

SHRI A. D. MANI : Madam, we have shown the concern of Parliament for the position of Judges by surrendering almost the jurisdiction of Parliament to debate the conduct of Judges on the floor of both Houses of Parliament, by debating this Bill. I would like to make a suggestion to the hon. the Home Minister and that is that he should send a copy of the proceedings of this debate to the Chief Justice of India because a number of observations have been made about the Judges in general.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : It is in the library.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Unfortunately, the standard of the judiciary is not what it was twenty years ago. There has been a Judge who fought a case in the Supreme Court about his date of birth. There has been another case. . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Let me tell, you, I do not accept this proposition that the standards of the Judiciary are lesser than what they were. Fortunately for the previous Judiciary, there was no Parliament at that time.

SHRI A. D. MANI : May be. There has been the case of another Judge of a High Court who had to resign because his younger brother celebrated his *Shashtiabdapoorthi* when he was in office.

I would like to make one observation that when once Parliament gives all the said protection to Judges, they must also conduct themselves in a manner free from blame. My hon. friend, Mr. Alva, made a reference to a case in Nagpur. I do not want to refer to that matter in detail. But I would like to commend here the example of Mr. Kotwal, the Chief Justice of Bombay, who, when a case relating to the Central Bank of India came up, stated in the open court, "I do not want to try the case because I have got an overdraft from the Central Bank of India." He refused to try the case. Similarly, where Judges have appeared once or twice or repeatedly, it is only proper for the Judges to say that I have appeared against so and so as in the case of Mr. Karanjia—and I would not like to sit in judgment. Unless the Judges set up that type of standard, it will not be possible for the public to give the respect due to them.

The third point that I would like to make is that the Chief Justice of India

should also prepare a guide book for the conduct of the Judges regarding their extra-mural activities. A large number of them make all sorts of speeches, preside over all sorts of functions. So much so, in some States when they want to open a flower bazaar, they have only a Judge in mind. Some Judges are available.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Retired.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Working Judges. There should be some sense of restriction in the Judges' activities outside courts of law and this is a matter where I hope the hon. the Home Minister would suggest to the Chief Justice to have a conference of Judges and they should prepare a code of conduct for their activities outside courts of law.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am thankful to this hon. House for having considered the Bill in all its aspects. The only point that the hon. Shri Mani made was about certain speeches, etc. made by Judges. He has made a suggestion that I should bring that to the notice of the Chief Justice. I do not think I am impressed by that. I am certain that the Chief Justice himself is quite aware of what can be and what should be done in this matter. And the code of conduct for Judges is inherent in the work of the Judges themselves. I do not think the Judges go on opening flower bazaars. I do not agree with the hon. Member, Madam, you cannot say that the High Court Judges should be completely divorced from the cultural activities also. But that is not a question relating to the present subject-matter of the Bill itself.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed." *The*

motion was adopted.

MOTION REGARDING THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON) : Madam, I move :

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that a Committee of both the Houses to be called the 'Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' be constituted for the purposes set out in the motion adopted by the Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 30th August, 1968, and communicated to this House, and resolves that this House do join in the said Committee and proceed to elect, in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and by secret ballot, ten members from among the members of the House to serve on the said Committee."

Madam, I do not think that a speech is called for in support of this motion.

SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON : As you know, Madam, in the Constitution we have given some special importance and special safeguards to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. For example, there is article 335 of the Constitution which provides that the State Governments and the Central Government should give appointments to the members of these communities consistent with their efficiency, etc. Then article 338 provides for the appointment of a Special Officer called the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes who every year presents a Report regarding the activities of the Government in this respect. Now, it is necessary—and that is the Government's feeling—that Parliament should be in a position to examine the activities of the Government in furtherance of the safeguards provided in the Constitution for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and that is the reason why we thought that a Committee of this type should be constituted. So, Parliament is enabled thereby to sit continuously in judgment over the activities of the Government with respect to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

I hope, Madam, that the House will unanimously support this Motion.

The question was proposed.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra) : Madam, I welcome the Motion moved by the Government as

it regards the Committee on the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I just want to know from the Government whether it is a fact that some of the Members forced the Government to have this sort of Committee. And if it was forced by some Members, my information is that, those Members have been excluded from this Committee, they are not to be taken on this Committee which is to be selected. If it is so, that is a bad policy. I must warn the Government.

SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON :
Parliament will elect them.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : As far as my information goes, those Members of the Lok Sabha who insisted upon the Government to have this sort of Committee have been ignored, that they are not taken on this Committee.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

AN HON. MEMBER : You are in the Rajya Sabha.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : But, I must mention if there is something I happening in the Lok Sabha too. . .

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Let him speak.
Mr. Gaikwad, you carry on.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : That is my information, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I just want to bring to the notice of the Government that this policy of the Government is not proper. By doing this, they are creating bitterness amongst the Members. Those who never fought for it, they should not be given place and other Members should be taken. I have nothing to say about the other Members. That will not be a good thing. Generally speaking, those who have got sympathies, those who have got love for these people, they should be given opportunities, they should be given place in such Committees. But if you appoint such a Committee with those who never fought for it, then Government will be doing a great wrong. That is my advice to the Government whether they accept it or not. I must tell them that this very policy created bitterness in our revered leader, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. I must mention here that in the beginning he was more or less in favour of

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the Congress friends. He had so many Congress friends. But only due to this policy bitterness was increased and ultimately he became the enemy of the Congress. Similarly I want to tell the House that if those who are in favour of the Congress today are not included in this Committee, you will be increasing bitterness among them and they will become enemies of the Congress. That is one thing.

Secondly, I just want to know whether the Government in their heart today have something good for these people. The hon. Minister was pleased to say that in view of the provision made in the Constitution this Committee has been appointed. But appointing Committees will not solve the problem. In my opinion several Committees have been appointed. But what is the result? What do we find today? What is happening in the country? So only by appointing committees nothing will happen. There must be in our heart the will to do something good for the people, and if that is there then we will be in a position to do something good.

Now, Sir, what has been passed in the Lok Sabha has not been brought to the notice of the Rajya Sabha Members as far as my information goes. Among the papers circulated there is no resolution passed by the Lok Sabha. So we are quite in the dark. I do not want to raise any point of order whether we can at all consider it today because anyhow we want to finish it today. But I just want to know one thing from the Government.

Sir, the Resolution which was passed by the Lok Sabha has not been circulated to the Members of the Rajya Sabha. What has happened there we do not know. On the Agenda only this much is said that one Resolution has been passed by the Lok Sabha which has to be taken into consideration. We have no knowledge of what is passed in the Lok Sabha. Even then I can say, Sir, that in the Lok Sabha it was circulated as to what are the functions of the Committee. The functions of the Committee are that they will consider the reports submitted by the Commissioner of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That is the main function of the Committee.

The other function which they have mentioned in the Resolution is as regards appointments. I must tell you, Sir, that the Commissioner was earlier submitting his report. For that purpose he had some staff at his disposal. But today most of the staff has been curtailed by the Government. In every State there was one Deputy Commissioner, or an Assistant Commissioner. They have curtailed that. There are no Assistant Commissioners to assist the Commissioner. I do not know whether it will be physically possible for the Commissioner to go and visit all the places throughout the country and get information.

Sir, you will find that every day we are receiving complaints of harassment, ill-treatment, setting on fire the localities of the Scheduled Caste people, rape of girls and ladies. All these things we are hearing. I do not know whether the poor Commissioner will be in a position to get all this information and will be able to mention in his report all these things. Who is going to supply this information to him? Whatever machinery he had at his disposal has been taken away by the Government recently. Therefore, I want to know whether the Committee is going to consider only the Commissioner's report. What about other complaints, if there are any? I should like to know if this Committee will be entitled to consider other grievances, other reports which they might receive.

Sir, you will find that every year two reports were submitted by the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This time he has submitted a small report. Every year the Commissioner was giving some important suggestions about 100 to 150. This time the Commissioner has given only eleven suggestions, and next year he might give only one or two suggestions. So this is the position.

The second thing which I must bring to the notice of the hon'ble Members of this House is that we are given to understand—there is a Question of mine tomorrow—that the Commissioner who has been appointed to look after the safeguards to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people is himself opposed to these safeguards. Not only that, a representation of the Lok Sabha Members went and requested the Prime Minister to remove him.

immediately. I do not know how the matter stands. This officer, who is anti-Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who is against the provisions given in the Constitution, says that it is not necessary to have reservations. So many things he has said at Kashmir and several other places. There are very bad reports against this gentleman. Of course, I have nothing more to say at this stage. But if you say that the Committee will consider only what is suggested by the Commissioner in his report, that will be a bad thing. Therefore, I suggest more and more powers to be given to this Committee, to consider not only the report but some other complaints in case they receive any.

Sir, what is happening ? How are you going to improve the condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people ? You will have to consider three problems, economic, social and educational. What is the economic condition of these people ? Economically you will find that they are worse than dogs. Their position is going from bad to worse every day. The other day my friend, Mr. Raj-narain, an hon'ble Member of this House, quoted some incidents of rape, beating, of looting their rice, of houses being burnt and the people being driven out of their homes.

Why to talk of other places, last Sunday our Government who swear by the Constitution so far as the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people goes, have decided to demolish something like 4,000 huts. Just imagine in this cold season, when other people are in their blankets and in their Razais inside their homes, these people, who have no clothes, will be thrown out in the open if their huts are demolished. Where will they go?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : (West Bengal) : Why are they demolishing their huts ?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI J. B. MUTHYAL RAO): The Delhi Administration is demolishing.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : But is it not under the direct control of the Cen-

tral Government? Let not my hon. friend forget that. If the Central Government decides that that should not be done, the Delhi Administration has no right to do all these things. But you will find that this thing is happening. Why are they demolishing these huts in this cold season ?

In the olden days, Mr. Vice-Chairman you will remember there were separate localities for these people under the pretext of religion or something like that. But now under the pretext of slum clearance they are having separate localities. And how far are these localities now ? These people after being removed from these huts are shifted some ten or twenty miles away from Delhi. These people had come here not to enjoy their life. They have come here from villages and have constructed their huts here and have been earning their livelihood. If there was no employment in the villages it is the Government which is responsible for that. There is unemployment in every village everywhere. So people come here and do hamali. They earn their livelihood. They have constructed small huts and have settled there. Now you are demolishing their huts. You are asking them to go away to something like a separate colony because for the rich people in Delhi, their huts constructed in the heart of Delhi are like slums. You do not want those slums to be in the city. Now it is said that it is people's raj. I do not know what you mean by people. "People" does not mean the rich people or the exploiters. By "people" you mean men who are poor and who work hard to earn their bread. So, you find that this harassment is going on. I have also made a representation to the Government to see that this demolition of the huts is stopped. But Government says "Oh, it is the order of the Lt. Governor." Now if the Home Minister or the Central Government comes forward and says that this is not the season when their huts should be demolished, I think the Lt. Governor or the Delhi Administration would not go against the decision of the Central Government. But nobody takes any interest and this what is happening. Even to-day you will find that the demolition of huts is going on. Is there, anybody in this House or in Parliament who would look to their interests and see what is happening; to these people ? You are all representatives of the people, it is said. But if

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you will excuse me, in my opinion, there is no representative here of the so-called down-trodden poor people. We all are exploiters. I am also one of them. All who have come here are exploiters, first-class exploiters. We are exploiting these poor people. We should take care to see that their interest is safeguarded in all respects.

Then, economically they are very poor. They cannot get any work in the villages. Now they try their level best to improve their economic condition, but the boycott is there. These people are boycotted. They are not even allowed to go to take grass for their cattle; this is happening even to-day. And not only that, in case some ladies go into the jungle to cut grass, they are molested by the caste Hindus. This is what is happening. If complaints are made to the officers concerned, they do not take any initiative. Why? Because they also come from the same people. Their mentality is just the same as that of the villagers. Even if he is an officer—whether he is a police officer or a judicial officer or whatever officer he may be—his mentality is not changed, and nobody can change that mentality. Generally speaking, the Government should take care to see, while appointing an officer, what type of man he is. But that is not done.

So I just want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that if you want to improve their economic condition, you should give them some work, give them some land. Now when this question of giving land to them comes up, you will always find that the distribution of the land is handed over to the revenue authorities. And the revenue authorities while distributing the land, instead of giving it to the really needy people, give such lands to the landlords who have already got more than enough of land. This is what is happening. How are you going to solve this problem? Unless and until their economic position is improved, nothing will happen.

As regards education, you will find that they are most backward in this field. The Government comes forward and says that they are spending Rs. 5 crores. I do admit that. Some educated people are coming forward. I admit that also. But I cannot admit

that they are adequately advanced because whenever the question of appointment of persons in Government service comes up, our own Government people, in the U. P. S. C. and other bodies, say that they are not found suitable. So what have the Government done in these 21 years that have passed since independence came? And who is responsible for this state of affairs? If they are not found suitable, then it is the bounden duty of the Government to make them suitable. They should make every attempt to see that they are made suitable for Government jobs. To-day you will find the percentage is something like 0.1 per cent in Class I and Class II services.

Now we are celebrating the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi. Several assurances have been given by the Prime Minister and others, and everybody says that he wants to do something for the down-trodden people, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But in practice you will find that their actions "are quite contrary to whatever they say. Even when representations are made to the officials, they do not take any note of them. Even if we write to the Minister, the Minister will ask the officer concerned as to what the report is and whatever that officer says will be communicated to us.

Is this the way the Government machinery should function? The Government, generally speaking, should take keen interest in this matter and see that whatever their grievances are, they are personally looked into and redressed. If you are not going to redress their grievances in this way, by appointing such committees nothing will happen. I can tell you this much. If you really want to do something good, please see that you really do good to these people. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with your permission, I rise here to-day to share the feelings expressed by the hon. Member, Shri Gaikwad. I would like to draw the attention of this House to article 46 of our Constitution wherein it is said :

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of

the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

Sir, even though in our Constitution we have guaranteed the fundamental rights of all the citizens of this country, I am really sorry to say, and my head bows down with shame, that even after 21 years of independence we have not been able to protect the interests of these citizens, our brothers and sisters belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even though, Sir, we have said that all the hotels and restaurants and everything will be open to all, when we go into the villages we find that the board is there, saying that this hotel is open to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and what not, but under that very board, in one corner you will find a cup and a saucer and a glass meant for the use of Harijans. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people cannot enter those hotels. Even though we say that all the wells are open to all, even to-day we find that the Harijans cannot fetch water from the wells where the non-Scheduled Caste people are there. So this is the situation all over the country. There is ex-communication everywhere.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I feel that the time has come in this country when more and more protection shall have to be rendered and this responsibility of providing better protection to the vulnerable classes in this country lies on those who are better protected. Are we prepared for that? I may say that the State Governments and the Central Government shall have to introduce several schemes whereby the down-trodden people in this country will be given better shelter, better opportunities and better amenities in life. They should be given better employment opportunities whether in the private sector or in the public sector or in the Government. It is true that there are notifications, there are orders and there are instructions that 10 or 15 per cent of the posts should be filled by people from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, but at the time of employment, we find that the applications are called, but under the pretext that no suitable persons appeared before the employment board or committee or whatever it is, those vacancies are again filled by those people who do not

I belong to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes. So if we take a survey in the country, we find that we have failed in giving the protection which we have guaranteed under our own Constitution. When Dr. Ambedkar, the great parliamentarian and a veteran leader of this country, drafted the Constitution, he had once said, "Ultimately what is this Constitution? If the spirit of the Constitution is not properly recognised by the people, this Constitution has no meaning. It is useless." Today what is happening, particularly when we are passing through this year, the year of the Gandhi Centenary? I do feel that the time has come for all of us to think about it very seriously. This matter was discussed at the time of the AICC meeting. I am happy that some decisions have been taken by my own party. But I feel that these decisions are also not enough. This Government shall have to guarantee to the Harijans, to the people of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, that their interests are properly protected. During the last few years, have we not seen that Harijan boys have been killed and murdered, that Harijan women have been molested? They have been coming here—to the very floor of this House. Even then, they have not been able to secure justice and if that justice is to be rendered, not only the representatives who belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, but I feel, all of us should be on the vanguard. To tell you I frankly, today I went into Mr. Om I Mehta's room and requested him that I would like to intervene because I saw that it was only Mr. Gaikwad and Mr. Chavda who were intervening in the debate. Why should not others also intervene? I feel, Sir, that it is our duty, it is our responsibility, to see that we give proper protection to them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Quite right.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I will not take more time, Sir. I do feel that this is indeed a serious matter. When are we going to give that guarantee to these citizens of this country? Why should we have this sub-standard citizenship in this country of ours when those guarantees are given under the Constitution? Ultimately it is not only a democratic philosophy, but it is a matter of every day functioning. In every walk of life we should prove that we are going

[Shri M. M. Dharia]

according to that philosophy. Otherwise, it has no meaning. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to appeal to this honourable House today, let us resolve that in this House this Parliament shall take a decision that we shall function in a way so that these minority communities will not have to grumble. They shall feel a sense of security that they will be in a position to advance hand in hand in this country in the prospects and future of this country as proud citizens, as citizens of equal status. Thank you very much.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार): उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने मंत्री महोदय का मोशन देखा। इतना ही कह सकता हूँ कि देर आयद दुखस्त आयद। जिस समिति के गठन की बात उन्होंने की है उस समिति की मर्यादा, उस समिति के अधिकार का जो थोड़ा बहुत विवेचन आया है उस से पता लगता है कि कहीं यह समिति भी जिस प्रकार का यह आयुक्त है उसी प्रकार की साबित न हो जाय। मैंने आयुक्त की रिपोर्ट का प्रतिवेदन देखा और उसे मैं पढ़ रहा था तो मेरे मन में यह भाव आया कि आर्थिक योजनाओं तथा आर्थिक प्रगति का माप समाज में ऊपर की सीढ़ी पर पहुँचे हुए व्यक्ति नहीं बल्कि सब से नीचे के स्तर पर विद्यमान व्यक्ति से होगा। आज देश में ऐसे करोड़ों मानव हैं जो मानव के किसी भी अधिकार का उपभोग नहीं कर पाते। शासन के नियम और व्यवस्थाएँ, योजनाएँ और नीतियाँ, प्रशासन का व्यवहार और भावना इन को अपनी परिधि में ले कर नहीं चलतीं, प्रत्युत उन्हें मार्ग का रोड़ा ही समझा जाता है। हमारी भावना और सिद्धांत है कि वे मँले कुचैले, अनपढ़, मूर्ख लोग हमारे नारायण हैं। हमें इनकी पूजा करनी है। यह हमारा सामाजिक एवं मानव धर्म है। जिस दिन इन को पक्के, सुन्दर, सभ्य घर बना कर हम देंगे, जिस दिन हम इन के बच्चों और स्त्रियों को शिक्षा और जीवन दर्शन का ज्ञान देंगे, जिस दिन हम इन के हाथ और पांवों की विवाइयों को भरेंगे और जिस दिन इन को उद्योगों और धन्धों की शिक्षा दे कर इन की आय को ऊँचा उठा देंगे, उसी दिन तो हमारा भ्रातृ-

भाव व्यक्त होगा। ग्रामों में, जहाँ समय अच्छल खड़ा है, जहाँ माता और पिता अपने बच्चों के भविष्य को बनाने में असमर्थ हैं, वहाँ जब तक हम आशा और पुरुषार्थ का संदेश नहीं पहुँचा पायेंगे तब तक हम राष्ट्र के चैतन्य को जागृत नहीं कर सकेंगे। हमारी श्रद्धा का केन्द्र, आराध्य और उपास्य, हमारे पराक्रम और प्रयत्न का उपकरण तथा उपलब्धियों का मानदंड वह मानव होगा जो आज शब्दशः अनिकेत और अपरिग्रही है। जब हम उस मानव को पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टयशील बना कर समुत्कर्ष का स्वामी और विद्या विनय सम्पन्न कर के आध्यात्मिकता के साक्षात्कार से राष्ट्र और विश्व सेवा परायण अनिकेतन और अपरिग्रही बना सकेंगे तभी हमारा एकात्म मानव साकार हो सकेगा।

श्रीमन्, पिछले दिनों मैं बिहार प्रदेश का दौरा कर रहा था और वहाँ मेरे मन में एक विचार उत्पन्न हुआ कि जिस प्रकार यहाँ माननीय सदस्य मोहन धारिया ने विवेचन किया उसी प्रकार इस संबंध में सरकार द्वारा अपनी योजनाओं पर जो कार्यान्वयन होता है गांवों में उस की स्थिति शोचनीय है। बिहार में वनवासियों की संख्या अध्यधिक है। वहाँ पर अगर आप देखेंगे तो ऐसा लगेगा कि जितना रुपया वहाँ पर सरकार का गया है वह गया है विदेशी ईसाई मिशनरियों के या देशी ईसाई मिशनरियों के हाथों में और मैं एक प्रतिवेदन देख रहा था 11 का आर्यावर्त, जिस के अनुसार 23 करोड़ रुपया सरकार ने खर्च किया है वहाँ के वनवासियों पर, जिस में सिर्फ 4 करोड़ 83 लाख रुपया हिन्दू वनवासियों पर खर्च हुआ है और इसी तरह से जो वहाँ अधिकारी बनाय गये हैं, सरकारी अधिकारियों को जो पद दिये गये हैं उन में भी देखा जाता है तो लगता है कि हिन्दुओं की संख्या नाम मात्र को भी नहीं है। मैं इस प्रकार का विवेचन इस लिये करना चाहता हूँ कि नागालैंड का उदाहरण हमारे सामने है। वहाँ भी हिन्दू वनवासियों की संख्या कम नहीं, लेकिन आज वहाँ पर जो वनवासी डामिनेट कर रहे हैं वे क्रिश्चियन वनवासी हैं जो अंग्रेजों या अमरीकियों के हाथों में खेल रहे

है। इसी प्रकार रांची जिले के इतिहास को उलट कर देखा जाय कि वहां क्या हो रहा है। वहां वे बनवासी बन्धु जिन पर आप ने 23 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है, आज क्रिश्चियन मिशनरियों द्वारा उन के अस्पतालों और स्कूलों में पाले जा रहे हैं। वह रुपया वहां खर्च किया जाता है और उन्हीं को मुविधा मिल रही है। हमें आज इस से दुख नहीं होता कि कोई व्यक्ति भगवान की पूजा ईसाई मत द्वारा करे या मुस्लिम मत द्वारा करे या किसी दूसरे मत के द्वारा करे, लेकिन वे जबरदस्ती ईसाई बनाये जायें, अर्थ का लोभ दे कर, उन की गरीबी का फायदा उठा कर आज उन्हें ईसाई बनाया जाता है और उस के साथ साथ उन को इंजेक्ट किया जाता है राष्ट्रद्रोह की भावना से, उन को राष्ट्र के विपरीत चलाया जाता है, ले जाया जाता है और उन को बरगलाया जाता है जिस के कारण छोटा नागपुर में कितनी ही घटनायें घटित हो चुकी हैं। तो इस प्रकार बनवासियों में एक वर्चस्व स्थापित किया गया आप के रुपयों से, विदेशी रुपयों से और अब यह पी० एल० 480 का रुपया ईसाई मिशनरियों के हाथ में जा रहा है और जब इन ईसाई मिशनरियों ने देखा कि उन्होंने बनवासियों में एक वर्चस्व स्थापित कर लिया है तो उन्होंने अब हरिजनों पर भी हमला बोला है और आज वे उन्हें बरगलाना चाह रहे हैं। इस लिये आज आप की अकर्मण्यता के कारण, आप में चेतन्यता न होने के कारण हमारे समाज का जो पिछड़ा वर्ग है, हमारे समाज का जो नीचा, गिरा हुआ वर्ग है, जिस को हमारी सरकार आर्थिक, राजनीतिक या धर्म के क्षेत्र में ऊंचे स्तर पर अपने 20 वर्ष के शासन काल में भी नहीं ला सकी है वे वहां असहाय हैं। उन को उच्च स्तर पर न लाने का सारा दोष हमारे समाज के लोगों पर है और सारे समाज और राष्ट्र का नेतृत्व करने वाली सरकार पर है। इसके जो अधिकारी हैं वे गांधीवादी कहलाते हैं, अपने को गांधीवादी कहते हैं। किन्तु उन का यह अधिकार तो छिन चुका है। यदि इस के बाद भी वे गांधी की माला जपते हैं तो उन को चाहिये कि वे हरिजनों और अनुसूचित भाइयों के बीच में आयें, उन की

दुर्दशा देखें। आप देखें कि उन की दुर्दशा क्या है। अगर आप यहां सेक्रेटरियट में भी बैठें और यहां ही आंख कान खोल कर देखें तो पता लगेगा कि उन की क्या दुर्दशा हो रही है। मैं बिहार के प्रदेश का एक उदाहरण आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। सेक्रेटरियट में छोटे वर्ग का कितना डामिनेशन होता है, किन्तु वहां आप के प्रश्न देने के कारण कुछ हरिजन, कुछ बनवासी और कुछ पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग ऊपर उठते हैं, नौकरी पा जाते हैं। लेकिन उनको वहां पर इतना दबाया जाता है, या उन का केरेक्टर रोल इतना खराब किया जाता है कि जो तरक्की उन्हें वहां मिलनी चाहिये वह उन को नहीं मिल पा रही है और वे प्रगति नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। एप्वाइंटमेंट में भी जहां आप निश्चित करते हैं कि इतनी जगहें अल्पसूचित वर्ग को अब्बा बनवासियों को मिलनी चाहिये, चुनाव करने वाले लोग यह कह कर कि वे उपस्थित नहीं हो सके या उस कोटि को वह प्राप्त नहीं कर सके, उन को उन पदों से वंचित रखते हैं और उन के स्थानों पर दूसरे लोगों की व्यवस्था की जाती है। ऐसा हो सकता है कि वे उस कोटि के न हों, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि टेक्निकली या मेकेनिकली यदि वे उस योग्य न हों तो भी उन को काम दिया जाय, किन्तु इन 20,22 सालों में क्या आप इतने सक्षम नहीं थे कि उन को आप समाज में ऊंचे स्तर पर ला सकते और अगर आप उन को उच्च स्तर पर नहीं ला पाये हैं तो इस का कारण क्या है ?

आप जिस प्रकार आयोग का प्रतिवेदन छपवाते हैं और इसे सदन में रख देते हैं उस के बाद इसे भी देखें कि इस में क्या लिखा है और आयुक्त ने क्या विवेचन किया है। आप एक उदाहरण लें। आप कहते हैं कि शिक्षा का प्रसार बनवासियों और अनुसूचित वर्ग में और पिछड़े वर्ग में हो। लेकिन आप उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति को जा कर देखें तो वहां आप को पता लगेगा कि छोटे छोटे बच्चे स्कूल आते हैं। आपने कुछ स्कालरशिप दिये थे जिस के लोभ में शायद वे स्कूल चले आते हैं, लेकिन उनका जो कारोबार है मवेशी चराने का, दूसरों के यहां नौकरी करने का

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]
 उसको उन्हें करना पड़ता है। उनके पिता की
 ऐसी आय नहीं है कि वे अपने बच्चे को खाना
 दे सकें, अपने बच्चे को कपड़ा दे सकें और अपने
 बच्चे को स्कूल की दूसरी आवश्यक चीजों से
 मदद कर सकें। इस लिये लाचार हो कर, अपने
 परिवार का भरणपोषण न करने के कारण
 छोटे छोटे बच्चों को उनको नौकरी में देना
 पड़ता है। इसी लिये आपने अपने देश में यह
 बनाया था कि हम 12 वर्ष तक के बच्चों को
 अनिवार्य शिक्षा देंगे। जब जब हम को मौका
 मिला हमने इस सदन और दूसरे सदन में यह
 प्रश्न उठाया कि आप अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था
 कब तक कर सकेंगे। अगर अनिवार्य शिक्षा की
 व्यवस्था आप कर सकते तो वे सारे अनुसूचित
 वनवासी और पिछड़े वर्ग के बच्चे निश्चित
 रूप से पढ़ सकते। लेकिन आप कहते हैं कि
 सरकार की आर्थिक अवस्था इस प्रकार की नहीं
 है कि आप अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर
 सकें। सरकार की आर्थिक अवस्था इस प्रकार
 की नहीं है तो जैसे बिहार में 23 करोड़ रुपया
 आपने खर्च किया वह आपने मट्टी भर ईसाई
 मिशनरियों के हाथ में दे दिया, उस रुपय की
 व्यवस्था आपने स्वयं क्यों नहीं की। अगर आपने
 उसकी व्यवस्था स्वयं की होती तो वह कुछ वेस्टेड
 इस्ट्रेट के लोगों के हाथ में नहीं जाता और उससे
 कुछ शिक्षा का विस्तार हो सकता था।
 इसी तरह से आप अनिवार्य शिक्षा की
 व्यवस्था अगर सारे देश में किये होते तो
 मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद बीस वर्ष में
 हमारे समाज की ऐसी स्थिति नहीं रहती।
 अगर हमारे छोटे वर्ग के लोग पढ़े लिखे हो जाते
 तो वे अच्छी नौकरियाँ कर सकते थे। अगर
 वे पढ़े लिखे होशियार हो जाते, उनमें तकनीकी
 ज्ञान होता तो वे व्यवसाय कर सकते थे। लेकिन
 आपने इस माने में सिर्फ यह प्रतिवेदन दे कर
 सन्तोष कर लिया कि हमने इतना रुपया खर्च
 कर दिया, हमने यहाँ यहाँ एक्जामिनेशन करा
 लिया और हमारा काम समाप्त हो गया। मैं
 समझता हूँ कि यह एक्जामिनेशन किसी भी काम
 का प्रारम्भ होता है, अन्त नहीं होता है। अब

हमारे पास प्रतिवेदन की कापी है कि देश में,
 प्रदेश में, एक जिले में और एक गांव में जो
 समाज है उसका क्या चित्र है, समाज के
 वर्गीकरण का क्या चित्र है। उस वर्गीकरण
 को देख कर के हम समाज में एक नियामक
 रूप लाने की कोशिश कर सकते हैं।
 जो एक समिति बनाई गई है उस समिति
 को आप अधिकार देते, उस समिति
 को आप इतने अधिकार दे कर सम्पन्न बनाते
 कि वह जैसी जैसी व्यवस्था जहाँ चाहती उसको
 कर दिया जाता। मैं अभी भी आपसे आग्रह
 करूँगा कि आपने जिस तरह से इस आयुक्त
 को फार्मल बनाया उस तरह से उस कमेटी को
 फार्मल न बनायें। उस कमेटी को आप इतनी
 सामर्थ्य दें, उस कमेटी को आप इतनी व्यवस्था
 करने की शक्ति प्रदान करें कि सचमुच में वह
 देश का कायाकल्प कर सके और देश में
 कुछ परिवर्तन ला सके। देश में परिवर्तन लाना
 इसलिये आवश्यक है कि अगर आप फिर भी
 चूकेंगे तो वह समाज पिछड़ा रहेगा और उस
 समाज पर विदेशी मिशनरी या कोई न कोई
 मिशनरी आ कर के हमला करेंगे और उसको
 देश के विरोध में खड़ा करेंगे।

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore) : Mr.
 Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for
 giving me an opportunity to speak on this
 Motion regarding Scheduled Castes and
 Scheduled Tribes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR
 ALI KHAN) : Mr. Khempa-raj, as this
 Motion could not be adopted in the last
 Session, I think in the fitness of things we
 should adopt it today and with that idea I
 would request you to finish your remarks
 within five minutes.

SHRI B. T. KHEMPARAJ : Mr.
 Vice-Chairman, you will be pleased to see
 that the words used in the Motion are
 "Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled
 Castes and Scheduled Tribes". Now their
 welfare in which context? That is very
 important. Will it mean their welfare as far as
 their social, economic and educational
 conditions are concerned? We have to make it
 very clear as to how their lot has to be
 improved. As has already been pointed out by
 some Members, a Commission

has already been appointed for studying their conditions and recommending measures to improve their lot. It has also been pointed out by some Members that the Commissioner, instead of recommending measures for their social, economic and educational welfare, is taking the view that their conditions should not be improved. Such being the case, Sir, what is the use of appointing any Committee for making a report, when that report is not going to be implemented properly? We have got experience for the last 20 years and we find that on no occasion has a case been filed or a man prosecuted by any Government servant. The reason is that as against one Scheduled Caste person there will be six or seven officers of the other communities. Therefore it is so difficult and so hard and also unmanageable and we find that whatever rules have been laid down in that direction are not properly followed or implemented. Therefore what is the remedy? The Committee has to recommend certain remedial measures.

Secondly, Sir, it is often argued that the condition of Harijans should be improved. What are the ways and means to improve their condition? Under the existing circumstances how far is it possible to improve their condition? That has also got to be taken into consideration. Sir, we know that untouchability has been abolished under the Constitution, article 17, and any offences made in connection with that have been made punishable. You have to see in how many cases punishment has been awarded for such offences. I would like to know whether there is even one single case where the punishment has been given. Therefore, I apprehend very much that unless the Government thinks seriously about these things and adopts certain effective measures to remedy the situation, nothing can happen and these people will continue to suffer. As far as The Commissioner is concerned, I think he must be a person who feels the pulse of such people. It is the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches, not an observer. An observer may say "It may be pinching there". But actually he does not know where the shoe is pinching. It is only the person who wears the shoe, he alone knows where it is pinching, he alone can feel the intensity of the pain or the agony caused by it. With these few words, Sir, I request that the terms of reference of this Committee should be such that it can go

into all the possible details and suggest suitable measures for the improvement of their economic, social and educational conditions. Thank you.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह आज ही खत्म होगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आज ही रिजोल्यूशन पास कर देंगे तो कमेटी जल्दी मुक़र्र हो जायेगी

श्री राजनारायण : एक निवेदन है . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The Committee will look after the interests of our brethren. That is why I am anxious to finish it today. Let me see how brief you can be, Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : आपके जरिए एक निवेदन करना है । बाबा अम्बेडकर का नाम तो किसी को लेना नहीं चाहिए, न गायकवाड़ साहब को लेना चाहिए, न मोहन धारिया को और न जो मित्र अभी बोल गए उनको । हर जगह सब अनर्थ की जड़ में यही सदन, लोकसभा और विधानमंडल है । हम किसी तरह से चुनकर चले आएँ चाहे हमारे परिवार और हमारे कुनवे का भला हो या न हो; यही लालच आज शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स को, अनुसूचित जातियों का गला काट रहा है । बिल्कुल सीधी-सीधी बात कहूँगा क्योंकि अगर हम अपने जज्बात को छिपाएँ या उनको रंग देकर कहें तो हम योग्य नहीं हैं कि इस सदन के सदस्य रहें । अम्बेडकर साहब ने एक बात कही थी कि जो सीट का रिजर्वेशन हो रहा है, यह कुछ पेरसाइड पैदा कर देगा जो दूसरों की बदौलत खड़े रहेंगे और आज वही हो रहा है । मोहन धारिया साहब अच्छा बोल गए अंग्रेजी में और गायकवाड़ साहब भी बोले । कहते हैं कि 21 साल हो गए और इस कांस्टीट्यूशन, संविधान की मंशा पूरी नहीं हुई । जो सरकार इतनी नालायक है कि 21 साल में इस संविधान की जो मूल मंशा थी उसको पूरा नहीं कर पाई, फिर उस पार्टी में काहे हो ? काहे को एडजस्टमेंट आफ सीट्स कर रहे हो

[श्री राजनारायण]

कांग्रेस के साथ मिल कर ? एक बड़ा सवाल खड़ा हुआ है। खाली इसस काम चल जायगा कि हम भुक्तभोगी है ? 1956 में जब हरिजनों को लेकर हम गए थे काशी विश्वनाथ मन्दिर में तो हमको मारने के लिए भेजे गए थे स्वामी करपात्री जी के शिष्य और उन्होंने कहा कि विश्वनाथ जी का प्राणापहरण हो गया और दूसरा विश्वनाथ मन्दिर बनवाया पूंजीपतियों से पैसा लेकर, लेकिन अब भी लोग पुराने मन्दिर में ही जाते हैं। उसी समय हमारी दाढ़ी नोची गयी बहुत लम्बी दाढ़ी थी तब से हमने दाढ़ी छोटी करवा दी ताकि पी० ए० सी० के हाथ में न आए। मोहन धारिया ने पढ़ दिया, हम भी पढ़ देते हैं—“The State shall” बड़ shall लिखा है। shall और may में कुछ फर्क है। इस shall को may बना दिया गया है।

"With special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर हमारे कानून मंत्री साहब क्या कोई एक आंकड़ा प्रस्तुत कर सकते हैं कि उन्होंने हरिजनों, अनुसूचित जातियों की दशा सुधारने के लिए, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करने के लिए क्या काम किया है ? आज गरीब कौन है, अकिचन कौन है जिसके पास दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया नहीं है ? वही लोग गरीब हैं। कितने हरिजनों के हाथ में दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया इस 21 साल में कांग्रेस ने दिया ? दौलत कैसे पैदा होती है। एक दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया है जमीन, खेत, अन्न, धन; एक दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया है कल, कारखाना, कपड़ा, चीनी, लोहा, तेल, सीमेंट वगैरह; एक दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया है खान-खदान, ढोना, चांदी, तांबा, लोहा, अभ्रक; एक दौलत पैदा करने का जरिया है कारोबार, धन्वा, नौकरी, पेंसा। कितने हरिजनों को जमीन मिली,

कितने हरिजन खान के मालिक बने, कितने हरिजन कल-कारखाने में गए, कितने हरिजन आज कारोबार, धन्वे में लगे हैं, कितने हरिजनों को नौकरी है ? हम तो उत्तर प्रदेश से आते हैं जहां हरिजनों को 18 फीसदी सरकारी नौकरी में जगह मिलने का नियम है, मगर सिवाय भंगी, मेहतर के—मेहतर का अर्थ आप जानते होंगे, बता दीजिए लोगों को—कहीं भी 18 फीसदी की बात पूरी नहीं हुई है। मेहतर तो सेन्ट परसेंट हो जाते हैं क्योंकि ब्राह्मण पाखाना साफ नहीं करेगा, द्विज पाखाना साफ नहीं करेगा, शूद्र पाखाना साफ नहीं करेगा। तो जो पांचवां वर्ग आप ले आए हैं शेड्यूलड कास्ट्स का, अस्पृश्य का, उनको पाखाना साफ करना है। ये शत प्रतिशत हो जाते हैं।

यह कमेटी बन रही है। यह कमेटी बनने से क्या होगा। हां, चुनाव लाएंगे तो उसमें प्रचार का मौका हो सकता कि गोविन्द मेनन साहब ने एक विधेयक पास कर दिया और एक कमेटी बना दी ताकि जो हमारे शेड्यूलड कास्ट के भाई लोग हैं उनकी दशा बदल दी जाय उनकी दशा में सुधार हो जाय। शर्म आनी चाहिए इस सरकार को, अपनी नाक को गड़ा देना चाहिए बालू में। बकेवर धाने की घटना रोज हो रही है, घर मंत्री यहां बैठा है, शराबी पुलिस के सिपाही हरिजन मां को नंगा करते हैं राजबहादुर सिंह को कोठी के कमरे में और उसके बच्चे को नंगा करते हैं—जेल में जाकर उसकी रपट ले आया हूँ, श्रीमन—और उस मां पर उस बेटे को चढ़ाते हैं। वह हरिजन नारी, गांधी की नारी—गांधी कहते थे कि मैं पुनर्जन्म लूं तो एक भंगी के घर में जन्म लूं, यह गांधी जी का कहना है—उसके साथ ऐसी घटना हो 21 साल के बाद और मोहन धारिया कहें कि हम आजाद हैं। मोहन धारिया के मुंह से जब यह बात निकलती है तो मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है, कुछ इसलिए कि उनका सम्बन्ध कुछ समय हमारे दल से रहा है। हम कहाँ है ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : आप क्या करते हैं, मर जाइए उनके लिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : अब यहां एक पाखंडी आ गया । श्रीमन्, विदूषक नाटकों में आपने देखा होगा, वही है यह ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : ये ऊंची जाति वाले लोग क्या करते हैं मर जायं वहां जाकर ।

श्री राजनारायण : ऊंची जाति वाले मरे हैं और हम तो ऊंची जाति के हैं नहीं, हमारे मां-बाप रहे हों । हम तो अपने को इन्सान समझते हैं और इसीलिए जब मौका मिलता है समाज में पाखाना साफ करना अपना कर्तव्य समझते हैं और जो समाजवादी आज इस मुल्क में पाखाना दूसरों का साफ नहीं करते उनको मैं अच्छा समाजवादी नहीं मानता क्योंकि पाखाना साफ करना सबसे धृष्ट काम है, सबसे छोटा काम है । इसलिए काम के फर्क को मिटाने के लिए हमने यह सिद्धान्त बना रखा है कि दूसरों का पाखाना साफ करो ताकि मेहतरों के अन्दर यह अहसास पैदा हो कि काम करने की वजह से न कोई छोटा है, न बड़ा है, न कोई छूत है, न अछूत ।

श्रीमन्, बहुत समय लग जायगा । बनारस का झगड़ा हमारा रामेश्वरम में भी उठता । रामेश्वरम में एक बड़ा डंडा लगा हुआ है । हमारा नाम वहाँ सब जानते थे, जब हम गए तो पंडा आया, बोला कि बाबा बनारस का काम मत करना । हमारा बंगलौर का प्रोग्राम लगा था । हमने कहा कि प्रोग्राम लगा है, वरना हमारे साथ ये हरिजन थे, अब दूसरी बार रामेश्वरम आऊंगा तो इनको लेकर, अगर ये घुसना चाहेंगे तो मंदिर में प्रवेश कर जाऊंगा । यह हर जगह नौटंकी बनी हुई है, तमाशा बना हुआ है । मैं आपको बताऊं यहीं चले चलिए मुजफ्फर नगर में टाउन एरिया है मीरापुर, वहां दीपावली के दिन—उस दिन मेहतर भी त्योहार मनाते हैं हम सबों की तरह—ये द्विज लोग डंडा लेकर चल गए,

बोले चलो तुमको हमारे दरवाजे की सड़क साफ करनी है । मेहतरों ने कहा कि हम भी त्योहार मना रहे हैं, त्योहार मनाना चाहते हैं । क्या मार पड़ी है । बुरी तरह से मार पड़ी है दीपावली के दिन और थाने में उनकी रफट है । एस० पी० कहता है कि इसमें जनसंघ के बड़े बड़े लोग पड़े हुए हैं, राजनैतिक मामला बन जायगा, इस पर कोई कार्यवाही मत करो । जा कर के मीरापुर में पूछ लें । बहुत से लोग यहां आये । टेलीफोन किया कि हमारी कुछ जांच की गई होगी । मैं चाहता हूँ कि कानून मंत्री कहीं इसको लिख ले और मीरापुर टाउन एरिया में दीपावली के दिन हरिजनों के साथ जो ज्यादाती हुई उसकी जांच पड़ताल करें । चले जाइये बाराबंकी । राजपूत लोग बेगार लेने के लिये जबरदस्ती काम लेने के लिये हरिजन वस्ती में जाते हैं, हरिजन कहते हैं कि हम बेगार में नहीं जायेंगे, एक साथ छः जाने गई है, यही जून महीने में एक साथ छः जाने गई, राजपूतों ने गोली चला दी, तमाम हरिजन घड़ाघड़ा मर गये । यह क्या है । कौन सोशल इनजस्टिस, इनइक्वालिटी, सामाजिक अन्याय और सामाजिक गैर-बराबरी मिटाई जा रही है । कभी सुना था । अनहोनी चीज है । हमने पहले नहीं सुना था । हमने बहन के साथ शादी तो सुनी है मगर माता के साथ बेटे की शादी नहीं सुनी है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Would you like to continue Mr. Rajnarain?

श्री राजनारायण : हां साहब, हमारे पास तमाम फाइल है । इसको कल चलने दीजिये, आप कल यह पहले ले और फिर दूसरा काम ।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भागव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कल नहीं होगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : कल क्यों नहीं होगा ।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भागव : कल प्राइवट मेम्बर्स डे है ।

श्री राजनारायण : फाइड के लिये हम तमाम लोगों से कहेंगे कि इसको पहले ले लें। देखिय एक मौका मिला है, 21 वर्ष में कांग्रेसी-राज में हरिजनों की जो दुर्दशा हुई है उसका नंगा चित्र आने दीजिये, घबड़ाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर कल बहस कीजिये और नान-आफिशियल डे आप सोमवार को ले लीजिये। पहले हुआ है ऐसा। पहले ऐसा हुआ है कि नान आफिशियल डे बदला है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Tomorrow is Friday and it is Private Member's Day.

SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON : One word, Sir. If it is not finished today, I would request you to have it on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You are busy somewhere ?

SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON : Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Then we will have it on Monday.

श्री राजनारायण : तो लीजिये मंडे को, मगर सारे चित्र को सदन में आने दीजिये, सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य समझें कि क्या हो रहा है हमारे मित्र जहाँ से आते हैं वहाँ की, मुज़फ्फरनगर की बात बताऊंगा तो पता चलेगा।

श्री शीलभद्र याजगी : आपकी संविद सरकार में यह सब हुआ, शर्म नहीं आती, बोलते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We are appointing a committee for the same purpose, to look after.

श्री राजनारायण : इसीलिये तो मैं आपसे अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि बच्चा रोओ मत तुमको मैं लमनचूस दे रहा हूँ, अरे हरिजन बच्चों रोओ मत तुम्हारे लिये कमेटी बना रहे हैं। अनहोनी घटना को, जो पहल कभी नहीं हुई उसको 21 वर्ष के अपने राज में होने दिया।

आप क्या समझते हैं कि जब तक यह सरकार इस ढंग से रहेगी इस प्रकार की कमेटियों से हरिजनों का उत्थान होगा। इसलिये मैं दादा गायकवाड से कहता हूँ कि क्यों इस नालायक पार्टी की सरकार से केवल सौट के लिये सांठगाठ करने जा रहे हैं, मैदान में आजो और साँची बातें जनता को बताओ। छिद्रेपु दोषा बहुली भवन्ति। छोटा सा छिद्र, छोटी सी चीज़ भयंकर बर्बादी कर देती है। इसलिये आप इस बात को पहले मंडे को ही चलाइये हाँलाकि हम मंडे को रहने वाले नहीं थे लेकिन इस काम के लिये आ जायेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. K. K. Shah has requested me that he may be allowed to make a statement which he wants to make. I call upon Mr. Shah to make the Statement.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE MONOPOLY AND CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP IN THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI K. K. SHAH) : Sir, the question of monopoly and concentration of ownership in the newspaper industry has been exercising public mind for quite some time past. In 1954 the Press Commission in its report observed that "the essence of process of formation of opinion is that the public must have an opportunity of studying various points of view and that the exclusive and continuous advocacy of one point of view through the medium of a newspaper which holds a monopolistic position is not conducive to the formation of healthy opinion".

In accordance with the recommendation of the Press Commission, the Government appointed the Press Registrar to keep a close watch on the circulation of newspapers. Subsequently, the Press Council was set up which is required *inter alia* to study "developments which may tend towards monopoly or concentration of ownership of newspapers, including a study of the ownership or financial structure of newspapers and, if *.,,joj3J3tn saipatnai jsaSSns oj 'AiEssoaau