इस कांग्रेसी सरकार की भर्त्सना स्वरूप आज यह विधेयक आया हुआ है, क्योंकि संविधान की जो मान्यता थी, दस वर्ष की, उस मान्यता को इस काली सरकार ने पूरा नहीं किया।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sir, we would like to hear Mr. Rajnarain till he finishes. If you approve we will sit till he finishes.

श्री राजनारायण : कल सुनिये हमको।

श्री अकबर अली खान : नहीं नहीं, आज।

श्री राजनारायण : आज तो 5 बजे के बाद चलेगा ही नहीं। हाँ, हमको कल सुनकर जायें। अच्छा ठीक है, श्रीमन्, मैं आज कुछ प्रश्न पैदा करता हूँ। उनका जवाब कल हो जाय। हम अब भी बोलना नहीं चाहते थे। हम मंत्री महोदय को सुनना चाहते थे। एक इन्टरिम स्पीच उनकी हो जानी चाहिये थी। हमको मंत्री महोदय यह सफाई कर दें कि यह दस साल की अवधि पूरी क्यों नहीं हुई, यह दस साल की अवधि क्यों रखी गई और उसको पूरा नहीं होने देने में इस काली सरकार के क्या काले कारनामे थे। दूसरी बात मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ : डेमोक्रेसी और हिपोक्रेसी में बड़ा फर्क है, जनतंत्र और गाल बजाने तंत्र में काफी फर्क है, इसलिये दो चार बातों का ईमानदारी से जवाब हो जाय

आज ही, नहीं तो कल हो जाये। क्या श्री के० के० शाह, क्या श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी, ये तैयार हैं कि के० के० शाह अपनी बेटी की शादी श्री जगजीवन राम के बेटे से करें? यह सवाल हम पैदा कर रहे हैं।

(Interruption)

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) : किसी व्यक्ति विशेष का नाम लेकर उल्लेख नहीं करना चाहिये।

श्री राजनारायण : संसदीय प्रथा सीखो।

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pr. desh) : He is giving an example.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये मैं एग्जाम्पल दे रहा हूं। अब मैं यह कल्पना कर रहा हूं, सदन में जितने सम्मानित सदस्य बैठे हैं सबका नाम राजनारायण हो, तो क्या राज नारायण अपनी बेटी की शादी श्री जगजीवन राम के बेटे से करने को तैयार हैं। अनुलोभ और प्रतिलोभ। श्री ब्राह्मण श्री हरिजन की बेटी को ले सकते। मगर श्री ब्राह्मण अपनी बेटी को हरिजन के बेटे को नहीं दे सकना।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी) : आप कल कांटेन्यू करेंगे।

The House then adjourned at 5 of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 17th December, 1969.