

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Babu Gopinath Singh for remaining absent for all meetings of the House from the 21st August 1957, till the end of current session?

(No hon. Member dissented.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

#### ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE APPROPRIATION (No. 4) BILL, 1957

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that under rule 162(2) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I have allotted ten hours and thirty minutes for the completion of all stages involved in the consideration and return by the Rajya Sabha of the Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1957, including the consideration and passing of amendments, if any, to the Bill.

The Bill will come up for consideration in the House tomorrow.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES FOR THE YEAR 1955—Discussion continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We take up the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1955.

MR. M. BASAVAPUNNAIAH.

SHRI M. BASAVAPUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is before us for a long time though we have taken it up for discussion only now. Neither the report nor the speech made by the Deputy Minister while moving for consideration of the report brings before the House the gravity of the problem under discussion and the real and effective policies and methods to tackle it. On the other hand, while listening

to the hon. Minister's speech, it struck me as if she was indulging, if I may be permitted to say so, in a sort of hysterical praise and songs for all the meagre achievements that were there instead of depicting the gravity of the problem and the task that are before us and before the whole country.

The problem in its socio-economic aspect, as it appears to me, resembles somewhat that of the Negroes in America and the very often-talked-of problem of Indians in South Africa. It is still older and perhaps in some respects it is still worse. The measures so far taken by the Government to elevate these people and eliminate their disabilities are very inadequate. Other things are not effectively implemented. As a matter of fact, they are not implemented in any real sense by the several States. This is also another important point while discussing the whole question of the report.

The total amounts that were spent during the whole First Five Plan period, both by the States and the Centre, are nothing more than Rs. 42½ crores in all. It comes per head on an average for a five year period to Rs. 6. Annually, it will be Rs. 1-3-0 or so. Out of this amount, Rs. 25 crores are spent for the Scheduled Tribes and their welfare. That comes to Rs. 12-8-0 per head over these five years and Rs. 15 crores for the Scheduled Castes who are five crores in population, i.e., Rs. 3 per head over five years. It may come to between nine and ten annas.

Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 42 crores, only one good item that is to some extent gratifying is that Rs. 17½ crores have been spent for education up to matric standard. The rest of the allotment that was made cannot be justified; that is not correctly done also—Rs. 5½ crores for communications, Rs. 7 crores and odd for administration and publicity and other miscellaneous services and Rs. 4 crores for health etc. I think that the whole amount should be

[Shri M. Basavapunnaiah.]

directed towards the uplift of this down-trodden section of the masses, who are suffering from so many disadvantages. This allotment itself is very meagre and I am not satisfied with the way in which this is spent. A good deal of it is consumed by Assam. If one evaluates the report and tries to understand it, one feels that the tribal people's area in Assam is flowing with honey and milk. It is not so as I understand from other reports. Some Rs. 7 crores and odd are spent out of this meagre sum of Rs. 42 crores for that particular part of the country. I do not know whether the several other things which are underlined are also included in these communications, development and other things that have yet to be taken up separately and I hope the hon. Minister will enlighten me on this question.

The Second Five Year Plan allots Rs. 65.45,00,000 for the State sector and the Centre is supposed to spend some Rs. 32 crores. In all, it is Rs. 98 crores approximately. This sum, when compared to the First Five Year Plan, may not look as something meagre. But when I look at the very problem and when I look at the achievements that have been there for the First Five Year Plan period, I do not think that these Rs. 98 crores that are allotted will do anything to solve any problem in any appreciable measure. For example, it may be Rs. 2-8-0 per head on an average per year for the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes and the Ex-Criminal Tribes put together, if the 'pruning'—or whatever may be the term now used in regard to austerity—is not effected and everything that is written there is implemented. This amount which is being spent on these unfortunate sections of the masses may look to be very staggering when we calculate for all the five years. According to me, it is not the way to put the figures like this.

The hon. Minister, while presenting the report, must also have taken another aspect of the question into

consideration. That aspect is how those people during the last ten or five years have been benefited by the several measures that have been introduced. For example, I take one measure—the question of the price policy for grains. 80 to 90 per cent. of the income of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is spent on purchasing cereals and nothing else. According to reports submitted by several authorities, if Rs. 10 per head is the price increase manipulated by the stockists or speculators or the grain hoarders, I can calculate the loot of Rs. 70 crores a year from this unfortunate sector of the people. Now, we say that 'we have been giving Rs. 90 crores for you; here is our present for your uplift'. Sir, facts cannot be denied whatever they are. The main question is: Are we squarely dealing with these poor masses? Are we sincere and honest in tackling this question? If so, have we tried to stop the looting in any measure? This is the one question that I have raised about the grain policy or the price policy in order to show how these miserable people in the tribal areas as well as in the other backward areas are suffering. It may be said that the price per maund is Rs. 20 or Rs. 15. But actually the retail price in the tribal areas ranges from fourteen annas to one rupee and four annas per seer. This is the state of affairs and a wholesale loot is being conducted. In this way the tribal masses and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are put to great hardships for all these years. I can give full details to the hon. Minister and prove how these poor people are suffering due to the high prices that they have to pay.

And then we have also to see how enactments are passed and how legislation in a particular State, for example. Tenancy Acts, etc., are enacted. Before one can seriously debate this question, it is better that we should appreciate what is actually happening. Sir, I find that two pictures are there before me. One is the picture presented by the hon. Minister while

moving this motion, and then I have got the picture which I have got as a result of my having worked with them for the last 20 years or so. For almost 20 days in a month I am amidst them and I know what the actual facts are. The two pictures are, therefore, totally different. Of course, I cannot call the picture that is given here by the hon. Minister as false, but that picture is a very exaggerated one which does not give even an insight into the problem. Take for instance the Tenancy Act. I take only one State. I cannot go into the affairs of other States because of paucity of time at my disposal. I have told you on certain other occasions, Sir, that out of 15 lakhs of standard acres under the tenants-at-will in Andhra Pradesh, and that too in the Andhra region, not even one acre is protected, and particularly the axe came on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, because these poor people could not rally strength behind them to resist the onslaught of the caste Hindus. And now let the hon. Minister make a statement here itself and say whether this tenancy legislation has benefited any single Scheduled Caste member, apart from the other achievements that the Government can claim.

Then, Sir, you know the question of house sites. There was some legislation with regard to house sites by the Government. The hon. Minister in the Andhra Assembly the other day mentioned that it would take a hundred years, at the rate of the present progress, to grant house sites even to the present applicants. And, Sir, Mr. Sundarayya, who was once a Member of this House, has calculated these things and found out that at the rate of the population growth, it would be 1500 years and not 100 years. And the Minister concerned had to accept that proposition.

Then, Sir, there was the Land Acquisition Act. This Act was also utilised in the way that the Govern-

ment wanted to do it. It was not at all adequate. And even now the landlords are dragging the poor tenants to courts etc. and things are lying unsettled as yet, and the house sites are not given in an appreciable manner.

Then, Sir, I come to the third point. These are our poor masses; they are wage-earners. And what is the position with regard to employment? Has it improved or not? Taking an overall picture, Sir, we find that the employment situation is deteriorating. Generally speaking, in the harvesting and other seasons only 15 to 20 days' regular work is there for most of the people. But during the last three or four years I find that more than a week they are not able to get work; there is a regular competition going on. A huge number of people go from one area to another for work, whether it is tobacco plantation, rice plantation or rice harvesting or grain harvesting. Can the hon. Minister deny this fact? The Railway Minister can know what the rush will be in a particular season on the railways. The other Ministers can also know what the situation will be. So you can realise, Sir, how the land legislation and the tenancy legislation is being implemented, and whether the tenants are actually benefited or not. On the whole I feel, Sir, that they are not benefited at all. On the contrary, they are suffering at the cost of the present rulers by all these legislations. These legislations are, as a matter of fact, intended only to send them out from the plots occupied by them today.

Then, Sir, I would mention something about the question of having a land ceiling. The poor masses and the backward masses are eagerly waiting for that day when the Government would be forthcoming with a ceiling on land and distribution. But, Sir, the real ceiling that is going on is not a ceiling on the land, but a ceiling on the hopes of these people

**1589 Report of Commissioner [ RAJYA SABHA ] and Scheduled Tribes 1590  
for Scheduled Castes for the year 1955**

[Shri M. Basavapunnaiiah.]

and a ceiling actually on the land reforms, and not a ceiling on the land, as we are made to understand. For example, Sir, in the Khammam district a ceiling on land was applied, and two years back we were told that 2½ lakhs of surplus land would remain, but two years after the hon. Revenue Minister, Shri Kalavenkata Rao, went there and found that only two to three thousand acres would remain. I do not know whether even two acres can remain. Therefore, Sir, this ceiling is there to cheat the common man and cheat particularly the Scheduled Caste masses and the backward masses who are there eagerly waiting for something to be done by the Congress Government whose loud promises every day they are hearing from several rostrums, as if they are dedicated to these people. In any way, Sir, I have evinced some interest during the last 20 years of my life, but I find that this sorry state of affairs is there.

I am now particularly confining myself to some of the things which the earlier Government—not our Congress Government—had conceded to them. They are now being deprived of those things also. And this question has been brought to the notice of the Central Government and the Minister concerned that the poor Harijan masses were being denied of this right for the last twenty or thirty years. Some 70 thousand acres of Lanka and in the Andhra region were allotted by the former British Government to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, but they are now being uprooted from those lands even. Their lands are now being put to auction in order to give them to the landlords, and in the name of austerity their grants are cut drastically, with the result that they are now systematically deprived of their belongings. In this connection, Sir, repeated representations by the Members of Parliament and of the local Assemblies and by several

other people have not yielded any results except that the Government is moving in one direction, and that direction is to eradicate those people from their lands and from the areas where they have remained for the last 20 years or 30 years. And not only that, Sir, even the Harijan members of the Congress Party in the Andhra Assembly had walked out in protest and refused to participate in the debate when this question was taken up there. It is not the Communist who was talking. All the Harijan M. L. As had refused to participate in the debate, and after that, perhaps by several tricks and other methods, they were brought back to the Assembly. Therefore, Sir, in such cases, all types of goondaism are resorted to. Now, Sir, unlike in the past, today, the caste-Hindu landlord, the Congress M. L. A., the police official and the Government are all rolled into one, and the axe falls upon this unfortunate man. I can bring to your notice, Sir, several cases and examples.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No examples are necessary.

SHRI M. BASAVAPUNNAIAH. In Patharlapadu village, Sir, one such worker was butchered in broad daylight in the street. And in another place several hundred people from that village had to run away to other villages in order to protect their lives from this harassment. In yet another village, a Scheduled Caste worker, who came forward to defend his community and some oppressed classes, was called somewhere and put straight into the well. If the hon. Minister is therefore, serious about making enquiries, I can give all the details in order to show how things are going on. They call this a report of their achievement. I can understand what they are. I know what is actually taking place in real life. That will give us the real picture. Today this question calls for positive attempts, not negative attempts, to solve it. The task is vast.

and the results are disappointing. It cannot be solved by giving alms to these people, by giving crumbs to these people. The problem of these people cannot be tackled merely by legislation but by the implementation of that legislation. How it is being implemented is the crux of the problem. It is here that the Central Government has a responsibility. If it is a question of land, the Central Government says, "We have no authority. It is for the State Government." So, it reduces itself to a question of division of power. Now, representations fail, *stayagraha* fails and jail-going is also resorted to, but nothing happens. The Congress Ministry was only busy going round the whole State in giving land to political sufferers. But have they done anything during these years, to improve the housing conditions of the tenants or the peasants? That is the sad story that I wanted to bring to the notice of the House. Then we are asked not to resort to direct action but only agitate in a constitutional manner. Then when elections come and when we say, "These are the landless, please vote for them", they bring in the great name of Jawaharlal and say, "Vote for Jawaharlal and not for this man." And the lot of these backward masses about which we hear so much here, continue to be very horrible. I know of several villages where they are in a majority but the village tanks or wells are allowed to be touched by them. This is an amazing thing to happen even after ten years of freedom. When this is the case, we have no moral right to talk about the abnoxious policy of South Africa or the Negro problem in America. Is this the way to face this problem? Or can anything more be done about it? That is the question I ask. The lot of these people can be improved only by the following: Land must be distributed to them. Secondly, there is the question of employment; and thirdly, that of minimum wages. If these three

things are not tackled, if only these things are merely talked about, we may go on talking for a century more, but the lot of these masses will not be bettered. I earnestly appeal to the House and through you to the Government to take this question seriously and tackle it not in the way the Ministry is trying to solve it. Their achievements are not achievements in my opinion.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, The report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes gives not only the work done in the year 1955 but also gives us the benefit of an overall view of the work done in this regard for the last five years, roughly covering the First Five Year Plan period. The picture as it emerges from this report is not as bad as it was when we discussed it during the last three or four years. There has been a lot of improvement. The Commissioner and his band of Regional Commissioners have been able to persuade the States to shake off their lethargy, and the Commissioner says that there is an improvement in the attitude of the States in the matter of keeping record of data and collection of materials, although he does not seem to have succeeded in making them submit regular progress returns. There is also a hopeful sign regarding the efforts made by the States not only in evolving schemes for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but also in the matter of implementing them. There he has succeeded, and the States are showing more and more enthusiasm. Thanks to the Home Ministry which has been drawing the attention of the States to various matters, things are improving.

I must also appreciate here the work done by the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. It has played a good role during this period. It has prepared several documentaries and supplied hand-outs also in the

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]  
matter of removal of untouchability. I believe that if it continues this effort and increases the vigour of this effort, it will be playing a very important role in the matter of removing untouchability.

With all this, it seems as if we have not touched the fringe of the problem. In my humble opinion, the reason for this seems to be that there is lack of will in the attempt that is made in the States in this regard. They are making efforts in evolving schemes and in implementing them as if it is something which they have to do, which they are compelled to do; there does not seem to be the will to do these things; nor do I see the vigour that is necessary in order to achieve success. I believe the Home Ministry itself is overburdened with various kinds of work and cannot devote the concentrated attention that is necessary to this work; and therefore, I feel that unless we make a specially directed effort in order to succeed in removing untouchability, we will not succeed in improving the economic condition of these people. I wish that the Constitution-framers, when they provided in article 164(1) for the establishment of separate Ministries in charge of Scheduled Castes and tribal welfare in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, had also made it obligatory on all the other States to appoint Ministers for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I suggest this because I think that, unless such a provision is made in the Constitution, or unless the spirit of this provision is recognised by the Home Ministry and the Government of India and special effort is made to direct the attention of the Governments to this work, the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will not have that concentrated effort that is necessary in order to stamp out this evil. Therefore, I say that the Home Ministry should recommend to the Government of India to have a

separate Minister in the Union Government for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and similarly separate Ministries in the State Governments also. As it is, there are some Departments in some of the States which work as separate units in this work. For instance, in Bihar, in Madhya Pradesh, in Orissa, in Assam and in Mysore there are independent Departments which are meant for working towards Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' welfare but in some other States they have not yet established independent Departments. For instance, West Bengal, it is reported, is considering still forming a separate Directorate whereas in U.P. a Joint Secretary has been appointed as a Director for Harijan Welfare. I suppose he has to deal with this work as well as other work. In other States there are no separate Departments for this work. In Saurashtra there is a Statutory Board for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Commissioner has commended very highly this attempt of Saurashtra. According to him this has been a tremendous success. This has been so in my opinion because there has been a separate Department for this purpose and it has been an autonomous Board. Either there should be Ministries which tackle this work independently or Departments or Statutory Boards which are empowered to carry on this work and also which are assisted by the States with the requisite finance. Unless such separate autonomous bodies or separate Ministries are created, I believe we will not be able to succeed in this work. For another 50 years we will be discussing these reports in the same way without being satisfied that we have tackled the problem in a large measure. I have a suggestion to make in this regard. The Scheduled Caste Commissioner has dealt with the problem in very great length and has suggested that Welfare Committees be established at least at district levels. There are Welfare Committees in some States

but if they are appointed by the Government, unless they are empowered with the expending of the sums given by the Home Ministry as grants-in-aid and raised by the State as their quota for the working of these schemes, we will not succeed in that effort. It would be for the Home Ministry to see that steps are taken in order to evolve or establish Statutory Boards for each State and—in the Centre if they are not able to establish a Ministry for this purpose, establish an autonomous Board—also in the Centre which would direct the other Statutory Boards to intensify the effort. This sort of intensification of effort is very necessary. Unless we evolve some such method or organisation which is specially meant for this work and which will have the power to spend and which has in it not only officers in the routine way but selfless workers who are devoted to the cause, we are not likely to succeed in this attempt.

I would like, in this connection, to throw a suggestion that before such an independent authority is created, the Scheduled Caste Commissioner and Regional Commissioners should enlist the co-operation of the workers in the States. As far as I know, for the present, they have not succeeded. I don't know if they have made an effort, but they have not succeeded, if they have made an effort, in enlisting the active co-operation of the workers in the field. As everybody knows, the struggle for independence in this country has thrown up a large number of constructive workers belonging to the Congress Party and to the other parties as well. These constructive workers today have nothing to do and have been let down by their respective parties, have been let down by my own party and I don't know, it passes my comprehension, why we have not been able to tap those resources and utilize their services. In my State I know of a large number of people who have devoted their time for social reforms and for Harijan welfare and who are ready

to devote their time selflessly and I believe, that is the position in other States as well. If their energies are utilised for this work, it would be very good. It would, therefore, be advisable for the Commissioner and his Assistants to get into touch with such workers. They can get easily the list from social workers who are now in the field and they are known to them. They can get a list of workers from old Congressmen and other old political sufferers and having got the list, they can approach them and take their co-operation. Whenever a Regional Commissioner or the Scheduled Caste Commissioner visits a State or headquarters of a State, it would be very useful if he convenes a meeting of such workers and takes their suggestions. I don't believe that this has been done so far. In the two reports of the Commissioner I see that he has met a number of people who would be likely to help him but he has not been able, in this way, to gather together a large number of workers who could be of assistance to him. If this suggestion of mine commends itself to him, I think he would be able to get a good number of workers.

We know that this is a social evil. I don't know why an effort has not been made to carry on an educative propaganda on a national scale to develop a national outlook among the people and especially, to stamp out the prejudices that are there in society. We have our Second Five Year Plan. We are getting so many projects and we will have so many industries but how on earth can the inequities and inequalities be removed if this prejudiced outlook prevails in the society, if the interest of one group in the society clashed with that of another group in the society? It is, therefore, necessary, generally for the sake of the success of Indian democracy, that we should try to have an educative propaganda and to develop a national outlook among the people. This evil has got religious prejudices at the base.

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

Should we not tackle that religious prejudice? No attempt has been made to re-interpret our religion so as to help this cause. As you have talked in every platform, that sort of reorientation or re-interpretation of our religion is necessary. I can understand the delicacy on the part of the Government to tackle the problem directly in this way because it is a secular State and they may think that it comes in the way of their directly making an effort to reinterpret our religion, but if they feel any such delicacy, they may sponsor non-official organisations or cultural organisations to take up this work of reinterpreting our religion. If our religion is interpreted, I am sure the prejudice that prevails in the so-called Caste Hindus about untouchability will vanish. My friend over there was sore at the injustice or hardship that these people are suffering from. Everyone of us is sore about it but the only way that we can tackle it on the social plane is by carrying on a vigorous propaganda. The other effort is—I will take 10 more minutes. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken nearly 20 minutes.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I will finish as early as possible. I have not come to my points. I crave the indulgence of the House for a few more minutes I wish the Home Ministry to realise that unless a vigorous and special effort is made, we will not succeed in removing this. I will leave that there and come to the points.

With regard to land reforms, I find from the figures given, of the Scheduled Castes 73.6 per cent. and of the Scheduled Tribes 88.6 per cent. are agriculturists. Although these figures show these people as agriculturists, those who know the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes know what sort of agriculturists they are. They will have only just a patch of dry land.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): Have they even that? Do they own it?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: They are engaged in agriculture. And if my hon. friend wants to know the numbers, actual landlords there are 33.5 per cent. among Scheduled Castes and 65.5 per cent. amount Scheduled Tribes.

But they do not have anything like an economic unit, nothing like a unit which will give the man enough to live on. But even the small percentage of these people who own small pieces of land are classified as agriculturists.

The difficulty seems to have been that wherever land is allotted to the Scheduled Castes or to others, the Caste Hindus oppose the move. When land is allotted to the Scheduled Castes, or for that matter, when land is allotted to anybody, there is opposition. For instance, lands in Mysore and Madras are being allotted to political sufferers. But there we encounter difficulties due to the opposition of the landowners and the opposition of the villagers. The villagers oppose the move because if that much of land goes away to anybody else, though it may be waste land or land used for cattle grazing, they feel they stand to suffer. Therefore, this effort will not succeed if you give these people land in this way. If you want to give land to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the very villages they live in, they will not succeed in taking possession of it. In many cases they will not succeed in doing that. Therefore, the best thing would be to establish for these people agricultural colonies. There are lots of lands available for cultivation, land which is unoccupied. Those lands must be divided. . . .

SHRI M. BASAVAPUNNAIAH: I can say that in many villages they take possession of the land.



SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I do not say there are no villages where they have succeeded. But there are a large number of villages where they have not succeeded. I am speaking with experience, for I myself have tried it in several cases. So, the difficulty is there. In any case, we do not follow it up by giving the man financial assistance to cultivate the land. He has to fight against so much pressure from the Caste Hindus and the strong men of the village. Unfortunately, in the circumstances, the Scheduled Caste man or the Scheduled Tribe man will not only be able to utilise the land, but he will be compelled even to part with it. There are such cases also. Therefore, to avoid all this, my suggestion would be to establish agricultural colonies wherever there are sufficient areas of land available. Good land that is available should be allotted to these people. Then again, it must be an integrated scheme. You must put up sheds for them. You must feed them and maintain them. You must give them agricultural tools. You must have them bullocks and other things and see that they make a success of it. So that these may not become segregation camps, I would make this additional suggestion. There are other people who belong to the Caste Hindu classes, but they are as poor as the Scheduled Castes. They may also be given land in these very colonies. Unless such an attempt is made, you are not going to succeed in this effort.

Same is the case with regard to industries. The procedure now is that if a man turns up, he will be given a job or some cottage industry is provided for him. That will not relieve these people of their poverty. Therefore, my suggestion will be to pick out the Scheduled Castes and train them for industries. Let us establish industrial colonies in the same way as I had suggested before. You can train hundreds of people in that way.

In the matter of services, Sir, I am very sorry to note that the position

has not improved. It has been pointed out on the floor of this House, time and again, that the reservation for these people, the reserved quota of posts for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not exhausted. Various reasons have been given for that. But in my opinion the one real reason is that there is not the will to give. Although vacancies are reserved, such vacancies are allotted for which competent hands will not be forthcoming. In this matter I would suggest their giving up the rules of recruitment as far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. The only thing they need care is educational qualification. If the candidate is a graduate, he can be trained up to undertake a class I job. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also suggested that the I.P.S. and I.A.S. training should be given to these people. I am glad the Home Ministry has been pleased to waive some of the requirements which when applied to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, work as handicaps. If these people are taken in and trained, they will be fit for anything. I do not know why the Home Ministry has not been able to accept the recommendations of the Commissioner that a Parliamentary committee of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Members should be there and that committee should assist the Home Ministry. I do not know what difficulty there is in accepting this recommendation. Time and again it has been given in answer to several questions that a sufficient number of candidates are not forthcoming. But then there is this stark reality that there is a good number of unemployed candidates belonging to these classes. If the co-operation of such Members of Parliament is taken, they would at least be able to point out to the Home Ministry that such and such candidates are available here, that so many candidates are available for these jobs and so on. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also can take their help in getting together the names of the candidates. I very humbly sug-

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]  
gest that the Home Ministry should make an intensive effort in the matter of seeing that the requirements of the reserved quotas are fulfilled. Of course, they have taken some steps to see that proper returns are given, and there is a controlling department to see that these quotas are filled up. Special efforts to find out the candidates also are necessary.

I thank you for your indulgence, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have got here twenty-two speakers. The Minister will answer at 4.15 P.M. It is essential that we should sit through the lunch-hour and get through as many speakers as possible. As I said, at 4.15, the Minister will reply.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, we are now discussing the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, for the year 1955. We are really discussing a stale report.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

The matter should have been placed before this House much earlier. I hope that Government will, in future, do its best to initiate the discussion on the reports as soon as they are submitted by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR): Will the hon. Member note that it was presented to Parliament on the 10th of September, 1956?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Quite right. The report for 1955 was presented in September 1956.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It has been received on 26th February 1956.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: It was received on 26th February 1956 and now we

are discussing it in August 1957—a year and a half after the receipt of the report.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It is no fault of ours.

PANDIT ALGU RAI SHASTRI (Uttar Pradesh): We have got greater time to study it.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Do hon. Member really want a year and a half to study the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): We should thank our stars that it is not half a century.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I am glad that the report is being discussed at all. But I think the importance of the questions that are dealt with in the report requires that the report should be dealt with soon after it is received.

Although the Government recognises that the welfare of the people of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes is an important national duty and that in its performance depends the successful development of democracy, nevertheless, I cannot say that the report for the year 1955 which summarises the results achieved during the First Five Year Plan period is very inspiring. No one reading it can come to the conclusion that if the work is maintained in the present way the results that we desire will be soon achieved. The Commissioner, I think, points out in the report of his that the State Governments have not supplied him with reports of their work and that he is, therefore, unable to say what progress has been made in connection with the various subjects which bear on the welfare of the classes that I have already referred to. So far as I know, many States have not yet

sent a report of the work done by them in the year 1955. He does say.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ (Madhya Pradesh): They have not done any work so far.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): You have not read the report, I am afraid.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: The State Governments, the Commissioner says, are now complying with some of his suggestions and maintaining records of the information bearing on some important questions but he says, at the same time, that the six-monthly progress reports, however, are not being regularly received even now and, therefore, it is difficult to get complete information regarding physical targets achieved in the course of the last five years. He goes on to say that the State Governments, except a few, have not still undertaken welfare schemes for Backward Classes in any definite planned programme. Even while submitting schemes for the Second Five Year Plan, they have attached importance only to the amount of expenditure that may be earmarked for the schemes without giving full details as regards ultimate targets to be achieved within a definite time limit. These are serious complaints and they have gone on from year to year. I should like to know what the Central Home Ministry has done in order to impress on the State Governments the urgency of looking after the welfare of the classes with which the report of the Commissioner deals. This cannot be dealt with by us at our leisure. The situation is such that we must either grapple with these questions as quickly as possible or create forces that will be hostile to democracy. I speak, Sir, from personal experience when I say this. The State Governments and the Central Government too may at times be tempted to regard some other questions of immediate importance as more deserving of their attention than

the question with which the Commissioner's report is concerned but, in a long-term view of the matter, no one can doubt that the performance of the task for which the Commissioner has been appointed is a matter that brooks any delay. I hope, Sir, that the Central Government now will do its very best to press the States not to be so negligent in submitting their reports as they have been during the last five years. They should also make it a point to state in their reports, or at any rate to inform the Commissioner even before they submit their reports, what expenditure has been incurred in connection with each scheme relating to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc., and what results have been achieved. Unless we know this, it is quite possible that while we are congratulating ourselves on the growth of the expenditure on the welfare schemes, the results achieved are not commensurate at all with this expenditure. Indeed, in some places, the result may be almost nil.

There is one more point of a general character which I should like to bring to the notice of hon. Members and Government. According to the latest census of 1951, the total tribal population is a little less than two crores. The exact population was 191.16 lakhs. Out of this, a little over 112 lakhs of people of the Scheduled Tribes live in four States: Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. If we take Bombay also into account, then the population of the Scheduled Tribes in these five States will rise to about 146 lakhs, that is, three-fourths of the tribal population lives in these five States. The expenditure incurred on the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the four States, that is, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, is about Rs. 18 crores while the total expenditure on the welfare of the tribal people in all the States is only about Rs. 24 crores. This means that three-fourths of the total expenditure on welfare schemes for these tribes is incurred in these four States. If we take Bombay into account, then the

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.]

expenditure will be about Rs. 19 crores. Now, it is obvious that if we want to bring about an improvement in the condition of the people of the Scheduled Tribes as quickly as possible, we should concentrate our effort on these five States. Perhaps Rajasthan too will require more attention than it has received because, according to the legislation that was passed last year, the tribal population there has risen by about 140 lakhs.

1 P.M.

Then, I come to Bombay. While the population there, Sir, is fairly large, the total expenditure on the welfare schemes is only about a crore and a quarter of rupees. Now, Sir, Orissa where the population of the Scheduled Tribes is only about 30 lakhs spends three and one-third crores of rupees while Bombay with a slightly higher population spends only a crore and a quarter of rupees or about one-third of what Orissa spends. If a comparison were made with Madhya Pradesh it would again be unfavourable to Bombay. I would like to know why the expenditure in Bombay is so little as compared with that incurred in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Now, Sir, here I have given the figures relating to five States where three-quarters of the tribal population with which we are concerned live. Of course it is in these areas that special schemes for the development of these people have to be encouraged. I am greatly interested in Assam and I refer to it because I have some personal knowledge of the areas in Assam where the Scheduled Tribes live. I think, Sir, that the districts which require the greatest and the most immediate attention, there are the Garo Hills and the North Mikir Hills districts. The responsibility of the Government of India for the development of these districts with the moral and material resources of these districts is great and its opportunities too are correspondingly great. If they are seized boldly and with alacrity, the foundation of democracy in Assam, I have not the slightest doubt,

will be strengthened but, if matters are allowed to drift, a situation will arise there which will cause the greatest anxiety not merely to the Government of India or the Government of Assam but to the entire country. Many things are needed in these States, better communications, better education, etc. I shall refer to communications, Sir, in a moment, but I should first like to say a word about the development of education in the districts to which I have referred. That is one of the most urgent problems to be handled there. Whatever the additional cost of new schools there may be, I think Government, notwithstanding the financial stringency that it is suffering from, should not hesitate to find a few lakhs of rupees more in order to create a sense of self-confidence among these people and to make them feel that their future lies in their own hands and does not depend on the goodwill of any other section of the population either of Assam or of India. I think, Sir, this is the most urgent problem that should receive the attention of the Government in respect of the two districts that I have mentioned, the Garo Hills district and the North Mikir Hills district.

Now, Sir, a word about communications. The total expenditure on communications according to the Commissioner has been about five and a half crores of rupees during the First Five Year Plan period. Of this about four crores of rupees was incurred in Assam and about 45 lakhs of rupees in Madhya Pradesh. Only about a crore and seventeen lakhs of rupees was incurred in the rest of the States. Why is there such a disparity in the expenditure on communications between Assam and the other States? Assam being hilly requires certainly more roads than perhaps other States do, but does that justify such a tremendous disparity as that between Assam and Madhya Pradesh where the expenditure on communications is only 45 lakhs of rupees? If you go to Orissa and Bombay the disparity becomes even more glaring. In Orissa

where the population of the Scheduled Tribes is about 30 lakhs and there is a great deal that requires to be done at least in the Koraput district the total expenditure on the development of communications has been two lakhs of rupees and in Bombay only eight lakhs of rupees. Surely, Sir, this state of things ought to be remedied. What has the Government of India been doing for five years? We still find that in respect of essential matters the needs of the Scheduled Tribes are being grossly neglected even in some of those States where they live in very large numbers.

Now, Sir, take the estimated expenditure on communications during the Second Five Year Plan period. So far as I remember it is about 8 crores of rupees, and three-fourths of this, that is, about 6 crores of rupees is to be incurred in Assam. The disparity that was found during the First Five Year Plan period will persist therefore during the next five years also. Here again I ask how the schemes relating to the welfare of the tribal people are framed. The Government of India ought to be keenly interested in the matter because more than 50 per cent of the expenditure is met from Central grants. Has it so far been giving money to the States without trying to find out how it has been spent. Even when it has had the figures, like those that I have quoted, before it, it seems to have done nothing to improve the situation. I have, Sir, for two or three years, been drawing the attention of the Government of India to the importance of the development of communication in tribal areas. Yet, so far as this question is concerned, the discussions in Parliament have not influenced the Government in the slightest degree. If the discussions here are so valueless, I think that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes ought to be sent away and we should cease to incur expenditure on the development of these areas.

I would refer to two or three other matters to which I have previously

also drawn the pointed attention of Government. The development and establishment of co-operative societies in the tribal area is of the greatest economic importance to the welfare of the tribal people. The Bombay Government in 1947 initiated a scheme for the establishment of Forest Labourers Co-operative Societies. These societies help in the exploitation of the minor produce of the forests to the benefit of the tribal people. They are also used for felling trees in certain areas. In this way also a great deal of help is given to tribal economy which is dependent on the forest for its daily needs. There were during 1954-55, the Commissioner says, 58 such societies working in the Scheduled Areas of Bombay and they provided employment to nearly 3½ lakhs of labourers. Now, hon. Members will naturally like to know how far such societies are being developed and established in other States. The Commissioner says on page 171 of his report:

"The movement of forest co-operative societies has caught the imagination of a number of other States like Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin, Vindhya Pradesh, etc., who are organising such similar societies for the exploitation of minor forest produce."

It is comforting to know that this movement has caught the imagination of a number of States, but the appeal that these societies have made to a number of States is by itself not enough. We should like to know whether a single co-operative society of this kind has been established in any other State. What is the good of the imagination of the authorities being fired by this example or that example, if they did nothing in their own States to show that they are serious in their admiration of the examples that have come to their notice? This, again, is a matter in which the Home Ministry of the Government of India should take a serious interest.

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.]

Lastly I should like to refer to the use of the radio and the cinema for educational and cultural purposes in tribal areas. I find no reference to this in the Commissioner's report. This question has been placed before the Government repeatedly; I think it has been before them for about four years but the absence of all reference to that in the Commissioner's report shows that the Government have paid no attention to this question and that things remain as they were four years ago. In countries where backward populations had to be dealt with, the cinema and the radio have been effectively used to create a sense of confidence and enthusiasm among the people. But notwithstanding the examples before us we refuse to budge an inch from our position and to make use of the latest devices that science has placed at our disposal for removing quickly the backwardness of the more unfortunate sections of the population.

Just one word more before I sit down. I have referred to the work that has been done and the deficiencies that have been noticed. The expenditure that has been incurred during the last five years is not small; I think it amounts to about Rs. 35 crores, but the results achieved are not commensurate with this expenditure. This is not the fault of the poor Commissioner and his officers who tour all the year round and do what they can to make the States realise their responsibilities towards the tribal people and the Scheduled Classes. It is necessary therefore that the Home Ministry and the Government of India should directly contact at least five of the States to which I have referred and exhort them to take a greater interest in the welfare of these classes and to be more prompt in supplying information. Unless this is done, what is the good of having a Commissioner for these classes here? It may be necessary to have a section in the Home Ministry itself to deal with the references that come from the Commissioner and to carry

on correspondence with the States. But I personally feel that no appreciable progress will be made unless the Home Minister of the Government and the Chief Ministers of the States take a personal interest in this question. Perhaps the Chief Ministers and the Home Ministers of all the States together must take much greater interest in the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes than they do at present. It is necessary in order to achieve better results. The Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Ministry may send any number of letters he likes but I fear that they may be pigeon-holed. But if Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant speaks directly to the Chief Ministers of the States, I am sure that it will bring about very soon a substantial change in their attitude. I plead, Sir, again that the Government of India should show its keenness in the matter by taking a more direct and more personal interest in the welfare of those unfortunate people for whose development the Commissioner has been appointed.

There is one more suggestion that I have to make in this connection and that is the training of social workers which the magnitude of the expenditure that is incurred makes it absolutely necessary. The work that is to be done cannot be done by anybody. Trained people are needed to handle the complicated and difficult questions that arise from time to time. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government of India should frame a scheme for the training of social workers. It should estimate the number of workers that will be required and the period during which they will be trained and it should prepare a scheme for their training accordingly. The work should not proceed in the haphazard manner in which it is being done. All credit to the Commissioner and his assistants who, notwithstanding the handicaps under which they are labouring, are trying to make the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes feel that the day is not far distant when they will be

delivered from the bandage of ignorance and poverty. It is the fault of the Government that greater progress has not been made. If a little more attention is paid to the suggestions that I have made than has been the case so far. I feel that we shall achieve more substantial results and create better relations of confidence and trust between the Government and the Classes to which I have referred.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, I would like to state that hardly three Members have spoken out of the 23 names that I have before me and we have just got 2 hours and 50 minutes. So, we have to restrict the time and if the House is willing, we can sit till six of the clock.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And Mr. Agnibhoj will have thirty minutes. After that, each Member will have 10 to 15 minutes, not more.

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ (Bombay): Sir, you promised on Thursday that I would have sufficient time to speak on Monday. According to your promise, I should be given more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is true, but we have to restrict the time. There are still 20 names.

MR. AGNIBHOJ:

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): No more addition of name can be made?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, we shall sit till six of the clock.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let the reply be given later.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call the Minister to speaker at 5-15 P.M.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when I rise to speak on this report, I have got an intense

and distinct feeling in me that the discussion of this report is not casual. The weakest link is the greatest strength of our nation. So also, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in our country are the strength of our nation and if they are not made more powerful, stronger, highly educated, economically well and politically conscious and uprising, then I am certain that the political status of this country would be lowered down in the eyes of the world, the social and moral strength of this country would be weakened and ultimately, in all spheres of life, the nation would go weaker and weaker. Sir, with this point, in view that our nation should become stronger, it is the first and foremost duty of every national and especially of the State Governments and the Government of India, to wake up from their callousness and lethargy which have been exhibited in this report. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes appointed by the President under article 338 of the Constitution is not an executive authority. He is a Commission and the poor fellow has to go and see and evaluate the work done by the various State Governments and the Government of India. Sir, this report does give credit to the Commissioner and I must praise him that he has done his duty most diligently, impartially and honestly. If the same qualities were found in the Government of India, the State Governments and the people, I am sure the fate of the Adivasis and the Harijans within the last five years would have been better. But, Mr Deputy Chairman, what have we done within these five years? I come to the services first. There is an article in the Constitution that Harijans would be given employment and appointment looking to the maintenance of efficiency of administration. Sir, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been given reservation of seats in the services, but to my great disappointment and frustration, I find that this word 'efficiency' has developed a new meaning in the

[Shri R. K. Agnibhoj]  
papers of the Government of India and the State Governments. The word 'efficiency', for the Harijans, has the other name of 'untouchability.' This word 'efficiency' is denoted where Harijan candidates are before the selection committees and commissions.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA (Madras): Does the hon. Member mean that, with no qualifications, Harijans are to be appointed?

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: There are qualifications, my friend.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: When there are no efficient Harijans.....

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: I can bet on the floor of the House and say that the Harijans are more efficient than many of your people.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Question.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: But the mental perversity which exists in you, the mental, social perversity, the bad mind, the bad manners and the dishonesty and insincerity which exist in you are coming in the way of....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. No imputation and no insinuation

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Because he is questioning....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not right that you must impute dishonesty and all that.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: It has been said in this report, Sir, that applications were invited for the posts of Assistant Apprentice Way Inspectors by the Railway Authorities. 174 candidates applied 16 candidates were called for interview 12 candidates attended and out of this number it is recorded in this report, no one was found suitable to be appointed as the Assistant Apprentice Way Inspector of the Railways. Therefore, if the Harijans are not efficient, I may boldly say on the floor of this House

that it is not the incompetency or the inefficiency of the Harijans, but it is the incompetency and inefficiency of the Government of India and the State Governments that after ten years of independence, they are incompetent to provide work for them as Way Inspectors. And that is why, Sir, the Government of India has been most incompetent and inefficient. Sir, if I were the President of India or the Prime Minister of India, I would have dismissed the Home Minister of this country who is so lethargic and who is so inefficient that even after ten years of independence he could not create one man who could be appointed as the apprentice or the Assistant Way Inspector of the Railways. Sir, I express great regret when my friend says that Shrimati Seeta Parmanand in the last report of 1954 said that Shri Agnibhoj being an ex-Minister did not talk sense and did not take care of efficiency. But there is a saying:—

“बाँझ क्या जाने प्रसव की पीड़ा”

It means that a barren does not know the pangs of a delivery. A Brahmin or a Muslim friend cannot understand the feelings of the Scheduled Castes.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Sir, is it relevant?

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Yes, Sir. I am perfectly relevant

(Interruption).

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please do not mind interruptions Let us not have personal recrimination.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Sir, perfectly qualified Muslims are not entertained.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: I am just making a comparison. I join issue with them. I join issue with my Muslim friends. My Muslim friends



got Pakistan. Still in Government offices, in the State Governments, they are having more representation than the Adivasis and Harijans have got. I am not grudging it.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Sir, it is not the Muslims who got Pakistan. It is that particular party that got Pakistan. You cannot make that statement here about Muslims.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Sir, my friend.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Agnibhoj, I would make a suggestion to you to proceed with your subject, because we are not concerned with Muslims here. We are concerned here with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: But, Sir, I am comparing and contrasting things to show what is actually going on, because I believe in one theory only "Now or never". We have been depressed, suppressed and oppressed for centuries together. And even in this independent Republic of India we are again suppressed and oppressed and other castes and communities go ahead. In this way we would be ruined and we would never be able to rise. Therefore, Sir, it is most essential and relevant that I must compare ourselves with all the castes and communities, Muslims, Brahmins or any other caste. I have got a perfect right as a Member of Parliament and representing the sentiments of the Adivasis and Harijans in this country to say, "You gentlemen, at least give us as much justice as you give to the other communities." Sir, they could find out a Governor from among the Christians; they could find out two Muslims as Governors; they could find out a lady also as a Governor. But they were unable to find out a Governor from among the Harijans.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: You are having the Railway Minister.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: What do you talk? You are most irrelevant.

You do not understand what I am speaking about. I am very sorry to express that unnecessarily you are interrupting me. What has the Railway Minister to do here? Because Maulana Saheb is the Education Minister, other Muslims have no claim on any Government service or on other jobs or posts in the Diplomatic Corps or anywhere else! What I mean to say is that we want all-out progress and justice done to us in all directions.

Then, Sir, with regard to the I.A.S. officers, in 1954, the number of I.A.S. officers was 18, and in this report, in spite of the reservation, the number has not increased. On the contrary, one I.A.S. officer has been reduced. Instead of 18, now in 1955 we have got 17 I.A.S. officers in spite of the reservation about which you talk much and write much on your papers. So, Sir, it is said that everyone would like from the bottom of his heart that the condition of Adivasis and Harijans should improve, but just ascertain whether your bottom of the heart is not broken.

Then, Sir, the Constitution has prohibited that none will observe untouchability, and in spite of that constitutional provision, in our own country, our own courts and High Courts pass prohibitory orders that Harijans cannot enter the Vishwanath Temple. Sir, I am asking, is this justice? Sir, I am putting this question not to the Home Minister, but directly to the President who is the appointing authority for the purposes of our High Courts and who is the appointing authority of the Commissioner, and to whom this report has been submitted, whether your High Courts can violate the Constitution and whether the Harijans can be prohibited from entering into the Vishwanath Temple. Sir, once the Constitution has said that untouchability shall not be observed, the Government of India which is all-powerful in its way cannot allow the Vishwanath Temple to remain as the fort of untouchability.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): May I point out one thing, Sir? That law has been challenged in the courts and the courts have given an injunction till the disposal of that suit. It does not mean that they have decided in advance that the law is unconstitutional. My own feeling is that they will decide that the law is constitutional and Harijans will...

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Yes, my great advocate friend, as long as the Constitution exists, the courts have got no power like that, unless, of course, the Constitution is changed. Therefore, the High Courts, the other courts and the advocates or those people are hundred per cent in the dark and they are anti-social and anti-national and against the Harijans. Therefore, Sir, my contention with regard to this report is that our Reverend President should see to it why his officers are violating the Constitution and why the Vishwanath Temple has still remained as a fort of untouchability.

Sir, there are many schemes before the Government of India with regard to wells, water, housing, labour and agriculture. But if you go into the survey of the whole thing for the last few years, you will come to the conclusion that the Central Government and the State Governments have totally failed in their task in this sphere. Why is it that I am so forceful and so keen about it? I do not want to remain a Harijan for ever or an untouchable for ever. I do not want to be labelled as untouchable for ever. I do not want to do any trade on this trade-mark. In this Constitution, Sir, it is provided that this reservation of seats in the Assemblies and Parliament would remain only for ten years. Our Constitution came into force on the 26th of January, 1950, and all these reservations are to go on the 25th of January, 1960. Seven and a half years have passed, but the problems of untouchability, the problems of the backward classes, the problems of the depressed classes and the problems of

the Adivasis stand as they stood before.

Then, am I responsible, are the Harijans and Adivasis responsible if within a year of two they bring forward an amendment to the Constitution demanding 20 years' lease for this reservation? It would be a censure motion on the Government of India; it would be a censure motion on the Home Ministry; it would be a censure motion on the State Governments. You shall have to face that censure and you shall have to extend the time in the Constitution because you have totally and miserably failed to attend the target set out and do justice to these classes. I may say that, as far as education is concerned, I am satisfied. I do not want to say much about this, because there is a sincere effort to educate our boys. They are exempted from fees; they are getting scholarships in schools and colleges and are getting even foreign scholarships. But looking to the appointment position, to the progress the Government of India and the State Governments and the different Ministries have made in connection with the appointment of Harijans according to the reservation, I find that only one department, the Railways, has done the job, as is found from pages 64 and 65 of Vol. II of this Report. The Railway Department has done the job well, because there was a Harijan at its helm and he was very sympathetic to the Harijans and Adivasis. He has done better than the other Departments. In the Department of Parliamentary Affairs in 1952 there was one man, and in 1955 there is still one man—no progress. In the Secretariat of the President of India, there were three in 1950 and in 1955 the same number was there. Prime Minister's Secretariat—zero. Cabinet Secretariat—there were six in 1950 and ten in 1955. In the Partition Secretariat, and Election Commission the number is stationary. The Directorate of National Sample Survey, Supreme Court and Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes—there is no progress in spite of the reservation. Why? I say that only Jagjivan Ramji made some progress because he is a Harijan. This proves that the other Ministers and Ministries are callous towards the claims of Harijans. Had Jagjivan Ramji been there as Minister, this would not have been so. Who creates casteism? Who creates all these distinctions? Who makes these people feel that they are different? Sir, I am 46 years of age. From the age of 13 I have been a Congressman up to this date. These 33 years I have never felt on communal lines, nor expressed myself as a communal man. I have suppressed communalism. Therefore, you cannot blame me or label me as a communal and any that just because he is a Harijan he is talking of Harijans.

**SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR** (Uttar Pradesh): I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend. I am only seeking information. The hon. Member has been pleased to say that only in one Ministry, in Railway Administration, there has been some advancement. I only seek a little enlightenment on this point. Does he mean to say that only during the last four or five months there has been an increase in the Railways?

**SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ:** I am sorry. It is in the Posts and Telegraphs. I stand corrected. In 1955 Shri Jagjivan Ram was in Posts and Telegraphs. There he has made that progress, not in the Railways.

I am not a communal man. But when I see with my naked eyes what is being done by my Caste Hindu friends, it forces me to become communal. What have the Government of India and the State Governments done in regard to appointments? Three Brahmins and a Muslim could be appointed as Governor. Why could not a Harijan be appointed as Governor? Why three Governors from one community? Are

there not other capable men? I have written to the Prime Minister and to the President also that we have got capable men among the Harijans, better people than many of the existing Governors, who could be appointed as Governors. It is my opinion, and I say this with force and conviction. But the mental attitude that because he is a Harijan, he must be incompetent, he must be inefficient, he is good for nothing and cannot be appointed as an officer, that mental perversity, that mental attitude, which has been cultured for centuries together against the Harijans would have to be pruned out by me and friends like me, because unless that change of mind and heart comes in the people and they stop feeling as if they are obliging us, no real progress is possible. I do not want any favour to us. I do not want any favour from them, but I give a warning that if the society does not change and the Governments do not take proper care of the Harijans and Adivasis and other Backward classes, you will be driving them to a stage when they would take a hammer in their hands and would strike you on your head. Therefore, I am advising my friends, I am advising the Government of India and I am advising the State Governments and requesting our President that more care should be taken in this respect. After all, what sort of reports come to the Commissioner about the work done by the States—they are nothing but casual letters to him saying that they are doing this and are doing that. Then the States say that all the uplift work is being done by the Harijan Sewak Sangh, the Depressed Classes League and the Allahabad Harijan Ashram, Allahabad. But have these Governments taken ever any care to see what has happened to the money they have advanced? What actually were the schemes and how the money was spent? In the name of Harijans, though lakhs and crores of rupees are allotted, does that amount or even 5 per cent. of that go to the pockets of the Harijans?

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Is it not wastage?

SHRI R U AGNIBHOJ: Yes because it goes into the pockets of those who do not come from the depressed classes and who do not come from the Adivasis, but in the name of their progress, the money is swallowed. This is the position and it is a sorry position. Not only they don't give us the jobs, not only they don't give us the position and dignity and political power, not only that they don't give us diplomatic status, not only that they are not advancing us educationally and politically but whatever money is spent in the name of the Harijans and Adivasis, that also goes to our 'philanthropic' pockets

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a suggestion? For a long time I don't see any Minister and we are told that there are three Ministers in the Home Affairs Ministry I don't know how the answer will be made by the Home Minister. Nobody is listening to the speeches. I don't know where the Minister is. (Looking at Shri G. Rajagopalan) Of course, he is a very nice gentleman but he has nothing to do with the Home Ministry

SHRI R U. AGNIBHOJ: Yes, this is what I mean to say that the Home Ministry is 100 per cent. callous towards the Harijans.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, here is a demonstration of it.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: The Information Minister will carry all this information..

SHRI R U AGNIBHOJ I thank the hon Parliamentary Secretary of the Information and Broadcasting Minister for being present here because he has done something in the Broadcasting stations and the All India Radio for the Harijans.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are also grateful for small mercies.

DR W S BARLINGAY (Bombay). He will broadcast it to the Home Minister.

SHRI R. U AGNIBHOJ: Yes but he might probably exclude my name from the All India Radio.

SHRI G RAJAGOPALAN (Madras) No name is excluded

SHRI R U AGNIBHOJ: There was a great tom-tom two years ago that there would be a Central Harijan Welfare Advisory Board of India—so also for Adivasis: and two meetings were compulsory Twelve months have passed and not even a single meeting was called with any agenda. A meeting was called and the Home Minister gave us a cup of tea. Still what has happened to that meeting? This is what is being done That is the thing which pains us and that is the attitude of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Therefore, my request through you to the Home Minister to the State Ministers, to the State Governments and to the people of my country is this, that whatever I say, I say with feelings, with the best intention to strengthen my nation and improve the down-trodden communities which are depressed, suppressed and oppressed for centuries together. It is the duty of the Home Minister, especially, to look into it and to be more alert in their affairs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They don't even listen to you.

श्री पी० एन० राजगोपालः उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे कमिश्नर साहब की जो रिपोर्ट हाउस के सामने विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत है उसके बारे में मैंने यह कहना है कि वह बहुत अच्छी है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ मुझे यह कहना है कि उसमें कई ऐसी बातें हैं जिनके बारे में हमारी सहमति नहीं है। इस रिपोर्ट में स्टेट गवर्नमेण्ट के बारे में यह लिखा है कि उनको इस सम्बन्ध में जो अधिकार मिले गये थे वह उन्होंने कार्यान्वित नहीं किये,

अमल नहीं किये। इस बारे में मैं हाउस की तरफ से यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि जो अधिकार स्टेट्स को इस संबंध में दिये गये हैं, अगर उन्हें सैटल गवर्नमेंट अपने हाथ में ले ले तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के बारे में स्टेटों को जो अधिकार मिले हुए हैं उनका उन्होंने इस जाति के लोगों की भलाई के लिये उपयोग नहीं किया। इस रिपोर्ट में कई बातें हैं जिनके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ मगर समय की कमी के कारण मैं सब बातों को अपने सम्मुख नहीं रख सकूँगा।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, now there is not even quorum in the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): The hon. Member knows that there is a convention that during lunch interval we don't insist on a quorum.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : यह रिपोर्ट जो हमारे सामने पेश की गई है उसमें हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और दलित जातियों की जो सविस और उन्नति के बारे में पूरी तरह से बतलाया गया है। उससे हमें मालूम पड़ता है कि इन १० वर्षों में अमेरिका के राज्य में इन जातियों की जितनी उन्नति हुई उतनी १०० वर्ष में अंग्रेजों के राज्य में नहीं हुई थी। जब से हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हुआ तब से हमारी जाति के लोगों ने काफी प्रगति की। गुलामी के जमाने में हमारे लोगों पर कई तरह के जुल्म हुआ करते थे। जिस तरह से हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई लड़ाई झगड़ा करते थे उसी तरह से दूसरे लोग हमारी जाति के लोगों के साथ व्यवहार करते थे। अब वह जमाना चला गया है, अब दूसरा जमाना आ गया है। हमारा एक स्वतन्त्र देश है, यहां पर मारपीट से काम नहीं चल सकता है, यहां पर तो प्रेम से ही दलित समाज की उन्नति हो सकती है। यह ध्येय हमारी सरकार का है और उसी के आधार पर वह दलित समाज का उद्धार करने में लगी हुई है।

शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का प्रश्न हमारे देश का सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न है क्योंकि जब तक हम हरिजनों का हिन्दू समाज में ठीक तरह से सम्मिलित नहीं कर सकेंगे तब तक गांधी जी का स्वप्न सफल नहीं होगा। बात यह है कि गवर्नमेंट अपनी तरफ से सब कुछ कर रही है। कायदे जारी हो गये हैं, हरिजनों को सविसेज में और शिक्षण क्षेत्र में ज्यादा सहूलियतें मिल रही हैं। परन्तु उनकी आर्थिक और सामाजिक परिस्थिति वैसी की वैसी ही है जैसी पहले थी। अमेरिका में जो निग्रो जाति है, उसका प्रश्न मुझे इस समय याद आ जाता है। जब मैं अमेरिका गया था तो मैं ने निग्रो नेताओं से मुलाकात की तो मुझे मालूम हुआ कि निग्रो लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत सुधर गई है। निग्रो और व्हाइट लोग अब एक ही लेवल पर आ गये हैं। अमेरिका इतना एडवान्स देश होते हुए भी अब भी वहां पर निग्रो जाति के लोगों पर सामाजिक अन्याय होता ही रहता है। निग्रो जाति के जो लोग अमेरिका में हैं उनके मकान और बस्तियों में कोई विशेष अन्तर नहीं आया है और न बहुत ज्यादा सुधार हुआ है। हमारे देश में और अमेरिका में यह अन्तर है कि हमारे देश को आजाद हुए केवल १० ही वर्ष हुए हैं लेकिन अमेरिका में निग्रो जाति की भलाई के लिये वर्षों से काम हो रहा है फिर भी उनकी कठिनाइयां दूर नहीं हो सकी हैं।

हमारे देश में १० वर्ष की अवधि में दलित वर्ग के लिये काफी काम हुआ है और बहुत सा काम होना बाकी है। इसके लिये मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि अस्पृश्यों के लिये जो रिजर्वेशन है उसका पूरा पूरा उपयोग किया जाये। गवर्नमेंट का यह कर्तव्य है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा हरिजनों को गवर्नमेंट सविस में नियुक्त किया जाय और उसके बाद उनको जिम्मेदारी देने के लिये ट्रेनिंग दिया जाये। हरिजनों को ट्रेनिंग देने के लिये गवर्नमेंट को कालिज शुरू करने चाहियें। हरिजनों को

[श्री श्री० एन० राजभोज]

खेती के औजार मिलने चाहिये, उनकी सोसाइटी बनाई जानी चाहिये ताकि वे अपना कार्य खुद कर सकें। इन सब चीजों के लिये हम किसी तरह का झगडा करना नहीं चाहते हैं, हम प्रेम से इन चीजों को हासिल करना चाहते हैं। महात्मा गांधी जी ने हमको यही रास्ता बतलाया है कि सब काम शान्ति और प्रेम से करने चाहिये और यही तत्वज्ञान है। यही तत्वज्ञान हमारे हरिजनो और दलित वर्ग के उत्थान और उन्नति के लिये अमूल्य में लाया जाना चाहिये। कम से कम हमारे हिन्दू समाज में अछूतपन की जो बीमारी है उसे समाप्त होना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारे देश में जो दूसरे लोग हैं वे हमारी जाति के लोगों को अपने मजहब में बदलना चाहते हैं। अभी हमारे सामने और एक नया प्रश्न खड़ा हुआ है। वह है बुद्ध धर्म का। हमारे बहुत से हरिजन भाई बौद्ध-धर्मी हो रहे हैं। अगर आध्यात्मिक कारण से वे ऐसा कर रहे हैं तो हम उन्हें बधाई देते हैं। बौद्ध धर्म एक ऐसा धर्म है जो कि ऊँचे सिद्धान्त पर खड़ा हुआ है। बौद्ध धर्म और हिन्दू धर्म में थोड़ा बहुत फर्क हो सकता है लेकिन सामाजिक और धार्मिक दृष्टि से वे एक समान हैं। मुझे अजीब सा लगता है कि हमारे नव बौद्ध-धर्मी जब इस धर्म को स्वीकार कर रहे हैं तब उन सिद्धान्तों का पालन क्यों नहीं करते हैं। आप बौद्ध हो गये हैं परन्तु आपका खयाल वही रहा है जो पहले था। अगर इसी भावना ने उन्हें बौद्ध होने को प्रेरित किया है तो उनको इस धर्म में जाने से नुकसान ही हुआ है। बौद्ध धर्म जैसा ऊँचा और उदार धर्म आप स्वीकार कर रहे हैं तब छुपी रीति से कुछ करना, अपने मन में कुछ आशये रखना, लोगों के सामने कुछ मांगे पेश करना, यह तो बौद्ध धर्म के साथ द्रोह करना होगा।

आज हाउस के सामने मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ, हमारे सामने या हमारे लिये कोई

ऐसा सवाल नहीं होना चाहिये जिससे कि हिन्दू धर्म में फूट पड़े। हम तो यह चाहते हैं कि जो दबी हुई जाति है, गिरी हुई जाति है, उसका उद्धार हो, वह उन्नति करे। छुआ-छूत का मामला हिन्दू धर्म के लिये एक कलंक है और इसका हमें प्रायश्चित्त करना चाहिये।

2 PM

और यह प्रायश्चित्त करते वक्त यदि कोई गलती हो जाये, कोई ऐसी वैसी बात हो जाये तो कुछ ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि चूँकि इन्होंने मारा है इसलिये इनको फाँसी के ऊपर लटका देंगे या इनको खत्म कर देंगे। हमें शान्ति से काम करना है। हमारा देश अभी आजाद हुआ है और हम अपने देश में अस्थिरता को नहीं रहने देना चाहते हैं। तो हमारी प्रार्थना यह है कि विधान में जो १० वर्ष रखा है वह खत्म होने वाला है, दो तीन वर्ष में हम लोगों को जो सहूलियत मिली हुई है वह खत्म होने वाली है, तो उसको कम से कम २० वर्ष किया जाये। हमारे हरिजनों के लिये, आदिवासियों के लिये हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो १० वर्ष तक के लिये रिजर्वेशन रखा गया है, उसमें जो कुछ सहूलियतें मिली हैं, उनको १० वर्ष से ज्यादा बढ़ाने के लिये हमारी प्रार्थना है।

कहा गया कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बोर्ड रखे हैं लेकिन बोर्ड की मीटिंग नहीं हुई। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंत जी ने हम लोगों को बुलाया और हम लोगो को समझाया और उसके बाद एक्शन आ गया। अब उसके बाद नया बोर्ड बन रहा है ऐसा मैंने सुना है। तो चूँकि मीटिंग नहीं हुई इसलिये लोगों को रज हुआ। लेकिन हम लोगों की मीटिंग हुई और बातचीत हुई और उसके लिये हम लोग होम मिनिस्ट्री के पास प्रपोजिक्स भेज रहे हैं।

दूसरे यह कहा गया कि मिनिस्ट्री में कुछ काम नहीं होता है। यह तो हम जानते नहीं लेकिन जैसा कि कुंजरू साहब न बताया कि जितने जार से काम होना चाहिये उतने जोर से नहीं होता है और चोंक मिनिस्टर्स और

होम मिनिस्टर्स को इकट्ठा करके हरिजनो और आदिवासियों के लिये जो जोर से आवाज उठानी चाहिये वह नहीं उठाई जाती है। बहुत धीरे धीरे काम चलता है। इसके अलावा स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स में और दूसरी जगहों में जात-पात का सामला बहुत रहता है क्योंकि हमारे यहां जाति प्रथा बहुत ज्यादा है। लेकिन हमें उनका भी हृदय परिवर्तन करना है और शान्ति से करना है। आप भी महात्मा गांधी के फानोवर हैं और मैं भी उनका फानोवर हूँ और मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हमें बहुतों का हृदय परिवर्तन और मत-परिवर्तन करना है, होम मिनिस्ट्री का करना है, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स का करना है और दुनिया भर का करना है। इसलिये मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि अब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ। चुका है और अब हम सब लोगों को देश में अलग अलग नहीं रहना चाहिये, हमारी अलग बस्ती नहीं होनी चाहिये, हमारे अलग स्कूल नहीं होने चाहिये। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे स्कूल सब जातियों के स्कूल बनें, हमारे बोर्ड सब जातियों के बोर्ड बनें। देश में जो भी कार्य-वाही हो रही है उसमें हम लोग अलग होना नहीं चाहते हैं, हम हरिजनों के लिये अलग बस्ती नहीं चाहते हैं।

होम मिनिस्ट्री से हमारी यह भी प्रार्थना है कि हमारे भाई जो काम करने वाले हैं, जो नान-आफिशियल एजेंसीज हैं, उनको वह इनकरेज नहीं करनी है। उनमें कोई दोष हो सकता है लेकिन उन सबको इनकरेज कर के हमें ठीक तरह से काम कराना चाहिये। जैसा कि विनोबा भावे कहते हैं कि भू-दान होना चाहिये तो हम चाहते हैं कि समाज के लिये जीवन दान देने के लिये भी हमें तैयार होना चाहिये। सर्वेंट्स आफ इंडिया सोसाइटी की तरह से हम लोगों को अपनी संसाधितियाँ बना करके समाज का उद्धार करना चाहिये और इस तरह से हमारे समाज का उद्धार होना चाहिये।

थोड़े दिन हुए हम लोगों ने एक सेमिनार बुलाया था। उसने कई प्रकार के सर्जेंसंस होम मिनिस्ट्री को दिये हैं। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जो सर्जेंसंस दिये गये हैं उनको अमल में लाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

चूँकि टाइम बहुत कम है इसलिए हमारी जो बातें हैं वह मैं यहां पढ़ कर बनाना चाहता हूँ।

"While writing confidential reports of officers, it is understood that it is required to be mentioned whether according to his work, he is 'good', 'very good' or 'outstanding'."

हमारे जिन लोगों को नौकरी में रखते हैं उनके लिये आप जा कड़ीशस लगाते हैं वह मेरे रूपाल से बहुत कड़ी है :

"Promotions are given according to merit. Only 'outstanding' people will, therefore, be promoted. In the case of Scheduled Castes, 'good' and 'very good' officers may also be promoted even if they are slightly junior."

हमारे होम मिनिस्टर दातार माह्वर यहां बैठे हुए हैं, उन से मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि हम लोगों को जो यह तकलीफ है उसको दूर करने के लिये वे कष्ट करें। हमारे में से जो कुछ थोड़े से लायक लोग हैं उनके ऊपर ऐसे स्ट्रिक्ट रूल्स नहीं लगाने चाहिये जिस से कि हमारे वे लोग आगे नहीं बढ़ सकें।

दूसरी बात यह है :

"There are orders that Scheduled Caste people should not be retrenched unless they have their full quota of services in a particular office. Instances have come to notice where Scheduled Caste people were given notice at the time of retrenchment, but these notices were withdrawn only when the above orders were brought to the notice of the Ministries concerned."

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

इस बात को इस हाउस में कई सदस्यों ने, कई सभासदों ने कहा है और मैं भी इस की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। फूड मिनिस्ट्री और एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में भी ऐसी बात आई थी कि वहाँ भी उन के लिये अभी कुछ ठीक तरह से नहीं हुआ है।

(Time bell rings)

पाँच मिनट और दे दीजिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Just two minutes more.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : इसी तरह से सी० पी० डबल्यू० डी० में, दूसरे और जो डिपार्टमेंट्स हैं उनमें और रेलवे में हम लोगों का नौकरी के लिये जो कोटा है वह अभी तक पूरा नहीं हुआ है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जो एडवाइजरी बोर्ड बना है उसके लिये—जो कि हमारे गृह मंत्री पंडित गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत ने बनाया है—यह कहना है :

"In his speech in Lok Sabha on the 20th instant, the Home Minister said that he would appoint a sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board of Harijans to go round in the country and see how the welfare schemes were working. We welcome the suggestion and hope that it will accelerate the work of welfare in the backward classes.

दूसरी बात मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट को यह सोचना चाहिये कि हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये, हरिजनों की नौकरी के लिये, उनको जमीनें देने के लिये जो काम होना है वह ठीक तरह से हो रहा है या नहीं और उनके लिये जो कमेटियाँ बनाते हैं वे ठीक तरह से काम करती हैं या नहीं। इसके ऊपर हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब को ध्यान देना चाहिये और होम मिनिस्ट्री की

तरफ से यह देखा जाना चाहिये कि वे क्या कर रही हैं। यह काम ठीक तरह से होना चाहिये।

कई लोग बोलते हैं कि आदिवासियों में, हरिजनों में जात-पात है। तो यह जो हरिजनों में जात-पात की बीमारी है—जो कि अब तक बनी हुई है—उसको हम खत्म करना चाहते हैं। हम भी चाहते हैं कि जात-पात खत्म करना चाहिये और यह जात-पात सारे देश में खत्म होना चाहिये और देश को आगे बढ़ना चाहिये। मेरा कहना है कि ऐसा होना ठीक नहीं है कि चूँकि यह धर्म हमारे लिये ठीक नहीं है इसलिये दूसरे धर्म में, बौद्ध धर्म में, चले गये क्योंकि उसमें जात-पात नहीं है इसलिये उसमें चले गये। लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि तब भी इन लोगों को कंसेशन मिलना चाहिये, सहायित मिलनी चाहिये। इसलिये मेरी इस हाउस से प्रार्थना है कि हम लोगों के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी एक सेपरेट डिपार्टमेंट, सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट होना चाहिये।

(Time bell rings)

दो मिनट और दे दीजिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have taken fifteen minutes.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : मैंने तो २० मिनट मांगा था। मैं दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूँगा।

तो हमारी होम मिनिस्टर से और प्राइम मिनिस्टर से यह प्रार्थना है कि कम से कम यह जो हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का सवाल है उसके लिये एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट बनाइयेगा सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड से ठीक काम नहीं होता है। सोशल वेलफेयर बोर्ड को ही होम मिनिस्ट्री के अन्दर करना चाहिये और इसका एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट खोल कर के हम लोगों की उन्नति करनी चाहिये। एक सोशल वेल्फेयर मिनिस्ट्री बनाइये ताकि जो विकास योजनाएँ बन रही हैं उनसे हमारा भना हो सके।



मैं हाउस से यह अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बीमारी है इसको जल्दी से जल्दी नष्ट करने के लिये सब प्रकार की सहायता चाहिये। हमको बहुत तकलीफ है। हम लोग दलबन्दी करते हैं और कहते हैं कि जो कुछ कांग्रेस में हो रहा है उसको हम सपोर्ट करते हैं। अगर हम किन्हीं बातों में सपोर्ट करते हैं तो जहाँ गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी में जो दोष है उसके वास्ते भा उभरे विरोध में बोलते हैं। लेकिन इसके माने यह नहीं है हम हर बात को धमकी से रखें। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि देश में सीधे से, प्रेम से और शान्ति काम हो।

बस मैं इतना ही बोल करके अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ कि जो कुछ तकलीफ हाउस के सामने मैंने बताई है उनको दूर किया जाय और मेरे सजेशन को अमल में लाने की आवश्यकता है।

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, after reading this report, I feel convinced that we have, in our present Commissioner, a very able man, a man with very wide sympathies and one who really understands the problem that he is tackling. I am glad to see that in the whole report he has given us a lot of information and he has actually criticised what goes on in the various State Governments today. This shows a very independent and broad outlook on his part. After reading this report, I am convinced that we have after all not been very fair to our Backward Classes, I mean those of us who are Hindus. I am sorry for it but I am not really surprised that some of them have really taken to Buddhism which is in itself a very good thing because Buddhism is really a rationalistic religion and if they did take to Buddhism seriously they would become more rationalistic in their outlook; but personally speaking, as a Hindu, I am really extremely sorry that they should have thought it necessary to change their religion.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARNAND (Madhya Pradesh): Is it Buddhism or opportunism that they have taken to?

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Well, it all depends on how you take it. Personally, speaking, as a Hindu, I would not call it opportunism but would call it a symptom of oppression that the Hindus have perpetrated against the Backward Classes in our country.

There was one aspect of the problem which I particularly wanted to touch and that is stated at page 214 of the report. You will find on page 214, a resolution passed by one of the conferences which was held here for the eradication of untouchability. It reads as follows:

"As the practice of the occupation of scavenging permanently condemns a section of our population to be untouchables, if not unapproachables, scavenger-free lavatories should be built wherever new housing estates are undertaken. Vigorous steps should also be taken to see that existing houses which have traditional lavatories become scavenger-free as soon as possible. Steps taken by the Government of Bombay, Bihar and Saurashtra to fight untouchability are recommended here. Prizes for villages which have fought Untouchability with success, and the organisation of Pada Yatras to throw open temples, wells and tea-shops to Harijans, should be initiated in every part of the country."

To my mind, Sir, in this resolution we have the quintessence of what really ought to be done in respect of our Scheduled Castes. Sir, one of the most maltreated of our castes is the caste of *bhangi*. There is no doubt whatsoever about it. Although, as I said, I have got very great respect for the present Commissioner. I would draw his attention, in view of the resolution which I have just quoted on page 214 of the report, to page 5 of the report where-

[Dr. W. S. Barlingay.]  
in, so far as the additional staff for the regional offices is concerned, you will find that chowkidars-cum-sweepers have been asked for. This is for the regional offices. Now, it does seem extraordinary to me that while you find in this report on page 214 a recommendation that you ought not to have sweepers as far as possible, nonetheless, in the report itself, you find a demand for sweepers. It does seem to me that it is much better not to talk about these things but to do things. That is exactly where Gandhiji differed from all of us. I would request the Commissioner not to have any scavenger or sweeper for his office and he should show more by action rather than by words that he is really very serious about this whole matter, about the eradication of the bhangi class from our country.

There is another point to which I would like to refer in this connection. As long ago as the days of Aristotle—I would refer to his great book, "Politics"—it was pointed out by him that you cannot have a State without slaves. Why was it so? He, for the first time, laid his finger on this fact that in a State, you have to perform certain functions. Some functions are regarded as low and some functions are regarded as high. Now, those people who have got to perform the low functions are regarded as slaves and they were so regarded in those Greek States at the time of Aristotle. Now, Sir, if the same thing continues in our present society also, you will never be able to eradicate slavery in the form of sweeping or in the shape of bhangies as a caste. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us to take appropriate action and the resolution which I quoted earlier is really very material for this purpose. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that this social rot that is going on, that is to say, this social process which everyday creates an untouchable class of bhangies, should be stopped. In one of the sanitary annexes here, I found people spitting on the floor. It is most extraordinary. I am sorry that even—I

may say with all respect and without meaning any offence—some Members of Parliament do these things. I do not intend to condemn them at present but what I want to point out is that people, especially M.Ps., ought to be able to see that if they go on spitting on the floor like this, then, corresponding to their spitting, they are going to create another class in our country which will be called the class of sweepers. If you do not want to have a class of sweepers, then spitting ought to stop. This scavenging ought to stop. There ought to be either self-scavenging or there ought to be some device whereby you will not be required to have a class of scavengers or sweepers. That sort of social rot ought to stop. Now that was one point which I wanted to touch.

The next point which I wanted to touch was ....

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Two minutes more. Mr. Barlingay.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: All right, Sir. I am sorry I shall not be able to do justice to this report because I have got very little time. But I wanted to say several things. Now, if you will kindly refer, Sir, to page 3 of this report there you will find a very interesting fact. With regard to the existing staff at headquarters you will find that the total number of posts is 59. Out of this 18 are filled from Scheduled Castes and 5 from Scheduled Tribes. Some of the posts are not filled at all, and if you further analyse the thing you will find that not one responsible post has gone to either a Harijan or to a member of the Scheduled Tribes. It is a most extraordinary reading; and I think that this is the index of what is being done both in the various departments of the Government of India and in the departments of the various States. Actually, if you read the conclusions very carefully the Commissioner himself has stated that he has not yet

received information with regard to what is going on with regard to Harijan welfare in a proper proforma. This is what the Commissioner himself has stated and it is extraordinary that this should go on even after the lapse of the First Five Year Plan period.

Sir, I am sorry I have not got any further time to deal with this whole affair. I wanted to make several suggestions but since there is no time I would merely state that one of the remedies which we ought to have recourse to for the eradication of untouchability is intercaste marriages. That is one. Then the second thing is that under no circumstances shall we permit segregation. In Nagpur I find, Sir, that so far as the sweepers are concerned, they are segregated from the rest of the community. You have got a special colony, the *Bhangi Colony* there and here also we have got another *Bhangi Colony*. (*Time bell rings.*) Now one of the things which ought never to be done is the segregation. For want of time I close my remarks at this stage and I submit again that interests marriages and abolition of segregation are the two fundamental remedies which ought to be had recourse to in this country.

पंडित अल्लू राय शास्त्री : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय ! इस रिपोर्ट पर विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर मुझे मिला है तो मेरे सामने इस समस्या का एक बड़ा पुराना इतिहास खड़ा हो जाता है। किस तरह से अछूतपन की समस्या हमारे जातीय जीवन को बरबाद कर रही थी, जब यह विचार करता हूँ तब छोटा नागपुर के इलाके में "प्रेस्टर गोसनर" जो एक जर्मन ईसाई मिशनरी थे—उन्होंने ईसाई धर्म प्रवर्तन का काम शुरू किया था—उनका काम भी एक रिपोर्ट के रूप में हमारे सामने आता है जो "छोटा नागपुर में ईसाइयों का ५० वर्ष का काम" के रूप में छपी हुई रिपोर्ट है। आर्य समाज के प्रवर्तक ऋषि दयानन्द का ध्यान इस अछूत जाति की समस्या की ओर सबसे पहले इस दृष्टि से गया था कि उससे हिन्दू समाज का ही एक

महत्वपूर्ण अंग कटता जाता था। दूसरे धर्म वाले इस जाति के लोगों के बच्चों को अपने धर्म में मिला लिया करते थे। १९२४ से इस समस्या के साथ मेरा भी व्यक्तिगत सम्बन्ध रहा है। मेरठ में लाला लाजपतराय द्वारा संस्थापित आल इंडिया अछूतोंद्वारा कमेटी के काम की जिम्मेदारी मेरे सुपुर्द थी और मैंने वहाँ पर रह कर 'जई', जो एक गांव है, उसमें ईसाइयों द्वारा हरिजनों के लिये जो काम होता था, अछूतों के लिये जो काम होता था, उस को देखा था। अब यह समस्या इस रूप में हमारे देश के सामने आई। कोकोनाडा कांग्रेस में मुहम्मद अली साहब, जो उस समय कांग्रेस के प्रेजिडेंट थे, उन्होंने कहा था कि अछूतों को आधे मुसलमानों में और आधे हिन्दुओं में बांट दिया जाय। उस समय इस जाति की एक अजीब शक्ल थी। इनमें बड़ी बेकारी फैली हुई थी और कुछ ईसाई उन्हें अपने धर्म में मिलाने की चेष्टा कर रहे थे। कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष मौलाना मुहम्मद अली ने उस समय इस बात का जिक्र किया। यह समय हिन्दू मुस्लिम तनाव का चल रहा था और बड़ा झगड़ा-फिसाद चल रहा था। महात्मा गांधी ने आर्य समाज को एक बड़ी कट्टर संस्था बतलाया था और उसके प्रवर्तक स्वामी दयानन्द की पुस्तक 'सत्यार्थ प्रकाश' को एक निराशाजनक पुस्तक कहा था। उस तनाव के जमाने में जब कोकोनाडा कांग्रेस में यह मांग आई तब स्वर्गीय लाला लाजपतराय ने तथा स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी ने इस समस्या की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया और इन जातियों के उद्धार, उत्थान और सेवा के लिए काम करने का एक मार्ग दिखलाया। अछूतोंद्वारा और दलितोंद्वारा कमेटी को बिरला जी के दान द्वारा बड़ी रकम मिलती थी और इस प्रकार उसके लिये काम होना शुरू हुआ। तब से यह चीज हमारे सामने आई और इस प्रश्न ने एक महत्व का रूप अख्तियार कर लिया। कम्युनल अवार्ड का प्रश्न सामने आया। राजनीतिज्ञ डा० अम्बेडकर अपनी जमात को

[पं० अलगू राय शास्त्री]

लेकर एक बगावत करने को आमदा हुए । कभी इन जातियों को बौद्ध होने की प्रेरणा देते, कभी कुछ । उनमें एक जलती हुई आग थी कि इन जातियों का आम्मान होता है और ऊपर की जात कहलाने वाले ब्राह्मण और क्षत्री इनको पददलित मानते हैं ।

महात्मा गांधी का ध्यान इस समस्या की ओर उग्र रूप में सन् १९३४ में गया जब कि कम्युनल अवार्ड विषय के रूप में हमारे सामने आ खड़ा हुआ । अब महात्मा गांधी जी ने इस समस्या को अपना लिया तो इसका एक बड़ा रूप हो गया । यह बात १९३४ की है । परन्तु उससे १० वर्ष पूर्व १९२४ में मेरठ में लाला लाजपतराय जी द्वारा प्रेरणा पा कर उनके हाथों स्थापित हमने एक कुमाराश्रम बनाया जो आज तक चल रहा है और सैकड़ों विद्यार्थी, हरिजन विद्यार्थी इस आश्रम से निकले । उनमें कोई डिप्टी कलेक्टर, कोई डिप्टी एस० पी० और कई बड़े बड़े सरकारी औहदों में गये हुए हैं । सन् १९२४ से वह आज तक काम कर रहा है । मैं आपके सामने एक इतिहास रख रहा हूँ क्योंकि उस समय यह समस्या एक बड़ी समस्या थी । सन् १९१६ में डोमो को बनारस में ईसाई बनाया जा रहा था । पं० मदन मोहन मालवीय जी ने डोमो की शुद्धि का एक बड़ा भारी काम शुरू किया । जितना ही पादरी लोग इन अछूतों को ईसाई बनाने की चेष्टा करते थे, उतना ही हिन्दू नेतागण जाग्रत होते जाते थे कि ये लोग ईसाई न बनने पावें, किसी तरह से हिन्दू बने रहें । इस तरह अछूतों के विकास और उद्धार की समस्या हमारे सामने आई ।

गांधी जी ने अछूतपन को एक सामाजिक अभिशाप मान कर इन जातियों की सेवा का व्रत लिया और अछूत जातियों के लोगों को 'हरिजन' का नाम दिया । 'हरिजन' नाम से बहुत से अछूत जाति के नेता घबराते हैं । इसके बाद इस को 'शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स

और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स' का नाम दे कर नया नामकरण किया गया और इन जातियों में काम करने वाली नई प्रेरणाये प्राप्त हुई । मैं उस युग की बात कर रहा हूँ जब गांधी जी ने अछूतोंद्वारा आन्दोलन को अपने हाथ में ले रखा था । माननीय सदस्य पं० हृदय नाथ कुजूरू को मैं पहले से जानता हूँ, उत्तर प्रदेश के हरिजन सेवक संघ के शाखा के वे सर्वेसर्वा थे । श्रद्धेय पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन, हमारे वयोवृद्ध नेता हैं जो आल इंडिया अछूतोंद्वारा कमेटी, जो आज भी है, उसके अध्यक्ष हैं, और मैं उसका मंत्री हूँ । लोक सेवक मंडल और हरिजन सेवक मण्डल जैसी संस्थाएँ कई वर्ष पहले से इन जातियों में काम कर रही हैं । अब सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ गया है और मविधान द्वारा हमने अछूतपन को मिटाया है । आज किसी को भी अछूत मानना दंडनीय है । जो ऐसा करता है वह अपराधी है । समाज में वह अपराधी की हैसियत रखता है । जैसे चोरी करना अपराध है, वैसे ही किसी को अछूत मानना, किसी को जन्म के कारण अछूत समझना, अन्तर्चेबुल मानना भी अपराध है । एक तरफ यह बात अवश्य है लेकिन समाज की जो अवस्था है, उसमें जो अछूत कहे जाने वाले लोग हैं, उनके ही वर्गों को यदि देखा जाय, तो उनमें कट्टर अछूतपन भरा है, वह देखते ही बनता है । अगर आप एक कंजर के साथ एक भंगी को खाने के लिये कहें तो वह उसके साथ खाना नहीं खायेगा । एक चमार को एक भंगी के साथ खाने के लिये कहें, बैठने के लिये कहें, शादी विवाह के लिये कहें तो वह भी उतना ही दूर भागता है । छूतपन हिन्दू समाज में नख से शिख तक फैला हुआ है । पहले मैं यह समझता था कि यह छूतपन हिन्दू समाज में ही फैला हुआ है परन्तु मैंने जब अफ्रीका के गौरांग महाप्रभुओं की कहानी सुनी, दूसरे देशों की सम्य जातियों को देखा—जहाँ कि बाल बनाने के लिये भी छूतपन है जैसा कि इटली में लाला लाजपतराय जैसे महापुरुष के साथ हुआ—तो मैंने पाया कि कलर का, रंग का

और अपनी जाति के अभिमान का पाप विश्व भर में व्याप्त है। इस तरह, इस समस्या को जटिलता भी है और इस समस्या का एक महत्व भी है। हमने जो एक विभाग खाल कर बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये, पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के लिये, अछूत जातियों के लिये, ट्राइब्स के लिये और विमुक्त जातियों के लिये सेवा का मार्ग निकाला है—गृह मंत्री का यह विभाग इस काम में लगा हुआ है—उसका जब हम देखते हैं तो हम माधुवाद दिये बिना नहीं रह सकते कि हमारी स्वतन्त्र सरकार ने, हमारे देश की आज्ञाद सरकार ने जो एक बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण समस्या थी, हमारे समाज की जो एक बड़ी भारी दुर्बलता थी, जो उसका सबसे दुर्बल अंग था उसको सबल बनाने के लिये, उसको समुन्नत करने के लिये, उसके विकास के लिये सब प्रकार के उचित और जो सामयिक मार्ग हो सकते हैं वे ढूँढ़ निकाले हैं और उनमें से प्रत्येक दिशा में वह एक प्रगतिशील कदम उठा रही है। क्या शिक्षा का क्षेत्र हो, क्या सरकारी नौकरियों का क्षेत्र हो, क्या जीवन में और विकसित होने के लिये द्वार हों वे सब खुल गये हैं। जहाँ आज से २०-२५ वर्ष पहले डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड के दफ्तरों में एक चमार को पंखा कुली के रूप में भी नहीं रखा जाता था वहाँ आज डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्डों में आबादी के हिसाब से उनको सदस्यता में प्रतिनिधित्व मिला हुआ है। मैं जानता हूँ कि आजमगढ़ डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड के २५ फी सदी मैम्बर हरिजन और अछूत वर्ग के हैं। आज मैं मंत्री मंडलों में—चाहे वे प्रदेशीय मंत्रिमंडल हों या केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल हों—उनको देखता हूँ। आज मैं देखता हूँ कि पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग अथवा अछूत जाति कहलाने वाले वर्ग के लोग उच्च स्थानों पर बैठे हुए हैं, सम्मानित पदों पर बैठे हुए हैं और जब वे दौरे पर जाते हैं तो डिप्टी, एस० पी०—चाहे वे ब्राह्मण हों या ठाकुर हों—उनको उसी प्रकार सैल्यूट देते हैं जैसे कि ब्राह्मणों और ठाकुरों को देते हैं। जब हम इस चीज को देखते हैं तो जो प्रगति इस बीच में हुई है उस प्रगति पर हर्ष होता है और संतोष होता

है। हम देखते हैं कि आशा की किरण फटी है, देश में स्वाधीनता आई है। स्वाधीनता को हम इससे नापते हैं कि सबसे निचले वर्ग का आदमी ऊपर खड़ा हो। इसको नापते समय हम गांधी जी के इन शब्दों को याद करते हैं कि जब कभी आप सोचिये कि आपका कोई काम अच्छा है या बुरा तो उसको इस पैमाने पर नापिये कि सबसे पिछड़े वर्ग का आदमी, सबसे दीन-हीन कंगाल और सबसे पीछे का आदमी उसको किस निगाह से देखता है और उसको आपके उम मेंजर में, आपके उस कदम के उठाने में, आपकी उस कार्यवाही से कितनी राहत मिलती है। तो जब हम इस पैमाने से, इस समस्या के हल किये जाने की दृष्टि से, इस समस्या को देखते हैं तो मुझे इस बात का विश्वास होता है कि हमारी स्वतंत्र सरकार, हमारा स्वतंत्र देश अब अपनी स्वतंत्रता का भरपूर लाभ उन जातियों को पहुंचाने के लिये सन्नद्ध है, तत्पर है और सावधानी से अग्रसर है जो जातियाँ कि बिल्कुल पिछड़ी हुई थीं, जिनका कोई पुराना हाल नहीं था और जिनके सम्हाले बिना यह देश सम्भल नहीं सकता था। अमेरिकन मिशन में काम करने वाले लाट-पादरियों के सामने अमेरिका में यह प्रश्न उठाया गया था कि ये लोग तौ छोटी जाति के लोगों को ही ईसाई बनाते हैं, नीची जाति के लोगों को ही ईसाई बनाते हैं लेकिन ब्राह्मणों को, क्षत्रियों को और ऊंची जाति के सत्ताधारी लोगों को ईसाई नहीं बनाते और इस माने में अमेरिकन मिशन का सारा काम हिन्दुस्तान में बिल्कुल विफल है, फेल्योर है। उसके उत्तर में अमेरिकन लाट-पादरी,—सम्भवतः मद्रास के लाट-पादरी ने जहाँ तक मुझे याद है—यह जवाब दिया था।

(Time bell rings.)

मुझे दो मिनट और दे दीजिये। मैं दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा।

तो उन्होंने यह उत्तर दिया कि हिन्दू समाज एक बड़ी इमारत की तरह है जिसकी

[पं० अलगू राय शास्त्री]

बुनियाद में ये छोटी छोटी जातियां हैं और इसी तरीके में मंजिल व मंजिल यह इमारत खड़ी है।

“ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत् बाहू राजन्यं कृत।  
ऊरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्याम् शूद्रोऽजायत।”

विष्णु के पैर की ही पूजा होती है उनके नख की ही पूजा होती है। उसने बताया कि अगर कोई किसी इमारत को गिराना चाहता हो तो उसके गिराने का सीधा और सही तरीका यही है कि उसकी बुनियाद को खोद दें ऊपर की छतें बेवकूफ आदमी गिराते हैं। अगर एक दरख्त को गिराना है तो उसके पत्तों और शाखों को बेवकूफ आदमी काटते हैं, सही तरीका यह है कि उसकी जड़ के ऊपर कुठाराघात करें। तो ये जातियां इस समाज की बुनियाद के पत्थर हैं। अगर ये खिसक जाते हैं तो फिर यह इमारत अपने आप घरा-शायी होती है। अगर त्रिश्चयनिटी को हिन्दुस्तान में जीवित रखना है तो इन जातियों में ही प्रवेश करना चाहिये, इस दृष्टि से जो काम करते थे वे सब मायूस हैं कि अब यहां की सरकार यहां के लोग अपने इस अंग की पूजा करने में, इसकी रक्षा करने में लगे हुए हैं। तो जो काम इस दिशा में सरकार की ओर से हो रहा है उसके लिये मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूं। मगर एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो पृष्ठभूमि इस काम की मैंने दी है उसको दृष्टि में रख कर सरकार को इस बात का एक सर्वे (पर्यवेक्षण) कराना चाहिये कि सन् १९२४ से और इससे भी पहले से कौन कौन सी नानआफिशियल एजेंसीज इन जातियों में काम करती आई है, उनकी सेवाओं का उपयोग करना चाहिये और इस समस्या का सही हल निकालना चाहिये कि किस तरह से आर्थिक उन्नति हो, शिक्षा सम्बन्धी उन्नति हो, स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी उन्नति हो और यह जाति विकसित हो।  
बन्यवाद।

SHRI R. P. TAMTA (Uttar Pradesh):  
Sir, we have before us the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in two volumes. This is a very big and huge report covering about 400 pages. This report is said to be a report under article 338 of the Constitution. Article 338 of the Constitution says:

“It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct....”

So, I looked into the pages of this voluminous report to find out exactly the answer to this question as to how these safeguards have worked, but I am sorry to say that after reading the pages of the report, there was created a confusion in my mind and I was not able to find out a definite and clear answer to this question. The relevant articles which deal with safeguards to the Scheduled Castes are articles 330, 331, 332, 335, 14, 15, 16, 17, 29 (2) and 46. I think it would have been better, had the report told us exactly how these safeguards which are embodied in the Constitution were being worked out and implemented and how far they had been successfully implemented by the States and the Central Government separately. Sir, about 65 pages of the report of the Commissioner deals with his tours in different parts of the country. It is true that the tour report given by him is graphic. It tells us about the topography of the places; it tells us of the area of the places; it tells us about the nature of the soil of the places; it tells us about so many things which to my mind are not very relevant to the report. For example, I would say that on page 7 of the report, we are told that the soil of the District of Dangs is not retentive and the water percolates or flows down and is not stored up even in the catchment areas. Again on page 8 we are told that the doctor at Roopa has been

working conscientiously. At another place we are told that an engineer lost his life while doing the aligning work on the road. On page 9 we are told that the Political Officer of Kameng was walking on foot continuously for five months. In Rajasthan we are told of the history of the Gadi Lohars right up from the time of Rana Pratap. On page 14 he talks of his visit to a girls' school and he tells us that the lady superintendent of the hostel is able and qualified, that she belongs to Uttar Pradesh and that she was thinking of resigning the job, as she wanted to join her husband who was working at Gorakhpur. These, I submit, are all matters quite irrelevant for the purposes of the provisions of the Constitution and they should not have found a place in this report. Had the report dealt clearly with the specific issues, then I think we would have been able to find out and assess what work was being done and whether it was being done properly.

Sir, my feeling, after going through the report, is that the Commissioner himself appears to be suffering from a superiority complex and I have got reasons for that. On page 14 of the report, he says that he visited the Girls' Hostel, Kherwara and all the Bhil girls were putting on North-Indian dress. He objected to this. He said that they should put on the Bhil dress. He went to another institution, the Kasturba Kanya Chhatralaya. There again, he objected to the Bhil girls putting on North-Indian dress. I fail to understand what objection he could have if the Bhils instead of putting on half-naked dress, are clad in a proper dress.

On page 27, he says, "It was a surprise for me to find that some of the Todas had given up their beards and long hair and one of them had constructed a model house with good ventilation, windows and doors in place of the old conical-shaped hut with a small hole from which it was very difficult to enter the house." My submission is, why should this surprise

the Commissioner? Why is he not happy to see the improvement in the condition of those people? Why does he want them to have long hairs and a shady look like savages? I fail to understand his mentality. In Appendix XLVI, Statement 2, we have got the address of Shri Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes given at the Seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability. I am surprised to read the contents of the address. It is said that untouchability had been abolished and the Constitution has abolished it for all times. But, I am pained to see in this address of his, the word 'untouchable' which is repugnant to the Constitution and which word was not allowed to remain in the Bill relating to eradication of untouchability. The Deputy Minister himself will remember this. There was a lot of objection to the word 'untouchable', remaining in the Bill saying that it was not in accordance with the Constitution. But here, in his speech, we find the word 'untouchable' used not once or twice, but full 24 times. What does it show? It shows that the Commissioner is suffering from a superiority complex. Then again, the Commissioner says, "The Central Government has only the moral responsibility for the various welfare activities among the untouchables." It is not a true appraisal of the duty which the Constitution casts on the Central Government as well as on the Commissioner. It is wrong to say that the Central Government has got only the moral duty. My submission is that the Constitution casts a statutory duty on the Central Government and it is incumbent on the Central Government to see that the safeguards, the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles contained in the Constitution are respected and given effect to.

Why I am led to think like this is this. Again, in his speech, I find that he says: "Caste Hindu ladies should freely mix with Harijan women." It reflects some distinction between a Harijan woman and a high-caste

[Shri R. P. Tamta]  
Hindu woman. If this is the mentality with which the Government and its officers work, then it will be very difficult for these classes to progress. This mentality should go. There should be a change of heart. People should think that Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Tribes are their own brethren, a part of them, who were left behind for no fault of theirs, but due to certain practices that were followed in the name of religion. So, the chief thing which I think is necessary is that there should be a change of heart among the high-caste Hindus and also the officers. They should regard the Harijans as their own brothers. The most important thing which the Government should do is the economic advancement of these people. If their economic condition is bettered, I am sure that all other problems of untouchability, disability, etc. will also go away.

Coming to the report, on page 87, we are told of the measures taken by various Governments to give relief to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the matter of redemption of their debts. We are told that the recommendation of the Commissioner was 'that legislative and executive measures should be undertaken by all the State Governments especially for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to regulate money lending and for providing relief to indebted Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe persons'. In paragraph 7 we are told: It will be observed from that Appendix that the State Governments of Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore, Saurashtra, etc. have undertaken relief measures in the matter of debt redemption for the Scheduled Caste/Tribe people. This gives an impression that specific measures have been taken by these Governments in the matter of debt redemption to these people. (*Time bell rings*). Here, he refers to Appendix V which I have gone through. But there I find that not a single State

has taken any special measure to give relief to the Harijans from indebtedness. I wonder why this wrong impression is given to us in the report.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

To find out economic condition of these people, a survey was made in my own province of Uttar Pradesh by the J. K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations of Lucknow University. This was done in the year 1955. It says: "A large number of Harijan families are indebted. Thus, 73.4 per cent families in rural areas of Lucknow District, 93.9 per cent families of the rural areas of Meerut District and 75 per cent families of the Cities of Kanpur and Lucknow are indebted and the amount of average debt per family is Rs. 195-10-0 in rural areas of Lucknow District and Rs. 661-12-0 in the rural areas of Meerut District." And the interest that these persons have to pay is from 10 to 50 per cent. I submit, Sir, that something should be done by the Government in this direction of debt redemption, and unless this is done, all other measures would be of no use. (*Time bell rings*). Only one minute more, Sir.

Then we are told that specific measures have been taken to give house sites to Harijans and grants to Harijans. I would like to know how much grant has actually been given. I would like to have, in the future reports of course, the full description of the work done in that direction. So, Sir, I submit that there is the necessity for a change of heart, and unless that is done, it will be very difficult for the community to progress quickly.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am glad that the report has been submitted. There are two different subjects, one is the Scheduled Tribes and the other is the Scheduled Castes. I will begin with the Scheduled Tribes first.

I submit, Sir, that in the process of civilisation these tribes have been left



behind and advantage has been taken of their backward state by many foreign missionaries to create problems in our country. These foreign missionaries backed by foreign money have literally poured money into India on these backward tribes and created in them an unhealthy spirit against the Constitution of India. We see its evil effects in the North East Frontier Agency among the Khasi tribes and the hill tribes of Assam. We find a similar thing in Central India, in Madhya Pradesh. All this work is going on. They are being trained and brought up in an anti-Indian atmosphere, and they are going to become a very big problem for our Government. I realise that our Government is spending a lot of money on these Scheduled Tribes. But it is through a Government agency, and we do not get the full benefit of that money. Likewise some Indian agencies tried to do propaganda work on Indian lines, but they were short of funds and they could not carry on their work. I would, therefore, request the Home Minister to very carefully examine if he could not set up or encourage Indian agencies working on a voluntary basis to bring to these tribes the message of the culture of India, and if they can really create that atmosphere, it will go a long way towards counteracting the anti-Indian propaganda that is being carried on by foreigners.

You know, Sir, that a commission was set up. It went into the propaganda work of the missionaries among these tribes in Madhya Pradesh, and its report is before the Members of Parliament. They have seen what type of propaganda work is being done among them. Therefore, Sir, I would request the hon. Minister to entrust this work to agencies like the Bharat Sewak Samaj or the Ramakrishna Mission, or so many other societies. Ours is a secular State. I do not want that a propaganda work on behalf of the Hindu religion should be carried on there. When I oppose that the Christian missionaries should

not carry on their work, I do not for one moment suggest, Sir, that it should be the Hindu religious propaganda or the Muslim religious propaganda. My predecessor gave you the history when some 20 years back these Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes were parcelled out among the Hindus and the Muslims. So, I submit, Sir, we have a distinct culture which has been existing in our country for the last 2,500 years. We sent out missionaries to the outside world not only to carry on the propaganda for religion, but mostly for our culture. When we could carry the message of our culture to Indonesia, Java, Sumatra, Indo-China and all these places, is it not our duty to these tribes also who are left behind, that we should carry this message? This would only be possible if we entrust this work to some private agencies. In a Government agency there is a high scale of salary. The man only works with the motive of his salary. Therefore, this work should be entrusted to private agencies and the Government should give them some grant, because private agencies in India have no money. And when we have to do propaganda work against foreign missions who have any amount of money, it is very essential that the Government should spend its money through these Indian agencies. I am sure, Sir, that the Bharat Sewak Samaj or the Ramakrishna Mission or many other agencies like that will offer voluntary agencies in which with half the money you can carry out a very good propaganda work.

Then, Sir, our Government has got to make up its mind. We cannot keep these Scheduled Tribes as show-pieces, so that when the outsiders come, a party of outsiders is taken to the Toda Settlement or some other Settlements and shown round the various stages of civilisation reached by them. We must quickly and rapidly change their ways of living, of course, in harmony with the Indian traditions, and bring these backward tribes up to the present civilisation in

[Shri Kishen Chand.]

a short time. The foreign countries tried these experiments in Polynesia, but there they introduced drink and all sorts of bad habits. The result was that the primitive tribes began to wither away. You hear of Maoris. But I suppose in the whole of Australia there will be only a few thousands of Maoris. In our country at least there are lakhs and lakhs of people as Scheduled Tribes, and it is our duty to quickly enlighten them and civilise them, not by introducing drink, but by introducing to them the best traditions of Indian culture and by propagating the best principles in our society. That is most essential. And, therefore, I think that first of all the Government should define its objective. The objective should be civilising the backward tribes in the Indian tradition and in the Indian culture in the quickest possible time, and this should be done through voluntary agencies, which should be aided, of course. That is my request to the hon. the Home Minister.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of Scheduled Castes. I submit that I am a Hindu and I do feel that it is a big stigma on the Hindu religion to have ever entertained the idea of untouchability. I do not know how it came to our religion and into our society. We are ashamed of it. And I am very glad that the Government has passed regulations against untouchability. But let us not confuse untouchability with Scheduled Castes. All members of the Scheduled Castes are not untouchables. A very large proportion of the Scheduled Castes is not untouchables. Untouchability is a big stigma, and the sooner we get rid of it, the better would it be. We have already got rid of a large part of it. But there are still some remnants of it in the villages. It is no consolation to us that a similar thing is happening in South Africa. We consider them to be very backward to introduce this thing in the twentieth century. So, it is no consolation that in other countries there is untouchability on the basis of colour bar. We

feel it a disgrace on our country. We are trying to remove it as early as possible. But that is not the solution of our problem, because as I said, a large number of the Scheduled Caste people are not untouchables.

3 P.M.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): They suffer from social disabilities. That has got to be stopped.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I am coming to that. I am first talking about untouchability. The main trouble about the scheduled castes is that they are backward economically and backward educationally. My knowledge of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not as thorough as that of the hon. Member who is criticising me, but probably when he thinks of the Scheduled Castes, he puts them all in one group. I know that *kahars* are Scheduled Castes and are included in the list of Scheduled castes.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): No, no.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: They are.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I know definitely that they are included in the list, and they get all the preferences. It is confusing all the time. When we think of the Scheduled Castes, we make them synonymous with the untouchables; that is our difficulty. We talk of the disabilities that have been inflicted on the untouchables; confusing the issue, we think that the disabilities that have been inflicted on the untouchables are inflicted on all Scheduled Castes. That is not correct.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: What he is saying is that they are Backward Classes.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Apart from untouchability, their main disabilities are that they are economically backward and they are educationally backward. It is a relative term. As one hon. Member said, everybody in India is economically backward and

is educationally backward. It is a relative thing. In the higher castes the percentage of literacy may be 20 per cent. and among the Scheduled Castes it may be 2 per cent., and naturally when there is this difference of 20 per cent. and two per cent. in literacy, in employment also you will find that their number is small. When their number is small in employment, the political power that they get is also small, and it goes on in this way. Therefore, what I am saying is that we are rightly taking steps for removing untouchability and also alleviating the economic and educational conditions of the scheduled castes. Here also I feel that the Government is not getting the fullest benefit of every rupee that it spends on them. I know of several cases in my own State where members of the Scheduled Castes got scholarships; they begin at the age of 10 and they go on getting it till the age of 22 irrespective of the fact that they are not educationally benefiting from it, that they are not taking the fullest advantage out of it, that they are not deriving anything out of it. What I am saying is that this money spent by the Central Government should go towards the real upliftment of the Scheduled Castes. Here also—at present it is distributed State-wise—it would be better if the help of private agencies is taken. If there are voluntary workers devoted to the cause of these people for alleviating their condition, they will be able to benefit larger numbers and they will be able to find out whether the money that is spent on them is fully utilised or not. On the whole I think that the Department is doing its work well but, as I said in the beginning because it is a Government agency, the cost is too high. If they utilise the services of voluntary workers, they will do good work.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Deokinandan Narayan. Only ten minutes.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN (Bombay): Fifteen minutes. It had been fifteen minutes so far.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 13 speakers more. Only ten minutes.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I shall finish in fifteen minutes, only five minutes more.

आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, १९५५ की रिपोर्ट की चर्चा २० महीने के बाद हो रही है। आश्चर्य है। और आप जानते हैं कि २० महीने में तमाम जमाना बदल गया और जो बातें इस रिपोर्ट में लिखी हुई हैं, वे भी बहुत कुछ बदल गईं। अगर आप इस रिपोर्ट को मरसरी नज़र से देखेंगे, तो आपको पता चलेगा कि उसमें बहुत सी शिकायतें हैं और वे भी बहुत कुछ रफा हो गई होंगी। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस तरह से किसी साल की रिपोर्ट पर २० महीने के बाद चर्चा न की जाय। अच्छा होता कि १९५६ में ही रिपोर्ट पेश होती और इस पर चर्चा होती।

सर्वप्रथम मैं कमिश्नर साहब को बधाई दूंगा, इसलिये नहीं कि उन्होंने बहुत सुन्दर रिपोर्ट लिखी है, बल्कि इसलिये कि वे सारे भारत में घूमते रहे, देहातों में, पहाड़ों में और जंगलों में और खुद अपनी आंखों से सारी बातों को देखा है। इसलिये मेरी उन को बधाई है। रिपोर्ट में बिना घूमे भी बहुत अच्छी अच्छी बातें लिखी जा सकती हैं और लिखी जाती हैं, यह आप भी जानते हैं, परन्तु बहुत सी बातें जोकि इस रिपोर्ट में हैं, उनको कमिश्नर साहब ने स्वयं देखा हुआ है। आपको इस रिपोर्ट से यह पता चलता है कि हमारी राज्य सरकारें और केन्द्रीय सरकार हरिजनों के हित में बहुत अच्छा काम कर रही है। शिक्षा के बारे में करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है—सिर्फ सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से ही नहीं वरन् राज्य सरकारों से भी—हरिजनों के लिये वस्तियां बन रही हैं और आजकल काफी सरकारी नौकरियां भी दी जा रही हैं।

डा० डब्ल्यू० एस० बालिगे : अलग बस्तिया या सब के साथ ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: His time is short. Please do not interrupt him.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : अलग बस्ती के बारे में भी आगे जा कर कहने वाला हूं। यहां मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि बस्तियों के ऊपर बहुत काफी खर्च हो रहा है। नौकरियों की संख्या भी दिन-ब-दिन काफी बढ़ रही है। इसके अलावा, खास कर मद्रास में आपने देखा होगा कि इस छुआछूत के मामले में वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ था। वहां मंदिर-प्रवेश मिलना बहुत मुश्किल था, परन्तु आज मद्रास में मन्दिरों के जो ट्रस्ट कायम हुए हैं, उनमें भी हरिजनों को जगह दी गई है और हरिजनों के करीब ८६ ट्रस्टीज हैं। ये तो अच्छी बातें हैं। लेकिन इनके बावजूद, इस रिपोर्ट से यह भी पता चलता है कि दिल्ली कितनी दूर है। हमारे हरिजनों के ऊपर आये दिन जगह-जगह पर कितनी मुसीबतें आती हैं, कितनी बड़ी बेइसाफी उनके साथ हो रही है। कितना अन्याय और कितनी मार-पीट उनसे की जाती है और शिक्षा के बारे में, उद्योग-धंधों के बारे में और और बातों में भी हमारे हरिजन कितने पिछड़े हुए हैं। मैं इसी रिपोर्ट से कुछ उद्धरण आपको दूंगा, जिससे पता चलेगा कि अभी हम इस काम में भी कितनी धीमी गति से चल रहे हैं। बिहार को ही लीजिये। कुछ उदाहरण हैं :

“Serious efforts should be made to free the Musahars and other Scheduled Castes from agricultural slavery known as Kamiauti which is still persistent in the most obnoxious form even though the Act was passed as early as in 1920 for its removal.”

यह भी बिहार की बात है :

“There is not a single hostel of Harijan girls in the State of Bihar.”

यानी, आपको पता चलेगा कि बहुत कुछ किया है, तब भी जितना कुछ किया है, उस से बहुत ज्यादा बाकी है। बंगाल में सेकेंडरी और कालेज एजुकेशन निःशुल्क नहीं है। सारे भारत में हर एक राज्य में हरिजनों के लिये शिक्षा निःशुल्क है, परन्तु बंगाल में यह सुविधा अभी तक हरिजनों को नहीं मिली है। आंध्र में डोम कर के एक एक्स-क्रिमिनल ट्राइब्स की जाति है, जिन बेचारों के लिये कोई रोजगार नहीं है।

“The Domas, the ex-criminal tribes, are mostly living on prostitution.”

कुर्ग में अभी मंदिर-प्रवेश नहीं मिला है। हरिजनों की बस्तियों को आप देखें, तो वे पहले जितनी गलिच्छ-गंदी थीं, उतनी ही आज हैं।

हमने हर एक राज्य में अच्छे अच्छे कानून बनाये हैं, परन्तु कानूनों से काम नहीं चला करते, हुकमों से काम नहीं चलते। कागज में हुकम रह जाते हैं, कागज में कानून रह जाते हैं। गांवों में, आप देखियेगा, कि क्या हो रहा है। हमारे कमिश्नर साहब ने राज्यों को यह लिखा कि उन गांवों की फेहरिस्त बना कर भेजी जाय कि जिन गांवों में अस्पृश्यता नहीं मानी जाती है। हालांकि बहुत सी स्टेट्स ने लिख भेजा कि हां, हम यह फेहरिस्त बना रहे हैं, परन्तु कुछ स्टेट्स ऐसी हैं :

“The States of Assam, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Travancore Cochin, Delhi and Tripura which do not consider it necessary to maintain such records as the practice of this untouchability even does not exist or exists to a very insignificant extent in their States.”

मैं पूछता हूं, क्या यह सच है ? आगे चल कर कमिश्नर साहब कहते हैं :

“Though quite a large number of States have agreed to maintain list

- of villages where untouchability is practised in one form or the other. such lists have been received only  
• from the States of Andhra, Hyderabad and Coorg."

यानी जिन्होंने लिस्टें भेजना मंजूर किया, व तक उसे भजते नहीं हैं और बहुत से तो यह कहते हैं कि हमारे यहाँ अनटचेबिलिटी है ही नहीं। इस से आपको पता चलेगा कि इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय को कितना महत्व राज्य सरकारों की ओर से दिया जाता है।

महोदय, आप यह देखियेगा कि रिपोर्ट में एक संख्या दी हुई है गुनाहों की, कि कितने गुनाह साल भर में हुए हैं। तो तमाम गुनाह कितने हुए, बताया गया है कोई ३७० के करीब। मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि चालीस करोड़ की बस्ती में साढ़े पांच करोड़ अस्पृश्य हैं और बाकी सवर्ण हैं आपको भी देहातों का परिचय है और मुझे भी। मेरे ही जिले में ३६० से ज्यादा गुनाह हुए होंगे, इनमें से १४७ केसेज में लोगों को सजा हुई और १३६ केसेज अभी पेंडिंग हैं, बाकी छोड़ दिये गये। आपको पता होगा, क्या हिम्मत है देहातों में रहने वाले हरिजनों की कि वे जाकर किसी के ऊपर प्रासिक्चेशन दाखिल करें—जमींदार से डरते हैं, ठाकुर से डरते हैं, चौधरी से डरते हैं, साहूकार से डरते हैं, पटेल से डरते हैं। हिम्मत उनमें नहीं कि किसी के खिलाफ जाकर कोई शिकायत करें। सरकार को चाहिये कि उनके मामलों में, जहाँ उन लोगों के साथ ज्यादती होती है, उनके लिये वकील की सहायता दी जाय। लीगल एड उन को फ्री मिलनी चाहिये, जिससे वे वकील के पास पहुँच जायें और शिकायत कर दें और फिर वह वकील मुकद्दमा दायर कर दें। तब जाकर उनको ऐसी कुछ बातों में मदद मिल सकती है।

अस्पृश्यता की सबसे भयानक परिस्थिति यदि कही दिखाई देती है, तो वह भंगी में दीख पड़ती है और जब तक आप भंगी

को उसके रोजगार से मुक्त नहीं कर सकते, उसको गन्दी बस्ती से मुक्त नहीं करते, उसको उस घृणित रोजगार से नहीं छड़ा सकते और उसके सिर पर मँले के नरक का टोकरा उठाना जब तक आप बन्द नहीं करा सकते, तब तक अस्पृश्यता हिन्दुस्तान से दूर हुई है ऐसा कहना व्यर्थ है। भजे ही आप शिक्षा दें, भले ही मैकड़ो रुपया खर्च करें, शिक्षा में और नौकरियों में, लेकिन जब तक भंगी के सिर पर से मँले की टोकरी दूर नहीं होगी, तब तक अस्पृश्यता नष्ट हुई है, ऐसा कोई कहने वाला नहीं है। और आज क्या हालत है, बड़े बड़े शहरों में...

(Time bell rings)

I shall finish within 5 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: 10 minutes are over.

श्री ईश्वरानन्दन नारायण : यह देखिये कलकत्ते की हालत :

"At Hathibagan and Gokhana the sweepers and scavengers live in dark dungeons where it is not possible to enter without a lamp even during the day time."

यह हालत सिर्फ कलकत्ते में है, ऐसा न समझें, हर एक शहर की ऐसी हालत है। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि आप स्कैवेंजर फ्री लैट्रिन्स का प्रचार करें। यही नहीं मैं तो यहां तक कहूँगा कि स्कैवेंजर फ्री लैट्रिन्स आदि के लिये हर एक जिले में आफिसर लगाये जायें ताकि इन बिचारे भंगियों के सिर की टोकरी दूर हो। इस तरह से जिले जिले के लिये जो आफिसर आप नियुक्त करेंगे, उन को आप तीन काम दीजियेगा। पहला काम उनका होगा जिले में स्कैवेंजर फ्री लैट्रिन्स कायम करना। दूसरा काम यह करें कि मैला ले जाने के लिये व्हील्ड ड्रम्स अर्थात् हाथ-ढकेल गाड़ियाँ चलायें। इससे यह होगा कि भंगी लोग सिर पर जो टोकरियाँ लेकर चल

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

है वह बन्द हो जायगा। तीसरी बात के सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि मुझे पता है कि बम्बई गवर्नमेंट ने म्युनिसिपैलिटीज के लिये एक आर्डर निकाला था कि जो रिसेप्टे-कल्स के संडास होते हैं, उनका प्रयोग बन्द कर दिया जाय और स्कैवेंजर फ्री संडास बनवाये जायें, परन्तु मैं कमिश्नर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि बम्बई में इस आर्डर के निकलने के बाद कितनी म्युनिसिपैलिटीयां हैं, जिन्होंने इस काम को किया है। मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि अभी तक इस तरह का कोई काम नहीं हुआ है। इसलिये अगर आप हर जिले में भंगियों के हित में इस काम के लिये एक स्वतंत्र हाकिम या अफसर रखियेगा, तब तो यह काम हो सकता है।

समय बहुत कम है, इसलिये आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि : Segregation is evil. इसका ही परिणाम है अस्पृश्यता। यह सेप्रेगेशन पैदा होता है जातीयता से, कास्टीइज्म से Casteism is the root cause of segregation इसलिये यदि सेप्रेगेशन को आपको मिटाना है तो आपको मिक्सड स्कूल, मिक्सड होटल्स, मिक्सड होस्टल्स, मिक्सड हाउसिंग, कोआपरेटिव हाउसिंग बनाने चाहियें। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हरिजनों के लिये ऐसे कोआपरेटिव हाउसेज आप न बनायें, जिनमें सवर्ण हिन्दू कुछ थोड़ी तादाद में भी रहने वाले न हों और इसी तरह से सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के ऐसे कोआपरेटिव हाउसेज न बनायें, जिनमें थोड़े हरिजन रहने वाले न हों। इस तरह से सेप्रेगेशन को सदा के लिये मिटाने के लिये आपको सब चीजें मिक्सड करनी होंगी . . . .

(Time bell rings.)

I shall just finish.

श्री उ.स.रा.ति : आपकी आखिरी बात हो गई।

SHRI DEOKINDAN NARAYAN: Yes, one minute.

एक बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि यह जो आप सुविधायें दे रहे हैं, इससे सेपरेशन की जो भावना है वह और बढ़ती है। आप को सोचना चाहिये कि हरिजनों को आप सुविधायें देते हैं, स्कालरशिप्स देते हैं, और नौकरियों में उनको जो विशेष रियायत मिलती है, उससे वे भी यह मोचने लगते हैं कि हमें औरों से अलग रहना ही लाभप्रद है। यहां तक कि हरिजनों ने अपना मजहब बदल दिया, बुद्धिस्ट हो गये, तब भी हरिजन बने रहना चाहते हैं। यानी धर्म से प्यारा लोभ बन जाता है। इसलिये यह मोचने की बात है कि जो कोई पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, जो गरीब हैं, उनको एक निगाह से देखना चाहिये।

(Time bell rings.)

श्री उ.स.रा.ति : श्री राम सहाय !

SHRI DEOKINDAN NARAYAN: I shall just finish.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You said "आखिर" and you have begun with another "आखिर"।

SHRI DEOKINDAN NARAYAN: I shall finish this sentence.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In two or three words.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि आपको हरिजनों को इस तरह से अलग नहीं रखना चाहिये। गरीब और पिछड़े हुए लोगों को सब हो एक करके आपको सुविधाएं पैदा करनी चाहिए। नहीं तो आज यह हालत हो गई है कि गरीब, बेकार सवर्ण भाई-बहिन भी कहने लग हैं, हम हरिजन होते तो भला होता, क्योंकि हरिजन होने के नाते नौकरी तो मिल जाती। तो यह जो डिमार्श पैदा होने जा रही है, इसको यदि आप मिटाना चाहते हैं, जातीयता के ऊपर कुठाराघात करना चाहते हैं, तो आप स्कालरशिप्स या नौकरियों में कुछ खास रियायत सिर्फ हरिजनों के लिये ही न रखियेगा, बल्कि जो गरीब हैं, जो पिछड़े

हुए हैं, जो बैकवर्ड हैं, उन सबको दीजियेगा, यही मेरी प्रार्थना है ।

**श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उप-सभापति महोदय, हरिजन और आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सारी बातें सदन के सामने आ चुकी हैं । मैं तो सिर्फ एक बात खास तौर पर निवेदन करना चाहूंगा और वह यह है कि आज अर्ध-शताब्दी से ऊपर हो गया, स्वामी दयानन्द के वक्त से हम बराबर इस का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं कि छुआछूत मिट जाय, लेकिन छुआछूत आज तक नहीं मिटी । कमिश्नर साहब ने जो रिपोर्ट दी है, इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं है कि उन्होंने बहुत विद्वतापूर्ण तरीके से और बहुत परिश्रम के बाद वह रिपोर्ट दी है । उसमें हमको बहुत सी बातें मिलती हैं, जो दरअसल प्रैक्टिकल हैं और जिनका ज्ञान हमको वैसे नहीं हो सकता, जब तक हम उस रिपोर्ट को न देखें।

अभी हमारे एक मित्र, श्री अग्निभोज जी ने, बहुत लम्बा-चौड़ा भाषण दिया और उन्होंने एक प्रकार से सब पर ही आक्षेप किये । मुझे दुःख है कि वे इस बक्त मेरी बात सुनने के लिये यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं ।

**श्री पी० एन० राजभोज :** मैं तो हूँ ।

**श्री राम सहाय :** लेकिन आपसे मेरा मतलब नहीं । आपके आर उनके एक ही प्रकार के नाम हैं, लेकिन यह मतलब नहीं है कि आप उनकी पूर्ति कर सकेंगे । मेरा निवेदन यह है कि उन्होंने इस बात की व्याख्या की कि हरिजनों के प्रति कुछ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया जाता । मिसाल के तरीके पर उन्होंने यह बताया कि अब तक कोई हरिजन गवर्नर ही नहीं मुकर्रर किया गया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ उनसे कि हर एक स्टेट में एक एक मिनिस्टर कम से कम मौजूद ही है हरिजनों में से, तो उन्होंने हरिजनों के लिये क्या काम किया, उन्होंने खुद अपनी मिनिस्ट्री में हरिजनों के लिये

क्या काम किया? जैसा कि अभी देवकीनन्दन जी ने कहा, आज वे हरिजनों के सिर से जो पैखाने के मैले की डलिया है, उस तक को वे दूर नहीं करा सके, और उसके कारण बुरा असर पड़ रहा है, और यह एक मोचने की बात है । जैसा कि अभी देवकीनन्दन जी ने कहा, यह त्रिकुल सत्य है और इसमें कोई शुबहा नहीं है कि जब तक हम उनके सिर से यह मैले की डलिया नहीं हटा लेते और डलिया हटा लेने की ही बात नहीं है, उन की आदत इतनी खराब बन गई है कि वे अपने हाथ से, मनें देखा है, पैखाना और नाली साफ करते हैं—जब ऐसी परिस्थिति है और उसमें निरन्तर प्रयत्न के बाद भी सुधार नहीं, तब वे कैसे उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि सबर्ण लोग उनके साथ किसी प्रकार का भेदभाव न रखें । हरिजनों का आपस का भेद मिटाने में ही वे अभी समर्थ नहीं हो पा रहे हैं, कोई कोशिश भी नहीं करते, कोई प्रयत्न नहीं करते । विधान सभा में देखिये, जितने हरिजन सदस्य हैं सब मिनिस्टर बनने की कोशिश करते हैं, लेकिन कोई भी इस बात की कोशिश नहीं करता कि अपने क्षेत्र में जाकर काम करे । मैं यह सब बातें इसलिये कह रहा हूँ, क्योंकि मैंने सन् १९१३ से हरिजनों के बीच में काम किया है । सन् १९१३ में मैंने एक हरिजन पाठशाला कायम की थी । उस पाठशाला में मैंने मिह्तरो के और चमारों के लड़कों को स्वयं पढ़ाया है । उस समय से मैं बराबर उनमें कार्य कर रहा हूँ । लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपने क्षेत्र में, भेसला में ही मैले की डलिया सर पर उठाने के काम को मैं स्वयं भी खत्म नहीं करा सका । इसका इतिहास इतना पुराना हो गया है और खराब है कि अब हमारे मुख पर बिला कालिख पुते नहीं रह सकती ।

जैसा कि हमारे कमिश्नर महोदय ने अपने रिपोर्ट की २२८ नम्बर की सिफारिश में भी इस बात का जिक्र किया है, याना मले

[श्री राम सहाय]

की डलिया सर पर ले जाने के बारे में, इस के बारे में आप ताज्जुब करेंगे कि वेस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेंट की जो टिप्पणी या उत्तर है, उसमें यह लिखा है कि यह सुधार बिल्कुल इम्प्रेक्टिकेबिल है। आप यह बात देख ले कि इस प्रकार की रोक करते हमें अर्द्ध-शताब्दी बीत गई है किन्तु इस अर्द्ध-शताब्दी में हम इस छोटी सी खराब बात को भी दूर नहीं कर सके और उनके सिर पर की डलिया को नहीं उठा सके। जब एक गवर्नमेंट के लिये यह बात दूर करना नामुमकिन है, तो आप ही बतलाइये कि किस तरह काम-याबी की उम्मीद आप कर सकते हैं। मैं अपने हरिजन मित्रों से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे हाउस में बैठ कर बड़ी ऊंची-ऊंची और लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कर सकते हैं क्योंकि उन्हें आज्ञा दी है, लेकिन उन्हें अपने क्षेत्र में जो उनका कर्तव्य है, उसकी ओर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए। आज हम देखते हैं कि चमार भरोडा से परहेज करता है और भरोडा मेहतर से परहेज करता है। तब हम यह कैसे उम्मीद करें कि सवर्ण लोग अपनी सब बातों को भूल जायेंगे या छोड़ देंगे। इसी प्रकार जिस तरह हमारे हरिजन भाई घृणित काम करते हैं, अपने सिर पर मैला उठाते हैं, उससे सवर्ण लोगों के दिलों में भेदभाव की भावना आ जाती है। इस चीज को हमें पहले दूर करना चाहिये कि किसी तरह से हमारे हरिजन भाई इस घृणित काम को न करें। जहाँ तक उनको और सुविधा देने का सवाल है, वह तो सरकार कर ही रही है।

सन १९५१ में जो जनरल इलेक्शन हुआ था, उसमें जनरल सीट से हरिजन और आदिवासियों के ३८ सदस्य आये। ६ आदमी लोक सभा के लिए जनरल सीट से चुने गये और १२ आदमी राज्य सभा के लिए चुने गये। हमारे हरिजन भाई राज्यों की असेम्बलीज और कौंसिलों में भी जनरल

सीटों और उनके अलावा रिजर्व सीटों से भी आये हैं। इस तरह से जनरल सीट से आये हुएों की कुल संख्या ३८ थी। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा वे क्या चाहते हैं। कोई काम भी एक साथ नहीं हो सकता है। अगर वह चाहते हैं कि हरिजनों के लिए और काम हो तो उनका भी यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वे भी अपने क्षेत्रों में उनके कण्ठों को दूर करने की कोशिश करें। किन्तु जब तक वे सवर्ण के प्रति घृणा के भाव पैदा करते रहेंगे, तब तक यह चीज दूर नहीं हो सकती है। मैंने बहुत से हरिजन मित्रों और उनके लीडरों की स्पीचें सुनी हैं, वे लोग अक्सर सवर्ण लोगों के प्रति घृणा का भाव ही पैदा करते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि आपको रिजर्व सीट कब तक मिलने वाली है, यही दस, बीस साल तक, फिर भी अन्त में आप लोगो को सवर्ण के पास जाना पड़ेगा। जब तक आप लोग सवर्ण के प्रति अपने भाषणों में घृणा की भावना पैदा करते हैं और तरह तरह की बातें करते हैं, तो उन लोगों के दिलों में भेदभाव की भावना आयेगी ही।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अछूतों के प्रति सवर्ण लोगो ने ही घृणा की भावना फैलाई, अछूतों ने नहीं पैदा की।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not parliamentary practice to speak when another hon Member is standing.

श्री राम सहाय : तो मेरा निवेदन है कि हमें इस तरह के झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये। अग्निभोज जी ने जिस तरह का भाषण दिया, उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि उनका भीतरी दिल दुखा हुआ है, जला हुआ है। उनके दिल में हरिजन भाइयों के प्रति हमदर्दी होगी, मुझे भी हमदर्दी है, मगर हमदर्दी तो तब ही पूर्ण हो सकती है, जब हम उन लोगो के प्रति कुछ कर के दिखायें। अगर हम उन लोगो की आदत को ठीक नहीं करते और अपना कर्तव्य पूरा नहीं करते हैं, तो हमें



कोई हक नहीं है कि हम इस तरह की लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें यहां पर कहें। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आप लोग गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज कर सकते हैं, आप इस बारे में आज़ाद हैं, कान्स्टीट्यूशन ने इस प्रकार की आज़ादी दे रखी है, मगर आप लोगों को भी अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति अवश्य ध्यान रखना चाहिये।

छात्राश्रित का भेद करना एक जुर्म करार दे दिया गया है और जो कोई जुर्म करता है, उसे सजा दी जाती है। मैं आपके सामने इस बारे में अपना एक अनुभव बतलाना चाहता हूं। किस तरह से हरिजन लोग इस अधिकार का दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं और झूठा मुकदमा दायर करके लोगों से पैसा लेते हैं। वे लोग होटल के मालिक से कहते हैं कि हम फलों समय में, जब उनकी आम ग्राहकी का समय होता है, तुम्हारे होटल में चाय पीने न आया करेंगे, अगर तुम हमें इतना पैसा दोगे। इस तरह की हरकतें होती हैं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूं कि आप इन बातों की ओर ध्यान दें। अगर हमें बुराई दूर करना है तो दूसरों को बुरा कहकर बुराई दूर नहीं की जा सकती है, इससे कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलेगा। हम सब लोगों को ही अपना अपना कर्तव्य पूरा करना चाहिये।

(Time bell rings.)

मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय न लेकर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं।

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: Sir, I am glad this report has come to us, after all. It has come to us rather late, and I am not quite sure whether we got the third report in this House for consideration. So we probably are skipping over one report, and probably from the report for 1956 we may go to that for 1958. I do think that this matter is serious and we should get the reports in time in future.

The report has a beautiful look, but it is rather bulky volume. This bulk

could easily have been reduced. About 60 pages are taken up by tour details. They are valuable, but that could be put in the appendices. Some 60 pages are devoted to the work of the First Five Year Plan. That could be put somewhere else, not in the report. It simply confuses. The bulk confuses; it repels us. I rather wish there was a chapter summing up the whole, giving us a picture of exactly what has happened in the last year, say, in particular lines. It is all in too much detail. We can see the trees, but we do not see the forest. We see so many details, but we do not know exactly whether we have advanced.

On the whole, the impression on my mind is that we have advanced in one line and in that one line only and not in others. So far as the Government is concerned, money has come in plenty. It flows like water, perhaps much of it goes waste also. But we have made one good progress and that is in the matter of hostels, schools, scholarships, in sending students to Europe and so on. That has been done on a very large scale and it has done a great deal of good. I find that amongst Harijans, the percentage of attendance is almost as good as among the savarnas and amongst the girls it is better still, in many States. Go to a primary school in the Punjab, which is a very advanced State, and ask, how many students there are. If there are 125 pupils, there will be 20 harijans, half of them girls. That is out of the whole village. They are taking the fullest advantage. This is really very valuable work, but it is very simple and easy work, this issuing of scholarships. You can declare freeships for it is easy to declare freeships. You send them to Europe. It is very easy extremely easy to send them to Europe. You are doing things which are extremely easy. By simply giving a few scholarships, you may hope to shut up their mouth. But you can not and they will open wider still their mouths for more. Therefore, let us now put less emphasis on education and more emphasis upon their economic well-being which we can do, which we have

[Shri N. R. Malkani.]

not done, through their cottage industries. There are some industries which are peculiarly industries pursued by Harijans, industries which they pursue even now, but in the most primitive manner, unorganised and almost disorganised, without raw materials, without training and, therefore, they have made no progress in that at all. Not only that. A more important thing is to encourage mobility from occupation to occupation and place to place. A *chamar* is born a *chamar*, lives a *chamar* and dies a *chamar*. A *bhangi* is born a *bhangi*, lives a *bhangi* and dies a *bhangi*. I do not see why there should not be at least horizontal mobility from one trade to another, from one occupation to another. Even in these semi-skilled occupations it is not so because they are not properly organised, not properly financed and they have no market at all. I, therefore, do think, Sir, that on the economic front nothing has been done and much can be done and should be done. There should be improvements in technique and there should be much greater mobility than there is at present and much more money should be given to cottage industries than has been given so far.

But, Sir, may I say, worse still follows, that is to say, we have not paid any attention to the social side, I will say whatsoever. It has been completely neglected. Of course, it is not measureable either. It is to be felt. It is an atmosphere, it is a climate of opinion which cannot be measured. I have got here the report of the Harijan Sevak Sangh from each province. Read this report and read that report. You see it is a much smaller one and it gives you a picture whereas the other does not give you any picture at all. (Interruption.) I am talking about the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh. It is a very small one. I am talking of this little report and it is very readable. Some parts are extremely readable. Some of the oldest and some of the best workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh say, that so far as the social side is concerned, so far as the removal of social disabili-

ties is concerned, we have not made much progress. The workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh say so. It is a long way off. The figures given here in the Commissioner's report, to my mind, are incorrect, that is to say, the Commissioner has not received proper figures. These figures are incomplete or they are false. They are talking of 300 cases in the court. Of complaints, they have received 485. You could have these figures for one tehsil alone. In the case of one administrative district alone, it can be more than 300 suits. Like this, they are giving the number of villages which are not observing untouchability to a substantial extent. The figures are such that one feels like crying that the figures are absolutely false. On page 79 the figures are given. Sir, you will ring the bell soon and so I do not want to refer to the figures at all. Read page 79 and you will find the figures; they are utterly incomplete or utterly false. They cannot be true and I believe they are not true at all. I would, therefore, considering the short time, simply say this that the removal of untouchability is not merely giving scholarships, is not merely organising cottage industries, is not merely giving them sites to build houses though all this has to be done, but it is an attitude, it is an outlook of mind, it is a way of feeling, it is a way of reacting to a phenomena called untouchability. It cannot be measured but it can be felt and, in that way, we have made very little progress. We can make good progress here only through the non-official agency. It is only the non-official agency, the Harijans and the non-Harijans, the *avarnas* and the *savarnas*, very properly mixed, beautifully mixed, not talking at each other but looking at each other, fully co-operating with each other that can see that this attitude is changed. This attitude must be changed. The non-official agency must be trusted by the officials and it must be financed by the officials and that agency must be given complete autonomy and complete freedom in regard to the problem of removal of untouchability. It is only then that we may succeed. I can say so from my

experience. I am closely connected with the Harijan Sevak Sangh and I am closely connected with even what is called the Ex-Criminal Tribes welfare. I make bold to say that the official agency today does not trust the non-official agency. It does not give it enough money. I have got figures here showing that out of Rs. 50 lakhs sanctioned by the Central Government for propaganda for the abolition of untouchability and for giving publicity, they gave only Rs. 2,82,000 to the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh. We went on a deputation to the President to give us Rs. 15 lakhs but they gave us only Rs. 2,82,000 out of the Rs. 15 lakhs that we asked for. There were about Rs. 20 crores given to the States for the Scheduled Castes and only Rs. 12 lakhs was given to the Harijan Sevak Sangh out of the Rs. 20 crores.

**SHRI H. P. SAKSENA:** Why do you need so much money?

**SHRI N. R. MALKANI:** Quite So. Why do the officials want money for? As a matter of fact, Sir, there are only four departments as such in four different States. The others do not even have departments but only mere officers. There is only one State, Saurashtra, which has got a statutory board. I am going to visit Saurashtra next September. I am told and told by a person who is in charge there, that the non-official statutory body runs very well because it has a separate budget of which it is the master. It appoints all its officials and the officials are responsible to the statutory board. The board controls all activities for the abolition of social disabilities and they have made a great success of it. The Commissioner was kind enough to make a recommendation to the States in this behalf and read the report about the assurances given. It is a sorry thing. Most of the States have rejected the proposal; some are waiting to reply and others, one or two, have said that perhaps it is worth a trial. Well, to my mind, it is not only worth a trial but it should be almost thrust upon them because, only by a proper co-operation of the official and non-

official agency could we change the attitudes of mind and only by the co-operation of Members of Parliament on all questions, whether Harijan or non-Harijan, could we really abolish what is called untouchability.

Sir, I must say and say with great sorrow that somehow I feel that some Members wish to keep untouchables but they would abolish untouchability. They would keep all the privileges, all the concessions, all the jobs and so on as Harijans but when they meet me outside in the street or in the Lobby or elsewhere, they say, "I am not an untouchable. I am as good as you are. I am better than you are. You can give me your daughter in marriage". This superior attitude towards me and this very humble attitude, almost bowing attitude to the Government are not consonant with the abolition of the great social crime of untouchability. We must both be humble ourselves. Friends there need not be proud of their untouchability at all and need not be proud at all in claiming these concessions for a long time, for an indefinite period. They should be as anxious as the touchables to see that within a certain period this untouchability is abolished. They must not persist and say that no time, no period and no amount of funds could abolish untouchability. It is not a matter of money, it is not a matter of period but it is a matter of what we call will and sincerity (*Time bell rings.*) and I do hope and believe that the time has now come for our Harijan friends to make up their mind that they really want to abolish untouchability, that they really do not want any untouchables to remain and that they do not want any more concessions and they must now come with a will to abolish untouchability by changing the attitudes and outlooks of people.

**SHRI P. T. LEUVA (Bombay):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is a matter of embarrassment for me to participate in a debate of this nature because my views are likely to be influenced by my personal prejudices but as the matter

[Shri P. T. Leuva.]

is one which affects me and my people so vitally it impelled me to offer my remarks on the report for the year 1955.

Sir, at the outset I would like to pay my humble tribute to the Commissioner for Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the devotion and the sincerity which he has been showing in studying the problem facing the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the various other Backward Classes. Every page of this report will bear testimony to what I have just now said. It is likely that the Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes may, in their enthusiasm, criticise Government rather vehemently, but I am quite sure that the hon. the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs will appreciate the spirit in which they are making the remarks. I for my part would not withhold any praise where it is due. If I find that the Government has done its duty early and well certainly I would feel gratified and would express my sense of gratitude to them, but if I find that there is any failure on the part of the Government in its duty I will not spare any criticism, however, scathing it might be.

In order to understand the problem of untouchability you have to take a perspective view of this problem. The problem of untouchability is with us for ages and I quite appreciate that no power on earth, no Government can solve this problem in a short span of time. It will take time. We have to remove the prejudices and customs which had crept in in the long course of history, but the question now is whether the steps which have been taken by the Government are in the right direction or not, whether those steps are likely to remove this problem of untouchability and thereby increase the social status of these unfortunate people or not. The Government expenditure on this problem is mainly on one head and that is the grant of educational concessions to the Scheduled Caste students who want to satisfy their urge for education. Apart from the question of expenditure there

is that interlinked question of providing suitable jobs to those persons who have been educated. So far as the education part of the problem is concerned, by and large, I can give credit to the Government and they are justifiably entitled to that praise since as far as the Central Government is concerned they began with a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs per year and the expenditure now, as far as I remember, is five times of what it used to be before; and as far as the educational aspect is concerned the State Governments and the Union Government are doing whatever is possible by them to give educational assistance to the children of these people. But after a person gets education, after that what? That is the main problem which is still to be tackled by the Government. I know my hon. friend Mr. Datar will get up and show the figures of employment of these persons in the civil services of the Central Government, but I wish he does not produce those figures because that will not do any credit to a Government which is spending nearly a crore of rupees on the education of the Scheduled Caste boys. After investing a sum of nearly 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees on the Scheduled Castes every year if you can get only two or three persons competent enough and suitable enough to occupy positions in the Indian Civil Service I surely for my part would not spend that amount year after year because I will come to the conclusion that the hard-earned money of the people is being wasted in this manner because even after an expenditure of 50 lakhs of rupees you cannot produce one I.C.S. officer, one officer in the Indian Police Service every year. What is the record of the Government so far as recruitment to I.C.S. is concerned or the Indian Police Service is concerned? I would say. Sir, it is dismal failure on the part of the Government to utilise the very amount that they have spent on their education. After all the money is invested on the education of these boys in order that the money which has been spent must fetch a return to the State in the shape of increased efficiency, but today

we find that the number of the Scheduled Caste people in the Central services is very low indeed. Every now and then, when we clamour for the absorption of the Scheduled Caste boys in the Civil Services the excuse is always put up before us that efficiency will suffer if they lowered the standards for admission to the Indian Civil Service. May I ask, Sir, what is otherwise the position with regard to efficiency in the administrative services at this stage? The other day my hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta moved a Resolution for the purpose of reorganising the present administrative machinery, and one of his complaints was that inefficiency was increasing in the Government of India departments. May I ask, Sir, is this efficiency due to the fact that half a dozen Scheduled Castes men are in the higher services or is this efficiency due to the fact that a large number of Scheduled Caste persons are in Class IV cadre. In any event, Sir, if efficiency of Government services is to be judged, it should be judged on the performance of the higher services. Well, Sir, we are not in those higher services and still the Government is suffering from inefficiency. May I submit, Sir, it is time that the Government reconsidered this policy of always putting this excuse of the falling down of the standard of efficiency in the Services, and there must be some re-thinking about this matter because inefficiency is already there in the Services in spite of the fact that we are absent from those Services? May I submit, Sir, that if you want really to increase the efficiency of the Services it is for you to find out ways and means and select persons from this strata of society which has been denied that right to enter the Services because of various causes. I am quite sure, Sir, that if opportunities are offered to them there will be a new enthusiasm in these people to discharge their duties with greater devotion and they will be always conscious of the fact that if they are found wanting people who might come after them might suffer. This is the problem of service and it has been always our case that

we do not demand representation in the Services on the basis of population. I am not one of those who ask representation on the basis of population. What I am submitting is that the conditions which you have created for us have deterred us, have discouraged us from taking such a type of education which will make us fit enough to fulfil our role in the administration. It was not our fault that we were denied the right to enter schools. It was the fault of the society which created this evil of untouchability. Another thing, Sir. Academic distinction requires a proper atmosphere in the family itself. In order that a person might take full benefit of educational facilities it is equally necessary that the atmosphere in the family and round about the student must be conducive to academic pursuits. Therefore, my claim for their representation in the Services is not based on the question of their population. I am basing my claim on this very fact that as we have been denied the opportunity of equipping ourselves with the necessary distinctions to enter the Services it is for the society, it is for the Government now to set that wrong right and they should not therefore every now and then raise this question of efficiency. You will be surprised, if you read the report, to find that there are larger number of persons in the judicial service belonging to the Scheduled Castes than in the I.C.S. or the I.P.S. Do I take it that in the judicial service you require a lower standard of efficiency? If you can find competent and able persons to man the judicial service which requires a higher standard of integrity and honesty, I can certainly claim on the basis of your own figures that there is something wrong in the administration of this country whereby the people of this country who belong to the Scheduled Castes are denied the opportunity of entering the civil service.

Another question with reference to the service is of very fundamental importance. Entry into the civil service enhances the social prestige of a person; that increases his social status in life and it has a healthy

[Shri P. T. Leuva.]

influence on the society as such and that accelerates the pace of the eradication of untouchability, especially in the rural areas where the civil servants are in a position of power and influence. One such officer in a district will do much more good, will do much more solid work in the removal of untouchability than a band of 100 workers in the district because every person in the service who has got power and position comes in contact with numerous people of the area. Many people approach him for their own work and a person who has got power will certainly wield a greater influence than a few honest workers in the villages. Unfortunately, my hon. friend, Mr. Himatsingka is nodding his head in disapproval.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA (West Bengal): I am connected with one institution which has been very highly spoken of in this report—if you want to know what I am doing.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: I do not minimise the work of any social or voluntary agency working in this field. I am only trying to explain to the House the efficacy of a person who is holding a post of power in administration and what influence he will be able to wield over persons with whom he comes into contact. My hon. friend may not agree with me but he is entitled to hold his own views. (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, I quite appreciate the reason why you are ringing the bell, but I have hardly touched the fringe of the problem. I would not go on but I would place before the House a point which requires the attention of the Government. I would take up that point now itself so that I may not be asked again to curtail my remarks.

Sir, my study of the report has convinced me of one thing, that is, that the time has now come when the policy of the Government should have to take a new turn, a new direction. You have passed an Act making untouchability an offence but I do not know exactly how it is working. The Government is spending money for

education and for the purpose of housing. But the question I wish to place before the House is this, whether these steps are sufficient enough to remove not only the evil of untouchability but to tackle the still wider question of improving their social status in the country's life. The Commissioner himself has referred to this in his report that the time has come when the economic problem of these people has to be tackled. He has referred to that problem, but I do not know why he has not been able to make any definite recommendations on that point. I gathered an impression that he is willing to wound but afraid to strike. He had said at one or two places that the problem of untouchability cannot be solved unless their economic status in life is improved.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: Where has he said that please?

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: I have not got the time; I have marked it in my report. If my hon. friend is very anxious . . .

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: I am very anxious. If the Commissioner says so, then I think he has not understood the problem.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: I will show it to him. Unfortunately, my friend, Mr. Malkani, has been brought up under a different conception of the problem of untouchability. We are those persons who suffer; we understand our problems much better than those who are obsessed with the idea of cleansing the sin which they might have committed in the past. What I say—and I am convinced in my belief—is that the mere removal of untouchability will never solve the problem of the Scheduled Castes. In the villages today—if you see the report, it has been mentioned there—roundabout 60 per cent. of the Scheduled Caste people live on agriculture. Most of them are landless labourers and the Commissioner has referred to cases where economic sanctions were applied against the Scheduled Castes because

the wife of a Harijan leader wanted to put on clothes similar to those worn by other Caste Hindus in the villages. Their economic life is dependent solely on the sweet will of the people in the villages. Merely because we open one village here and there, or merely because some Harijans enter into some temples somewhere and offer worship, it is not going to make them free from the economic slavery under which they are labouring since ages. You cannot solve the problems of the Harijans merely by opening temples to them or by merely allowing them to take water from the villages wells or by building some houses here and there. The main problem is the problem of economic dependence. In this country we have always been talking about social democracy and economic democracy. I am only pleading for the same thing for my people. If you are fighting for social democracy, for economic democracy, then why don't you extend the same principle to these people also? One argument is always put forward and that is this: "Look here, there are so many development projects going on in the country and everybody would be benefited by it." Those who are interested may read a report by one Mr. Taylor on the question of community development. He is a disinterested observer and he has himself said that the Scheduled Caste people have not been benefited by any of these community development projects. It is a long story and I do not want to enter into details but I am convinced that so long as you do not take steps to improve their economic status, whatever money you may spend on education, on housing and other things, on propaganda for the removal of untouchability, all that will go waste in the long run. Now, you see the amounts that are being spent, that are being earmarked for the purpose of spending on Scheduled Tribes. I have no quarrel if even larger amounts are spent for them; I wish the grants could be further increased for the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Tribes. I have no quarrel with that. What I am suggesting to the House is this. If you are spending money on the Scheduled Tribes

for the purpose of their economic development, why don't you set aside, ear-mark, from year to year, special grants for the purpose of making them economically independent? I hope, Sir, that the hon. Deputy Minister will give attention to this and devise ways and means of improving the economic status of these people.

Sir, I have taken too much time according to the standards laid down by others and I do not like to continue any further. For the time that you have given me, I am indeed grateful to you.

4 P.M.

श्रीमती मायादेवी छेत्री (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : उपसभापति महोदय, आपने हमें शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की रिपोर्ट के बारे में २, ४ शब्द कहने के लिये जो समय दिया है उसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ। यद्यपि न तो मैं शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट से आती हूँ और न शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज से ही आती हूँ तथापि इस रिपोर्ट में इसलिये दिलचस्पी रखती हूँ क्योंकि मैं भी एक पहाड़ी बैकवर्ड वर्ग से आती हूँ। मैं एक पहाड़ी इलाके से आती हूँ जो कि वेस्ट बंगाल के उत्तरी भाग में है जिसको कि "पहाड़ों की रानी" दार्जिलिंग कहते हैं। सौंदर्य में वह पहाड़ों की रानी है लेकिन वहाँ के लोग अभी तक बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं और उन लोगों का शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य या किसी भी विषय में अभी तक कोई विशेष विकास नहीं हुआ है।

जब ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट का समय था तब उस एरिया को एक पोलिटिकल एरिया बना कर रखा गया था क्योंकि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट का यही उद्देश्य था कि एक वर्ग के लोग दूसरे वर्ग के लोगों से न मिलें, उनका आपस में सम्बन्ध न हो ताकि कोई स्पर्क न होने से वे लोग अलग रहें और उनकी कोई उन्नति न हो। यही उन लोगों का विचार था और इसीलिये दार्जिलिंग को एक पोलिटिकल एरिया बना कर रखा था और उसको एक्सक्लूडेड एरिया कहा जाता था। जब भारत ने प्राविशियर

[श्री. तो माधवदेवी छेत्री]

आटोनामी प्राप्त की तब भी उस एरिया को एक पार्श्वली एक्सक्लूडेड एरिया बना कर रखा गया था। इस तरह से रखने की वजह यह थी कि वहां पर यूरोपियन लोग ज्यादा थे, उन लोगों के अपने स्कूल थे, अपनी कालोनी सी थी और वहां के लोगों को खाली मजदूर बनाने के लिये और अपना स्वार्थ पूर्ण करने के लिये उन्होंने उसको ऐसा एरिया बना कर रखा था। वहां पर ज्यादातर इंडियन नैपाली लोग रहते हैं जिनको कि गोरखाली भी कहते हैं। उन लोगों की मेजरिटी होने के कारण अपना स्वार्थ पूर्ण करने के लिये उन्होंने दार्जिलिंग में एक रिक्लीटिंग डिपो भी खोला और उस रिक्लीटिंग डिपो में भर्ती करके उन लोगों को सिपाही बनाते थे। उन्होंने वहां टी गार्डेंस भी बनाये और इन लोगों को उसमें मजदूर बनाया गया। इसके बाद जो कुछ थोड़े से बाकी रह गये वे किसान बन गये लेकिन वहां इतनी सफिशिएंट एरिया और जमीन नहीं थी कि वे किसान भी अच्छे तरह बन सकते। तो आधे लोग टी गार्डेंस में लेबरर्स हो जाते थे और आधे लोग सिपाही बन कर के आर्मी में भर्ती हो जाते थे। सिपाही बना करके भी उनकी सुरक्षा के विषय में कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता था और उन लोगों को अफसर बनाने का तो कोई खयाल भी नहीं किया जाता था। मुश्किल से उनको सूबेदार-मेजर बनाते थे और उस पर ही रिटायर कर देते थे। कोई भी मिलिटरी में बड़ा अफसर नहीं हो सकता था। सिविल साइड में भी यही हालत थी। सिविल में भी मुश्किल से पुलिस के इंस्पेक्टर हो कर या आर्डिनरी डिप्टी एस० पी० हो कर रिटायर हो जाते थे। जब तक ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट का टाइम था तब यह हालत थी। वहां पर उच्च स्कूल का कोई नाम नहीं था, मुश्किल से प्राइमरी स्कूल और मिडिल स्कूल थे और वे भी मिशनरीज के हाथों में। मिशनरीज लोग अपनी तरफ

से स्कूल बनाते थे और इन स्कूलों को बहुत प्रोत्साहन देते थे क्योंकि उन स्कूलों में जितने हिन्दुस्तानी बच्चे पढ़ते थे उनका धर्म-परिवर्तन करके उन लोगों को क्रिश्चियन बनाने में सुविधा होती थी। इसी लिये ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट भी उन लोगों को प्रोत्साहन देती थी जिससे कि हिन्दुस्तानी लोग ज्यादा संख्या में क्रिश्चियन बनें। पहले उस एरिया में क्रिश्चियंस की संख्या बहुत थी। अब हमारा भारत स्वाधीन हो गया है और देश से सारे भारतवासियों को समान अधिकार है। वे लोग भी भारत के एक अंग हैं। इसलिये जो ब्रिटिश सरकार की पालिसी थी उस पालिसी से अब हमारी भारत सरकार को, हमारी गणतान्त्रिक सरकार को अलग रहना चाहिये। अभी भी आप जा कर देखें कि वहां मिशनरीज बच्चों को और बयस्क आदमियों को भी क्रिश्चियन बना रहे हैं। यह धर्म-परिवर्तन आज भी उस हिल-एरिया में हो रहा है। मैं अभी दार्जिलिंग की बात कह रही थी लेकिन आसाम में भी जहां कि हिल ट्राइब्ज के लोक रहते हैं वहां भी जा कर देखने से क्रिश्चियंस ज्यादातर मिलते हैं।

तो मेरा कहना यह है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और गंडाब ट्राइब्ज के विषय में यह रिपोर्ट आई है और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोग आज से नही वर्षों से दबे हुए हैं। यदि देश के स्वाधीन होने के बाद भी ये हमारे भाई, हमारे अंग, इसी तरह से दबे रहें तो देश की उन्नति होना मुश्किल है। इसलिये आज जल्दी से जल्दी इन लोगों का उद्धार जरूर करना चाहिये ताकि देश जल्दी आगे बढ़े।

इसके साथ-साथ यह भी कहना चाहती हूं कि जो समाज में पिछड़े वर्ग के हैं वे लोग न तो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट में आ सकते हैं और न शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज में ही आ सकते हैं। तो जो पिछड़े वर्ग सारे भारतवर्ष में हैं उन लोगों को भी इन लोगों के साथ साथ उठाना चाहिये। आप शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट



को स्पेशल प्राविजन कर के ऊपर उठाते हैं लेकिन अन्य बैकवर्ड क्लासेज नीचे ही रह जाते हैं। इन लोगों की उन्नति करते-करते ही अनेक वर्ष लग जाते हैं इसलिये इनके साथ-साथ अन्य बैकवर्ड क्लासेज को भी ध्यान में रखना चाहिये। जब बैकवर्ड क्लासेज कमीशन बना था तब हमने यह मांग पेश की थी और अपनी तरफ से बहुत सी मेहनत भी की थी लेकिन बैकवर्ड क्लासेज कमीशन की रिपोर्ट अभी तक यहां पर नहीं आई है। परन्तु इस के साथ साथ हमें यह खुशी है कि आज हमारे सदन में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की रिपोर्ट उपस्थित है और मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि इस रिपोर्ट के अन्दर कोई त्रुटि न रहे इन पिछड़ी जातियों को उठाने के लिये और ऐसा न हो कि इस के लिये भविष्य में फिर एक अलग रिपोर्ट लानी पड़े।

शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिये घर बनाने के लिये, स्लम क्लीयरेंस के लिये हम पैसा रखते हैं और उनके सीट का रिजर्वेशन भी किया जाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि अस्पृश्य वर्ग के लिये और दूसरों के लिये जो स्कालरशिप्स रखे हैं उसमें अन्य बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये भी कुछ रखना चाहिये। अभी देवकी नन्दन जी ने कहा है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के जो स्टुडेंट्स होते हैं उन लोगों के लिये अलग होस्टल नहीं होना चाहिये, उन लोगों को बराबरी के हक मिलने चाहिये, होस्टल में भी बराबर की तरह से रहना चाहिये और तभी यह भावना दूर होती है कि हम ऊंचे हैं और वह नीचा है, यह भावना उन लोगों से दूर होगी और वे एक समान हो जायेंगे।

(Time bell rings.)

कहना तो बहुत था परन्तु घंटी बजने के कारण यही पर खतम करती हूं। परन्तु मंत्री महोदय से एक निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि भारत के कोने कोने में नैपाली

लोग हैं, प्रायः सभी स्टेट्स में हैं, लेकिन ज्यादातर बंगाल, पंजाब और आसाम में हैं, वे उत्तर प्रदेश में भी हैं, बिहार में भी हैं। तो कम से कम इन लोगों को स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स की तरफ से एजुकेशन की और सर्विस की फैसिलिटीज जरूर मिलनी चाहिये। इन लोगों को स्कालरशिप्स और स्टाइपेंड्स देना चाहिये ताकि इन विद्यार्थियों का थोड़ा इस क्षेत्र में विकास हो। यह बहुत जरूरी है। मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kunhambu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I would like to know what is the problem here, because the Opposition speakers are not being called. We have given a very few names from this side, and I do not think more than three speakers have been called so far. I suppose towards the end of the debate there will be no time left.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling Mr. Kunhambu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In that case we need not come to Parliament at all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody has to be given a chance.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I think the Harijan Members should be given more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Kunhambu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not want to speak, Sir. Only a few names had been given from this side, and it seems that we were given the impression that we would be called at 3 O'clock.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you speaking, Mr. Kunhambu?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He will not speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am trying to accommodate all Members, as far as possible. Mr. Kunhambu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He will not speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Then Dr. Seeta Parmanand.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Unless we find that there is some kind of co-operation . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I have called upon another speaker to speak.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: To begin with, Sir, I would like to make a few observations on the position in which women in this House find themselves. Sir, it is good of you to have given me a chance and to the other lady Member also, and perhaps one more name would be called. But their position is relegated to the fag end of the debate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, we are aggrieved on this kind of a ruling, and therefore in protest we walk out.

(At this stage the Communist Members left the House.)

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: When, Sir, names are given as early as when the Minister is speaking, it would be desirable to allocate time equally from the beginning amongst all the speakers. It was not as if in this particular discussion on the report the names were given as the debate progressed, and as such I feel, Sir, it is rather unfair that the Members who are following later should be given very little time. Sir, I realise today that women in the Hindu society were classed along with slaves and shudras as in

“स्त्रीपुत्रश्च दासश्च” or “स्त्रियो वैशस्तथा  
शूद्रस्तेऽपि यन्ति परां गतिम्”

Therefore, Sir, I would say with greater force that if you were going to allow the Harijan Members a greater

chance, you should have, on par, allowed women also a better chance than you have done today.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have seen the Opposition Party. Now, you are speaking on behalf of women.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Yes, Sir. And lest I forget to make another observation that women . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are losing your time.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: I do not mind it, because this is very important. Women should have claimed their rights to have special representation in the legislatures, as I have been feeling during the course of the last two years after seeing gradually the treatment of women, particularly in public affairs and in Government service. I feel that women made a great mistake in not asking for reservation of seats in the legislatures, and then on the strength of their half voting capacity it would have been realised by all what the position of women should have been.

Sir, I would like to, before I may be lost in any argument, pay my compliment to the hon. Deputy Minister, Mrs. Violet Alva—I am sorry she is not here—for her first speech in this House from Treasury Benches presenting the report on behalf of the Government. I was, Sir, very proud to see that she put such life into what might be considered as a somewhat drab report in the manner in which she did, and I feel, Sir, that for that reason this particular Department should be left entirely in her charge to show what women could do where men failed. Sir, may I proceed now with the report?

The report is certainly very picturesque, and I compliment those who produced it—the Commissioner—on having brought it to this stage from the first report which had a cover with just a hieroglyphic, an imitation, of

the art of the Scheduled Tribes. Then the second report cover was full of black and white figures, equally ugly. But now the cover of this report has become presentable, and one can really, in spite of the dreary presentation, which is not very clear also—and I agree with it, because some of it is superfluous and unnecessary—now and then find some pictures here and there to divert one's attention. Sir, I would not like to take more time in paying compliments, but I would like to say that the Commissioner who is reported to have a flair for social work and with whom social work is a passion has devoted his full time to do what he could, and I do not want to take away that glory and the credit showered on him. But I would like to say, Sir, that be it as a result of the inexperienced staff under him or be it as a result of the confusion due to multiplicity of departments, the performance is not equal to the opportunities and expenditure.

Sir, this is the one department where money is not lacking, and yet what do we find? Very often so much money lapses and so much money is surrendered and there is a hurry-scurry to spend some money in order to show that something has been done. I have got a proof here how money is wasted in buying things for thrice as much the value. I would mention here that the building of the Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara was purchased for more than twice the real market value of that building. And, Sir, Rs. 30,000 are now required for repairs and other additions to it. I would like also to say that the way in which the report is given also shows some overlapping of departments. I am not able to understand, Sir, why this department should dabble into the sphere of what may be called the community development work. For instance, Sir, on page 59 it has been stated that "At Morshi in Amravati district the housing conditions of the municipal sweepers are deplorable." Now, this is a work for the municipal people to do. Besides, Morshi came under the Community Development

and National Extension Blocks. Then, Sir, the report is also trying to encroach upon the spheres of the local administration. Incidentally, Sir, I would refer you to page 225 where something is said about how the four motor garages in Belgaum municipal area should be vacated and the accommodation given to the sweepers. Everywhere you would find similar suggestions that are put either through conferences or as a result of the officers' tours. There is so much confusion about the correct division of the spheres of work that it is high time that in view of the experience gained and in view of more or less a failure to produce appropriate results, there is a Tribal Ministry created at the Centre. Of course, the Constitution will have to be changed for that purpose. And the money that is available for tribal welfare under community development, under the Education Ministry for scholarships and the money to be spent under this report should be brought under that one Central Ministry, and also the Commissioner meant for this work should also be brought under that Ministry. Unless there is one single agency to deal with all these things, the result will be, too many cooks spoiling the broth. And they have really spoiled the broth to such an extent that in spite of so much money of the country being spent and having given top priority to this work, the result is so unsatisfactory that the people concerned feel that very little has been done for them. In spite of shortages, it has been decided not to curtail any money over tribal welfare. That should be remembered.

Then, Sir, I would like to mention here something about the delay that has been caused here. If you refer to page 58 of the report, you will find that there are two items under 'Madhya Pradesh' as follows:

"(1) The Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara should be equipped with the competent personnel so that study of the tribal religion and culture, etc. in the State should be undertaken as early as possible.

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]

(2) A Social Workers Training Institute in the State is another necessity to be fulfilled as early as possible."

Mark the words "as early as possible." I would tell you that even today that institute is not functioning. And this is again a case of too many cooks spoiling the broth. Now there was no urgency of having that Research Institute. The staff—5 or 6—is sitting without much work today. I come from that place. So, I know all these things. And they have thought it better to offer their voluntary services to a local private institution. I do not know whether according to Government rules they can obtain permission to do private work in the local college that was likely to be started. Similarly, Sir, for five months an officer was appointed for starting this Institute and giving training and, yet no sanction came from the Madhya Pradesh Government. The Minister was written to; the Chief Minister was written to; and this officer did not get his salary for four months. I think the whole thing has been scrapped. It is not the fault of any single person. I realise the administrative difficulties, but what is happening is that there is such an inordinate delay in sanctioning schemes that it is not possible to execute them and give the people satisfaction.

It has been said that some reservation should be made in Government services irrespective of efficiency. Such a reservation has been made as the hon. Minister will again point out; last year he did point out; if there is not the appointment of as many people as is desired, it is not due to their failing. There is the quota and I know it for a fact that a certain latitude is given to these people in employment, but all of us should realise that efficiency in the State cannot be sacrificed.

I would like the Government to think—I am saying this on the floor of the House—whether it is desirable in the interests of the country to con-

tinue these Tribal Research Institutes and whether it would not be desirable to make such departments a part of the general administration, keeping separate money for it. This policy of calling people Tribals and Scheduled Castes was started by the Britishers as part of their policy of divide and rule. Today with the conscious antagonism that is being created to the national interests, it is doubtful whether any useful purpose would be served by such research institutes tending to separatism. Even if these people get all that the country can give them, they would not be satisfied. So, on account of the existence of this type of research institutes, the differences are accentuated and it is not going to be conducive to the unity of the country. Rome was not built in a day and I would like my friends to realise that Rome was not built in a day, and that progress cannot but be slow. But I would say that all of us, even those who are not Harijans, have a duty, more than a duty, to help in this task. I do not see what objection there can be to it, but one of my friends said that it should not have been said here in the report that women of the higher classes should make an attempt to mix with the Scheduled Castes. It does not mean that it is something of a stigma on these classes. It is only pointed out that women of the higher classes are failing in their duty, and it is in no way a slur on the Harijans. Thank you.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Sir, I am very thankful to you for having afforded me an opportunity to have my say on this belated report for 1955 which is in my hands. I congratulate the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes not for the excellent report that he has presented but because of the fact that from the perusal of the report I find that he has made himself like a Harijan and identified himself with the uplift of those people whose uplift has been entrusted to his custody. It is a matter which deserves our congratulations, and I am quite sure that the missionary zeal and missionary spirit

that he has been displaying in the discharge of his statutory duties is very commendable.

This report is broadly divided into three parts; one deals with the Scheduled Castes, the other with the Scheduled Tribes and the third one with the Backward Classes. For the benefit of my friends, the scheduled representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, I want to convince them of one thing and it is this that my name may have been inadvertently omitted from being included in the list of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. but I am any day a better friend and better representative of the so-called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes than they can claim themselves to be, and the reason for it is that I have been practising, actually practising, not only preaching, the removal of untouchability and the upliftment of the down-trodden and depressed classes for about half a century now. So, I can tell the so-called representatives of the untouchables and Scheduled Castes . . .

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Except the stigma of untouchability.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: They are always harping on the economic advantages that must flow to them and not, in the ordinary matter of course, accrue to them. They should flow to them as water flows in the river or water flows from the tap in our residences. This is a very unfortunate aspect of the whole question, and I would beg of them to shake off this mentality and to make themselves one, as our Commissioner has done, with the untouchables and try to uplift them. They are lamenting on their low economic power but they have done nothing practical to raise them up economically. They have got no concrete work to their credit. True, they are sitting here as their representatives in this House. Now, it is very easy for us to be representing a certain community on the basis of the stigma that attaches to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the basis of their birth and on that basis pressing that

the bad practice of reservation of seats, which is today fixed for ten years, should be continued indefinitely, till eternity. This is very wrong.

Then, another point I want to guard the hon. the Home Minister against is that we are trying to settle these unfortunate so-called untouchables, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in separate colonies.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Who is responsible for making them separate, not the Harijans themselves.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Facts speak for themselves.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: For centuries together.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I need not dilate upon them. Now casteism and separatism are the most dangerous enemies of any society, whether it be Indian society or any other society. We see it there in America, White America, Negro-America and so many other things. These are the evils which we should ponder over and we should try to remove them. When my friend, Mr. Rajabhoj, was speaking, I told him, "I have removed the evil of untouchability by drinking, mixing on social terms, on all terms whatsoever, with the communities who are called untouchables, but do you all eat, mix and drink with them?" No. they have not succeeded till now. That is their record. Then they want to put their record as against the record of the Government which is doing all that is possible. Sometimes you will be surprised to learn that we, so-called Hindus, savarna Hindus, have made applications to Government to be included in Scheduled Castes. Why is it so?

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: To take away our . . .

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Because they have so much of . . . (Interruptions). So far as taking away is concerned, let me tell my friend this—and if Mr. Balkrishna Sharma were

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]  
here, I would have presented him as a witness. Now it was in 1932 when Mahatma Gandhi went on the fast unto death in Poona on the point of untouchability. My friend Shri Balkrishna Sharma and I were coupled together in the Fyzabad jail. There were 300 of us. The flower of Lucknow, the flower of Uttar Pradesh was all there in the year 1932. As soon as Mahatmaji declared his intention of fasting unto death, we were all ordered to cleanse our own latrines each morning and Mr. Sharma used to come and wake us up and send us to work. Now, we did it for 3 days. Then the professional *bhangis* in the jail came to us and said: "Excuse us, please do not be doing that as a profession because if you do that, we will be deprived of this little profession that has been reserved for us and there will be nothing else but starvation facing us grimly". This is the condition and what my friend Shri Agnibhoj can tell me. I had walked early in the morning in those days from my place to Aminabad cleaning all the *nalis* and removing all the night-soil that may be lying there. I had done all that. I have attended their religious ceremonies, their *kathas* and have refused to take the *prasad* from the hands of the Brahmin whom they had invited to preside over the function and had insisted on taking the *prasad* from those *chamars* whose *katha* I was participating in. This is my record. I put my record before you, I humbly put it and I invite you to decide for yourself whose record is nobler. Mine is a humble one. I did not do anything for the sake of gaining any reputation. I did it because I felt like that. I removed untouchability from my family and household long long ago. Nobody can ill-treat even, can talk even disrespectfully to a *bhangi*, not to say of beating or striking him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are now concerned with the report of the Commissioner not that of Mr. Saksena.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: As I have already said . . .

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: He is also a Commissioner.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: This work is entrusted in good and safe hands. I hope the present Commissioner will continue to be doing that work and more facilities will be provided for him. Perhaps, I feel that he is handicapped in this respect, that he is not his own master. He does not do things himself perhaps and I feel he is entitled to do things on his own initiative. If he is deprived of that initiative, he is worthless, he is no good and he should be sent away. The Department may take care of itself but if he is entrusted with a certain work as an individual, he should be given some power and I hope he possesses that authority.

So far as the reservation period for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people is concerned, that is about the question of sending them to Legislative Assemblies and Parliament, I say with all the force at my command, that it should not be extended even by a single day. It should . . .

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ: Why? You are a Harijan, you say.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: It should terminate on the specified date, i.e., ten years from 1950.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I am just finishing.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: He wants extension of his time.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: So far as appointment of Regional Commissioners is concerned, I find my friend the Commissioner is making the administration top-heavy and he is not finding these officers, whoever they may be, from the ranks of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes themselves. He should not be on the look-out for such officers from out-

side. He should have, by now during these five years, trained some people to take the place of these junior officers, I mean junior to the Commissioner, and he should have started from the lowest rung of the ladder and raised the people up to a sufficient standard. This is all that I have to say.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say that it is somewhat a pity that we should be discussing this report in the seventh year of the Constitution. This was presented at the end of the fifth year of the Constitution and it should have been discussed much earlier. The questions which this report raises are of a fundamental character. We have been talking almost every day that our aim is to establish a socialist society in this country. Now, the other day I was reading a new book—*Twentieth Century Socialism*—which has been published by the British Labour Party and this is the working definition which I would like to give to the House of what is a socialist society.

"Economic freedom is much more than the absence of legal restraints. It is the sum of all the positive opportunities which people have in their economic lives .... What the socialist wants is an equal chance for everyone taking their lives as a whole. They are concerned with the whole bundle of opportunities to which a society is entitled to through a life-time."

Now, obviously our society is yet very far from having reached that goal. We are nowhere near that goal and it should be our endeavour to reach it as early as possible. I am mentally constituted that institutional religion makes no particular appeal to me. I have got a very great reverence for the man of religion but I think the highest life is the life of service to one's fellow-men and in that type of service I can see no distinction between the untouchable and the touchable, between the Caste Hindus and the non-Caste Hindus. In fact what our aim should be is to establish a classless

society a caste-less society will be the inevitable concomitant of the classless society. Therefore, it is caste that we must attack and from that point of view there should be fundamental solidarity between the working classes of all sections of the community. After all they must come unto their true inheritance in this ancient land.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have gone through this report and I would like not to invite your attention to one, two or three points which struck me. The Commissioner at page 2 suggests that the State Legislature should be given a chance of discussing this report. I should like to know whether the attention of the State Governments has been drawn to this report and whether any State Legislatures have discussed this report and if so, with what effect. We would like to have the proceedings of the State Legislatures where this report has been discussed, placed before the House.

Then on page 4, I find that the Commissioner suggests that some additional staff should be appointed at the headquarters. I do not think it is red-tape or that it is adding to the bureaucracy, to ask for more staff. I do not think that a person can do all the things that he is required to do without an adequate staff. However, in recruiting the staff, care should be taken that men who belong to these classes are as far as possible, recruited.

Then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Commissioner suggests the creation of a new region. That region is to consist of the Uttar Pradesh, PEPSU, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, with headquarters at Delhi. I think here I differ from my respected friend Shri Saksena. There is a case for the creation of this new region and the Commissioner should be helped with the staff requisite for establishing the new region.

Then Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Commissioner has drawn attention to

[Shri P. N. Sapru.]  
the position of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in local bodies in this country. He has not, however, been able to supply us with the figures of the Scheduled Castes representatives in these various bodies. Before we can come to a final conclusion as to whether there should be reservation of seats in Parliament or in the State Legislatures after ten years, we should like to know how our Scheduled Caste candidates are faring in mixed constituencies, whether they have been able to get any seats out of the non-reserved seats, seats which are not for these classes.

(Time bell rings.)

Greater attention should also be given to the question of greater educational facilities for the Scheduled Castes. I am opposed to segregation in our educational institutions. I am opposed to segregation in our hostels and I am opposed to segregation in our residential areas. No houses should be allowed to be built up for exclusively Caste Hindus or for non-Caste Hindus. In fact, there should be no distinction between Caste Hindus and non-Caste Hindus.

Then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, a very important question raised was that of the treatment we meted out to the scavenger class in society. I think the sweeper class as a class should disappear. We should be able to do that work without the assistance of sweepers and we should be able to get sanitary arrangements made for this purpose. I think, Mr. Deputy Chairman, there are some tasks which are too degrading for any human being to do and what the Scheduled Castes person is entitled to is treatment as a human being. There are certain human rights which a society may not deny to anyone, without denying the very ethical foundations on which it is supposed to rest.

(Time bell rings.)

Therefore, we should see that our conservancy arrangements are made

as modern as possible and in as speedy a time as possible.

I would like, Mr. Deputy Chairman, to say just one word about the Anglo-Indians.

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

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Well, Sir, then I will resume my seat by saying that we should sympathise with our Scheduled Caste brothers. If they say certain things which are not to our liking, we must not forget that for 4,000 years we have been tyrannizing over them. It is only now latterly, that our social consciousness has been roused by the Mahatma to the injustices of our social system.

श्रीमती सावित्री देवी निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, श्रीमान्, यह शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स रिपोर्ट एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण रिकार्ड और ग्रन्थ है। सचमुच जिस परिश्रम, विद्वत्ता और लगन के साथ कमिशनर महोदय ने समाज की नस-नस में व्याप्त इस भयानक कुरीति और समस्या का अध्ययन किया है और उसके निराकरण के जो उपाय बताये हैं वे अत्यन्त प्रशंसनीय हैं। उसके लिये वे बधाई के पात्र हैं। श्रीमान्, इस ग्रन्थ को पढ़ने के बाद सहज ही में यह विश्वास हो जाता है कि सरकार सदियों से इस कुरीतिपूर्ण ढंग से उपेक्षित आदिम जाति और परिगणित जाति संतान को पुनः समाज में प्रतिष्ठित करने के लिये कटिबद्ध है। किन्तु, श्रीमान् जिस उपेक्षापूर्ण ढंग से दो वर्ष तक इस रिपोर्ट पर विचार विमर्श करना स्थगित किया गया होम मिनिस्ट्री के द्वारा, उसको देखकर मन बड़ा क्षुब्ध हो उठता है। रिपोर्ट पढ़ने के बाद यह विश्वास सा हो जाता है कि जो यह प्रब्लम है, सरकार इसको बड़ी सहानुभूतिपूर्ण और सतर्कतापूर्ण ढंग से टैकल करने जा रही है और इस रिपोर्ट के द्वारा हमारी परिगणित जाति के जो भाई हैं और जो आदिम जाति के भाई हैं,



उनके जीवन में एक अभूतपूर्व क्रान्ति आने वाली है। लेकिन श्रीमन्, यह भी विश्वास हो जाता है कि शीघ्र ही हमारे देश में एक ऐसे समाज की रचना होने वाली है जहां जाति पांति और वर्ग-विभेद की दीवारें न होंगी और न होगी घृणा और उपेक्षा और मानव का मानव के द्वारा शोषण।

■ किन्तु, श्रीमन्, इस शिड्यूलड कास्ट्स और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स की रिपोर्ट पर जो एक्शन लिया गया उसको जब मैंने पढ़ा तो मेरा सारा उत्साह फीका पड़ गया। इन दो वर्षों में जो काम हुआ उस पर थोड़ी बहुत प्रशंसा, प्रशंसा क्या कहूं, यह संतोष करने के पश्चात् मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस रिपोर्ट के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में जो प्रगति हुई है उसको देख कर मुझे यह अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वह अत्यन्त धीमी है और उन छोटी-छोटी चीजों को, जो आसान होते हुए भी लोगों के जीवन में एक आश्चर्यजनक परिवर्तन लाने वाली थीं, भी करने में जो सुस्ती और धीमापन दिखाया गया है वह अत्यन्त शोचनीय है।

सबसे पहले जिस चीज ने मेरा ध्यान आकर्षित किया वह है जगह जगह पर रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है “रिप्लाइ अवेटेड”। “रिप्लाइ अवेटेड” का काला पर्दा कुछ हमें यह जानने में बिल्कुल असमर्थ बना देता है कि है क्या चीज।

श्री एन० आर० मलकाती : आधी रिपोर्ट ऐसी है।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : चार, पांच जगह बड़े सूटेबल ढंग में लिखा गया है “रिप्लाइ अवेटेड” जब कि दो वर्ष बीत चुके हैं। ऐसी हालत में, श्रीमन्, हम कैसे हाथी से भी विशाल और भयानक से भयानक कोढ़ से भी विकराल समस्या को इस गति से, इस प्रकार की प्रगति से दूर करना चाहते हैं या दूर कर सकेंगे, यह कहा तक संभव है? श्रीमन्, पहले पेज पर देखिये, ३, ४ और ५ नम्बर पर

जो सिफारिशें की गई हैं वे सिर्फ आर्थिक उन्नति और आर्थिक रोजगार से सम्बन्धित हैं। आप यह समझ सकते हैं कि ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण सिफारिशों के बारे में यह लिख देना कि “रिप्लाइ अवेटेड” यह कितना त्रिमिनल इंडिफरेंस या लापरवाही है। इसके अतिरिक्त और दूसरे पेजों को उलटिये, आप आश्चर्यचकित हो जायेंगे “मैटर इज अंडर एक्जामिनेशन” लिखा हुआ है जब कि उस चीज को दो साल हो गये हैं। अब सरकार जब यह प्रगति दिखायेगी तो लोगो से और साधारण जनता से हम क्या उम्मीद कर सकते हैं। दो साल हो गये हैं, अभी तक “मैटर अंडर कंसीडरेशन” है। श्रीमन्, जो यह “मैटर अंडर कंसीडरेशन” की बीमारी आज कल हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में लगी हुई है यह एक क्षयरोग की भांति है। इसके अतिरिक्त मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि आखिर “रिप्लाइ अंडर एक्जामिनेशन” और अंडर कंसीडरेशन” में दो साल कैसे लग गए? क्यों नहीं अब तक इन मामलों पर विचार किया गया? जिस वक्त यह रिपोर्ट लिखी गई थी उस वक्त उन सिफारिशों को जरूर गौर से देखा जाना चाहिये था कि क्या ये इम्प्लीमेंट करने लायक हैं या नहीं। अगर वे इम्प्लीमेंट करने लायक थीं तो श्रीमन्, उन पर अब तक क्यों विचार नहीं हुआ है? अगर दो वर्ष का समय भी “अंडर कंसीडरेशन” के लिए काफी नहीं था तो क्यों नहीं उनको निकाल दिया गया? क्यों ये सब बाग दिखाए गये, एक सुंदर नक्शा दिखाया? जब हम रिपोर्ट पढ़ने बैठते हैं तो तीन चौथाई रिपोर्ट “अंडर कंसीडरेशन” या “अंडर एक्जामिनेशन” “रिप्लाइ” अवेटेड” से भरी हुई है। मैं जानती हूँ कि मिनिस्टर महोदय यही उत्तर देने वाले हैं कि हम क्या करें, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को आटोनामी मिली हुई है, उन्होंने उत्तर नहीं दिया, लेकिन मैं पूछती हूँ कि यह मराला ऐसा है, इतना गंभीर है और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट बराबर लापरवाही बरत रही है, सहयोग नहीं दे रही है वो क्यों नहीं होम मिनिस्ट्री उन्हें अपने हाथ में

[श्रीमती सावित्री देवी निगम]  
ले लेती ? इस मसले को जो देश को एक भयानक बीमारी से ग्रसित किए हुए है, इस पर कभी भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को छुट नहीं देनी चाहिए। अगर वह देती है तो इस उपेक्षा के लांछन से होम मिनिस्ट्री कभी भी बच नहीं सकती। श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जितनी सिफारिशें इम्प्लिमेंट की गई हैं, अगर आप गौर करे और देखें, तो मालूम होगा कि वे महज "आईवाश" हैं। ये बहुत पहले से की जा चुकी थीं और उनमें थोड़ा बहुत परिवर्तन कर दिया जा चुका है, कोई ठोस कदम अब तक नहीं उठाया गया।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं उन सारी योजनाओं को लेती हूँ जो रोजगार दिलाने के सम्बन्ध में या आर्थिक स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में हैं। जब इंसान भूखों मरता है तब उसका सामाजिक जीवन उसके लिये अभिशाप हो जाता है। खास तौर पर हमारे देश में जहाँ मिक्स्ट इकोनोमी है और जिसको यहाँ सम्मान मिला है वहाँ यह आशा करना कि हम आदिम जाति के लोगों और अस्पृश्य भाइयों को भी सम्मान दिला सकेंगे, यह एक थोथा स्वप्न है, झठा स्वप्न है, जो कभी पूरा नहीं होने वाला है। अगर हम वास्तव में चाहते हैं कि हम उन भाइयों को ऊँचा उठायें तो हमारा यह प्रथम कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि हम रोजगार के मसलों को और आर्थिक मसलों को प्राथमिकता दें और उन सिफारिशों को इम्प्लिमेंट करें जो हमारे हरिजन भाइयों की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने वाली हैं।

श्रीमन्, अब आप रिपोर्ट में दी गई १२८ और २२६ नं० की सिफारिशों पर दृष्टि डालने की कृपा करें। "suggestions for disposal of night soil" हालांकि अनेक संसद् सदस्यों ने इस बात पर विचार प्रकट किये हैं लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जब जब इस अस्पृश्यता निवारण का प्रश्न इस सदन में आया है तब तब मैं ने स्वयं कहा है कि आप वास्तव में सब से

पहले अनटचेबिलिटी दूर करना चाहते हैं तो यह सिर पर मैला ढोने की जो प्रथा है उसको दूर कीजिये, लेकिन आज तक यह घृणित प्रथा चल रही है। उस के बाद यह हाल है, उत्तर प्रदेश के विषय में लिखते हैं : "Suggestion made by the Commissioner does not appear to be practicable." कहते हैं कि प्रेक्टिकेबल ही नहीं है। जब उनकी यह धारणा है और यह स्थिति है तो आप बताइये कि कैसे एक संसद् सदस्य ने कहा कि वे अपनी गंदी आदत नहीं छोड़ते। मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूँ कि कोई भी आदमी इस घृणित काम को करना पसन्द नहीं करता। मैं एक बार किसी हरिजन मंडली में गई थी तो उन्होंने कहा कि बहिन जी, हम भूखों मर रहे हैं, सरकार के हम नौकर हैं, हम इस काम को छोड़ें तो कैसे छोड़ें, अगर हमें आप कोई दूसरा रोजगार का जरिया दिला सकें तो हम इस गंदे काम को छोड़ने के लिये तैयार हैं। क्यों नहीं सरकार हमें गाड़ियां बना कर देती ? अगर म्युनिसिपैलिटी हमें गाड़ियां बना कर दे देती तो तो क्या हमें खुशी होती इस गंदे को सिर पर रखने में ? तो दोष हमें अपने को देना चाहिये, सरकारी सूत्रों को देना चाहिये। जब हम उनके लिये साधन नहीं उपलब्ध करेंगे तो आप ही बतायें वे क्या करें ? भूखों तो नहीं मर सकते, इन्सान भूखों मरने से मैला ढोना पसन्द करता है। मैं जानती हूँ, होम मिनिस्टर यह कहेंगे कि यह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का ज्युरिस्टिकशन है। लेकिन इतना तो वह कर सकते हैं कि अनटचेबिलिटी के खिलाफ एक अमेंडमेंट ला कर यह कह दें कि म्युनिसिपल बोर्ड, डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड या नोटिफाइड एरिया के अन्दर जो इस तरह से सिर पर रख कर मैला ढुलवायेंगे उनके खिलाफ ऐक्शन लिया जायगा, उनको प्रोसीक्यूट किया जायगा। देखिए अगर आज यह अमेंडमेंट ला दिया जाय तो पांच-छः दिन के अंदर आप देखेंगे कि ये सारी लोकल बाडिज और जाने

कहां कहां से फंड निकालेंगी और उसको इमप्लीमेंट करेंगी। लेकिन चूक होम मिनिस्ट्री खुद उपेक्षा कर रही है ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Local bodies, municipalities, etc., are all State subjects.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM: Yes, of course, but if we amend this Untouchability Act and add one clause in it saying that any municipality or district board or notified area committee which is found responsible for getting the night soil taken away in baskets will be prosecuted, every municipality will take immediate action. I know and I am sure, Sir.

श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह रही थी कि एक ओर तो सरकार अनटचेबिलिटी को काइम बनाती है और दूसरी ओर अनटचेबिन्स को इस हालत में रखती है कि वे इस बीमारी से कभी छूट ही न सकें। एक ओर तो आप उन्हें सिर पर डलिया में मैला ले जाने के लिए मजबूर करते हैं दूसरी ओर अनटचेबुल एक्ट पास करते हैं। यह किस तरह से सम्भव हो सकता है कि वह इस बीमारी से दूर रहें, जब सरकार उनके लिए कुछ उचित कार्यवाही नहीं करती है।

श्रीमन्, एक बात मैं आपके सामने और रखना चाहती हूं और वह यह है कि अगर सरकार वास्तव में चाहती है कि अनटचेबिलिटी दूर हो और इन भाइयों का शोषण किया जाना बन्द हो तो सरकार को चाहिये कि इस सारे कार्य को डीसेंटलाइज कर दे। गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि इस सम्बन्ध में वह जितना रुपया व्यय करती है या ग्रांट्स के रूप में राज्यों को देती है उसको करने के बजाय वह भारत सेवक समाज, पटेल निधि और गांधी स्मारक निधि जैसी सोशल सर्विस, रचनात्मक कार्य, करने वाली संस्थाओं को रुपये दे दे, जो कि बराबर ५० साल से कार्य करती आ रही हैं। अगर वह इस तरह इन संस्थाओं को ग्रांट्स देगी तो यह कार्य जल्द से जल्द पूरा हो जायेगा।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि नवयुवक और नवयुवतियों को सरकार की ओर से छात्रवृत्ति दी जानी चाहिये और आर्थिक सहायता दी जानी चाहिये। अगर कोई सवर्ण व्यक्ति हरिजन कुमारी से शादी करे तो सवर्ण व्यक्ति को ग्रांट दी जाय और अगर हरिजन कुमारी किसी सवर्ण व्यक्ति से शादी करे तो हरिजन लड़की को सरकार की ओर से ग्रांट दी जाय। इसका कारण यह है कि अक्सर यह होता है कि इस तरह की शादी होने के बाद उन लोगों का सामाजिक बहिष्कार हो जाता है और उन्हें इसे बदलित करना पड़ता है। अगर सरकार की ओर से इस तरह की सहायता दी गई तो सामाजिक कुरीति अपने आप दूर हो जायेगी।

(Time bell rings.)

मैं तीन मिनट में अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगी।

श्रीमन्, एक बड़ा ब्लन्डर, मिसटेक, सरकार की ओर से जो की जा रही है वह यह है कि होम मिनिस्ट्री ने तह सारा काम अपने ही उपर ले रखा है जिसकी वजह से इस काम की उपेक्षा हो रही है। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इसके लिए एक अलग मंत्रालय स्थापित किया जाय क्योंकि होम मिनिस्ट्री बहुत हार्डप्रेस्ड है।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आपका समय हो गया है। आपने दो मिनट कहा था, तीन मिनट हो गये हैं।

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : श्रीमन्, एक बात कहकर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगी।

(Time bell rings.)

जो बात मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि ईक्वल रिप्रेजेंटेशन की बात कई संसद् सदस्यों ने कही कि संख्या के अनुसार हरिजन भाइयों को संसद् और नौकरी में ईक्वल रिप्रेजेंटेशन दिया जाय।

श्री उपसभापति : श्री विजय सिंह।

5 P.M.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan):  
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the fag end of the debate I have no desire to inflict a long speech on the tired Members of the House and I am also conscious of the fact that the hon. Minister has to give his reply and the Members are rather anxious to hear him and so I do not want to stand for long between him and the Members of the House.

Sir, the subject that is before us is a very important one. Since independence there are several achievements to the credit of our Government, just for example, the passing of the Constitution, the holding of two General Elections, the laying of the foundation of the First Five Year Plan and completing it successfully. These are all very big achievements but the effort that we and the Government are putting in today to integrate the Indian society into a homogeneous one, if successful, will in my opinion be regarded as the biggest achievement by future historians. We all talk of the Indian nation but, Sir, when we talk of the Indian nation, there is in it the nation of the Caste Hindus, there is the nation of Muslims, there is the nation of Scheduled Castes, etc. Disraeli said about the nineteenth century England that "there are two nations working in one." So there were several nations working in India. It is essential that all these Indian communities should be integrated into one whole. Mr. K. M. Panikkar in his book "Asia under Western Dominance" has traced that one of the reasons why the eastern society came under the domination of western countries was the fact that the eastern societies were divided and to the extent we built our society into a homogeneous block we will be able to have real independence of our country. This fact, Sir, that we should have one unified bloc of society in the country was realised by our seers and prophets long ago, Right from the time of Lord Buddha people have

tried to remove the stigma of untouchability from Indian society. But they have not been successful. It was only left to Mahatma Gandhi to tackle this problem in a more practical way, and the results are before us. So long as we had no independence we were carrying on this work in a non-official way, and since independence we have made a specific provision in the Constitution to remove this untouchability and the present report that is before us summarises all that the Government have done not only in one year but in five years, and I shall just read the portion of the report which says about it:

"This Report makes an humble effort to indicate not only the progress achieved during the year 1955 but also during the 5-year period, presenting a rough outline of the achievements so far made in the various activities of education and economic interest of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the measures undertaken to protect them from social injustice and from all forms of exploitation and in raising the level of administration in the Scheduled and the Tribal Areas."

Sir, in this very big report various steps have been dealt with and I must say that they have been dealt with in a most beautiful way, and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes certainly deserves congratulations from one and all of the Members of this House for presenting this beautiful report before us. As the time at my disposal is rather very short I will not like to repeat all that has been said in this report in a most beautiful way. Therefore, I would like only to offer some of my suggestions and criticisms about the report and the suggestions that have been made therein. But the criticisms or suggestions that I am making should not detract from the general and wholehearted accord that I am giving to the report that is before us.

Sir, I now like to refer to page 78 of the report wherein mention has been made that lists of villages where untouchability is practised will be kept. This is a very good suggestion. This suggestion was made to several Governments and only three or four States in India refused to accept the suggestion put to them. Eleven or twelve States that have accepted the suggestion have not supplied the information that was required of them. Now, it is a very good suggestion but I would like to say one thing in this connection and that is that it should be made obligatory on the Block Advisory Committees in the States that the Block Advisory Committees should see whether the villages have abjured untouchability or not. A Block Advisory Committee which deals with a population of 60,000 or so have got intimate touch with the people and therefore they will be able to know whether the villages which say that "we" have removed untouchability are truly such villages or not. As it is, a complaint was rightly made that some of the figures that are put before us are wrong, and they are so. Therefore, Sir, this is my one suggestion which I commend for the consideration of the House and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that it should be made part of the community block programme, where the meetings take place every month, that they should see whether this suggestion is incorporated or not.

Then, Sir, I would like to give another suggestion. I wanted to say many things but I am omitting many because of the shortage of time. At page 80 of the report there is a suggestion that to Scheduled Caste hostels boys from Caste Hindus should be encouraged to go by giving them stipends. This is a very good suggestion. We should not have segregation. But I would like to suggest one thing in this connection, that in respect of all the non-Scheduled Caste hostels which are receiving some aid from the Government it must be made obligatory on them that they should

have at least one Harijan boy in such hostels. This we can certainly insist on and this we should certainly do because there should be free mixing of students at their tender age and so it should be made obligatory on the Caste Hindu hostels to admit Harijan boys there because these hostels are the citadels of conservatism and unless and until we try to get at the root of the evil we will not be progressing.

Then, Sir, I would refer to page 87 of the report where Debt Conciliation Boards and *panchayats* are mentioned. In this connection I have got some personal observations to make. So far as these Debt Conciliation Boards are concerned they are not doing much useful work, if I may be permitted to say so. Sir, in these Boards only those persons who bask in the sunshine of the "Meharban" of Ministers are generally appointed. Since these Conciliation Boards are not working properly it is most important that we watch the working of these Conciliation Boards. I do not want to name any State, but there are States where the Act is there, the Conciliation Boards should be there but the Boards have not been constituted in the majority of the areas of the State and therefore this is one thing which I wanted to bring to the notice of this House.

Another thing is about the *panchayats*. *Panchayat* is a very good thing but in certain areas of which I have got personal knowledge, these *panchayats* are working to the detriment of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people. Especially in the tribal area the people are under the clutches of money-lenders and money-lenders have somehow manoeuvred to become *sarpanchas*. Formerly, when they had to realise some debt from the Scheduled Tribe people they used to go to the court and now because they are in the *panchayats* these people realise their debt from the Scheduled Tribe people without having to go to court. This thing which is very good on paper is not working rightly in practice and thus again I commend

[Shri Vijay Singh.]  
for the consideration of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Then, Sir, I like to refer to the housing facilities. It is very good that we should have houses constructed for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people. But, Sir, I may say that there are certain places where the houses that have been constructed for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people are still lying vacant. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has undertaken long journeys. I request that he should come with me in a motor-car and within eight hours of starting we will go to a place where I will show 200 houses still lying vacant. He need not even get down from the car because the place is only 15 yards from the spot where the motor-car may have to stop.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: They are not prevented from occupying them.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: You say that so much money has been spent on them but they are lying unoccupied.

(Interruption)

I think he is unnecessarily taking my time Sir. I am not cross with him on this point. I simply mean to say that the schemes that are implemented are not being utilised for them.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: They don't want to take advantage of the facilities that are given to them. They do not want to leave their garrets and huts and shift to the houses that are constructed for them. So how is the Government responsible for it?

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: I shall let it go. The position is that the houses have been constructed which are not fit for human habitation. They have been constructed near the locality where they are not being used. I hope the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, when next he goes on tour, will see these houses. What I feel about his tour also is that

his tours are mostly conducted by the State authorities and they show him only those things which they think will evoke fine remarks by him and whatever weak points there are, the State authorities do not show him. Therefore, Sir, next time he goes on tour he should also see this thing.

(Time bell rings.)

Just two minutes more, Sir.

I wholeheartedly commend the suggestion that has been made on page 100 regarding the setting up of autonomous boards. The example of Saurashtra is worthy of consideration and we must all emulate that example. I think the Saurashtra Board will still function in spite of the fact that it has now been merged in greater Bombay.

Now, there are other things that I wanted to say, but I will now conclude since you have rung the bell. I would only appeal to the Members of this House that this is a very important problem and mere discussion in Parliament or mere passing of Acts is not going to remove this evil. All of us who speak here will have to work tirelessly to implement the scheme that we have got and here I would like to place before the House what Lenin said when he assumed power in Russia:

"If we had expected that life in rural districts would be transformed by drafting hundreds of laws we should have been absolute idiots but if we had not indicated in laws the road that must be followed, we should have been traitors to Socialism. These laws could not be carried into effect fully and immediately played an important part as propaganda. While formerly we carried on our propaganda by means of general truth, we have now to carry on propaganda by means of work. Laws are instructions which call for practical man action."

There are all such things for practical man action and this is a truth

which the Government of India, Members of Parliament and those who are interested in this work should bear in mind. Thank you.

**SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA:** Sir, I was waiting for my hon. friend, Mr. Leuva, to come in. He felt aggrieved at my not having agreed with some remarks of his. The remark to which objected—or rather with which I disagreed—was that one Harijan as District official can do more work in the field of removal of untouchability than a band of 100 honest workers. That certainly is not a correct proposition; if there are honest workers they can do wonders and it is want of honest workers that is standing in the way of more progress being made.

And now that I have stood up I would say that the Government gives sufficient grants to non-official agencies which are really doing work amongst the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There is one such institution in Bihar—Santal Paharia Sewa Mandal—which is doing very well and because they do not get more workers, they are not having more money which is being offered to them by Government. Therefore, if there are honest workers, a lot of more work can be done. That is why I did not agree with what my friend, Mr. Leuva, said and perhaps he has misunderstood me.

**SHRI B. N. DATAR:** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in the course of the two-day debate that we had on this report for the year 1955, as many as 23 hon. Members have taken part and have criticised us as strongly and in some cases as vehemently as possible, though I am happy to note that a very large number have been appreciative of what we have done in this respect.

Now, the first point that I would like to point out in this connection is about the nature of that the debate as also the limit of this particular debate. Under article 338 of the Constitution:

“It shall be the duty of the Special officer to investigate all matters

relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.”

A number of hon. Members were under a supposition, which unfortunately is not correct, that we are here a Unitary Government and that the State Governments are bound to carry out whatever we direct them to do. That is not the position under the Federation at all. So far as the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, that is entirely a State subject and this must be understood very clearly. Therefore, Sir, I was wondering how Member after Member was rising and criticising, if not often condemning, the Home Minister for what can be called the omissions,—I would not use the word ‘sins’—for the acts of omissions of the State Governments. Now, this is a subject in which we come into the picture only for the purpose of making certain grants in respect of both Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Under article 338 of the Constitution, we have to appoint an officer and the officer has to make a report to the President. After the report has been received, it has got to be sent to the various State Governments and it is up to them—and let this be understood very clearly—to carry out the recommendations made therein or to look to the various grievances that have been pointed out by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is the position. Now, my friend Mr. Kunzru said that this should be done as firmly and as strongly as possible. We have already been taking up this matter with the State Governments in a persuasive manner and of course, in a firm manner wherever it is necessary. As I have stated, most of these complaints relate to what the State Governments have done or have not done but all

[Shri P. D. Himatsingka.]  
the same I may point out to this hon. House that the situation has been improving year by year.

Another point was raised by Dr. Kunzru as to why discrimination, according to him, was being made between Assam on the one hand and other States on the other. May I point out to him that we have article 275 in the Constitution which deals with grants from the Union to certain States?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: The hon. Minister is mistaken. I did not say that any discrimination was being made in favour of Assam. I wanted to know why the other States were not spending comparable sums on the development of communications.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That is because so far as the State of Assam is concerned, he principally referred to the question of want of communications and incidentally he referred to others also, but so far as the other States are concerned, the conditions are not so bad there; they are not so neglected as they are in Assam. And we find that in the case of Assam there has been the largest concentration naturally of the Scheduled Tribes and there is also the largest concentration of grievances. That is the reason why more amounts are being spent in Assam so far as these elementary requirements are concerned than in other States. Again it will also be noted that it is a question for the State Governments and they have to take all the circumstances into account, all the requirements under the various heads into account and then they have to formulate their budget. Therefore, it has to be understood that the Government of India cannot be held responsible at all in this matter.

Then, Sir, an initial complaint was made by a number of hon. Members that this is a belated debate. So far as the debate is concerned, it may be belated but for this we are not responsible at all. We received the report

as I have pointed out, early in 1956. Then we placed the copy on the Table of the House. Hon. Members also understand that along with the copy we have also to present a memorandum dealing with the recommendations and the complaints of the Commissioner one by one and also point out what action has been taken by the Central Government or what action has been taken by the various State Governments. Therefore, we have to be in correspondence for months together with the State Governments and that is the reason why we presented these materials before both Houses in September 1956. Thereafter, naturally there was urgent parliamentary work both in this House and in the other and if the report could not be debated upon earlier—and in my opinion there were strong reasons also because we tried to see if this could be taken up but a number of important things intervened and therefore it could not be taken up earlier—we could not help it, but I would point out that so far as this delay is concerned, it is not the Government of India that is responsible but it was due to the pressure of work in both Houses of Parliament.

Then, Sir, I was happy to find that a number of hon. Members had words of appreciation to say of the great work that the Commissioner has done. I am going to request him to curtail the bulk of the report so that he can present before Parliament a manual dealing with more or less permanent items of this work. He should try to give us a concise report dealing with the assessment of the situation by him and also give us a summary of his recommendations. In that case, it would be possible for hon. Members to go through the report and make a number of suggestions because, after all, though this report is a very important one . . . .

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: I would request that the report should not be so concise that all the material facts are omitted.



SHRI B. N. DATAR: If the hon. Member had followed what I stated—"assessment of the situation and the recommendations"—then naturally, the whole thing would be clear.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: How can the commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes assess the situation when he does not receive reports from the States?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That is exactly the matter which I am going to discuss immediately. If we have a shorter report, it would be easier for hon. Members to go through the whole report and appreciate correctly the Commissioner's assessment of the situation as also his recommendations. I am quite confident that from the next year, we shall have a report of this type and this would be less bulky and more useful to all the hon. Members of both Houses of Parliament.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Bombay): More economical also.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It may be economical also under the present circumstances.

Dr. Kunzru has raised a right question and Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam was furious with us because, on a number of occasions, we had to say what we could not but say, i.e., opinions have not been received. If they are not received, what can we do? This is a matter which we have taken up with the State Governments and as I have stated, there has been a considerable improvement. So far as the work of State Governments is concerned, I promised last time during a similar discussion that a better purpose would be served by having a debate on the Commissioner's report as regards the particular State in the Local legislature. That is what I did and we did circulate a note to the various State Governments suggesting that a discussion in the local legislature would be more profitable because, thereby, the Government, would be in a position to answer points more effectively than what we can do by depending solely on the materials

which the State Government has given us. Sometimes, hon. Members raise various points to which it is not possible for us to reply because they are local questions. Now, some States have agreed to have such a discussion in their legislatures. But there are also several other States which, possibly on account of the fact that they are pressed for work, are not in favour of such a debate at all. I still repeat by opinion in this respect that, if the conditions have to be improved on the lines which have been rightly pointed out by a number of hon. Members, then the best course would be to have such a discussion in the local legislatures and thereby, the local Governments would be in a position to appreciate the gravity of the problem better than what they can do on our reports going there. All the same, I am going to request the State Governments, who are still unwilling to take up this question, to have a debate in their own respective legislatures and give us their report.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Are there any State Governments which do not favour this discussion to take place in their legislatures?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: There are some States and it is not necessary at this stage to mention them. We are trying to see if they can agree to our persuasion in this respect.

I would also point out that, in view of the fact that a number of hon. Members have made very valuable and substantial suggestions, I would send to the various State Governments an analysis or a summary of the proceedings of this hon. House, so that all that has been stated, all the criticisms that have been levelled not only against us but also against the State Governments, will be fully looked into by the State Governments and duly attended to.

Now, all that I can say in this respect is that we are trying our best to cope with this situation. But, as I stated, our powers are limited. We have not got any executive powers

[Shri B. N. Datar.]

nor any executive machinery to carry out the work in respect of the large grants that we are making. I might also point out to you, Sir, in this connection, that, we have been acting more liberally than under the First Plan. We are giving to the State Governments certain monies completely and on some occasions, on a 50:50 basis. We have evolved a new scheme according to which the whole cost is borne by the Centre. It is called the Centrally Sponsored Scheme. In respect of other schemes, the State Governments have to share their responsibility with us, as I have said, on a 50:50 basis. Therefore, we are extremely anxious that the large amounts that are being granted are spent. About Rs. 39 crores under the First Five Year Plan have been already spent and under the Second Five Year Plan, I may point out, we are going to spend about Rs. 91 crores. And the House is entitled to know how those large amounts are spent. They go directly to the persons who are concerned. In this connection, my friend, Shri Agnibhoj, made a certain criticism which, I am afraid, was not fair at all—that we go on making such statements that all the non-Tribals, all the non-Harijans, all the non-Scheduled Castes or non-Scheduled Tribes of India are dishonest or that even 5 per cent. of the amount that we are spending does not go to the benefit of the persons concerned. I am afraid that both these statements are entirely wrong and the interests of the Harijans and the Tribals will not be served, in fact, they will be harmed, if we go on making such statements in a language which is intemperate. Let us understand, as others can understand, that, so far as the Tribals and the Harijans are concerned, there could not have been a greater benefactor, a more effective benefactor, than Mahatma Gandhi and Thakkar Bapa.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: I accept that, but I am hundred per cent. satisfied that the work of the Home Ministry . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The hon. Member may be even 200 per cent. dissatisfied, but that is not the point I am objecting to. The grievance is that he should not attribute dishonesty to thousands of workers. I might point out here, Sir, that I have gone round the country and it must be said to the credit of the members of the Harijans Sevak Sangh or the Adimjati Sevak Sangh that there are hundreds of workers who are not actually Harijans, who are not Tribals, but who are carrying on their work in a spirit of dedication and earnestness which is really wonderful under the circumstances. Even my friend, Shri Leuva, was not fair in regard to, these non-Harijans. He made light of the principles on which Gandhiji established the Harijan Sevak Sangh. He desired that the non-Harijans should serve the Harijans in a spirit of punishment for themselves for what the Hindu society had done. Under these circumstances, Sir, no useful purpose will be served merely by condemning either the Home Ministry or the Hindu society. After all, these are facts of history and you cannot immediately unsettle what has been done. I sympathise with him because after all he belongs to a community to which injustice has been done by us for years together, and he is also entitled to be impatient to a certain extent. But I would request him not to have his mind obsessed either by a sense of bitter or by a sense of unfriendly attitude in regard to this question. (Interruption). In that case his statement is entirely wrong when he says that others are dishonest. None is dishonest at all. Sir, is it proper for us to blame the whole community and to call in question in particular the honesty of so many people? Sir, I would not like to deal with this particular question any more. But I desire that all our criticism should be as restrained as possible.

As I have stated here, in the course of the debate we have seen two extremes of criticism. Dr. Seeta Permanand suggested that there is a research institute to which she had

taken obstruction, which creates discrimination. There is no discrimination at all. And, therefore, we the members of the Hindu society ought to be extremely tolerant, though unfortunately on account of certain circumstances their heart has been very seriously affected. Therefore, I do desire that all of us—the so-called Caste Hindus, as also the Harijans and the Tribals together—have to work for removing the stigma and bringing about an improvement in the unfortunate social conditions of these people.

Then, Sir, the next point that I would like to deal with is this. A number of suggestions have been made by hon. Members, and I may in this connection point out an unfortunate inaccuracy that has remained in the report of the Commissioner. That inaccuracy naturally furnished an opportunity to a number of hon. Members to comment very strongly, and in some cases bitterly also, against the State Governments. In paragraph 2 on page 212, the Commissioner has stated as follows:

“The State Governments (excepting a few) have not still undertaken in welfare schemes of backward classes under any definite planned programme. Even, while submitting schemes for the Second Five Year Plan, they have attached importance only to the amount of expenditure that may be earmarked for the schemes without giving full details as regards the ultimate targets . . . .

May I, Sir, point out that this is not entirely an accurate statement because I find that a number of hon. Members based their criticism on what the Commissioner has stated here? Now actually, Sir, when the Second Five Year Plan was under preparation in the year 1955, the Planning Commission had called the representatives of the State Governments, and I would like to point out to this House, Sir, what was done then. In this connection, it is pointed out that in July 1955 a conference was

convened by the Planning Commission of the representatives of the State Governments, and the Central Ministries participated in this conference. The priorities to be given to the various programmes for backward classes—the term ‘backward classes’ was used in a general sense inclusive of Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes—were fully discussed and as a result of that programmes giving full details of the physical targets to be achieved were received and they were finalised in September 1955 in consultation with the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is not correct to say that the State Governments laid greater emphasis on financial targets on physical targets. Therefore, you will find that in this particular matter also there was a consideration, and there was planning also to the extent that it could be done, and that was done in consultation with the Planning Commission. There might have been certain difficulties with the State Governments also. It is also likely that they have to give greater attention to other subjects with which they are dealing, but all the same we are anxious that the State Governments should give greater attention to the interests of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. And therefore I would like to point out to this House that though it is possible to criticise the State Government . . . .

DR. W. S. BURLINGAY: Sir, we understood that this was only a printing mistake. What I ask is this. Do you want to point it out to this House or to the hon. Commissioner?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I want to point out to the hon. Commissioner as also to the hon. Members of this House, because they based their criticism on this particular matter which was slightly inaccurate. Therefore, Sir, let us be very clear about it. There might be certain difficulties. But I am confident that so far as the State Governments are concerned, they would take up this matter as early as posi-

[Shri B. N. Datar.]  
sible, and it is necessary that they have to be more expeditious; they have to give us full information, and the better course would be for them to have a debate and to place before the State Legislatures what they have done or what they could not, for valid reasons, do, so far as the Commissioner's report is concerned. Then only, Sir, would the Commissioner's report be really effective, because immediately the State Governments can go into various matters and they can satisfy the hon. Members of the local Legislatures or they can point out why certain things could not be done. (Interruption). This is not the only report. Reports are to come every year.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: The 1956 report is due.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Now, Sir, I would deal with certain other aspects raised in the course of the debate. Naturally, to a certain extent, the Commissioner also dealt with the over-all position, not only under the First Five Year Plan, but also under the Second Five Year Plan, and if I give certain figures as also point out certain decisions by the Government of India and the State Governments, I am quite confident, Sir, that the edge of the criticism that my hon. friends have made here and there will have been considerably blunted. So far as the First Five Year Plan is concerned, Sir, only Rs. 39 crores were spent. Then, Sir, a criticism was offered by certain hon. Members that a large amount was being spent on the Scheduled Tribes than upon the Scheduled Castes, though the latter were numerically greater. Now, so far as this question is concerned, we have, as I pointed out, a provision under article 275 according to which Scheduled Tribes have to be given a statutory grant. And secondly, Sir, so far as the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned, in some respects the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes are worse or more miserable than the conditions of the Scheduled Castes. There were social

disabilities so far as the former untouchables were concerned. But so far as the Scheduled Tribes were concerned, they were completely isolated from any communion with the Indian society. They lived in jungles; they lived far away from what you can call civilisation, and it was only for the first time, Sir, that a very organised attempt was made to give them the benefits of a good self-Government under the Indian Constitution and also to give them such rights to which they were entitled as Indian citizens. It is, therefore, Sir, that the framers of the Indian Constitution laid a statutory obligation on the Central Government of making certain grants. All the same, Sir, I would point out that very large amounts are being given for the Scheduled Castes as well. And if these figures are noted, it will be seen that Rs. 39 crores had been spent during the First Five Year Plan period—Rs. 24 crores for the Scheduled Tribes and the other amount of Rs. 10 crores odd for the Scheduled Castes. Under the Second Five Year Plan, what we propose to do I should like to point out as briefly as possible. Instead of the Rs. 39 crores which were actually spent in the First Five Year Plan, we propose to spend in all Rs. 91 crores for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and certain other backward classes to which I am going to make reference very shortly. Mr. Wadia rightly said that they were not Ex-criminal Tribes but De-notified Tribes. It is a very good expression, what are called Vimukta Jatis. After all, certain amounts have to be spent on them. So far as this amount of Rs. 91 crores is concerned, there are certain amounts which the States are going to bear exclusively. Rs. 32 crores are going to be spent by the Centre for schemes which are known as Centrally-Sponsored Schemes. In the case of Centrally Sponsored Schemes, the whole cost is borne by the Centre but the agency will be the State Governments, and to the extent the State Governments can have non-official co-operation, it is open to them wherever they think so. In respect of the other

schemes, viz. the State schemes, there grants are made on the basis of 50:50. If all these are taken into account, you will find that during the Second Five Year Plan of which the first year is in progress, Rs. 60 crores will have been granted by the Centre and Rs. 31 crores by the State together.

Now, oftentimes the complaint is made that more amount was being spent on education but nothing or very little was spent on other subjects like agriculture. So far as this question is concerned, let it be clearly understood that we have classified the various heads under which amounts are going to be spent, and they would show to you that these headings are in respect of other subjects as well. I should like to point out very briefly that out of this amount, Rs. 23.76 crores are going to be spent on education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This amount would be broken up as between the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Rs. 4.03 crores would be for agriculture. So far as agriculture is concerned, the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes are entitled to the ordinary benefits which the Governments are giving to all persons including the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In this discussion, the impression seems to be that this is the only amount that is being spent on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Now, these Scheduled Castes and Tribes are also entitled to the other benefits as members of backward communities as members of communities in economically backward conditions. In addition to the normal benefits which they get, this is what they are being given specially, because in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a very large number of them are landless. Some of these Tribes are following the harmful profession of shifting cultivation, and it is very desirable that they should take to agricultural methods, so that they can earn more without any difficulty.

Then, so far as cottage industries are concerned, Rs. 5.50 crores have

been set apart specially, in addition to what is being done ordinarily. Then, Rs. 8.24 crores for housing. This is further broken up into grants for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Government of India have given very clear details and they are anxious that the State Governments also should come forward to give them land or sites. The amounts that the Government of India are giving to them would be utilised as subsidy for the purchase of such other things to which they are entitled. Thus, you will see that Rs. 8.24 crores is being allotted for housing.

Then, Rs. 8.05 crores for medical and public health work. For co-operation also, Rs. 25 lakhs are being given. I would come to Rs. 6.42 crores allotted for intensive development blocks. One hon. Member suggested that something should be done for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes by having what is known as intensive development blocks. The Government of India have taken a decision in this respect and now, it has been decided that just as general community projects are there, special development blocks should be started in the tribal areas and that the kind of work to be done there, beyond the concessions that are to be given, or the improvements that are going to be effected, should be of such a nature that these tribal people derive the greatest benefit therefrom. Now, I would point out in this connection that in all during the Second Plan 43 intensive development blocks are going to be started in various States where we have got concentration of tribal population, and each block would cost Rs. 27 lakhs, and out of this Rs. 15 lakhs would be borne by the Home Ministry and Rs. 12 lakhs by the Ministry of Community Development. As the House is aware, the idea is that by the end of the Second Five Year Plan the whole of India would be covered by National Extension Service Blocks. These schemes may or may not be completely useful so far as the tribal areas are concerned, and therefore in consultation with that Administration, we came to the conclusion that there ought to

[Shri B. N. Datar.]

be, as I have said, special intensive development blocks, and in these cases the development would be on the lines that would be more favourable to the tribes. It would be economic development, cultural development, it would be educational development and it would be also recreational to the extent that it is necessary, and it would include all other schemes as well. These 43 blocks have been divided among the States which have large tribal populations. In addition to this, may I also point out to the House that we are having five technical training institutions for the benefit of these classes, and each would cost Rs. 15 lakhs? They would be in respect of mechanical and civil engineering, weaving and other subjects. One has already been started at Imphal in Manipur State. The object is that these people who have not been accustomed either to such training or occupations which are of a profitable nature, should be given training. One hon. Member wanted to know what is being done in respect of training. This is what is being undertaken. So far as housing is concerned, I have already explained what we are doing in this respect.

Then, so far as cottage industries are concerned, both in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, you will kindly understand that we are going to spend under the Second Five Year Plan Rs. 5.50 crores and the object is that 11,000 persons should be trained. An hon. Member wanted to know how many persons are being trained. Some of these persons require training, and after this training, naturally they can follow certain avocations with credit to themselves an opening for their livelihood. 825 cottage industries boards are to be located in various places. 42 training centres and 87 industrial and technical training centres are going to be started at various places. In respect of agriculture also, in addition to what is being done, 4.03 crores of rupees are going to be spent exclusively for Harijans and tribals because there are certain special difficulties and it is our

desire to remove all these so far as the giving of loans is concerned. One hon. Member made a reference to this. So far as this question is concerned, naturally it is for the State Governments to give grants or loans wherever it is possible for them. Secondly, in addition to giving loans for agriculture, they have also to give sites for certain housing colonies. In this respect a very natural suggestion was made that there ought to be no segregation at all. Government are aware that there ought not to be any segregation because segregation is likely to lead to the intensification of a feeling of separatism. For that purpose, even now it has been actually in practice, that there would be no hostel only for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The idea is, that we have started with at least 10 per cent. of the persons belonging to other backward classes, and neither Scheduled Tribes nor Scheduled Castes ought to be included therein and I was very happy to find that in certain cases—I had to one hostel in the district of my friend Shri Deokinandan Narayan, Jalgaon there I found that in a hostel for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there were boys of other so-called higher castes as well. Now, it brings in so much of competition and thereby the boys and girls become far better and more promising and therefore this principle will have to be followed to a larger extent. But there are certain difficulties also. If, for example, only ordinary hostels are to be established, then naturally, the difficulty would be that the intake of boys and girls from Scheduled Castes or Tribes would not be as large as it is necessary. Therefore, in certain areas where there has been a concentration of either Scheduled Castes or Tribes, even there, we establish a hostel now with a condition that a certain minimum percentage of boys who do not belong either to the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes will be taken there so that a sense of cosmopolitanism will arise among those boys.

In respect of forest labourers society, my friend Dr. Kunzru wanted

to know the figures. This experiment was taken in hand by the Bombay Government and I might point out that in the tribal areas it has proved extremely successful. I had the occasion of visiting some of them in Khandesh and in Thana, another district of Deccan, and I found that the economic condition of the tribal people has improved extremely well. Even in a village where ordinarily there are houses not very strong in character, rickety in character, there very pucca buildings have risen and it was a pleasure or privilege to me to see that our tribal people are earning money, they are making profits because the forest contracts are to be given only to these people. I might point out that the Government of Bombay have established as many as 179 centres and contracts worth Rs. 37 lakhs have been given to these societies. It has vastly improved the conditions of the tribal people in these areas. In other States also—the question that Dr. Kunzru put to me was about other States like former Hyderabad or Andhra and others—79 societies have been established under the First Five Year Plan. In all, thus, it will be seen that in the whole of India, we have 258 societies. It is our desire that the Bombay scheme which has proved successful, should be implemented in other States as well and therefore the Bombay scheme has been sent to all State Governments, wherever there are tribal areas, wherever there are forest areas, and under the Second Five Year Plan at least 62 such societies would be established in areas other than Bombay.

Thus you will find that whatever possible is being done and I might also mention in this connection that the Government of India, as also the State Governments, are using the non-official agencies to the extent it is possible. So far as we are concerned, we have recognised for grant certain institutions of an all-India character. So far as the State Governments are concerned, they are making grants to institutions or asso-

ciations of a non-official character and certain schemes are being got executed through them. Under the First Five Year Plan the State Governments had made grants for the implementation of certain projects in the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes to the extent of Rs. 98 lakhs and the Central Government made grants of about Rs. 22 lakhs. Under the new scheme we propose to give more. Rs. 208.23 would be the total amount of grant for schemes to be executed by the non-official agencies and I am quite confident that they would work and they would bring about greater credit so far as non-official work is concerned. It is not that the non-official bodies are not associated. We are anxious that, to the extent it is possible, non-official agencies should come forward and should carry on their work.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: How much was spent out of Rs. 39 crores through the non-official agencies? How much will be spent in the future?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That is what I pointed out just now. During the Second Plan . . .

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: In the First Plan I want.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Rs. 98 lakhs were spent over certain projects through non-official agencies and Rs. 22 lakhs were given by the Centre. After all we have to use our discretion and find out how they work. There are certain difficulties also.

Dr. W. S. BARLINGAY: Are they lakhs or crores?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: How can they be crores? I would not like to deal with the difficulties that we often encounter and therefore I would only point out that non-official agencies are used wherever they are found suitable, where the work is carried on very well. After all there are certain difficulties with the non-officials as well.

**SHRI N. R. MALKANI:** Are you quite sure that official agencies work very well?

**SHRI B. N. DATAR:** Without any hesitation I would point out that the official organisations are working well because, I would point out, you are there to criticise us and to take us to task. So far as the non-official agencies are concerned, sometimes it becomes a matter of great difficulty and I know of certain cases and I would not like to mention all of them because I don't want to discourage non-official work but there are certain difficulties. All the same we do want to spend more through the non-official agencies but to the extent that it would be proper for us so far as these agencies are concerned.

**DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND:** How much of it lapsed?

**SHRI B. N. DATAR:** So far as lapse or surrender is concerned, it is true that there was some surrender within a year or two. We started this scheme late in 1952 and then there were certain other difficulties. So, a few lakhs were surrendered within the first one or two years. But the situation has vastly improved, I am to point out to the hon. Member. That is on account of the fact that the State Governments have now a very good machinery a machinery that worked speedily and effectively. Therefore, the amount of surrender or lapse is gradually coming down. Secondly, we are telling them that there would be no delay so far as sanctioning of the scheme is concerned provided they give us schemes not for one year but for the two years together so that all these technical difficulties would go away. Even when, may I point out, there were such surrenders, the fact that they were not spent or they could not spend the whole amount within a particular year was taken into account in making a grant for them during the next year.

Lastly, I would point out that we have started, what are known as, Ashram Schools and these are 93 and the total amount for that under the Second Plan would be Rs. 1.1 crore. Now they answer very effectively the requirements of the tribal areas in particular. In their midst not only a school is established, but a hostel is established and there are other accompaniments also such as cattle are there, land is there for agriculture, certain cottage industries can be taught to them. Thus you will find that this Ashram School which was first started in Orissa had great potentialities. Therefore, we

have now decided to spread 6 P.M. them. In Bombay a number of them have already been started.

I remember one which was started in the midst of the Satpura hills because people could go there and carry on their work. Thus it will be seen that every attempt is being made with the co-operation of the State Governments to the extent that it has been forthcoming and a number of things have been done. It would be entirely wrong to merely state that nothing has been done or to state that very little has been done that the Home Ministry has been remiss or that the Home Ministry is over-worked and so on. According to me we attach the greatest importance to such schemes because thereby a population consisting of five crores and odd in one case and about two crores in the other have to be gradually elevated and I would point out that this is the most important work that the Home Ministry is doing. Our work, as I have stated, is of a limited character and we are trying our best to do it; and whatever amounts we give to the State Governments are well spent, and properly spend and the interest of these poor people, these neglected people, are advanced to the extent that is possible.

**SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ:** Those who have been converted and have become Buddhists, what sort of concessions do they have?



SHRI B. N. DATAR. So far as Buddhists are concerned, I may point out, as the hon. Member himself has pointed out, if these people become Buddhists, they cease to be Hindus. So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, I may point out that among Buddhists there can be no caste at all. Caste is speciality, a bad speciality. . .

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: But Buddhists are included . . .

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Let me finish, please.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Buddhists are included in the definition of Hindu.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Let the hon. Member see the Act that was passed by Parliament where we have given the definition of Scheduled Caste. Scheduled Castes are those who are members of Hindu society. Let not the hon. Member go by her knowledge of the general law.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND. But a Buddhist is included in the definition of a Hindu.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. He has not yielded to you. It is not parliamentary etiquette to speak when another hon. Member is on his legs.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: If a person belonging to a Scheduled Caste becomes a Buddhist, he cannot carry across this conversion this question of untouchability. This question was considered in all its details not only now but previously also, for example, whom the President's Order in respect of the Scheduled Castes had to be issued.

AN HON MEMBER: Caste is not applicable to Buddhists.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: There can be no untouchability so far as Buddhism is concerned. Therefore,

these people cannot have it both ways. Either they remain Hindus or they do not remain Hindus. If they remain Hindus then untouchability is there, because in fact, untouchability is there. And so they are entitled to all the benefits of Scheduled Castes. You cannot, after going over to Buddhism, call yourself as belonging to a caste. Therefore the view is very clear and the Government of India had taken legal opinion and they are satisfied. This question was raised by some Christian societies and they said that these people should continue to have these particular advantages which were being given to them as Scheduled Castes.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: If a Scheduled Caste becomes a Sadharan Brahmo Samajist, does he remain a Hindu?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is extraneous to this issue.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: So far as Brahmo Samajists are concerned, they are Hindus, if I mistake not.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU. But they do not believe in caste.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It is not a question of believing in caste. It is a question of having disabilities based on caste. Here untouchability has ultimately to be traced to casteism. Therefore, as I said, this question was considered thoroughly by the Government and you will find in the amendment to the Order of the President regarding the Scheduled Castes, it has been made clear beyond doubt by you, by the hon. Members of this Parliament, hon. Members of both Houses of Parliament. You have said that scheduled castes are members of the Hindu society. Under the circumstances, I would submit that they are not entitled to these concessions after conversion. One sentence and then I finish, Sir, Though they are not entitled to certain special concessions . . .

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Sir, on a point of information . . .

1729 Report of Commissioner [ RAJYA SABHA ] and Scheduled Tribes 1730  
for Scheduled Castes for the year 1955

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order,  
order

SHRI B. N. DATAR. . . . they  
would be entitled to some benefits on  
the footing of being members of a  
backward class. That backwardness  
may continue but the scheduled  
caste cannot continue.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA: Am I entitled  
to these concessions if I embrace  
Hinduism?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is  
a separate question. The considera-  
tion of the report is over. The House  
stands adjourned till 11 A.M.  
tomorrow.

The House then adjourned  
at five minutes past six of  
the clock till eleven of the  
clock on Tuesday, the 27th  
August 1957.