

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2, 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Title and the Enacting Formula were added to the Bill.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: Sir, I move: "That the Bill be returned."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill be returned."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would like to say a few words.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No speeches; we have exceeded the time. I am not allowing any speeches.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you did not allow me to ask that question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can table a separate question.

The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

The motion was adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES, 1955

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

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1955 be taken into consideration."

Sir, the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1955 is before this House. The subject is neither new nor novel. It is a national effort to remove a national evil which we have

inherited for centuries past. Sir, the Constitution embodies our aspiration— aspirations that were born out of a determination. Our Constitution lays down certain guarantees; from those guarantees we do derive our sanctions to work for the down-trodden in our land. With those sanctions we try to fulfil the dream—unfulfilled yet—of the Father of the Nation. It is not an easy task to plan and serve and ameliorate a large mass of people who live on the outskirts of society. Let me give you the figures, five crores of our people are called scheduled castes, two crores are called scheduled tribes and 47 lakhs are called vimuktha jathi, that is, the ex-criminal tribes— all these in this vast and ancient land where centuries old customs and superstitions and orthodoxy die hard. But, Sir, the Herculean task has well begun and I feel that this task will gather a Herculean tempo in years to come. We are very fortunate in this country today to have at the helm the hon. the Home Minister, Shri Pant, a man of vision, a man of conviction, a man who has dedicated his life to the service of humanity. He today impatiently works for the down-trodden of this land. I say impatiently because when you see his Ministry functioning in this direction, though he may be preoccupied with the bigger problems of the State, for social welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is not exclusively the concern of the Ministry of Home Affairs, nevertheless he works impatiently. Indeed he is the guiding force, the beacon light, for those who live, shall I say, on the periphery of what we call civilised society. Sir, his vigilant eye, his kindly care is always there. Be it a centrally sponsored scheme far away, remote on the hills. For once, I see Mr. Bhupesh Gupta smiling. That means that he agrees with all that I say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): The tribute is becoming too long.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Is it insinuating, as my colleague says?

[Shrimati Violet Alva.]

Sir, I may very safely say that the First Five Year Plan is over. We are in the Second Five Year Plan. Progress itself seems to be progressing. Those days when we talked of lapses of grants—are gone. Criticism will always be there and constructive criticism is indeed welcome, for we would like to see ourselves as others see us; but the criticism should be constructive and helpful for us to finally fulfil the targets that we have laid before the nation. In the Second Five Year Plan we observe that the Centre and the State are co-ordinating in a better manner. They are co-ordinating for a better purpose. They are coming closer and closer, so that the money spent is not mis-spent. When I was in Bombay recently I paid a visit to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences— Prof. Wadia there reminds me of that visit—where I found tribal young men and women who had come there for refresher courses. It heartens you when you see such people coming down the hills, trying to learn from us, civilized people, and going back to serve their own people. But I must not forget to mention governmental and more so the non-governmental organisations. In no country, in no democracy can Government fulfil all the tasks for the welfare of its people. Therefore, we shall have to depend perhaps more and more in years to come on non-governmental organisations, provided we get men of zeal, missionary zeal, who will dedicate their lives and work for these crores of people who are still outside society. Flaws and blemishes will always be there in whatever we do and I shall hear a lot of criticism on this Report; but flaws and blemishes will always be there in the best of your efforts. We only try to serve to the best of our ability and capacity and availability of resources; but to me it appears that the tangled skein is getting unravelled and it is showing itself in a better pattern of society that we are trying to weave.

Before I come to the next point I must not forget to make a passing

reference to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes He is there to serve us and those for whom he works; it is nothing new or imposed on him that he is doing today. He has been a well-known social worker all his life and, therefore, this is a job to which he has devoted himself wholeheartedly.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Dedicated himself rather.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Better still dedicated. Then, Sir, since this is my first full-dress performance in this House with my colleague next to me, Shri B. N. Datar, I must say something about him, because I used to sit behind and listen when he used to pilot these Resolutions in the past. He talks from first hand knowledge. I never talk from facts and figures before me. He talks from first hand knowledge for he had been round the country over the hills and down the dales. He has been to the tribal areas and he has been to those places where the scheduled castes live in slums and garrets. And there according to what I heard from his mouth in the days gone by sitting behind him, he hearkened to the music and the song of those people and to their own unique culture. Our Prime Minister reminds us now and again of the music and song that these people have. It is not the simplicity of their life born out of poverty, but it is the simplicity of their hearts that we must try to retain and recapture—we who live in a better society.

PANDIT ALGU RAI SHASTRI (Uttar Pradesh): Purity of heart.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Simplicity and purity both. Then, shall we stretch our hands today and tell them that the sins of yesterday shall vanish into the sunshine of tomorrow? Have you and I made up our minds that those whom we call down-trodden and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are no longer so, but they are one with us? Their origin is lost in their hoary past. Who knows what they

were—princes or beggars, we do not know. We stretch our hands and we want them to come nearer and for that this Report today is under discussion. I shall be brief . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:.... less.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: The reports are long and I think the speech should be short, because the reports give you facts and figures. The report was placed before this House last year in September, but just the other day the statement giving you the facts and figures—the recommendations and their implementation—was laid on the Table of the House. I do not think it would be proper for me to now take up your time by repeating what has been laid on the Table. Nevertheless, in the Second Five Year Plan we have devised many things. To begin with, in the Second Plan the allotment is almost double. The task takes a kind of magnitude that we shall need many workers. We shall need really those who feel and believe that they are with and for these people for whom we talk. Under the Second Five Year Plan we not only want to eradicate untouchability but we want to bring them closer to our level. Under the Second Five Year Plan, as I have said, most of the tasks are left to the various States and matching grants of 50 : 50 are to be given for housing, agriculture, to landless labour and to all other purposes. For that purpose, we set up two Advisory Boards last year under the chairmanship of the hon. Home Minister. The Boards are reconstituted. The nature of the Boards is advisory no doubt. But the scope of the Boards is to discuss the general policy and the general approach that we should make, to make our task easier and nearer fulfilment.

I begin with the most obnoxious thing, that is, untouchability. We have on our Statute Books measures for the removal of untouchability and yet, if you see in this Report, there are so many thousands and thousands of

cases where people are prosecuted for practising this.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN (Bombay): Thousands are prosecuted? Where?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Yes, Sir. I will give you the information.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: It is not more than 400. It is only 376.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: The available information shows that upto the end of 1956, as many as 380 cases were registered with the police in the above States and Union Territories of which 327 were challaned. Then he goes on: "181 in Bombay" and so on. You can have this note. It does not reach to thousands, but it does reach to quite a few hundreds. (Interruptions.) But it is there. I shall qualify my statement that even for those who are not prosecuted or challaned, it is there. It is in our very attitude and I demand here from this Bench that we must change our approach. Pandit Algu Rai Shastri said it is the purity and simplicity of heart by which we can solve problems. The Government of India have printed 1,00,000 copies of this Act for distribution to the State Governments and non-official agencies. It has been translated by the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. The figures are here. I do not think it is necessary for me to read them out for they do run into hundreds or thousands. I may be wrong, but I am subject to correction—they do run into several thousands.

Sir, the expenditure figures of the First Five Year Plan are not fully available with us for the simple reason that the States have yet to send them on to us. The nation was preoccupied with the General Election and before that, with the States Reorganisation and therefore, for those figures we shall have to wait a little more, but they will come in. In any case, it is

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] very encouraging that now, the States have Welfare Ministries or their own Welfare Departments by which they are intensifying their drive in this respect.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): We are discussing the Report of 1955. Have we not got expenditure reports about 1955?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Not of the whole five years; not all.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: Not all?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: No.

Then we come to education. In the Scheduled Tribes areas, we are trying to give them education as far as possible in their own dialects. In Assam, we have succeeded in giving them primary education in the Miso dialect.

4 P.M.

Then I come to the question of scholarships. Scholarships up to the pre-matric stage are dealt with by the various States. Post-matric stage comes to the Centre. There is also an award of scholarships for public schools. In public schools, for children of age group between 5 to 13, there is a reservation of 174 per cent.—for children belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even the Defence Ministry has made arrangements by which they get a reduction in fees before they join such institutions as the National Defence Academy.

In regard to technical education, 20 per cent, of the seats we are trying to reserve for them. The Ministry of Education has requested all other Ministries to look into the subject.

For the landless labour, we have a definite scheme by which there are *ashram* schools and the Bhoodan land is distributed to them. They get grants also to settle down on that land.

Coming to shifting cultivation, an effort is being made and research is being carried out to see how to settle the tribal people in one place and they do not shift from season to season and from place to place because of erosion. And to that effect under the Second Five Year Plan—and even before that—the various States have made their pilot projects which are in operation.

Then we come to forest labour. It was the late Shri B. G. Kher who worked in this direction and tried to see that labourers' co-operative societies were organised in the Bombay State. This is for the simple reason that, when forests are cleared, contractors get in and that is why we are trying to establish co-operative societies by which the labourers of that area can be helpful to themselves and to others.

Communications are bad, especially in the tribal areas. But there also, we have a definite scheme under the Second Five Year Plan by which 15,500 miles should be constructed; 40 roads should be metalled and 700 bridle-paths should be constructed. We are leaving the pucca roads to the different States for the simple reason that they derive revenue from these all-weather roads.

We have also got cultural research institutes dealing with specially the Scheduled Tribes, whereby their culture could be guarded and we could advance their progress keeping in mind their unique culture and educate them on those lines.

I shall now speak about the various posts for there is a lot of comment in that House and in this House about recruitment. As far as recruitment goes, we have given them a concession in regard to age—8 years. We have given them concessions waiving the Second Class which is usually the class for candidates for competitive

examinations. We have always borne in mind the standard of efficiency— we have undertaken to bear in mind that even though they are not of a particular standard, they should be recruited. Sir, in this respect, four Scheduled Castes personnel have been taken into the I.A.S, and one Scheduled Tribe candidate and that is recently. Then, Sir, as far as the promotions go, it was made very clear by my colleague in the other House the other day that after a person is recruited on those concessional grounds, he must be judged on his own merits for promotion. I think there is nothing wrong in that. I think that he should by sheer dint of merit be able to go up, to which also there was an objection raised that the Selection Boards must also have a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe man to see that no injustice is done. But I do not think that after one is recruited, that should stand in his way, for if your merit is good, if you are efficient, if you can prove your worth, I do not think that anyone can stop you. So far so good. And I do not think that prejudices go so far that they would be kept back.

Then, Sir, as regards housing, in the Second Plan we have set aside Rs. 8 crores for the housing of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Rs. 20 crores have been provided for slum clearance. The figures are large, but the task is larger, because we have to settle a mass of people gradually and in a planned manner, so that they can be rehabilitated on land and in society. There are the Community Blocks, the N.E.S. Blocks and the Welfare Blocks in these areas of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and they have got to be intensified more and more. We are planning it and we hope to fulfil the targets laid down in the Second Five-Year Plan. Sir, I do not wish to refer to any further points, but I do feel that with a correct approach we can fulfil our targets at least psychologically, if not physically.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is [that psychological fulfilment of the targets?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Just now I mentioned that. We must think that they are one of us. I have gone round some areas and I feel that we need a correct approach along with the plan to bring them closer, for let me tell you:

"Honour and shame from no condition rise; Act well your part, there all the honour lies."

And that is exactly what these people are. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1955 be taken into consideration."

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have tried to carefully go through the two volumes of the Report that has been presented to us. And I must congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for giving us very useful information regarding the subject. But, Sir, I have a feeling that more attention is being paid on a smaller number of people than on the majority. I find in the Report a lot of mention made about the representation in Parliament, the representation in the various State Assemblies, the representation in the Gram Panchayats and the Local Bodies. Then we have also a long list of the persons of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who have been taken into the Government service and the facilities provided for them. Then we find a lot of money being spent on education, and there is a long report about that But what is happening to the common man or what benefits *i* common Scheduled Caste man or *i* Scheduled Tribe man is having, is no

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] at all clear from the report that has been presented to us. I would therefore direct the attention of the Home Ministry to the fact that we should get more and more information regarding the following matters, which I think will be useful in order to judge what improvements have been made:

- (1) The number of families in each State to whom land has been given: This will give us an idea as to how many persons are getting land and are being rehabilitated.
- (2) The number of houses built for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in each State.
- (3) The number of hospitals and moving dispensaries in each State.
- (4) The number of cottage industries opened in each State.
- (5) The number of co-operative credit societies in each State
- (6) The number of voluntary organisations in each State working for the uplift of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- (7) The number of primary and secondary schools opened.

If we get all this information, we will be in a position to know how the ordinary people, the people who form the bulk of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are benefited. Therefore, it is necessary that in future if possible, we should get all this information.

Then, Sir, there is a very important matter to which I wish to draw the attention of the Minister, and that is that special attention has to be paid to the Scheduled Tribes. We started giving special privileges to the backward classes, but among the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes

I find that the Scheduled Tribes are the persons who are more backward, and therefore special attention has to be paid to them, and from the Report I do not think that that attention which they deserve is being paid to them. Now, Sir, when we realise the way in which they live, the place where they live and the want of facilities that they are suffering from, we begin to feel that these are the people who deserve greater attention and the Government has to see that these people are carefully looked after. They live in jungles; they live in the hilly areas where there is very little of communication; they have practically no ties with the ordinary people.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ (Bombay): Why have you started that Harijan Ashram?

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Harijan Ashram is all right. I do not say that we should not help all the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But what I say is that we must realise that the Scheduled Tribes deserve more attention. You who belong to the Scheduled Castes must realise that they require greater attention than is paid to the Scheduled Castes. Now, Sir, I have had an occasion of visiting the tribal areas, and I know their difficulties. They do not understand even the language; they have very few shops, very few facilities, and they roam about from place to place. And even the officers who are appointed for them, I am sorry to say, are not able to enter those places which are very far off and which are to be entered on foot. It is really those people who require the greatest attention, and therefore I say that the time has come when a distinction has to be made regarding the expenditure on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The tribals are about 1,91,16,498 and the area they inhabit is much larger than the area inhabited by the scheduled caste people. They live at far off places, I and therefore it is necessary that some

method must be evolved by which there is a bond of union, a bond of comradeship, between them and the people of the plains and also the scheduled caste people, *i*

More money has to be spent on agriculture so far as the tribals are concerned, because the land there is difficult to be ploughed. They have terraces and jungles and things like that. They have to be cleared if any agriculture is to be made possible.

Then housing is necessary so far as these tribal people are concerned. They stay in dilapidated huts. Some of them are staying even in corners of jungles where they have put up a small hut. For housing also, more money is required for the tribal people.

Some of them believe in shifting cultivation and attempts are being made to induce them to stay at one place and do agriculture. More attention has to be paid so that these tribals who believe in shifting cultivation may go back and stay permanently at one place and get all the benefits that it would give.

Then another point which is important to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is cottage industry. This is very very important because it gives them a little bit of extra income, and then some of them have some beautiful art so far as their particular industries are concerned. Therefore, special attention has to be paid to this aspect of the question also.

The most important is the establishment of co-operative credit society. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are poor and are in the hands of the money-lenders, and it is difficult for them to get out of their clutches, so, their lives become miserable. Of course, it is true in the case of all poor people in India, but what I am suggesting is that special attention should be given to this question.

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There is another important point so far as these tribals are concerned, and that is the teaching of Hindi. You will find that they have small groups speaking different dialects, and one tribe cannot understand the dialect of the other. Then, again, the people of the plains do not understand any of them at all. Therefore, in order that they may not feel separate, in order that they may not feel that they are an absolutely separate entity, Hindi should be taught to them so that they might get into touch with other people and feel that they are one with the rest of the people.

There are some other suggestions which I venture to make. The first is that the mere giving of land is not at all sufficient. If you really want to better the lot of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, they must be given manure, there must be arrangements for the supply of seeds to them, and they must have some implements. Then, there must be some taccavi loans so that they can use all these things.

PANDIT ALGU RAI SHASTRI: What about land?

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Of course, land is there. But land alone is not enough. You have to look to the other things I have mentioned, and then alone their lot will be bettered. In addition to the giving of the land, I have already mentioned about cottage industries. This is important both for the scheduled castes and the tribals, and unless this is done, it is not possible to make them financially sound, because these poor people have very small portions of land, and that is not enough to feed the family.

The provision of medical facilities to these people has to be given more attention than it has received so far. Especially in the hilly tracts we have dispensaries at great distances from one another, and so, if possible, these

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] moving dispensaries should be there so that people who get unwell are able to get some medicines when these moving dispensaries go there.

Another important point is the idea of having separate schools for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This must go. This is creating division.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: There are no such schools. I have not seen them.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: I have seen them. I do not think our friend has been all over India and seen all the schools. So, it is no use his butting in like this. There is a tribal school in Manipur. Has he been there? I speak here with authority, and when I speak of things, I do not say things which are not correct. The main point is that there should be no schools exclusively either for the scheduled castes or for the scheduled tribes. There must be union of all castes and the tribals so that you have a common bond of unity. No section of the people should feel that they are separate and different from the rest.

So far as publicity is concerned, I think that in the tribal areas where Hindi or English is not understood, we should have publicity vans showing documentary films so that these people can have an idea of the things that are going on in the rest of the country.

Then, so far as the people who are working among the scheduled castes and in the tribal areas are concerned, especially in the tribal areas, their pay and allowances must be much more than others. If this is not done, there is no inducement for them to work. I do know, and the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must have known of people running away—teachers, midwives, nurses, etc. They do not like to stay because we are having the

same scale of pay everywhere. This has to be carefully gone into because if we want people really to stay permanently there, this arrangement is necessary.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are three more people who want to speak, who are going out of Delhi and will not be coming back on Monday. So you have to give them some chance.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: As I have mentioned before, the allotment of money under different heads is not quite to my liking. I find that education to scheduled tribes has Rs. 6,03,07,736 while agriculture has Rs. 2,22,68,556 and housing has Rs. 13,18,384. This shows that we are concentrating on education. I maintain, higher education and all technical education are for few. Agriculture and housing are for all. Therefore my contention is that more should be spent on agriculture and housing.

Sir, I wish to say that I really appreciate the report and the reports of the Commissioner and others have been very illuminating and they have given us ideas and we feel that things are going on smoothly. If some of the suggestions are accepted, I shall feel thankful.

श्री किशोरी राम (बिहार) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत दिनों के बाद और बहुत इन्तज़ारी के बाद श्री कमिश्नर साहब को धन्यवाद देने का मौका मिला है। मैं इनके प्रयत्नों की किस तरह तारीफ करूँ यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है। किस स्टेट में किस तरह हरिजनों का कल्याण कार्य स्टेट गवर्नमेंट कर रही है, इसकी रिपोर्ट इस सदन में रखी गई है। मैं इसके लिये फिर एक बार धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

इस रिपोर्ट में यह हमें नहीं बताया गया कि किस स्टेट में स्वेच्छापूर्वक कार्य नहीं

करने के कारण कितने हरिजनों के घर जलाये गये, कितनों के साथ निर्दयतापूर्वक जुल्म किया गया। इस जुल्म को रोकने के लिये इस रिपोर्ट में कोई कांस्ट्रक्टिव सुझाव नहीं है।

श्री शील भद्र याजी (बिहार) : इसका कोई प्रमाण है ?

श्री किशोरी राम : इसके अनेकों प्रमाण हैं।

मैं जानता हूँ कि सरकार हरिजन कल्याण के वास्ते कुछ सरकारी तौर से और कुछ प्राइवेट संस्थाओं के जरिये रुपया खर्च कर रही है। लेकिन मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि हरिजनों के सामाजिक जीवन या आर्थिक जीवन पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ रहा है और उनकी किसी भी दिक्कत में कोई कमी नहीं हुई है। आज भी इस स्वतन्त्र देश में हरिजन समस्या ज्यों की त्यों है। आपको अच्छी तरह मालूम होगा कि जो हरिजन अपनी कठिनाइयों से परेशान हो जाते हैं और उनकी देखभाल करने वालों को भी परेशान कर देते हैं और उनकी सुनवाई किसी दरबार में नहीं होती है तो लाचारीवश वे ईसाई बन रहे हैं और ईसाई पार्टी का संघटन हर एक गांव में हो रहा है जो मुस्लिम लीग से कम खतरनाक नहीं है।

श्री शील भद्र याजी : बिहार में ?

श्री किशोरी राम : बिहार में गांव गांव में हो रहा है। मैं बिन्ध्य प्रदेश की बात कह रहा हूँ। हर जगह ईसाई पार्टी का संघटन हुआ है और पहले से दो गुना और चार गुना ईसाई मिशनरी इस समय काम कर रहे हैं। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों में कोई भी हरिजन सुधारक काम नहीं कर पाता है। सिर्फ इसलिये कि गांव के धनीमानी चाहें वह ऊंच जाति का

हिन्दू हो, अथवा मुसलमान, उसकी मर्जी के खिलाफ अपनी स्वेच्छा से कोई काम करे तो उसका वहां पर रहना मुश्किल हो जायगा। कोई न कोई ऐसा फंदा लगाया जायेगा कि उसकी गर्दन ही मरोड़ दी जायगी।

श्री शील भद्र याजी : किस सूबे में ?

श्री किशोरी राम : बिहार के सूबे में।

श्री थियोडोर बोदरा (बिहार) : बिहार में बहुत कुछ हो रहा है।

श्री किशोरी राम : शील भद्र जी को नहीं मालूम है।

आज कानूनन छुआछूत नहीं है, लेकिन व्यवहार में मौजद है इससे किसी को इनकार नहीं होगा। यह छुआछूत तभी मिट सकता है या हरिजनों का कल्याण तब हो सकता है जब कि उनकी सामाजिक समानता और आर्थिक समानता को अधिक महत्व दिया जायगा और जब तक उनको सामाजिक जीवन में सब तरह बराबरी का दर्जा नहीं मिलता है तब तक अपना देश आजाद हुआ ऐसा नहीं माना जा सकता है। आपको मालूम ही है कि जमाने से हरिजनों को अलग रख कर मानव सम्बन्ध को समाज ने अपनी निन्दनीय मनोवृत्ति से तोड़ दिया है, अलग कर दिया है। धर्मशास्त्र ने तो सवर्ण बस्ती से अलग चाहे वह बस्ती मुसलमान की हो या हिन्दू की हो, गांव से बाहर बसाने के लिये लिख ही दिया था, लेकिन म्युनिसिपल शास्त्र ने भी उन्हें गांव से बाहर बसाना उचित समझा है। हरिजनों की एक एक दिक्कत आप सबको मालूम है। मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के हरिजन अपने अधिकार और रक्षा के प्रयत्नों

[श्री किशोरी राम]

के प्रति जाग्रत नहीं हुये हैं। इसलिये इनके जर्जर जीवन और नग्नता की ओर ईमानदारी से ध्यान देना चाहिये और तभी कोई आदमी यह विश्वास कर सकता है कि राष्ट्र शक्तिशाली बन रहा है।

हमारे सामने अनेक प्रकार के प्रमाण हैं कि समाज के कुछ लोग अपनी अमलदारी कायम रखने के लिये मामूली मामूली बातों पर दर्दनाक जुल्म करते हैं और धरों में आग लगा करके उनकी बहू बेटीयों के साथ अत्याचार करते हैं, जुल्म करते हैं। जूते लगाना तो एक मामूली बात है और हमारी सरकार तथा सरकारी कर्मचारी विधान के अन्तर्गत चलने के कारण उन्हें कोई मदद नहीं पहुंचा पाते हैं। इसलिये मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि इन जुल्मों को रोकने के लिये तथा मुकाबिला करने के लिये हर एक ज़िले में एक सरकारी वकील का इन्तजाम कर दिया जाय जो हरिजनों की फ्री सेवा कर सके और कानूनी ढंग से उनके दुख दर्द को अदालत में रख सके। मैं अब इससे अधिक नहीं कहूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Raj Bhoj.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : मुझे कुछ टाइम ज्यादा चाहिये।

श्री उपसभापति : दस मिनट।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : दस मिनट में कैसे होगा। यह बहुत बड़ी रिपोर्ट है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then you speak on Monday. Shri T. Bodra.

SHRI T. BODRA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me this chance to express my views on the report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. I myself am going to be absent on Monday and if you had not given me this chance, I would have missed the discussion for at least one year and so I am very thankful to you.

To my mind much tribute can be paid so far as the award of Government scholarships are concerned—the post-matriculation scholarships. Because of the Government of India's scholarships, many of the girls who had left studies after matriculation, again resumed their studies. They were married and some of them have also become widows and they again resumed their studies and they passed, I.A., B.A., and they are now graduates and they are much better in life than what they were in the past years. So my highest and deepest gratefulness is towards the Government of India in respect of only one policy and that is, the award of Government of India scholarships to Scheduled Castes, tribes and backward classes.

So far as the work of the Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioners, the Secretary of the Welfare Department of the State Government, the Divisional Welfare Officers and the Adivasis Welfare Officers, Harijan Welfare Officers etc. are concerned, at least from my experience of the State of Bihar, I don't think I will be able to give or even put in a single good word. I do not want to hesitate in speaking out on the floor of the House that when Shri Shrikant, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes visited Ranchi, we were invited to the Circuit House to discuss things with him. But at whose invitation was that? It was not at the invitation of Shrikantji. It was not at the invitation of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes appointed by the Government of India, who is responsible to the Home Ministry. It was at the invitation of Shri Narayanji, the Sanchalak of the Adimjati Seva Mandal, Ranchi which is a non-official

agency. It is a non-official agency which gets Rs. 10 lakhs both from the Government of India and from the State Government. I do not like to see the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes, appointed by the Government of India and who is responsible to the Home Minister being at the beck and call of a man like Shri Narayanji. Take the case of the Assistant Commissioner who is posted at Ranchi. He wastes his time on flattering the Sanchalak of the Mandal.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not make personal attacks on persons who are not here to defend themselves.

SHRI T. BODRA: So far as the non-official agencies are concerned, the hon. Minister is here and if he wants to know what I am speaking when referring to this Adimjati Seva Mandal, he can see the cuttings from papers like The Search-light, or the "Indian Nation", also the report of Mr. M. M. Choudhuri, Secretary of the Congress Organisation. He can see what Mr. Choudhuri has got to write.

So far as I have been able to judge the work of these Assistant Commissioners, what I have found is that they inspect the grain *golas* when they go out on tours. They inspect these grain *golas* that are located on the road-side and whatever improvements or changes strike their minds, instead of pressing for them, they make a sort of grievance of it and say that, this thing should have been done and that thing should have been done, but they are not being done, and so on. That part of the duty is being performed by Members of Parliament and the Members of the State Assembly. The duty of the Commissioner and the officers under him, the duties of the Assistant Commissioner should be to go about and see whether the money that has been sanctioned by the Government of India as well as by the State Government for the welfare of the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes and the backward classes, the

sums that are allocated for their welfare, are being honestly spent and their policy implemented in all the branches of activities. They should see whether in the schools they are allowing any scholarships. I am told that the State Government of Bihar has laid down that every year so much money should be given to scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and backward class children in classes 1 to 11 as scholarships. But they are not awarded and in most cases the scholarships and the money for them lapse. I have put several questions and on several occasions the answer was not given on the ground that these are State questions which we cannot agitate here on the floor of this House. So the duty of the Assistant Commissioner should have been to sit upon the Secretary of the Welfare Department of the State Government. Just now the hon. the Deputy Minister, Shrimati Violet Alva said that most of the task is left to the State Government. When most of the task is left to the State Government, it is the duty of the Assistant Commissioner who is appointed under the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to sit on the Secretary of the Welfare Department of the State Government, whether it be in Bihar, Bengal Orissa or Madras, or anywhere else. Unless the Assistant Commissioner sits upon the Secretary of the Welfare Department in every State, whatever amount may be sanctioned by the Government of India or by the State Government will not be utilised honestly for the purpose they are intended. Our grievance is not against the Government of India. The grievance of the people who belong to the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the backward classes is not against the Government of India. We are so very grateful to the Government of India. We have got these facts and figures showing how so many lakhs of rupees have been allocated for the welfare of these people. But what we actually want is not only the allocation of the funds for the amelioration and the welfare of these people,

[Shri T. Bodra.] but when the Government of India has appointed so many officers, they have to see that the benefit of that money, the benefit of all those funds does reach the tribal people, that the benefits do reach the scheduled castes, that the benefits reach these people of the backward classes. Unless these benefits reach their hearths and homes, the mere allocation of these funds would mean nothing to these people. For example, in the case of Bombay and Madras, education is free right from class 1 to class 11, right up to the matriculation class. But in Bihar although the Members of the Assembly belonging to our Party have been pressing upon the Chief Minister and also on the Secretary of the Welfare Department, that education from class 1 to class 11 should be made free, and there was—if I understand it correctly—some correspondence between the Government of India in the Home Ministry and the State Government, ultimately, the State Government of Bihar dropped the idea. And the consequence is that we are neither getting the scholarships from class 1 to class 11, nor many of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes students, from ages 4 or 5 to about 14 or 15, get the benefit of education. And you know, Sir, it is only educated people who can be most effective people.

Coming back to my criticism of the work of the Assistant Commissioners, I would like to point out that there are so many Community Projects and N.E.S. blocks and other blocks in our areas, especially in the areas which have been predominantly inhabited by the scheduled tribes. But it is rather very sad to see that many of the scheduled tribe girls are being seduced and are being abducted; they are being kidnapped by people who are immoral in character and sometimes, by officers who are posted in the N.E.S. blocks and the Community Projects.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
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(SHRI B. N. DATAR) : Let the hon. Member be careful about the general statements that he is making. I can understand some instances here and there; but not all officers, a whole class of people.

SHRI T. BODRA: Well, I can tell the . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bodra, you are making very serious allegations. If you can give any instances please bring them to the notice of Government. You should not make general remarks like that.

SHRI T. BODRA: All right, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please withdraw those remarks; otherwise I will have to get them expunged. You should not make allegations like that.

SHRI T. BODRA: The names of the places and things like that are at the back of my mind. But if you think, I should not have made those remarks, then I withdraw them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. They are withdrawn.

SHRI T. BODRA: What I was going to say is . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When an hon. Member makes an allegation, he should take full responsibility for it. If you have any particular instances, please bring them to the notice of the Government and they will make enquiries. You should not make general attacks like that.

SHRI T. BODRA: Only one particular place I have in my mind.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: And from one particular case he is generalising.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One swallow does not make a summer.

SHRI T. BODRA: True, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And you should not make such drastic observations.

SHRI T. BODRA: I am very sorry if my statement had created the impression that such things are happening in all places. That is not so. So I withdraw that part of my observations.

What I was actually driving at was that the Assistant Commissioners who have been posted in our part of the country, when they go out, they should see not only the grain *golas* that are located on the road-side, but they should also see whether the labourers, especially the women labourers in the factories and industrial concerns, are being employed after sunset and before sunrise. If again I am to quote instances, I can quote them. They should also see that tribal girls are not molested in the Community Projects and in the National Extension Blocks round about Ranchi. They should see that the scholarships from class 1 to the matriculation are being awarded by the State Government of Bihar regularly and that the amounts do not lapse. I was commenting upon the work of the Assistant Commissioner who is posted at Ranchi. What I was saying was that simple allocation of funds by the State Government or the Government of India does not do us much good. Unless the funds are made to reach the hearths and homes of the tribal people, such allocations are futile to a very great extent.

My next submission would be this. This subject is under the Home Ministry and as I have already submitted at the very outset, we have got no grievances against the Government but to be more vigilant and to see that the money which is being spent in the name of welfare is actually and really spent for their welfare, it would be better that a special Minister is appointed in the Home Ministry to look after the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and the backward classes. There should be a special Minister who would be exclusively meant for this work.

Lastly, Sir, I have to urge this point. When so many Assistant Commis-

sioners are being appointed, I would be grateful to the Government if the case of the scheduled tribe candidates could be considered favourably. After all, all the appointments we have had so far have been from—at least mostly from—the scheduled castes and the backward classes excepting for one or two from the scheduled tribes. The advantage that we shall derive from appointing scheduled tribe candidates as Assistant Commissioners in the regions predominantly inhabited by the scheduled tribes is that these Assistant Commissioners would be actually interested in the welfare of the tribes. They know the language, they know the culture and they are acquainted with the grievances which are deep-seated and deep-rooted in their homes and minds.

श्री शील भद्र याजी (बिहार) :

On a point of order, Sir जिस तरह से बोदरा जी ने आदिवासी लड़कियों के बारे में जेनरल रिमार्क किया था उसी तरह से किशोरी राम जी ने अभी रिमार्क किया था कि बिहार में हरिजनों के घर जला दिये जाते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ, यह स्टेटमेंट बहुत गलत है और इससे समूचे बिहार को लांछन लगता है। वहाँ इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं हुई है जिस तरह की उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कही है। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि जिस प्रकार बोदरा जी के भाषण में एक गलत बात कही गई थी और उसको एक्सपंज किया गया उसी प्रकार श्री किशोरी राम के भाषण से वह अंश निकाल दिया जाय जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि “हरिजनों के घरों में आग लगा दी जाती है” क्योंकि यह बात सही नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनके भाषण में से वह हिस्सा हटा दिया जाना चाहिये।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot make a speech, Mr. Yajee; especially after his speech is over, you cannot raise a point of order.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have nothing

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] but congratulations on the splendid report that has been placed before us and we have to congratulate ourselves that we have got a very sympathetic and able Commissioner to look after the interests of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. In the previous report he used to complain of a certain lack of co-operation from the various State Governments and I think from this report we can judge that things are better though even in this report he does give expression to his regret that most of the State Governments have still no planned programmes that they could have framed.

There is another small matter to which I should refer before I pass on to the main items and that is the use of the term "ex-criminal tribes". I think the Commissioner himself says that these ex-criminal tribes are better described as "de-notified communities". If so, it is better to use this term because when the Government of India has thrown out of the front door the word "criminal", it is no use trying to bring it back by the back door by using the term "ex-criminal".

Coming to the problem of the scheduled castes, I am glad to find that the Commissioner has attached a certain amount of importance to the Seminar on casteism and removal of untouchability which was held in Delhi nearly two years ago. I am glad about it because I had something to do with it; the working paper was prepared by me and several useful recommendations were made by that Seminar. One thing has taken me by surprise and that is the first conclusion. I do not know how it has crept in but, knowing as I do the minds of the people who worked the Seminar, there seems to be something wrong with the conclusion that the caste performs certain several useful functions and so long as these functions will not be performed by some other agencies, caste will not disappear. I think there is something wrong with this state-

ment. So far as I can see, whatever utilities caste might have had in the ancient years, at the present moment, it has absolutely no useful function to perform. It is as useless as an appendix in the human body and on page 184, Pantji himself is quoted as saying, "... caste was a pernicious and disruptive force which had introduced the element of compartmentalism and sectionalism in society. What we witnessed in India was the sad spectacle of man's inhumanity to man. Caste had eaten the vitals of our society; it continued to blight our relation with one another". In view of this, to say that caste will continue to exist so long as certain important functions are performed by it is very misleading and I am very sorry it has found a place in this report.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Is that the conclusion of the Seminar?

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I doubt whether it is the conclusion of the Seminar.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: I agree with your view.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I shall not be here on Monday and whatever little I have to say, I have to finish today.

Well, Sir, the only useful thing that is performed by caste today is at the time of elections and I think the sooner that function is ended the better for the elections and for our democracy. There are other recommendations of the Seminar which are very useful and which are praised by the Commissioner. One is that there should be no segregation of harijans in villages and that there should be no sub-castes amongst the harijans themselves. I think this is a very important point to remember. When we plead for the removal of untouchability, we do it in the name of the sacredness of human individuality and if the harijans want to be respected,

they themselves, have to respect one another whatever be the sub-castes to which they belong. Personally, as Director of Education in Mysore State, I had some very bitter experience of the intensity of caste feeling among the harijans themselves against one another. That should go; the non-harijans cannot help them in this respect. They themselves will have to rise to the occasion and appreciate the importance of their own people.

I welcome the suggestion that the municipalities should be compelled to provide quarters for their conservancy staff and the Commissioner has the courage to make a very interesting suggestion on pages 215—16 whereby he throws the responsibility on each householder to collect the refuse which could be taken away by the sweepers from the houses. I am afraid this will raise a howl of protest in the different houses but I do admit that there is some logic behind it and I do admit that the best solution would be to have flush latrines. For example, in Bombay we have done away with this problem of sweepers carrying the refuse which used to be an eye-sore in the days of my childhood but probably in small towns it would be difficult to carry out this reform. And till this reform is carried out sweepers will be needed. There is a very pregnant sentence in one of the novels of Mulk Raj Anand where the untouchable hero is made to say, 'we are looked upon as Unclean because we keep others clean'. That is a very important sentiment which we, who pride ourselves as belonging to the higher castes, should remember.

Well, Sir, the problem of land again is a very important problem for the Harijans as for the others and the distribution of land is a very important necessity. The possibilities of Bhoodan *movement* are there and it should help us.

One little sentence on page 22 disturbed me and that is that the dev-dasis still exist in Bombay. Now, devdasis have certainly been abolished as an institution by law and how this continues to exist is a matter of surprise to me and I think this problem requires looking into and the Commissioner is wise in suggesting that a special enquiry should be made as to how these women are recruited from the depressed classes to become devdasis.

Coming to the problem of scheduled tribes, I do not think Mr. Sinha was correct in saying that the Government is attaching more importance to the scheduled castes than to the scheduled tribes. I think the Government is extremely fair in this respect. In fact if you look at the figures you will find that they are spending much more on the scheduled tribes than on the scheduled castes. But there is a very big difficulty in dealing with the scheduled tribes and that difficulty is that they are living in far off places, very difficult of access, so that naturally the Government officials try to avoid visiting them as much as possible and these people are left to themselves. Therefore the problem of dealing with them is much more difficult. Of course, in one respect the position of the scheduled tribes is far far superior to the scheduled castes. The scheduled tribes have after all enjoyed freedom. They have been free individuals. They may be poor, they may be backward from other standpoints but still they have enjoyed a certain amount of freedom and we have to see that they do not lose that sense of freedom. Therefore again I congratulate the Commissioner on insisting or • recommending that there could be no standardised pattern of schemes so far as scheduled tribes are concerned. The main difficulty of the scheduled tribes is that they are exploited by forest contractors and it is the duty of the Governments to

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] see that outside labour is kept out as much as possible and the monopoly of minor forest produce is recommended for the benefit of the scheduled tribes. Forest Labour Cooperative Societies are encouraged and should be encouraged to bring about a better state of affairs.

The education of the tribals is a very difficult problem. Tribals are not concentrated in villages but they are scattered over wide areas which makes their education much more difficult—the establishment of schools for example—and therefore the starting of *ashram* schools is a very welcome experiment which enables the students, the young pupils, to come together and stay in a particular place. It was suggested that there should be no special schools for scheduled tribe people and for scheduled caste people; it looks all right in theory. I personally as an educationist would certainly welcome schools where students of all communities are admitted, but there are conditions in which these special schools have a place and in scheduled tribe areas; which are practically inhabited only by the scheduled tribes such schools are inevitable and you cannot keep them away. I am glad, I Sir, that the tribals are coming up in education. There are several graduates, of course male graduates, from tribal areas from my own institution and last year two lady students from the tribal areas passed out and now they are working in the tribal areas, thanks to the encouragement given by the Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes. But the main difficulty is of producing the right type of teachers, and this problem has been taken up by the Government of India in right earnest. Training centres for different types of works have been started and I am very happy to say that the Tata Institute of Social Sciences is interested and giving its help in organising such centres. I am also very happy to see that the Government of India have come to

realise that officers who are working in the tribal areas and with the tribal people need a special kind of training. The ordinary I.A.S. officer, however efficient he may be, may not be quite a success in the Scheduled Tribe area. It requires a certain method of approach, a certain sympathetic understanding, a certain appreciation of the history and background of these tribal people and it needs a certain knowledge of anthropology and sociology and I am glad that the Government of India has sanctioned a scheme whereby the different State Governments have been called upon to select certain officers who are working in the tribal areas to be trained for this purpose. At the present moment as many as 20 such officers are receiving one year's training in the Tata Institute of Social Sciences which means that the Government is fully alive to the requirements of these people, and that they are prepared to do whatever they can for their uplift. When I use the word 'uplift' I have to utter a word of caution. Let us not interpret 'uplift' in terms of what we consider to be good ourselves. After all, they have got their own individuality, their own ideas, their own culture, which requires encouragement, which requires a certain amount of fostering. Let us not try to change them artificially into carbon copies of ourselves simply because we consider ourselves to be very superior, very important people. I know that in course of time they themselves might imitate us and I see an amusing incident mentioned in the Report itself of a Toda who has got rid of his beard. It was almost inconceivable a few years back at least that a Toda would get rid of his beard; today he has. It was almost inconceivable that the Todas would have modern houses but I find from the Report that a certain Toda has built a modern house. I am glad of that. This sort of acculturation is inevitable but it must grow naturally; it must come from the people themselves. They must not imagine

that there are certain types of housing or certain types of living which alone are good; they should not feel that some custom is forced upon them by the so-called superior people. When they become educated they will themselves begin to appreciate what is good for them and if they feel that a certain type of life is better than their old type, they will change. I am sure a hundred years hence the tribals as they exist today certainly will not exist.

AN HON. MEMBER: They will all die out.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: No, no. They are not going to die out. Certainly not. Why should they die out, millions and millions of them? But they will be amalgamated into the society at large. They will be acculturised just as Red Indians have been in America or for example the Maoris in New Zealand. The same sort of thing is going to happen in India. We do not want the continuance of the tribals merely as museum specimens or as subjects of study for the anthropologists from the West or from our own country. Let them develop. When the time comes they can imitate us; they can amalgamate with us; they can inter-marry with us and they can grow without being self-conscious as an independent community.

One thing more about the denotified communities. That is a com-

paratively easier proDiem Because me denotified communities were criminals not perhaps by choice but by necessity. They were economically backward but now it is possible for them to be converted into good citizens and I find that the Uttar Pradesh Government has founded a colony at Bhat-puram which has converted these people into honourable and respectable citizens. Now, I should like that the Mewar Bhil Corps should not be abolished for want of finances as has been hinted at in this Report. It is a very famous crops and the Bhils are strong individuals. They should be encouraged to join our army and to become good soldiers. The same thing applies to all other scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Let them enrol themselves in the Indian armed forces where they will come more directly into contact with the people of other communities, where they will develop an *esprit de corps*, where they will develop a love for India and prove themselves to be genuine children of India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 23rd August, 1957.