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श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज (मध्य प्रदश): माननीय सभापति जी, श्री दातार ने शिड्युल्ड कास्ट और शिड्युल्ड ट्राइब्स की रिपोर्ट, जो श्रीकान्त जी ने पेश की है, उपस्थित की। मैं कम से कम श्रीकान्त जी को इसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि यद्यपि यह रिपोर्ट संतोषजनक तो नहीं है तथापि जो जो सच्ची घटनाएँ हैं उस रिपोर्ट के सम्बन्ध में; उन्हें सच्चाई और ईमानदारी के साथ उन्होंने बयान किया है और इस रिपोर्ट में निहित किया है।

महानुभाव, सबसे पहले यदि श्रीकान्त जी की रिपोर्ट का पहला पृष्ठ पढ़ा जाए तो उसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि मेरी इच्छा है कि मैं अपनी सम्यक रिपोर्ट सम्पूर्ण और अच्छे रूप में पेश करूँ, परन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि प्रान्तीय सरकारों से बराबर सहयोग नहीं मिलता है और जब जब हमने इस सम्बन्ध में रिपोर्टें मांगी तब तब ठीक अवसर पर सम्यक तौर से उन बातों की सूचना और उन रिपोर्टों पर विचार करने के लिए उन्होंने क्या किया है, इसकी सूचना उन तक नहीं पहुँची। इसके बाद उन्होंने अगले पृष्ठ पर आगे चलकर इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी लिखा है कि प्रान्तीय सरकारों से किसी से १६ प्रश्न पूछे गए, किसी से १५ पूछे गए। दश भर की सब सरकारों से, प्रान्तीय सरकारों से, राज्य सरकारों से सूचना मांगी गई। उनके उत्तर आए, परन्तु किसी ने १६ में से २, १६ में से २, १६ में से १ और १६ में से ५ प्रश्नों के उत्तर दिए, और केवल दो स्टेट्स ऐसे थे जिन्होंने १४ और १६ में से १२ प्रश्नों के उत्तर भेजे। तो इस तरह की रिपोर्टें प्राप्त हुई हैं, और उनमें से भी जो उत्तर दिए गए हैं वे कितने संतोषपूर्ण हैं, कितने असन्तोषपूर्ण हैं यह बात अलग है। यदि इसकी दृष्टि से देखा जाए तो सम्पूर्ण रूप से

मैं यह कहूँगा कि कम से कम ५० सैकड़ा प्रान्तीय सरकारों का कार्य इसी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर बिलकुल ही असफल और व्यर्थ रहा है। महानुभाव, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की नीति और सरकार का कार्य या इस रिपोर्ट में क्या है, इन सब पर अपना दृष्टिकोण आपके समक्ष इसलिए नहीं पेश कर रहा हूँ कि मैं उसकी आलोचना कर के सरकार को जनता की दृष्टि में गिराना चाहता हूँ। मैं इसलिए भी ये बातें नहीं कहना चाहता कि मुझे कोई व्यक्तिगत जलन है, परन्तु मैं इसलिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे दश में सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी, समाजवादी ढंग की व्यवस्था हम स्थापित करना चाहते हैं और एक वेल्फेयर स्टेट कायम करना चाहते हैं जिसमें दश का प्रत्येक नागरिक मनुष्य बन सके, बराबरी का हक कायम कर सके, बराबरी का अधिकार प्राप्त कर सके, बराबरी का स्थान प्राप्त कर सके, और इस दृष्टि से जब हम यह देखें कि हमारे विधान ने जब यह नीति निर्धारित कर दी है और विशेष अधिकार राष्ट्रपति जी के हाथों में भी दे दिए गए और केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों को उसके बारे में आगाह कर दिया गया, तो यह स्वाभाविक है कि, ऐसी स्थिति में, मैं अपनी सरकार के जो भी ऐसे कार्य रहे हैं जिनमें लापरवाही रही है और ठीक रूप से कार्य नहीं हुआ है, उनके सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार आपके सामने रखूँ।

सबसे पहले मैं सरकारी नौकरियों का उदाहरण लेता हूँ। अपने डेढ़ घंटे के भाषण में लगभग आधा समय दातार साहब ने सरकारी नौकरियों के सम्बन्ध में, सरकार की नीति, एफ़ीश-एँसी और पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन, इन तीन बातों पर खर्च किया। मैं आप से यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि सरकारी नीति के विषय में सबसे पहले तो हमें यह सोचना चाहिए कि जब तक किसी को पानी में पैर नहीं रखने दिया जाएगा तब तक दुनिया में कोई भी तैरना नहीं सीख सकता। इस दृष्टि से जब हमारे मंत्री महोदय यह कहते हैं कि एफ़ीश-एँसी की मिनिमम क्वालिफिकेशन होनी चाहिए तब हम हरिजनों को नौकरी दे सकेंगे, तो मैं दातार साहब से

कहूंगा कि खुद वे ही देखें कि जिन रिजर्वेशन की घोषणा आपकी सरकार ने की है १२ और २० सैंकड़ा की उनके आकड़ क्या हैं जो प्रान्तों की सरकार और केंद्रीय सरकारों से प्राप्त हैं। उसमें हरिजनो को और आदिमजातियों को क्या मिला है। पूरे एक साल में १९५२ में, केवल एक आई० ए० एस० का जॉब हरिजन को मिला १९५४ में इन सब जातियों को मिलाकर उनमें से एक डी० एस० पी० आई० पी० के पद पर निर्वाचित हुआ। इस तरह दो साल में दो हुए। इस नीति से केंद्रीय सरकार चले तो उनको १५ सैंकड़ा स्थान देने में न मालूम कितनी शताब्दिया लग जाएगी। और फिर आप यह कहते हैं कि योग्यता होनी चाहिए। ठीक है, योग्यता तो होनी चाहिए, पर उसमें भी मुझे एक उर्दू का शेर याद आता है :

"पर कतर बुलबुल से कहते शौक से
गुलशन में उड़ो;

ऐसी बे पर की उड़ाता न था सँख्याद कमी।"

उनके पंख काट कर यह कहा जाता है कि तुम आगे बढ़ो कंपटीशन पर आओ और जब मिनिमम क्वालिफिकेशन आपकी होगी तो आपको नौकरी दी जाएगी।

श्री श्या० सु० तन्खा (उत्तर प्रदेश) मैं पूछ सकता हूँ पर किसने काट? क्या सरकार ने काट है जो आप उसको दोषी करार देंगे?

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : उसी पर आ रहा हूँ मैं अभी।

श्री कन्हैयालाल बूँ० बँद्य : पर काटने वाले चले गए।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : नहीं, अभी मौजूद हैं, परन्तु वे दूसरी भाषाओं में बोलते हैं। पर कतरने वाले साक्षात् रूप से चले गए लेकिन अनकाशसली पर कतरने वाले मौजूद हैं और बड़ी तादाद में मौजूद हैं।

मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि आप पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन की दुहाई दिया करते हैं कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में योग्य से योग्य आदमी रहते हैं, वे हरिजन और आदिवासियों की योग्यता को देखते हैं और तब रिकमंड करते हैं या कहते हैं कि वे योग्य नहीं हैं उनकी मिनिमम क्वालिफिकेशन नहीं है तो हम मजबूर हो जाते हैं कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को नौकरी न दें। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मैं पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के विषय में कुछ अधिक कहने की स्थिति में नहीं हूँ, परन्तु इतना मैं कह सकता हूँ कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में जो लोग हैं वे अनकाशसली आर्थोडॉक्स क्लास के लोग हैं जो कि उनको पनपने नहीं देते। मैं अपने अनुभव से कहता हूँ कि वे हरिजनों को, उनके नाम देखकर उनकी योग्यता देखकर, उनकी जाति देखकर, उनका खानदान देखकर और उनके रिकमंडेशन करने वाले जो थोड़े लोग हैं उनको रिफरेंस कह देते हैं। और जहाँ बड़े से बड़े अफसर, या किसी एक्स जज या किसी मिनिस्टर की सिफारिश रहती है तो पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के आदमी फॉरन यह समझ लेते हैं

श्री जसाँव सिंह विष्ट : उसमें तो इम्तिहान हुआ करता है।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : मैं सब बताता हूँ। मैं आपसे अधिक जानता हूँ इस सम्बन्ध में। इसलिए वे लोग खानदान के बल पर, अपनी पीढ़ी के बल पर बड़ी से बड़ी नौकरी पा जाते हैं और हरिजनों को रिफरेंस कह दिया जाता है। यदि मुझे पूछा जाए तो मैं कहूंगा कि जो पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के लोग

(Interruption.)

SHRI B N DATAR : May I request, Sir, that the hon Member may be careful in making references to the Commission?

MR CHAIRMAN : So far as Public Service Commissions are concerned, I think you had better be temperate in your language.

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभाज : Thank you, Sir परन्तु बात यह है कि जब इजर करने के बाद हमको इसल्ट भी किया जाता है तो रहा नहीं जाता है। जिसके फल न बिवाई वह क्या जाने पीर पराई। यदि मेरे स्थान पर दातार साहब होते। वह यदि हरिजन के घर में पैदा हुए होते वह यदि एक आदिवासी के घर में पैदा हुए होते और उनकी नौकरी के कट जाने के बाद उनको इनफिफिशिएंट कहा गया होता तो दातार साहब इन बातों को कभी सहन नहीं किए होते।

श्री २० प्र० सकसना : पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर बन जाते उस के बाद।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभाज : पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों पर भी मैं आता हूँ। आपने पार्लियामेंट में रिजर्वेशन दिया है, वहा पर भी उनकी गुजाइश नहीं है। आपने पार्लियामेंट में १५ फीसदी रि प्रेजेंटेशन दिया है। यहाँ २१६ के हाउस में यदि १५ प्रतिशत के हिसाब से मेम्बर होते तो ४० आदमी होते लेकिन उसकी जगह आपने यहा ६ आदमी रखे हैं। आप क्या बात करते हैं सकसना जी आप समझ लीजिए कि हमारे देश में वेल फेयर स्टेट का स्लोगन तो चल गया है पर हमारे दिलों में त्याग की भावना अभी नहीं आई है ईमानदारी से ऊपर उठाने की भावना अभी नहीं आई है और इसीलिए मैं आप से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर आपको इन जातियों को उठाना है आपको वेलफेयर स्टेट बनाना है तो आप एक वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट खोलिए।

[MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

बिना वेलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री के आपकी वेलफेयर स्टेट नहीं चल सकती बिना वेलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री के आप इन गरीबों का वेलफेयर नहीं कर सकते।

अभी अभी मुझे याद आ गया, मिनिस्ट्री के सम्बन्ध में भी सुनिष्ट। प्रान्तों में जहा पर कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर्स थे वहा एक एक दो डिप्टी मिनिस्टर्स बनाए गए। जो गूजुएट है डबल गूजुएट है ट्रिबल गूजुएट है वह डिप्टी मिनिस्टर्स हैं हरिजन और आदिवासी होने के नाते और जो मिडिलरी हैं वे मिनिस्टर्स हैं क्योंकि

वे किसी खास क्लास के हैं। ऐसे ऐसे मिनिस्टर हैं कि मीडिकल डिपार्टमेंट उनके पास है एक आदमी को चाँट लगती है आदमी अस्पताल में कराह रहा है उनसे पूछा गया कि कहाँ भाई क्या हुआ है तो उन्होंने कहा कि चाँट लग गई और वह डाक्टरों से पूछते हैं कि भाई इसकी पोस्ट मार्टम रिपोर्ट बताओ। ऐसे मिनिस्टर भी हैं जो कि नानहरिजन हैं।

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan)
Congratulatory to the Congress selection.

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभाज : माधुर साहब, उसमें आप भी आते हैं कांग्रेस की बात यह नहीं है। बात यह है कि हरिजनों और नान-हरिजनों का सवाल है। यदि आप योग्य हरिजन और अयोग्य नान हरिजन में सेलैक्शन करेंगे यदि आप जिन्दा हरिजन और मरे हुए आर्थोडाक्स में सेलैक्शन करेंगे (then you will choose the dead man and not the live one)

यह सब मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि कम से कम इन रिपोर्टों के आधार पर हरिजनों के साथ और आदिवासियों के साथ जो अन्याय होता है वह तो दूर होना चाहिए। इन आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में जब सड़के जगलों में, बनाने का सवाल आता है तो प्रान्तीय सरकारों में ऐसे मिनिस्टर्स मौजूद हैं जो यह कहते हैं कि यदि सड़के बन जाएगी तो एजुकेटेड लोग जा कर उनको एक्सप्लायट करेंगे इसलिए उनको सड़के नहीं देने चाहिए।

श्री कन्हैयालाल दौ० बच्च : शोम, शोम।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभाज : मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ यही तो मुश्किल है नहीं तो एक एक का नाम ले कर सब चिट्ठा आपके सामने खोल दूँ।

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माधुर : जरूर खोलिए।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभाज : तो ऐसे लोग जरूर मौजूद हैं जिनको कि उनके यहा सड़के भेजने में या पैसा देने में सकोच होता है। इसी तरह

हाउसिंग स्कीम की भी बात है। आप जानते हैं कि हमारा देश में हमारा वेलफेयर स्टेट में, यदि सबसे खराब आस्था किसी की है तो वह मेहतरों की है। जब दुनिया के लोग गंगा स्नान करते हैं अपने घर के प्रत्येक कमरे में और बाथ रूम में एक एक नल लगा कर चौबीसों घंटे स्नान करते हैं तो मेहतरों के मुहल्ले में जब वे मैला फेंक कर और सड़क भाड़ कर घर लौट कर आते हैं सब नल बन्द हो जाते हैं। इसका बाद आप उनसे कहें कि वे सफाई से रहे? आप उनकी हाउसिंग कंजेशन देखिए। वे दिन भर मैला फेंकते हैं और जब शाम को या आराम के समय घरों में जाते हैं तो उन्होंने सड़ गले और शहर के गन्दे से गन्दे मकानों में जाते हैं जहाँ गंदी से गंदी नालियों के कीड़े वास करते हैं। चौबीसों घंटे उनका जीवन नर्क का जीवन है। ऐसी स्थिति में उनके लिए सरकार क्या हाउसिंग स्कीम बना रही है? एक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने २५ हजार रुपया इनकी हाउसिंग स्कीम के लिए दिया है उसमें से १५ हजार खर्च हुआ और १० हजार बाकी बचा। यह स्थिति यदि प्रान्तीय सरकारों की है तो मैं यह कैसे कहूँ कि इस दिशा में हमारा कदम तंजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूँगा कि यदि आप इनकी तरक्की चाहते हैं इनकी स्थिति बराबर सुधारना चाहते हैं, इनको बराबर उठाना चाहते हैं तो आपको बातों से नहीं बिल्कुल कामों से ऐसा करना है। काम करें और यह न करें कि हमने यह किया वह किया और इनकी स्थिति अब अच्छी है।

कालेज और स्कूल की बात लीजिए। ये लोग तो बेचार गरीब हैं पुस्तकें मांग कर पढ़ते हैं, भीख मांग कर खाते हैं दूसरों के चिराग तले अपनी स्टुडी करते हैं दूसरों से पेंसिल और कलम ले कर अपनी पढ़ाई करते हैं और जब ये लोग इन मुसीबतों को पार कर के किसी तरह से कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटी में जाने लगते हैं तो जैसा कि मैंने फारस्ट इंस्टीट्यूट की बात बताई वही बात होती है। पहले जो रैंजर कोर्स में जाते थे उनको सरकार पांच हजार या दो हजार रुपए अपनी तरफ

से देती थी और इंजीनियरिंग कालेज और मीडिकल कालेज में सरकार अपनी तरफ से स्पेशल स्कालरशिप दे कर उन लोगों को भेजती थी परन्तु अब नए नए रूल और नई नई कतरिनिया चली हैं और अब यह हो गया है कि फाइनेंशियल प्रांजीशन क्या है? जो लड़का पांच हजार रुपया जमा करेगा वही देहरादून जा सकेगा। अब एक हरिजन लड़का या आदिवासी लड़का अगर चुन भी लिया जाए और वह पांच हजार रुपया डिपॉजिट नहीं कर सके तो वह देहरादून ट्रेनिंग के लिए नहीं जा सकता। तो आपने हरिजन को रिजर्जेशन दिया उसको चुना उसको योग्य घोषित किया परन्तु चूंकि उसके पास पैसा नहीं है इसलिए उसका वह सुरक्षित स्थान खरब कर दिया गया और वह वहाँ से डिबार कर दिया गया। ऐसी स्थिति में आप बताइए कि आप ये जो नए नए रीस्ट्रिक्शंस और नई नई तरक्कियाँ निम्नलिखित रहे हैं वे कहा तक हरिजनों के और आदिवासियों के हित में हैं।

मेरी बहन श्रीमती परमानन्द ने कहा था कि मैं तो छ साल तक मिनिस्टर रह चुका हूँ तो अगर मैं इनएफिशिएंट लोगों को सरकारी नौकरी में लेने की सिफारिश करूँ तो क्या शासन को डाँट एफिशिएंट बनाना चाहते हैं अयोग्य बनाना चाहते हैं। मैं आप से यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि नान हरिजन लोगों के लिए अयोग्यों के लिए भी जगहें हैं जो कि सब से अयोग्य होते हैं। जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में फेल हो गए जो मिनिस्ट्री में फेल हो गए वह गवर्नर बना दिए जाते हैं। ऐसे कुछ हरिजन लोगों को भी बना दीजिए जहाँ पर इनएफिशिएंट लोगों के लिए ही रिजर्वेशन है। मैं फिर कहता हूँ कि मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता। आप कहें तो नाम गिना दें। मैं फिर आपसे प्रार्थना करूँगा कि इनएफिशिएंटों और एफिशिएंटों की यदि बात कहते हैं तो फिर फाइनेंशियल कार्रपोरेशन में घाटा क्यों होता है भाकड़ा और नागल में करोड़ों अरबों की स्कीमों क्यों बनती हैं वहाँ पर ये स्कीम बनाने वाले लोग क्यों इनएफिशिएंट हैं क्यों इन बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमों में इस तरह का अधर मचा कर प्लॉफिंग करते हैं। तो अगर एफिशिएंट हैं तो

[श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज]

सब में हैं और अगर नहीं हैं तो कहीं नहीं हैं। तो इनएफिशियेंसी के नाम पर सरकारी नौकरियों के दरवाजे इन हरिजनों के लिए बन्द करना बहुत ही गलत है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हरिजन अगर इनएफिशियेंट हैं तो डिसआनरेस्टी में हैं, हरिजन अगर इनएफिशियेंट हैं तो लापरवाही में हैं, आदिवासी अगर इनएफिशियेंट हैं तो आराम तलबी में इनएफिशियेंट हैं और करप्शन में इनएफिशियेंट हैं क्योंकि वे इतनी ज्यादा चालाकी नहीं जानते हैं। इसीलिए मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि यदि आपको एफिशियेंसी का स्टैण्डर्ड देखना है, तो जो किताबी कीड़ होते हैं, जो फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट आते हैं वे व्यावहारिक जीवन में सौ प्रतिशत फेल होते हैं। केवल पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के निर्णय को देखकर इन लोगों को नौकरी दी जाय, यह जरूरी नहीं है। जब आपने इन लोगों के लिए रिजर्वेशन रखा है तो यह आपका कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि उनको माफिक जगहें दें। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को १५ प्रतिशत जगह किसी भी नौकरी में देने की व्यवस्था है किन्तु जब पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन इन्तहान लेकर नाम भेजता है तो उसमें दो हरिजन या आदिवासियों के नाम भी रैंकमेंड नहीं करता। इसके बाद भी सरकार को यह शक्ति है, पावर है, डिसीक्रेशन है कि अगर वह चाहे तो स्टैंट और यूनिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन की लिस्ट को रद्द कर सकती है और अपना नाम दे सकती है। ऐसा करने पर स्टैंट सरकारों को या केन्द्रीय सरकार को लीजस्लेचर या पार्लियामेंट के सामने बयान देना पड़ता है कि हमने इस कारण परिवर्तन किया है। यदि आपने हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के हित में यह परिवर्तन किया तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि दश की पार्लियामेंट और राज्य सभाओं के प्रतिनिधि आपके कार्य की सराहना करेंगे, कंडेम्न नहीं करेंगे, सरकार को दोष नहीं देंगे। इसीलिए मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस क्षेत्र में आपको और भी अधिक कार्य करना है।

अभी मैंने आपके सम्मुख हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के मकानों और पानी की कीठनाई के बारे में कहा था और प्रार्थना की थी कि इसमें उनकी हर तरह से मदद की जाय। इसी तरह उनकी खेती बाड़ी के कार्यों में भी अधिक मदद करनी होगी। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि हैदराबाद के हरिजनों को जमीनों से बेदखल किया गया है और उन्हें किसी प्रकार का कम्पेंसेशन भी नहीं दिया जा रहा है। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि इस तरह से हरिजनों को क्यों सताया जा रहा है।

हरिजन और आदिवासियों के जो लड़के कालेजों और यूनिवर्सिटियों में अपनी आर्थिक सहायता द्वारा पढ़ते हैं और जब पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन द्वारा वे इनएफिशियेंट करार दे दिये जाते हैं तो वे न घर के रहते हैं और न घाट के। मां-बाप अपनी पूरी ताकत से उनको पढ़ाते हैं और सरकारी स्कालरशिप भी उनको मिलता है, किन्तु जब अन्तिम मंजिल में पहुँचने का वक्त आता है, ऊपर चढ़ने का मौका आता है तो ठोकर मारकर उन्हें जमीन पर फेंक दिया जाता है। बार बार यह कहा जाता है कि हम सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न के आधार पर सोसाइटी बनाना चाहते हैं किन्तु मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक सरकार की यह आर्थोडोक्स नीति रहेगी तब तक हमारे देश के पिछड़े हुए वर्ग या दबी हुई जातियाँ पनप नहीं सकेंगी। इस आर्थोडोक्स नीति के बारे में तीन चार दिन हुए हमारे प्रियदर्शी योग्य और संसार के महान नेता जवाहरलाल ने यह कहा था कि हमें जात-पात की प्रथा को देश से बिल्कुल नष्ट कर देना होगा। सच बात तो यह है कि जात पात की प्रथा को जब तक देश से नष्ट नहीं किया जायेगा तब तक हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है। आज हम देखते हैं कि अलग अलग जातियाँ, अलग अलग भाषाओं के आधार पर अलग अलग भावना लेकर अपना अलग यूनिट बनाने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। यह सब कार्य जात पात के नाम पर हो रहा है और इन सब चीजों की जड़ जात पात ही है और नौकरी पेशा और

सफ़द पोशाक वाले लोगों की चालाकी हैं। अंगूजी में एक कहावत है Charity begins at home. Let us search our own hearts. हम लोगों में कितनी ही जातियां हैं मगर जात पात का भेदभाव हम लोगों में नहीं है। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों में किसी तरह का व्हेस्टेड इंटरस्ट नहीं है। एक बार एक मित्र ने कहा था कि हरिजनों को अपने अधिकारों के लिए लड़ना चाहिये, मिनिस्ट्री के लिए लड़ना चाहिये, सरकारी नौकरियों में नीचे से लेकर ऊपर तक लड़ना चाहिये। किन्तु ये ही व्हेस्टेड इंटरस्ट वाले हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को इन जगहों तक पहुँचने में हर तरह से रोकते हैं। हम हरिजन लोग तो वही चाहते हैं जो विधान द्वारा हमें दिया गया है। मगर हमारे व्हेस्टेड इंटरस्ट वाले एक हाथ से तो हमें दाना चाहते हैं और दूसरे हाथ से उसे ले लेना चाहते हैं। इस चीज को व्हेस्टेड इंटरस्ट कहा जाता है। जब तक इस चीज का निमूल नहीं किया जायेगा, जब तक ईमानदारी के साथ सरकार अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन नहीं करेगी तब तक यह बुराई दूर नहीं हो सकेगी है। तब तक जो इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

अगर सरकार हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की उन्नति करना चाहती है तो उनके लिए एक पृथक् मंत्रालय बनाया जाना चाहिये जहाँ पर उन लोगों की दशा सुधारने का कार्य हो। इसके विपरीत यह कहा जाता है कि प्लानिंग कमिशन सब वर्ग के लोगों के लिए भलाई का काम कर रही है। हम लोग यह मानते हैं कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने जो कार्य दश में किया है वह बहुत अच्छा कार्य किया है, उस पर सब को संतोष होना चाहिये। जब आप यही समझते हैं कि प्लानिंग कमिशनर सब कुछ कर रहा है तो फिर शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिशनर या सेपरेट हरिजनों के इंतजाम करने की क्या आवश्यकता है। पिछले मई के महीने में आप ने अंतर्चीबिलिटी एक्ट पास किया था परन्तु इससे भी हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की हालत में कोई विशेष

सुधार नहीं हुआ। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस कानून के पास करने से हरिजनों या आदिवासियों के दैनिक जीवन में किसी तरह की तब्दीली आई हो। दूसरे क्षेत्र में भी, मैं नहीं समझता कि इस कानून के पास करने से कोई परिवर्तन हुआ होगा। यदि आप सचमुच हरिजन और आदिवासियों की दशा में परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं तो जो अधिकार विधान में उनको दिये गये हैं उनका उपयोग कठोरता से किया जाना चाहिये। यह सरकार और जिम्मेदार लोगों का कर्तव्य है कि वे अपने कर्तव्य का पालन ईमानदारी के साथ करें। महात्मा गांधी जी ने अंतर्चीबिलिटी के विरुद्ध सार्व दश में जेहाद उठा दिया था, क्या हम सब उसको भूल गये हैं। महात्मा गांधी जी ने जो कदम उठाया था वह सोच समझकर ही उठाया था, उसे हमें इतनी जल्दी नहीं भुला देना चाहिये।

हमारे मित्र श्री दातार साहब ने बड़े गर्व के साथ यह कहा था कि हमने हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए एक करोड़ ७ लाख रुपया प्रोवाइड किया है। परन्तु जब मैंने दूसरी जगह आंकड़ें देखे तो १२॥ लाख आदिवासियों के लिए और ४४ लाख बैंकवार्ड दलास के लिए हैं। इतना रुपया भी सरकार ने जो दिया है वह भी तब दिया जब चारों ओर से पुकार की गई। यह कहना कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए सरकार करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रही है दिक्कत निराधार बात है।

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I have not said so. So, please do not misrepresent me. I do not like this misrepresentation. The hon. Member can state whatever he likes. I have clearly said one crore and thirty lakhs of rupees have been spent for all these people; and I think about Rs 45 lakhs was spent over the Harijans and all the applications have been granted.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: The figures are here. If he does not mind

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The hon Member may take the figures, but let him not misrepresent me.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Let not my friend be angry....

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I am not angry....

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: And that is the test. If he is angry, I hope he will not victimise the Harijans but will do something good for them. To become angry is not the reply to the question which I am putting.

SHRI SATYAPRIYA BANERJEE (West Bengal): Please go on.

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि क्रोध करने से मेरे प्रश्न का सही उत्तर नहीं दिया जा सकता है। आप तो अपने कर्तव्य और उदार हृदय से ही इस कार्य को पूरा कर सकते हैं। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिए जो एक करोड़ ७ लाख की इसमें रकम है, उसमें से ४५ लाख हरिजनों के लिए और १२ लाख ६५ हजार आदिवासियों के लिए है। यदि मैं मिस रिप्रेजेंट करता हूँ तो कम से कम आप की जो रिपोर्ट है, जो आपने पेश की है, वह तो मिस रिप्रेजेंट नहीं कर रही है। यदि कर रही है तो आप मुझे बतलाइये।

SHRI B. N. DATAR: What is the page?

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : Page 273 तो मैं यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप इन चीजों को देखें और इसके बाद इस चीज पर विचार करें कि सरकार हरिजन और आदिवासियों की स्थिति किस प्रकार से सुधार सकती है। आप जानते हैं कि हैदराबाद और साँष्ट्र में तीन चार लाख हरिजनों की आबादी को कम दिखलाया गया है ताकि उनके प्रतिनिधि असम्बलियों और कॉमिशन में कम जायें। इन चीजों के छिपाने से और इन चीजों पर क्रोध करने से तो कोई मतलब नहीं निकलता। जब तक हम इन चीजों को उखाड़ करके नहीं फेंक देते, तब तक क्रोध करना या शक्ति का नहीं बल्कि अपनी कमजोरी का दावतक है। अंगूज लोगों की भाषा हमने

सुनी है जो कहा करते थे कि तुम अयोग्य हो, इस लिये तुम को स्वराज्य नहीं मिलेगा। परन्तु अंगूजों से लड़ कर भारतवर्ष ने यह दिखा दिया कि हम स्वराज्य के काबिल हैं, तुम्हारी जरूरत नहीं है। तो आप इस चीज के भरोसे मत रहिये कि केवल हरिजनों को अयोग्य कह कर या उन पर क्रोध करके उन्हें दबा दिया जायगा। अब वह जमाना चला गया। इस लिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग दबाने की बात करेंगे वे अब उठ नहीं सकेंगे। आज मैं आपसे यह बात इस लिये नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि मुझे आपसे कोई व्यक्तिगत शत्रुता है। परन्तु एक मिनिस्टर के नाते यदि आप इसे बुराई समझते हैं तो यह आपकी कमजोरी है। पूरा समाज के कल्याण के लिये मैं उन आठ करोड़ आदिवासी और हरिजनों की संतप्त आत्मा की तरफ से कह रहा हूँ कि आपका कार्य असंतोषजनक है, असंतोषजनक है, असंतोषजनक है।

इस लिये मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि इस रिपोर्ट में श्रीकांत जी ने जो खामियां दिखाई हैं उनको आप पूरा करेंगे और आगे के लिये आर एंसी स्कीम्स बनायेंगे जिनसे सचमुच उनका उद्धार होगा और वे आगे बढ़ेंगे। इतना कह कर मैं पुनः श्रीकांत जी को इस बात के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने सच्चाई के साथ रिपोर्ट पेश की।

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I should like to begin by congratulating the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the comprehensiveness of this Report and the frankness with which he has expressed his opinion. I attach great importance to his free expression of his opinions because in a difficult matter of the kind with which he deals, we need adequate guidance from those who are principally concerned with it and I trust, therefore, that Government will always give him the fullest opportunity to state his opinions freely so that we may learn from them and take adequate steps to improve the condition of the classes with whom he is concerned.

Sir, the Report shows the progress made in many respects, for instance, in respect of education, in respect of medical relief, in respect of expenditure on roads. But I quite agree with the last speaker that, though progress has been made and the expenditure has been stepped up considerably since the year 1951-52, we are nowhere near the end of our task and we have not merely to go forward, but to prepare comprehensive plans in order to make us feel that we shall be able to remove completely all the disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes suffer within the next ten or fifteen years.

Sir, I raised this question last year and I raise it again. We have been told by Government who have circulated to us their notes showing the action taken by them on the various suggestions made by members of this Commission that the State Governments will prepare Five Year Plans for the development of the classes I have referred to, in connection with the Second Five Year Plan. This is re-assuring so far as it goes. But I should like to know definitely whether the plans put forward by the State Governments are comprehensive. If a State Government, for instance, sends out a plan, it provides for increase in the number of schools or the number of dispensaries or mobile vans. This, in my opinion, is not enough. It should take account of all the needs of these classes and then prepare a plan. The expenditure that may be required in order to carry out this plan may be high. But at this stage, the only business of the State Governments ought to be to put forward plans that are in their opinion, comprehensive and adequate. The Planning Commission may say to them that there is not enough money to carry out their schemes. But then Government will at least know what is required to be done in order to further the task that we took in hand, when we framed our Constitution.

I have heard from time to time that the programmes sent up by the State Governments are only partial. I may be quite wrong for, not often, rumours that are circulated turn out to be incorrect. But I should like to have definite information from my hon. friend Shri Datar whether, in his opinion and in the opinion of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the plans that have been placed before the Government or the Planning Commission are comprehensive and that every effort will be made by the Government to provide the funds required to carry them out. Sir, I hope such an assurance will be given to us by the hon. Deputy Minister who initiated the discussion on the Report with which we are concerned today. But I should like to say that, when a comprehensive programme has been prepared, we have only declared our aim. The declaration of an aim is not the same thing as its achievement and we shall have to take adequate measures to see that the steps that are taken to carry out the plans that may be approved, now are adequate. Now, I am afraid that the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not very re-assuring on this subject. Attention has already been drawn to one of his complaints, namely, the failure of many State Governments to send replies promptly to his letters. But I should like to draw the attention of the Government to certain other matters mentioned by him. Now, Sir, one of the points that he has mentioned is that "Most of the State Governments do not submit their schemes to the Government of India before the end of February as requested, to enable the Central Government to issue sanctions in time." Another point mentioned by him, and admitted by Government in the notes to which I have already referred, is that "The six-monthly progress reports on the prescribed forms which the States are requested to send gradually are not furnished." Now, Sir, it is very difficult in these circumstances for the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to place a correct

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.]

picture of what has been done in different parts of the country in order to remove the disabilities of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I think, Sir, this is a matter to which the Central Government ought to give their serious attention.

The third point mentioned by the Commissioner is that even the reconciled expenditure figures are not intimated to the Government of India. I think, it will further be true to say—and my recollection is that the Commissioner has said this somewhere in the Report—that it is not stated in the reports of the State Governments as to what the targets reached by them are. We may know that the expenditure has been increased. But unless we are told the aim set before it by a State Government and its achievement, the mere increase of expenditure cannot be regarded as satisfactory by us. I think, Sir, that when we are dealing with this subject, we ought to recognise the difficulties of the Ministers who are in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes. These Ministers have not got under them all the departments that are concerned with the welfare of these classes. They have consequently to write to the different Ministries in order to obtain the necessary information, and they do not receive the information they ask for, either promptly or in full measure. It is necessary, therefore, that the portfolio dealing with the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be taken up by the Chief Minister himself, or that he should devote much more attention to this matter than what is so far, as a rule, done. I think unless the head of the Government is directly interested in this matter, and unless he shows that he is directly interested in this matter in some way or other, the quick progress that we want to make will not be achieved.

Sir, then there is one other point that I should like to refer to before I

pass on from this topic. And that is that the plans of the State Governments are sent, in the first instance, to the Home Ministry. I was glad to learn yesterday from Shri Datar that two sections had been created in the Home Ministry, the task of one of which would be to deal with the progress of welfare work, and of the other, to deal with the question of appointment of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, keeping in view the reservation for them in accordance with the directive of the Government of India. Nevertheless, Sir, I think that the reports should be sent either directly to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, so that there may be no delay, or that the various State Governments should be asked to send two copies of their schemes, one to the Home Ministry, and the other directly to the Commissioner. I think that will save time, and perhaps, Government will be able to show more work during a year than they are able to do now.

I now come, Sir, to the question of communications. I was delighted, Sir, to hear Shri Datar say that he attached the greatest importance to the development of communications. As I had been of this view for many years, I ventured to express this view at the Tribal Conference that was held in December last, and which was addressed very comprehensively by Shri Datar. Now I want to know one thing from him. The figures are not very clear. But so far as I can see, I cannot understand why in some States a good deal of money has been spent on the construction or improvement of roads, whereas in other States this subject has not received proper attention. I have no time to go into any details on this subject. But I would like to ask him for full information regarding the development of communications in the tribal districts of Assam, and in the Lahaul and Spiti regions of the Punjab. Now Shri Datar informed us at the Conference to which I have referred earlier, that

the Government of India was carrying out the recommendations of the Ayyangar Committee in regard to the improvement of communications in the tribal districts of Assam, and that the programme laid down by the Committee, which would cost about Rs. 2½ crores, would be completed by the end of the year 1956-57. Now, this is very good so far as it goes. But I know, Sir, from personal knowledge what the condition of the hill districts of Assam is and how inadequate the communications there are. I should therefore like to know two things—one to what extent communications will be developed in the Garo Hills Districts and the Mizo Hills District and whether and what proportion of the expenditure recommended by the Ayyangar Committee will be spent on the North Cachar and Mikir Hills District. That District, I fear, has not received much attention either from the Government or from any other authority and I hope, though I don't know the exact figures relating to the development of communications in this District, that much more care will be taken in the future to develop this area. Roads, I think, are no less important a civilizing force than the schools that are being established in these regions. It is of the utmost importance that the expenditure on communications should increase progressively till not merely the main arterial roads have been constructed but the necessary number of feeder roads also have been provided. I have already referred to the Punjab. I know the total figure spent on the development of communications by the Punjab Government but I should like to have information particularly with regard to the regions mentioned by me because they are among the undeveloped and neglected regions of the Punjab.

Another suggestion that I should like to make refers to the establishment of cooperative societies. I referred to this matter last year and the reply of the Central Government is

that the attention of the State Governments has been drawn to this matter. I find from the report before us that some progress has been made in this matter and that some multi-purpose cooperative societies have been established but I don't think that what has been done is quite enough. It is true that the Cooperative Movement is weak in the country as a whole and that enough non-official workers are not forthcoming to take up this matter with the enthusiasm that is needed that its importance requires. In these circumstances, Government are undoubtedly labouring under a handicap but this only means that they should use more of their resources to establish cooperative societies. I would first of all like to refer to the need for the establishment of Forest Cooperative Societies, to which I referred last year, on the model of such societies established by the Bombay State. There the tribal labour is employed and the profit from the extraction of the things grown in the forests also goes to the Tribal people. Now I think there is need for the establishment of more such cooperative societies in those States where the tribal people are concentrated. The second kind of cooperative societies that are needed are the multi-purpose cooperative societies. This does not mean that the society should provide only such things as rice, wheat, salt, and chillies etc. Its task should be much wider. It should deal with or supply raw materials like bamboos, leather, cotton etc. at cheap rates. There may be co-operative societies for them separately. I don't object to that but this should be attended to. Attention should also be paid to the need for marketing the things made by the Tribal people. So if credit is linked with marketing, it will produce the best results. This is not an easy matter to deal with. I say once more that it is a very difficult matter. It is far from easy for a cooperative society to take root even in an urban area or in villages close to the district headquarters. The establishment of co-operative societies among the Tribal

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.]

people will therefore require a great deal of labour and attention but we should not shirk the task.

Then I would like to refer to housing for the Harijans and Adivasies. My hon. friend, Shri Datar, referred to this matter the other day and said that efforts were being made by the municipalities to provide housing facilities for Harijans in the urban areas. I mean this question has been before the State Governments for a long time, ever since Mahatma Gandhi toured the country in 1932 in order to draw the attention of the country to the difficulties of the Harijans and for the collection of funds required to assist these classes. What has been done so far is very little. I suggest therefore that the Central Government should take a hand in this matter. A scheme should be prepared on the lines of the Low Income Group Housing Scheme prepared by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. There ought to be some such things and I think the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has suggested that a sum of Rs. 5 crores should be provided for this purpose. If necessary, even subsidies may be given and such loans as are given should be recovered by easy instalments but something much more than has been done so far ought to be done. Otherwise our declarations every year that progress is being made in this matter will be more theoretical than practical. They will satisfy nobody.

Lastly I would like to refer to other methods of raising the level of intelligence of the people with whom we are concerned and giving them general education, enabling them to understand the world around them. I suggest again, as I suggested at the Tribal Conference, referred to earlier by me, that the radio and the cinema should be used for this purpose. Schools are good and I am glad to see that more schools are being opened and that more Harijan and Tribal boys are receiving higher education than before but it will take time for these institutions to show results.

The radio and cinema which are the most important means of audio-visual education will, I think, give quicker returns in certain respects than schools can. I think therefore that full use should be made of them and special care should be taken to prepare programmes that will be of interest to these classes and will provide them with such instructions as they need without taxing their intelligence too much. I think the Bombay Government again is a pioneer in this respect. It has prepared a scheme for the removal of untouchability and has prepared cinema films and is taking various measures for this purpose. One of them is the preparation of cinema films. Another is distribution of prizes to villages which have shown outstanding works connected with the removal of untouchability. Another aspect of this is the holding of special melas, etc. I draw the attention of the Government of India as forcibly as I can to the example set by the Bombay Government. What has been done there can surely be done elsewhere too. Therefore I emphasise once more the need for making adequate use of the radio and the cinema. If we neglect this powerful means of aiding us in the work that we are doing, we ourselves will be to blame but if we use these agencies, I have no doubt that the progress made in the Tribal areas will be much quicker and much more satisfactory than it has so far been.

1 P. M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have got here names of nineteen members who intend to speak on this motion and we have also to finish the debate today. So unless the speakers restrict the time of their speeches and we sit beyond five o'clock, we will not be able to give an opportunity to all. So, do we sit during the lunch hour or do we begin at two and then go beyond five in the evening?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): We sit through the lunch hour and also go beyond five.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: We sit through the lunch hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right,
so we sit through the lunch hour.

Yes, Kakasaheb Kalelkar.

काकासाहेब कालेलकर (नाम-निर्दिष्टित):
श्रीमन्, मुझे ज्यादा समय तो लेना है नहीं।
मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि हरिजनों की माली
हालत सुधारने से और तालीमी हालत सुधारने
से ही अस्पृश्यता दूर हो जायेगी, ऐसा मेरा
विश्वास नहीं है। अस्पृश्यता तो लोगों के
मन में बैठा हुआ एक भूमात्मक विश्वास है और
उसे दूर करने के लिये कुछ बहुत बड़ा इलाज
करने चाहिये। सरकार तो (१) ज्यादा पैसा
खर्च करना और (२) कानून बनाना इतना ही
जानती है, इससे ज्यादा हमें सांघना चाहिये
नहीं तो पचास साठ साल तक चलने पर भी हम
आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे।

मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में एक सुझाव देना है और
वह यह है कि हम अस्पृश्यता के काम को
एक एक टुकड़ा या खेच लेकर पांच साल के
अन्दर पूरा कर दें। आज से लेकर पांच साल
तक अगर हमने भंगियों की हालत सुधार दी
तो बहुत ज्यादा काम हो जायेगा। कानून
द्वारा या नियम द्वारा हर स्टेट में भंगियों
को टट्टी साफ करने से हम मना करें।
टट्टी का काम दूसरे लोग सांझीटिफिक डंग
से करें या उसको हम साफ करें। भंगियों
को इस काम के बजाय दूसरा काम दिया
जाय। सार दश में भंगियों की इतनी ज्यादा
मंख्या नहीं है कि हम यह कार्य न कर सकें
यानी उनको कोई दूसरी नौकरी न दें सकें।
अगर हमने भंगियों को इस काम से दूसरे
काम में लगा दिया और लोगों ने साइन्स
द्वारा अपने अपने पाखानों को साफ करने
का काम अपने हाथ में ले लिया तो यह हम
लोगों की बहुत बड़ी कामयाबी होगी। अगर
हमने यह कार्य कर लिया तो हमारे और
कार्य बहुत आसान हो जायेंगे।

लोग कहते हैं कि शहरों से अस्पृश्यता
दूर हो गई है और केवल गांवों में ही रह

गई है किन्तु शहरों के लिए मेरे पास एक
कसौटी भी है। हरिजनों, खासकर भंगियों के
लिए शहरों में जो मकान बनाये जाते हैं,
उसकी रफ्तार अगर हम देखें तो यह मालूम
होगा कि बीस, पच्चीस साल तक उन सब के
लिए अच्छे रहने के मकान नहीं बन सकते
हैं। मैं गांवों की बात नहीं करता केवल
शहरों की ही बात आपके सामने रखना
चाहता हूँ। हमें शहरों के भंगियों के बारे
में ही प्रथम सोचना है। इसके लिए यह
सुझाव है कि अगर पांच साल के भीतर भंगियों
के लिए अच्छे रहने के मकान, प्राप्त नहीं
होते तो हमें चाहिये कि शहरों में विद्यार्थियों
के कालेज और हाई स्कूल में रहने के जो
स्थान हैं, होस्टलस् हैं उनको रिक्रिजेशन
कर लें। अगर सब भंगियों को इस तरह
के मकान रहने के लिए दे दिये जायेंगे
तो हम देखेंगे कि विद्यार्थियों को रहने के
लिए मकान मिलते हैं कि नहीं। जिन
लोगों के पास बच्चों को पढ़ाने के लिए
पैसा है, उनके पास अवश्य उनके रहने के
लिए भी इंतजाम करने का पैसा होगा।
इस तरह से हम भंगियों को जल्दी से शहरों
में अच्छे मकान दे सकेंगे।

मेरा तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि आजकल सार
दश में डी सेंट्रलाइजेशन की आवाज चल
रही है और गांवों में पंचायती राज्य की
स्थापना हर जगह पर हो रही है और जहां पर
नहीं है, वहां पर होने के सुझाव आते हैं।
इस में मुझे बहुत खतरा मालूम होता है।
मैं इस पंचायती राज्य से बहुत डरता हूँ।
महोदयल पीरियड में जो जबर्दस्त जातियां
होती थीं उसका ही सार गांव में प्रभाव
होता था और उनके ही पास सब अधिकार
चले जाते थे और वे गरीबों पर अपना आलंक
जमाते थे। उसी तरह से पंचायत राज्य में
भी इस तरह की भावना न आ जाये, यही
खतरा है। आज देखने में यह आता है कि
गांवों की पंचायतों द्वारा हरिजनों के ऊपर
जबर्दस्ती और जुल्म किये जाते हैं। इस
तरह की बातें बन्द हो जानी चाहिये। इस

[काका साहेब कालेलकर.]

के लिए भी हमें अवश्य कोई न कोई प्रबन्ध करना होगा। तब ही जाकर हम पंचायत राज्य की बात करें।

अगर हम भंगियों का काम उन से लेकर खुद करने लगे और उनको रहने के लिए अच्छे मकान और दूसरा काम दें तो हमारा सब कार्य ठीक हो जायेगा। इसके साथ ही साथ हमें पंचायती राज्य को भी अस्पृश्यता मिटाये पहले एकदम शुरू नहीं करना चाहिये।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, there are one or two points to which I wish to draw the attention of our Minister here. What I feel is that the work done amongst the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes should be done by people who appear to be like them. What I found during my tours was that when these petty officers of the Department go into the villages, they go in bush-shirts and trousers and the villagers feel afraid of them and hesitate to go to them. I think a rule should be made that those who work amongst these people must wear the dress that is commonly worn in those parts and I feel that if that is done, they will do a great deal of good to the people.

The other point that I wish to stress is that more money should be paid to institutions which are doing voluntary work for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I think that there is greater energy and enthusiasm in the people who are doing this work voluntarily than in the others.

I hope I am not casting any aspersions but I have the feeling that we have a lot of people outside the department who wish to work and work enthusiastically amongst them. Of course, the accounts must be audited and all that but if we feel that there are enthusiastic people who can carry on this work, their services should be requisitioned.

There was another problem I found cropping up and that is this. It relates to the Harijan institutions that are springing up everywhere. We are trying to do away with the differences between the different castes but, in these institutions Harijan boys and people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes get some money as stipend while the other poor people who belong to other castes do not get it. In these circumstances, a feeling is growing up that there is a sort of distinction between the Harijans and the non-Harijans. We want to remove this feeling and, therefore, the attention of Government should be directed towards this aspect of the question. An attempt should be made to find out means by which this feeling of difference between the two could be removed.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. C. MATHUR) in the Chair.]

I was very sorry to find my hon. friend who spoke a little before me talking about Ministers and Deputy Ministers and things of that sort. We are all engaging our attention on more education, on getting more posts and becoming Ministers and Deputy Ministers. This is a frame of mind which is a wrong frame of mind and it takes us nowhere. We should talk about the poor people in the villages. We should tell them what we are doing for them. We should rather concentrate on improving the lot of the majority than on talking in terms of Ministership and Deputy Ministership.

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जब तक ऐसी प्रेरणा नहीं होगी तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: It is all very well to come and make speeches here but the best thing for a person is to go round in the villages, spend most of the time with these poor people who are crying for our help. It is not by talking about Minister-

ship and Deputy Ministership that this vital question can be solved.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: That is left to certain other class of people.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: The point is we should go to these people and help them without talking about Ministership and Deputy Ministership or about scholarships. We should go to the people who are crying for our help. We come here in the Legislature and talk about big things, about scholarship, about Government service—how many people get scholarship, how many people there are who have become Government servants—and so on. We ought to direct our attention to those people who are crying for our help, who are facing difficulties all the time. Our duty is towards them.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: I am to voice their feelings in Parliament.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: You are voicing sentiments which are absolutely wrong, which have no basis and which are based only on power politics and nothing else. That is my feeling and I have spoken about it I really wish that all of us take a pledge that we will go out during the inter-session period and work amongst the masses and try to better their lot.

श्री किशोरी राम (बिहार) : गांवों में जाने का ठेका तो हरिजन सेवक संघ ने ले रखा है ।

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Please do not interrupt.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H.C. MATHUR): Please address the Chair.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Sorry, Sir. I know people would not like this sort of speech but that is a fact and must be stated whether people like it or not. It is my feeling that

more attention has to be given to the poor people. Therefore as I said before, all these officers who are appointed by the Government should go into the interior. My experience is that people sit in the headquarters or the tehsil headquarters or in big villages and try to collect information. The Government servants should try to go to places which are not easily accessible, where the poor people stay, and try to improve their lot. In the tehsil headquarters or in the big villages where people mostly go about, you would find the conditions to be good but in the places which are difficult to reach Government help is most required. Therefore, my submission would be that we should concentrate more on mobile dispensaries. That is one of the most essential things necessary for the poor people. They do not know of any medicines; they do not know of hospitals; they know of nothing and therefore, it is necessary that more attention should be paid to this question.

Cottage industry is another direction towards which attention should be directed a little more than at present. There must be some method by which these people, who get practically no food, who have no future before them, who feel down-trodden, who feel oppressed and who have no hope for the future, get their lot improved.

The next important point is the high rate of interest that these poor people pay on the loans that they take. The rate is so high that once they take a loan, it is very difficult for them to get rid of the money-lenders all their lives. Their whole life and future is spoiled and blasted. They feel depressed and do not know what to do. It is people like these who require real help. I know it is very difficult. We say that we should have education; we should have Ministers, we should have Government servants and we should have Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] candidates in the Army. All these are very fine things but we should look more to the majority of the poor people who require our help more than anyone else.

As has been already pointed out, road communication is another difficulty which I came across, especially in the hill areas. The point is that nobody can reach there and there is no contact between the people of the valley and of the hills. In order that any scheme may be effective, it is necessary that there should be roads to enable people to reach the interior.

There is no more point to which I would like to draw attention. It does not look very nice that the State Governments do not give us enough information. We have been hearing about it for a long time but nothing has been done. That is rather strange and it gives a very bad picture. It appears as if there is no control over them. We hear about it every time. If you look at the figures, you will find that excepting West Bengal and probably Bihar, information on the different items has not been supplied by the State Governments. Somewhere you get two or three items out of about fifteen. At this rate, we cannot know how things are progressing and every time the Commissioner has to offer apologies. This should not happen again and again and I hope our Minister will see to it that in future these things do not occur.

It is important for us to know how many villages in an area have been covered and what work has been done. Information should be specially obtained in relation to such areas as are difficult to reach so that when a Report comes from the people who are supposed to work there, the Commissioner is able to know exactly as to whether the areas which need help most have been visited by the officers or not. A list should be prepared giving the details as to the places visited, places which are diffi-

cult to reach, the nature of the improvements effected in those areas and such other relevant information.

These are the few points that I wanted to bring to the notice of our Minister and I hope that something will be done in regard to them.

SHRI R. P. TAMTA (Uttar Pradesh). Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Report before us is a very important one. On the one hand it gives us a picture of the actual conditions in which the Harijans and the members of the Scheduled Castes reside and have to face a great many difficulties in the different areas of the country; on the other hand it also tells us of the specific measures that the Government have taken to ameliorate their lot and to safeguard their interests.

If we look to the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes we find that he has taken great pains in giving us a vivid description of his various tours and in a graphic manner he tells us of the actual conditions in which the Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes live in the different parts of this country. By going through the pages of this Report one can form an idea of the magnitude of the task which lies before the country in order to solve this gigantic problem. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes has also along with his assistant officers toured no less than 30,000 miles and he himself has visited a great many States of this country. He has been to Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, PEPSU, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar and Hyderabad States. And my feeling is that wherever he went he proved a boon to the people of that place because I find from the Report of the Commissioner that, he has taken concrete measures and definite steps to redress the grievances of the Harijans of that area. Not only that he has also placed huge sums of money at the disposal of the institu-

tions there which were engaged in the work of bettering the lot of the *Harijans*. I wish it were possible for the Commissioner to visit other places also because my feeling is, wherever he went he proved a boon to the people of that area. Sir, this Report, as I submitted just now, is an important one because it deals with the people who constitute a little over seven crores of the population of this country.

Within the limited time at my disposal I would confine my remarks to certain points only. With the Scheduled Castes the special problem was the disability which they suffered on account of untouchability. It is true that with the passing of the Constitution in 1950, a new era in the life of these people has dawned as it has been provided therein that social and economic justice will be meted out to these classes as to any other citizen. Not only that. Article 17 of the Constitution lays down: "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden." As a consequence of that Provision we have recently passed an important piece of legislation, the Untouchability Offences Act, and that Act has come into force from the 1st of June this year. Sir, I give special importance to that Act because in enacting that Act Parliament took into consideration all possible forms of disabilities from which the *Harijans* could suffer and have made each a cognizable offence. Not only that. Our Deputy Minister, after he had accepted a suggestion by which he made the offences under that Act cognizable, went a step further and also laid down a provision to the effect that the burden of proof in the case of offences coming under the purview of that Act will be on the accused who will have to prove his innocence if he is challaned under that Act. That, I think, is a very salutary provision in that Act. And if that Act is now implemented properly, it will go a long way in abolishing this evil from this country.

Sir, I submit that the most important thing is not the passing of the Act merely but its implementation. I feel that it is absolutely necessary that this Act be implemented properly in the spirit in which it was passed. And for that I feel that the Central Government will have to devise a machinery both in the States and also in some district headquarters in the form of some social welfare boards or some such thing, the duty of which should be not only to look into the grievances of the *Harijans* and to take necessary steps to redress them but also to see that if any person commits breach of that Act he is brought to book and he is challaned. At present, we know there are various breaches of the Provisions of Acts but all the cases were not reported. If there are less cases of this evil reported it is because, as has been admitted by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes in his Report also, the *Harijans* are too weak; they find it very difficult to take courage into their hands and come forward and report the matter because they fear that by doing so they will be incurring the displeasure of the caste Hindus on whom they depend for their livelihood, and on whom their economic dependence lies. The Commissioner also tells us the cases where certain persons and social workers who took courage and asserted their right were manhandled. So, Sir, it is necessary that the Act that we have passed is properly implemented. I also entirely agree with him when he says that mere passing of this legislation will not do away with this evil and I agree that there is necessity for intensive propaganda in that regard and there should be persuasion by which people may be educated about the consequences of this evil and High Caste people should also be told of their moral responsibility, which they owe to their forsaken brethren. If that is done in a proper way, by persuasion and by propaganda, a lot can be done and the implementation of this Act

[Shri R. P. Tamta.]
will be easier and this evil would easily go away from this country after some years. The Government of India has been good enough to give grants to the various States to the tune of about Rs. 53 lakhs this year for doing intensive propaganda against this evil of untouchability. The various State Governments have taken different measures by which they want to create a new feeling in the countryside and want to use persuasive measures by which people could be educated against this evil and for that, measures for bringing out various leaflets, pamphlets and notices, and for holding of a Harijan Mela every month at some places, inter-dining, etc. and other various measures have been taken. The Government has also given grant to the Harijan Sevak Sangh and other institutions for doing this propaganda. I feel, Sir, that if all the small institutions which are engaged in this work in the districts are also given liberal grant by the Government, they can also help in eradicating this evil. I know the propaganda literature sometimes is not read by the people to whom it is sent and it sometimes goes into the waste paper basket. So I suggest those newspapers which have actually been started by Harijans and have been doing ameliorative work and bringing their grievances before the country for redressing them should also be given financial assistance because those people who bring out such papers are the people who work among Harijans and the Harijans—consider them as their own newspapers and they read them, they go through them and the papers go a long way in moulding their opinion. If such papers are also given financial assistance, I think, it will help in eradicating these evils. Such papers are only few in number and I think a special case should be made and those papers doing Harijan work should be given special grants.

Then, Sir, we have passed the Untouchability Offences Bill but I feel

that a further step should be taken, and that is to change the Government Service Conduct Rules and to lay down once for all that no one who believes in untouchability or practises it in any form shall be appointed to any post under the Government. This is a very important step and if the Government takes this step, it will create a new awakening in the country. I have seen myself that the Government officials, when they read of these special measures adopted by the Government and the special orders which they receive from their higher officers, often make fun of such orders and measures and sometimes they speak in a disparaging tone about them. I was really much pained to see such mentality among some Government officials. Such officers who do not adhere to the Constitution and to its directive principles by which untouchability has been abolished do not deserve to be retained in Government service. I therefore suggest that the Conduct Rules should be so amended that if a Government servant is found guilty of observing untouchability in any form, he should be liable to dismissal. Sir, I do realise that untouchability is a deep-rooted evil and it will take some years before it can be eradicated completely from this country. I realise with the abolition of untouchability in accordance with the principles of the Constitution through an enactment by this Parliament, a new life has come in among the Scheduled Classes who have begun to realise now that they are equal with others and they also have got all the rights which any other citizen enjoys. They have now got the rights and it is only a question of asserting their rights. And in the matter of assertion of their rights, economic dependence comes in their way.

So along with the abolition of untouchability the Government should also take another step and that is to better the economic condition of the

Scheduled Classes. Apart from this evil of untouchability, I find, for instance in some parts of Bihar and Madhya Bharat and others, the practice of forced labour is still there. And I was much surprised that in a progressive State like Mysore also this evil was there. On page 86 you will find that there is a system called Jeetha system still prevalent.....

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore): It is practised only in Malnad area—just a wee bit. I think it has been exaggerated here. It has almost disappeared.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): All the same it is forced labour.

SHRI R. P. TAMTA: I am glad, Sir, that it has almost disappeared. This is what is said here in the report:

"It is most disheartening that the practice of Jeetha system (Forced Labour) is still prevalent in the State of Mysore. With the idea of getting the correct picture on the practice and the view they hold on the eradication of this system, various persons were interviewed and free discussions held. It was gathered that most of the persons under Jeetha are Harijans. When the loan is taken initially whether for a marriage or a funeral or for redemption of an old debt, the understanding is that the borrower who is the head of the family will work along with his family to the lender."

This is how the evil is practised there and the Report goes on to say:

"Most of the persons interviewed maintained the view that mere legislation is likely to jeopardise the harmonious relationship between the landlord and the tenant. It was expressed that if members of the Scheduled Castes are assigned house sites and land for cultivation, and their economic

status thus improved, Jeetha would automatically disappear."

Sir, it is possible that the evil may be there only in small areas, but all the same it is there and I think it is better if that is done away with altogether.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: It is as good as dead. The hon. Member may take it from me.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: But it finds a place in the Report all the same.

SHRI R. P. TAMTA: I am very glad to learn from the hon. ex-Minister of Mysore that this practice is now practically dead.

Now, coming to page 103, I do not agree with what the Commissioner has stated there. He has said that mere economic development of the Scheduled Castes would not automatically abolish untouchability. On the other hand, I hold that if the economic condition of the Harijans is bettered, this evil of untouchability would go automatically to a great extent, because with this Act in force when he is economically independent, he will have the courage to come forward and report the matter to the authorities, when his rights are violated.

Then, Sir, in the matter of their economic improvement, I think education plays a very important part. I know that the Government are taking some steps and that the Harijans are taking advantage of the facilities which the State Governments and the Central Government are providing for their educational advancement. For instance, in 1942 in my State of Uttar Pradesh I am told the number of Harijan students reading in Degree classes was only two, but today the number is about 2,500. This is a welcome sign and this shows what rapid progress is being made in this direction. Last year the Central Government was

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good enough to grant scholarship to several Harijan students reading in Degree classes and post-Matric classes. But I am surprised to learn that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Scholarship Board had before it this year a proposal by which it wanted to restrict the scope of its scholarship scheme. I am told that there was a proposal that no scholarship should be given to third class students. There was also another restriction proposed with respect to the income of the parents. It was said that only those should be given scholarships the income of whose parents was less than Rs. 200. If this restriction is imposed in the name of economy, this will be a retrograde step and I think that the Government should see that such a step is not taken but the old rules which are in existence are continued for some more years.

From the Report we also learn that nearly all the States in the country barring three—Assam, West Bengal and Madhya Bharat—have exempted Harijan students from payment of tuition fees, wholly or partially. And my humble suggestion in this connection is this. Taking into consideration this huge problem of backwardness of the Harijans, if the Government could make a declaration to the effect that for a period of, say, five years, all the Harijan students in different institutions will be exempted from payment of tuition fees, it will go a long way to attract Harijan students to the various schools and colleges. There should be free education for Harijans for a period of five years in all the educational institutions of India. This is my humble suggestion.

Then, Sir, there is reservation of seats for Harijan students in educational institutions but there is no such reservation in technical institutions and medical colleges. I think the opportunity should also be given to the Harijans to send their sons to the technical lines, because I feel by taking to the technical training, they

will be able to get jobs easily and also to serve in that line.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I may say that in some States even in the technical institutions they do reserve seats for Harijans.

SHRI R. P. TAMTA: I know seats are reserved in certain States, but in certain institutions which are run by the Central Government, under their Ministries, the seats are not reserved. And my submission is with respect to those institutions also. I say in all institutions for a period of five years you reserve certain seats so as to give an opportunity to these poor persons to come forward and send their sons to medical colleges, engineering colleges, technical colleges and in all that.

Akin to education is the question of Services. I know certain States have reserved certain percentages in the Services for the members of the Scheduled Castes, but the position is not quite satisfactory. We are told that in the I.C.S. and I.A.S., out of 1,062, the number of scheduled castes is only 18; and in I. P. S. out of 576, the number of Scheduled Castes is 7. In Class I gazetted, out of 3,054, the number of Harijans is only 13; in Class II gazetted out of 1,939, the number of Harijans is 5. And the same condition prevails in the different States. One of the Appendices shows that in States, in Class I services, the number of Scheduled Castes is only 15; while those of others is 1,322. In Class II, the number of Harijans is only 71, while those of other castes is 5,211. In temporary Class I, the number of Harijans is only one; while the number of others is 975. This shows a very bad state of affairs. Not only that. If we look at page 362 of the Report, we find that in the Employment Exchanges of the country, the number of persons who reported for service during 1954 was 1,58,224; and the number of persons who were able to get service during the year was only 24,616. And at the end of the year

those on the live registers were 59,637. This shows that proper steps are not being taken to comply with the reservation quota which has been prescribed by the various Governments. I am surprised that in the Rehabilitation Ministry and other Ministries also, this was not followed. I am not in favour of relaxing any educational qualification for the Harijans. I do not say that unsuitable candidates be recruited. I do not say that in any way efficiency of the work should be affected by the employment of Harijans. What I say is this. When you have prescribed a minimum qualification and if a Harijan is equal to that qualification and possesses that qualification, there is no reason why he should not be given employment. And in this respect some State Governments have taken bold steps. According to reports, the Bihar Government has laid down that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in class IV service, will be recruited up to fifty per cent. as long as the quota is not complete. The Orissa Government has said that fifty per cent. vacancies will be reserved in class III and IV till authorised quota is reached. The Madhya Bharat Government has said that fifty per cent. of fully vacant posts will be filled by the Scheduled Castes. Saurashtra Government has gone further. They have said 100 per cent. vacancies will be reserved for these communities till the reserved quota is reached.

It is gratifying to note that the Home Ministry has opened a special section to check these quotas and to see that proper representation is given to Scheduled Castes. I hope this question will be looked into.

Now, I want to come to the question of finances and as we have seen, the problem is very huge. We see that out of a budget provision of over Rs. 2,200 crores, of first Five Year Plan the Planning Commission thought it advisable to allot only a sum of Rs. 4 crores for the better-

ment of the Harijans, criminal tribes and backward classes. And this sum was to be spent in three years. Now, we are told out of Rs. 4 crores, only Rs. 1.65 crores has been spent so far; and Rs. 2.35 crores is to be spent this year. This also is not, I feel, a satisfactory state of affairs.

It is interesting to note how much money the State Governments and the Central Government put together are spending for the amelioration and the development of the Harijans. If you look at Appendix XVIII, you will find that the total expenditure incurred by all the State Governments of India put together is Rs. 3,73,24,328, of which Rs. 53 lakhs has been given by the Centre. Thus we find that the amount that is being spent for the development, amelioration and all these measures comes to only eleven annas—just over eleven annas per head of Harijan per year. The population of Harijans is 5 crores and 21 lakhs. And the amount spent last year was Rs. 2,30,69,903. And that gives the amount that was spent. It was only 7 annas per head per year for the betterment of the Harijans. I feel that the amount that is being spent for the economic, social advancement and educational development of these classes is very small. And taking into consideration the magnitude of the problem, I feel something definite, concrete be done and more money be allotted by both the Central and State Governments. Unless that is done, I feel it will not be possible to solve this problem.

Sir, only one or two points more. I think it is absolutely necessary that something be done to provide every Harijan with a house which he might call his own. He should be given facilities, a site for the house and a loan for the construction of the house. Some States have made special provisions for giving housing sites for the Harijans; others have not done anything. But it is more a question of finance. Without money I think it will not be possible for

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them to solve this problem; and unless the Central Government comes to their rescue and helps them in this direction, no progress can be made.

There is, then, the question of the development of industries also among Harijans. In this connection, I would cite the case of the Andhra Government which has approved a scheme for starting a scheduled tribe Finance and Marketing Corporation with a share capital of Rs. 2 lakhs. It will provide credit facilities, supply day to day requirements including agricultural implements, seeds; and purchase at a reasonable price the articles manufactured by the members of these tribes. I think if such corporations are started in different parts of the country—and different States provide in the shape of loans and grants financial assistance to the Harijans so that they may take to other occupations and develop cottage industries—it will help them in bettering their lot and their economic condition.

Sir, lastly, I feel that if the number of Regional Commissioners, which is only six, is increased and if in every big State there is a Regional Commissioner, it will help a lot in solving the problem because he will be not only looking into the finances—whether the finance sanctioned by the Government is spent properly or not—but will also look into the grievances of the Harijans and will try to redress them.

With these words, I join in the tribute paid to the Scheduled Caste Commissioner for the pains he has taken, for his report which is exhaustive, informative and gives us an idea of the magnitude of the problem; and for the various measures that are being taken. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA (Bombay):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, every year we

discuss this Report to find out what has been done, what has been achieved in the past. The Commissioner, no doubt, has taken great pains and has travelled throughout the country in gathering material. And if you carefully go through the Report, you will find some facts which go to show the intensity and the urgency of the problem. It is no doubt true that the State Governments as well as the Central Government are moving in the direction of improving the status of the Scheduled Castes. But we will have to examine this question from the larger perspective and it is this fact in the Report that has revealed a really sorry state of things. What do we find? Still we find that if the Harijans enter the hotel, there are people in this country who think that the hotel should be purified. They wash the walls; they wash the floors with milk. That is the problem which is still facing us that even today human beings in this country are still treated as not human beings, but worse than beasts. What is the reason for this? The reason is plain that in this country, for years together traditions and customs have created such a class of people that they have to be treated not as human beings, but as germs of plague.

Now, if you look at this problem from this point of view, the necessity becomes very urgent that we have to take such measures as are capable of removing this malady from our country. Some time back, I came across a very sad and tragic incident. I recall one incident that has very lately occurred in a corner of Saurashtra. A young man was appointed as a school teacher in a village. Young as he was, he was idealistic. He wanted to do some good to the Harijans in the village. He started doing social work in that village. The villagers did not like the attitude or the work of this young man. Harassment began and it came to such a position, such a state, that the young man had to commit suicide. What was the

reason? Rumours were floated against him that he was morally corrupt. He could not bear it. Sir, he laid down his life. For what purpose? He laid down his life in the cause of Harijans. But nobody has taken notice of this. His sacrifice has gone unheard of. But it has brought into bold relief the whole problem of the Harijans in this country. This year, only three months back, the young man laid down his life. For what reason? He has laid down his life in order that the Harijans of this country may be able to claim equal status with their countrymen. This problem is growing in intensity.

This is one of the very few instances that come to light. But a number of them we never hear of. They never find a place in the newspapers. There might be some instances which may be of some use to the newspapers or the reporters. There might be a murder story or a crime story. It is reported in the press. But a supreme sacrifice of this kind goes unnoticed. The Harijans of that village are still weeping, crying over the loss that they have sustained. It becomes quite necessary for us to realise that this problem is not at all solved. It is not even nearing a solution. Even the Report of the Commissioner has said it and he has given so many instances—small instances in themselves. But they show the conditions that are in existence in our country.

The same thing is there in the cities and towns. Even though we may claim that we have made some progress, the deep-seated prejudice that is still existing in our country retards development and it comes in the way of the growth of sixty million people of our country—six crores—1/6 of the population.

Now, what is the position today? Why are they suffering in this way and what should be the attempt that we should make in order to improve their status? It is no doubt true that

their economic condition is always so bad that, for their day-to-day requirements, they have to depend upon the very persons who believe in the practice of untouchability. The problem of untouchability is not so very intense in cities and towns. But go to the villages, you will find that every Harijan is dependent for his daily bread on those orthodox people who are still steeped in ignorance and who are still the slaves of customs. Can you expect them to rise and fight for their rights? The greatest problem to me is, if you really want to improve the status of these people and remove this curse of untouchability from our country, you have first of all, to make a survey of the economic condition of the Scheduled Classes in this country. The Commission which was appointed by the President was charged with the duty of finding out who are the Backward Classes in this country. I do not know, as the Report is not available to us so far, what are the findings and the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission. But I would still urge upon the Government that, if you really want to solve this problem in the near future, you have still, first of all, to find out what are the economic conditions of these unhappy, accursed people of this country. If you will go through the Report, you will find that mostly they are either landless labourers or they are working in municipalities or doing some hard jobs. Now, in the cities, no doubt, these people are serving in the municipalities as sweepers. In some places, they might be working as peons and servants or there is another category of trade which is tanning and leather industry. These are, according to me, the main sources of income for these poor people. Now, you will find for a person who is working in the field as a landless labourer, security of the job depends upon the sweet will of his own employer. If he is engaged in a municipality, security of the job depends on the sweet will of the persons who are in authority. If he is in the tan-

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ning or leather industry, there also the question remains regarding the customer that he is likely to get. Because he is engaged in that particular trade, he has to satisfy the market which is round about him. Being crude in the manufacture of such goods, he cannot have a better market than the village market itself. Then there are some who are engaged in the weaving industry also. If you will go through the various industries carefully, you will find that these are the most unremunerative trades that they have been compelled to follow from year to year. In order to improve their economic status, it is necessary for the Government to devise ways and means as to how to resurrect these industries and to put these people on their feet.

It has been every now and then argued that our country has launched upon a programme of economic development and that every man in the country will be benefited by these development projects. I do agree that every man in this country might be benefited by development projects. But there is one fundamental mistake that we commit and it is this. Is a member of the Scheduled Castes community in a position to follow any trade or profession that he likes? Suppose a member of the Scheduled Castes community wants to become a doctor. In theory, everybody is entitled to become a doctor. No doubt, he may pass his examination with best honours, first class honours. The question still remains when he starts his medical profession in the country, how many patients will he get? Who will go to his dispensary?

Nobody will go to his dispensary, if he knows his caste. If people do not know his caste, they may continue to come to him and take medicines. But the day anybody comes to know that he belongs to that particular community, his skill, his achievements and all his qualifications will be of no avail. I know at least one person

who used to be in the Bombay State. In order to continue his profession, he had to change his caste or community every time. This is the position today. A person belonging to the Scheduled Castes might be one of the best lawyers, might be a very good Engineer. But who is going to give him any lift? Nobody. Wherever you go, you will find that this practice of untouchability comes in his way. Supposing a man wants to open a tea shop, or he wants to have some other business in some town or in some city.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I would like to remind you that Dr. Ambedkar never experienced any disabilities or difficulties in that regard.

SHRI P T LEUVA: I am very happy that my hon friend has referred to Dr. Ambedkar. And fortunately for him ignorance is bliss. He probably does not know the difficulties that Dr. Ambedkar himself encountered. I know much better than the hon Member does.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I do not claim to know much about him.

SHRI P. T. LEUVA: Dr. Ambedkar was a practising lawyer in the Bombay High Court, and you can go and ask him how many briefs he got from the Solicitors of the Bombay High Court. Even though he was one of the best lawyers, and a constitutional expert, ask him how many briefs he got on the original side of the Bombay High Court. He never got any brief on the original side. So long as he remained in Bombay, he was not at the top of the Bar, but he was at the lowest rung of the Bar. As a matter of fact, I know that he was serving as Accountant General of the Baroda State, and he had to leave that place, because that State which spent Rs. 20,000 over his education, could not give him a house. Even

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his clerks would not touch him, would not give him water. That was the story of Dr. Ambedkar. You can ask him about the facts, and he will explain to you how untouchability came in his way. Even a person with the best of qualifications and with the best of ability would not be able to move forward if he unfortunately belongs to that particular community. I therefore maintain still that this practice of untouchability comes in the way of the economic development of each and every untouchable in this country. So long as this curse remains, how can anybody expect that these six crores of people would, in any way, be able to contribute to the development of this country? It is very well to say or to maintain in theory that in this country now, without any distinction of caste or creed, a person can develop himself. Sir, Dr. Ambedkar was a person who remained throughout his life in a city. He might have overcome his difficulties now. But you go to the villages, go to the small towns, go to the cities with a population of even six lakhs of people. What is their position today? You must have read some reports that even in the cities where big municipalities are in existence, the housing conditions of these unfortunate people are miserable. I do not know how many of our Members who are present here ever visited such places where the housing arrangements for the municipal servants are miserable. If any of you go there, you will realise the difficulties and the hardships under which they are living. How can you expect the sons and daughters of these people who are remaining in such miserable conditions, and who have to live in filth and squalor, to become graduates of first class, and to fight shoulder to shoulder with you? The conditions compel them to remain as menial servants only. Of course, you can make provision for us only in the fourth class and in the third class, and that also to the extent of 50 per cent.

Now, Sir, my main contention is that if you really want that these people should come up to the level of everybody else in this country, it should be the first and foremost duty of the State to take such measures as would enable them to get a decent living, and not only a decent living, but a living with completely independent means. Why do I say that these independent means are necessary? It is because, according to me, the Scheduled Castes people cannot fight for their rights so long as they are dependent for their day-to-day needs on the sweet will of the other people residing in the same village. The State should be able to give to us the independent means of livelihood, and it should create a climate in which Harijans will not be harassed by the other people. Now the position is that if a Harijan fights for his rights, he is thrown on the street. The moment he raises his voice, he is thrown out of his house, and he is not given food and water even. Now, Sir, the main cause, according to me, which has led to these unfortunate conditions is the practice of untouchability which has stood in the way of our full development. And unless and until you remove this obstacle in the way of our progress, we cannot make any headway.

Now Sir, the Commissioner, in his Report, has observed that any improvement in the economic conditions only will not lead to the removal of this practice of untouchability. Partly I agree with him. But looking at this question from a different angle, I would say that economic conditions always reflect on the social status of the people. If a person is rich, the pace at which the prejudice against him will disappear will be accelerated, whereas that is not the case with a poor man. A poor man may be virtuous, yet the pace at which the prejudice against him will disappear will certainly be slower than in the case of a millionaire. In the case of a millionaire, the pace would be accelerated in such a fashion that in the next generation at least his

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children will be looked upon with respect, I therefore wish to say that although I agree with the observation made by the Commissioner, yet I find that he has only expressed half the truth.

In this connection, Sir, I would now come to the question regarding Services. The hon. Deputy Home Minister has said that in the case of class IV servants, 50 per cent of the vacancies have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes. Now, Sir, I am not going to be satisfied with some provision for the class IV servants only. We have to look at this question not from the point of view of employment potential. What is the main problem that we have to face? My contention is that we do not wish to claim any representation in the services on the basis of employment potential at all. Employment for an educated person is no doubt desirable and necessary but what is our aim in asking for representation in the services? Is it for getting jobs for our people? I submit that it is not our intention. Why do we ask for representation in the services? The main reason for which we ask for representation is this that whenever a person is appointed in an executive authority, it leads to an enhancement in his social prestige. A person who is a Collector or a Deputy Collector or Magistrate or a high Government Officer has a certain amount of prestige attached to him. He can wield executive authority and that leads to the crossing of the barriers of untouchability. Can you expect a Chaprassi in the office to command any respect from the high class Hindus who are in the villages? A Collector goes on tour. If he belonged to the Scheduled Class community at least the Scheduled Class people who are in the village or town might get some inspiration and strength and will feel: "Look here, at least this Collector is here and if anybody does any wrong to us, he will support us and fight for us." Not only that A person who is in executive

authority is creating a psychological feeling that even a person from the Scheduled Caste community can be a Collector, can wield power, can exercise justice. I therefore claim representation not in third and fourth class jobs—I don't want any representation there because I say even if the Government of India fills all their third and fourth class jobs from the Scheduled Caste community, the economic question of the Scheduled Castes is not going to be solved. What we want is this that we want the dignity and prestige which is attached to the First and Second Class Officers. Our main reason is to remove the evil of untouchability. We don't want these Government jobs for getting money, or for getting higher salaries—it might be a good thing to get higher salaries—but our main purpose is to remove this prejudice, this social stigma that is attached to us. Can you achieve it by giving us third and fourth class servants' jobs? Chaprassis may increase by leaps and bounds but what is the use? A Chaprassi may not be even able to maintain his own family but a person in executive authority will wield much more influence and power from the community at large and that is the only way of how you can remove untouchability from this country. Every now and then they say that efficiency will be affected. May I ask one question? Has efficiency not been affected by recruiting persons especially after Partition? Has not efficiency been affected by recruitment of those persons who don't belong to the Scheduled Caste communities? A number of persons or officers who would have ordinarily retired as Superintendents in the Departments have become Under Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, and at that time nobody said: "If we give this accelerated promotion, efficiency will go down", but when it comes to providing representation to the Scheduled Classes, and when we ask; "Why don't you give us jobs in the IAS and IPS and in the Army?", then this argument is advanced that

the Scheduled Class people, born poor in this country, living in those conditions, will not be able to maintain the dignity of an officer and they will not be intelligent officers and the national work of this country would suffer. Sir, without giving a chance to us, without experimenting on our abilities, judgments are always given in advance. Has the Government of India or any State Government tried these so-called Second Class or Third Class graduates among us? We have First Class graduates too. But have they tried and found out that they have become third rate officers? Without trying their mettle, it is very easy, in the name of this very large and spacious ground, to say that if we take the Scheduled Class people and relax the educational qualifications in respect of them, there would be no efficiency in the country. But in order to console us, they say, "All right, we will give you relaxation in so far as age is concerned". What I ask for is not relaxation in age. I don't want any rules to be applied to us because we are demanding representation not on the question of the population but on the sole ground that this is the only way to remove untouchability in this country and it is this that in every district of this country there must be at least one Scheduled Caste man in the highest branch of administration. At least there must be one Deputy—if not a Collector—but we don't wish to take any risks on grounds which have not been tried so far. I should submit that if we are really sincere and serious in this matter and if we want to remove untouchability from this country in the near future, it is absolutely necessary that in every district and taluk there must be at least one Scheduled Caste man who is exercising executive authority. Unless and until you adopt this measure, I don't think that untouchability can ever be removed from this country. The Constitution has provided for 10 years reservation of seats. Those 10 years are coming to an end. In the year 1960 that period

would be over and after that, there would be no representation in the legislatures and Parliament. It is too premature for me to say anything regarding whether the period should be extended or not. I don't wish to say anything but assuming for a moment that in 1960 this reservation is to be abolished, we have to satisfy ourselves whether this country has done its duty towards the Scheduled Castes. We have to see whether the country can honestly feel and honestly say to the world, "Look here, at the end of this period of ten years, we have enhanced the prestige and we have enhanced the economic strength of these people to such an extent that they can now freely fight their own battles on equal footings." If after ten years you can say that honestly and sincerely, I have no objection. That is the reason why I say that if you want to say that honestly and sincerely in 1960, it is necessary to find or devise ways and means which will accelerate the annihilation of untouchability from our country. If you fail in this, you will have no justification to go to the country and tell these 6 crores of Harijans of our land that they do not require any concessions, that no reservations are necessary for them. The provision was meant for this very purpose. At the time of the framing of the Constitution it was realised that the Scheduled Caste people have of necessity to be supported, that they require special concessions and these special concessions, should be given to them. Then if the country is satisfied at the end of ten years that these people have achieved a certain amount of strength, then they would not require any further assistance from you. Sir, we ourselves do not want any reservations or special treatment. It hurts our own self-respect. But what are we to do? What are the conditions in our country? Conditions have not changed radically. They are not in a mood to change them and so long as these conditions continue to remain in this

[Shri P. T. Leuva.]

country, we will have to ask the Government, we will have to ask the people, to continue these special considerations and concessions that are to be given to us.

Sir, next I come to the last point and that is with respect to the Untouchability Offences Act. This Act was passed after a great deal of agitation. There was a demand from each and every part of the country that there should be uniform legislation in our country relating to untouchability. Happily it was done, and the stage has now arrived to examine its working. It has been said that good laws can be badly administered, A law, in order that it may benefit the country, in order that it may benefit the people for whom it is meant, should be administered wisely. Therefore, it becomes very necessary to see that the Untouchability Offences Act is implemented in the right spirit. The implementation and the administration of this Act naturally lies with the permanent services and in this connection, Sir, I would like to make an appeal to the permanent services. It is the permanent services which have to carry out the policy of the Government. The Cabinet or the Government in the States as well as the Central Government may pass legislations for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes. There might be executive orders issued by the Cabinet or the Ministers. But it is the actual implementation of such orders that will lead to the improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes. The Untouchability Offences Act will be administered by the State Governments. The police officer would be in charge of investigation of offences. Sir, I need not now relate stories as to how the police officers do not generally perform their duties conscientiously. Every person who has got some experience about the working of laws relating to untouchability in the various

States will testify that generally either the persons who are harassed or victimised are not willing to come forward because further victimisation will follow or the persons who are perpetrating such crimes go on repeating those crimes because they are quite sure that there is nobody who will prosecute them. There is nobody in the country who will help the poor Scheduled Caste man who has been denied access to a temple or who has been debarred from drawing water from a well. In view of this, it is necessary that every district officer is charged with the special responsibility of the administration of this Act. While this Bill was under discussion I suggested that the Government should have a separate staff in every police department which is charged with the task of administering this particular Act. There are numerous cases which never come to the court because everybody knows that the police would not be helpful. The laws are not effective because the persons in charge of the administration of them, in implementing them, have not their heart in it. A police sub-inspector in a small town, as far as I know, has very little sympathy for a Scheduled Caste and if an offence is committed and if it is brought to his notice, he will try his best to ignore it. If he has to register the offence, he will register it in such a manner that the case will never result in conviction. It is, therefore, necessary that the Central Government should issue directions to every State Government that in every district and town, there must be specific instructions given to the officers that whatever laws, whatever orders are passed by the Government for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes must be implemented. If they are not implemented properly, then it must be met with disciplinary action.

Sir, it may be that during these many years that this crusade has been going on, there has been some change of heart. I do believe that

there is an atmosphere now being created which goes to show that untouchability at last will go away. I do agree also that in the highest cadre of the services perhaps there may not be any social prejudice against the Scheduled Castes. But I regret to say—and it is painful to say it—that in the lower services, this spirit is not dying out. It is strengthening. Wherever you go you will always find this complaint, that the Scheduled Caste members are not being recruited because a particular officer is either a Brahmin or belongs to some higher community. The Government may have got the best of intentions and their motives may be excellent. They might lay down very good policies. But so long as the services do not take active interest and do not deal with these people sympathetically, I feel that this problem will not and cannot be solved. I would, therefore, like to make my appeal to these permanent services. They must now realise the change in the times. They must now know that this problem which in our country is eating into the very vitals of our society must be solved somehow or other. And the responsibility of the permanent services is all the greater because the permanent services are always there; they remain. The Ministries may change and Cabinets may come and go, but the permanent services continue. It is, therefore, necessary for the permanent services to create traditions and establish conventions. It is for them to do it and it is equally their duty that if they want this country to become great, it is necessary that they should put their hearts into the solution of this problem. If the village Patel, if the Tahsildar or the Deputy Collector becomes enthusiastic and works actively for the betterment of the Harijans, I think this problem would be solved much sooner. It is for this reason that I am making this appeal to the services.

Sir, this problem has to be solved as soon as possible, because our

country which requires to be developed, needs the services of each and every human being in our country. But six crores of our people, that is to say, one-sixth of the nation, if you keep them backward, if you put obstacles in the way of their development, do you think our country can ever progress? Therefore, I say it is in the interest of the other 30 crores of our people in this country who inhabit this country, it is in their own interest to do this and if they want progress, it is necessary that they must take with them the other six crores also. We do not want any concessions which are not warranted by the conditions existing in the country. After all, we want to live as proud citizens of this country. After all, we want also to contribute our mite to the development of our country. Therefore, for God's sake, give us the opportunity and give us the right response so that we may also serve our country.

Sir, whenever I think of this problem I am always reminded of the story of Karna in the Mahabharat with which every hon. Member of the House would be familiar, the story of Karna at the Swayamvar of Draupadi. Draupadi refuses to marry Karna because he happens to be the son of a charioteer. But Karna was a man of self-respect and these memorable words of his still keep on ringing in my ears:

दैवायत्नं तु कुले जन्म
मयायत्नं तु पौरुषम् ।

That is to say, "It is in the hands of Fate to be born in a particular community; but to achieve something is in one's own hands." Sir, we also want to cultivate that self-respect, that self-reliance, and it is for you, the vast majority in this country, to create the necessary conditions. If you do your duty by us, I would like

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to assure you that these six crores of people will not fail in their duty to the country.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa).
Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Constitution lays down that the Special Officer should submit a report to the President every year. This is the fourth Report that the Scheduled Castes Commissioner has submitted to the President which is now before us for discussion. Previously also we discussed such Reports. I am not going to point out as to what progress has been made between the successive reports but I think the entire problem of removal of this social inequality should be viewed in a different perspective. The Constitution lays down certain obligations because the Constitution wanted—it was thought necessary—that this problem should be solved within a stipulated period of time. Therefore, we have to judge from the Reports before us as to whether any progress has been made in that respect.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Sir, this is no doubt a socio-economic and political problem. We have great social differences in our society and the entire idea is that these should be removed within a definite period of time so that a composite nation may emerge. For all time to come, we should remove from our society these words such as backward and forward, scheduled and non-scheduled, etc. It has existed for a long time and it is all the more necessary, therefore, that steps should be taken as quickly as possible, to implement whatever we have to do in this matter. Therefore, I feel that it is not merely a question of increasing the grant of money to this State or that State, to this organisation or that organisation or reservation in the services here and there or even the appointment of a few more Regional Commissioners.

To my mind, Sir, we have to see whether by his persuasion or by the work that he has been able to do so long, the Scheduled Castes Commissioner has been able to enthuse a new spirit in the people and whether he has been able to make any psychological change in the Government administration itself. The main question before us is whether he has been able to change the callous and apathetic attitude of Government into a more sympathetic and more effective one. That is the question to be looked into and I feel sure that if one goes through his Reports, one would find that there has been absolutely no change. The State Governments and most of the officers are as callous towards this problem as before. The Commissioner himself laments and says, "One more difficulty experienced is that the schemes sent to the Government of India by the State Governments for grants-in-aid are not submitted in the prescribed *pro forma*. Six-monthly progress reports received from them are also few and far between. Even these are not according to the prescribed *pro forma* supplied to them for furnishing details of physical targets reached in the schemes." You will also find from the Report detailing the action taken by the Governments and the Ministries on the different recommendations and suggestions made by the Commissioner that nothing has yet been done and the State Governments, in many cases, have remained simply silent over the recommendations. The Commissioner at some point stated that he was very glad over the appointment of some Tribal Research Society in some States. Some States have set up such organisations. I know that one such body has been set up in Orissa but you will find from the same Report that the Commissioner has not received even a single Report as to how far such bodies have progressed in their work, what they have done and what is the work that they are really doing now. Without that, what

is the purpose of having such societies? Has he ever tried to find out whether the men **who** constitute such bodies are men **who** have any knowledge, experience or even interest in tribal affairs or, are they persons whom particular State Governments want to satisfy and hence have them put on such bodies? Has he enquired into this? I think a question was raised on the floor of this House last year about these bodies and about the personnel employed in such bodies. I do not know whether the Government or the Scheduled Castes Commissioner ever enquired into this complaint. We are not really very much interested to know how many miles the Scheduled Castes Commissioner covered during his tour, which places he went to by jeep, which places he visited on horse back and what has been the T.A. of the different officers. This might be quite a good departmental record but surely the Members of Parliament are not going to waste their time going through such material. What we want to know is quite a different thing. I would suggest that in the next Report, which probably we may have an opportunity to discuss, the Commissioner should give us an objective view of the entire problem, a problem so great and so colossal and—at the same time, everybody admits that—a problem which ought to receive our first attention. We want that crores of our citizens should be equated to the rest of the society **within ten years**; we want that the special reservation provided in the Constitution should be removed after ten years. If that is so, one is naturally anxious to know as to how far the Commissioner himself, after working for four or five years, is prepared to recommend that, because of the co-operation that he has received from the Government machinery—at the same time, I do not forget that the public has also a duty in this matter—and the public co-operation that he has received, he is able to recommend that there will be no reservation

after ten years. I am very doubtful whether he is in a position to say that today. That is because the achievements have not been—and the progress has not really been—in the way we expected it to be. Sir, I would have been happy if, besides all these things, there had been mentioned in this Report categories of work done in the different States or, totally speaking, how much land has been given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people in the entire country, how many colonies are running under State patronage and in how many places—five, six or ten villages or one district—they have been able to remove untouchability altogether. You do not find any such thing in this Report. I am happy to see of course that the Government of Bombay—it is given in this Report—has made it a condition that non-official workers, wherever they are appointed, should fill a target, and the target is that within twelve months they must see that in certain villages there is no untouchability at all. If that is so I would like to know whether any such thing has been achieved in that part of the country or anywhere in the whole of the country. That would have been very helpful to our discussion here.

Sir, the Deputy Home Minister, while moving this motion, gave us a detailed account as to how much money was spent during the British days, how much more they are spending year by year—actually whether it is spent or not, I do not know; at least the grants are made—and in that respect only they are giving us an idea about the progress. But what I feel is this: It may really satisfy the ordinary public, but I would like to know from the Deputy Minister or the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes whether they are satisfied with what has been done so far. As I have already pointed out, the factual reports do not give us an idea as to the material benefits that the people have got

[Shri S. N. Dwivedy.]
after implementation of the programmes that were from time to time given by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes or decided upon by the Government of India. Therefore I feel that Reports of this nature would not be able to make much impression on the public or would not help us in the purpose for which we are all anxious.

Having said this much I would like to draw your attention to another thing about which I also mentioned during the discussion last time. I made certain observations regarding the expenditure on grants-in-aid made by the Government of India towards the removal of untouchability. I particularly mentioned about the grants that were made to Orissa. I made certain definite allegations on the floor of the House and also two Members of Parliament wrote to the Home Minister. I also made an appeal that the Home Ministry should enquire into the matter or the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes should personally be satisfied at least. There is no party or personal question involved in a matter like this. The question is simply this that grants made for specific purposes must be spent properly, but there has been a departure as far as the State of Orissa is concerned. But I regret to say that the Home Ministry, instead of making any independent enquiry, called for a report from the department against whom the allegations are made and wrote us back saying—they have given in this paper also—that they were satisfied that there had been no departure. But I again put this question. Herein the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes says.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must close now, Mr. Dwivedy. There are 16 names still. I have got two hours.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: I won't take much time, Sir. The Commissioner

for Scheduled Castes says that all parties and all organizations which are working for social and economic development, for the removal of untouchability must be brought together to work in this regard. That is a suggestion which he has made to all States and here it is stated in his Report that in Orissa a non-official organization known as the Depressed Classes League has been set up and this organization is favoured by the Government. I ask with all emphasis whether this organization has in its fold all those social organizations that are working for the removal of untouchability. Even a representative of the Servants of India Society which is known throughout this country as a philanthropic organization is not included in the membership of the Depressed Classes League. Why is it that while the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes himself favours the Harijan Sevak Sangh—an old institution, an established organization started by Mahatma Gandhi and which is being given grants in all the States where it is functioning—a branch of the same in Orissa was not favoured, but this new organization was brought into the picture? Is it not a fact? I want to say this much that most of the non-official workers that have been appointed there have actually not done any work whatsoever towards removal of untouchability at any time, but they are, if I may say so, political workers in disguise. I would ask him to enquire whether it is a fact or not that most of these non-official workers were taken to canvass for Congress candidates during the bye-elections—I am prepared to give the names. Here you say you have set down conditions that if this money is spent for political purposes you will withdraw it. But who is going to judge it? The president of the organization is a Deputy Minister and they all do this work. How can you say therefore that you will withdraw the grant? If an independent enquiry is made, then only these things can come out.

Therefore I say, Sir, in these matters let the Government think twice because people are losing faith. Even the Scheduled Caste people themselves have no heart in this work. They know that if they went on sincerely doing any work, if it is not favoured by Congressmen, all assistance will be refused. There is an organization of which the President.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Dwivedy.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: is Dr. Parija. This organisation applied for help. They submitted a scheme but that has been refused. After saying this much, Sir, I only point out one thing and it is this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No more points please.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: One more point and I finish. Let the Government apply its mind to see, since there is a clamour for technical personnel in the country, why not efforts be made to get persons belonging to these classes trained in such a way that they fulfil this want of the country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes each now. Yes, Mr. Hegde.

SHRI K. S. HEGDE (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, let me at the very outset accord my fullest support to the expressions of appreciation made by several Members about the work done by the Commissioner. He has done his work with a Missionary zeal, with a thorough knowledge of the subject and with a good deal of understanding of the difficult situation. I shall be failing in my duty if on this occasion I do not place on record my admiration and regard for one of the Assistant Commissioners who lived and died for the cause of the Scheduled Tribes. I am particularly referring to my esteemed friend, Mr. B. K. Bhandari, with whom I had occasion to work

for a number of years. Probably, this House is not aware of the immense service rendered by Mr. Bhandari to the Scheduled Tribes in Assam. Probably, no one will regret his demise more than the Commissioner himself.

Having said that, I must now consider as to what we have done in pursuance of the policy that was laid down in the Constitution for ameliorating the condition of the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes as well as Tribes. It is true that we have done an immense lot of service to these unfortunate brethren of ours. But what we have done is comparatively little to what we have yet to do. The subject is a very complicated one. It is true that legally speaking we have abolished untouchability. Only legally speaking our Constitution abolishes untouchability in all forms and shapes but how far that will become practical is a question that we have got to answer. As the hon. Deputy Minister himself said, untouchability is still being practised in the rural parts, not only in the rural parts but even in the urban parts. I hail from a District in which we have got a very important temple—Udipi Sri Krishna Temple. That is probably one of the most popular temples and it attracts numerous pilgrims from all over the country. But to my shame and to the shame of my countrymen, I must admit that even till today we have not been able to persuade the authorities to open the gates of this temple to the Harijans.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: Where is it?

SHRI K. S. HEGDE: It is at Udipi. At every stage legal lacuna is availed of for obstructing the Harijans from entering the temple. First, they filed a suit; having failed in it they went up to the High Court and there again they failed. Now they are seeking remedy through writ.

[Shri K. S. Hegde.]

The courts of law have been in some ways sources of obstruction in working out our social justice reforms in the country. Some device must be found out to implement this programme of the country at a quicker pace than we have been doing hitherto. If only we consider carefully, we can find that untouchability is just one facet of the casteism that is existing in this country. So long as we are not able to abolish casteism I doubt very much whether we will be able to abolish untouchability at all. Untouchability is merely an expression relating to the physical side of it but our relationship, our mental outlook, our mental approach all these bear on casteism. It is unfortunate that the very provision in the Constitution is made use of to perpetuate casteism. Today this casteism is obstructing our progress not merely on the political front but even in the administrative as well as economic spheres. I hail from the South and I know its effects. We feel its effects on almost every day of our life. This is going on in a vicious circle and our Prime Minister has repeatedly said that unless we root out casteism completely there can be no real progress. But having reiterated it several times, I am yet to see the positive steps that we have been taking to root it out. In fact, to our shame it must be admitted that there is greater casteism today than there was before freedom. Everyone of us is trying to utilise casteism as a vested interest. When we use the word 'casteism' we merely intend to speak about ourselves. It is merely used as a vehicle for our personal aggrandisement and promotion of personal interests. It is true that we have enacted some parts of the Hindu Code which probably will facilitate the abolition of caste system but obviously they are of little consequence and they are but minor steps in that direction. I appeal to the Government to consider carefully and to see what steps in the legislative, administrative or other spheres

could be taken to abolish casteism in its entirety and with its abolition untouchability also is bound to be abolished.

Leaving that aspect aside, I should like to consider again whether the steps that we have been taking to promote the interests of the weaker sections of the community are in the right direction. We have done a good deal to promote their education and even in the matter of getting them employment. It has done them some good; there is no doubt about it; but are we not creating another vested interest by this approach is a question which we must seriously answer. As my hon. friend Mr. Dwivedy remarked just now, are we preparing the ground to remove all these crutches and supports at the end of a given period or are we making these unfortunate brethren of ours demand the retention of these privileges even at the end of the given period? Is it still going to be a vested interest? Are we not creating an atmosphere in which the untouchables or the backward classes are going to insist on continuing as untouchables and backward classes? This is an extremely serious question that has got to be considered. We have tried separate electorates; we have tried reservations and in their own time they have become vested interests. Are we going to allow this also to become another vested interest? That is what the Government must seriously consider. I would request the Commissioner that he should, in evolving his policies or in evolving ways and means of assisting these unfortunate brethren, always see that they in their turn will not become vested interests. Why I say this is, suppose you lay down a principle that a candidate whether he has got the qualification or not will be employed because you are going to employ a certain percentage of people belonging to backward communities, then it might be a clear invitation to them to continue to remain backward and not to take any steps to become forward com-

munities. On the other hand, there are innumerable other ways of assisting them and achieving the object which you have before you. You have done it to some extent but not to an appreciable extent.

Their economic conditions are extremely deplorable. As you come from Madras to Delhi through Bezwada, Ongole and other places, you will see numerous hutments which are hardly worthy of housing our cattle. They are living in squalor, poverty and what not. Is it not a question that you should tackle? Is not the economic front the most important front in tackling the problem of the backward communities, the Scheduled Castes and the Tribes? Is it not a case where you must try to provide for them houses, wells and schools, not separately but jointly? If you create a separate school for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and then insist that the teachers also should belong to the particular communities, you are merely putting a premium on inefficiency. You are merely trying to see that vested interests continue. On the other hand, I would like you to see that every child belonging to these poor communities—and if it is possible and if it is within your economic means to extend it to every poor child, irrespective of the fact whether it is backward or not gets education. But if you cannot do it, do it at least for these backward communities; see that they are educated. Our efforts, I should think, must stop there. They must be allowed to work out their own destiny, rather than our trying to provide them with jobs merely on the basis that they are backward. If you provide economic means, probably you will be dealing with a class as a whole and not these individual children who may be merely exceptions.

Now, in the present set of circumstances I do feel that insistence on the percentage of representation in the

Services has become necessary, because each one of us acts in a communal way. If I occupy a position, my only concern is myself and my community and nobody else. And the officials having acted in that manner, so it has become necessary for the individual communities to insist on a particular portion of representation in the public services. If you can take away that attitude, if the public servant can be made to feel that he is not a servant of a particular community, that his obligation is not to any particular community but to the country at large, then we shall be doing a good deal of service to this country. We shall be fostering true and real nationalism and thereby we shall be helping our country's cause and also the cause of these poor brethren. On the other hand, I would still implore that you take every possible step to improve their economic conditions. Give them a better living, give them better housing, create better conditions of life. That will serve their cause for better than giving a post here and giving a post there which at best can only serve as pampering. It is a complex question. I do admit. It is not easy of solution; and no set formula would probably be able to solve the problem. You may have to think at every stage and at every level. And the Government, if it fetters itself merely with one policy, not realising the implications of the particular circumstance the Government is dealing with, may not be able to solve the question. For the last five years we have tried one method. I request the Government to consider whether they have not reached the stage to reconsider the whole matter in the light of the experiences gained and see whether the policy they are adopting serves the true national interest. If you conscientiously think it does not, then it is time to change it for a better method. This is neither the time nor the occasion to give any details of what would be the best policy. But one thing is certain. The present policy has got innumerable

[Shri K S Hedge.]
able limitations and the limitations are obvious. And I do share the protests from many quarters. When Dr. Ambedkar said that joint electorate should be abolished. If I were in their position, probably I too would have protested. After all it pays to have certain assistance.

Now, I would not like to take the time of the House. I merely sought your indulgence to place this point of view before the Government for a reconsideration and re-examination in the light of the experiences they have gained. But I must also say at this juncture that according to the policies and formulae that the Government has placed before this House, they have really done a good job and we must congratulate the Government on the very useful work they have done in this sphere and the manner in which it has been done. Jai Hind.

डा० डब्ल्यू एस० बार्लिंगे (मध्य प्रदेश):
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस सदन का बहुत ही थोड़ा समय लेना चाहता हूँ। दूसरे सज्जनों ने इस प्रश्न के ऊपर जो प्रकाश डाला है, उसे मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता केवल एक बुनियादी बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। नागपुर और मध्य प्रदेश में एक मांग नामक जाति है जिसको श्री सातार साहब बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। इस जाति को कभी कभी मांग गारूडी जाति भी कहते हैं। मैं उनकी एक सांसायटी का अध्यक्ष हूँ। मैं उनकी तरफ से किसी प्रकार की मांग नहीं रख रहा हूँ आप धबराइये नहीं। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में जो कह रहा हूँ वह यह है कि ये लोग अक्सर कहते हैं कि उनके प्रति ठीक तरीके से न्याय नहीं किया जाता है। शिड्युल्ड कास्ट के वास्ते जो कुछ पैसा रखा जाता है, जो कुछ पोस्ट उनको दी जाती है, वे जो थोड़ा वोकल (Vocal) लोग हैं जो रोजमर्रा चिल्लाया करते हैं, महार जाति और चमार जाति के, उनको ही सभी प्रकार की सुविधाएं

मिलती हैं। इन सब जातियों के प्रति हमारी हमदर्दी है और हम यह चाहते हैं कि सब जातियों को बराबर की सहायता दी जाय। उन लोगों की विशेष शिकायत यह है कि जितनी भी सुविधाएं मिलती हैं वह महार जाति, चमार जाति और जो वोकल लोग हैं, उनको मिलती हैं, हमको कुछ नहीं मिलती। इसके अलावा एक बात यह भी है कि इन लोगों में बहुत कम लोग शिक्षित हैं वे आगे नहीं आ सकते हैं, आपके पास तक नहीं आ सकते हैं। मैं उनके बारे में एक मिसाल दूंगा और अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगा।

मैं केवल कांस्ट्रिक्टिव point of view से यह चीज आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह जानता हूँ कि यह सवाल इतना पेचीदा है कि अगर परमेश्वर भी यह सवाल हल करने लगे तो उसके विरुद्ध भी लोग शिकायत करेंगे। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि अगर शिकायत करनी है तो परमेश्वर के खिलाफ भी करनी चाहिये कि वह इस तरह का अन्याय करता रहता है। खैर आप जानते हैं कि ये मांग लोग जो हैं, वे म्यूजिक यानी गायन शास्त्र में बड़े प्रवीण होते हैं। म्यूजिक उनकी जाति में ट्रेडिशन से पीढ़ियों से और सदियों से रहा है। लेकिन जहां तक मुझे मालूम है, आपको भी पता होगा, यह जो डिपार्टमेंट मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट ने चलाया था, उसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी मेरे ऊपर थी। पहले पहल यह डिपार्टमेंट चलाने वाला मैं ही था। इस समय मध्य प्रदेश में या नागपुर में इस तरह की कोई संस्था नहीं है जहां पर गायन कला की शिक्षा दी जा सके। जहां तक मुझे पता है कहीं भी इस चीज का प्रबन्ध नहीं है जिससे कि इस जाति के लोगों को इस विषय में स्कालरशिप दिये जायें। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि इस जाति में गायन कला दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती नहीं है बल्कि घटती जा रही है।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय (मध्य भारत):
इस तरह की बहुत सी गाने वाली जातियां, जैसे
ढोली, राजस्थान में भी हैं।

डा० डब्ल्यू० एस० बार्लिंग: मैं तो केवल
उपलब्धतात्मक यह बात कह रहा था, दूसरी
जगह भी ऐसी जातियां हैं। जैसा कि मैंने
शुरू में कहा कि मैं एक मिसाल दे रहा हूं
तो मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय जी से यह
निवेदन करूंगा वे यहां अन्याय न करें, न्याय
करें। आप यह बात अच्छी तरह से जानते
हैं कि इस जाति के लोग शादी, भोज, पूजा
और गायन में हिस्सा लेते हैं। इसलिए
आप जितनी जल्दी हो सके उनके लिए
गायन शाला का प्रबन्ध कीजिये और उस
जाति के लोगों को स्कालरशिप दीजिये।
मैं कमिश्नर साहब से भी कहूंगा कि वे गायन
शाला का प्रबन्ध तो अवश्य ही कर दें।

SHRI S. M. HEMROM (Orissa):
Mr. Deputy Chairman. I extend my
heartly congratulations to the Home
Minister for raising this discussion,
and at the same time express my
thanks to the Commissioner for
having given this comprehensive
report on the progress achieved
during 1953-54 for the improvement
of the Scheduled Castes and Schedul-
ed Tribes.

It is stated by some State Govern-
ments that many opportunities are
proposed for meeting the needs of
these people under the Second Five
Year Plan. But I feel—and I think
some of the Members too feel—that
the problems of Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes are such that
they need some measure which is
something deep in acting. So far as
this quinquennial plan goes, I feel—
and I think the whole House feels—
that the problems and conditions of
the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled
Tribes are such that if they remain
so, then they are a slur on the nation
and they are a weak limb of the
body politic. Does any one or any

institution in this country feel that
this condition should remain in future
also? I hope—and I imagine from
this point of view every one will see
—that this condition goes out soon;
otherwise, not only will this hamper
the progress of the nation, but it will
remain a drag on the nation.

Again, this point, this problem,
may be viewed from another angle.
Here, the Government of India have
this Ministry of Rehabilitation for
rehabilitating the refugees. If you go
into the history of the Harijans and
these Adivasis, you will see that
these communities of the nation are
like refugees who have suffered for
centuries together economically, cul-
turally and what not. So, if you take
the number of the refugees of cen-
turies old and think over their condi-
tion you will see that they need not
only equal care, but some sort of
care and thought beyond that
envisaged in the Five Year Plans. I
think not only this House, but this
Government also should feel that this
is a problem which needs some
measure, some remedy, beyond this
First Five Year Plan or the Second
Five Year Plan.

When I was listening to the dis-
cussion, I did not feel happy that
some of the Members took this dis-
cussion in such a temperament and
attitude which is quite unfortunate.
Here, everyone has come to champion
the cause of these neglected people,
distressed, depressed, oppressed and
suppressed people. I think those
Members belong to the Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We
all feel relieved, if other colleagues
of the House advocate the urgent
demands of these seven crores of
Scheduled Castes people.

I will mention here just the state-
ments that we have been provided
with. I find that no mention has been
made of the Backward Classes Com-
mission. Some of the points raised
were in a way reassuring that these
needs will be considered after the

[Shri S. M. Hemrom.]
report of the Backward Classes Commission comes to our hand. It would have been helpful to have the Backward Classes Commission Report. But, here, the time provided for the ameliorative measures is limited to 'a very short period and if things move like this or some of the States sleep over the matter, over these urgent problems, I think it may take many more decades. Last year, I raised the point for change of President's Constitution Order (1950) and the fact still remains that the Government has not come to a final decision as to which people belong to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and there it was suggested that this thing can be rectified by the President's order. The criterion also is there to decide as to which people belong to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. As a result, in the day-to-day affairs of the State Governments and the Central Government, many people suffer under this position that is created by this President's Order, 1950, and I hope that this would not be relegated till we are presented with this Backward Classes Commission Report. I hope that the Government will take much more interest than before. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI TRILOCHAN DUTTA (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while considering the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there are two yard-sticks which we shall have to apply. Firstly, there were laid down certain objectives which we were pledged to achieve. Our aim is to bring these unfortunate brethren of ours, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes, in line with others and to raise their level so as to bring them up to that of the rest of the country. We have to judge the progress that we have made in this behalf in juxtaposition with those objectives. Otherwise, we are likely to be misled and remain self-complacent. Secondly, I would sub-

mit that the main judges in the matter are the people who are directly concerned with the problem, who are the victims of their present lot because of the unfortunate conditions they were born under.

Sir, I find that the members of this House who belong to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have spoken very feelingly in the matter. I find that they are not at all satisfied with what has been done in the matter so far. If we look at the problem, if we consider the Report against the background of the objectives which we have placed before ourselves and with the eyes of those directly affected we will find that we have yet to go a very long way. I do not say, Sir, that the Government have not done much in the matter. They have no doubt done a lot, and they are earnest about the matter. But we should not be satisfied with that much only. We have to keep before our mind the heights that we have to reach, the big objectives that we placed before ourselves, the hopes that we raised in the minds of those unfortunate people who are now looking forward to us for the implementation of those promises. Sir, we can make a correct appraisal of the situation, a correct assessment of the progress made, if we look at the problem from these two points of view.

Now, the Report has some very fine things to say about the Government. It speaks eloquently of the different measures taken by the Government for the amelioration of the lot of these unfortunate people. But the Report also frankly talks about the neglect and the failure to realise their responsibilities, on the part of some State Governments. The Report has frankly talked about the failings of some of the State Governments in the fulfilment of their responsibilities in this behalf.

Sir, so far as the Commissioner is concerned, I have had no opportunity of meeting him, but I know from the

reports of the gentlemen who met him, when he was on a visit to my State of Jammu and Kashmir, that the Commissioner made a very human approach to the problem. Our State asked him for Rs. 2 lakhs, and he immediately gave us Rs. 2 lakhs. But so far as the State Governments are concerned, the Report says that some of them have failed to draft and submit their schemes for the amelioration of these people, in time. It also says that they have failed to send in even their six-monthly progress reports, and they have failed to give the data on which the Central Government could work, or the Commissioner could work, to improve the lot of these unfortunate people.

Sir, I would say that that is not the way to tackle this problem of immense magnitude, of colossal magnitude, facing the country. We are face to face, Sir, with a great human problem. It is a problem which is beset with many difficulties, which is riddled with many complexities, and in respect of which we cannot apply any short-cuts. We have to be earnest about it, if we want to solve the problem in all its aspects. It is a problem, Sir, that should stir the nation to its depths, if the nation keeps in mind the condition of these, the under privileged sections of this country, keeps in mind the sub-human conditions in which they live. The Commissioner talks in his Report of the very primitive state in which some of these tribes live. They are backward even in agriculture. They cultivate land—some of them—just with the axe, as the Report says. Others are quite far removed from civilisation. Civilisation has not touched them, some even go about naked. They do not know that the country is now free and that the country has some obligations towards them.

The problem, Sir, is not only human; it is political too. It is a problem which has much to do with our national prestige. I would just elaborate it.

I would ask: With what face can our worthy Prime Minister, or our representatives in the United Nations, fight against apartheid, against colour bar, and against the denial of human rights to the less-privileged nations? With what face can they fight, if they cannot give any justice to our own people here? So, Sir, we may look at the problem from any point of view, we shall come to the inevitable conclusion that although the Government have done a lot in the matter, much more remains to be done as yet.

Sir, I would not take much time of the House, since the Report itself is very comprehensive. In the Report for the year 1953 reiterated in the present one the Commissioner had made certain suggestions for the guidance of all the States in the matter of tackling this problem. He had drawn the attention of all the State Governments to the social disabilities encountered by these people, and he had detailed various measures that should be adopted to remove them. He had also suggested that there should be security of land tenure for them. It is a known fact, Sir, and all of us who are in touch with the problem know it that most of the landless people in the countryside belong to the Scheduled Castes and backward classes. And as we are going ahead with the abolition of the big estates and zamindaris, we find that the problem of these people getting dispossessed—their eviction from lands—is growing more and more intense. The Commissioner, therefore, has rightly drawn the attention of the State Governments to the urgent need of giving security of tenure to these classes.

Then, Sir, he has also rightly touched on another problem which confronts these people—the problem of indebtedness. We know that most of these backward classes are overburdened with heavy debts, which they have not been able to liquidate

[Shri Trilochan Dutta.]
even after generations. We have got to do something in the matter of Debt Conciliation or Debt Redemption. It is immaterial whether we do it by legislation or by forming credit co-operative societies. We must see that their debts are reconciled or liquidated. That is a problem of great magnitude remaining to be tackled.

Then, Sir, there are other suggestions also made by him. I would not take much time of the House in narrating them or commenting on them but I would only make one or two suggestions for the consideration of the House.

Sir, we have launched in this country many developmental projects. There are the Community Projects, and there are the N.E.S. For the consideration of the House, I would suggest, Sir, that as far as possible, priority should be given to those backward areas, in respect of launching the Community Projects and the N.E.S., where the population of the backward classes or the Scheduled Castes is concentrated. Instead of diffusing the resources of the country in those areas which are already ahead of the rest of the parts of the country, according to the maxim of first things first, we must first concentrate on having these Community Projects and N. E. S. blocks in the backward and far-flung areas, in the areas where the Scheduled Tribes live and the Scheduled Castes and backward classes are concentrated.

Then some Members here have dilated on reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes in Government services and posts as well as in statutory bodies and semi-official bodies. The Government may have its case in the matter but I am afraid we cannot satisfy these unfortunate brethren of ours by mere figures and narration of difficulties. As Mr. Leuva said what the Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes are hungering for is not mainly their economic betterment. What they are hungering for is the giving to them of their dignity and self-respect. That is mainly what a man lives for. Even a child wants self-respect to be given to him. He values his dignity. Of course, the two things are inter-linked. No man can have dignity or self-respect till he is economically well off. There can be no cultural advancement till a person is economically better. So we must give a sense of dignity to them. We owe it to them. We have denied respect, dignity etc. to these unfortunate brethren of ours. We have kicked them, we have ignored them and it is up to us now to restore that dignity and that self-respect to them. That is what we have got to do. If we lose sight of this fact, we are probably not being very wise. We have to keep in view the psychology of man. Let us not make these people very bitter. Let us solve their problem in time. Let us make a sacrifice in their favour. In this connection, mention was made of minimum standards and minimum qualifications in keeping with certain standards of efficiency of administration. Shri Agnibhoj probably was right in saying that instead of taking degrees into consideration—and we know that the Government have set up a Commission to see whether degree should alone be considered while taking people into Government jobs—we had better see whether a person has the requisite intelligence initiative and the requisite acumen for a certain job or thing. There is a book by Carlyle—'Hero and Hero Worship'—wherein he wrote on subjects such as Hero as a Poet (Shakespeare), Hero as a Conqueror, and Hero as a Prophet, etc. In the preface to that book he writes that those persons who have won University distinctions have never been able to revolutionize society. This observation is found to be correct as our experience shows. Swami Vivekananda while talking of

University Education said that the entire education that our youth receives is negative. Of course not now, he is talking of those days when we were not independent—by the time that a youth comes out of the University, he is a mass of negation. The first thing that he learns there is that his father was a fool, the second that his grand-father was a crazy lunatic and the third that all his cultural heritage is bunkum and a lie. We know that the leaders of our nation, the people who led us, were, practically all of them, not educated in the Indian Universities. Either they did not go to the University at all or they were educated in foreign Universities. We know about Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore. He said that while in school, even the walls of the school seemed like eating him up. He could not pass even his Matriculation Examination here in India. What I mean to say is that we must find ways and means of giving the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes those things which we have promised to them. We must honour the commitments that so much percentage will be reserved for them.

If you feel that you cannot do it and that there is real paucity of requisite material, I would suggest that just as in China, they have set up a University for National Minorities, which our Panditji visited, we must also set up a University here for these scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. We must have a University to which are brought bright young men from all parts of India belonging to those Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Get them here. Down below, let us have Institutions, where we educate all bright young boys irrespective of whether they belong to a rich family or poor; whether they are the sons of a Tribal leader or not. Let us set up a chain of Institutions, let us give them a congenial atmosphere. People who are conversant with child psychology know that if a child is given congenial environments, he will improve. A child of the Scheduled Caste or Tribe does not have congenial

circumstances in his home. He is so poor that his parents cannot give him that and his mother cannot develop his personality. Let us take them out, bring them to these Institutions, develop their personalities and educate them. Further on, it is from these Institutions that boys can be brought to this University. This University should have various Departments. We have got to preserve the cultural heritage of these tribes. That is the first thing. We must preserve the virility and the good points in them, the courage in them and let us have a special Department where.....

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

SHRI TRILOCHAN DUTTA: One minute more. I will not elaborate on this point but I would suggest that we must have a University where young men from among these people are trained in different lines. We are today trying to preserve their culture and other heritage. We try to preserve their forms of music, their folk-lore. Then there can be a second wing where we train these young people for the Administrative Services in the country. We can train them up for IAS, for the Central Police Service, etc. Then there can be a third wing wherein they are trained in technical subjects such as engineering, etc. That way, I think, we can not only ameliorate the lot of these people but we can provide them leadership also. It is our function to provide them with correct leadership. We find today persons like Phizo who is today the leader in the N.E.F.A. area giving a call to the people for independence, for breaking away from India. We can wrest the leadership from the hands of such people only if we bring forth young people, and train them up in a correct atmosphere so that we can work for the stability of the country and its steady advancement. What I mean is.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Dutta. Mr. Govinda Reddy.

SHRIMATI MONA HENSMAN (Madras): May I just ask the hon. Member whether he is trying to segregate them again?

SHRI TRILOCHAN DUTTA: May I reply to this point, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. Mr. Reddy.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very happy to associate myself with other hon. Members in the sense of appreciation for the admirable work of the Commissioner and for the way in which he has discharged his onerous task. As there is a time-limit.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At 4-30 P.M. I am calling the Minister to reply.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I have no time to go into the various steps that have been taken in the States in the matter of amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. At this stage I would like to say that since we discussed last year's Report, there has been much improvement. There have also been drawbacks on the part of the States in their administration in this direction which the Commissioner has pointed out to us. That, in my opinion, Sir, is very significant. Although there has been improvement in some respects, still the zeal and enthusiasm and the sincerity of application is not to be found to the extent expected. This is an indication that the measures that we have been taking are not at all satisfactory, that they are far from satisfactory. I wish the State Governments had the zeal which the Commissioner has in this work. I feel that the State Governments are taking these measures that have been suggested to them in the letters and circulars that the Commissioner has been issuing to them, all in the normal way. I would like to know what particular thing has been done and what special importance has been

given to this work as compared to work in other departments, like the departments of social welfare, the work of development and such other work? I firmly believe that unless we take special measures, this evil of untouchability will not go, but it will remain. So I would like to suggest to the Government to make a special attempt and to make a new approach and I would, within the few minutes available to me, indicate the nature of this approach.

Let us take this question of the representation of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the services. Government do feel that proper representation is necessary and they also feel that the present position is very unsatisfactory. They are not satisfied with the progress. And I really believe that the Government is sincere and want to provide as many opportunities as possible to these people to enter the services. But unfortunately one thing comes in the way and that is the provision in the Constitution which has already been quoted here. In the Constitution in Article 335 it has been stated that the claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for representation in the services must be met, consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments. Now, what is efficiency? The Constitution does not say that a candidate must be a first-class man. It seems to me to be the view that a candidate is to be considered efficient, to be of merit, if he has passed in the First Class or is the First in rank. That is all. And the Public Service Commission interviews the candidate and looks at the academic record. They examine the candidate for five or six minutes by putting him questions. They ask, for instance: What is the height of Mt. Everest? Who is the Rajpramukh of Madhya Bharat? Can anyone say that within the five or six minutes that the Commission devotes to the examination of the candidate, they will be able to

find out his merits? And I submit that the academic records are not at all a measure of the efficiency or ability of any particular candidate. Of course, it is true that many of our people who have had brilliant academic careers, have proved to be good officers. I do not discount at all the efficiency or merit of such people. But then what is the factor which has given them this efficiency? Is it the first class which they had secured at the examination? Is it the high rank that they got? Or is it their experience or the opportunity which they got by way of appointment? I dare say there is nobody, there can be nobody in this House who will attribute their efficiency mainly to the degree that they had secured, or the satisfactory or smart way in which they answered the questions of the Public Service Commission. It is the opportunity of service which was given to them that has brought out their merit. If that is so, I would like to know, why do we not take people from the scheduled castes if you really want to uplift them? Why not condone these minimum standards and give them the necessary training? How many of our Ministers are first classes. They are not first among the firsts, but they are quite competent. How did they get this competency? Today they guide and direct and correct I.C.S. officers who have been there for twenty years or more. They can direct and correct engineers and technical men. They can direct and correct other experts who had long training. They got this ability just because they got the opportunity to study the subject, to grasp the subject matter of it and their shrewd commonsense and also their experience have made them even better experts than the so-called technical experts. If this can be so, I would like to know, would it not be possible to take these unfortunate people, train them and put them into the jobs? There are graduates and graduates among the Scheduled Castes. We have heaps of letters, every Member of Parliament

who has something to do with these Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, heaps of letters from graduates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, also intermediates belonging to these classes, and S.S.L.C.s and also double graduates, with even merit. These people are there without jobs. What is this irony? We say we want to uplift them and there are these people unemployed. This sort of thing should be ended. I dare say this sort of reliance that we place on merit leads to many difficulties. One inference will naturally follow. If only a first-class holder is entitled to a first-class job, then who will be most entitled to such jobs? They will naturally be the sons of officers, sons of rich men, of men who live in urban areas, who get better opportunities for study. If this is granted, then it means that all those first-class services and the choicest jobs in the country will be secured by one section of the community, those who are fortunately placed, and this will go on from generation to generation. Are we not then perpetuating these vested interests? If this is the hope of our Government, then I can say, the Deputy Home Minister may cut off my nose if ever he succeeds in removing untouchability within fifty years, within half a century. So we.....

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: No, no, we will prosecute him.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: We have to be practical, we have to take a practical view of things. Sir, I will give one instance. Shri Dutta gave us the instance of China. The whole world has been wondering how China has been able to make such tremendous and quick progress within three or four years. The secret is this. They have not waited for experts to turn up to develop their industries or other things. They have taken ordinary men and women, trained them and put them in charge of heavy responsibilities. One instance I may mention, just to bring

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

out my point. We visited a factory of pneumatic machine tools at Mukden, a very big factory involving a great number of machines. The head of the factory, the director of it, was a woman. We were surprised at the way this woman competently managed that factory. We questioned her as to what she was before being appointed director there. She said, "I was fighting in the Revolutionary Army." "What were you before that?" we asked and she replied, "Before that, I was attending to a loom in a textile mill." Then we were tremendously surprised and our leader Shrimati Uma Nehru embraced her several times for the competent way she was managing the factory. Sir, we were hesitating to put her questions; but she found out that we were hesitating and said, "Please do not hesitate to put me questions. It may be that I am not competent to answer them, but that is no disgrace to me, because I have come from very humble ranks and if there is anything to learn I will learn; but do put questions." And many owners of industries, many technical men put her questions, they put her technical questions and she answered those technical questions quite well and we all expressed our surprise how coming from such humble status she could manage that big factory so well. She said, "There are hundreds of women like me."

In every walk of life, there are institutions which take up ordinary men, even illiterate men, and train them for a job or a trade or to a Government cadre, as they call it. Why not we make this approach? We say that our goal is a socialistic pattern of society and that this is a Welfare State. In a Welfare State, what is the qualification for service? It is not, of course, a degree. I have taken three degrees; if you mention it in terms of degrees, there are actually four but, Sir, in a Welfare State, it is patriotism, it is ability to sacrifice and to work at a minimum

subsistence that is important, not brilliance. We have many brilliant people. I would urge upon the hon. Minister who relies upon merit—of course I do not minimise his sympathy for these people; his speech was very moving, especially in regard to the various methods that Government have been adopting to uplift the people, in the matter of representation and all that—to examine the records of these people who have got merit, people who have come out successfully in the public service examinations and interviews. Let him refer to their records; let him refer to the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee; let him refer to the Reports of the Estimates Committee. We have to hang down our heads in shame because of many of those people, who came out first in the examinations but who lacked in a sense of patriotism, who lacked in a sense of discretion and who lacked in a sense of ability. An ordinary villager would have done better. We must change our conception of merit as we are changing our goal. I will suggest other means.

I believe that this untouchability can go within a period of ten years provided a sufficiently comprehensive economic programme is followed. If that is done, I do not believe that hundreds of thousands of shastras will be able to retain untouchability here; not even hundreds of thousands of mutts will be able to retain untouchability provided we follow a concentrated programme of economic uplift. Why not take up all these people and maintain them for the period of their training? Is it not possible to have agricultural colonies? There can be Inspectors in them and the people there can be paid maintenance for three or six months till the crop comes. Once, they are economically better off, no one in the country dare spurn them as untouchables. What are we doing? We give them land but what about the means to till the land? The land is given in the villages where even a

bit of land is fought for, as dogs fight for a piece of bone. Some one may have an eye on the land given to the Harijans and he may take it away from them. Even if the land goes to the Harijan, he will not be in a position to make use of it and he will sell it or alienate it.

Could we not train them as labourers in our Defence Factories, State concerns and so on? We can establish camps for them, give them training for six months and then put them as labourers in any one of these concerns. Today, a labourer is much better than even myself. Once they are in such a position, nobody will spurn them as untouchables.

These are some of the things that Government should do. If they want to go on only in this routine way, untouchability will not be removed. That is my honest opinion.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad) Mr Deputy Chairman, there have been speeches which have supported Government and yet criticised the very fundamental idea followed in the Report of the Scheduled Castes Commissioner. I submit that we should carefully see the efforts made by Government in this direction. If we sincerely look at the efforts made by Government, I think one is driven to the conclusion that the efforts have been very successful and that Government has made an effort in the right direction. Hon. Members have criticised the employment figures. I have just tried to add up the figures given on pages 353 and 354 of the Report and the figures that I get are as follows: In the Central Government there are a total of 2,68,000 employees out of whom nearly 42,000 belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and this gives us a figure of 15½%. I admit that in the lower grades the employment given to these people is of a higher percentage while in the higher grades it is less but, on the whole, they have got 15½% and if Government continues its efforts on these lines, I am sure that

in the next five or ten years the percentage even in relation to Classes I and II will go up to 6 or 7 while our ultimate aim is 12½%. The percentage in regard to Class I is 1.5, I agree that it is a low percentage but if proper efforts are made, it may go up if not to 5 or 6, at least to 3 or 4. In Class II (Gazetted) the percentage is 4½ but here also, if effort is made on proper lines, I think the percentage can go up to 8 or 9.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA. Are you referring to temporary or permanent posts?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I have given the page reference—pages 353 and 354 of the Report—and all the figures relate to the Central Services.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: It is all temporary.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Well, the percentage may be slightly lower in regard to the permanent posts. If the percentage is 15½ in regard to temporary posts, it will be slightly less in regard to the permanent posts.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA. May I give some figures to the hon. Member? In Class II—as I find here—there are 1966 jobs out of which only 13 are given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates. While in Class I, out of 3014 posts thirteen posts are held by candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and three belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, making a grand total of sixteen.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND. I agree with the hon. Member that the percentage may be low but the point is: is the Government making an effort in the right direction? Is it trying to give some more representation or not? In regard to the lower grades, the representation is fair and gradually the representation will increase.

[Shri Kishen Chand.]
also in the higher grades but, if you want to maintain efficiency,.....

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: That is a matter which even the hon. Minister himself does not claim. There is no such possibility at this rate.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Then, probably the hon. Member wants to say that if he were in charge, he would have overnight brought in so many people and would have overnight succeeded in securing the 12½ per cent. which is our goal.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I have not even spoken.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue. Please go on, Mr. Kishen Chand.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: What is the contention of the hon. Member? After all, we must have an objective; either the hon. Member says that it can be done and that it is not being done by the Government or the hon. Member says that it cannot be done. He cannot take up the attitude of criticising both viewpoints.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Wait and see.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: He can take up the attitude of saying that the Government is not doing enough, that the Government should have created and given enough jobs to these people and that it is not going on right lines; that may be one attitude. He said that the hon. Minister himself agreed that it could not be done. That means he thinks that either this cannot be done or that the hon. Minister is not really doing his duty.

I now come to the housing problem. Every man has his own small experience and I have gone to the National Extension Service Blocks in Hyderabad—in the Bidar area—and I found efforts being made to build houses. First of all, they thought of

building separate houses for the Scheduled Caste people but there was a fear of segregation, to tide over which they have a plan by which they hope to get some non-Scheduled Caste people also to come and reside in that area. They are building two-roomed houses, partly with the effort of the people who are going to occupy them and partly with Government help. I went to another N. E. S. area and there also I found the same thing. So we 4 P.M. should not expect that all over the country the housing problem of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes can be solved overnight. Government is making an effort and it is making the effort in the right direction.

You know, Sir, that in the rural area the housing problem is very acute. In a small village, say with a hundred families, barely 5 to 10 families will have a house with 5 or 6 rooms, kept in proper condition. The rest of the people in the village area live under thatched roofs in very small houses under insanitary conditions. When effort is being made in the National Extension Service schemes for building houses for the Harijans, keeping this point in view that they are not segregated, I think it should be commended by the House. It is a good effort made by Government and we should give them credit where it is due. Simply to criticise Government whether rightly or wrongly is not fair. An hon. Member said that he went to a place in China and was struck by the progress made there during the last three years. It seemed to have become a Heaven. I think the hon. Members who are so enamoured of it, will migrate and settle down there, for such a Heaven has been created there and the Chinese were doing such wonderful things during the last three years.

One hon. Member suggested taking people and just training them over-

night, they could be put in charge of industrial concerns. Well, his experience.....

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Be truthful please. I did not say 'over-night' and I did not say 'heaven'.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Then the hon. Member mentioned the case of a lady who was put in charge of a tools factory after receiving training only for a very short period, during the last three years. It may be six months or one year or even more. It seemed to me from what the hon. Member said that she received training only for six months and then was put in charge of the factory. It is beyond my comprehension that one can be made an expert to head a machine tool factory after receiving training for six months, or one year or even two years. Well, Sir, I have some experience of industrial concerns. With the best efforts I do not think that any man can be trained up in six months, one year or even two years to take charge of a big industrial undertaking. For an undertaking of the type that the hon. Member mentioned, it will take at least 10 to 20 years' training. After twenty years only will it be possible for one to become an expert and to be placed as head in a machine tool factory. If they are doing like that in China, well they are performing miracles. I do not think our Government can do miracles, and I do not want such miracles from our Government.

Then, Sir, another hon. Member said about establishing a separate university for the Harijans, a separate university in some central place, where all those Harijans are brought from everywhere, and keeping their culture intact to train them up. Well, we are definitely against segregation. We do not want to create a university where only Harijans will be brought up and trained. We want one uniform classless society

in our country, and to segregate Harijans is the worst possible thing, that we can do. About the Adivasis we sometimes want to keep them in their own environment because modern civilization if it is brought in contact with them too suddenly, demoralizes them. It should be a very slow and gradual process with the Adivasis. They have been left behind in the march of civilisation. If we want them to make progress, it should be by a slow method. What has happened is that the Christian missionaries have done very good work as far as education is concerned, but in their effort to convert them to Christianity they have sometimes made them anti-Indian. This is the case in the North-East Frontier Agency, where you see that an agitation for independence is going on. In a secular State we should have insisted that all efforts should be directed towards the education of the Adivasis and not towards converting them to a different form of religion. But Government neglected it and the result is that at least in the North-East Frontier Agency, an acute problem has arisen.

Sir, I will say that there are shortcomings and the Government should put in more effort to improve the condition of the Harijans at a faster pace; but taking the whole country, taking the condition of other classes who are non-Harijans—the Caste Hindus as they are called—some sections of whom also were not so well off—we should really congratulate the Government for the effort that they are putting in in the right direction for improving the lot of the Harijans and the Adivasis.

श्री इंदुकीनन्दन (मम्बई): उपसभापति महोदय, मैंने गत वर्ष इस वादीवाद के प्रसंग पर खास कर दो बातें कहीं थीं, पहली बात थी भंगियाओं की निस्वत। आप यदि अस्थिरता दूर करना चाहते हैं तो आप आखीर के मनुष्य से शुरू कीजिये। यदि भंगियाओं की अस्थिरता दूर होती है तो मुझे पता

[श्री दंबकी नन्दन]

विश्वास है कि दूसरी और जातियों की अस्पृश्यता दर होने में वक्त नहीं लगेगा। अभी मेरे भाई रंडूडी साहब ने कहा कि हरिजनों की माली हालत अच्छी हो जाने से बहुत कुछ यह मसला तय हो जायेगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि माली हालत अच्छी होने से थोड़ी बहुत मदद जरूर होगी, लेकिन मसला हल हो जायेगा, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता। भंगियों की निस्वत मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अच्छे अच्छे मजदूरों से भंगियों को तनखाह अधिक मिलती है। मैं बम्बई स्टेट की बात कहता हूँ कि वहाँ भंगियों के एक कुटुम्ब को सौ से सवा सौ २० तक माहवार मिलते हैं, किसी को सौ २० से नीचे नहीं मिलता घर में दो स्त्री और पुरुष दोनों कमाई लाते हैं और १२५ २० कमाते हैं। उनकी माली हालत देखी जाय तो बहुत अच्छी है परन्तु मैं कहता हूँ कि उन से ज्यादा निपत्तर हालत किसी की नहीं है, क्योंकि वे नरक में रहते हैं और नरक का काम करते हैं जिससे मानवता बिल्कुल नष्ट हो जाती है।

मैंने शुरू से आखीर तक इस रिपोर्ट को देखा कि इन भंगियों के लिये किस स्टेट में क्या हुआ, तमाम पन्ने उलट परन्तु मुझे कहीं कुछ नहीं मिला कि भंगियों के लिये कुछ किया गया है। एक जगह इस रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा हुआ है :

"The Report of the Scavengers' Living Conditions Enquiry Committee published by the State of Bombay is a very useful guide for all the municipalities to adopt its recommendations to improve the conditions at least of its conservancy staff."

इस रिपोर्ट को दाखिल हुये तीन वर्ष हो गये। मैं कमिशनर साहब से यह पूछना चाहूँगा कि इन तीन वर्षों में बम्बई राज्य में कितनी म्युनिसिपैलिटीयों ने इन सिफारिशों

को मान लिया। जहाँ तक मुझे पता है शायद एक आध म्युनिसिपैलिटी हो तो हो लेकिन अभी तक खास किसी म्युनिसिपैलिटी ने तीन वर्ष में भी इन सिफारिशों को नहीं माना है। इससे पता चल सकता है कि आप जो कागज पर लिखते हैं, जो सिफारिशें करते हैं, और हमारे कमिशनर साहब स्टैंड्स को जो स्क्वैलर्स भेजते रहते हैं, उस का आखीर में नतीजा क्या हुआ करता है। तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि कमिशनर साहब की इस बार में सिफारिश जो है उसके मुताबिक प्रान्तों में, म्युनिसिपैलिटीयों में और दहातों में कुछ तो काम हो, ऐसा कदम उठाना नितांत जरूरी है। सरकार जो तय करती है उसको भी उनसे क्या नहीं सकती तो इस रिपोर्ट से क्या मतलब हल होता है ?

श्री गांधीकृष्ण बिजबगीच : म्युनिसिपैलिटीयों तो स्वतंत्र हुआ करती हैं।

श्री दंबकीनन्दन : स्वतंत्र नहीं हुआ करती हैं। आपके यहां हो तो मुझे पता नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में तो कहीं स्वतंत्र नहीं हैं। इस में जो दूसरी एक बात मुझे मिली वह यह है :

"During my tour in Bihar, I received complaints and representations at Ranchi, as also at Kolhapur while touring in Bombay State, that the big firms like Batas and Flex are having an unfair competition in this field with the individual artisans who are rapidly losing their market for the goods prepared by them. I am gathering facts and figures from the Development Wing of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry" and so on and so on.

चमार जाति इतनी बड़ी तादाद में है कि उन की कम से कम तादाद हिन्दुस्तान में ५०, ६० लाख है और ऐसा एक गांव नहीं है

कि जहां चमार न हों। यही चमार गांव भर के लिये जूता बनाते थे और गांव वाले जूता पहनते थे। आज नाबत यह आ गई है कि आप किसी गांव में चले जाइये आपको यही मिलेगा कि इन चमारों का उद्योग नहीं रहा है। आप यहां कोल्हापुर, राची और बिहार की बात कहते हैं, मैं कमिशनर साहब से कहूंगा कि आप किसी प्रान्त में, किसी जिले में, किसी दहात में पहुँचियेगा तो आपको यही पता चलेंगा कि चमारों को बाटा और फ्लेक्स ने बिल्कुल मार दिया है और उनका उद्योग खत्म हो गया है। कमिशनर साहब कहते हैं कि मैं कामर्स मिनिस्ट्री से पूछताछ करूंगा और आगे कहते हैं कि आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड से पूछताछ करूंगा। आल इंडिया खादी बोर्ड से या कागर्स मिनिस्ट्री से क्या पूछियेगा, आप गांवों में जाइये तब आप देखेंगे कि चमार भूखों मर रहा है और उसका उद्योग अब नहीं रहा है आप इस निगाह से इसको देखिये कि जो उद्योग सैकड़ों वर्ष से चला आ रहा था वह उन से छिन गया है। यदि आप हरिजनों की माली हालत सुधारना चाहते हैं और जिनके हाथ में ऐसा अच्छा हुनर है, चमड़े के जूते बनाने का उनको भी आप उनका पुराना उद्योग नहीं दिला सकते हैं तो आप क्या कर सकते हैं। तो मैं आपके ही सिद्धांत के अनुसार आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप इन को पहले काम दिलवाइये।

अब मैं जो तीसरी बात कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि अभी हमारे एक भाई यहा यूनिवर्सिटी की आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० वर्गों की बातें कर रहे थे। वे भूल जाते हैं इस मुल्क में छ करोड़ हरिजन है और छ करोड़ हरिजनों की अस्पृश्यता को हमें मिटाना है उनको हौनियत से निकाल कर इंसान बनाना है यानी यदि आप उन्हें जरूरी शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं तो कृपा कर के यूनिवर्सिटी की बात न कीरियेगा, सेक्रेटरी एजुकेशन की बात

न कीरियेगा बल्कि प्राथमिक शिक्षा की बात कीरियेगा। लेकिन इस रिपोर्ट में कहीं भी इसका जिक्र नहीं है कि उनको जरूरी प्राथमिक शिक्षा तक ही मिलनी चाहिए। यह तो लिखा है कि उच्च शिक्षा के लिये स्कालरशिप्स दिये गये यह हुआ वह हुआ, परन्तु यह कहीं नहीं लिखा है कि हरिजनों के कितने बच्चे प्राइमरी स्कूलों में जा रहे हैं, और यदि नहीं जा रहे हैं तो क्यों नहीं जा रहे हैं। फर्स्ट फाइव डियर प्लान में यह लिखा हुआ है कि गरीब के लड़के स्कूल में क्यों नहीं जाते हैं ? तो वे इसलिए नहीं जाते हैं कि बिचारे को खाने को कुछ नहीं मिलता, उनको मा बाप छोटपने से ही उन्हें काम को ले जाते हैं। इसलिये पंचवर्षीय योजना के बनाने वालों ने यह सिफारिश की है कि गरीब बच्चों को जो प्राथमिक पाठशालाओं में पढ़ने जाते हैं उनके दोपहर के खाने की तजवीज की जाय कपड़ें दिये जाय यानी मा बाप के ऊपर का बोझ कम किया जाय। इसलिए जो आप लाखों रुपया खर्च करना चाहते हैं और कर रहे हैं ५ ५० या २०० आदिमियों के ऊपर उससे पहले यह जरूरी है कि आप प्राथमिक शिक्षा पर गरीब बच्चों पर उसे लगावे। चमारों के या भूमिगतों के बच्चों से कहा जाय कि आओ हम तुमको खाने को देंगे पहनने को देंगे जिससे गरीब माता पिताओं के ऊपर का बोझ कम होगा और वे उनको पढ़ने भेज सकेंगे। लाखों की पढ़ाई को सोचिये।

जिस समय मैं यूनिवर्सिटी के विषय में बातें सुन रहा था तो मुझे सुप्रसिद्ध उपन्यासकार मैक्सिम गोर्की की एक बात याद आ गई। गोर्की एक दिन शहर से घूमते घूमते किसी गांव में चले गए। वहा एक किसान उनको मिला जो कि खेत में कुछ काम कर रहा था। उन्होंने पूछा अरे तुम यह क्या कर रहे हो ? उसने कहा "साहब यह मिहनत कर रहा हूं खाने के लिए"। उन्होंने किसान से पूछा आपको पता है शहर में हम शहर के पढ़े लिखे लोग क्या किया करते हैं ? हम आकाश में पक्षियों जैसे विमानों में उड़ा करते हैं हम समुद्र में

[श्री द्वक्कीनन्दन]

मछली की तरह तैरते हैं। किसान बोला, बात सच्ची है, आप शहर के पढ़े लिखे लोग आकाश में उड़ड़यन करते हैं वायुयान में, और स्टीमर में बैठकर आप मछलियों से भी अच्छी तरह तैरते हैं। माफ कीजिए, मगर आप जमीन पर चलना नहीं जानते। तो मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आप आकाश में न देखें, ऊपर न देखें, आप उन गरीब हरिजनों की हालत को देखें कि जो गांवों में न बच्चा को पढ़ा सकते हैं, न उनको खिला सकते हैं और ऐसी गंदी जगहों में रहते हैं जहां हँवान ही रह सकते हैं।

(समय की घंटी बजती है)

आखिर में मुझे अपने भाई अग्निभोज जी से एक प्रार्थना करनी है। सुबह गुस्से में आकर उन्होंने एक बड़ी जोशीली तकरीर की। वे भले ही न कहें, मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि उनका गुस्सा होना स्वाभाविक है, मुझे उनके गुस्से होने से सहानुभूति है। मगर मेरी उनसे एक प्रार्थना है, वे डा० अंबेडकर के उदाहरण से कुछ सबक सीखें। डा० अंबेडकर ने स्पृश्य जातियों का द्वेष कर के उनको भली बुरी कह कर अपने हरिजन भाइयों की कुछ सेवा की है ऐसा मेरा मत १०-२० वर्षों का अनुभव नहीं है और शायद किसी और का भी नहीं होगा। दूसरों के दोष इस तरह से दिखला कर, उनको नाम रख कर, उनको चिढ़ा कर आप उनसे काम नहीं ले सकते। आप संयम से काम लीजिए, अपने सवर्ण भाइयों में सेवा भाव जागृत कीजिए, उनकी मानवता को जागृत कीजिए तो फिर आप देखेंगे कि वे आपके साथ इन्सानियत के साथ बर्ताव करेंगे, आपकी सेवा करेंगे।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : मैंने उसी भाषा में कहा था।

श्री द्वक्कीनन्दन : मैं जानता हूँ कि आपने क्या कहा था। आप यहां किसी से पूछियंगा कि आपने कौन भाव पड़ा किया।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक और बात कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। वह यह है कि अग्निभोज भाई जैसे कई पढ़े लिखे एम० ए०, बी० ए० हरिजन भाई सरकारी नौकरियों पर बड़े ओहदों पर काम करते हैं, लेकिन माफ कीजिएगा, ऐसा मेरा अनुभव नहीं है कि वे अपने समाज की कोई प्रत्यक्ष सेवा कर रहे हैं।

श्री रामेश्वर अग्निभोज : और लोग कौन सी सेवा कर रहे हैं ?

श्री द्वक्कीनन्दन : देखिए, मैं किसी निजी या व्यक्तिगत मामले में नहीं जाना चाहता, आपके काम में खास तौर से नहीं जाना चाहता क्योंकि मैं भगड़ा नहीं करना चाहता। आप किसी हरिजन एम० एल० ए० को लीजिए या किसी पार्लियामेंट के मंत्री को लीजिए या बी० ए०, एम० ए० पास किये हुए कलक्टर की जगह पर काम करने वाले को लीजिए, वे अपने ओहदों पर पहुँच कर अपने गरीब भाइयों को भूल जाते हैं, अपने रिश्तेदारों से दूर हो जाते हैं, यह मेरा आज तक का अनुभव है। मेरी प्रार्थना आप सब से यही है कि आप यदि हमसे भी काम कराना चाहते हैं और आप भी काम करना चाहते हैं तो कृपा कर के थोड़ा सा विनयशील बन जाइए, और यह जो आपको प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हुई है वह जब तक आपके छोटें भाइयों को, दलितों में रहने वालों को नहीं मिलती है, तब तक महात्मा जी के अनुयायी बाने, उनका अनुसरण करिए, तब तो आप अपने समाज की सेवा कर सकेंगे और दूसरों से करवा सकेंगे।

श्री गांधीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भी अपने प्रारम्भिक काल से अस्पृश्यता निवारण के सिलसिले में हरिजनों के कार्यों में दिलचस्पी लेता रहा हूँ। पहले जब मैंने ऐसे वातावरण में काम किया कि जहाँ हमको भीगियाँ और सब तरह के लोगों के साथ रहना और खाना पीना पड़ा, उस समय मैंने अपना पहला स्टैंज पूरा किया। बाद में कई ऐसे मौकों आयें जिनमें हमने सार्वजनिक कार्य करते हुए अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिए खास प्रयत्न किये, बिरादरी से

भी निकाले गये और अन्य प्रकार से अपमानित हुए। इसके अलावा हमने अपने प्रान्त में हरिजनों की सबसे पहली कानफ्रेंस की और मैं अपने भाषणों में और कार्यों में सदा इस बात पर जोर देता रहा हूँ कि जब तक हम हरिजनों के प्रति अपना कर्तव्य पूरा नहीं करेंगे, यह अस्पृश्यता मिट नहीं सकती।

जैसा अभी पिछले वक्ता ने बताया कि महात्मा जी के उपदेशों के अनुसार हमको अस्पृश्यता निवारण का वातावरण बनाना है तो हमको, सर्वण वालों को, खुद प्रायश्चित की भावना से काम करना चाहिए। यह ठीक है, रिपोर्ट बहुत अच्छी पेश हुई है, कमिश्नर का काम ही यह है कि देश के अंदर अस्पृश्यता के लिए और पिछड़े हुए ट्राइब्स को उठाने के लिए क्या प्रयत्न हुए हैं आदि बातों की ओर ध्यान खींचें और उस काम के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया खर्च कराये। बहुत से अच्छे काम हुए हैं, स्कालरशिप्स दिये गये हैं और नौकरियाँ में जगहें दी गई हैं। लेकिन सब तो यह है कि यह सब काफी नन्ही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी हम लोग जो पार्लियामेंट के मंत्री हैं या भिन्न भिन्न विधान सभाओं के सदस्य हैं, या जो लोग सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में काम करते हैं, वे अपना कर्तव्य पूरा नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसके अनिवार्यतः जब तक देश में नीतिगत वातावरण नहीं सुधरेगा तब तक अस्पृश्यता भी नहीं मिट सकती।

एक प्रवक्ता सदस्य ने ध्यान खींचा था कि हमको ये रिजर्वेशन रखने चाहिए या नहीं और कहा कि हमको सेफगाड्स कब तक रखने चाहिए और यह एक खतरनाक प्रवृत्ति है। मेरा ख्याल है कि हरिजन और आदिमजातियों के लोग अभी ऐसी स्थिति में नहीं हैं कि हमें उनके रिजर्वेशन को खत्म कर देना चाहिए। मैं सिफारिश करूंगा कि रिजर्वेशन और आगे के लिए भी बढ़ाये जायें और जब तक वे ऐसी स्थिति में न पहुँच जायें कि वे समाज में एक ऊँची स्थिति में आ जायें, तब तक हमें उसे कायम रखना चाहिये। इसलिए हमको चाहिए कि हम सब लोग स्वयं अपने घरों से

शुरू आत करे और अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिए गम्भीर प्रयत्न करें। यह हम सब का एक भारी कर्तव्य है।

हिन्दुस्तान से जब तक यह कास्ट सिस्टम, जाति-पाति की प्रथा, सचमुच में नहीं मिटगी तब तक हमारी अस्पृश्यता भी दूर नहीं हो सकती। एक समय था जब आर्य लोग यहाँ आए और उनका अनार्य से संघर्ष हुआ और धीरे धीरे सारे देश में आर्य लोग बस गये। उस काल के बाद से आर्य और अनार्य आपस में मिल चुके हैं। हमारे देश में द्रविड़ जाति पहले से थी, बाद में कई जातियाँ आईं, नीग्रीटो, एस्ट्रोलाइट्स और मेडीटेरैनीयन जातियाँ आईं और वे सब की सब हमारे समाज में मिलजुल चुकी हैं। वह सब इतिहास ले कर के, हम लोगों को जनता में यह भावना फैलानी चाहिए कि जाति-पाति की जाँ प्रथा है यह एक दृकियानुसी चीज है, पुरानी चीज है, इसे मिटाने की जरूरत है, हम न विशुद्ध आर्य हैं, न द्रविड़ हैं, न छोटी जाति हैं, न बड़ी जाति हैं, हम सब लोग वर्णशंकर लोग हैं क्योंकि सब वर्ण और सब जातियाँ आपस में मिलजुल चुकी हैं और कोई विशुद्ध जातिपाति भारतवर्ष में नहीं रही। इसीलिए किसी जाति का अभिमान करना, या जाति प्रथा को भारतवर्ष में बनाये रखना ठीक नहीं है। एक बड़े भारी एथोपॉलीजिस्ट ने इस जाति-पाति के विषय में भाषण देते हुए सिर्फ एक वाक्य में यह कह दिया था कि "Friends, we are all mongrels" हम सब लोग वर्णशंकर हैं, सब जातियाँ मिल जुल चुकी हैं, कोई जाति शुद्ध नहीं है, न यहाँ कोई विशुद्ध आर्य रहे न अनार्य। दक्षिण में द्राविड कागजुम का आंदोलन चल रहा है कि हम लोग भारतवर्ष की सबसे विशुद्ध और मूल जाति हैं, वह भी गलत है।

हमें जाति प्रथा को भारतवर्ष से नष्ट कर देना चाहिये। एक समय ऐसा आया जबकि मगध में नन्द वंश का राज्य समाप्त होकर मौर्यवंश का राज्य हो गया था। मौर्यों ने बौद्ध धर्म के आदर्श को फैलाया। बौद्ध धर्म का आदर्श

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

ज्यादातर जात-पात को ही मिला था। उस समय भी बहुत से सुधार इस दिशा में हुए। मौ्यों के बाद ब्राह्मण शासन में आए। पुण्य-मित्र ने यह वर्णों का भेद भाव कायम किया। ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रियों को ऊंचा बनाया। यह राज्य इस दिशा में करीब दो तीन शताब्दी तक कायम रहा और उसने ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय और शूद्र की प्रथाएं कायम कीं। उस समय से हमारे दिश में ये जात-पात की प्रथाएं चली आ रही हैं। उस समय ब्राह्मणों ने अपने को श्रेष्ठ माना था और दूसरी जातियों को नीचा समझा था। यह भेद-भाव जो उस समय चला था अभी भी कायम है। हमें इतिहास को बदलना होगा। मेरा तो कहना यह है कि हमारे जो ऐसे शास्त्र हैं वे गलत तरीके से बनाये गये हैं। वास्तव में हम सब मानवता और समानता के आधार पर एक हैं। हमारा रक्त एक है और इस विचार को सब लोगों में फैलाने की आवश्यकता है, अपने घर में व्यवहार में लाने की जरूरत है। जब तक हम इस तरह का नीतिक वातावरण तैयार नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम अस्पृश्यता सम्बन्धी कानून को और आदिमजातियों की समस्या को उचित रूप से हल नहीं कर सकते हैं और हम आगे कदम नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं।

इसके बाद जिस समस्या पर मेरा ध्यान गया है वह एजुकेशन के बारे में है। टेक्निकल शिक्षा के बारे में इस रिपोर्ट में बहुत कम रुपया इन लोगों के लिए रखा गया है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इन जातियों की उन्नति के लिए टेक्निकल शिक्षा के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया रखा जाना चाहिये था। इसके साथ ही साथ हमें उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने का भी ध्यान रखना होगा। इस कार्य को पूरा करने के लिए केवल भूमि सम्बन्धी नियम पास करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने अभी तक ऐसा कोई भी अच्छा कदम नहीं उठाया है जिससे हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की भूमि स्थिति अच्छी हो। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि उन्हें भूमि ज्यादा मिलनी चाहिये ताकि

उनकी आर्थिक दशा में सुधार हो। इसी प्रकार ग्रामीण उद्योगों की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। यद्यपि पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस तरह की व्यवस्था की गई और आगे भी की जाने वाली है किन्तु यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि इन लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार हो। यह मानना होगा कि आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने से हरिजनों और आदिमजातियों की सब समस्या हल नहीं हो जाती है मगर इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी मानना होगा कि आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने से बहुत अन्तर पड़ जाता है। इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए यह जरूरी है कि उद्योग धन्धों द्वारा इन लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग दी जानी चाहिये। अभी हमारे रूढ़ी साहब ने बतलाया कि हमें डिग्रीयों की तरफ ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहिये बल्कि हमें इन लोगों को हर तरह की टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग देनी चाहिये। अगर हम इस तरह की नीति पर चलें तो यह समस्या हल हो सकती है। इतना कह कर मैं अन्त में यह चाहूंगा कि सरकार अगले वर्ष इस विषय में और भी ज्यादा ध्यान दे।

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Datar.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Sir, I had given my name.

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, but what am I to do? There is no time. I have got about 8 or 9 names.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: My name was also there.

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Very sorry.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had a very fruitful discussion on Thursday and today so far as this very important question is concerned. The Report has served a very useful purpose in rivetting the attention of the public on what has been done by the State Governments and in particular on what ought to be done by the various

State Governments. Therefore, to that extent we have had a very fruitful discussion and I am quite confident that the Central Government as also the State Governments would take due note of the various important and helpful suggestions that have been made by hon Members on this side as also on the other side. While I was hearing very intently the various suggestions that were made, as also the complaints that were ventilated before this House I thought that a very large portion of these complaints could as well have been ventilated on the floor of the various State Legislatures. And I desire to bring to the notice of the various State Governments the advisability of having a debate in their respective Legislatures on the various points that the Commissioner has made in respect of each of these States. Such a discussion you will find, would be more realistic and all complaints that would be made would be met more effectively and also authoritatively by the Ministers in these Legislatures.

Now, so far as the discussions here are concerned naturally you will find that in Parliament we have to carry on a discussion on the general principles only. Some hon Members went beyond this and tried to bring in certain complaints regarding one or two States. An hon Member in the course of his long speech only referred to various matters in Andhra State and ultimately brought in also the last general elections. Another Member from Orissa also made certain statements the veracity of which has to be found out by us through the State Governments. On a previous occasion also a similar complaint had been made against the Orissa Government. We had the matter fully investigated and I might assure this House that it was found that what had been stated was far from true, or was unfounded. Apart from all these, it would put the State

Government in a very awkward position if matters of absolute detail are placed before this House, in a particular way that it might be difficult for us to meet those particular details. Therefore on all such occasions, as most hon Members have rightly said, the discussion ought to be confined to the general principles, and so far as the details are concerned, or certain matters of grievances are concerned, they can best be left to the State Governments. And I would assure this House that whatever has been stated here by hon Members would be brought to the attention of the State Governments and I am quite confident that they would look into the complaints not only with a view to reducing them, but also into the suggestions with a view to improving the present administration.

Now, so far as the general trend of criticism is concerned, I was happy that the criticism was on the whole highly helpful. Some of the hon Members especially those who belong to the Scheduled Castes, are naturally entitled to criticise us. They are also entitled to be impatient because injustice has been heaped upon them for centuries together. But as pointed out by some hon friend just now, in such cases we have to be extremely careful. So far as the Government are concerned, in this matter as also in certain other urgent matters, they cannot afford to be self-complacent. They cannot allow things to drift. And, therefore, I would assure this House that so far as the governmental side is concerned either at the Centre or in the States, they are very earnest, but only the difficulties coming in their way have got to be noted. My hon. friend, Shri Hegde, pointed out that we have to make a realistic approach so far as the various matters are concerned. I would assure my hon friends, especially of the Scheduled Castes, that Government are extremely keen and Gov-

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ernment are anxious to see that the pace of progress is advanced as soon as possible. But I would request certain friends also to take certain circumstances into account. Now this is an injustice, as I stated, which has been heaped upon this community for centuries together, and it was only Gandhiji's great efforts that made the Governments take up this question, and it is only after the advent of independence that we have been attending to this question as seriously as is possible under the circumstances.

You have, Sir, also to take into account another circumstance, namely, that there are certain inequalities, **eltner** in the matter of lower representation in Services, or in the omission to take up more schemes. Now all these things, and all these matters, have got to be properly appreciated, and when you go on considering the question of what the Government have done, you have also to take into account this deficit side. This is a matter which can only be helped by continuous work extended at least **over** some years. Therefore, I would appeal to my hon. friends, especially those belonging to the Scheduled Castes, to be a bit patient, because I can tell them that we desire that this pace of progress should be as great as possible, and I am quite confident, Sir, that with the co-operation of all the members of the Indian Society, we will be in a position to solve this problem. As Shri Deokinandan Narayan has pointed out, all the people have to carry on this work, not only the Legislatures, but also the public—the Harijans and all others—have to carry on this work. After all, the resources of the Government are limited, both in respect of personnel, as also in respect of money. Therefore, If we work in co-operation with each other, I am quite confident that the pace of progress would be far greater than what it is today. And we are all working towards that objective.

Now, Sir, my hon. friend, Dr. Kunzru, made some very valuable suggestions for which I am thankful to him. He wanted to know to what extent we are planning, so far as the interests of the tribals, as also of the Harijans, are concerned. I might point out to him that when this work was taken up on a very large scale, we called on the State Governments to send their schemes for one year. Now there were certain difficulties also which were inherent in this. In most of the States, even after the commencement of the Constitution, they had, what can be known as, backward classes Departments, and not special Departments for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Now we had to request the State Governments to have separate departments. And therefore, the whole task required very great consideration, and as rightly pointed out by Dr. Kunzru, it would not be proper to have the schemes considered only on a yearly basis. Then we suggested that schemes for two years should be sent to the Government, especially when there were fairly big schemes. And when we receive the schemes once the principle of a particular scheme has been accepted, then sanction regarding details might not come in the way, nor would there be any lapse, so far as these grants are concerned. This has helped the State Governments also to get more amounts from the Centre, and in time, as also to see that no amounts have lapsed. Now, as he has suggested, we have taken up this question. Every State Government, I would point out to this House, has, in its second Five Year Plan, given special attention to the schemes in the interest of the tribal people, as also in the interest of the Harijans. And we are trying to see that we allot as large an amount as possible, so that when the next Five Year Plan would start its operation, we shall have a fair picture, not only of one year, but of the full period of five years, and thereby they would be in a position to implement the schemes also. This is so far as the practice that has been followed is concerned. Sir so far as the Commissioner for Sched-

duled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned, his office is an attached office of the Home Ministry. And therefore, there is no delay, so far as the inspection or the scanning of all these schemes by the Commissioner is concerned.

We have also to consult certain other Ministries, for example the Finance Ministry and also the Planning Commission and certain other concerned Ministries. That also takes some time. We have tried to bring down the delay to the minimum and now, sanctions are issued as early as possible, and there can be no complaint, so far as the State Governments are concerned. Now on this occasion I would also appeal to the various State Governments to give us more help and cooperation, so far as the various complaints mentioned by the Commissioner are concerned. It is true, Sir, that he finds it very difficult to receive answers in time. Sometimes, they are received very late and in some cases, they are not received at all.

Now, there might be certain difficulties. And I have pointed out some of those difficulties. But all the same, the fact remains that the State Governments have to give us full information about the schemes, not only about the schemes when they are sent, but also after the schemes have been sent when they are sanctioned and sent back. Then the State Governments have to implement the schemes and spend moneys. And we desire that the State Government should make it a very important and an inviolable rule to submit to us their six monthly progress reports. They are absolutely essential and we are, in fact, greatly handicapped on account of this omission on the part of the State Governments. And we have already informed them that it is absolutely essential that these reports should be received by us in time.

Then, Sir, Dr Kunzru made a reference to some of the points, and he desired to have information on cer-

tain points, especially so far as communications in general, or communications in certain Assam areas in particular, are concerned.

SHRI H N KUNZRU: Assam, and some Punjab area.

SHRI B N DATAR: I have got the figures. So far as Assam is concerned, I would explain the position. So far as the current year is concerned, as for the expenditure expected to be incurred—the word 'expected' has been used—on roads in the autonomous districts of Assam during 1951-52 Rs 8,50,000 and odd were spent. In 1952-53 Rs 14,32,000 were spent. In 1953-54, Rs 27,46,000 were spent. In 1954-55 Rs 54,90,000 have been spent over the construction of roads. And during the current year i.e., 1955-56, the total expenditure at the end of the year is expected to be Rs 74,20,000. This is so far as the autonomous districts only are concerned. I might also point out to the hon Member, and to this House, that when the Ayyangar Committee was appointed, they went into the whole question in 1952 and they recommended that a special grant for the purpose of the improvement of communications should be made to the Assam Government. They suggested that Rs 2,56,00,000 should be given to the State of Assam. Now out of this amount, almost the whole amount has been paid and in the course of the remaining period, about Rs 60 lakhs which remain to be paid, would be paid so that it would be found that by the end of this year, the amount of Rs 2,56,00,000 would have been spent and considerable improvements would have been made so far as improvement of communications is concerned. In terms of mileage I would point out that in the year 1951-52, roads to the extent of 188 miles were laid down. In 1952-53, to the extent of 172 miles, in 1953-54 to the extent of 499 miles.

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and in 1954-55 to the extent of 529 miles. In the current year also the Assam Government hopes to lay a mileage of 529 miles so far as the whole area is concerned.

My hon. friend wanted to know what amount has been spent for the purpose of improvement of communications or construction of roads in the two scheduled areas in Punjab.....

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: What about the North Cachar and Mikir Hills? I want information about that district separately.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I have given the figures in respect of money so far as the autonomous districts are concerned. I have given the total mileage so far as Assam is concerned. I shall give the break-up also. I have not got them now. I shall supply the hon. Member with the break-up.

So far as Punjab State is concerned, in the two scheduled areas, the amounts that have been spent over roads are as follows:

	Rs.
1952-53	.. 1,15,945
1953-54	.. 2,98,743
1954-55	.. 4,29,680

During the current year it will be seen that a sum of Rs. 5,03,000 will have been spent. Thus you will find that in the course of the first Five Year Plan or practically in the course of the last 4 years including the present year, a sum of Rs. 13,47,368 will have been spent so far as these two areas are concerned.

Another suggestion was made by certain friends including Dr. Kunzru that we should take advantage of the radio. I would like to point out that so far as the All India Radio is concerned, a large number of broad-

casts, features, slogans, plays etc. on the subject of eradication of untouchability were already being broadcast by the various stations of the All India Radio. During the period from 1st September 1953 to 31st December 1954, All India Radio broadcast 126 talks, 86 plays and features and 17 discussions on the removal of untouchability. During the last quarter of 1954, All India Radio broadcast 82 talks, 1 song, 22 features and 31 miscellaneous items on the subject. Then we have also in this respect the co-operation of the Harijan Sewak Sangh and the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League. They have also been carrying on this work and an attempt is being made to bring out a pamphlet on such talks through the Publications Division.

During the Radio Month in October, 1954, it was decided to donate 86 radio sets to the various Harijan Centres. This has already been done. There is a detailed report which I need not read at this stage. In addition to this it would be found that the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has brought out the following publications:

Harijans Today (English)—This was published in 1952 and a revised edition is being brought out this month.

Untouchability—Radio Talks (Hindi) released in August 1955—Gujerati version of this publication is expected to be out in a week's time. Tamil, Marathi, Malayalam and Kannada are also expected to be brought out in about 2 months' time.

In so far as Tribals are concerned, pamphlet on Adivasis containing selected articles from well-known writers is being brought out this month. A small pamphlet on Untouchability by Kakasahib Kalelkar

is being brought out this month for free distribution. It will be in Hindi and all regional languages. It is proposed to bring out a brochure detailing the efforts made by the media units of the I. and B. Ministry against Untouchability.

Then an hon. friend—Shri Agnibhoj—made reference to a point or complained that before admission was available in the Rangers' Course at the Forest College, Dehra Dun, a student had to pay Rs. 5,000. Now this was an allegation which was fairly serious. I have got the facts now which I would read to the hon. Member. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture have sent us the following:

"Enquiries made from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Forest Section) reveal that only the students sponsored by the State Governments are admitted to the above mentioned course and that the entire expenditure involved in their training is paid by the State Governments sponsoring them."

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: In Madhya Pradesh it is not so.

SHRI B. N. DATAR:

"Thus the position is that the students admitted to the Rangers' Course are not required to deposit anything from their pocket. The students sponsored by the State Governments are generally officers working under them."

Under the circumstances, you will find that there can be no question of any insistence on the payment of Rs. 5,000 so far as this Rangers' Course is concerned. Now it is for the State Government to select officers and I am quite confident that if there are good officers even from this community, they would surely send them and have them properly trained. Naturally, so far as expenditure is con-

cerned, it is a matter between the Central Government and the State Governments. Thus you will agree that so far as trainees are concerned, trainees either from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or other castes, they are not to pay anything at all so far as training for the Rangers' Course is concerned.

Now I shall make a very brief reference within the short time at my disposal to the other points made out by hon. Members. I would agree with Mr. P. T. Leuva that this is a social disability which has to be removed and its has its repercussions on various aspects of the question dealing with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but above all, we have to take into account this. He possibly did not like my reference to the maintenance of efficiency or maintenance of good standard of efficiency. This is an expression which has been used in article 335 of the Constitution and therefore I have not used that word with any desire to see that the representation does not go up as it ought to be. Now so far as this is concerned, my friend Mr. Hedge pointed out very rightly that we cannot trifle with efficiency at all. On account of war, a very difficult situation arose where very very senior officers—European Officers or Muslim Officers—left us and at that time we had to make arrangements to see that our officers came up to the standard. There also great precaution was taken that no man, who had not the making of a very good officer so far as the higher post was concerned, was taken. Even in respect of displaced persons, the refugees, the House will kindly note that Government took the utmost precaution and every refugee (or) every displaced man was not taken into the service. Those who were given higher priority were displaced government servants, meaning those servants who had been working in some of the Provinces in the undivided India, now forming part of Pakistan. It is only certain individuals who were taken in.

[Shri B. N. Datar.]

After taking their service into account, they were offered employment or they were given certain status or certain rank in the Government of India appointments. Thus you will find that in spite of the pressure that we had, Government took very great care to see that the standards of efficiency were never allowed to go down. Ultimately it is a very great machinery. And it is not merely a police machinery, for we are a welfare State, and you will find that in the course of the next Five Year Plan Government will have to embark upon a very large number of schemes. Therefore, I would submit in all humility that the hon. Members of this House should understand the magnitude of the work and also the absolute necessity of helping the Government so far as keeping up or preserving the standards of efficiency is concerned.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I just want a reply to my question: How does the hon. Minister implement article 335 in the case of Class I and Class II appointments? How will he see that the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency, in the making of appointments to Class I and Class II? I am only asking, why not take the best of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates when you recruit men directly to Class I and Class II?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: So far as this.....

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Is the hon. Deputy Minister permitted to speak to the House, with his back turned towards the Chair?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I am very sorry, Sir. I did not mean any disrespect to you.

As I was saying, so far as this question of services is concerned, I pointed out at perhaps greater length than was necessary, as was pointed out by Prof. Wadia, the various aspects of it. It has been the practice which has been always followed—and it is a salutary practice—that so far as reservations at any time are concerned, that ought to be done only where there is direct recruitment. Now, so far as the higher services are concerned, you will agree that when there are officers who are occupying lower rungs in the ladder and if they carry on their work very well then their very experience has to be considered as a qualification for occupying the higher services. It would be extremely wrong.....

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Am I to take it then that there is no direct recruitment to Class I and Class II?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: There is no direct recruitment to Grade I and Grade II of the Central Secretariat Service.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Therefore, introduce direct recruitment.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: With due deference to my hon. friend, his contention is more academic than practical.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: But certainly there are advertisements appearing. Are they not for Class I and Class II?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: These advertisements are for the purpose of interviews. Of course, we have introduced the examination system to a certain extent in respect of promotions so far as Grades III and IV are concerned, namely the posts of Assistant Superintendents and Assistants. But in other respects, especially so far as Grades I and II are concerned, it is not a matter

which depends solely upon educational qualifications and it would be impracticable to accept direct recruitment so far as the higher nature of work is concerned. Work of this nature always requires considerable amount of experience and experience cannot be had only by qualifying for a recruitment. Therefore, as I pointed out when I opened the debate, even during the British regime, they were trying their best to help the Mohammadans; if you like, you may say, they protected the Mohammadans; but even then it must be said to their credit that even when they introduced very high reservations, sometimes as much as one-third, they did it only so far as direct recruitment was concerned and never so far as promotions were concerned. It would be a dangerous thing if we go on recruiting people at various stages. Secondly there will also be discontent brewing among the members of the lower grades, because naturally they also expect that when they carry on their work properly, that work will be rewarded by promotion.

Therefore, what I submit to the House is, whatever is possible is being done. But the fact has got to be taken into account that overnight or even within a short period of time, it would not be possible to have a larger representation so far as these people are concerned. My hon. friends quoted certain figures to show that in the IAS and in the IPS and other higher services, the representation of these people was very low. I do concede that it is very low. But I had pointed out that this slowness of progress or this low figure was due to the fact that at the time this reservation was started, we were confronted with this inequality of position. So, that inequality remains and that cannot be debited to us. We are trying our best to increase the intake to the extent possible. That is the reason why as I pointed out earlier

a hundred people are going to be taken directly to Grade IV through an examination which was held in July, 1955 and I have also pointed out the steps taken, for the purpose of convincing the House that Government have been very earnest so far as increase in the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: While on this point, I would like to know if there is no recruitment to Class I and Class II posts?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Not by examination to Grades I and II.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: What is the significance of article 335?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Article 335 has to be read in a particular context.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: It makes no sense.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It makes full sense. If my hon. friend puts any other interpretation on it, it would be highly impracticable, if not harmful. Therefore, I submit, article 335 has been fully followed in all respects. This is a very important subject. As Mr. Leuva stated, the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are entitled to higher representation and they claim representation not only on the ground of money or service or openings, but also on the ground that thereby their dignity is naturally enhanced. That is the reason why we have to try our best to see that at all levels we take as many people as possible so far as the various services or classes of appointments are concerned.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: That is the recommendation made by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. See item (viii) on page 164 of his Report

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The Commissioner might have made the recom-

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mendation, but Government cannot accept all the recommendations. Government is responsible for the administration and Government can accept only those recommendations which are practicable and reasonable and we cannot accept any recommendation which does not accept the essential principles on which Government is carried on. Therefore, so far as promotions are concerned, Government are very careful still. Government have made certain departures to the extent consistent with the administration and

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: The Saurashtra Government has done it

SHRI B N DATAR: The Saurashtra Government has not done it at the higher levels, I know it. Therefore I would submit that this is a question in which we have to be extremely careful as Indians first, and secondly as also supporters of the progress of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

I will conclude in a minute, Sir. Lastly I would

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARNAND: May I ask one question?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: No questions, please, I am finishing now

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not at this stage, Madam

SHRI B N DATAR: Something was stated about the ex-criminal tribes. So far as the ex-criminal tribes are concerned, formerly they were classed as criminals, because it was felt by the authorities then that they were habitually criminal, that the whole family was composed of criminals. But in 1952, all the Acts pertaining to the Criminal Tribes were entirely abrogated. Certain very humiliating conditions had been laid down but the Provisional Par-

liament abrogated all those Acts. You will find that after that abrogation, certain results have followed. One result is that it is now necessary that so far as the ex-criminal tribes are concerned, they have to be weaned from vicious habits like habits of burglary and other acts. For this reason, so far as it bears on law and order, we are also trying to see that the ex-criminal tribes are economically rehabilitated and also morally rehabilitated. For this purpose in parts of India there are hostels established for the children of these people so that these children amongst whom there is still a tendency towards crime could be away from their parents for some time. Afterwards, after these children are fully educated after being brought up in the hostel, which means in a proper atmosphere then these children will themselves wean their parents also from those undesirable habits. This is the way we are dealing with the question and that is how the Government is helping the State Governments so far as the rehabilitation, economic and moral of these ex-criminal tribes is concerned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The discussion on this motion is concluded.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE HOURS OF SITTING ON TUESDAY

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow there will be no lunch hour and the debate on Foreign Affairs will be continued till 5-30 P M

Now the House stands adjourned till 11 A M tomorrow

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday the 6th September 1955