

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree that we should wait. Then again, I understand that this order that was served to the newspapers under the Punjab Security Act has been withdrawn, and I hope that such orders will not be passed to gag the press altogether. Therefore, let Government from time to time keep us informed of the developments and it is open to Government to say whatever it likes to tell us. We are here to ask clarifications; we should not be left entirely to the press to find out the position and understand the situation.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): We are all anxious that the situation should improve and let us wait.

MOTION RE THE NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF HOME
AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI VIOLET
ALVA):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, I beg to move:

"That the Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1959-60, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 24th April, 1961, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this is a specific Report that has been coming before this august House and the other House for the last eight years. It used to be said in the past that there was a tremendous amount of delay in the discussion of the Report. Nevertheless, we have improved now and brought it before the House. I cannot yet satisfy hon. Members that there has really been no delay in discussing the Report. However, we shall improve with experience and try to bring it up-to-date in future. This, Sir, is the Ninth Annual Report. The interest that the hon. Members evince in this subject of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is manifest in the Ques-

tion Hour, and it shows how everyone is keen to build up a composite society. But in building up the composite society there are the hurdles that we have to cross. They may be monetary in some respects, but mainly they are human factors that stand in our way, in achieving the maximum results in the field of social welfare for these people.

Now, this discussion on the Annual Report, of course, is the time when we assess what we have been able to do and when we also talk about our own limitations. There is no reluctance in admitting that we have not succeeded in doing as much as we should have done from the Governmental angle. Nevertheless we invite the co-operation of every section of this House, especially of those Members who are always taking a keen interest in the subject. It was on the hon. the Speaker's suggestion last year that we called for informal committees to be formed of those who were interested in this particular subject of social welfare for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and they were formed this year, and there, whatever suggestions the hon. Members were able to give us during the sessions of these two committees, we have examined them, and have already passed on a major portion of the suggestions given to us, to the various States, because ultimately, the implementation of whatever schemes we evolve from here has to be carried out in the various States and the Union Territories by the administrations concerned. A very good and practical suggestion made by the hon. the Speaker was that the debate in Parliament should be more concentrated on relevant points and specially focussed on those topics that we could take a vital interest in from the Centre. I think this practice has been good and I felt in the other august House that the discussion was less rambling this year than it had been in the past years.

Now, Sir, of course the Report comes every year, and there is a section of the House at least in the other House

which felt and asked: "What is the use of this Report? Every year the same things come, every year the same things are talked about, and the same things are not done". But I may again repeat, what I said there, that the implementation of the programme is all in the hands of the States, and if only the hon. Members of Parliament would carry it to their—what shall I say?—parallel numbers in the States, it would serve us very much better, because each State has an Assembly, and this could be very usefully discussed, especially the relevant portion of the Report which concerns any particular State. It is also said that the States take no interest in the matter. There I may join with you but to a little extent, not to the full extent, because the States have also their hands full, and they are unable to implement, for many genuine reasons, the programmes in full; they are unable to carry on with the work in full. However, the suggestions that will come from you all will be welcome, and we shall see in what manner we could make the different States to take greater interest. One way is this. If the relevant portion of the Report is discussed at every State level I think the picture would look better and clearer, not only for us but also for the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. After all, he is going round the country. Pandit Kunzru said just now—during the Question Hour—that he has recommended a commission. I still want to know where it is. Nevertheless, even if it is recommended, it is not possible. And what will the commission do? The commission cannot achieve complete eradication of untouchability. Of course, untouchability stands abolished by law from 1955, but yet we have not been able to achieve anything much, because not even many hon. Members can fully—sort of—help in the eradication of untouchability. It is a human factor of centuries and still the Scheduled Castes continue to suffer. There are still the orthodox elements that attach the stigma to them, and so much propaganda has to be done among them to

make the caste Hindus—the orthodox among them—alive to the sin they commit by practising untouchability against the Scheduled Castes, and if we only work among the Scheduled Castes, the goal will never be reached. Therefore, it is a two-way business for us at this level to see that we are able to propagate whatever our desires are and whatever the Father of the Nation has put before us, taking it as a serious task. In this age especially, when the world is moving so fast in all directions, I do not think this stigma should last in India. A composite society is the challenge before us today and, therefore, we should take the discussion that will proceed today from that angle with a very impartial and dispassionate approach. Of course, their grievances, they are in plenty. It is true that those people who suffer have become more and more vocal with the aid that has been given to them from year to year. It is not that they should not be vocal, but then they should also be more active and help us to build up a composite society, as I have said.

Now, besides the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which reports on their progress, the provision in the Plans for the welfare of this particular section of our public is also a special measure of welfare. More than two-thirds of the whole Plan covers the welfare of every section in the country. Therefore, one must not forget, when discussing this Report, that the Five Year Plan is for the general uplift of the whole of India and for all those who suffer from social and economic disabilities, and also for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who suffer from a special kind of stigma in their daily life and in their avocations. Therefore, Sir, the Central Government has provided assistance and goes on providing assistance from year to year, but we at the Centre cannot provide all the assistance that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes among our people need. It is the sum total of it that has to be seen

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in the general Five Year Plan programme, and therefore, what we can do from the Central level is that we can guide them and we can advise them. We can also help them to plan schemes, and with the States' co-operation we can go ahead. In the field of co-operation by States many things are being done. There is the Central Advisory Board both for Scheduled Castes' welfare and for Scheduled Tribes, welfare. Besides, the Chief Ministers' conference comes up every few months. Besides that, there are the Ministers of the Welfare Departments in the different States who also come here and meet the officers and the Home Minister here. At this level such things take place. Even so the criticism is there and we should not ignore the criticism that is made, namely, that whatever provision is made is inadequate and that, therefore, it should be increased. In the matter of increasing the allocation made in the Third Five Year Plan discussion is going on with the Planning Commission. Nevertheless the Central sector has become small in the Third Plan, and that is because we have relegated the actual implementation to the various States. Now, if we talk of the Scheduled Castes, I think the Scheduled Castes have really done well. Of course, the practice of untouchability is not completely eradicated. We all admit that. Nevertheless we have roused attention and focussed it on the main and important aspect, namely, on the eradication of untouchability. But then it depends on each one of us, how far we are able to practise what we profess, in our daily life.

The main thing in Scheduled Castes which draws our attention is the lot of the scavengers, and the Delhi Administration has already taken the step of providing them with wheel-barrow. The Malkani Report took a long time to come. Nevertheless it has very many salient features, and in those salient features which are practical and which can be implemented,

we have gone ahead. Once again I would tell the hon. Members that this also falls within the State sector, and within the State sector it falls within the District Boards and the Local Boards. Therefore, it is only with the vigilance at that level and the vigilance of real constructive workers we could achieve any success in this scheme of lifting up these scavenging class. Attention on the scavenging class has been focussed, I think not too early, and something has to be done for them. Sufficient money is allocated not only for their welfare but also to change the methods that they follow in their occupation, but there is not sufficient awakening or—shall I say?—co-operation on the part of the Local Boards and the municipalities to undertake the scheme with courage so that we could achieve some kind of changed outlook not only among the scavenging class but also among other classes.

Now, Sir, grants-in-aid in the past plans were given for publicity, propaganda and removal of untouchability. The Scheduled Tribes in the past plans were given assistance for activities including their education, economic uplift, health, housing, etc. In the First Plan, of course, the provision was only Rs. 39 crores—Rs. 20 crores in the State sector and Rs. 19 crores in the Central sector. In the Second Plan it went up to Rs. 59 crores in the State sector and Rs. 32 crores in the Central sector. In the Third Plan it has gone up further. Of course, those who are working in this field do not see any sense of satisfaction because they expected very much more. However, I think whatever we have got from the Planning Commission and whatever has been allotted in the Third Plan, if we begin the work in right earnest, I am not at all doubtful that the money will not be forthcoming. It is the work first. Here is our new hon. Member, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, who was on the Planning Commission. He knows what we need in the field of welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If the work goes ahead, I am quite sure the Planning Commission

has enough imagination to go with us if we can show them the work.

In the Third Plan we have got Rs. 78.90 crores for the State sector and Rs. 27 crores for the Central sector. That makes a total of Rs. 105.90 crores in the Third Plan. But there is difference between the financial allocation and the physical programmes that have been drawn up for the Third Plan. In the financial allocation it will be Rs. 27 crores for the Central sector but the physical programme would go up to Rs. 35 crores. Therefore, the total would come to Rs. 113 crores from Rs. 105 crores in the Third Plan. The point would be whether the physical programme would go beyond the financial targets. If it goes beyond the target, this money will be welcome and will be used very well. If it does not, then of course, we have to pause and assess our own shortcomings.

In the Second Plan, Sir, there was no principle laid down as to which schemes should be included in the Central sector and which in the State sector. In the Third Plan it had been decided that in the Central sector it will be appropriate to include only specific schemes in which it is necessary to ensure a uniform pace of development all over the country. Therefore, we have begun with Rs. 27 crores that have been agreed upon for the Central sector.

Then, Sir, the physical programme, of course, of the Scheduled Castes, would be Rs. 21 crores and Rs. 75.60 and Rs. 8.25 crores would be the physical programme in the sector of the Scheduled Tribes respectively. The financial allocation would work out as Rs. 16.15 crores and Rs. 7 crores respectively for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The National Development Council in their last meeting had approved of the total provision. The break-up I have given you just now. It will stand at Rs. 78.90 crores.

Then, of course, as I have already said, there was a conference between

the late Home Minister and the Planning Commission. That discussion is continuing between the present Home Minister and the Planning Commission. The decision has yet to come, but I am quite sure that the Planning Commission, if our claim is just and if we feel that we can implement all this, would increase the allocation in the Third Plan.

Now, coming to the Tribal Development Block which is so very necessary in the tribal areas, in the old parlance the tribal blocks were known as the Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks. Now they are known as Tribal Development Blocks. In the Second Plan we had only 43 Tribal Development Blocks opened. Even on that there was a lot of criticism that we faced, namely, that the Blocks were not working. We accepted that criticism. It was constructive. If the Blocks did not work, it meant that Rs. 27 lakhs or Rs. 29 lakhs—I cannot remember the exact figure—were not utilised. Therefore, we appointed the Elwin Committee to study their working. The Elwin Committee gave their report. We have grown wiser on that and we have made whatever suitable changes we were able to make, and we have accepted the recommendations and suggestions that came in the Elwin Committee Report. Now the decision is that a Tribal Development Block should be in an area with two-thirds or more of tribal population and an area of about 200 sq. miles or roughly more than 25,000 as the total population. But apart from all this figure, blocks will have to be constituted irrespective of their location in or outside any scheduled area where they can be demarcated and it will have to be done very rationally, because rational and permanent administrative units will be necessary for the better working of the Tribal Development Blocks.

Therefore, Sir, there is a very ambitious scheme in the Third Five Year Plan for the development of Tribal Development Blocks. The figure is put roughly at 300 blocks during the five-year period of the Third Five

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Year Plan. I do not know whether the hon. Members would like me to give the figure State-wise. I am prepared to give that State-wise. They are as follows:—

Andhra Pradesh.	15
Assam.	37
Bihar.	48
Kerala.	1
Madhya Pradesh.	56
Maharashtra.	16
Orissa.	57
Punjab.	2
Rajasthan.	11
Himachal Pradesh.	2
Manipur.	7
Tripura.	3
Gujarat.	39
TOTAL	294

Six more blocks remain to be allotted. But it is not the number of blocks, but it is the manner in which they come about in an administrative unit and the manner in which they develop and are implemented that would give the greatest benefit to the tribal people. Therefore, in the Third Plan phasing has been done about the Tribal Development Blocks. It would be 10 per cent. in the first year, 10 per cent. in the second year, 25 per cent. in the third year and 35 per cent. in the fourth and the fifth year. Beginning with 1961-62, 30 blocks are to be opened. Let us hope that we succeed in opening 30 blocks in 1961-62.

Sir, that is as far as tribal welfare goes. Between the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the Scheduled Tribes have to make up greater leeway. The Scheduled Caste population is generally merged with the rest of the population. It may be that at places they are in isolated areas but, by and large, they are merged with the general population and as such the appointment of a commission would be difficult because the Scheduled Castes themselves are more awakened than the Scheduled Tribes in India today. We give 50 per cent. of assistance to the States and 20

per cent. to the Union Territories. Let us hope that we all awaken ourselves to this. It is difficult though it looks so small. When we discuss the other mighty business in the House, scavenging fades away into insignificance, for the simple reason that no one will think of scavengers when we have to discuss foreign policy, the Five Year Plans, the agrarian reforms and so many other things, but it is to the measure in which we can redeem the scavenger in our present society can we build up a composite society in India. Sir, not only the Malkani Committee, but also the Estimates Committee have taken a very strong view of the lot of scavengers and they have asked that the thing should be looked into and a Central co-ordinating committee should be appointed. That committee has already been appointed with the Special Secretary of the Home Ministry along with representatives from different Ministries. The work has begun. We shall have to begin even at our level, that is, the Central Secretariat level, for the amelioration of the scavenging class.

Sir, a number of important things will be said about the question of reservation in services. Despite the percentage of reservation in services, recruitment remains very low. Even though the figure of recruitment has gone up slightly, it has not gone up to the satisfaction of us all. Therefore, we are finding new methods by which we can bring recruitment to the reservation percentage, to its full complement where recruitment is concerned. For this reason we have in Allahabad a coaching class. Even there the number of students enrolled is not the number of students that actually come in for training. Maybe that individual difficulties have been coming in their way. Coming as they do from socio-economically backward people, it is difficult even for a boy to find his way to the coaching class for nine, ten or twelve months to take special coaching for competitive examinations. Nevertheless, things are improving. We are making every

effort to persuade some universities in the South to take up this scheme because the South must also have such a scheme. At the same time persuasion should be carried on to see that recruits come up to the full quota for the special coaching. If out of 37 students only 15 attend, it does not serve the purpose when the competitive examinations are held. However, there are grievances of various sorts and we keep our minds open because I do not think at this stage anyone would like to keep out or push out the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I think it was in the past that we suffered from that conservative outlook. It is going away and we look to the future with optimism so that not only this full quota of 12½ per cent. should come in but even more should come in if they are fit enough to carry their prizes in competitive examinations.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ (Maharashtra): What about the Supreme Court decision?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Mr. Rajabhoj will have an opportunity to speak and if he refers to any point, I shall give the reply at the end but let him allow me to finish. I want to be very brief so that Mr. Rajabhoj may have the maximum possible time to speak. He is the spokesman of the Scheduled Castes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): He is a Member from the Government's Party. More time should be available to opposition Members.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: We shall also see that others get their time. I shall be brief but I do not want to say very much just now because I want to listen to the various hon. Members. Regarding reservation in the services, 12½ per cent. of vacancies in the services which are to go by competitive recruitment and 16 2/3 per cent. of vacancies where recruitment is made otherwise than by open competition have been reserved out of which 5 per cent. is reserved for the Scheduled Tribes. Where the recruitment is made on a

regional basis, the percentage of reservation for Scheduled Tribes is to be in proportion to their population in the region but 5 per cent. is reserved as a minimum. We have sent our instructions and suggestions to the various States from time to time to see that this is implemented.

In the field of relaxation in age for recruitment and other factors, we have also taken special notice of them. As far as age goes, the age-limit has been relaxed by 5 years for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Candidates. As far as fees go, we have prescribed only one-fourth fees for admission to competitive examinations or selection. Regarding standard of suitability it is lowered in the case of Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes but even so our experience is that not enough candidates are forthcoming. Therefore, once again we go back to the point that everything possible has to be done to bring them up intellectually and academically to a level where they will not need any protection and that work has to go on and let us hope, with our combined efforts, we shall succeed in bringing them up to the academic level from where they really begin to take off to the competitive services in India.

Shri Rajabhoj mentioned about the Supreme Court judgment. It is being examined. Of course, whatever, comes from the Supreme Court has to be very carefully examined not only at our level but also at other levels. Therefore, we are giving it the proper attention and we are doing it also with the sympathy it deserves. Therefore, he need have no fear in his mind that we had completely ignored the judgment that has come from the Supreme Court but at the same time, apart from the judgment, there is enough sympathy shown in the case of promotion. Nevertheless—this is my own personal view—in the case of promotions, once a boy or girl gets into competitive services, he or she should after that, not demand—I think it is right and proper that he or she should not demand—more safe-

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guards to go on rising in the services because from there on he must show his or her own efficiency and integrity and rise on his or her own merits. Though we are sympathetic, this view should be understood by the new recruits and by the spokesmen of the community which has suffered in the past centuries.

Regarding post-matric scholarship and the means test and the merit test, the merit test is a controversial thing but the means test may come because the figures are rising of the students so fast that it is becoming difficult. There may come a time when we may not be able to give scholarship as we have done so far. I will give the figures of post-matric scholarships. In 1959-60 the number of Scheduled Castes receiving post-matric scholarship was 38,657 and the number of Scheduled Tribes was 6,112 but it is rising steadily every year and, therefore, the means test, if introduced—also I want to make it very clear—will not harm in the manner in which it has been said or spoken in the other House and has been represented to us because the means test will only be on the income of the guardian or parent and as such, on the income of the guardian or parent there will be very few who will be eliminated from getting the scholarships that they have been getting so far. So, I think there should be no fear on that point.

Now, we come to the "Other Backward Classes" who are not directly dealt with here but nevertheless it has to be mentioned because they are Backward Classes. We have given the discretion to the States that they, in their discretion, may give the benefits to other Backward Classes, whether it be in the field of education or provision of houses or land or in other fields of uplift work as they feel. They are the best judges. We have left it to the States. The Government of India have made it plain to the States that they would like the criteria to be economic and not any other. I think it is the economic criteria ulti-

mately that will decide the issue of the progress or welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Prosperity is the best leveller and therefore it depends on the socio-economic condition and the extent or how far it improves and benefits the people it is to that measure that they will line up with the rest of the society in our country.

We now come to voluntary organisations. The voluntary organisations, quite a number of them, are on our Central list and unless they are of an all-India nature, they do not receive grants from the all-India level, namely, from the Home Ministry. Therefore, the all-India voluntary organisations, those who have been able to do good work and who carry on the good work from time to time need have no kind of doubt that their grants will be stopped. Nevertheless, some conditions have to be laid down because one has to assess the worth of voluntary organisations as well. It is a different field. The Governmental work of course goes on at the Government level but voluntary work goes on a missionary level. Therefore, in the voluntary organisations, it is not the mercenaries that we need today but the missionaries. Can you produce the missionaries without the mercenary aspect for the work? It is only to that extent that we can move forward. Both at the Governmental level and in the voluntary organisations, it will be the type of work that will be done with a missionary zeal that will show us the result and take us to the objective that we have had since Independence before us. I think the voluntary organisations are in a position to do better work because from my own experience and from the experience of others including that of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who is an officer today but who has been in the freedom movement of the country, we feel that it is the spirit with which the work is done that is important and very often one man is able to serve in the place of 10 because he has the zeal and spirit of renunciation and sacrifice and it is

that that is necessary more so in the voluntary organisations to reach the target before us.

I now come to the Tribal Commission that was appointed under Shri U. N. Dhebar. The report is ready and it is being examined and it will be before this House and the other House very soon. The report goes into the question of the tribals' welfare and it will be a valuable document. We shall wait until that report comes. Nevertheless, with our first-hand experience of the tribal areas and with the experience of hon. Members in the tribal regions and with the difficulties that the tribals are going through, it would be relevant to see where we have faltered, where the States have faltered. More than grievances, alternative and constructive suggestions as to how to implement schemes will be welcome to the Home Ministry and the Central Government. Criticism can be constructive or destructive. Criticism can be such that we can be indifferent to it, but when we get alternative, constructive suggestions, how to implement schemes and how we shall be able to implement the various plans, that will be very valuable and we shall welcome such constructive criticisms and the valuable advice of hon. Members. At the end I shall answer all the points raised during the course of the discussion. Thank you, Sir.

The question was proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have before me the names of eighteen hon. Members who want to speak and we have to close this debate today. I will be calling upon the hon. Minister to reply at 4-30 p.m. Hon. Members will each take fifteen minutes and not more.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR (Nominated): I must congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the detailed report that he has given, but it is sad reading. Everyone is sympathetic, but nobody is helping with his whole

heart. Especially, year after year, we find that the States are generally apathetic. They are given to delays and even all the help that is proffered does not reach the poor people it should reach. When I was discussing the Negro problem with my American friends I very proudly told them that the removal of untouchability was the policy of the Government of India which had been accepted unanimously by the whole nation. So far as the policy and the principle are concerned, we are all unanimous. But so far as the implementation of the thing is concerned, we are, I am afraid as bad as any other race. I have found that in many places Government officers and even public men pay lip homage to the removal of untouchability, but we fail to discover the milk of human kindness. Much less we find the righteous indignation of the social reformer against the perpetuation of a terrible social injustice? We recognise that there are human factors. But can we not also see that there are, more or less, inhuman factors that are working? Nobody feels for the poor and the down-trodden. Government is doing more and more welfare work, to relieve the bad conditions of the untouchables and others. They are getting more education, no doubt. But somehow the present generation feels that economic upliftment is going to solve all problems. I humbly suggest that even economic upliftment is impossible unless there is social change, a change in the social consciousness. You may give them more money. You may give their children more scholarships. You may have reservation of seats in the Legislatures and you can even go to the length of having a special policy about their promotions, which is hateful to me. But all that is not going to help those who are socially regarded as inferior and towards whom there is a kind of apathy, disgust and sometimes contempt. How can that be changed? Even public bodies devoted to this work are engaged more and more in relief work, in looking to the material upliftment of these people and the programme of

[Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

working against the spirit of untouchability is now totally absent. We talk of the Father of the Nation, but the zeal for the removal of untouchability is not to be seen and I am afraid the policy of our Government is going to perpetuate this untouchability. From the way in which things are carried on, I feel the spirit of untouchability will not be removed, but it will be perpetuated. The special political privileges that are given to the Scheduled Castes were essential. Even today they may be essential. But if they are perpetuated then untouchability also will be perpetuated. Therefore, once they are helped educationally and socially, we should refuse to recognise untouchables as a separate class. Let us recognise them only as a backward class. Give them, all the help that we can give them, even ten times the help that we are giving them today. But we should refuse to give them special political privileges which perpetuate untouchability and which perpetuate their own weakness. They will not understand me. They will misunderstand me, I know. But if we are to help them to be manly, to be self-asserting and strong, we should refuse to perpetuate the special political privileges. Please mark that I am talking of political privileges only. If we continue those privileges, I am sure they will also wish that some sort of untouchability should remain and they would be always dependent. I remember how in Hindu society, the Brahmins got special religious and social privileges and they gradually became the priests in the villages and became a contemptible lot, because they always depended upon some special religious privileges. Both religious and political privileges are a dangerous thing. They should be used up to a point and then they should be removed.

At the same time, I want to speak in a different strain as regards the other Backward Classes. Today, whatever help is given to the Scheduled Castes is not taken advantage

of by the non-Scheduled Caste people. So also whatever help is offered to the Scheduled Tribes it reaches only those Scheduled Tribes. But help for the Backward Classes does not reach them. Today, because of the defective formula of the Government about backwardness of people, whatever help is given, goes to the so-called or officially Backward Classes, who are really a dominant class. All the help goes to them and real help does not reach the lowest of the low, the most down-trodden. I would very much wish that the Government would take steps to have a special list of those groups or communities who are extremely backward, those who are not only socially and educationally backward, but of those who have no land, those who have no social position. There should be a special list or schedule made of the extremely backward and help reserved for them should not be allowed to be robbed by the upper classes.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ: What are the upper classes and lower classes? Kindly explain.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR: I am not able to hear the hon. Member. He will please speak after I have finished.

In Mysore State they have got a strange formula. According to them, "Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes apart, only Brahmins are the advanced class. All the other classes are backward classes." whatever help is proffered is taken up by the upper classes. Apart from the Brahmins, there are some non-Brahmin classes that are really in the upper classes. They are today foremost in the educational field, in industries, in commerce and so on and yet, simply because they are not Brahmins, they are called backward and their children get all the advantages. These are dangerous things. Or, perhaps, they may not be so very dangerous as they are sad. The lowest of the low are too poor, too neglected, too backward and too lost to all progress and, therefore, they may not get the help

that is intended for them. The worst part of it is that they are not able to resist injustice. They will simply die out, just as the Veddass of Ceylone and the Nanyadigas in the South. They are neglected and their numbers are dwindling. They would die an unnatural death. In Japan, the Ainoos are such a neglected community that gradually their number has dwindled. The curse of all this iniquity is on our heads. Even the Communists are not going to champion their cause. They are very much neglected and they are traditionally poor. Unless we make them a special class and offer some special help to them, ordinary help will not reach them. The danger is from the dominant classes from amongst the backward communities. When I went to Andhra, the down-trodden people told me, "When the Brahmin was the ruler, we could at least browbeat him and threaten him because he did not work with his hands. Now, with the Khammas and the Reddis, it is difficult because their number is large and they work with their hands. They hold the plough. They have got education, they have capital and they are to be found in industry, commerce and in all the other fields. When they browbeat us, we cannot resist. So, we are in a worse position". I am not at all defending the Brahmin. He deserves all the suspicion that has been directed towards him. But the other backward but dominant classes that are suppressing the poorer sections should not get away with the idea that simply because they happen to be non-Brahmins, or because they happen to be officially listed as Backward Classes, they could appropriate everything. I am here to plead for those who are extremely backward and who are neglected. Something must be done for them even on one caste basis. If we have a social conscience and if we have to stand before God and say that we have not been sinful towards them, something must be done about them.

SHRI B. P. BASAPPA SHETTY (Mysore): What is the criterion to classify them as backward or not? In

every community there are Backward Classes, people who are backward educationally, socially and economically. Even among the Backward Classes, there are many who are educationally, socially and economically forward. Do they need help from the Government? What is the criterion—economic backwardness, social backwardness or educational backwardness? I want the hon. Member to clarify this point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with that now.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR: I have not followed what the hon. Member said and so I will not answer him. Because of a defect in hearing, I cannot follow what other people say.

I find that owing to the political self-seeking in the country and in this age, untouchability has crept into every religion. I find that there is a sort of untouchability amongst the Muslims, amongst the Christians, even amongst the Protestants but more so amongst the Catholics. Now, untouchability is creeping into Buddhism also, thanks to the new policy started by Dr. Ambedkar. Instead of the untouchables getting any help from Buddhism, untouchability is creeping into Buddhism. Perhaps, you do not know, the Japanese are fast working on the Bombay side and are taking more people into the fold of Buddhism, with the result that Buddhism is being turned into a religion harbouring untouchability rather than helping the untouchables. The evil is spreading everywhere and we simply are going on with our blind policy. We are giving more money and more scholarships but we have not been able to tackle the problem of untouchability. It is on the increase, and unless something is done both by the Government and the people, and unless the public bodies which are devoted to the removal of untouchability take up this missionary work—this work of fighting untouchability—I do not think much can be done. Of course, amelioration in the political, economic and social fields may help a little but the

[Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

main problem is social, it is religious, and it has got to be tackled that way.

I thought of sending this Report to America because I have discussed this thing with my American friends both Negroes and Whites but when I read the report—of course, due to some trouble in my eye, I could not read the whole of the Report—I did not have the heart to send it to my American friends saying “see what we are doing for the removal of untouchability”.

The problems of the Scheduled Tribes of Assam have always been different. In the rest of the country, the Scheduled Tribes are almost assimilated into the body politic of the country. They are backward people and they must be helped as such but they must not be classed separately. The work of Hinduism and the work of social reform had done a great deal even before the advent of the British and these tribes have practically been assimilated into the main body. They must not be helped to become a separate class. The question of Assam is different. Even under the British rule, a distinction was made between the tribals of Assam and the tribals of the rest of the country.

PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): What about Orissa?

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR: The rest should all be taken into the general body politic. They should be classified as backward but they should not be regarded as separate entities. The question of Assam is there and it has got to be tackled with great tact and consideration.

Just one more point about the scavengers. I am certain this problem can never be solved unless we tackle it as a distinct problem demanding a separate policy. We should make a rule that no man born of scavenging parents will be allowed to

do scavenging hereafter. Unless we follow such a policy, this thing is not going to improve at all. It is not a difficult problem. The number of scavengers is limited. If we could rehabilitate so many people from East and West Pakistan, rehabilitation of these scavengers should not be difficult. These people should be provided with alternative jobs. It is only a problem in the cities; because there is very little scavenging work to be done in the villages. Unless we adopt such a drastic policy, we are not going to succeed.

As regards the prevention of untouchability, villages which are found to be harbouring untouchability should be fined with a collective punitive tax. It should be imposed on such villages or on those communities that still practise untouchability. It is not a question of one or two individuals. It is a question of the social atmosphere which is hostile. Therefore, wherever we find the whole atmosphere hostile, there should be a collective punitive tax imposed on the whole community or against those sections who indulge in such things. Only by creating such circumstances can we remove untouchability.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House will sit through the lunch hour. I request all the hon. Members who want to speak to be present here.

PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I should like to state, at the outset, that I look upon the questions that we are discussing as part of the general programme of national integration which has received a great deal of attention at the hands of the leaders of the country during the last few weeks. It is surprising that although this problem is intimately related to that of national integration, no reference was made to it in the Chief Ministers' Conference which was held in New Delhi a few days back. If we could solve the problems of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, I am sure that

we would take a long stride towards the integration of our population.

We have often deplored the lack of interest shown by the State Governments in the improvement of the condition of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The fact is that these Governments take up only those questions quickly which are of immediate political importance and the improvement of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is not regarded as such a question. If now, Sir, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister can impress upon the State Governments the urgency of removing untouchability and raising the social condition of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, probably they will pay much greater attention to the welfare schemes relating to these classes and be inclined a little more readily to accept the advice of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Sir, I am glad that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, accepting my suggestion, convened a conference of the State Ministers concerned with the administration of schemes relating to the Backward Classes. That conference made some very useful

1 P.M. recommendations. I shall refer to two of them presently, but I should like to make one more suggestion today in order to make the State Governments feel that the improvement of the conditions of the Backward Classes is a matter of national importance. My suggestion is that the Home Minister should participate in the debate on the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at some stage. I do not say that he should be here throughout the discussion. He is a very busy man but he should find time to take part in this debate before it comes to a close. I attach great importance to this because I feel that if the Home Minister sets such a wholesome example it will have a good effect on the States.

Now, Sir, a word with regard to the recommendations made by the conference convened by Pandit Govind

Ballabh Pant. It suggested that a quarterly assessment of the progress of welfare schemes should be made by the State Governments. I hope that we shall be told how far this recommendation of the conference has been carried out. I see that six-monthly reports relating to the year 1959-60 from all the States have been received by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but the report for the full year 1959-60 has not been received from many States.

The second recommendation of the conference was that a substantial portion of the work relating to the Backward Classes which was of a nature for which non-official organisations were most suitable executive agencies should be entrusted to them. The conference wanted that every effort should be made to encourage and develop well-established non-official organisations. Now, I should like to know whether any action has been taken by the Government of India on this recommendation so far. I know, as stated by the Deputy Minister, that the Central Government gives grants to all-India institutions which are engaged in work relating to the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but I understand that the Central Government is now considering the transfer of the funds required for helping such institutions to the State Governments and asking even the institutions of an all-India character to approach their Governments for assistance. Now, we complain year after year of the lack of interest of State Governments in the welfare schemes relating to the Backward Classes. How can the Government of India then calmly consider a scheme the effect of which will probably be to reduce the good work that is now being carried on through all-India institutions that are interesting themselves in work relating to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes? I hope, Sir, that such a retrograde step will not be taken. Having some experience of the diffi-

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culties of persuading State Governments to give assistance for even good projects, I feel very strongly that the Central Government should not merely go on assisting all-India institutions as it is doing now but increase the scope of its assistance and bring in a few more institutions though they may not be technically of an all-India character but are really setting a kind of an example of how this work should be done to the whole of India.

Now, Sir, I come to matters relating to the States. The first important question we have to consider is whether administrative reports are received regularly from the States. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has said in the introductory chapter of his Report that he generally finds it difficult to collect sufficient data relating to Scheduled Tribes and the scheduled areas and he further goes on to say in the chapter entitled 'Conclusions' that there have been inordinate delays in submitting reports by the Governors to the President regarding the administration of the scheduled areas in their respective States. So far, only Rajasthan has submitted this report for 1959-60. Excepting Bihar and Bombay, all other State Governments have submitted their reports for the year 1958-59. Bihar, it is learnt, has sent its report for 1957 but a copy of that is still awaited by him. The administrative report for 1957 is still due from the Government of Bombay. This being the state of things, I was rather sorry to hear the Deputy Minister make excuses for the inability of the States to take as keen an interest in carrying out schemes relating to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as the Government of India does. Surely, the difficulties of the Government of India are not less than those of the States. Yet, the Government of India has been consistently and earnestly pressing on the States to regard problems relating to the Backward Classes as questions of national importance. Last year when I drew the attention of the Government to the inadequate

expenditure incurred by the State Governments on the welfare schemes, of which I have spoken so many times, Shri Datar said that he hoped that next year, that is, in the year 1959-60, all the money allotted for this purpose would be spent. The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1959-60 gives us very revealing information on this point. If one turns to pages 15, 16 and 17, I believe, of the Report, one will find that the total expenditure on the Centrally-sponsored schemes was to be about Rs. 31½ crores. During the three years from 1956-57 to 1958-59, only about Rs. 9½ crores had been spent, that is, about Rs. 3 crores a year. Nevertheless, it was estimated that the expenditure in 1959-60 would be about Rs. 8 crores and it was further hoped that in the year 1960-61 the expenditure would amount to Rs. 14 crores. Is it at all believable that so much expenditure, about 2½ times the expenditure incurred in three years, would be incurred in the last two years of the Second Five Year Plan without incurring considerable waste?

Again, take the expenditure incurred for which provision has been made in the State budgets. The total expenditure provided for is Rs. 59 crores. The expenditure incurred in the three years that I have already mentioned, that is, 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59, is only Rs. 23½ crores, that is, less than Rs. 8½ crores a year. But it was thought that in the year 1959-60 about Rs. 12½ crores would be spent usefully and it was further thought that in the year 1960-61 about Rs. 19 crores would be usefully spent in the last year of the Plan. It is unbelievable that so large an expenditure could be incurred in two years without incurring a great deal of wasteful expenditure. And this is what the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes says in his Report:

"Although it is expected that the total expenditure would amount to Rs. 79 crores, I can say with certainty that the anticipated expendi-

ture of Rs. 79 crores is an impossibility, because, firstly, there will not be 100 per cent. expenditure in every State during 1960-61 as anticipated and, secondly, considerable funds from the amounts reported to be sent will not, in fact, be actual expenditure but simply book transfers. In view of the same, the total expenditure in all the five years would, in my opinion, be much below and maybe round-about Rs. 65 crores only, leaving a big unspent balance of Rs. 26 crores."

He gives instances which clinch this point. He says in his Report at page 166 that he feels bound to bring to the notice of the Government a matter on which he has received information from one of his Assistant Commissioners:

"(i) During a visit to three colonies in two districts of one of the States, it was known that the houses for which subsidy was granted by the Welfare Department, were left incomplete though the State Government had taken it for granted that after the money was given to the Construction Committees for this purpose, the houses were built and money properly utilised.

(ii) In another case relating to the same State, it was found that the State Government intimated that an expenditure of Rs. 67,21,500 had been incurred till 31st March, 1960, against a total provision of Rs. 67,64,500 under the State sector and the Centrally sponsored Programme for the welfare of Scheduled Castes. But it was discovered that the physical and financial targets reported to have been achieved had not been actually fulfilled during 1959-60, as only book adjustments in respect of these amounts were made by withdrawing the money from the Treasury and depositing it with the Banks, etc."

These are not the only examples given by the Commissioner to show

how a certain jump is going to be made in the expenditure during the last two years by the State Governments. He has given instances to show that schemes, which were reported to have been carried out, were not carried out at all. In Madhya Pradesh, for instances, he reports that the State Government gave the information that Rs. 30 lakhs, which was provided for the development of communications, had been spent on this object.

When a scrutiny was made, it was found that not a pie had been spent on this purpose. Similarly, he says that the Bihar Government said that an establishment for weaving a silk named 'Tussore' had been set up, but actually no such institution had been established. In this state of things how are we to know whether the expenditure which the States claim to have incurred has really been incurred or not?

Sir, as my time is up, I would refer very briefly only to two matters, and I will not take more than a minute. The first is that relating to the employment of the Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes in Government services. I do not want to repeat what the Deputy Minister has said, but I suggest that more efforts should be made to make a good selection before these people are sent to a training institute and then to see that they are kept at the training institute not for a few months but for a year or, if necessary, for two years. It is only in this way that you will be able to get competent men from amongst the Backward Classes for employment in the Central and State Services. If Government finds it necessary, it might also appoint a committee to go into this question and see what should be done to give these people education of the kind that is necessary in order to make them efficient officers.

The last question relates to the appointment of Assistant Commissioners. Their number ought to be adequate so that they may be able to evaluate the

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work done in connection with the Centrally sponsored and the State sponsored schemes. Last year we were told by Shri Datar that the number of Assistant Commissioners would be increased. Their number has been increased by three. I think there were to be 12 Assistant Commissioners, but there are only 11 Assistant Commissioners so far. There is another man who has been approved by the Union Public Service Commission but he has not been appointed. I should like to know why there has been this delay in the appointment of this officer.

In this connection I should like to impress on the Home Ministry the need generally for increasing the staff of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes so that they might act as a liaison between the State Governments and the Central Government and be in a position to inform the Commissioner of the manner in which the welfare schemes are being carried out and the speed with which they are being carried out. And here as large a use as possible should be made of the members of the backward classes themselves. I have drawn attention to this matter more than once, but I fear that very little attention has been paid to it. I have therefore, to repeat it and ask that the Central Government which is really in earnest in seeing schemes relating to the welfare of the Backward Classes carried out should exert the maximum pressure that it is capable of on the State Governments, and I hope that my request that the Prime Minister should impress on the States the fact that the development of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other Backward Classes of national importance will be conveyed to him.

श्री पा० न० राजभोज : उपसभापति महोदय, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स ऐंड शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट के बारे में जो अभी काका साहेब कालेलकर जी, डा० कुंजरू और मिसेज वायलेट अल्वा के

भाषण हुये, उनको मैंने सुना है। लेकिन मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि इस रिपोर्ट पर जो बहस हो रही है वह हर साल की बात हो गई है और जैसा इस बहस का हाल है वैसा ही इस रिपोर्ट का है। इस रिपोर्ट का परिपालन करना, अभ्यास करके उस पर कार्यवाही करने का काम राज्यों का है, किन्तु वह नहीं होता क्योंकि राज्यों का काम बहुत ढिलाई से हो रहा है।

आज जो हम यहां बहस करते हैं उसका महत्व यह है कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय आयोजना शुरू हो गई है। उसमें एक पूरा चैप्टर इस महत्व के प्रश्न के लिये खर्च किया है और यह हमारा कर्तव्य होता है कि हम इस प्रश्न पर एक आयोजना की दृष्टि से कदम उठाये ताकि जो टारगेट हैं वे पूरे हों। आपको यह मालूम ही है कि आजादी के बाद हमारे संविधान में इस प्रश्न पर खास तरतुतियां रखी गई हैं तथा अस्पृश्यता कानून में खली गई है। इन लोगों के लिये खास पैसा खर्च किया जाता है तथा इस प्रश्न के हल के लिये स्पेशल एजेंसीज राज्यों में तथा केन्द्र सरकार में बना दी गई हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI) in the Chair].

इन सब बातों का यह महत्व है कि हमारे भारतीय समाज में जो दबे हुये लोग हैं उनकी उन्नति का प्रयत्न करना और एक कलंक नष्ट करना है। किन्तु सब से अफसोस की बात यह है कि जो बुद्धिजीवी हैं, इंटेलेक्चुअल्स हैं, जो विश्वविद्यालयों में तथा कालेजों में पढ़ते हैं उन पर इस प्रश्न का असर नहीं हुआ है। समाज में एक प्रकार की उदासीन वृत्ति महसूस होती है। एक भावना पैदा हो गई है कि हमने सब कुछ किया है और अब कुछ करने को बाकी नहीं है। ऐसी भावना लोगों में पैदा हुई है लेकिन अभी कुछ हुआ नहीं है। मैं मानता हूं कि बहुत कुछ हो रहा है। हमारे स्वर्गीय गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत जी ने इस प्रश्न को एक विशेष चालना दी, सहानुभूति से काम लिया और वही

काम हमारे आदरणीय गृह मंत्री शास्त्री जी और उनकी उपमंत्री अल्ता जी कर रही हैं। हमारे शास्त्री जी और दातार जी हाउस में नहीं हैं, किन्तु दोनों के मन में सहानुभूति की आंतरिक धारा बह रही है। हमें आशा है कि उसका मोठा पानी हमको सदैव चखने के लिए मिलेगा।

तो मैं यह शिकायत कर रहा था कि सब कुछ हो गया है, यह भावना ठीक नहीं है। ऐसा कहना यह कहने के बराबर है कि जैसे पिता पुत्र के बारे में कहता है, "मैंने लड़के के लिए शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की है। उसके खाने का इन्तजाम किया है। स्कूल से उसकी प्रोग्रेस रिपोर्ट को भेजने को कहा है। अब और क्या बाकी है? इससे और ज्यादा दखल और ध्यान लड़के के लिए देने की क्या आवश्यकता है?"

राज्य की उदासीनता को देखे। एक तो टाइम पर रिपोर्ट नहीं भेजी जाती। जो भेजी जाती है वह भी ग़लत है। पृष्ठ १८ में यह लिखा है :

"In Madhya Pradesh the entire provision of Rs. 30 lakhs was reported to have been spent on the scheme 'Communications', during 1958-59, even though not a single pie had been spent."

इस बात से बहुत दुःख होता है कि यह कैसे हो रहा है। अंधेर नगरी है। स्टेट्स में काम ठीक तरह से नहीं हो रहा है। जैसा कि हमारे कुजूर साहब ने कहा है, जब तक स्टेट्स के लोग ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से काम नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह जो इस रिपोर्ट पर हम डिसकशन करते हैं उसका कोई नतीजा नहीं निकल सकता। हमारे कमिश्नर साहब सब स्थानों पर घूमते हैं और बहुत प्रयत्न करते हैं, फिर भी दो चार राज्यों ने ही रिपोर्ट भेजी है। यह बहुत दुःख की बात है। मैं यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इनके ऊपर कोई दबाव डालना चाहिये।

तो सब कुछ हो गया है, यह भावना ठीक नहीं है। जो उदासीनता स्टेट्स में दिखाई देती है, उसके तीन चार उदाहरण और दिये गये हैं। पृष्ठ १७ पर कमिश्नर ने यह व्यक्त किया है कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय आयोजना में २६ करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये बिना रहते हैं। यह सब उदासीनता का परिणाम है। जो गांवों में अस्पृश्यता मानी जाती है उन की लिस्ट बनाने की सादी सी बात है। लेकिन कौन करता है? इतना नहीं हो सकता तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जिन गांवों में अस्पृश्यता नहीं मानी जाती, यदि उन गांवों की लिस्ट मिले तो हम समझ जायेंगे कि देश के अन्य सारे गांवों में अस्पृश्यता मानी जाती है। किन्तु यह नहीं हो रहा है। इससे यह नहीं मालूम होता है कि कितना काम हुआ है और कितना नहीं हुआ है। इसीलिए हमारी प्रार्थना है कि जैसा शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बारे में मिस्टर डेवर की अध्यक्षता में एक कमिशन नियुक्त किया गया है, वैसा ही शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के बारे में भी कमिशन नियुक्त करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। जो मंत्री महोदया ने यह कहा कि अस्पृश्यता कोई विशेष प्रश्न नहीं है, किन्तु शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को बहुत तकलीफ है, उससे मुझे बहुत तकलीफ हुई। शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लोगों को अस्पृश्यता से तरह तरह की तकलीफ है। मैं गांव गांव में घूमता हूँ और मुझे यह देख कर बहुत दुःख होता है कि अस्पृश्यता अभी खत्म नहीं हुई है।

मैं खद हिमाचल प्रदेश में गया था। जब मैं वहां गया तो मैंने वहां बहुत सी बातें सुनी। मेरे पास बहुत सा वहां के लोगों का कथन है लेकिन चूंकि समय नहीं है इसलिये सब नहीं कहूंगा। वहां पर काबड़ी, देवरी, नोवरा, चौकर, रेनका, तहसील, जिरहा, वगैरह में छतरी लेकर गांव में अब तक लोग नहीं जा सकते हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि वहां जूता पहिन कर मालिक के सामने नहीं जा सकते हैं। एक बार माजी चौफ़ मिनिस्टर साहब परमार जी एक जगह गये थे और वहां

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उनसे नारंग परगना के सस्सू चमार ने हाथ मिलाया था। उसका हाथ परमारजी के हाथ से मिला था। जब परमार जी चले गये, तो उसके बाद उस चमार को पीटा-मारा गया। कहा गया कि अरे, तुम चमार हो, तुम हाथ में हाथ रखते हो। तुम चमार हो। तो यह कितना बड़ा दुःख है। अंधेर नगरी चौपट राजा। इतना होने पर भी काका साहब कालेलकर जो कि इतने बड़े आदमी हैं, पुराने आदमी हैं, वह कहते हैं कि अस्पृश्यता के लिये कुछ नहीं होना चाहिये, इसके लिये सब कुछ हो गया है, अब बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये होना चाहिये। क्योंकि वह बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज कमिशन के चेयरमैन हैं इसलिये बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये होना चाहिये। मैं बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट की, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की, अस्पृश्यों की हालत बहुत खराब है। मैं आपको क्या बताऊँ की क्या हालत हो रही है। शिमला के पास के दो गांवों में उनको पानी भी नहीं मिलता है। वहाँ अब इनको खेती के लिये ज़मीन भी मिलने लगी है इसलिये अब वहाँ इनके लिये पानी बंद कर दिया है, उनको अपनी ज़मीन पर जान के लिये रास्ता नहीं देते हैं, जानवरों को पानी नहीं पीने देते हैं। जानवरों से भी खराब इनकी हालत है। हिमाचल प्रदेश और शिमला की बात मैं कह रहा हूँ।

कई और बातें हैं लेकिन मेरे पास पूरा कहने के लिये समय नहीं है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि जो यह कहते हैं कि इनके लिये सब कुछ हो चुका है, यह गलत बात है। हमारी बात यह नहीं है कि रिजर्वेशन होना चाहिये, अस्पृश्यता रहनी चाहिये, यह मैं नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं भी इसके खिलाफ हूँ। लेकिन पार्लियामेंट में जो रिजर्वेशन होता है वह इस वजह से होता है कि एक ठहराव पास किया है कि ये लोग पोलिटिकली, सोशली, एकानामिकली बैंकवर्ड हैं, तो इसलिये यह होता है। हमारे काका साहब

कालेलकर मालूम नहीं किस ज़माने की बात कर रहे हैं। यह पता नहीं चलता है। पंडित हृदय नाथ कुंजरू साहब भी बोले। उन्होंने बड़ी अच्छी बात की है। उनके दिल में प्रेम है। तो मैंने यह उदाहरण दे दिया। तो रिजर्वेशन के बारे में यह है कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने जो कहा वह जरूर होना चाहिये, हाई कोर्ट के जजों ने और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों ने जो कहा है वह जरूर होना चाहिये। प्रशासन में रिजर्वेशन हमारी लोक संख्या के अनुसार नहीं मिलता है। इसी वास्ते मेरा यह कहना है कि हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स कमिशनर जो कुछ कहते रहते हैं उस पर अमल होना चाहिये। हमारे उम्मीदवारों को रिजर्व कर देते हैं। इंटरव्यू करने के समय कहते हैं कि तुम ऐसे दीखते हो, तुम्हारे ऐसे कपड़े हैं। यह भी कोई बात है। हजारों वर्ष से चमार और हरिजन ऐसे रहे हैं। अब जब वह एम० ए०, बी० ए०, होने के बाद इंटरव्यू में जाते हैं तो हमारी यूनिशन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन उनको इंटरव्यू में फेल कर देती है, थोड़े से मार्क्स के लिये फेल कर देती है। तो पहले उन के आचार-विचार, उनकी संस्कृति क्या थी और अब क्या बन रही है इसका विचार होना चाहिये। कम से कम इस मामले में ब्राड-माइंडेड होना चाहिये। तो यह ऐटमासफ़ेयर अच्छा नहीं है। यह इतनी बड़ी कम्युनिटी है और सारे देश भर में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं लेकिन १४ वर्ष में, आज़ादी के बाद, संविधान लागू होने के बाद भी इनके लिये क्या हुआ है? संविधान पास हुआ, ठहराव पास हुए लेकिन वह अमल में नहीं आता है। इस उदासीनता के बारे में डा० बी० के० आर० बी० राव ने कहा है :

"I know of no non-official study or research monograph that deals with this problem; nor do I know of any series of articles on the subject in any nationally known newspaper nor have I heard of any special correspondent having been sent all over the country to know

what is happening to the Scheduled Castes or how they are emotionally and psychologically reacting to the attempt of their secular State to better their condition."

तो यह भावना खत्म करनी चाहिये कि १० साल के लिये आरक्षण की मृदा बढ़ी है और इसी दमियान में हमें काम करना है। इसके बाद शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स का कोई भी आदमी रिजर्वेशन या स्पेशल कंसेशन नहीं मांगेगा। यदि हम को यह क्रांति करनी है तो इन लोगों की आर्थिक, सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक तथा औद्योगिक विकास के लिये जोर से प्रयत्न करना होगा। इसकी बहुत आवश्यकता है।

इस सिलसिले में मेरी सूचनाएं हैं कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय आयोजना में हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने जैसा कहा है कि ११४ करोड़ रुपये की तरदूद की गई है, वह कमती है। उसको २०० करोड़ रुपया करना चाहिये ताकि उस में से कम से कम ११४ करोड़ रुपया तो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज और हरिजनों के काम पर खर्च हो सके। यदि आप ११४ करोड़ रुपया रखेंगे तो फिर सिर्फ ६० करोड़ रुपये के करीब ही खर्च होगा। प्लानिंग कमिशन के जो मेम्बरान हैं उनके सामने मैंने कई प्रकार के सजेसंस इस बारे में दिये हैं और वे सजेसंस ये हैं :—

In the Second Five Year Plan 90 crores of rupees have been earmarked for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. In the Third Five Year Plan Rs. 114 crores have been earmarked for the welfare of these communities, whereas the total Plan has been increased to 11,600 crores. Proportionately, the allocation made for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes should also be increased.

तो मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि यह इतना बड़ा सवाल है कि इतने थोड़े पैसे में काम नहीं हो सकता है। उसके लिये पैसा बढ़ाने के

लिये हमने कहा है। होम मिनिस्ट्री हमको मदद देना चाहती है। होम मिनिस्ट्री हमारी है। होम मिनिस्ट्री में हम कई बात करते हैं, झगड़ा करते हैं, लड़ते हैं। क्या करें जिस आदमी को शूचि होता है उसको तकलीफ होती है। काका साहब कालेलकर को क्या होता है? वह तो ऊंची जाति के हैं। वह तो कहते हैं कि सब कुछ हो गया है, कुछ करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

सामाजिक क्षेत्र में दो चीजें हैं, एक तो अस्पृश्यता निवारण और दूसरा स्लम क्लीयरेंस। अस्पृश्यता गांव गांव में है। चमार की बस्ती अलग है, बनिया और ब्राह्मण की बस्ती अलग है। काका साहब कालेलकर हमारी चमारों की बस्ती में क्यों नहीं रहते? हमारी चमारों की, भंगियों की बस्ती अलग है। यह स्लम क्लीयरेंस का सवाल है। पूना में जब बाढ़ आई तो ये लोग जो कि नदी के किनारे रहते थे वे पानी में चले गये क्योंकि उनके पास और कोई जगह नहीं है। खाली बोलते हैं, बगल में छुरी, मुंह में राम, रघुपति राघव राजाराम। दिल साफ होना चाहिये। जब तक दिल साफ नहीं होगा तब तक काम नहीं होगा। हरिजनोद्धार के बारे में हम बापूजी का नाम लेते हैं। महात्मा जी ने फिर भी बहुत कुछ किया है, ठक्कर बापा ने बहुत कुछ किया है लेकिन अब हमारे जो पोलिटिकल लोग हैं, नेता लोग हैं वह कुछ नहीं करते हैं। कम्युनिस्ट भाई, सोशलिस्ट भाई इस चीज को पोलिटिकल दृष्टि से देखते हैं, सामाजिक दृष्टि से उनकी उन्नति करनी चाहिये ऐसा नहीं सोचते हैं। वे सोचते हैं कि हमें उनका वोट मिलना चाहिये, हमारी पार्टी में इनको शामिल होना चाहिये, उनकी पार्टी बनानी चाहिये, उनको बहकाना चाहिये। हमारे भूपेश गुप्त जी हमारे दोस्त हैं। तो जो कुछ हो रहा है वह संस्था की दृष्टि से हो रहा है और कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। तो जो मेरे सजेसंस हैं

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उनको पढ़ कर बताना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि टाइम बहुत कम है :—

The schemes for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are put through by the Centre as well as the State Governments. For certain programmes the Centre sanctions grants to the State Governments on 50 per cent. and 100 per cent. basis. In view of the deplorable conditions of the sweeper community in the States, 100 per cent. grants should be sanctioned to the State Governments for the welfare of the sweeper community.

मैं समझता हूँ कि स्वीपर का एक अलग सवाल है और उसके लिये अलग काम किया जाना चाहिये । स्वीपर को और हरिजन को दोनों को एक में न मिलायें । स्वीपर की परिस्थिति खराब है लेकिन कई प्रकार के हरिजन हैं उनकी भी हालत बहुत खराब है तो उनकी भी उन्नति करें, दोनों की करें । ये ६ करोड़ लोग हैं, २ करोड़ आदिवासी हैं और बाकी १४ करोड़ बैकवर्ड क्लास के लोग हैं । डा० पंजाबराय जी भी हैं । तो उनकी उन्नति भी होनी चाहिये और इनकी भी उन्नति होनी चाहिये ।

While the general percentage of literacy is going up to 42 per cent. at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, proportionately the percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes is not increased; it is only about 2 to 4 per cent.

आप कृपा कर के बतायें कि इस बारे में क्या हालत है ।

Although the amounts of scholarships have been increased every year, no advantage has been taken by the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes because of the delay caused in making payment of the scholarships and the hurdles which a student has to face.

मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि स्टुडेंट्स के लिये जो स्कालरशिप दी जाती है उसको मंजूर करने में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की बनिस्बत स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स ज्यादा देर लगाती हैं । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को अब यह पावर दे दी गई है फिर भी छः छः और आठ आठ महीने लगते हैं । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स इसमें देर लगाती हैं और स्कालरशिप जल्दी से टाइम पर नहीं मिलती है ।

The Government is giving help for the encouragement of small-scale industries.

मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि लेदर के लिये, चमड़े के लिये, लेदर इंडस्ट्री के लिये एक अलग बोर्ड होना चाहिये । उसके बारे में मैंने परसों खादी और ग्रामोद्योग पर बोलते हुए बहुत कुछ कहा था ।

Besides this, there is also urgent need to take up other aspects of this great problem. For example, there is the economic problem in which the question of landless labourers is to be solved. Many States have enacted land legislation but the actual distribution of land to these landless people is not given rapid pace

और भी मैं आगे कहना चाहता हूँ —

The social problem has been solved to a small extent by the abolition of untouchability. But effective steps have to be taken towards setting up of mixed hostels, mixed localities and mixed colonies. (Time bell rings.)

दो चार मिनट और दे दीजिए, अभी मुझको थोड़ा और कहना है । अभी सब लोगों ने बीस-बीस मिनट बोला है ।

तो मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि अगर हम लोगों की एक सेपरेट मिनिस्ट्री, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिये बनायी जाये तो हम लोगों का भला हो जायेगा । सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट, रीहैबिलिटेशन डिपार्टमेंट और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट डिपार्टमेंट को इकट्ठा कर के एक

सोशल वेलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री बनानी चाहिये, यह हम लोगों की मांग है। आप हरिजनों के लिये अलग मिनिस्ट्री बनावें यह मेरे कहने की मन्शा नहीं है लेकिन कम से कम सोशल वेलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री के नाम से उसको बनाना चाहिये, यह मेरी प्रार्थना है।

A separate allocation has been made in the last portion of the Plan.

बर्ड प्लान में शिड्यूलड कास्ट के वास्ते सेपरेट प्लान बनाना चाहिये, इसके बिना हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा क्योंकि प्लान बहुत बनते हैं लेकिन हमारे फायदे के लिये अमल में नहीं आते।

मेरी तीसरी प्रार्थना यह है कि जो एसिस्टेंट कमिशनर, शिड्यूलड कास्ट एंड शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स हमारे हर प्रान्त में शिड्यूलड कास्ट्स कमिशन में काम करते हैं, एपाइन्टमेंट के वक्त उनको कम से कम तीन, चार ज्यादा रखना चाहिये। उनकी बहुत कम अधिकार मिले हुए हैं इसलिये उसको बढ़ाना चाहिये। जैसा आपने शिड्यूलड कास्ट और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स के लिये कमिशन रखा है वैसे ही कमिशन इस क्लास के लिये रखना जरूरी है।

मुस्रीम कोर्ट के बारे में आपने वचन दिया है कि जिस प्रकार रेलवे विभाग में होता है उसी प्रकार और तमाम विभागों में वह निर्णय लागू होगा। इसके अलावा जिन हरिजनों ने धर्म परिवर्तन कर के बौद्ध धर्म ग्रहण कर लिया है उनको भी बराबर सुविधायें मिलनी चाहियें और यदि आवश्यकता हो तो कांस्टीट्यूशन में अमेंडमेंट कर दिया जाये जैसा कि मजहबी सिखों को रिजर्वेशन आफ सीट्स मिला है और जैसे कांस्टीट्यूशन का अमेंडमेंट कर के उनको रिजर्वेशन दिया है वैसे ही बैकवर्ड क्लास के बुद्धिस्ट लोगों के लिये भी होना चाहिये। बुद्धिस्ट बनने से ही उन की अस्पृश्यता खत्म नहीं हो जायेगी।

तो मैं आखिर में यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हम लोगों के लिये तीन प्रकार की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। एक तो सेपरेट सोशल वेलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री बननी चाहिये, दूसरे हम लोगों के लिये प्लान सेपरेट बनना चाहिये और तीसरी चीज जो मैंने प्रार्थना की है स्कालरशिप के बारे में, वह स्कालरशिप आठ-आठ महीने बाद मिलता है। तो वह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से स्कालरशिप मिलना चाहिये।

हमारे माननीय कुजरू साहब ने बहुत अच्छी बात कही है कि जिस प्रकार प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने चीफ मिनिस्टर्स को बुला कर एक कॉन्फ्रेंस की उसी प्रकार हमारे होम मिनिस्टर को तमाम चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की कॉन्फ्रेंस बुला कर वन्स एण्ड फार आल इस अस्पृश्यता को खत्म करने के लिये कदम उठाना चाहिये।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore): Madam, when I listened to the speech of the hon. the Deputy Minister I had a feeling that she was very apologetic in her statement. She was apologetic, naturally so, because the performance of the various States in regard to the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes has not been very impressive.

The hon. Member, Mr. Kalelkar, drew the attention of the House to one important question, that is, whether as a result of this spending and the various kinds of activities undertaken in this regard the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have come nearer to the rest of the Indian society. We have passed the Untouchability Removal Act, and we have taken various administrative measures also to give safeguards to these communities. But how far have they been integrated socially with the rest of the society? And the important question is: Have they been integrated at all? If not, why not? There is a sizeable section of the Members

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.]
representing the Harijāns and the tribal people in Parliament. There are representatives of these communities in the State Legislatures, the Taluk Boards, the District Boards and the Panchayats even. Various political safeguards have been given to these communities. But in spite of all that, what is the progress made in regard to their integration about which we are all exercised and with which we are all concerned? One-fifth of the Indian population consists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and if they do not feel that they are integrated with the rest of the society, if they feel that they are still segregated in spite of this huge programme of assistance, if they feel they are isolated, whom are we to blame? Is it the Central Government? Is it the State Governments? Is it the society? Or is it the members who belong to these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

Madam, again and again we have been discussing this Report, every year, *ad nauseum* even though no new light seems to be forthcoming, and the task of integration and consolidation of society remains as it was. To be more precise, it is even deteriorating. Disintegrating tendencies, trends which cut away the vitals of Indian unity, have become strengthened during these years. I feel there must be something fundamentally wrong in our approach to the whole question. As Mr. Kalelkar put it, there is not even sufficient initiative taken by the communities on whom the Governments have been spending money. Perhaps, the Governments themselves are failing in their duty to look at this problem a little more seriously and with a little more earnestness. Perhaps, if this trend continues, we will be spending money all right but will not be achieving the desired goals. The mere financial allocations, the award of scholarships, a few jobs in the services, and their representation in Parliament, in the State Legislatures or local boards will not mean anything. Perhaps, they

may mean this only, that they may perpetuate their segregation and enhance the breach between the different sections of the community.

The matter has to be studied why there is not much of a response on the part of these communities in regard to this matter. The Commissioner in the latest Report has drawn our attention to one important fact, namely, that the Scheduled classes should cultivate the habit of helping themselves. They should take initiative in the matter. It is my sad experience, Madam, that many representatives of the Scheduled Castes—who are all honourable men—except trying to share the privileges given in the Constitution, are not taking any initiative in the matter of promoting the welfare of these communities, of their own brothers and sisters. I have been discussing this matter with my colleagues again and again in the past and even now, but unfortunately the fact remains that the so-called leaders of these communities—I do not know whether they feel shy, diffident or whether they have a lack of responsibility, whatever may be the reason—are not showing that sense of purpose and sense of service which is so necessary for the upliftment of their own classes. It is high time these people, friends of ours, realise their responsibility.

Secondly, the Report refers to the Backward Classes. The hon. Mr. Kalelkar was perhaps not wrong. What he said today was perhaps correct and we appreciate the approach he made to this important question of Backward Classes. Community, caste or narrow creeds should not form the basis of deciding the Backward Classes. That is very true and we accept it. But the hon. Member himself was the Chairman of the Backward Classes Enquiry Commission some time past. He has produced a voluminous report and what he and other members of the Commission did perhaps the hon. Members are aware of. The most important basis for classifying the people into Backward

Classes was considered to be the caste to which a man or woman belonged. The caste was considered to be one of the important criteria on which backwardness was decided. The report proceeds on the ground that there is no other reasonable criteria to classify the society into classes. Some time back the Government of Mysore, to which the Commission makes a pointed reference in the report, appointed a committee to submit its views on the classification of backward classes. There was an interim report and now there is the final report. What do we find there? We find to our astonishment that the caste has been taken as the basis, because according to them there is no other possible, reasonable basis for classifying the communities for the people. And the net result is, as Mr. Kalelkar put it, certain castes have been bracketed as progressive such as Brahmins or one or two other minor communities and all the rest have been bracketed as non-progressive or backward. Where are we leading to if that is the position? When we are thinking of making distinctions made on caste and creed penal, when we are contemplating legislation to give effect to it, why do we permit such reports and decisions based on such reports? Perhaps, there seems to be no co-ordination of outlook between the Central Government and the State Governments in this matter. Before the question of national integration is tackled and before national unity is ushered in, the main prerequisite is an integral approach, of a joint action on the part of both the Central and the State Governments.

Madam, as Mr. Kunzru pointed out in the Report, there have been a number of lapses and lot of delays in the functioning of the departments dealing with welfare projects. He pointed out—I think it has been brought out by the Commissioner himself in the Report—that the financial provisions provided for the various schemes and various projects have not been fulfilled in time according to schedule, according to a phased

programme because there is no adequate machinery at the State level or at the Centre. The Centre depends upon the States for carrying out the various activities. But the States do not normally respond to the directives of the Centre. They even fail to send periodical reports. Madam, it is amazing that the Governor, who is ostensibly known to be a man who is to devote himself to ostentatious purposes in the State, does not find sufficient time to visit the Scheduled areas and send a report to the President, even though it is obligatory.

My friend, Dr. Kunzru, drew the attention of the House to the need for strengthening sufficiently the staff of the Commissioner. I think that is very necessary in view of the colossal work involved. Any retrenchment of the staff or any economy in this matter should not be permitted. I feel strongly that sufficient staff has to be given to the Commissioner. We should then watch the various things that he will undertake and that he will do hereafter. Finally, I hope that when the next report is 2 P.M. discussed in the House, there will be better performance by the Ministry, that there will be no apology as such and there will be no pleading on behalf of the States and I wish that the entire machinery will be properly geared up for the goal that has been set in the Third Plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI): There are a number of speakers. I would therefore request that each Member confines himself or herself to 15 minutes.

डा० धर्म प्रकाश (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीया उपसभाध्यक्ष, जिस प्रकार यह रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने आई है, लगभग इसी प्रकार पिछले वर्षों में भी रिपोर्ट आती रही है। रिपोर्ट को शुरू से आखिर तक देखने से उसके तीन पहलू हमारे सामने आते हैं। एक तो यह कि प्रांतों में प्रांतीय सरकारों ने क्या

[डा० धर्म प्रकाश]

किया। दूसरा पहलू यह है कि इस कार्य पर कितना रुपया खर्च हुआ। तीसरा यह कि उसे सुझाव किस प्रकार दिये गये और उस में कितनी सफलता मिली और कितनों की अवहेलना की गई। इन तीन बातों को सामने रख कर यदि रिपोर्ट पर विचार किया जाय तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि जो कुछ कार्य हुआ है वह नगण्य है, उसकी कोई गिनती नहीं है। लेकिन चूंकि डिप्टी होम मिनिस्टर ने अपनी अपील में यह कहा है कि क्रिटिसिज्म न कर के अगर हमें ठोस सुझाव दिये जायें तो हम उसे एक्सेप्ट करेंगे और उस पर अमल करेंगे। ऐसा उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया है। गो यह आश्वासन प्रति वर्ष मिलता रहा है, लेकिन जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है, अथवा जो देश की परिस्थिति हमारे सामने है, उसको ध्यान में रख कर कुछ बातें मैं सुझाव के रूप में आपके समक्ष रखूंगा।

पहली बात यह है कि अक्सर कमिशन बनते हैं, उनकी रिपोर्ट आती है। लेकिन उस पर कितना अमल होता है यह देखने की चीज है। अभी हमारे काका कालेलकर साहब ने कुछ कहा था। उनकी अध्यक्षता में पिछड़े वर्ग की जांच का एक कमिशन बना था। उसकी रिपोर्ट पर क्या हुआ और वह रिपोर्ट कब और किस तरह से आई, वह सब आप जानते हैं। अभी एक कमिशन के अध्यक्ष श्री डेबर भाई ने जांच-पड़ताल कर के जो रिपोर्ट दी है, वह तो जिन्होंने रिपोर्ट पढ़ी है, वे उसको समझेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने कभी कभी अपने विचार किये हैं। एक मर्तबा उन्होंने दिसम्बर, सन् १९६० में कटनी में यह कहा था :

“मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि पिछड़ी जातियों की स्थिति में अभी तक कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ और ऐसी स्थिति में यह आवश्यक है कि उन्हें उच्च जातियों के बराबर लाने के लिये कठ्ठ और अवधि तक संरक्षण दिया जाये

उन्होंने यह भी कहा :

“पिछड़े क्षेत्रों की स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में वे आज भी वर्तमान सभ्यता की रोशनी से हजारों मील दूर हैं और इन क्षेत्रों में जन जीवन पशुओं जैसा है।”

यह डेबर भाई जी की रिपोर्ट है।

साथ ही इसके, मैं आपसे यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि साधारण सदस्यों की विचार-धारा को एक तरफ रखिये। मगर देश के जो मान्य नेता हो चुके हैं अथवा मौजूद हैं, उनके शब्द अस्पृश्यता के सम्बन्ध में क्या रहे हैं, वह थोड़ा जान लेने की बात है। हमारे पूज्य बापू जी ने यह कहा था :

“अस्पृश्यता निवारण का अर्थ इतना ही नहीं कि हरिजनों की आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्थिति में सुधार हो जाय। हमें तो मवर्णों का हृदय परिवर्तन कर के धर्म के नाम पर होने वाले अधर्म को मिटाना है। छुआछूत का यह भीषण राक्षस, जितनी मैं ने कल्पना की थी, उस से बहुत ज्यादा भयानक है।

अस्पृश्यता के विरुद्ध मेरा संग्राम वास्तव में मानव जाति की अशुद्धता के विरुद्ध संग्राम है।”

इस के बाद विनोबा जी ने एक स्थान पर यह कहा था :—

“अस्पृश्यता उन्मूलन स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के कार्य से भी अधिक कठिन हो गया है। अस्पृश्यता मिटाने के लिये अनेक महा-पुरुषों ने १२५ वर्ष से निरन्तर प्रयत्न किए हैं, जब कि स्वराज्य के लिए भारतीयों ने इस से कम अवधि तक संघर्ष किया था। विनोबा जी ने कहा कि इसका कारण यह है कि पराधीनता हमारे राष्ट्र रूपी शरीर का बाह्य रोग रहा जब कि अस्पृश्यता आंतरिक रोग है।”

इसके बाद हमारे वर्तमान राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी ने यह कहा है :-

“जहां तक संविधान और लोकमत का सवाल है, अछूतपन का मामला एक प्रकार से साफ हो चुका है। मगर अब भी देश के अन्दर बहुत जगहों से यह खबर सुनने को मिलती है कि व्यवहार में अछूतपन पूरी तरह से गया नहीं है। इसलिए जरूरी है उसका प्रचार, और केवल प्रचार ही नहीं, लोगों के जीवन में दिन प्रति दिन के काम में भी जो दिखलाया जाय कि वह एक पाप है।”

स्वर्गीय प० गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत जी ने इस सम्बन्ध में दो-तीन बार कहा था। परन्तु अखिर में उन्होंने यह कहा :

“अस्पृश्यता हमारे धर्म पर बड़ा कलंक है। यह हमारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था में घुन के समान है और राष्ट्र की एकता और सौहार्द में बाधक है। यह देख कर बड़ा दुःख होता है कि देश के संविधान के विरुद्ध और कानून के अनुसार दंडनीय होने पर भी यह बुराई कई क्षेत्रों में अभी तक चल रही है।”

सामाजिक क्षेत्र में वियोगी हरि जी ने एक मर्तबा कहा था :

“दुर्भाग्य से देहातो में आज भी अस्पृश्यता लगभग पहले की जैसी ही पाई जाती है। सवर्णों द्वारा उन पर किए गए अत्याचारों और उनके सामाजिक बहिष्कारों की घटनाएँ प्रायः सुनने और देखने में आती रहती हैं, जो हमारे समाज और राष्ट्र के लिए लज्जाजनक और घातक है।”

जो हमारे कमिश्नर है श्रीकान्त भाई, उन्होंने एक मर्तबा पिछले वर्ष नई दिल्ली में अखिल भारतीय मानव सेवा संघ द्वारा आयोजित सर्वदलीय गोलमेज परिषद् की बैठक में २६ फरवरी को भाषण देते हुये कहा था :

“आज राष्ट्रीय एकता की राह में हमने बड़ी अड़चन, खामी, हिन्दू समाज में फैली अस्पृश्यता की भावना है। यदि राष्ट्रीय एकता को सुदृढ़ कर दिखाना है तो देश को यह गुत्थी सुलझानी ही पड़ेगी। मुझे यह कहने हुये लज्जा का अनुभव होता है कि जब से हमें स्वतंत्रता मिली है, इस दिशा में (हरिजनोद्धार के काम में) संतोषजनक प्रगति नहीं हुई है।”

इतने विचार जो मैंने आपके सामने रखे वह इस बात को प्रमाणित करते हैं कि हमें यह जानने के लिये किसी नये कमिशन के बनाने की जरूरत नहीं है कि अस्पृश्यता घटी है या नहीं। यह तो सब जानते हैं और सब दिन रात देख रहे हैं। ऐसी अवस्था में इसके लिए कोई कमिशन बनाना समय और पैसे को बरबाद करना होगा।

अगर इस प्रकार की कोई विशेष जानकारी करनी ही है तो मेरा एक सुझाव है कि होम मिनिस्ट्री क्यों न इस बात का प्रयत्न करे कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड और म्युनिसिपल बोर्ड के मेम्बरों से लेकर धारा सभाओं के मेम्बरों तक और लोक सभा और राज्य सभा के तमाम मेम्बरों को एक सर्कुलर भेजे कि वे अपने अपने इलाके में जिस प्रकार अस्पृश्यता का व्यवहार हो रहा है उसको अपनी जानकारी के आधार पर आपको लिख कर भेजे और साथ में सुझाव भी भेजें कि उसको किस तरह से मिटाया जा सकता है। इस प्रकार बड़ी आसानी से इस मसले को निबटाया जा सकता है और पूर्ण जानकारी आपको प्राप्त हो सकती है।

इसके अलावा इस समय दो तीन बातें मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे दुःख है कि राष्ट्र के बड़े बड़े कर्णधार, प्रान्तों के चीफ मिनिस्टर्स जब कभी बोलते हैं तो राष्ट्रीय एकता का राग अलापते हैं और

[डा० धर्म प्रकाश]

कहते हैं कि राष्ट्रीय एकता खतरे में है और उसके लिये कहा जाता है कि प्रान्तीयता भाषावार प्रान्त रचना, साम्प्रदायिकता ये सब जहर हैं लेकिन इन पिछले दिनों में मैंने किसी के मुंह से यह बात नहीं सुनी कि अस्पृश्यता भी राष्ट्रीय एकता में बहुत बड़ी बाधक है। अगर हम इसे नहीं मिटावेंगे तो एकता का स्वप्न, स्वप्न, ही रहेगा। यदि सामाजिक असमानता न मिटी तो न राष्ट्रीय एकता ही कायम हो सकेगी और न हमारी डेमोक्रेसी ही जिन्दा रह सकेगी। हम अपने हृदय पर हाथ रख कर सोचें कि जिन करोड़ों प्राणियों को सदियों से सताया गया है और जिन्हें सदियों से अधिकार वंचित रखा गया है उनके लिये यह कहा जाता है कि इनकी संख्या कम हो जाय। संख्या कम करने की कोशिश की जाती है, सिर्फ इसलिये कि ये अधिकार-अधिकार की रट न लगाते रहें। आप संख्या कैसे कम कर देंगे, कोई उपाय है? वैसे तो बर्थ-कंट्रोल चल रहा है, गवर्नमेंट का आन्दोलन भी हो रहा है लेकिन आप को मालूम होता चाहिये कि किसी सम्प्रदाय से इनकी संख्या कम नहीं बढ़ती है। तो फिर कैसे इनको मिटा देंगे। हां, एक तरीका है, और वह यह है कि इनको जहाजों में भर कर समुद्र में ले जाइये और वहां डुबो दीजिये, ये कम हो जायेंगे और फिर अधिकारों की रट नहीं लायेंगे। लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछता हूं कि अधिकारों की रट लगाने का कारण क्या है? क्या आपने सच्चे हृदय से सोचा कि इनको क्यों अधिकार चाहियें औरों को क्यों नहीं चाहिये? कारण यह है कि जो संख्या हिन्दुओं की थी उस संख्या में ७ या ८ करोड़ की संख्या इनकी थी और गुलामी के जमाने में इनकी संख्या से लाभ उठाया आपने, सवर्ण कहलाने वाले हिन्दुओं ने। आपने अपने को मालामाल बनाया, शिक्षित बनाया और समाज में अपना दर्जा कायम किया और

इन पिछड़े हुए हैवानों को पीछे फेंक दिया। हिन्दू-मुस्लिम को जनसंख्या के अनुपात से अधिकार मिले थे। उनसे आपने लाभ उठाया। आपको कई घटनायें सुना सकता हूं जिनको सुन कर शर्म आयेगी। एक घटना ताजी है। अभी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लिये, एक रिजर्व पोस्ट थी और उसके लिये कैंडीडेट्स से एप्लीकेशंस काल को गई। एप्लीकेशंस के काल करने पर पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन में ६ कैंडीडेट्स आये और जो क्वालिफिकेशंस मांगी गई थीं उनसे ज्यादा ही क्वालिफिकेशन छहों कैंडीडेट्स में थीं और उनमें दो तो ऐसे थे जो कि और भी ज्यादा क्वालिफाइड थे, मगर दुःख की बात है कि कमिशन ने यह कहा कि इनमें एक भी कैंडीडेट सूटेबल नहीं है। यह है आपकी उदारता, यह है आपकी न्यायप्रियता। नतीजा क्या होगा, मैं जानता हूं। कैफियत यह है कि एक सवर्ण हिन्दू महिला उस पोस्ट के लिये पहले से रख ली गई है और अब कोशिश यह की जायगी कि चूक इन छः कैंडीडेट्स में से कोई कैंडीडेट काबिल नहीं है और काबिल कैंडीडेट्स मिलते नहीं हैं इसलिये सवर्ण हिन्दू को यह जगह दे दी जाय। यह हो कर रहेगा और अगर हुआ तो आगे बताऊंगा कि किस तरह से यह साजिशें होती हैं।

तो जहां गवर्नमेंट सकल का यह हाल है वहां आप यह भी देखें कि सार्वजनिक जीवन में क्या होता है। आपको याद है कि स्वतंत्रता दिवस पर कोई भी व्यक्ति जो कि आजादी की प्रतिज्ञा ईमानदारी से लेता है वह कहता है कि मैंने अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन में अस्पृश्यता मिटा दी है और मैं इस में विश्वास नहीं करता लेकिन ऐसी प्रतिज्ञा लेने में और उसको निभाने में बहुत अन्तर है।

श्री हर प्रसाद सक्सेना (उत्तर प्रदेश):
मैं हूं ऐसा व्यक्ति।

डा० धर्म प्रकाश : बड़ी खुशी की बात है ।

तो अगर हम सार्वजनिक रूप से सारी जनता को अपने सामने नहीं रखें और सिर्फ कांग्रेस को ही रखें जो कि राष्ट्र की एक बहुत बड़ी संस्था है तो आपको सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि जिन्होंने हमेशा प्रतिज्ञा की कि बापू के आदर्श पर चल कर काम करते रहेंगे और जो सदा कंधे से कंधा भिड़ा कर आजादी के लिये काम करते थे आज उनके सामने कोई रचनात्मक काम ही नहीं रहा है । अगर कोई काम है तो वह सिर्फ यह है कि हमारी कुर्सी बरकरार रहे, हम किसी मेजारिटी गुट में बरकरार रहें, उनका सारा ध्यान इस पर है कि सत्ता हमारे हाथ में रहे । उन्हें यह फ़िक्र नहीं है कि अस्पृश्यता कैसे मिटे, उन्हें फ़िक्र नहीं है कि करोड़ों प्राणियों का उद्धार कैसे हो । तो कांग्रेस जैसी संस्था, जिसने कि अस्पृश्यता निवारण और अछूतोद्धार का व्रत लिया वह ही अपने पथ से विचलित हो कर कहां से कहां पहुंच चुकी है, तो दूसरे राजनैतिक दलों की गिनती ही क्या । उनके सामने तो और कोई प्रोग्राम ही नहीं है सिवा इसके कि किस तरह से कांग्रेस को हटायें ताकि सत्ता हमारे हाथ में आये । यह ही दूसरी पार्टियों का उद्देश्य है ।

हरिजनोद्धार का यह कार्य करोड़ों प्राणियों से सम्बन्ध रखता है । फिर आज कौन है जो कि हृदय पर हाथ रख कर कह सकता है कि मैं इसको कर रहा हूं और इसको पूरा करना चाहता हूं । मैं तो दुःख के साथ कहता हूं — जैसा कि एक अपने भाई ने कहा—अपने कुछ लीडर्स ऐसे हैं जिनको कि इस बात की फ़िक्र है कि हमारी मेम्बरी कायम रहे, हमारी सीट कायम रहे, मिनिस्ट्री कायम रहे, कुर्सी कायम रहे । जिनका फ़र्ज है वह भी जब नहीं करते है तो फिर कल्याण कैसे हो ?

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर इस समस्या को हल करना है तो ईमानदारी से तय करना होगा कि यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या है । अपनी योजनाओं में इसको सब से प्रथम स्थान दें और अधिक से अधिक रुपया इसके लिये खर्च करने को तैयार हों, साथ ही सब का

सहयोग प्राप्त करें, तब तो समस्या हल हो सकेगी । वरना अगर इसी तरीके से काम चला जैसा कि अभी चल रहा है तो आप देखते हैं कि आजादी के बाद १३ या १४ साल समाप्त हो गये हैं और ऐसे ही एक एक कर के न मालूम कितना समय गुजर जायगा और हम कुछ नहीं कर सकेंगे । तो यह विचारणीय विषय है । इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस समय हमारे सामने तीन मुख्य काम है । पहला काम तो यह है कि अगर आप अस्पृश्यता मिटाना चाहते हैं, अगर आप इनका कल्याण चाहते हैं, तो कम से कम शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में आप यह निश्चय कर लीजिये कि कितना भी अधिक से अधिक रुपया खर्च करना पड़े लेकिन प्राइमरी शिक्षा से लेकर उच्च शिक्षा तक जितना भी खर्च होगा वह गवर्नमेंट खर्च करेगी । तब तो ये शिक्षित बन सकेंगे और अपने में से हीनता की भावना मिटा सकेंगे वरना अनपढ़, अशिक्षित होते हुए उनके लिये यह कहना कि वे अपने को उसी प्रकार से अमृत-पुत्र समझें जैसा कि और समझते हैं, तो यह कोरा उपदेश ही रहेगा । शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह सुझाव है ।

आर्थिक अवस्था के सम्बन्ध में यह है कि आप पढ़-लिख जाय लेकिन अगर गरीब हैं तो आप अपने पड़ोसी के समान ही अपना जीवन नहीं बिता सकते । अगर आप चाहते हैं कि ये सच्चे नागरिक बनें, ये सभ्य नागरिक बनें, ये सुख से जीवन व्यतीत करें तो जरूरत इस बात की है कि इनकी आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार कीजिये । आज खेती के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी चर्चा हमारे सामने आती है लेकिन जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं, जो भूमिहीन मजदूर हैं आप जरा उनकी हालत तो देखिये । पहले तो उनको कुछ जमीन भी मिलती थीं मगर आज उनको एक बीघा जमीन भी नसीब नहीं होती । ये बेकार लोग अपने लिये रोटी और कपड़े की भी ठीक व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाते हैं । ऐसी अवस्था में अगर आप आर्थिक सुधार चाहते हैं तो उनके जो पैतृक धंधे हैं—जिनको आज इस मशीन युग ने कई प्रकार से समाप्त कर दिया है —उनको पुनर्जीवित करना होगा ।

[डा० धर्म प्रकाश]

आज आप देखिये कि मामूली जूता बनाने वाला जब बरसात के दिन आते हैं तो कर्ज ले कर के अपना निर्वाह करता है, उसको चार पैसे भी नसीब नहीं होते हैं। मेहनत कर के भी पैसा नसीब नहीं होता है, इसी तरह से आज आप धोबियों को देखिये। वाशिंग कम्पनियों का काम जिस तरह से चल रहा है उससे बहुत से धोबी बेकार हो गये हैं, उन को रोटी के लिये परेशानी है और वे अपने बाल-बच्चों का पालन पोषण नहीं कर पाते हैं। तो यदि इनकी बेकारी को और खेतिहर मजदूरों की बेकारी को दूर नहीं किया गया, अर्थात् सही मानों में उनके लिये कोई ठोस काम नहीं किया गया, साथ ही उन के धंधों में कोई उन्नति नहीं की गई, उनके लिए कोई साधन नहीं जुटाये गये तो आप यह याद रखिये कि उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति नहीं हो सकती। जब तक वे गरीब और निर्धन हैं तब तक यह कहना कि हम समाजवादी समाज बनाना चाहते हैं, यह समाजवाद का केवल नारा ही रहेगा, एक थोथा नारा।

मैं अफसोस के साथ अपने तजुर्बे के आधार पर कहता हूँ कि एक समय जो भाई पैसे से तग थे वे आज लखपति हैं और आज लखपति होने के बाद करोड़पति बनने की इच्छा करते हैं जो स्वाभाविक है। मगर जिनको रोटी और कपड़ा नसीब नहीं होता, जो फुटपाथ पर 'गुजार' करते हैं, जिनको रहने को झोंपड़ी भी नहीं है या जिनके पास झोंपड़िया हैं लेकिन फिर भी बरसात और धूप से संरक्षण नहीं है उनके लिये अगर इतनी थोड़ी भी व्यवस्था न हो कि वे अपना पेट भर सकें और अपना सिर ढक सकें तो हमारी ये योजनायें बेकार होंगी और ये जो आये दिन रिपोर्टें पेश होती हैं वे भी बेकार रहेंगी। इसलिये मेरी नम्र प्रार्थना है कि आप इन बातों पर विचार करें। मुझे अफसोस के साथ यह भी कहना पड़ता है कि आज इस तरह लोगों की रुचि काम होती जा रही है।

(Time bell rings.)

मुझे यह आशा है कि यदि इन बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया तो समस्या शीघ्र हल होगी अन्यथा यह भी इस प्रकार से मरते मिटते चले जायेंगे।

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): I am not confident that I would be able to cover all the points within the limited time that I am allotted. The Commissioner himself admits that the Report is not comprehensive and may not present a complete picture for the reason that the State Governments and the Union Territories administered by the Central Government have not thought it fit or proper or necessary to submit to the Commissioner all the necessary and up-to-date details. Even the reports sent by the respective administrations are full of inaccuracies. As Pandit Kunzru pointed out, in certain cases, there were certain patent inaccuracies. Certain amounts were shown to have been spent whereas actually they have not been spent at all. They were mere book adjustments. This shows how lightly the State Governments and even the Centrally-administered Territories take up this huge problem, this important problem, of improving the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I want the Home Ministry to insist that the State Governments and the Union Territories should send their reports in time in the future.

Now, Sir, the implementation of these welfare schemes is done by the State Governments. These Governments will have, therefore, to take more interest. In order to facilitate the State Governments to take some more interest in this matter, I suggest that the State Assemblies should also discuss this Report and I further suggest that for this purpose, this Report should be published by the respective State Governments in the regional languages. The State Assemblies can then discuss this Report and send the whole thing to the Commissioner so that we have an

idea of how the mind of the Legislators is working in regard to the implementation of the programme as a whole.

Another suggestion that I would like to make is that this Report should contain in the end, just before the recommendations of the Commissioner, a chapter to show how many of the recommendations suggested by him in the previous year were implemented by the respective State Governments, how many were not implemented and what were the causes given by the respective State Governments.

The other point that I would like to suggest is this. The Minister himself said that the Commissioner at present has no effective power over the implementation of the programme. I feel, Sir, that he must be given more powers. According to the Constitution it is not possible. But whatever it is, the suggestion is there in the conclusion. This could be favourably considered and necessary orders passed as early as possible so that he might have at least certain authority in the implementation of the programme.

Madam Vice-Chairman, removal of untouchability in my opinion is very intimately connected with the economic improvement of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Mere propaganda or even meetings organised either by the Governmental agencies or the non-official agencies will not help unless and until the aspect of economic advancement also is given proper consideration. I am not in favour of popularising these formal functions too much, functions like the celebration of 'Harijan Week' and so on. I am not deprecating all these things but generally in our area, as far as my experience goes these weeks are celebrated in a very formal fay, the next day the very people who gave big lectures the previous day quietly forget all that they have said. Hence, I feel that more and more attention should be paid towards organising certain agencies to protect

the rights of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. A more deterrent punishment should be awarded in cases where untouchability is practised. In our parts, even today, the remnants of big *samaradhanas* in the temples or feasts in some high caste Brahmin's house are distributed to the Harijans. I think that it is an obnoxious custom and a legislation is absolutely necessary to ban this custom and to ban those people who try to degrade human dignity. It is not the fault of the poor Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes who take that dole. But it is a stigma on the society that these people should think too highly of themselves and distribute the remnants to those unfortunate people. So, some sort of legislation to curb all these unsocial acts has to be brought about and organisations have to be encouraged to fight out the right to implement this legislation effectively by helping these poor unfortunate people.

Now, Madam, the majority of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are agricultural labourers. Their conditions and their social status are well known; I need not go into details and depict their low economic level or their degrading position in society. This has been brought out also by the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee. They have been neglected in these two Plans; their wages are declining and their indebtedness is increasing. So, one of the primary things for improving the economic condition of the vast majority of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is a comprehensive land legislation. From the Report we see that some of the States have enacted certain legislation but those legislations contain so many loopholes that these poor unfortunate agricultural labourers are being evicted by the use of those very legislations which have been enacted to stop such evictions. These legislations appear to be very good but the process of their implementation is so cumbersome that it is very difficult for these agricultural labourers to establish

[Dr. A. Subba Rao.]

their right. It is with my experience—limited though it might be—of working in the Kisan Sabha that I am asserting that it is very difficult to prove that an agricultural labourer has been in a particular plot of land and to establish his right.

Now, with regard to minimum wages, some States have fixed minimum wages while some have not even taken the trouble to fix minimum wages. In some places where it has been fixed they have not taken care even to see that the minimum that is fixed is not below what is generally being paid there. So, that has to be gone into. Even the process of implementing the law of minimum wages is cumbersome and difficult. For example, they have got to register themselves into a registered union. It will be very difficult in a village where the people may not even know about the legislation itself. And in such cases to organise themselves and then to ask for the implementation of minimum wages law is not practicable. So, the process of implementation must be made easier.

Then there is the distribution of waste lands by the Government. The Government professes that it has distributed a lot of waste land to these landless labourers but unfortunately even today we find that a vast majority of these people have yet to receive it. They do not own even a small piece of land where they can at least reside and have a shelter of their own. So, this process of distribution of waste land to these labourers should be expedited.

With regard to legal aid, it has been brought out in the Report that many of the States give legal aid but the amount earmarked for the provision of legal aid is too meagre and even the amount that is earmarked has not been spent fully. Out of Rs. 1,66,797 earmarked for Scheduled Castes only Rs. 45,000 have been spent. This itself reveals that while on paper we have got provision for giving legal aid to these poor unfortunate people, it is not being implemented.

So far as cottage industries are concerned, we have got many training centres run by the Khadi and Village Industries Board and other institutions. But if there is no follow-up after the training, then it will be a waste of money. So, I would like these training centres to be converted into production-cum-training centres. This suggestion has been made by different bodies and I hope that the Government will look into this so that they may not waste their money on this training. For example, there was a basket training centre in our area. There the Scheduled Caste people were trained for a period of three years but later on there was no follow-up and the result was they went back to their old profession without getting any benefit out of this training.

Madam, I have got a last point with regard to education and that is with regard to reservation for higher training in some of these private institutions. In our State especially the higher education is given by private institutions. I do not say that they should throw open their entire institution to these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But the position is that in some places they demand monetary assistance in order to build up the funds for the institution. So, I feel that the Government should insist that at least a small percentage of the seats should be reserved for these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI DAYALDAS KURRE (Madhya Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes holds a very important position. It is through him that the President, the Parliament and the Government of India are kept informed of the progress of the several schemes implemented for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. He has also to maintain contacts with the State Governments and Union Territories and evaluate the progress of the welfare schemes undertaken by them. No doubt his responsibilities are great.

He submits his annual Reports to the President through the Ministry of Home Affairs. We have before us the Report for the year 1959-60 for discussion. It is an important Report because this Report is meant for helping Government of India in the discharge of their responsibilities in regard to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. It is to be seen how far this Report has been able to achieve this fundamental object.

I must say that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has taken much pains to prepare this Report. It contains many valuable information. It gives details of achievements, both physical and financial, under Education, Economic Upliftment, Co-operation, Medical Aid, Housing, Communications, etc. The qualitative assessment of work has been done very well. But I must point out that the Report does not contain information on the following points which are very important to assess if any economic upliftment has been done or not and on which the future plan and programmes depend:

In States having scheduled areas, Governors, under the Fifth Schedule to the constitution, have powers to make regulations for peace and good government of the scheduled areas and in particular in relation to the transfer of land by or amongst the members of the Scheduled Tribes; to the allotment of land to them and to the protection of tribals against exploitation by moneylenders. This power has to be exercised in consultation with the Tribal Advisory Council. The Report does not indicate how far and in what manner the Governors' powers have been exercised in the States and how far the tribals have been protected from social injustice and exploitation. To my knowledge the tribals are still heavily in debt and the benefit of the welfare activities will not go to them unless they

are first protected from the clutches of the moneylenders. The impact of the welfare programme on the minds of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not indicated. How far the programme is informally helping the most needy and the most neglected amongst the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not indicated. Irrigation is very important for intensive cultivation. Adequate irrigation facilities, both minor and major, must be provided. We do not find in this Report how far such irrigation facilities have been provided in the scheduled areas of various States by the irrigation and tribal welfare department. We would like to know whether the members of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe families actually benefited and the area in acres brought under irrigation each year. The States must be given to understand the implications of employment statistics relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the various States. On page 146 of the Report, the Commissioner says that most of the State Governments failed to furnish complete information showing the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes *vis-a-vis* other employees in their service and in the service of semi-Government and local bodies. Progress cannot be assessed, nor can we judge if the State Governments are giving due consideration to the representation of them, unless complete information is furnished.

Regarding education I must say that there is always delay in the disbursement of scholarships. This Report must give concrete suggestions for avoiding much delay. On page 47 of the Report, it is stated that 12 overseas scholarships lapsed during 1959-60 due to delayed decision by the Ministry of Education. I would like to know further details about this delay and whether the 12 lapsed scholarships can be made available in future.

In connection with the activities of non-governmental agencies in the field.

[Shri Dyaldas Kurre.]

of education, I would like to say a few words. There are a few non-governmental agencies which are working to spread education amongst the Scheduled Caste people. Out of them I know personally of the Madhya Pradesh Harijan Education Society. Under this Society there are more than 1,000 Scheduled Caste and other students. They are getting proper education in various institutions. They are running in private buildings. They have no buildings of their own. They are rented buildings. So far as their boarding and maintenance grants are concerned, it is very meagre. As far as I know, they get at the rate of Rs. 12 per boy, per month. Nowadays it is very difficult to run the hostels on such a very meagre sum. So, I humbly suggest that the maintenance and boarding grant from the Government of India should be increased. So far as their residential houses are concerned, some funds should be allotted for the construction of hostel buildings also, so that the students belonging to Scheduled Castes and other non-Scheduled Caste students could get proper benefit. These institutions are doing very well in the field of removing untouchability. I am concerned with one institution in which more than 300 students are studying and out of them about 75 students belong to Scheduled Castes. They are living together, residing together and eating together. By this means they are doing away with untouchability. So, at least a fund should be earmarked to help these students.

Lastly, I would conclude my speech by saying that without a careful study of the Report, Parliament cannot get a true picture of the progress made. Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh):
Madam Vice-Chairman, we have been hearing during the last few months a great deal about national integration. We have been talking of emotional integration. Now, here is a field which offers itself for emotional in-

tegration. We want to pursue a policy which would emotionally integrate the so-called Scheduled Castes with us. From that point of view this Report is of considerable importance and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes deserves our thanks for the painstaking manner in which he has discharged the heavy responsibilities cast upon him.

One of the things which struck me while I was going through this Report was that he was not receiving as much co-operation as he is entitled to from State Governments. His reports would be more punctual and his reports would be more accurate if he got information in time. He has made a legitimate complaint that not all State Governments are punctual and accurate in their comments or remarks made to him. He has also referred to the question of temple entry. I hardly go to a temple. I am not very much interested in temples, churches or mosques. But temples, churches and mosques are symbols of something very deep. They are symbols of the spiritual equality of man and from that point of view it is very important that this question of temple entry should be taken up seriously. It is a matter for shame that there are temples in which the depressed classes cannot even now, after so many years of independence, find entrance. The Constitution gives that right, of course, but it does not give them the right to enter private temples. There are ways in which you can get over the articles of the Constitution, and it is a question which cannot be ignored.

Then, I find that provision has been made for their legal aid. I should like provision to be made for legal aid for all poor and depressed class people in this country, but it is amazing that a sum actually allotted for legal aid was not fully spent. I do not know how and why that happened. Also I think for the administration of these

amounts the co-operation of the lawyers should be sought. It is not enough to entrust this work to social welfare workers.

Then I would like to point out that while we are having a Commission appointed for the evaluation of work done for the welfare of all Scheduled Tribes, no such Commission has been appointed to evaluate the work done for the Scheduled Castes. After ten years the reservation of seats to which we agreed rather reluctantly and with some misgivings and hesitations last year will disappear. It is therefore, of importance that we should know first-hand what is the amount of work which has been done so far for these classes. We should know the problems which we shall have to face before the next ten years are over. Therefore, I think the question of a Commission which would deal with the problems of the Scheduled Castes will be taken up in right earnest and that we shall have a communique announcing the appointment of a Commission at an early date.

The Commissioner complains that he has not enough assistance. He would like to have more Assistant Commissioners to whom he would like to delegate some of his executive powers. It is only with a proper and adequate staff that tangible results can be achieved. Therefore, from that point of view it is important and desirable that the Commissioner should be given more Assistant Commissioners.

Then, we have in the Third Five Year Plan reserved a sum of about Rs. 114 crores for the welfare of these classes. The total Plan expenditure is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 11,600 crores. In the Second Five Year Plan the allotment was Rs. 90 crores. One would have thought that in the Third Plan a greater sum than has actually been allotted would be reserved for these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Then there is a matter in regard to which I would like to say a word. We

had yesterday or the day before a discussion on the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (Amendment) Bill. Now, we all want to encourage cottage industries and handicraft industries, but there are some industries which traditionally the Scheduled Castes have been accustomed to carry on. There is, for example, the leather industry in which they have for one reason or another specialised. Now, we have big leather manufacturing concerns in the country. But what is the assistance that we are giving to the small men who are carrying on this leather industry? This is a field in which assistance from Government is needed.

Then, I would like to say that an effort should be made by us to see that the number of persons belonging to these classes who join our superior services increases. We cannot do that artificially. We cannot just lower standards, but we can help them educationally. We have started a school for the training of Scheduled Caste candidates at Allahabad. Probably, it has been yielding the best results that were expected from it. But why cannot we have a few other centres such as the one we have at Allahabad in other places also? I must make it however clear that once a man enters a service, there can be no question of reservation so far as promotions are concerned. So far as promotions are concerned, they can only be based upon actual merit. We have reserved a certain number of posts for the Scheduled Castes in our services, but after they enter the services they must compete on equal terms with others.

Just one word more and I have done. When I was working on the I.A.S. Special Recruitment Board, I was particularly struck by the attitude of one of the Scheduled Caste candidates. He was one of the most brilliant men that we came across during our interviews. He created a great impression on us. He had half an hour with us. When he was leaving us, he made one request; he said: "Sir,

[Shri P. N. Saprū.]

select me if you think that I am as good as any other candidate, but I would not like you to select me if you think that I do not satisfy the standard which you require from other candidates. I do not want to take shelter behind the reservations which are there for the Scheduled Castes." I think that showed a great amount of self-respect on the part of this individual, and I would like that sort of thing to develop among the Scheduled Castes. (Interruption). He was high up in the list.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, as I went through the pages of this very ably drafted Report, the Ninth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a sort of question flashed into my mind as to what was in the minds of the framers of this Constitution when they put article 338 in it. Did they put this article in it so that year after year the same type of identical report would be published to which no attention would be paid even by the responsible persons of the States? Did they put this article in the Constitution so that year after year the very good work done in some areas would be mentioned but no heed would be paid by the States or by the responsible personalities to fulfilling those recommendations or to implementing those recommenda-

3 P.M. tions? Madam, when I went through this article, article 338, I became quite convinced that the framers of the Constitution had a very clear picture and their aim of putting this article in the Constitution was to see that this Report might create a revolution in the lives of these unfortunate brothers of ours; they had a very specific purpose in doing so. They have mentioned it very clearly in article 340:

"The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the

difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition . . ."

The question before us is whether that purpose has been fulfilled or not and how far we have been successful in fulfilling that purpose. I happened to see the page in which it has been mentioned that the Governors' reports are not received in time and that even this evaluation is not being done properly. The hon. Minister very rightly pointed out that it was a State subject but I would like to know whether it is not the responsibility of the Home Ministry to persuade those States. Why not such responsible people like Governors send reports on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in time? I would suggest that a special conference of all the Chief Ministers and the Governors should be convened to set right this disgusting state of affairs. Unless they are persuaded to carry out the recommendations properly, this Report will not be fulfilling any purpose. I am quite surprised to note that even when the Government itself has appointed the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is not giving that co-operation to that organization as it should. Since it is the declared policy of the Government to make 80 per cent. of the posts of the organization permanent, there is no reason why the percentage of posts which have continued in this Commissioner's organization for more than three years should not be made permanent without any delay. It has been mentioned again and again in the Report that Assistant Commissioners will be appointed in the areas but I would like to know why those appointments have not yet been made. What are the reasons? Why even such recommendations which are within the purview of the Central Government could not be fulfilled? In the same way it has been mentioned on page 13 that the money budgeted and allotted for such schemes has not

been spent and that the progress is very very slow. I would like to know what the Home Ministry has decided to do about it. Why even the money budgeted for and allotted is not being spent properly? On page 13, it has been mentioned:

"The consensus of opinion at the conference was that the slow rate the development activities was due to the following reasons:

1. Inadequacy of preliminary planning and arrangements for implementation of approved schemes.

2. Inadequacy of arrangements for collecting progress reports in time so as to serve as a basis for periodical reviews of the situation and initiation of special measures to achieve the target."

I would like to know why this is not being done. I would also like to know what steps have been taken to ensure that progress reports regarding the implementation of the welfare schemes are accurate and are received in time. The States should be asked to indicate the progress rate and also whether the amount has been actually spent or not.

I am glad that the distribution of scholarships has been decentralised. It is a good thing but I would like to know whether Government has tried to find out whether all the difficulties which the students have to face have been removed. I would like to say that these difficulties have not been removed in spite of the fact that the States are distributing the scholarships because these students have to pay their fees; even when they do not receive their scholarships, the educational authorities demand their fees. Why should not the school authorities be asked to deduct their fees when these students get their scholarships? Another very great difficulty which these students are facing is that if a student is studying in some other State, he is not given any scholarship at all. To facilitate such students, this types of arrangement should be made that if they go to study in some other

State, there would be no difficulty in getting their scholarships, and it is within the power of the Central Government to make such amendments in the rules.

On page 19 it has been mentioned that while in 1957 in the Centrally-administered schemes of education the money spent was about Rs. 42 lakhs, in 1959 it was reduced and it came to Rs. 25 lakhs. The same thing has happened in the State sector schemes also. In 1957 it was Rs. 286 lakhs but in 1959-60 it has been reduced to Rs. 179 lakhs. Madam, I need not repeat that if we want to create a real revolution in the lives of these unfortunate brothers of ours, if we really want to see that they stand on their own feet, the most important thing is education. All the schemes put together on the one side will not be doing so much good to these people as education itself. I would like to know why the expenditure has been reduced instead of being increased. I was under the impression that the expenditure on educational schemes would be increased slowly and gradually because this is the only method of making them self-supporting. I am quite surprised that this disgusting state of affairs is being continued.

One pages 31 and 32 it has been mentioned that a list of villages where untouchability is being practised is not being maintained in spite of a number of circulars that are being regularly sent by the Commission and that no attention is being paid to it.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Many States have not kept such a list. Unless such a list is there, how can untouchability be removed?

Sir, lastly I would like to mention about one thing. The unfortunate and most disgusting practice of carrying the night-soil on the head—during all these ten years, almost every year, invariably every Member of this House has been speaking on that—should be stopped and should be banned. I

[Shrimati Savitri Devi Nigam.]
think that if the States or the municipalities or the corporations had not been co-operating with the Home Ministry, the latter could have done it on their own initiative or could have given them the necessary grants. Sir, I think it is the most immediate work to be done so that this inhuman practice is stopped. I was quite surprised to hear the other day that even now in all the prisons night-soil is removed by the prisoners on their heads, at least in the prisons which are under the Home Ministry. This practice should have been abolished long ago and a sort of model should have been shown by the Home Ministry. Otherwise, if the recommendations and instructions of the Home Ministry are not followed by the States, we cannot complain about it because they can say that the Home Ministry itself has not taken any lead or initiative in banning this practice in their prisons. I was also told—I do not believe that it could be true—that in the prisons themselves there are no sweepers and that they get people belonging to the Scheduled Castes transferred from other prisons or they get some Harijans and get the work done in the prisons. I do not believe that it could be true, but even if it is true, this practice should be abolished in the prisons immediately.

Then, Sir,.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM: I have many other things to say but the time is short.

Lastly, I would like to say only this. I congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and congratulate again the Madam Home Minister for the interest she has been taking in this subject. I would also like to add that more efforts should be made by the Home Ministry to make the States accept these recommendations and implement them as soon as possible.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are grate-

ful to the Commissioner for giving us lucid and detailed reports every year, but I am sorry to find that in spite of his reminding in every Report that the State Governments do not send reports regularly, the practice continues. I do not know what is to be done and how it can be stopped. It is for the Home Ministry to consider. The Home Ministry cannot say that the States have to look after themselves. There must be a certain check, and we should really get detailed reports in time every year.

Sir, the next question which is very important is that financial targets should correspond to physical targets. We find that a lot of money is earmarked every year for different items for the uplift of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but what we find is that, every year, most of the money is spent in the last quarter. Very little is spent in the first, second and third quarters. If this state of affairs goes on, how can one expect good results? In a hurry you cannot expect to spend all the money in one quarter. That money is transferred from one head to another and shown as spent. Therefore, my submission would be that the staff of the Commissioner should be increased, and they should be asked to see regularly that the performance every quarter is properly done.

Now, Sir, one of the most important things that strikes me is this. We are aiming at improving the condition of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the other backward people, but at the same time we are not going to continue to have the separate identity of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, so that all those schemes which are only meant for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be relaxed, and other financially backward communities should be taken into them. Take for example the cottage industries. They should not be open only to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; the other people living close by, the poor people, should also be

allowed to join the industries along with them. Otherwise, instead of trying to integrate the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we are creating a separate class altogether, and that is going to be harmful to the country and to the nation.

Then, Sir, take for example the educational institutions where we have hostels. In these hostels the practice should be that non-Harijans also may stay there. In deserving cases they should also get scholarships so that they may also be induced to come and stay and dine together in the hostels. This was the practice which was being followed by the Ministry, but I find that it is not being followed everywhere. For example, there is an institution called Ishwar Saran Ashram at Allahabad where, for some years, money was paid by the U.P. Government for giving scholarships to hostellers. Now for the last two years it has been stopped only in the case of non-Harijans. This is a very wrong practice. I would submit that if you really wish that united nation should spring up after some time, it is necessary that in these institutions scholarships should be given also for other non-Harijan students who are willing to stay and dine and live together with the Harijans. Therefore, my submission is that even if the U.P. Government is not prepared to give that amount, or is causing difficulties in the payment of that sum, it should be paid by the Central Government as in the case of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Central Government pay a certain sum to the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the latter pays the scholarships to the non-Harijan hostellers—to some Rs. 5/- and to some Rs. 10/-.

Now, Sir, another point that strikes me as very important is the education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Now, Sir, we are spending a lot of money over it, but whether we are getting the result that is necessary is the question. From 1956 to 1960 Rs. 16,88,83,064 were spent in the State and Cen-

tral sectors on education, and in 1959-1960 Rs. 2,57,81,840 were paid to 61,962 students as post-Matric scholarships. My submission is that this huge amount which is spent on education should be so spent that it becomes useful. We should not only produce Matriculates, we should not only produce graduates, but we must also produce technicians and we must spend more money on technological institutions, and the practice of giving scholarships to all the students who pass the Matriculation examination should stop. It should only be given to those who have the capacity to study further, and not to each and every student.

Another question, Sir, is about the proposition that a certain percentage of seats should be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in educational institutions and in Government services. I quite agree. It is absolutely necessary that it should be there. I also agree that for them there should be some relaxation of age limits. But I am not prepared to agree that in their case the standard of examination should be lowered, because that affects the efficiency of administration, and therefore I would humbly submit that these Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students should be trained up for a year or two, and they should be so trained up that their educational qualifications and their standards are equal to the others . . .

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: They are far superior even.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: If they are superior, so much the better. What I say is that at least their educational qualifications should be equal to those of others, and there should be no lowering of standards in their case.

In the matter of economic advancement of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, we do have detailed reports about them, but some progress has

[Shri Mahesh Saran.]

certainly been made. It is gratifying to note that more attention in this respect is being paid to Scheduled Tribes, and that arrangements are being made to settle them at one place. They used to have shifting cultivation. They used to move about cultivating at different places at different times, but now efforts are being made to make them stay at one place and give up shifting cultivation. This is a step in the right direction.

Then, Sir, one point which is important is about wells. I have gone round some places and I find that people of the Scheduled Castes, like Chamars, Domes, Bhangis, etc., have dingy *kutch* wells, and these wells are not even disinfected. And naturally they become unwell, because of the dirty water they drink. Therefore, I think the Home Ministry would do well to pay more attention to the construction of *pucca* wells, which is essential so far as their health is concerned. Unless attention is paid towards this question, I do not think that we shall be making good progress.

Now, Sir, the removal of social disabilities is not making much progress, and my own impression is that laws alone will not be able to help us to remove this evil. Similarly, things like the question of temple entry, of common restaurants, can be solved by creating a band of workers who will go round and do voluntary service. Therefore, Sir, my submission is that this is a question which requires very careful consideration and towards this end the all-India Central organisation should be helped as much as possible so that they might carry on this work and try, in the short period of nine years from now, to remove this great slur on the Hindu community.

For this, Sir, it is necessary that ample grants should be given to all-India Central Organisations. I am sorry to find a provision of matching grant that a voluntary organisation has to pay. I cannot understand from where the organisation can find this

matching grant. They are poor people who are imbued with the idea of service. They go round, preach and try to help the downtrodden people and they are asked to give a matching grant. From where are they to get a matching grant. They are giving their life-blood. They are doing everything for the upliftment of the downtrodden and the Home Ministry wants 10 per cent. matching grant from them. There was a time when these voluntary organisations used to get some money as subscription but those days have gone. Now it is absolutely impossible for anybody to get any money for matching grant. Therefore, my submission would be that this question of matching grant should go and they should be helped liberally with money so that this work may go on uninterrupted.

Sir, I was talking about the Ishwar Saran Ashram at Allahabad which is doing good work. In 1956-57 for the removal of untouchability they were given a grant of Rs. 90,000. I should like the Deputy Home Minister to listen to my submission.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I am listening.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: It was reduced to Rs. 64,000 in 1957-58. I hope the Government knows that the Ashram is doing good work. Instead of being encouraged, the grant was lowered to Rs. 64,000. In 1958-59 it was further brought down to Rs. 40,000. Of course, now in 1959-60 they are getting Rs. 62,280. But my humble submission would be that if their work is satisfactory, if the work is approved, if the work that they are doing is really good, a higher sum should be given to them to allow their *Bhajniks* to go round preaching removal of untouchability, temple entry in the villages, and ask people to live together so that the people who are doing this work may be able to do it better and may have enough money for the purpose.

Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this much of time. I do not want to exceed my time because you will immediately ring the bell.

SHRIMATI JAHANARA JAIPAL SINGH (Bihar): Sir, on reading the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes we should not rely too much on statistical impressions. Statistics may be informative but we should probe deeper. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved. We should discover whether all the thinking, all the money that is spent, is paying a sufficient dividend in terms of increased prosperity and happiness of human beings.

Sir, in the few minutes at my disposal I should like to touch upon four of the most important problems of the Adivasis. The first problem is education. A great deal is being reported about the spread of education among the Adivasis. The question is whether we are giving the right type of education, an education which harmonises with their own genius and cultural imponderables, which equips them to face the consequences of developments, economic and social. Look at the Chota Nagpur Plateau. This is the ethnographer's paradise; it has a large concentration of Adivasis. It is the mineral depository of India. It is the industrial belt of India and the area is destined to progressive industrialisation. Factories are springing up right and left. Industrial development has been planned. But has the education of the people of this area been planned? Can we honestly say that all those students to whom we are giving scholarships, when they finish their studies in the schools and colleges, are going to be able to get any advantage from the industrial development in their area?

Sir, when we know that the area is doomed to industrialisation, is it asking too much that the people of the area be equipped to participate in its development? I would have thought the common sense would have warned us to give a technical bias to education in the area. Or is it the intention of the country to

leave the Adivasis unskilled as the traditional hewers of wood and drawers of water and attract-hords of workers from outside to make the Adivasis feel foreign to development that has come with this industrialisation? We must realise that our freedom has reached them also and they are becoming very conscious of their political and economic rights.

The first victims of almost any development in the area, whether of communications or industry, are the Adivasis because it is their lands that are taken away for building railway lines, factories or dams. But how are they being resettled and rehabilitated? Over and over again we are told that Adivasis must not be disturbed; yet we find their lands are acquired without simultaneous resettlement and rehabilitation. Sir, my contention is that no property should be acquired until alternate property is given. Monetary compensation is the most dangerous thing for the Adivasis. They must have land for land, house for house and more.

Sir, forest economy plays an important role in the life of the Adivasis. One of the important recommendations of the two Seminars of the Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks held in 1959 was that as tribal economy depended on forestry, a share of the income from forest produce should go to the tribals. The policy should be gradually to replace forest contractors by forest labourers' co-operative societies. But this is not being done as fast as it should.

Another by-product from forests is cocoons. Most of the cocoons are used for the production of raw silk. Recently, I made a survey of cocoon rearing in the Singhbhum district. There about thirty thousand Adivasis supplement their agricultural income by rearing cocoons. I was astonished to find that the primary producer received only one-fifth of the market price. The rest of it goes to middlemen. This obtains in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bastar where also

[Shrimati Jahanara Jaipal Singh.]

the Adivasis engage themselves in cocoon rearing. Recently, at the International Silk Conference in London one of the questions that they brought forward was how to meet the increase in the world demand for raw silk. Here is an industry that the Government can subsidise. They can teach the Adivasis the process of reeling and weaving so that the profits taken away by middlemen go to Adivasis themselves. This is one suggestion.

For all this a strong administration is necessary, an administration which deals only with the Adivasis. Therefore, I feel very strongly that a special cadre should be built up of only those people who are interested in the tribals, who know the language of the people, understand their social customs and who really have sympathy for them. I am sorry that the hon. Minister used the words, "people with a sense of sacrifice may be necessary". I may tell her that if she makes an attempt she will find many officers in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh who will be willing to devote the rest of their service period to the Adivasis without any feeling of sacrifice. Now, the difficulty is that they are transferred every two or three years as a result of which they cannot bring to fruition any scheme that they start.

Now to come to the cultural side of their lives, in the Report I find no mention at all of the tribal languages. Some of the Adivasi languages like Mundari are very rich and beautiful and our ancient history must inevitably depend upon pre-Aryan languages. Apart from the University of Calcutta I do not think any other University offers opportunities for the study of Adivasi languages.

With the tribal language and cultural life is associated their dancing. Once a year, three months before the Republic Day the officers of the Public Relations Departments of the various States go round and collect together a group of people and they

train them for three months and bring them for the Republic Day festival and invariably it is one of these items that carries away the prize. Can we not have some cultural centre where these dances can be practised all the year round so that we do not lose this art? The same thing happens with handicrafts. The tribal women are very nimble in their fingers and they can make themselves self-sufficient. I understand that in Assam there are places off the beaten track where the people of the Co-operative Union are not interested to go. Naturally, they cannot bother to go and collect and bring the products to places where they can be sold. Some centre should be set up for preserving and improving the tribal arts and crafts.

I would like to suggest to the Prime Minister that a specific Ministry for Tribal Affairs should be created. I mean no censure on the Ministry of Home Affairs but I feel the problem of Adivasis is not getting the importance it deserves. If a separate Ministry cannot be created, I would humbly suggest that the particular Department which deals with Adivasis should be expanded and strengthened.

Before I end, I hope the House will forgive me if I make a reference to the type of window-dressing Governments indulge in. We are told astronomical sums are earmarked for welfare work and yet these sums cannot be spent. They lapse. I regret that I have to say that sums are doled out to political applicants. If I do not belong to the ruling party, my application must be delayed or shelved although all the technical vetting approves it. I ask the hon. Minister to visit the Kala Kendra at Ranchi and see whether my endeavour is genuinely non-political welfare work or political.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I have been there.

SHRIMATI JAHANARA JAIPAL SINGH: I have gone round some of

the advertised welfare centres of the Congress Party and I am sorry to say that I could not locate most of them but those I did locate, I was shocked to find them as centres for advertisement and not for work. I regret to say that public money is wasted like this to boost up alleged welfare work by persons who have no love for the Adivasis. I have no grievance if the money is utilised for the purpose for which it is given. I see no sense in money being given to a political organisation because it is in power to use it, to abuse it in fact, for its survival.

श्री ना० २० मल्कानी (नाम-निर्देशित):

उपसभापति जी, मैंने यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ी है और इस रिपोर्ट में एक खंड, एक चैप्टर, पांचवा जो है वह मुझको अहम लगता है, इम्पार्टेंट मालूम होता है, क्योंकि वह खंड सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज, सामाजिक संकटों के बारे में है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सारे सवाल की जड़, कोर, वही है, सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज हैं। जब मैं रिपोर्ट को पढ़ता हूँ तो पहले यही चैप्टर पढ़ता हूँ, अगर यह चैप्टर ठीक है तो समझता हूँ कि सारी रिपोर्ट ठीक है, और अगर यह ठीक नहीं है तो फिर चाहे इससे दुगुनी मोटी किताब लिखे वह बेकार है। इसमें कहां तक तरक्की हुई है, कहां तक यह संकट—जिसको कि हम सामाजिक संकट कहते हैं—दूर हुआ है? रिपोर्ट में और इस चैप्टर में एक पेज है जो कि मेरे खयाल से नया पेज है और उसको पढ़ करके जरा मेरी आंख खुल गई और जरा मैं हिचक भी गया। वह पेज एक असेसमेंट के बारे में है। राजस्थान का एक असेसमेंट है। राजस्थान के रीजनल असिस्टेंट कमिश्नर ने राजस्थान के पांच डिवीजन के अन्दर ५१ विलेज में असेसमेंट किया। मैं मानता हूँ कि राजस्थान में कम से कम १५, २० हजार गांव होंगे, कम नहीं होंगे, ज्यादा होंगे और २० हजार गांवों में से ५१ गांव, पांच डिवीजन में, नमूनेवार ले करके उन्होंने

असेसमेंट किया कि वहां अटचैबिलिटी का, अस्पृश्यता का निवारण कहां तक हुआ है और जब मैं वह आंकड़े पढ़ता हूँ तो मुझको एक किस्म का शाक लगता है। ५१ गांवों में से १२ गांवों के अन्दर मंदिर में प्रवेश नहीं हो सकता है और १५ गांवों में अंधूरा प्रवेश है, बाहर तक जा सकते हैं और अन्दर नहीं जा सकते हैं और बाकी गांवों में मंदिर खुले हैं। कुओं के बारे में उन्होंने लिखा है कि ४१ गांव ऐसे हैं जहां कि कुछ कुछ हरिजन भाई, अस्पृश्य भाई, रहते हैं लेकिन ४१ गांवों में से एक गांव ऐसा था जिसमें कि सब कुएं उनके लिए खुले हुए थे, उनमें सब जा सकते थे। इसके नीचे लिखते हैं कि २५ गांवों में नाई हैं, लेकिन एक गांव, केवल एक गांव है जहां कि नाई सब की हजामत बनाते हैं। एक ही गांव में नाई हरिजनों की भी हजामत करते हैं और सब की करते हैं। इसी तरह तीन गांव में धोबी हैं लेकिन कोई भी हरिजनों की सेवा नहीं करता।

अब यह तसवीर ५१ गांवों की है, राजस्थान की है। अगर यह तसवीर राजस्थान की है तो फिर सारे हिन्दुस्तान की क्या होगी और वह मुझे बड़ी दर्दनाक मालूम पड़ती है। मैं मानता हूँ कि राजस्थान की हालत और प्रांतों से कुछ बदतर है, खराब है क्योंकि वहां जागीरदारी थी और महाराजाओं का किस्सा था, वह एक पुरानी फ्यूडल स्टेट थी, उसमें पुरानी चीज बहुत चन्ती थी और राजस्थान को मैं एक नमूने का, एक आदर्श का राज्य नहीं समझता। तो भी मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर राजस्थान की यह हालत है तो बिहार की कोई इससे बहुत अच्छी नहीं होगी, उत्तर प्रदेश की भी इससे बहुत अच्छी नहीं होगी और गुजरात का भी थोड़ा सा नमूना यही होगा। मुझको लगता है कि यह जो असेसमेंट है, इसी तरह का असेसमेंट और प्रांतों

[श्री ना० र० मल्कानी]

मैं भी हों और उसका नमूना हमको हमेशा मिल जाये, तो हमारे सामने एक किस्म की तसवीर आ जाये। मुझे तो लगता है कि कम से कम ५ परसेंट गावों में इस किस्म का असेसमेंट होना चाहिये, हर एक राज्य के अन्दर होना चाहिये और हमारे पास वह तसवीर आनी चाहिये।

शाह मुहम्मद उर्फ (बिहार) :
इस रिपोर्ट में तमाम स्टेटो का असेसमेंट क्यों नहीं है ?

श्री ना० र० मल्कानी : वही तो कह रहा हूँ। यह छठी या सातवीं रिपोर्ट है और अब उसमें एक चैप्टर में एक पेज आता है जिसमें कि कुछ चित्र है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to address the Chair.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: Sorry, Sir.

मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर यह हालत, ऐसी खराब हालत या कुछ-कुछ ऐसी हालत और प्रांतों की है तो फौरन मेरे जैसा आदमी यह सवाल पूछता है कि १९३२ से यह हलचल, यह मूवमेंट चला है और इसको ३० साल हो गये हैं और यह चित्र राजस्थान का है और करीब-करीब ऐसी ही काला चित्र सभी राज्यों का है तो फिर हम कहा हैं? कहा हम पहुंचे हैं?

अब, हम देखते हैं कि पहली योजना के अन्दर ७ करोड़ हरिजन भाइयों के वास्ते था, वह बढ़ा और २८ करोड़ हुआ और अब वह बढ़ कर ४० करोड़ हो गया है, लेकिन फिर भी मालूम होता है कि बीमारी और जोगों से बढ़ती जा रही है, कम नहीं होती है, बीमारी का चित्र करीब-करीब वही है जो कि पहले था। अब, बीमारी का इलाज क्या है? रुपया। ४० करोड़ है लेकिन झगड़ते हैं कि क्यों नहीं ४३ करोड़ कर दिया जाये, ५० करोड़ क्यों नहीं कर दिया जाये। करें, बेशक करें, मगर उसके

बाद चित्र कैसा होगा यह किसी को पता नहीं है। जब वक्त आता है तो हम को ताकत नहीं आई है, हम बड़े कमजोर हैं, हमको मदद की जरूरत है, जरा सा ठहर जाओ और यह रिजर्वेशन १० साल के लिये और दे दिया जाये। इसके बाद भी कोई और आयेगा और वह कहेगा कि १० साल और भी दे दिया जाय। कहा जाता है कि बीमारी ठीक की जा रही है, बीमारी अच्छा होता जा रहा है, पर बीमारी बढ़ती जाती है, भगवान जाने क्या है! एक लिस्ट बनी थी कि ये, ये हरिजन हैं, शेड्यूलड कास्ट के हैं, अनुसूचित जाति के हैं, अनुसूचित नाम भी ऐसा वाहियात है, तो दो साल पहले क्या हुआ था, कहा गया कि लिस्ट को बढ़ाइये और इसके लिये प्रेशर लगता है कि उसे भी बढ़ाइये। लिस्ट बढ़ाओ, रिजर्वेशन बढ़ाओ, रुपया बढ़ाओ और चित्र जो है वह वही है जो कि इस चैप्टर ५ के पेज २६ पर है। तो वह चित्र है।

अब मुझे पता नहीं चलता मैं भी कहाँ जा रहा हूँ। मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ: आपको खबर है आप कहाँ जा रहे हैं। कहाँ हम पहुंचे हैं, किस मंजिल पर पहुंचे हैं? मुझे लगता है, बढ़ते भी जाते हैं और बहक भी जाते हैं। मैंने अभी हरिजन सेवक सघ की ओर से, जिसके माथ मेरा संबंध निकट का है, एक मेमोरेन्डम तैयार करके आपके पास होम मिनिस्ट्री को पेश किया, जिसमें लिखा था कि मेहरबानी करके ऐसी बाड़ी बनाओ—कमीशन मैंने नहीं कहा—ऐसी बाड़ी हो जो इम्पार्श्व हो, एक्सपर्ट की बाड़ी नहीं हो, और वह जरा बैठ कर और नमूने वार संतुलन करके हमसे कहें कि यहाँ तक पहुंचे हैं, यहाँ पहुंच रहे हैं। आखिर हमको पता तो चले, रुपया हमारा कहाँ, मेहनत हमारी कहाँ, मंजिल हमारी कहाँ? अभी हमको पता

कुछ नहीं है। हमने देखा है कि जो रिपोर्ट अब तक हमारे सामने आई है, चाहे एंटी-मेट्स कमेटी की रिपोर्ट, चाहे कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट, चाहे रेनुका बेन की रिपोर्ट, चाहे दूसरी तीसरी रिपोर्ट, सबने कहा है कि हमको पता नहीं लगता कि हिसाब कहां है, चीज कहा है। हम खुद कहा है, हमको पता नहीं। पता लगाना चाहिये। जब हम यह बात पूछते हैं तो कहा जाता है किसी ने मांग नहीं की। सबने मांग की और मेरे खयाल में यह जो ईयरफोन रखा है वह जरा कान में लगाये तो हमारी बात सुनाई पड़े। सबकी मांग है कि बनाओ तो सही हम कहा है? क्या हो रहा है हमें पता नहीं। मैं खुद कहता हूं, हालांकि मैं यह काम कर रहा हूं तीस साल से, मैं सत्तर साल का बुढ़ा हूं। मैं खुद कह रहा हूं कि मुझे पता नहीं कि हरिजन सेवक संघ का काम कहां तक कामयाब हुआ है, कहां तक नहीं हुआ है। मैंने उन लोगों से भी कहा कि तुम हिसाब लगाओ उन लोगों ने भी हिसाब नहीं लगाया, किसी ने नहीं लगाया और मैं चिल्लाता जाता हूं। मेरा खयाल है, अभी समय है हम अपने को संभालें और देखें कि हम कहां जा रहे हैं, कहीं यह सवाल तो पेचीदा नहीं हो रहा है? कहीं मवाल का हिसाब ज्यादा पेचीदा तो नहीं होता जाता है? मेरे मन में भय होता है कि सवाल और पेचीदा होता जाता है। और, यह मैं क्याकर कहता हूँ? मैं इसी वास्ते कहता हूँ क्योंकि आज मैंने रिपोर्ट पढ़ी, नयी पंचवर्षीय रिपोर्ट—थर्ड फाइव इयर प्लान की रिपोर्ट। मेरी निगाह में उसके चैप्टर की एक लाइन आई। मैं फौरन जरा सा सावधान हो गया, उसमें क्या लिखा है। उसमें यह लिखा है। मैं रिपोर्ट तो नहीं लाया क्योंकि बहुत बड़ी है। तो उसमें यह लिखा है :

"The problems of the Scheduled Castes or other backward classes are essentially those of the economically weaker sections of the

community who suffer also, in large or small measure, from social disadvantages."

यह जो कुछ पढ़ा उससे मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब लगा कि सवाल हमारा कौन सा है? अगर "इकानामिकल" की बात है तो उसके वास्ते प्लान है, बड़ा प्लान है। जोरों का प्लान बनाओ, और बड़ा प्लान बनाओ। फैसला हो जायेगा और यह बीमारी हट जायेगी। अगर यह बात सोशल डिसएबिलिटी की हो तो रुपये की बात है। जितना रुपया खर्च होगा यह संकट उतना हट जायेगा। खुद-बखुद हट जायेगा, क्योंकि हमने रुपया जो खर्च कर दिया। मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता हूँ।

आप जानते हैं, इस वकन सबसे गिरा हुआ सबसे नीचा हिन्दुस्तान में भंगी है—रुपये के खयाल से नहीं। एक जमाना था जब मैं गांधी जी से १०० रु० लेता था और मैं कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे कराची में उस वकत भंगी के घर में डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ रुपये आता होगा लेकिन वह भंगी का भंगी था। लेकिन मैं मल्कानी था, लोग मुझको सलाम करते थे। भंगी को डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ दे दो लेकिन भंगी का भंगी रहेगा। अभी हिन्दुस्तान में हर जगह मिनिमम वेज लागू है—एक आध आधा सूबा उत्तर प्रदेश जैसा हो जहां मिनिमम वेज नहीं है—केरल में भी ७५ रु० मिनिमम वेज है। लेकिन सब जगह भंगी भंगी ही है। मैंने वाडिया साहब को कहा कि तुम्हारा टाटा इन्स्टीट्यूट है, बहुत बड़ा है, बहुत बड़ा नाम है, जरा सा रिसर्च तो कराएं इस बारे में कि बम्बई में अभी पलश वर्षों से चलता है लेकिन भंगी अभी भंगी हैं। अभी उनका स्टेटस पुराना है, चाहे पलश चलता है और संडास नहीं है। हालांकि रिसर्च नहीं हुआ लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कितना भी पलश चलाओ तो भी भंगी अभी भंगी है क्योंकि यह चीज सामाजिक चीज है। भगवान की मेहरबानी से यह अब धार्मिक नहीं रही। गांधी जी ने इसको धक्का मार कर हिलाया और अब वह

[श्री ना० २० मल्कानी]

धार्मिक नहीं रही। अभी मैं इस रिपोर्ट में देखता हूँ कि बहुत मंदिर खुल गए हैं, बड़े बड़े मंदिर खुल गये हैं। कई एक मंदिर में भी जा सकते हैं और कई एक जाना भी नहीं चाहते। लेकिन उनका मंदिर प्रवेश हो गया। तो धार्मिक सवाल वह अब नहीं रहा। अब इसको शास्त्र का समर्थन नहीं है, ब्राह्मणों का समर्थन नहीं है, महापुरुषों का समर्थन नहीं है। अभी इसको समर्थन प्राप्त है बुद्धों—मेरे जैसे बुद्धों का। यह मत समझिये कि देहात में ही है, शहर में नहीं है। अभी ऐसे बेकार बुद्धे शहर में भी हैं, इस चीज को मैं मानता हूँ। अभी मैं कहता हूँ शहर में १५ भंगियों को साथ में लेकर किसी होटल में चले जाइये, रेस्तरां में चले जाइये फिर देखिये क्या हाल होता है। अहमदाबाद में जब वे एक टोली बना कर चले और कहा हम भंगी हैं, हमको खाना खिलाओ, तब बड़ा शोर मच गया। वह भंगी आजकल भंगी की तरह नहीं चलता है, टोपी पहन कर जाता है, मूँछ मुड़ाकर जाता है, जैसे पार्लियामेन्ट का मेम्बर हो। चोरी से, छिप कर, वेष बदल कर जाता है। दूर क्यों जाते हैं? हमारे एक मिनिस्टर हैं, हरिजन भाई हैं, उनसे जा कर पूछा। वे जब बोलते हैं कितना जहरीला बोलते हैं, किस जोश से बोलते हैं। वे मिनिस्टर हैं, मंत्री हैं वर्षों से, हमारे डिपुटी लीडर भी हो जायें। उनसे पूछो उनके मन में क्या चलता है। उनके पास रुपया नहीं है लेकिन सोशल पोजिशन, सोशल स्टेटस के बारे में किस जोश से कहते हैं, किस जोर से कहते हैं? कहेंगे, जरूर कहेंगे, क्योंकि सोशल स्टेटस जो होना चाहिये वह नहीं हुआ है।

इसजगह भाइयो, यह न समझो तुमने रुपया खर्च कर दिया तो सोशल पोजिशन, ठीक हो गई। ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। इसी वास्ते मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ, जरा सवाल को संभालो, सवाल को गर्दन

से पकड़ो। बीमारी को जान कर बीमारी का इलाज करो। शहर में अगर बीमारी है तो मैं कहता हूँ भंगियों में है। और अगर शहर में इस चीज को हटाना है, इस डिसे-बिलिटी को हटाना है तो जहां खाने-पीने की जगह हो उस जगह को खोल दो तो शहर से अस्पृश्यता हट जायेगी। देहात में जहां चमार पानी पीने को जाता है वहां कुआ खोलते नहीं है। जब तक कुआ नहीं खुलेगा तब तक देहात से यह चीज जाने वाली नहीं है। शहर में कोई भंगी खाने के लिये कहीं जाता है तो भेंगी होकर नहीं जाता, चोरी छिपे जाता है, यह क्या खेल तमाशा है। (*Time bell rings.*) घंटी बज गई और कहने को पेट भरा हुआ है, आप इजाजत देंगे नहीं। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ बीमारी को जरा देखें। बीमारी शहर में भी है, देहात में भी है और बीमारी सोशल स्टेटस में भी है। बीमारी सामाजिक है, धार्मिक अब नहीं रही। लेकिन यह मत समझिये कि बीमारी एजुकेशन की है और खाने खिलाने की है, रुपया उड़ाने की है। इकानामिक चीज नहीं है। वह हल्की चीज है। लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि हम समझने नहीं हैं कि यह सामाजिक मसला है, और इसका इलाज सामाजिक ही हो सकता है। जब तक ऐसा इलाज नहीं होगा तब तक रुपये से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है।

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, I congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for presenting a very bold Report. Criticisms have been made during the course of the discussion of this Report that the Report lacks up-to-date information and presents an incomplete picture, because the State Governments have not been furnishing the relevant data to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in time. I, therefore, submit that necessary steps should be taken so that the Commissioner is able to present a report which contains up-to-date information.

As we know, Sir, the problem of untouchability is a very difficult one. The State as well as the Central Governments have been trying to remove untouchability and to solve this problem. Still the desired results have not been achieved so far. We have Congress Governments in all the States as also at the Centre. It is a happy thing to note that a Scheduled Caste person, Shri D. Sanjiviah has become the Chief Minister of the State of Andhra Pradesh. Government have undertaken various measures to eradicate untouchability. The Centre gives aid to the State Governments which in turn appoint propagandists through the voluntary agencies for the removal of untouchability. Only male propagandists have been appointed so far but the other section, the women's section, remains untouched. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to see that at least 40 per cent. of women propagandists are appointed for the removal of untouchability.

Sir, in line 10 of paragraph 4 on page 9 of this Report the Commissioner has suggested the desirability of collecting and tabulating additional information regarding (i) persons belonging to these castes and tribes who are practically living as 'serfs' of agricultural land owners, (ii) Scheduled Caste persons engaged in household and organised industries, respectively, connected with tanning, leather and leather goods manufacture, and so on. Sir, the occupation of weaving has not been mentioned here. The majority of weavers in Gujarat are from the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps, they do not belong to the Scheduled Castes in the other States and that is the reason why they have been forgotten here. They are poor people and require to be looked after like every other person belonging to the Scheduled Caste. Sir, I entirely agree with the views expressed by the hon. Shri P. N. Saprú in regard to the appointment of a Commission for the Scheduled Castes. I totally disagree with the views expressed by the hon. Dr. Dharam

Prakash from Uttar Pradesh who pleaded for the non-appointment of a Commission. Sir, the Constitution has recognised the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes as two particular groups belonging to the weaker sections of the community. Under article 339 of the Constitution, the President has already appointed a Commission in respect of the Scheduled Tribes whose report will be received in a very short time, as mentioned by the hon. Deputy Minister, Shrimati Violet Alva. Sir, in order to review comprehensively the progress of work done for the improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes, I submitted at the time of my speech on the Budget that such a Commission should be appointed. After that, the Commissioner also said in his speech in Bombay two or three months ago that such a Commission should be appointed. The All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh has also demanded the same. I once again submit that such a Commission should be appointed in respect of the Scheduled Castes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I had no desire to participate in this debate today because I have already expressed my views on this subject on many occasions in this House. But I was disturbed by a statement which I read in this Report. The Report says that the Government may have to introduce in future some sort of test, a means test or a merit test, to determine the award of scholarships to post matric students. The hon. Deputy Minister also in her speech today referred to that statement. She mentioned that possibly in future they may have to introduce that scheme, that principle. If I remember correctly, the hon. Deputy Minister used the word "may". But, so far as my knowledge goes, it is not a question of "may" or "may not". The scheme has already been enforced. In a circular issued by the Education Ministry on the 6th June, 1961, it has been mentioned that the means test must be introduced immediately. In this circular, it has been mentioned that the

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"means test as is in operation at present for students belonging to other Backward Classes will be applicable to students belonging to the Scheduled Castes also with effect from the current financial year." It has been specially mentioned here. Another point is this. They have also said that the question whether "the eligible Scheduled Caste students who come within the minimum income limit prescribed referred to above should be awarded scholarships without any reference to marks or division obtained in the last general examination or whether the selection on the basis of merit, as in the case of other Backward Classes, should be introduced for scheduled castes students", is under active consideration. So, merit test is also under active consideration. Sir it has been mentioned that the number of Scheduled caste students is increasing every year and that the Government have not got adequate funds to award a large number of scholarships. This is rather a strange statement.

The amount allotted for the Scheduled Castes or for Backward Classes is very meagre. In the First Plan, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 2,200 crores, only Rs. 20 crores, less than one per cent., were allotted for the welfare of the Backward Classes. In the Second Plan, out of Rs. 4,500 crores, about Rs. 90 crores were allotted. This comes to two per cent. of the total expenditure. In the Third Plan, Government's expenditure has increased from Rs. 4,500 crores to Rs. 7,500 crores but the amount earmarked for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes has not been increased to that extent. In the Second Plan, they were given two per cent. whereas in the Third Plan, this has been reduced by half a per cent., and they have been given only 1½ per cent. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector, only Rs. 105 crores have been allotted to the Scheduled Caste people. Do you find the Backward Classes getting their due share from the increased national income? In the Draft Outline

of the Third Plan, it was stated that because of certain social conditions, the people belonging to Backward Classes i.e. Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are not in a position to derive the benefit which accrues due to the Plans and hence, it was specifically mentioned that these people should be given some more benefits out of the schemes which were specially meant for them. If this position is accepted by the Government so far as the Third Plan is concerned, then I am surprised why adequate amounts have not been provided for implementing these schemes. During the Second Five Year Plan, a sum of only Rs. 91 crores was allotted but even this amount could not be utilised in full. The Commissioner has specifically mentioned that only Rs. 79 crores would have been utilised by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. Even here, the Commissioner is sceptical whether this reduced sum of Rs. 79 crores, not Rs. 91 crores which were earmarked for the Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes, would have been spent for these schemes.

4 P.M.

This is what he says:

"But I can say with certainty that the anticipated expenditure of Rs. 79 crores is an impossibility, because firstly there may not be 100 per cent. expenditure in every State during 1960-61 as anticipated."

And the total amount spent has been only Rs. 65 crores. So what about the Rs. 16 crores which were allotted to us? You want to decrease the number of scholarships but now with these Rs. 16 crores you can very easily have another Rs. 3 crores every year for more scholarships. So, the first thing is the amount that is to be allotted for the Backward Classes should be increased. We find that in every sphere the percentage of the amount spent has increased during the Third Plan but the Scheduled Caste people are not getting even their 2 per cent. It is reduced to only 1.5 per cent. If you are not in a position to increase their share in the national

income, then at least maintain the same share which was given to them in the Second Five Year Plan, that is, 2 per cent. Two per cent. of Rs. 7500 crores comes to Rs. 150 crores. Instead of Rs. 105 crores you give us Rs. 150 crores and these additional Rs. 45 crores can be utilised for awarding additional number of scholarships. You will remember that the hon. Deputy Minister said that because of lack of funds they cannot give scholarships. Then we will have to devise some other ways and means so that we can solve the problem.

Now, during the last three years we find that a sum of Rs. 18,65,23,465 has been spent on Scheduled Caste people and out of that a sum of Rs. 8,38,65,149 has been spent for educational purposes. Even out of Rs. 8 crores only about Rs. 3 crores have been spent on awarding scholarships. If we want to improve the educational standards of the Scheduled Caste people or the Scheduled Tribes then we must spend more on their education. Just now one hon. Lady Member, Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam, pointed out that if you put all the schemes on one side and education on the other, education will produce more benefits than all the various schemes put together. But we find today that only 40 or 45 per cent. of the amount is utilised for educational schemes. Of course, this question does not arise at all. Because I have already mentioned that the amount earmarked for the Backward Classes must be increased in the Third Plan. More funds should be made available to us. We can divert more funds from these various schemes for educational purposes. There are a large number of schemes on which Government is spending money, like cottage industries, co-operation, housing, publicity, rehabilitation, voluntary agencies etc. I think some of the amounts from these schemes can be very easily diverted for educational purposes. Just now one Lady Member expressed her views regarding voluntary agencies. The hon.

Deputy Minister mentioned this morning about the work that is being done by the voluntary agencies and she expressed her view that this work should be done with a missionary zeal and we should not try to create any mercenaries. But I must say regretfully that instead of creating missionaries we are creating mercenaries. The hon. Lady Member who spoke just now pointed out how the amount is misused to carry on political work and how the whole thing is mismanaged. In some cases I find that these grants are given to those who are working for the party in power. They are given all the facilities and they get all the money. But these amounts are not properly utilised and there are a large number of defalcations. Many cases are pending in the courts. Does the hon. Minister know about these cases? At least I know about one case from Nagpur where one Minister himself was involved. Why should we waste our money like this, when we have not got enough funds, by giving these amounts to the voluntary agencies? Why could not these amounts be utilised for awarding more scholarships?

Now, I would speak about representation in the services. It has been mentioned in this Report that adequate representation could not be given to the Scheduled Caste people in Government services. The hon. Deputy Minister stated this morning that most of the schemes were being implemented by the State Governments and therefore they could not do anything in this respect. But I would like to know from the hon. Minister what they have done so far in the schemes that are to be implemented by the Central Government. What have they done in respect of reservation of services? There is not adequate representation given in the services in the Central Government. And the usual reason given is that adequate number of qualified persons are not forthcoming. But this is not supported by statistics. Because in this Report itself the Commissioner refers to the live registers in the employment exchanges and

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what do the registers show? I will give you the figures so far as the Scheduled Caste are concerned. In 1957 the number of people who applied for some work—maybe in Government or maybe outside Government—was 92,932. Out of this 798 were graduates and 10,831 matriculates. In 1958 the total number rose to 1,29,599 out of which 1164 were graduates and 14,678 matriculates. Now, what about 1959? The total number who applied was 1,71,295 out of which 1110 were graduates and 20,666 were matriculates. Now, let us see the corresponding figures for Scheduled Tribes. In 1957 the number registered was 19,472 of which 63 were graduates and 729 matriculates. In 1958 the total number rose to 31,817 and there were 105 graduates and 916 matriculates. What do these figures show? Every year the number of graduates from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is increasing. Does it mean that we have not got well qualified and educated people? How is it then that the number of graduates is going up by thousands? Why can't the Government absorb these graduates in Government service? I have not got the break-up for other years but I shall give you the break-up for the year 1960. (*Time bell rings.*) Only two or three minutes. I will finish this point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: There were 1262 graduates on the live register of employment exchanges at the end of 1960. Out of them five were doctors, medical graduate, thirteen engineering graduates. There were 568 matriculates, trained typists, who had applied for the posts of typists. There were 17 qualified stenographers who applied for the posts of stenographers. There were about 22,227 applicants out of whom 20,301 were matriculates and 955 graduates, who applied for clerical posts. But even the graduates were not in a position to get the clerical posts. There are

6,718 technicians. We always hear that there is a great dearth of technicians. We find that 6718 Scheduled Caste technicians applied for jobs, but they are not getting the jobs. That is the position.

I will only refer to these two cases and then I will wind up. You say that we have not got qualified persons. What does this report published on the front page of "Blitz", an internationally known paper say? We find the story of one Central Government employee, Mr. Inder Dev Prashad, who had to commit suicide because he could not get his due share in promotion. What does this story indicate? What are the facts about this employee? He was a very qualified man. He passed his matriculation examination and joined service. During his service, he studied at home and passed his Intermediate and B.A. examination.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Are you quoting "Blitz" as an authority?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Whatever it be, do you dispute this fact? I am only saying that this is an instance.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI (Madras): Do you mean to say that no progress was made in the States since independence and they have not employed Scheduled Caste people? Are they not treated with special considerations and priorities in selection for posts? (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please sit down.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: What I mean to say is that he was equally qualified. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: He was selected by the U.P. Government to join the State Civil Service, where

his services could be utilised as a magistrate. (*Time bell rings.*) Only one or two minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. I am sorry. You have to finish now.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: He was selected by the U.P. Government, but the Commerce and Industry Ministry did not relieve him and allow him to go there. When he was due for promotion, he was not promoted and I think one less qualified man was promoted to that post.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. Mr. Saksena.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will finish. Only one or two minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. I have called Mr. Saksena. Please sit down. Please resume your seat.

(*Time bell rings*)

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I would refer to this . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, Mr. Khobaragade.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Only one minute.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. Please resume your seat. Please obey the Chair. Mr. Saksena.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will refer to this case only . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. I have rung the bell thrice. You must sit down.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Only one sentence.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. Please sit down.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have no intention of joining in the chorus of compliments that

were being showered on the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, because I have held the view for several long years past that the present Commissioner of ours will be entitled to my compliments only when he trains some of his assistants so that they are able to replace him. I give him an advice no doubt which is in our view 'hara-kiri', but then that is my view. That would be the correct evaluation of the services of the Commissioner. Only then he can be said to have succeeded. There were two serious maladies from which we were suffering. One of them was the imported one and that was British imperialism. This was eating into the vitals of our body-politic. The other is the indigenous one, that is, the observance of untouchability. I am extremely sorry and highly ashamed of the observance of this accursed practice of untouchability. If I were in power, I would have issued a permanent writ to the effect that no person should observe untouchability with another individual.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you finished?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: No.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not strain yourself.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I will not take long. The Report has been very lucid and comprehensive and the Commissioner deserves all praise for it. There is not only the sin of untouchability—it is a kind of sin that we have got to rid ourselves of—there is another trouble also and that is the trouble of indebtedness, which is of their own making. I hope the Commissioner will not have to repeat the complaints about the State Governments that he has embodied in the present Report next year. I hope their reports will come to him in time and punctually and that the States will be giving complete and accurate information.

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]

With these words, I commend this report for the approval of the House.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I was listening to the speech from the other side of Mr. Khobaragade, some things came to my mind. It was about the "damned lies and damned lies", which one author referred to with regard to statistics. He was referring to the fact that Rs. 91 crores were set apart in the Second Five Year Plan and only Rs. 65 crores were spent towards the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: The Commissioner has referred to it in his Report.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: That is what I am also referring to. Now, the quota of expenditure has been increased to Rs. 112 crores or so. I will repeat it the other way. Against an expenditure of Rs. 65 crores for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Rs. 112 crores has been set apart in the Third Five Year Plan. Against a total expenditure of Rs. 4,500 crores, Rs. 65 crores has been spent for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. And when it was raised to Rs. 7,500 crores, it ought to have been less than double. In other words, if the total expenditure was actually Rs. 9,000 crores, an allotment of Rs. 112 crores would have been justified. My point is that it is more than two per cent. He was claiming that two per cent. of the total expenditure in the Second Five Year Plan was allotted for this. As against Rs. 65 crores, now a sum of Rs. 112 crores has been set apart out of a total expenditure of Rs. 7,500 crores. Therefore, it is more than two per cent. That is what I wanted to tell my friend, Mr. Khobaragade.

With regard to the Report for the year 1959-60, it is admitted on all hands that his Report is a report consisting more of failures than of performances. That cannot be avoided.

The problem of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes has been existing in our society from time immemorial, and we could not all of a sudden raise the tempo of the developmental work for these people overnight. Of course, the Report shows that there has been an intensive struggle for doing all that should be done for the upliftment of these classes of people. It has been recognised on all hands and there is not one single Indian who today says that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, these weaker sections of the community, should still exist in our society. We also own it as a shame. We also think that so long as these weaker sections continue in our society, it is a blot on our nation. We are all agreed on that, and it is only a question of time. I am sure, given the goodwill, given the intensive type of attention that is necessary, we are going to fare in the times to come much better. Ever since our independence we have made tremendous progress. A progress which was not made in the past millennium we have made. It is in everybody's mouth, everybody says even in the remotest villages that this blot on the nationhood of our country should be removed as soon as possible. But the custom or the habit dies very hard. It takes time. I am sure it will go. But all the same what are the main developmental or upliftment activities for these weaker sections? They have been given here: education, agriculture, cottage industries, medical and public health, co-operation, housing, communications, animal husbandry, publicity and propaganda, rehabilitation, etc. etc. On all these items expenditure had been incurred. But when we consider each one of these items, we find from the Report that there is a colossal amount of ignorance in the Scheduled Castes and Tribes as would be seen from Statement No. 3, page 69. As against a total population of students of 1,14,04,902 including the Union Territories, there are only 82,680 who have gone above the matriculation stage. That means to say that for every 10 000 student population in the

Scheduled Castes and Tribes, only 7 people reached the college stage. This shows that apart from the scholarship schemes and apart from every work that is done, there is tremendous intrinsic difficulty in the upliftment work, and this highly complicated, highly difficult task has got to be very sympathetically considered. Of course, the tempo has got to be increased year after year, and I agree with one thing which Mr. Khobaragade says that after post-matriculation, scholarships only to the tune of 32,552 in number have been allotted in the year 1958-59, and in the year 1959-60 for entire India including all classes only 35,000 scholarships have been given, according to Statement No. 1, Appendix XVII. Similarly, Sir, in every performance, whether it is educational advancement or agricultural advancement, not all the amount that has been set apart has been spent. I do not know what special difficulties there are. I should think at the State level this problem is not being tackled or is not being given as much attention as is necessary. Therefore, the States have got to be induced either by the Centre or by the concerned Ministries to put more heart into the job.

Of course, I have no time, Sir. You have given me only ten minutes. I have to make a lot of references but I have no time to refer to all these statements and show how we have fared. That is why I have said that this is a document showing more our failures than our performances. Therefore, it should give us courage to own our failures in this field and increase the tempo of the developmental work during the Third Five Year Plan—I am sure it is in everybody's interest, it is in everybody's mind. There is no one in this country who says that the Scheduled Castes in their own interests or otherwise shall be allowed to continue in the lowly conditions in which they are existing today. This fact has got to be recognised by everybody, even by Mr. Khobaragade. The allotment under housing has been spent only to

the extent of 60 per cent of course in the four years, and in the fifth year we are not expected to spend the other 40 per cent. I should think that for most of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes animal husbandry is the most important work. Not enough attention has been given to the occupations of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Most of them do not own land, it is a known fact. I am one who wants this country to reserve all the available lands mainly for the purposes of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. We have got to blot out this sin that has been committed on these weaker sections of the people. The entire land at the disposal of the Central and State Governments shall have to be reserved primarily for the sake of these people. If we did that, we shall have shown our genuine anxiety to improve, to rehabilitate these weaker sections of the people. The main trouble in the village is that these people are landless people with no means of production. Unless you put means of production in their hands, how will they improve? Therefore, that aspect is most important. Being agriculturists, the most important occupation which is known to them, which is in their hands, which is within their knowledge, is agriculture and animal husbandry. These things have got to be given to them. All the land must be reserved for them and all the land must be given primarily to them. This is quite easy. I would like to invite the attention of the Ministry to this particular aspect. If you read this Report, Sir, there is precious little that has been done with regard to the occupations of these people. Poultry farming, cattle breeding, sheep breeding, and so on—these are the main occupations of these people. Most of them are nomads and we have not done much for them. I would, therefore, suggest that this particular aspect might receive the top priority in the Third Plan and the Ministry might remind the State Ministers concerned.

There is another aspect. With regard to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes,

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy.]

it is not necessary that the welfare work should be done only by the Scheduled Caste people. This gives rise to separatist tendencies. I have known certain Scheduled Caste Ministers at the State level saying: "We are a people; we want this share, we want that share." This is a thing which creates separatist tendencies. I know that in Mysore State, nobody, no Scheduled Caste man has done so much for them as one Mr. Gopalaswamy has done. He was a Brahmin, but he threw off his caste and long before independence came he established hostel for the Scheduled Caste people. He has done yeoman service for them. Everywhere you go today it is called Gopalaswamy hostel and not that of the Scheduled Castes. In every district, in every taluka he attempted to establish them. So, this separatist tendency should be removed, and this job of upliftment of the Scheduled Castes can be done much better by entrusting it to other classes. It is two-way traffic as our Minister was pointing out. It is not necessarily the Scheduled Castes who should toil night and day for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes. That will be a great fallacy, and it is going to fail. Without the sympathy of the other 90 per cent. people the Scheduled Caste people cannot raise their heads. Therefore, the sympathy of these people must be evoked and these jobs must be entrusted to them. I am not one to say that voluntary organisations should not be entrusted with this work. Voluntary organizations have done much better work; they have done much better than the Government agencies themselves. They have done all the items of the work; they have spent all the allotments that they have received. When such is the case, to decry a voluntary organization is, I should think, a great mistake. Therefore, let us not think in these terms. It is with the co-operation, goodwill and sympathy of the rest of the society that the status of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people has got to be raised. They have got to be

assimilated into the fold of the rest of the people. That is the objective—and not creating separatist tendencies—because if you say this man or that man, then we will be doing the greatest disservice to the country. Therefore, I make bold to say: Let in every State this work be entrusted to a non-Scheduled Caste person.

SHRI B. P. BASAPPA SHETTY: Why not entrust this work to the Scheduled Caste people themselves? They can look after themselves better.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: That is not exactly the point. You have not heard me. All the while I have been saying that better work can be done by other people. Otherwise separatist tendencies will be created. I know it; I have seen it practically. That is why I am saying this. At the district level and the taluk level if this job is done by other officers, there will be the sympathy—100 per cent. sympathy—of the people. There may be some exceptions here and there but that does not matter. But if you insist on officers, especially those belonging to the Scheduled Castes, doing this work, then once again there is a great danger. Separatist tendencies will increase in this country. That should not be done. At any rate, there must be good intermingling or good mixture of all people and it is everybody's job to work for improving the status and the welfare of all these people. Therefore, I would earnestly appeal that while we should take note of the failures in our last two Plans, we must remind ourselves of the great task that awaits us in the Third and the subsequent Plans and certainly, before long, we shall blot out this great shame from the Indian society and thus, I am sure, we will qualify ourselves for the full nationhood that we deserve.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to all the hon. Members of this august House who have participated in this debate and pointedly shown us the things that we have done but more so the things that we have not been

able to do. There is no secret that there are many failures stated in this Report. But a subject like this—the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes—comes to us today against the background of national integration. Therefore, it reaches a new significance. Now, national integration is the subject that the country has taken up. Naturally, when our hearts and minds are one, then we do the task in the least possible time. Therefore, emotional integration by which we can bring the down-trodden into our society, to our level, also reaches a new significance and, therefore, the discussions of this Report this year has this added importance to the debate.

Hon. Members have spoken with deep feeling, some with a deep study and some with conviction and faith. To all of us here, whether we are on this side or the other, it is a subject dear to our hearts. Every Indian—individually and collectively—feels that the stigma, the stain, that is attached to this fairly large section in our society should be removed and eradicated. When we talk of eradicating this stigma, what counts as the first thing—and here it is the basic thing—is that we have to do a little heart-searching. Without heart-searching no individual can today stand up and speak with conviction. Therefore, though the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes gives us this valuable Report year in and year out, until we have done heart-searching, we cannot move forward.

Hon. Members have spoken on the different aspects of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, about their lives. They have given a comprehensive picture of how we can raise their level. Some have emphasized the need for education, some have emphasized housing, some land distribution, some scholarships and some have emphasized other things, but it is the sum total of all the schemes that we have in hand that will bring these down-trodden

people to the levels and strata of society for which we want them to aspire; not only to aspire but to reach them. Therefore, how to do this in the shortest possible time becomes a big question. Of course, in the First and the Second Plans, there were lapses. In the First Plan we were gathering experience; in the Second Plan mergers and new boundaries came and we were not able to achieve as much as we wanted to. But, nevertheless, the States have gone ahead. Of course, lapses come from the States because the States are the regions in which implementation has to be done. Let us have patience. We have begun well and we hope to reach the targets that are placed before us soon. Besides, the machinery by which we obtain co-operation between the States and the Centre will be strengthened in the years to come if each of us individually says what he means and means what he says. Therefore, the strength has to gather from the individual; it is no use putting all the sins at the door of the Government of India or of the States. Governments can never achieve the maximum. It is a matter of public opinion, orthodoxy dies hard.

The last speaker, Shri Rama Reddy, or the one before, said that the women had to be concerned with this thing. The repository of orthodoxy and conservatism is the womanhood of India and unless Indian womanhood moves forward, how can we create a public opinion by which we can knock the bottom out of the stigma attached to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes? Therefore, I would appeal to this House: Let us carry the message in whatever small way we can right to our villages. It is true that we have assembled in this august House but all of us have come from some village. If each one of us can go back to the village and do something for the people, we should be able to render a better account of ourselves.

Somebody said that a punitive tax should be levied in those villages where untouchability was practised.

[Shr'mati Violet Alva.]

How are you going to do it? Untouchability is abolished by law and even so, we have not marched sufficiently ahead as we would have liked to. Therefore, imposition of a punitive tax also will not offer any solution. Rather, if each constructive worker is able to say that there is no untouchability being practised in his particular village, then it would be, I think, a positive step forward and we may say, "Well, we can count at least those villages where they have completely eradicated untouchability on the fingers of their hands". Therefore, little by little, we shall gather strength and march ahead.

Somebody spoke about unemployment. By and large, unemployment is so much in this country. It is a gigantic problem. Along with that problem is also the problem of these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Your argument is that a sufficient number of educationally and otherwise qualified candidates are not available.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: We have discussed the availability and non-availability of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates. I shall come to that point. Nevertheless, he emphasized the fact that there were Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people unemployed. But I only want to draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that it is a gigantic problem for the nation itself. If within that these people suffer, may suffer a little more, then we must sit down quietly and see what can be done about it.

Now, I come to Kaka Kalelkar. He talked about the human factor—which I had also mentioned in the morning when I opened the debate—and said that the human factor was very important and social conscience had to be roused. Surely everyone is in agreement that social conscience has to be roused. But then, in what way are we to rouse it? That is the question and the challenge before the

country when we speak of national integration and emotional integration of our down-trodden people. How do we rouse this social conscience and how do we get this social conscience? We can rouse the social conscience if we believe ourselves that—

No honour and shame from any condition rise.

Act well your part, there all the honour lies.

If the scavenging class gives up its scavenging profession because it thinks that shame attaches to it, then it is altogether different. For our part we have to come out with greater courage just as the Father of the Nation did. He did not have the funds, but he had the courage and he achieved very much more in a shorter period of time than what we have been able to do over a long period of time with all these reports before us. There again it comes back to rousing social conscience, and to each individual's contribution.

Now, I come to Pandit Kunzru's point. Pandit Kunzru, with his faith and conviction and his careful study of the subject and his participation in the debate year after year is one who has paid a lot of attention, and with a deep feeling he has analysed the whole issue and has noticed lack of interest by the States in the subject. Even so, even when there has been a lack of interest by the States, we have evolved measures. The States have no doubt many gigantic problems facing them calling for solution. Each State has to build up itself for its own people to the greater glory of India as a whole. The inadequate progress made in the matter of expenditure that he mentioned was taken up at the conferences of State Ministers held in January and in October last year and various measures were suggested for full utilisation of the Plan outlay including the taking up of additional programmes that could be completed within the financial year. It was expected that out of the total provision of Rs. 32 crores in the Central

sector, Rs. 31 crores would be utilised, and out of the total provision of Rs. 59 crores in the State sector at least Rs. 50 crores would be utilised, which would be an improvement on the past years.

Then Pandit Kunzru told us about the moneys not spent but withdrawn and kept in suspense. Wherever this has been brought to our notice we have set things right, and I do not think that in future we shall have this kind of trouble again.

Then Pandit Kunzru also spoke about the voluntary organisations and thought that the voluntary organisations would, in future, receive the grants from the States. I do not find any truth in it, because the all-India voluntary organisations will continue to get grants from the Centre. Voluntary organisations also run at the State level. Here Mr. Hamesh Saran also spoke about the Ishwar Saran Ashram and said how the grant-in-aid got cut off for some time and how it can get it now. I have seen the Ashram myself. It is doing splendid work, but certain conditions have to be fulfilled. If the construction of something or other—sort of—becomes irregular, difficulties arise. After all, we have to go by performance plus the conditions on paper. Therefore, we hope that such good voluntary organisations will not suffer in future and that we shall be able to examine the exact role they are playing and the good work they are doing, and we hope to be able to help them as well.

PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU: Will the Deputy Minister kindly clarify the remark made by her with regard to the all-India institutions continuing to receive assistance from the Central Government? Is the idea of making over the funds, that are now given to the all-India institutions, to the State Governments so that they might distribute them, being given up by the Central Government? I know that such a thing was under consideration.

SHRIMATI VOILET ALVA: It was under consideration, but there is no such proposal now with us. We shall continue to give voluntary organisations of an all-India character grants from the Centre year after year. However, we would like the voluntary organisations that exist in the various States also to be sufficiently backed by the States, because we are all agreed that very good work is also being done by the voluntary organisations. They shall have to fulfil the conditions laid down, namely, that their reports and their audits and all other stipulated things have to come. We have relaxed somewhat in that direction also. We have not very many voluntary organisations which commit these lapses. Therefore, the picture should be brighter and brighter as years go by.

Then about the quarterly special assessments, this is a matter in which action has to be taken by the State Governments. Accordingly, we have suggested to and directed the State Governments to go ahead. Conferences are held at different levels in the States and inter-State with the Centre. That will bring in better results in future.

There was also mention made of the Governors' reports, that the Governors' reports do not come in time. The Governors' reports are required to be made under paragraph 3 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution. We have received all the reports pertaining to the year 1958-59. In respect of 1959-60 we have received the reports from Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. Reports from Maharashtra, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat are still awaited. No reports in respect of the year 1960-61 have yet been received and are to be sent only by the Governors of those States which have Scheduled Areas, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan, and it is hoped that there will be an improvement made even in this regard if there has been any lapse. I think there is no need to worry about this,

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because the reports will come. We however hope that the Governors will submit their reports in time and whenever it becomes necessary for them to submit such reports.

Now, I come to the number of Assistant Commissioners. It is true that the Assistant Commissioners are a liaison between the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Welfare Departments of the various States. Twelve posts of Regional Assistant Commissioners were sanctioned and out of these 11 persons have already been appointed. There was a question, I think by Pandit Kunzru, asking us as to why only 11 were appointed out of the 12 selected and why the 12th post was not filled. It is because that gentleman is at present on deputation, with the Dhebar Commission, and as soon as he is released from there and made available to us, he will be sent to the State where the situation is vacant. The work done by the Assistant Commissioners is very valuable work. Through them the States and the Centre are in constant touch in regard to the activities going on in the States. It is of help to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to draw up his reports on the information furnished to him by the Regional Assistant Commissioners.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ: How many of the Assistant Commissioners belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I am not able to give you the figure straightway. I may be able to give you the same tomorrow or the day after or whenever you want.

In this connection I may tell you that the Tribal Commission's Report is ready, is being examined and will be printed very soon. This Commission will, among other things, also suggest to us whether more Regional Assistant Commissioners would be necessary in the various States, and we shall take a decision according to

their suggestions and recommendations. Therefore, the question of augmenting the strength of Regional Assistant Commissioners is rather premature, and we shall have to wait till the Commission's report is in our hands.

Now, on the point of post-matric scholarships, I think the figures quoted by someone were not quite correct. The amounts as given in the Commissioner's Report are that in 1958-59 post-matric scholarships ran up to Rs. 2.23 crores, and in 1959-60 to Rs. 2.58 crores. Now, these are not small figures if you have studied the growth of the number of students coming from these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. You will remember that once it was a very small number. The number coming from the Scheduled Tribes was not running even in hundreds, and the number coming from the Scheduled Castes was running only in hundreds, and today the number from the latter is nearly 40,000 and the number from the former is 6,000 or 8,000—I don't remember the exact number. So, the number is going on increasing.

(Interruption)

Sir, am I not to finish my speech?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Does the hon. Minister think that this number is more than sufficient or adequate?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I only said that it is increasing. Personally, you and I would like to have education free for all children in India, but since that is bound to take time, at least the numbers must go up. We do want to help the children of specially those who have so many difficulties in their way and we want their children to go faster than the rest. Nevertheless, the amount has been increasing. But I only say that supposing the number goes up to 100,000 or 200,000, where shall we find the money from?

Again, my friend, the hon. Member over there, said that the Plan had got so many crores of rupees and out of that so many crores of rupees

so much should be increased for scholarships. But how can that be? The whole thing has to be spread over because housing is important, animal husbandry is important, cottage industry is important. All kinds of things have to receive priority, with the result that education allotment also is going up. The Ministry of Education is looking after the distribution of scholarships.

There is a grievance that scholarships are not given in time. When a mighty task is undertaken, there are bound to be lapses here and there. But whenever any case of discrimination or injustice or deliberate lapse is brought to our notice, Sir, we make it a point to try our best to put it right. Therefore, when Mrs. Jaipal Singh talked of political bias, she should have pointed out the names of those institutions.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I have given . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot disturb her.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: She wants names. I have given.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot speak till she yields.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: If the hon. Member cites the name of any specific institution, where largely discrimination has been observed, it shall be our bounden duty to examine such a thing and put it right.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: One case . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not parliamentary etiquette to stand up and speak when another Member is on his legs. You must observe certain parliamentary attitude.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: The hon. Minister wanted some information. I am trying to give her the information.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb her in the middle of her reply.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I do not like to be interrupted because I want to finish my points.

Mrs. Jaipal Singh talked of quality of character. We are all agreed that without quality of character we cannot produce quantity of work. But, as I said in the morning, one man can do the work of ten if he has a missionary zeal and not a mercenary spirit. I do not agree with the charge made that institutions are running on political bias. If she names one, two or three such institutions that are running on political bias she can send the names to me and we shall have them examined.

The hon. Member then talked of culture and language. As it is, the tribal dialects are very restrictive. Vocabulary of the dialects is poor. Nevertheless, we have made all efforts to have not only research centres but preserve the dialects and even to teach the children of the tribals wherever it is possible in their dialect. We have gone to the farthest extent. While talking of language and culture, she talked of music, song and dance. I agree with her that very much of the music, dance and song the tribals have kept within their lives even up to the present century has to be preserved. There is no doubt about that. It is being done in every State and she herself is engaged in doing that. Therefore, unless she is able to say where lapse has occurred, where we have stopped them from music, dance and song and the rest of the cultural life, we cannot accept the charge. It is the Prime Minister himself who pays so much attention to it and every time emphasises the need to keep their simplicity and preserve their culture and dialects as well.

Sir, the question of industrialisation of Chota Nagpur and exploitation that comes in the wake of industrialisation is a factor to be countered with, but we would like to examine this in great detail because the tribals, even from Chota Nagpur, go to far-away places like Nicobar and Andamans for labour. They form the

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labour corps in the far-flung territories of India. Therefore, when she speaks of exploitation, we have to take many things into consideration for which there are plans and schemes not only from the Central level now, but also from the State level to ensure that they shall not be deprived of their land and their daily living wages and also they will be taught technology. Their education will have a bias of technical knowledge so that they can get into the industrial life of the place. Chota Nagpur, where, of course, she has her centre of work and has spent a lot of her time, I have also visited that place and I have also seen the cultural pattern of the people there. I have also seen the growing industrialisation coming in there and the manner in which these people have to be preserved, not only preserved but assimilated into the industrialised pattern of life. Well, everything possible will be done according to the Plan.

Now, Sir, Mr. Mahesh Saran talked of matching grants and he went down to the question of 10 per cent. Matching grants which came from the States and the Centre were 50:50. This has since been given up. It is now only 10 per cent. that a voluntary institution has to give. We have kept it at 10 per cent. because there must be some kind of incentive for the voluntary organisation to show their work. And if good work is done by the organisation, 10 per cent. is not much to collect. Now, the social conscience of the people has been roused and people are willing to give, and for an honourable Member like Mr. Saran it should not be difficult to get 10 per cent. that he has mentioned. It was not rightly stated. It is no more a matching grant.

Now, I come to Prof. Malkani. He said that he had thirty years of service and did not know where the Plan was going and what things were fulfilled. After being a constructive worker for thirty years one should look ahead with optimism and one should fight back the evils that stand

in the way. But he asks the question, "Whither?"

The Malkani Committee gave us a report. We have seen that report. There are nearly 272 or more recommendations. We are trying to implement all the recommendations that are feasible and practical, and those that are not practical, of course, we cannot do anything with them. Nevertheless, we are examining every word of the Malkani Committee report with great interest. We want to see something done for the scavenging class. It is the most difficult thing because scavenging is a hereditary profession apart from its being a caste by itself, and even where the evil is attempted to be removed, the contract system, father to son and family to family heredity, holds us down.

Sir, this subject was taken up. The hon. the Home Minister was there in the Informal Consultative Committee meetings. He had suggested something there. In the other House there was a suggestion made that the Ministry of Defence should give an example. We have sent that suggestion to the Ministry of Defence to give us the modern technique, the gloves and all other things they know of modern contrivances. We wanted them to give an example that in the cantonment areas at least a beginning had been made. I think good work will spread fast with backing from every side.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ: What about the Supreme Court decision?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I have said this morning about the Supreme Court decision. It has to be examined very carefully. We are already engaged in the task of examining the Supreme Court judgment. Nevertheless, they have all our sympathy that not only at the time of recruitment, for which special relaxation has been made by way of age, by way of marks, by way of fees, etc., along with that we shall try to give them as much as we can. But self-respect is a very important thing. I agree with hon. Members when they say that we should not perpetuate the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, may I humbly suggest that we should not try to perpetuate the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes but we should try to give them self-respect? If a boy or a girl can stand on his/her own legs, he/she should be made to do so.

Again, Sir, Pandit Kunzru's remarks are very handy for me when he said that if there were not enough of tribals or Scheduled Caste recruits coming every year, let us increase their period of coaching and also change the method of coaching so that they fall in line academically with the rest of the students who offer themselves for competitive examinations. I think it is a very healthy suggestion provided it is feasible at our level to implement it. If it is so, we shall have it examined very thoroughly.

5 P.M.

I think I have covered most of the points excepting that there was a point made that now this work must gather momentum. Well, the work should have gathered momentum in the past Five Year Plans. It has gathered momentum but not to the extent that we had desired it to be. Hon. Members have said that the hon. Home Minister should be here during the debate. It is unfortunate that the hon. Minister has come at the time of the reply; otherwise the hon. Members' points he would have heard but nevertheless, rest assured that everything that has been said on the floor of this House shall be conveyed to him.

Then there was the other point that now the maximum pressure should be brought on this welfare work and that our Prime Minister also should join it in the scheme of the national integration. We welcome such a suggestion. He is always with us. His heart and soul as also that of our Home Minister are there for national integration and if this great task can be tagged on to national integration, that will help also the emotional integration between Castes and

non-Castes but remember, within the Scheduled Castes, there is the caste system which holds it up. There are lots of small difficulties that stand in our way. Therefore, we shall have to go step by step and eradicate the caste system within the Scheduled Castes before we come to eradicate it generally in the society.

Now, Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam said that the States paid no heed to the work. I do not know from where she got the idea. Perhaps, she got it from some of the failures pointed out in the Report, but failures one should not feel frightened of to see with one's eyes because it is only when you see your failure that you can stand up to fight and win. Therefore, I do not know whether she was pessimistic but work is not held up in the manner she described. The figure of scholarships has gone up. I have already said it has gone up to 2:58 crores. She also referred to scholarships. Regarding the means test, of course, if the number of students goes beyond bounds, then some means test must be applied but 'means test' means what? If it is Mr. Khobaragade's son or Mr. Rajabhoj's son, how can he claim free-ship? So, let us take it in a way that those of us who may not be earning enough but still are in a position to educate our children, we shall do it with great difficulty and with a great struggle but nevertheless we shall help to get one more boy who has nothing to fall back upon. Let him get it. With that spirit I think the means test will not be a hardship to anybody.

There was one more point that Mrs. Nigam mentioned, namely, about scavenging service in prisons. (*Interruptions*) She should have mentioned the prisons. She herself is a great social worker. Prison reform has been taken up in India on a large scale. It was Dr. Walter Reckless who gave us a report—he was a T.C.M. expert—saying that our prisons were very well managed and that even the population in the prisons was not derelict compared to

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other countries but was a civilised population in the sense that socio-economic conditions were largely driving men and women to be in the different prisons. But when she said that even inside the prisons, scavengers are brought to clean, are brought deliberately to do this work, then I would like to know more details. In any case I would like to examine again from the Prison Reports we have but Prisons is a State subject and that being so, it is difficult for us to go into the working of the prisons in the various States. Again, if there is anything wrong in the present prisons and if Mrs. Nigam feels that something should be put right, we shall have it examined. We have periodical conferences with the Prison authorities and we shall convey it to them that this practice should be stopped forthwith.

Regarding land distribution, of course, by and large the tribals are landless, by and large the Scheduled Castes and the weaker sections within the Scheduled Castes are landless. A great deal of thinking has gone into this and this subject of land distribution was also brought before us in the Informal Committee that we had before this discussion on the suggestion of the hon. Speaker of the other House. On land distribution, we have given thought and we hope we shall evolve some kind of a system by which we shall be able to give lands to the landless but the fact must not be forgotten again that social conscience is sometimes so dead that even after giving the land to the tribals, the land comes back to somebody else. Therefore, the evils are there. It is for all of us to be very vigilant to see that justice is done to those who have to be given justice after centuries of sins on our part.

For technical training, there is really great need. Therefore, specially in places like Chota Nagpur the training institutions and the employment exchanges have to follow up with this training. When you speak

of education, it is true that when you go in for liberal education, you may reach a point in your life when there is no job for you but if you are trained in the technical know-how, then I do not think the unemployment figure would be so high because today there is a dearth of technically trained men and women and therefore a great deal of emphasis has to be laid on such training and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has mentioned this with emphasis in his Report as well.

Then I come to the public sector undertakings. We are only talking of Government employment. We are only talking of Government and of the Government jobs but it is for us to see that the public sector and the private sector, both of them, pick up these boys and girls. After all the Government can take only a limited number, even if it is 15 or 20 or 50 per cent. The greater section of the jobs will have to be outside. Therefore, it is much better to create public opinion and these boys and girls are ready and therefore the public sector and the private sector and also the small undertakings and big undertakings should throw their doors open to take them in because I at least believe that you can prepare a tribal in one generation to be anything and you can prepare a Scheduled Caste man also to be something in one generation and therefore ways and means will have to be found to see that they are got ready academically, intellectually and all round physically to fit into these jobs.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ: The scholarships should go through the Central Government, not through the State Government. Will she explain?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I feel that when the Central Government was distributing the scholarships, it was Mr. Rajabhoj himself who said that they should be made over to the States. Anyway that was the opinion of the House and now that

it has gone to the States, now the hon. Member wants to bring it back to us. In any case, it is the Central Ministry of Education that is supervising. If there is any specific complaint, please give us details. He has demanded that there should be a high power commission appointed. I do not know what it is going to do because the Commissioner himself, when he goes round, is evaluating and watching the progress made from year to year. He had mentioned in his 1956-57 Report that a commission was asked for and that suggestion has been made again. I do not think that there has to be any high power commission for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes for the simple reason that the Scheduled Castes have been awakened and whatever has to be done can be done from this level and when the country is moving forward, when there is enough knowledge and enough information going round the country, it becomes the bounden duty of everyone. Even after the commission is appointed, what will happen? Even if it reports hypothetically that nothing is done, I do not think there will be any ways and means other than what we already have in our hands to go round and work for the Scheduled Castes. Therefore, on the question of untouchability, it is our social conscience, it is heart-searching, it is our determination that is required. It cannot be done only by the Government. Government is a limited agency and that limited agency cannot bring social reforms that have been waiting for 4000 to 5000 years. Therefore, let us help the Government. It has undertaken such a mighty task with such courage and it calls upon the Indian society as a whole to take up this challenge and work up for not only the national integration that is before us but the emotional and socio-economic integration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thank you.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I want a clarification. The hon. Deputy Minister referred to the decision of GMGIPND—RS—373 RS—30-9-61—560

the Supreme Court and she stated that it is under consideration. So far as I understand, the scheme was formulated by the Home Ministry about 3 or 4 years back after full consideration and they had decided that there should be representation in selected posts by promoting people from lower grades to upper grades in the services. This decision was formulated after full consideration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are making another speech. You ask the question.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: When this scheme was formulated by the Home Ministry some 3 or 4 years back after full consideration, and when this was challenged in the Court and it has been upheld by the Supreme Court . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: When that is the position . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But what is your question? I cannot allow you to make a speech now.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Sir, my question is: When is this scheme going to be implemented? What is there for consideration now? After all, the scheme was adopted after full consideration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you been able to understand the question?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I have not been able to follow the question at all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can table another question. The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 22nd August 1961.