

KUMARI AMRIT KAUR): (a) No report has been submitted by the Secretary, Indian Council of Medical Research on his visit to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics where he accompanied the Health Minister in May-June 1953.

(b) Does not arise.

VALUE OF GIFT STORES RECEIVED BY THE MINISTRY

92. SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Will the Minister for HEALTH be pleased to state:

(a) the total value of the gift stores received during the year 1953-54 which are mentioned on pages 48-49 of the Report of the Ministry of Health for 1953-54; and

(b) the value of the gift stores, if any, sent out by Government to foreign countries during that year?

THE MINISTER FOR HEALTH (RAJ-KUMARI AMRIT KAUR): (a) Rs. 1,70,000 approximately.

(b) Nil.

VISIT OF THE RUSSIAN AND CHINESE HEALTH MINISTERS

93. SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Will the Minister for HEALTH be pleased to state whether the Russian Deputy Minister of Health and the Minister of Health of the Peoples Republic of China who visited India in December 1953 and January 1954, made any suggestions regarding the improvement of Medical and Health Services in India?

THE MINISTER FOR HEALTH (RAJ-KUMARI AMRIT KAUR): No suggestions were proffered.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER SECTION 5 OF THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT ACT, 1934

THE MINISTER FOR COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): I beg

to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 5 of the Indian Aircraft Act, 1934, a copy of each of the following Notifications making certain further amendments to the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937, together with the explanatory notes thereon:—

(i) Notification No. 10-A/8-53, dated the 28th September 1953.

(ii) Notification No. 10-A/29-53, dated the 13th November 1953.

(iii) Notification No. 10-A/22-53, dated the 4th January 1954.

(iv) Notification No. 10-A/63-53, dated the 1st June, 1954.

(v) Notification No. 10-A/27-52, dated the 19th July 1954.

[Placed in the Library. See No. S-276/54 for (i)–(v) above.]

MINISTRY OF LABOUR NOTIFICATION UNDER SECTION 59 OF THE MINES ACT, 1952

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR LABOUR (SHRI ABID ALI): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (7) of section 59 of the Mines Act, 1952, a copy of the Ministry of Labour Notification S.R.O. No. 2403, dated the 12th July 1954, publishing the Mines (Posting up of Abstracts) Rules, 1954 [Placed in the Library. See No. S-277/54.]

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN LABOUR CONFERENCE

I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Summary of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at Mysore in January, 1954. [Placed in the Library. See No. S-278/54.]

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES FOR 1953

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND STATES (DR. K. N. KATJU): Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending the 31st December 1953, be taken into consideration."

I do not propose, Mr. Chairman, at this stage to make any long speech because I want to hear and profit by the comments that may be made in this House. The report has been in the possession of the House for many months now. I am personally most anxious that this report which is generally circulated by special effort to Members of Parliament somewhere in March every year should be discussed by the House as early as possible. Last year we held such a discussion in the month of December and it seemed to me rather curious that we should be discussing such a valuable report and important topic after nearly twelve months. This year we are doing it a little earlier, but I hope next year it may be found possible to discuss the report even earlier, some time towards the end of the Budget Session, provided, of course, time is available.

This report covers practically the whole field, but may I just mention one or two points which were raised last year and also in the course of the Budget debate?

As the House is aware, this topic is generally and broadly within the sphere of State Governments. The Central Government offers suggestions, advice and, much more important, makes a central grant of over Rs. 2 crores for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Last year a complaint was made which was, to some extent, justified. It was complained by Members of the Scheduled Castes that moneys provided by the Central Government are not actually spent for them and the grant lapses. Now, that is not the intention of the Central Government at all. What we are anxious about is that every rupee that is granted by Central Government to State Governments should be spent by them in the year

for which the grant is made and not a single penny should lapse.

The procedure has been that we want schemes on which money is sought to be spent. I am not going to enter into a controversial discussion. It is because the State Governments have been rather dilatory in the past in submitting their schemes or dilatory in implementing their schemes that the money has not been spent this year. It is not strictly covered by this Report. The Report deals with 1953 but I am now dealing with the current year 1954-55. In order to see to it that no money should lapse and that every single pie should be spent for the purpose for which it is intended we addressed all State Governments in the month of February 1954, two months before the Budget was passed, that they should send us their schemes as early as possible so that a decision might be taken. To this there was a good response and schemes were received. The needs of all the States were examined, ceilings were fixed and by the month of June a decision was taken. Each State Government was informed as to how much was its particular ceiling and they were all requested to take their schemes in hand as quickly as possible, and to enable them to do so 50 per cent. of the money allotted to them was handed over to them. They have now been asked to let us have a report by the 15th of January as to the progress that has been made in the execution of their schemes so that the rest of the money may be sent to them. I am mentioning this matter at some length because that might remove the anxiety and concern of hon. Members, I think, on all sides of the House and particularly hon. Members who belong to the scheduled castes and they may know that I am making the utmost effort to see that this year there is no lapse and that all funds are applied to the beneficial purposes for which they are intended. That is one important matter to which I thought it might be useful to address myself in the beginning.

Then, there are one or two other matters. An impression was left on my mind last year when I heard the debates in this House and in the other House.....

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal): There was no debate in this House. The hon. Minister is wrong on this point.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I beg your pardon?

MR. CHAIRMAN: There was no debate in this House on the subject.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I withdraw that. I am very sorry. I thought the Report had been discussed in this House also. If it was not, it should have been.

Now, the impression that was left on my mind from observations made by hon. friends who represent the Scheduled Castes is that it is only the Members of Parliament who look after the interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Tribal Areas and that but for them, well, there is no one else to look after them and they are just left to the mercies of the Central Government. I mentioned last year that it is really strictly not so. Members of Parliament primarily deal with subjects in which the Union Government is interested—questions of vast importance like foreign relations, budget, this, that and the other. So far as this matter is concerned, namely, the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, their appointment to the Services, their recruitment, the care of their education, scholarship—Mr. Chairman, you know all those details—it is really the concern of the State Governments and I reminded them last year that there were also Scheduled Caste Members in the State legislatures who were as much anxious for the promotion of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes as Members of Parliament. If anything, they are

much more anxious, and this time I asked the Special Officer, Mr. Shrikant, to let us have concrete information as to the number of Members in the various State legislatures who come from seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and I think in one of the appendices hon. Members will find that information. I think the total number of members in all the legislatures in India is somewhere about 3,500 and odd and out of them 2¹ per cent. of members come from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So, hon. Members should always realise that there is a watchful eye in every State legislature to guard the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and I imagine that Members of the different legislatures are as keen as hon. Members here. Of course, the Union Government is in a way interested in what you may call the Central Secretariat and other Central Services and also in one or two Part C States which are directly under the President, but the vast area of this great country of ours is ruled and managed by State Governments, and I am only emphasizing that we had better put some trust in the Members of State legislature and leave something to them than raise all sorts of questions on petty matters here.

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): Then why make any grant and why have any discussion here at all?

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal): The State Governments are in your hands, with their eyes blinkered.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right; go on.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Sir, I want to enquire as to why I am interrupted so much, and no one else.

Then, there is an appendix in which I have collected information as to how many Ministers from Tribal Areas, how many Ministers belonging to Scheduled Castes, are functioning in different States.

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]

Thirdly, I should like to say one thing and that is of general application. I believe many hon. Members will raise this point—a very favourite point about recruitment and appointment to high posts and services of all grades. For myself, believe me, I am most anxious that members of the Scheduled Castes should be appointed to the highest office available here, to the Prime Ministership of India, to the Chief Justiceship of India.....
(Interruptions.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Please do not interrupt me. But the question remains. There seems to be some sort of an impression that the moment you appoint a Brahmin, or a Kshatri, or the moment you appoint a Reddy—I am taking it as an example—or a member of the Scheduled Castes as a Minister, that particular Minister will exercise nepotism and favouritism in appointing Brahmins, Kshatris or Reddys and if you appoint a member of the Scheduled Castes he will do nothing but employ members of Scheduled Castes. But it is forgotten that the moment you make a man a member of the Cabinet, either State or Central, he at once becomes a member of the Cabinet of the whole of India or of the whole of that State and he is in duty bound to protect and serve not his particular community—be he a Hindu or a Muslim or whoever he may be—but also he has to protect, serve and promote the welfare of all the people. That is sometimes overlooked and I think this tendency to regard that a member of a particular community should be appointed for the purpose of protection of the interests of that community is a very dangerous tendency. As you know, Mr. Chairman, I come from the legal profession. You take anyone—a Hindu or a Muslim or a member of the Scheduled Caste—and suppose he has got some private trouble of his own—some law suit or that sort of thing—and he is dragged into a court. Do you mean to

say that he cares a twopence as to whether he should or should not employ a vakil or a lawyer belonging to the Scheduled Caste? It may be a criminal case; it may be a civil case. So long as his purse will afford he will go and engage the very best lawyer available, to whichever caste he may belong. He may go out in Madras and declare himself against the brahmins there and ask everybody to cut off their tufts or *chotis* but if it is a law suit he will go to that particular brahmin and get his services. If he falls ill he goes to the best physician available. If he is a business man, then he will go and ask for advice, so far as his private affairs are concerned, of the very best man. I have never been able to understand it—it is a curious commentary on our mentality—that if it is a case of the management of public affairs, it is said: “Oh, you know, Brahmins are in a great minority. They have become untouchables, and therefore do give them some jobs—or, they are members of such and such a community, they should be given some job. Don’t please, consider the question of their efficiency. Give them the jobs.” Please remember that if you appoint anyone as a District Magistrate, then the time may come when the question of maintenance of law and order may depend upon the discretion, upon the initiative, upon the ability of that particular District Magistrate, and he has to protect all the people living in his district and not confine his attention to any one community. I am saying this because over and over again it has been said that people should be appointed to high offices; there should be no restrictions placed; the question of efficiency should be overlooked and appointments should be made. I understand all this and so far as the question of relaxation of age-limits and other questions are concerned, the Home Ministry is doing its very best—I tell you it could not do more than we are doing—to see to it that members of the scheduled castes get full justice done to them. But I

do appeal to you that the approach should be another kind of approach. If I were to be asked for advice, then I would say that I as a member of the scheduled caste would insist on the Government to do their utmost, to go out of their way to educate my children and make them fit for holding jobs. Nothing gave me greater pleasure than when I read a report that the Ministry of Education had reserved five foreign scholarships for being awarded to members of the scheduled castes. They were rather apprehensive whether they would be able to get a sufficient number or not for that purpose, because we want to send out distinguished students for those foreign scholarships, so that they may get proper training. When the year was out we found that we had a sufficiently large number. The result has been that that scheme has been extended for another five years, and I hope that it will be extended for any number of years and the number of five scholarships might be raised to ten or even fifteen. What we want is merit, so that everybody should become worthy of appointment to the highest offices—not insist and put this way, “Oh, the man may have a minimum qualification, may be somewhat inefficient but put him in the job.” Now, that would mean that you are taking risks.

The second point, Mr. Chairman—I am expressing my opinion—is this: I want a complete mixture of the members of the Scheduled Castes, particularly students and the students of other communities. I do not like—as I said, I am expressing my own opinion—any sort of segregation. I do not want Harijan hostels, Harijan colonies, and Harijan Ashrams to spring up. Only two days ago I attended a function at an Ashram—which had rather a curious name, “Vimukta Jathi Ashram”. I had heard of all sorts of castes. I asked: “what is this caste?” They said “Vimukta Jathi”, ex-criminal tribes. We had recently passed a law—I think we passed it two or three years ago—by which the Criminal Tribes Act was

repealed and the stigma that was cast by legislation by the British rulers upon four millions of our people has now been completely wiped out. But here is this, again, “Vimukta Jathi”. So, I said, what are you doing? You are putting a sort of a label upon these people. Anyone who asks “Whom are you looking after”, will get the reply “We are looking after the ‘Vimukta Jathi’.” Who are these “Vimukta Jathis”? They are the ex-criminal tribes. Now, the moment you do this, the whole idea goes back, the memories go back—they were criminal tribes, they were treated as criminals, etc. Therefore, I do not want that. I want that we should have something like an “Ashram” where students of all the communities—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains and all the various sections of the Hindu community—should go, mix together and live together. And that is the way to remove all sorts of complexes—inferiority complex and superiority complex—and if we go in that direction, then you will see that within ten years, the whole situation will change—there will be no question of employment. It is not that God has not given any section of the Indian community brains—plenty of them. I saw two days ago—as I said in the Vimukta Jathi gathering—clever people, remarkable boys, remarkable for intelligence, for shrewdness, tact, alert, cheerful, appealing to you, etc. It is not as if God has been parsimonious in any way. It is we who have, by segregating them, developed all those inferiority characteristics which stand in their way, in getting proper recruitment.

Sir, I have expressed my view. I will not take any more time of the House, Mr. Chairman. I would listen and I want to profit by the discussion. But I appeal, once again, that the debate, the suggestions, may be constructive and not negative, so that the speeches may be confined to one

[Dr K N Katju]

direction only You will have, I think, another motion before you in a few days for the selection and naming of the Members of the Joint Select Committee on the Untouchability Bill Last year a great point was made that the Untouchability Bill had not been introduced and disabilities had not been made punishable and all that We will have time to discuss that when we have that measure We have introduced that Bill I have said over and over again—and I think hon Members will agree—that you may punish, but that is really a question not of punishment It is a question of moral persuasion, question of change of heart, it is a question of feeling by every citizen of India that there is complete equality What has been done by the Constitution is guaranteeing complete equality to every citizen, irrespective of caste, creed, faith or religion and all that We have got to make it a reality and not merely in words, and for that we require a lot of persuasion, a lot of change of heart and a lot of sweet reasonableness I plead with all the earnestness that I can command that on this topic it is extremely necessary that whatever is said is said without bitterness, so that the change of heart may come about. The change of heart does not come about either by using bitter language or by prosecuting and sending people to jail If they are only five per cent. of the community, it is all to the good, but if they are 95 per cent of the community, I cannot try a course of action other than the remedy of satyagraha, and goodness knows what My hon friends know what the virtues of this measure are and whether they are willing to start on those lines

Sir, I submit that this motion be taken into consideration.

MR CHAIRMAN: Motion moved.

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes for the period ending the 31st December 1953, be taken into consideration"

There are five amendments The Members may just get up and formally move the amendments.

SHRI S N MAZUMDAR: Sir, I beg to move.

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, the House is of opinion that the rate of progress towards the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the removal of their social disabilities is very unsatisfactory'

SHRI S N DWIVEDY (Orissa): Sir, I beg to move.

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely —

'and having considered the same, the House regrets that the report has failed to give any concrete suggestions for a speedier progress towards the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and that it is apologetic in nature'

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, the House is of opinion that an attempt should be made to rehabilitate at least one million landless Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people in the country by providing for them new settlements in waste lands and that a land army be constituted for the purpose by the Central Government'

SHRI PRASADARAO (Andhra): Sir, I beg to move:

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, the House regrets that very little has been done towards the progress of the work of improving the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.'

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Sir, I beg to move:

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, the House is of opinion that persons belonging to the Scheduled Tribes should cease to be termed as 'backward' after their conversion to Christianity or Islam.'

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the motion and the amendments are before the House for discussion.

SHRI KANHAIYALAL D. VAIDYA (Madhya Bharat): Before we proceed, Sir, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the fact that yesterday we were to discuss the Bank problems, and two hours are taken away from today. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will give time to you on Monday.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): Mr. Chairman, I am very glad that the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending the 31st December 1953 has been put up today in this House for consideration.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I would not take much time for giving suitable replies to the hon. the Home Minister. I will come direct to business. Before I speak on the other items, I would only like to say that I am extremely sorry to hear what the hon. the Home Minister has said. He has to shoulder the burden and the

responsibility for the welfare and amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the whole of India, and much depends upon his sincerity. He forgets that this is the first time that a discussion on the subject has been taken up today in this House. And, Sir, I would only say that the total welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes depends upon his sincerity, upon his good intentions. If he takes genuine interest in the promotion and welfare of the people, certainly, the State Governments, which have not been showing much zeal and enthusiasm and which have not been giving proper co-operation to the scheme of things, which the Central Government are making today, will not be able to go their own way. I can assure the hon. the Home Minister that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people today do not want assimilation, but they want integration. They want integration and not segregation or discrimination. I am glad that the hon. the Home Minister has been giving us assurance and promises. But I again remind him that the Scheduled Caste people and the Scheduled Tribe people are tired of vain promises and vain assurances. They have been given these vain promises and assurances in the past, and today also these people are getting assurances and promises. But they want actually to see the implementation of the schemes that are put forth either by the Central Government or by the State Governments. They are tired of vain promises and vain assurances. And, therefore, I request that the hon. Minister, instead of giving us more assurances and more promises, should see that the schemes set forth by the Government are fully implemented and the money—Rs. 2 crores or Rs. 4 crores or even Rs. 10 crores—allotted for the welfare and promotion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is honestly spent by the Central Government as well as by the State Governments.

[Shri T. Bodra.]

The hon. the Home Minister was also saying something about the merits of students or candidates for various posts, when they seek employment either through the Union Public Service Commission or through the State Public Service Commissions. Certainly, Sir, we have to see that India gets strengthened every day. We do not want that the Scheduled Caste people or the Scheduled Tribe people having no merits or no qualifications, or who are not up to the mark, should be taken in employment in the IV grade or III grade or II grade or the I grade. What I say is that discrimination is playing a havoc in this country. Whenever the Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commissions find that there are so many applicants belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes more qualified than non-Scheduled Caste people and non-tribal people, what they actually do is that they tear away their applications; they do not record them; they do not put up their applications before the authorities concerned; their applications never reach the authorities. You will find, Sir, that the Scheduled Caste people and the Scheduled Tribe people are not asking for any favours. Today, what they are asking for is what has been legitimately due to them for thousands of years, for many centuries. I would certainly not advocate the candidature of such persons who are below the mark, such students who do not deserve the posts. But when we have got plenty of well-qualified lady doctors, well-qualified doctors, well-qualified engineers and well-qualified candidates with high degrees and honours degrees, why should the doors of employment be shut to them? I do not understand this. It is very well to say that the doors of employment are thrown open to each and everybody, and there is no distinction made. But only preaching will not do. What we want is practice, and practice in its

entirety, and in all sincerity. Give them a chance and an opportunity, Sir, and I am sure, the Scheduled Caste people and the Scheduled Tribe people will prove themselves worthy of the posts in which they are taken.

Now, I come, Sir, to the State of Assam. On page 252, Appendix VI, there is a statement showing the names of Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries in the various States, who belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, together with the portfolios held by them. This statement printed in the Report will show that there are Scheduled Caste people and Scheduled Tribe members who can very well hold the portfolios of the tribal and other welfare departments. But I do not understand, Sir, why many of the members who belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have not been given the portfolios of the welfare departments. Take the case of Assam. The portfolio is now being held and managed by the Chief Minister of Assam. I do not doubt his sincerity; I do not doubt his wisdom. He has been handling the department to the best of his ability. But I will prove, Sir, in a minute that even when the Chief Minister of Assam has been holding this portfolio in his own hands, and has been looking after this department personally, so many things have happened where he has been unable to take any action. Perhaps, the hon. the Home Minister knows that there was one man whose name was Adhikari. He was put in charge of the Ashram in which so many Pahari girls and boys were being educated.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I just rise on a point of order? I think it is not proper that any case should be discussed by name here. I am acquainted with this case. But it is inconsistent with the procedure of this House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't mention names.

SHRI T. BODRA: I will not mention names.

There was one man in charge of this work in Assam, and do you know what happened recently? I will give you the whole story. A member of the Lok Sabha had to write a direct letter to the hon. the Prime Minister of India about this man's activities, about his illicit connections with the girl students there, and the net result was that he had to be removed from the position he was occupying. Now, a gentleman who is in charge of the welfare, of the education, of the progress, of the material and spiritual progress of the tribal people and the scheduled castes people should act decently, should act as a guardian, as a teacher, but what happens?

DR. K. N. KATJU: My hon. friend will kindly give me half a second. The case to which he is referring is not that of a Government officer. He was in charge of a non-official organisation to which some amount was given. It has nothing to do with a Government department or a Government officer.

SHRI T. BODRA: I am compelled to reply to the hon. the Home Minister that the money is entirely public money, that the Government are allotting money not only to Government agencies but also to non-official agencies, and here we are concerned with the public money that is being spent for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It does not matter whether it is a Government or a non-official agency.

I am very sorry to say that when the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes visited Assam he was accompanied by the gentleman who has now been removed. He should have seen things for

himself, but he was not shown the very things which he ought to have seen as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Again, Sir, lands in Assam are being given to non-tribal people on a large scale. Now, we are taking so much pains for the rehabilitation of the refugees from East Pakistan. The tribal people who are the natives of the soil and who have been the victims of exploitation for the last so many centuries, even when the Chief Minister of Assam is in charge of this portfolio—and it is his personal responsibility to see that each and every pie of the money given by the Central Government is utilised for the betterment of the tribal people—are now landless there, and they are earning their livelihood by working like coolies and beasts of burden.

I now come to the State of Orissa. I am glad that a member of the Scheduled Tribes is Minister in charge of this subject in the Orissa State, but although he belongs to the Scheduled Tribes, he has not done anything for the betterment of the tribes, which it is his duty to do. But whatever money is being allotted by the Central and State Governments is spent on political propaganda for the Government and not for the welfare of the tribal people and the Scheduled Castes people. So many primary schools have been opened, but the number of pupils in any one of these schools is only about 65. Am I to believe that in the State of Orissa the number of children is going down or that the primary schools that have been opened there cannot get enough students? They can collect thousands of children playing and standing by in the streets and going about naked, but you find from the report that in no school is the number of students more than 65. But what is the amount spent? It is huge, even though the schools are so small. Can such a huge amount be spent on such

[Shri T. Bodra.]

small schools? So, I contend that when the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes went to Orissa, he should have seen that the money that is being allotted by the State Government and by the Central Government is not spent on political propaganda for the Government—support Congress, or support this or support that—but on the education, on the uplift, on the amelioration of the conditions of the tribal people there who are most in need of this.

I will now come to the Forest Department. You know that the tribal people and the Scheduled Castes people are the children of the forests, and the moment a tribal man is taken away from the hills and the forests, he becomes a half man. He is as much nearer to God as he is nearer to the forest. But what actually happens? The State Governments have enacted their Forest Acts and these Acts are in operation. But who are the officials? They are not of the Scheduled Tribes or the Scheduled Castes. Sir, these people are not rich. They are very poor. They cannot afford tooth brushes. They want *dantans*. What happens? The moment they go into the forests to collect *dantans*, they are arrested and prosecuted by the Forest Department officials, and are put in prison for six months or eight months.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Bharat): Where does this happen?

SHRI T. BODRA: In Bihar and Orissa. As you know, these people are very poor and no medical facilities are granted to them. Whenever they suffer from tuberculosis, they are not given admission to the hospitals at Ranchi and other places. And even when they get admission, they do not get proper treatment. The tribal people have got their own medicines. When they see that they

do not get any treatment in the hospitals and when they see that they do not get any cure, they go back to the forests to collect *jari butis* (herbs) but the moment they go into the forests, they are arrested and prosecuted by the Forest Department officials. Similarly, the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people do not take their food on *thalis* of gold or silver or even of *kansa*. They are too poor to afford them. They take their food on the leaves of the *Sakhwa* tree, and when they go into the forests to collect these leaves, they are prosecuted. These people are non-plussed. They have no money to purchase tooth brushes or medicines or *thalis*, but if they go into the forests to collect all these things, they are prosecuted and harassed. The Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should have seen that these innocent people are not being drawn to the courts, bound with rope round their waists, and prosecuted there. What happens there in the courts? The man has not got any money to engage any lawyer. He is fined ten rupees or fifteen rupees. He is told, 'Confess and we will let you go.', but he cannot pay, and in default, he is given simple or rigorous imprisonment for three months.

In Orissa, there is a tobacco tax. There are people who take tobacco which is known as *khaini*. Are they going to be levied tax for taking *khaini*? Is it not the duty of the Assistant Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at Ranchi to go and see that this is illegal taxation and should not be levied. If the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are growing tobacco to sell in the market places then in such cases they should be under the Central Excise and pay the licence fees and taxes according to the law but if they grow tobacco for *khaini* purposes, they should not be subjected to the exploitation by the Central Excise inspectors and their chaprassis and orderlies.

Again in Orissa you will find no good roads, nor communication, no good sanitation, no drinking water, no medical facilities, no representation in the services and no Minimum Wages Act enforcement. People there are working like animals from 6 in the morning to 6 in the evening—about 12 hours—and are paid only eight annas a day.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I point out the inaccuracy which has crept into his speech? The minimum wage is never eight annas but it is Rs. 1-4-0.

SHRI T. BODRA: The Minimum Wages Act should be enforced rigidly and it should be the duty of the Assistant Commissioner to see to it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are encroaching upon Mr. Mahanty's preserve in referring to Orissa.

SHRI T. BODRA: What is the result? There is labour emigration to other States for working like coolies. It is just like the Negroes being captured and sold in the open market and being taken to America for cultivation of crops, etc.

Again, under the Five Year Plan, Community Projects have been introduced. They should be introduced in the most backward places but I find them working in the advanced areas where the people are educated, where the people are literate but not in the backward areas where literacy among people is not even 1 per cent., where the people are extremely backward and do not actually know how to live and who are very much poverty-stricken. It is there that these should have been introduced and not in Ranchi, or Mandar or other such places.

Now I come to Bihar. There is an Adimjati Sewa Sangh at Ranchi also which is functioning as a non-official agency and the gentleman in charge—I shall not name him though I wanted to tell the name also—is getting large

amounts of money from the Government of Bihar as well as from the Centre. If the Assistant Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes at Ranchi takes the trouble of knowing the full facts, things will be much better. I approached him and told him all these things but later on I came to know that the Assistant Commissioner who is subordinate to the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes is taking daily advice from the gentleman in charge of this Adimjati Sewa Sangh, a man who has been misappropriating the money for so many years and a man who is doing nothing but political propaganda. If the Assistant Commissioner at Ranchi goes early in the morning and evening to take advice from this gentleman, certainly he will go astray and he will not be able to do any work whatsoever. I handed in two complaints of lady teachers who have been working for the last 1½ years in the middle school under the Deputy Inspector of Schools who wanted a bribe of Rs. 150 which the lady teachers were unable to pay with the result that these two lady teachers have not been paid their salaries for the last 1½ years. I put this complaint personally before the Assistant Commissioner of Scheduled Castes at Ranchi and requested him to look into it and, if he found it to be correct, to take necessary action. No action has been taken. This is the third month. A petition from a Member of Parliament directly approaching the Assistant Commissioner, but the lady teachers have not been given any relief and when they come and ask for the result, I tell them that it is under the consideration of Government.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR (Bihar): He is very right in consoling the applicants that the matter is under consideration.

SHRI T. BODRA: Now, in the Central Government we have a Commissioner. Under him there are 4 or 6 Assistant Commissioners. In each

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State we have Aboriginal Welfare Officers and under them there are Thana Welfare Officers and there is one Minister-in-charge who is handling the portfolio of Aboriginal Welfare and there is one Secretary of the cadre of I.A.S.

DR. K. N. KATJU: May I know under whom or under which particular department these two lady teachers are employed?

SHRI T. BODRA: They are working in the School Department under the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

DR. K. N. KATJU: That means under the Director of Public Instruction and I hope you went to him also.

SHRI T. BODRA: What I say is that the Government is spending a huge amount of money and has a huge paraphernalia right from the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, then Ministers in charge of their welfare, then a Secretary to the Welfare Department of the I.A.S. cadre and District Welfare Officer, District Aboriginal Welfare Officer and the Thana Welfare Officer, etc. All the money that is being allotted by the Central and the State Governments is being spent only on establishment, T. A. and payment of salary and whatever is left for the welfare work is misspent or misdirected—I will not say misappropriated. What is the good of allotment of all this money? If anyone reads this report, he will be very much impressed that so many crores and crores are being spent for the welfare of the...

SHRI B. GUPTA: Especially the cover!

SHRI T. BODRA: In Bihar for minor irrigation schemes, the amount sanctioned is Rs. 3,71,500, for opening of grain *golas* in Chotanagpur and Bha-
galpur Division Rs. 60,000, for grant of loans for development of cottage

industries, Rs. 12,500, for agriculture, grain *golas* and co-operative societies for Paharis in Santhal Parganas, Rs. 1,17,393, for opening of 4 residential schools of senior basic type, providing for free education to 50 students in each school and 30 two-teacher primary schools Rs. 8,75,600, for public health development Rs. 87,200, etc. The total comes to Rs. 21,93,306. This is not a small amount and if this is not being spent over the welfare of the people, it is nothing but a national waste.

KAZI KARIMUDDIN (Madhya Pradesh): Does he mean to say that no money has been spent on these schemes?

SHRI T. BODRA: What I mean to say is that this money is being allowed to be spent over some other subjects. I submit that when such a huge amount has been allotted for this purpose, I wish to see concrete results out of it.

KAZI KARIMUDDIN: Whether the money is spent on the schemes which are mentioned in the report—that is the question.

SHRI T. BODRA: I have not seen any schemes. I have been going round the country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: These are schemes for 1953-54 and they are yet to be completed. Probably they are in the course of implementation.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: He says it is not being spent in the proper way.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They are in the course of implementation. It is proposed to give the grants. So these are schemes that are to be implemented.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member, but in

justice to the Government of Bihar, he had better read the letter-script below the figure Rs. 21,98,000 and see what has been done, how many offices have been opened and so on.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: What page?

DR. K. N. KATJU: Page 155, second column.

SHRI T. BODRA: If I may proceed, Sir. I would submit that the gentleman put in charge of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh at Ranchi and the gentleman in charge of the Paharia Seva Mandal, Dumka, Bihar, are responsible for the downfall of the Congress in that part of the country. These two gentlemen are responsible for the downfall of the Congress in the elections in that part of the country.

SHRI S. BANERJEE (West Bengal): They did right.

SHRI B. GUPTA: It is no disqualification.

SHRI T. BODRA: Then again, Sir, it is the duty of the Assistant Commissioner posted at Ranchi to see that the aboriginal and scheduled caste students get admission into.....

SHRI S. M. HEMROM (Orissa): The hon. Member is not giving the names of these two gentlemen. Could he give the names so that we could see if these charges are capable of being substantiated?

AN HON. MEMBER: You want the names?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no mention of names.

SHRI T. BODRA: It was the duty of the Assistant Commissioner to see that these schools and colleges that have been opened by Government give proper admission to the students coming from these scheduled tribes. But recently, Sir, it happened that so many thousands of boys passed the

matriculation examination and the I. Sc. examination and they were not admitted into the very colleges which are meant for them. People who belong to the Ranchi district, to the Chotanagpur area, the Santhal Parganas, the scheduled castes and tribes in these areas should have been given first preference in the matter of giving admission into the colleges that have been opened there for them. The Assistant Commissioner who gets quite a fat salary and who is posted at Ranchi, should have seen to it that justice is given to these students in the matter of getting admissions. Unless such officers do their work properly, how can the Government of India implement these schemes and carry out the pious wishes that the Government have? This gentleman should have met the Principal of the St. Xavier's College at Ranchi, he should have met the Lady Principal of the Ranchi Women's College, Ranchi Degree College, and pleaded for the admission of the scheduled tribe students. I am, however, glad that this year, two students—Miss Olive Toppo and Mr. Franklin Trikey—have, thanks to the kindness of the hon. the Home Minister, obtained scholarships for study overseas and they are sailing on the 10th September from Bombay. Let me take this chance of expressing our gratitude to the hon. the Home Minister for awarding these overseas scholarships to these two students who belong to my tribe.

Coming next to the State of Bombay, Members of Parliament who belong to the Bombay State have given me the information that though the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes gives very good recommendations and so many schemes, the Government of Bombay has not yet implemented those schemes, that the State Government is giving no co-operation to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There also.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bodra, criticisms of the State Governments should be addressed to the State Legislatures. So whatever you have to say against the Central Government would be relevant here. You should not criticise the Bombay Government now, as there is none here to defend that Government.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan): But, Sir, the grants are made by the Central Government to the Government of Bombay and we are discussing here the general question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is for the Bombay Legislature to see if the grants are properly spent.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: And the Government of Bombay will certainly come under the criticism.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Sir, the point is that these people are living in the various States and the Central Government allocates grants and it is relevant to examine how the needs of these people are looked into and how the grants are spent.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may criticise the Central Government, not the State Government.

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SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): May I point out that in article 339(2) it is stated:

"The executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any such State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State."

It is clear, therefore, that the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the scheduled tribes is with the Central Government. So it would be perfectly relevant to say that the.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It would be perfectly relevant to say

that the Central Government has not seen to the proper utilization of these funds.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: This can be done only when the shortcomings of the State Government are pointed out.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Cannot we say that the Commissioner does not get adequate help from the State Government?

SHRI T. BODRA: The hon. the Home Minister said that it is the duty of the State Government to implement the schemes of the Central Government and only advice is given from the Minister here. And so I think I am right in correlating the work of the State Government with those of the Centre.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And incidentally you may say which of the schemes have not been implemented and which amounts have not been spent, and how the Central Government has failed in the proper allocation of funds. That would be relevant, not referring directly to either the Bombay Ministry or to any particular Minister. That would not be proper.

KAZI KARIMUDDIN: Without criticising the Ministry it is not possible to do that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are at perfect liberty to say anything about the Central Government.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Suppose Rs. 10,000 is granted to West Bengal. This sum of Rs. 10,000 is not spent by West Bengal. Cannot I discuss the reasons for not spending that sum? Criticism can be there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You had better say that the Central Government has not seen to it that this sum of Rs. 10,000 was spent by the Government of West Bengal. It is all in the manner of putting it. I don't think I need educate you as to how it should be put. Yes, go on, Mr. Bodra.

SHRI T. BODRA: Then, I have to talk about the land reform measures and the allotment of land to the landless.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are a number of hon. Members yet to speak and you have already taken about 40 minutes. And some Members want to go away today. So I have to give them a chance.

SHRI T. BODRA: I only want to say that many in these areas are landless and State legislation for enacting the necessary tenancy Acts should be initiated and the State Government should safeguard the landed interests and properties of the Adibasis and scheduled castes because among these poor people a lot of land alienation is still going on. Therefore, I request the Central Government to take the initiative in this matter of introducing land legislation to safeguard the landed properties of the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. Also, in the matter of distribution of land to the landless these classes should be given preference.

So far as the age-limit for entry into service is concerned, the same limit as is applicable to others should not be applicable to candidates belonging to these tribes and castes. These people start going to school rather late, say, when they are about 12 or 13 and so by the time they get out of the college and become graduates, they are about 30 years of age and so I request that the age-limit in their case should be put at about 30 years.

Next, I have to say a word about Rajasthan. There it is really sad to find that in the 1931 and 1941 census, the Damarias, Yarasias, Bhil Minas and the Minas were regarded as aboriginals. But in the 1951 census, these castes have been excluded and they were not regarded as scheduled castes or tribes and so they have been left out. Non-recognition has given rise to so many legal implications.

Lastly, Sir, I should like to refer to the Research Institutes which are be-
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ing established. One has been established at Ranchi and I do hope that the institutes will be very useful institutions for the correct diagnosis and for solving the ever so many problems of the tribal people and of the scheduled caste people. I wish that the best talent is appointed to such institutions so that the purpose for which they have been established may succeed.

Equal treatment should be given in Part A, Part B and Part C States. As I said, much depends upon the sincerity of the hon. the Home Minister and I submit that he should give much more attention and see that the State Governments carry out the orders of the Central Government to the letter and to the spirit. If the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people are given proper treatment and proper concessions they ought to make first class military personnel, first class nursing staff and technicians and so on. The period of ten years which has been fixed should be extended to another ten years.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): I suggest that there should be some time limit. This is not a Bill but only a motion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The discussion will not close today; it will be carried forward.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: One Member may have one hour and another may have only five minutes later on.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I leave it to the discretion of the Members to restrict the time.

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): If you allow it now and if you fix a time limit later on, some Members may either be debarred or there may be a time limit for them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No Member will be debarred; no disqualification but you must catch my eye. That is all.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are, after all, discussing

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this report in this House this year and that too as a result of the constant efforts of some of us to secure some time for the discussion of this Report. However, at last, it has been fixed now and we are going to discuss it. Before I proceed to deal with the problem as well as the facts submitted in the report, I would like to make some preliminary observations. I am, Sir, very closely following the reports year by year and the impression which I have gathered is that though the Constitution enjoins upon the Government of India a special responsibility for the uplift of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, the duty of the Central Government, accordingly as I understand the workings of the mind of the Central Government, finishes with making some grants in the Budget and asking the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to undertake tours, to make recommendations and to submit a report. Afterwards, the whole responsibility is shifted on to the shoulders of the State Governments and the State Governments, in most cases, have done very little for this task. I shall not deal in detail with the rate of progress because I have to deal with other problems—I shall deal mostly with the broad aspects of the policy and also with the approach to the problem because my approach to the problem is somewhat different from that of the Government. It seems that whenever questions are raised on the subject, when this discussion takes place, the whole effort of the Central Government is to shift the responsibility on to the State Governments and then sit tight. As a result of this, the gentleman who is in charge of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes feels helpless. In his report he has actually mentioned—in connection with the debate which took place last year in the other House—that Members of Parliament forget the fact that his task is only to recommend or to suggest or supervise and that the responsibility is with the State Government.

Now, Sir, another preliminary remark which I want to make is this: when I criticise the working of the schemes or when I want to criticise the policy of the Government or even criticise the report itself, I do not intend to disparage the efforts of the gentleman who is the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I have no personal acquaintance with him but I know that he is a social worker of long standing and particularly, though he now occupies an official position, he has not yet been corrupted by the bureaucratic atmosphere, by the malady of seasoned officials who try to deny relevant facts. In fact, in his report, there are some revealing observations about the conditions of municipal workers, about the conditions of scavengers, about tribal labourers employed under contractors by the railways, about the conditions of aboriginal landless labourers and so on which, starting from the officials, the hon. Ministers try to deny.

Without trying to go into that question further, I shall come to the broad problems. Firstly, it is clear from the report itself that compared to the target which has been set before us in the Constitution, the rate of progress is absolutely insignificant. There are schemes and they are being implemented now; I do not say that nothing has been done but we have got some revealing glimpses about the nature of the implementations from the hon. Member who has just preceded me. Moreover, the implementation of these is left to the bureaucracy which leads sometimes to quite the opposite results. I shall come to that later but apart from the question of what has been undertaken, apart from the question of implementation of what has been undertaken, let us see what has been undertaken and see now that compares with the target. The target is that within ten years the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people will be developed and lifted to a position where there will be no necessity for any safeguards for them or any necessity for special responsibility for the upliftment of those people. Compared

to that, the rate of progress is insignificant, absolutely and hopelessly insignificant. I do not know what defence will be forthcoming from the hon. Minister—the hon. the Home Minister is not present now, but the hon. Deputy Minister is there—but apart from their defence, the whole question should be properly analysed.

The hardships and disabilities from which the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes suffer may be broadly divided into two categories, social disabilities and economic disabilities. In reality, the economic disabilities are at the root of the social disabilities. Before I proceed to deal with that, I must mention that even as regards the removal of social disabilities, the conditions are very unsatisfactory. It is not my view alone; the hon. Shri Jagjivan Ram, who seems to be satisfied with everything else which the Government does, as a Member of the Central Cabinet, expressed dissatisfaction with the rate of progress about the removal of untouchability and the upliftment of the backward classes and the scheduled castes in a conference which he attended recently in Hyderabad—the Conference of the All-India Depressed Classes League. The report for 1952 itself says that legislative measures adopted in various States for the removal of untouchability have not proved very effective. In the report, it was being recommended for the last two years, that Central legislation for the removal of untouchability should be forthcoming. At last that has come; at least that has been placed on the anvil but it is none too early in the face of the fact that the Government and the Congress Party were pledged to do this thing much earlier. As I said earlier, the successful removal of social disabilities depends mainly upon the removal of economic disabilities because, Sir, if we analyse the conditions of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, we would find that most of them, the overwhelming majority of them, are landless labourers, landless peasants, tenants at will working under conditions of agrestic serfdom

and taking advantage of this absolute economic dependence, the landlords, from time immemorial, have imposed upon them severe social and economic restrictions. Actually, the social disabilities of the scheduled castes are part and parcel of feudal exploitation and this fact is brought out by many persons who have made efforts and endeavours to make a serious study in regard to the question of untouchability.

Sir, Dr. Hutton in his book 'Caste in India' gives some very interesting examples. As regards the disabilities imposed upon the *Adi Dravida* community he gives a list of disabilities imposed on them in 1930. When they refused to comply with these disabilities, the landlords imposed upon them further disabilities, and the most interesting fact is that some of the disabilities clearly are intended to keep these people of the community completely under the heel and thumb of the landlords. What are these disabilities? Their children should not read and get themselves literate. They should be asked only to tend the cattle of the *mirasdars*. Men and women should work as slaves of the *mirasdars*. They must sell away their own lands to *mirasdars* of the village at very cheap rates; if they do not do so, water will not be allowed to them for irrigation. Even if in spite of that something grows on the land the crop will be forfeited. They must work as coolies from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. under *mirasdars* and their wages shall be only four annas per day for man and two annas for woman.

Speaking at another place on the same subject, Dr. Hutton remarks that the presence of a large upper caste *zamindar* class who are arbiters of social usages has not tended to encourage any relaxation in the treatment of the lower orders of society.

Even the report for 1952 of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in many cases, gives glaring examples which prove that the problem of the Scheduled Castes

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is basically the problem of their liberation from feudal exploitation. Now the Government spokesmen may say—I am anticipating their arguments—that Government are doing everything in their power to do away with **zamin-dari system and feudalism**. Sir, I know in what way they are proceeding to do it and this is not the place to enter into a discussion about the merits and demerits of the various pieces of legislation for the abolition of landlordism enacted by the different States. But one thing is very clear that before those legislations take final shape, before they pass out of the anvil of the legislatures, the landlords were taking full advantage of the time given to them to evict the tenants, and most of these tenants in most of the cases are the Scheduled Caste people. The problem of the Scheduled Caste people—I must say here as regards this point—is not separate from the problem of the vast masses of labourers or poor peasants, or peasants as a whole or the working population who are exploited in various ways either in the rural areas or in the towns. Now the *zamindars* try to evict the tenants in many cases by taking advantage of the time-lag; they have been taking advantage of the pieces of legislations which have been passed. And taking advantage of the loopholes, they evict their tenants. Whenever this fact was brought before the Parliament and before the hon. Ministers, they concentrated their energies upon denying the existence of such facts. But I find that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has referred in his reports—particularly in the Report for 1952—to certain instances. I am referring, Sir, to pages 9, 10, 39, 141 and also to pages 46-47 and 141 of the Report for 1952. This is the main thing

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mazumdar, we have to begin the other debate at 11-15 and I may also say that Dr. Kunzru is leaving Delhi today and so you have to give him sufficient time.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: I shall try to be very brief and I shall just mention the points.

As regards the other sections of the Scheduled Castes who are employed as scavengers under municipalities, under local Governments, we know what their conditions are. In this connection also the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had to refer to the non-implementation of certain beneficial labour legislations. The whole policy of the Central Government is also involved there. As I have to make myself brief, I shall pass on to the question of the Scheduled Tribes.

As regards the Scheduled Tribes, though mostly they do not suffer from any social disabilities as the Scheduled Castes, their economic hardships are, of course, the same. They are also under the thumb of feudal exploiters. They work in plantations, in mines and there they are subjected to all sorts of exploitation. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his Report had to refer to certain instances, the instance of the Oraons and Mundas in North Bengal and Assam, who worked in the tea gardens as labourers. The Government is vociferous that "we" are doing so many things for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, but it is fighting shy and it cannot but be shy of trying to tackle the basic problem. Thus in plantations they are exploited and in forests. The hon. Member who preceded me rightly referred to the fact that the economy of these tribal people hinges upon forests. The forests are either the property of Government under the management of bureaucratic officials, who implement the forest laws in such a way that they actually antagonise the Scheduled Tribes people and give them much trouble. Forests are under contractors, under private landlords, and these people, these Scheduled Tribes people, who were in possession of these forests, who were the possessors of the lands which they tilled from time immemorial, have been

evicted from those lands. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes himself had to recommend in many places that these people should be given back the land from which they are evicted. I know, Sir, in North Bengal, in my district of Darjeeling and in the neighbouring district of Jalpaiguri where most of the agricultural labourers, most of the tenants-at-will, the share-croppers—they are Scheduled Tribes people—eviction is going on, and Government officials pay no attention to that. That is not only because they are apathetic for the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes people; it derives from their whole anti-people policy, their policy of bolstering up the regime of feudal exploitation and exploitation of foreign capital. Now, these points are common everywhere. So, in connection with the problem of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had to mention that most of the facilities which should be granted to them concern housing facilities, security of land tenure, debt redemption, check on moneylenders, promotion of cottage industries, representation on local bodies, etc. He recommended the application of debt conciliation legislations also and in this connection I am only giving an instance that in the district of Darjeeling, among the Scheduled Tribes, there are Lepchas who are mostly agriculturists. That district being out of the permanent settlement system, these peasants in those places were deprived from whatever benefit the peasants in other districts are getting from tenancy legislation. They do not get the benefit of debt conciliation legislation. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes recommended the implementation of such legislation there but nothing has been done as yet; nothing has been done for them.

Then, I like to pass to Scheduled Areas and before I pass to Scheduled Areas, I like to mention another thing. Scheduled Areas have a history. These Scheduled Areas which were in most cases the homeland of the tribal peoples were kept isolated from the rest

of India by the British Government for their own purposes. But that isolation did not prevent the British exploiters and Indian exploiters to go there as subordinate partners of the British to encroach upon the rights of these people, break up their economy, render them homeless, render them penniless and derive them away. Then, the British Government also utilised the Scheduled Areas to keep them isolated from the Independence Movement. Now, the Scheduled Areas were not then Scheduled Areas but 'excluded' or 'partially excluded' areas. We want that these areas should not be segregated. That is all right, but they have special problems of their own, problems arising out of the backward state of their development, problems arising out of history that they were neglected and they could not get even such facilities, for development which were accessible to the people of other areas of India. Along with these problems there is the special problem of their homeland which is constituted as Scheduled Areas. The tribal people have their special language, special culture and they are in different stages of social development; they have special customs and so they have their special psychology also. These are the special problems and attention should be given to them. In order to give attention to these problems it is admitted by all social workers and anthropologists that those who go there from outside to work for their development should not go as superiors. No scheme of development should be imposed on them. Any scheme for their improvement must be made to conform with their culture, with their tradition, with their way of life and with their own psychology. That is, they must be persuaded to take up these things. They have their own social system. Even now, they have their own democratic system though it might be democracy of an archaic type. So the implementation of welfare schemes should be entrusted to them, but that is not being done.

Then, there are autonomous districts and autonomous regions for certain Scheduled Areas in Assam but this faci-

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lity has not been given to other Scheduled Areas. This right of administering their own affairs and implementing development schemes through their district and regional councils should be extended to other tribal areas. That does not mean that they should be separated from India. If we give them the chance to administer schemes of their own, then the process of their integration with the larger population of India will be facilitated. But even the limited powers which have been given to the autonomous district councils and autonomous regional councils have not been given to the other Scheduled Areas. The powers which have been given to them are subject to the over-riding power of the Governor. The Councils have been constituted only recently but still I have come across certain typical instances. In the case of the Lushai Hills District Council they passed a piece of legislation. I do not exactly remember just now the subject-matter of that legislation; it was concerned with either forests or distribution of land, but the Governor of Assam vetoed that legislation. This is not the way to encourage these people; this is not the way to encourage their development activities.

Secondly, Sir, there is another category of people who cannot be strictly classified as Scheduled Tribes, but who have their problems which are akin to those of the Scheduled Tribes. They have problems which entitle their homeland to be classified as Scheduled Areas and to be given the provision of having autonomous district councils. As an example, I mention the Nepali-speaking people of the Darjeeling district. Their conditions, their past history in many respects resemble the conditions in the Scheduled Areas. These people also have their own special problems; they have their special customs and they have their own psychology. Therefore they are entitled to the right of administering their own development schemes in their own areas but that problem is not given any consideration by the Government. I know why this problem is not given

any consideration by the Government. In many cases the homeland of the tribals is also the fortress of British exploitation in India. Can the hon. the Home Minister deny that in Darjeeling it is the British planters who deliberately kept that area backward? If these people are to make any headway, if their economy is to be developed, then the first thing to be done is that they will have to make serious encroachment on the rights and privileges of the British planters. Of course, as regards the question of money and of sanctioning monetary grants for the development of these people, the argument of paucity of funds will be forthcoming from the hon. Minister, but there is this question also—the liquidation of feudalism and the liquidation of foreign exploitation. These are absolutely necessary if we want to see that these people who have been neglected so long are given some chance to develop themselves.

Sir, I do not like to encroach upon the time of the House. Before I resume my seat I shall make only two points. One is about the Tribal Advisory Councils that have been formed in many States even where there are no Scheduled Areas. I do not know what the Tribal Advisory Council is doing. In West Bengal I tried to get some information and I went through the annual reports of the West Bengal Government but I found only some reference to some hostels opened somewhere and some stipends having been granted. There was no reference to their basic problems. There was no mention in the Report about the function of the Tribal Advisory Council. About Bhutias, who are one of the Scheduled Tribes in Darjeeling, I found that a film on their life had been prepared. A film of their life—it is good, but that is not going to give even a little relief to them. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes himself recommended that the Bhutias and Lepchas should be given the right to have at least their primary education in their mother tongue, in that script. But nothing has been done to implement that recommendation as yet. The hon.

the Home Minister is looking askance at me; if he can inform me that something has been done, I will accept that.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): May I know in what language they are now being educated?

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: They are educated in Nepali and I think in Hindi.

DR. K. N. KATJU: My hon. friend probably knows very much about Lepchas but I fail to discover any script of their own.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: Their script is akin to Tibetan. I may say for the information of the hon. the Home Minister that though I am not an anthropologist and though I am no authority on that subject as such, yet I have lived and worked among these tribals for a long time and I know a lot about them. As I said, I cannot say what these Tribal Advisory Councils have been doing. Anyway, the right of administering their own affairs should be entrusted to the tribal people and these Tribal Advisory Councils should not be merely advisory but they should be really representative and really effective.

Lastly, Sir, before I sit down, I should like to reiterate that point and make an appeal to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people. They have their own special problems and their own special grievances; we will have to solve their problems; we will have to pay attention to their grievances. But the correct way for them is not to isolate themselves from the larger movement of the toiling people of India who are trying to do away with feudal exploitation and with foreign exploitation. There should be no spirit of segregation. There I agree with the hon. the Home Minister. But that spirit of segregation can be done away with if the whole problem is approached in the correct way, if their other problems are related to the basic problem and they are integrated into the whole scheme of things.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, since the achievement of

independence, our main concern has been the development of our human and material resources. Perhaps the development of our human resources is more fundamental than the development of our material resources and we have therefore to see to what extent the work that is being done for the advancement of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the backward classes and the ex-criminal tribes has been of such a character as to give us hope that our population will soon be completely integrated. We have, therefore, to look at the progress achieved in the light of the imperative necessity for bringing about the integration of all communities as soon as possible.

Now, Sir, the Constitution, though it does not prescribe any period during which this integration is to be brought about, nevertheless indirectly desires—nevertheless indirectly asks us—to make every effort to remove in ten years the special disabilities, under which the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes suffer. Sir, one of the articles of the Constitution refers to the reservation of seats in the legislatures and of appointments for members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This reservation in accordance with the proviso to that article is to cease after the expiration of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. The Constitution thus indirectly asks us to proceed in such a way as to remove at least the more important differences between the communities mentioned by me and the rest of the population within ten years.

Now, one should have thought, Sir, that with this obligation resting on them the Central and the State Governments would try, with the help of experts, sociologists and anthropologists, to draw up schemes which would bring about the progress of these communities to the desired extent. I know, Sir, that every year schemes are drawn up both by the State Governments and by the Central Government and that both these agencies provide funds for their execution. But is there any overall well-considered plan

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directed to the achievement of the purpose to which I have already referred? I am not aware, Sir, that any scheme of this kind aiming at the abolition of the main disabilities from which the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the other classes mentioned by me suffer, has been drawn up. Not even a Five Year Plan has been drawn up for the whole of India. There are certain States, happily, which drew up plans for five years and are providing funds for their execution, namely, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam and Bihar. Three of these States, at any rate—I think, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar—were helped to draw up their five-year plans by Shri Amritlal Thakkar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, who made the progress of the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes his main concern for more than twenty years of his life. But there are other important States, Sir, where similar schemes should have been drawn up, but have not, so far, been drawn up. They are Bombay, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, etc. If the Government of India desire that the intention of the Constitution should be carried out in the spirit, then it is incumbent on them to see that those States that have drawn up no ten-year or five-year scheme, should be pressed to undertake this work as soon as possible. My hon. friend, the Home Minister, said that the responsibility for the drawing up of plans and their execution rested on the State Governments. He is constitutionally right in saying so, if his remarks are confined to the scheduled castes and the backward classes. But he is not right if he thinks that the responsibility for the welfare of the scheduled tribes also lies ultimately on the shoulders of the State Governments. Clause (2), of article 339, makes it clear that the ultimate responsibility for the administration of the scheduled areas and the welfare of the scheduled tribes rests on the Central Government. It can issue directions to the State Governments—I mean Part A and Part B States—

with regard to the drawing up and execution of plans connected with these two subjects.

Another point, Sir, that is of equal importance is the representation of the communities that I have mentioned in the various legislatures in the country. The Home Minister said that as there were representatives of these communities in every legislature, we could be certain that there were watchful eyes following vigilantly the policy of the Government with regard to their advancement.

Sir, the story of the manner in which the population of the tribes has been reduced by executive action is such as to make every member of the legislature, who feels any responsibility for the advancement of the communities mentioned by me, feel ashamed of what the Government has done. According to the census of 1941, the population of the tribes—the tribal population—was substantially more than that determined in accordance with the Constitutional Order issued by the President in 1950. The difference between the 1941 census figure and the figure as determined now, in accordance with the President's Order is about 63 lakhs.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: Sir, if I may interrupt, since there are 15 lakh scheduled tribes in Rajasthan, reduced to 3 lakhs only in 1951, I think it is a misprint.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: If my hon. friend will allow me to complete what I have to say, he will find that it is unnecessary for him to deal with the aboriginal population of Rajasthan.

Sir, there are two or three States where the tribal population has been substantially reduced. In Madhya Pradesh, according to the 1941 census, the total tribal population was about 44½ lakhs, but according to the President's Order it is only about 24½ lakhs. That is, the reduction is of the order of 20 lakhs. This virtually means that about 50 per cent. of the population, without any substantial aid from Government, has, by mere efflux of time,

so improved in education and in all the other opportunities that educated men enjoy that they should not be treated as requiring special protection. There is a very clear device used in order to bring about this result. It is only the tribal people living in areas declared as scheduled that have been recognised as deserving all the Government's aid.

Now, Sir, I brought this matter up in the Central legislature some time ago also. I know the defence of the Government which may today be repeated by the hon. the Home Minister. I do not want to go into that except to say that the reasons given by the Government for bringing about a substantial reduction in the population of Madhya Pradesh and of some other States were of the flimsiest character. Now, take Rajasthan to which an hon. Member referred. The total Bhil population there, I think, was about 11 lakhs or more, and if you take the menials also into account, the total tribal population was about 15½ lakhs. It has been reduced to about 4½ lakhs only. So the reduction is of the order of 11 lakhs.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: It might be a misprint, Sir.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: There is no misprint, Sir. The hon. Member must revise his own ideas if he is shocked by my revelations. This means virtually that the tribal population has been reduced by about 70 per cent. In Bihar, too, it has been reduced by about 10 lakhs. Even granting, that some of the communities classed as tribal formerly were wrongly so classed, and that some deductions have to be made for other reasons that might appeal to Government, I think it would be correct to say that the tribal population has been reduced by at least 40 to 50 lakhs.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: May I know, Sir, whether they have been classified as Scheduled Caste people now?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Some of them have been included in the scheduled

classes, for instance in Bihar. But some others are not. So there is no room for any complacency on the part of the hon. Member. The Government no doubt will say that the tribes that are no longer living in the Scheduled Areas are not left to fend for themselves. They are still being looked after; they are being given certain concessions in respect of scholarships and so on. But, Sir, if there is any substance in the remark made by the Home Minister that some value should be attached to the presence of the representatives of the weaker classes in the legislature, then I submit that the Government has done a great injustice to the tribal people, and, the sooner it rectifies this injustice, the better. I know that the Backward Classes Commission has been asked to look into this matter too. I hope that it will soon be able to make recommendations to enable the tribal people to feel that justice will at least be done to them.

And now, Sir, I should like to say a word about the expenditure incurred on the execution of the schemes drawn up by the State Governments. We know the sums provided by the State Governments and the sums sanctioned by the Central Government. But we do not know the sums actually spent in any particular years. There are two difficulties to be taken into account here. One is that the schemes are either received late, or sanctioned late, so that the full expenditure cannot be incurred. The second point is that the purely administrative expenditure at the headquarters, etc., is included in the total of the funds spent by the Governments on the welfare of the scheduled classes, scheduled tribes, etc. Now, I submit, Sir, that just as the Government of India figures relate entirely to the expenditure required for the execution of the schemes drawn up by the State Governments, so also, there ought to be a distinction between the money spent by the State Governments on administration at the headquarters and so on, and on the execution of the welfare schemes.

There is one other point to which

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I might draw attention in connection with the Bombay State. It is a progressive State in many respects, but unfortunately, its expenditure on the Scheduled Tribes, and I believe, on the Scheduled Castes, is mixed up with that incurred on the backward classes. Now I submit, Sir, that this is not right. When the Government of India attaches so much importance to the development and welfare of the weaker classes as to have appointed a Commissioner to look after the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes especially, it is not right that he should find any difficulty in finding out the exact sum spent on the purposes with which he is intimately connected. The Central Government has not properly shouldered its responsibility in connection with these matters. But I hope that even after the lapse of three years, it will wake up and try to see that the defects to which I have drawn its attention are removed as speedily as possible. The Central Budget sets aside a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for the removal of untouchability and again about Rs. 50 lakhs for the development and welfare of the backward classes and the ex-criminal tribes. It is very difficult to know the progress made as a result of this expenditure. I am particularly anxious to know how money on projects for the removal of untouchability, i.e., propaganda schemes, is being spent and what has been the result of the expenditure incurred so far. This is a kind of expenditure that might be totally wasted, unless it was closely looked into. Unorganised propaganda cannot achieve much good. Apart from this, the State Governments have laid down no targets, no physical targets, to enable us to judge to what extent the progress they set out to achieve at the commencement of a year was actually achieved at its conclusion. Unless there is some yardstick, it will be impossible to decide whether the expenditure incurred by the State Governments and the Central Government is really proving beneficial to the classes for whom it is meant.

DR. K. N. KATJU: What is the yardstick to measure the result of propaganda work?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: You can say, so many temples thrown open, so many wells in a district thrown open to the untouchable, etc.

DR. K. N. KATJU: That is not propaganda. Propaganda is somebody speaking about it.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Surely, these are matters of propaganda.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I wanted to understand what the hon. Member meant by yardsticks for judging propaganda work. Wells of propaganda?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: My hon. friend chooses not to understand, because if he only chooses to understand, he would have to hang his head in shame. I am not saying that the Government should have wells dug. What I am saying is that the existing wells, where they are not allowed to be used by the depressed classes, should be thrown open to them, and that is a matter for propagandists. There is another constructive work—not that this work is not constructive; that too is important; in fact it goes to the root of the matter—which may be undertaken by the Central Government and the State Governments, and that is the provision of proper housing facilities for the scheduled castes, particularly those concerned with conservancy work. Another question to which special attention should be drawn is proper supply of clean water. If these things were done, I have no doubt that much of the public prejudice against people who are wrongly called untouchable will be removed. We have, therefore, to see that the efforts that are being made are so organised and so directed as to be productive of real benefit to the classes for whose good they have been taken.

11 A.M.

Perhaps I may say a word about a matter which is of interest to both the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and that is their appointment to the services. I agree with the Home Minister that we should not appoint people to any service or any post merely because they belong to any particular community, but it is our responsibility to see that they are provided with the facilities that will enable them to come up to the level of the other communities. Till these suppressed communities come up to the level of the rest of the population, it is desirable to lay down some minimum qualifications, the attainment of which will make the members of these communities fit for appointment to the services. This is the only way in which their interests can be safeguarded. Now, one of the important ways by which we can know whether we are fulfilling our responsibility in this respect is that a record of what is done in this regard should be kept, but it appears from the outspoken report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which gives us full information on every aspect of the question relating to their welfare, that this record is not kept. How can this Legislature know to what extent the intention of the Constitution has been carried out by the Government? I think it is necessary that the Central Government should take up this matter more seriously than it has done so far and see that deserving candidates from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes get a fair chance of securing appointments to which their merits entitle them.

Now, I wish to say a few words about the tribal population. I attach the highest importance to the development of communications in the tribal areas, and I am glad to find that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is also of the same view. He thinks that the first priority should be given to this matter.

Communications have a very important effect on our mental and social development. If the people of a locality were unable to go easily outside their locality and to mix with people in the towns and cities, they would obviously be segregated whether they were segregated by law or not. But if they could travel freely, if they could go to the cities with their produce and rub shoulders with other men, they would be able to hold their own against other people much more quickly than any sheltered existence could enable them to. I think that *from this point of view the development of communications is of even greater importance than the development of education for the tribal areas.*

The second point on which I should like to lay stress is the desirability and indeed the necessity of choosing tribal men to carry out work amongst their people. The State Governments have to employ men in order to carry out their programmes. I do not know to what extent they have employed men belonging to the tribal communities but so far as I have been able to find out, the importance of this question has not yet been realized. I personally think that we should take the help of tribal workers in order to persuade the tribal population to co-operate with the authorities in improving their own condition and developing their own areas and lastly I should like to refer to the need for the establishment of co-operative societies among the tribal people whose economy is intimately connected in many places with forests. If the State Governments instead of employing contract labour, were to use the tribal labour and to make use of tribal co-operative societies for the extraction of the forest produce like timber, grass, fruit, etc., the condition of these people could be improved in the localities in which they lived without any heavy expenditure. Now the Bombay Government, I am glad to say, has taken the lead in this matter. There are 100 co-operative societies of the kind referred to by me in that State. I think the Central Government should bring

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this example to the notice of the other State Governments and impress on them the necessity of following it wherever it has not been followed so far.

At the tribal conference that was held at Loha Para in November last, I ventured to make some suggestions and I don't think I need to trouble the House with them but before I sit down, I should like to say one thing more that the Central Government has not fulfilled the responsibility that the Constitution places on its shoulders with regard to the development of Scheduled Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. Five year plans for our material development are welcome but it is a matter of the deepest regret that no plan has yet been drawn up for the development of our human resources. We have, I think, about 2 crores of tribal people and about 4 or 4½ crores of scheduled classes. That means the total population of these two communities is about 6½ crores—between 1/5th and 1/6th of the whole country. Efforts made by the Central Government to raise the level of education and general social awareness among these communities will be repaid ten-fold and will develop the strength of the country.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have read the report with mixed feelings. It is not a very heroic one. It is not very encouraging from the results that you find but I must admit that it is a very honest report and I must congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the frankness with which he has stated all the facts. We are all familiar with the common idea that untouchability still lives in our villages. But it is shocking to find, Sir, on page 79, that it lives in New Delhi—not so far off from this very House and in the very street which bears the name of Parliament Street.

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

There is something wrong with our mentality if the Government officers should go in for this sort of exhibition of fanaticism when we are so earnestly talking about the abolition of untouchability. Sir, when I was listening to the Home Minister defending the Government officers in the matter of employment of backward class people, I was tempted to say to myself "Methinks, the lady protests too much", and especially so in the face of facts that on page 215 the Commissioner very candidly refers to the apathy of the Government officers in employing Harijans or scheduled tribes or tribal people to offices for which they are fit. It is rather unfortunate if the Government officers themselves do not effectively give effect to the policy of the Government. There is a resolution which stands in the name of Mr. Mahanty and which he has formally moved and with which I sympathise that the word 'backward' should not be used in connection with those tribals who have been converted to Christianity or Islam. Sir, it is a misfortune of Hinduism that Hinduism has tolerated for centuries the existence of these untouchable classes and has really done nothing for the regeneration of the tribal people. Let it be said to the credit of the Christian religion as well as of Islam that neither of them recognizes within their fold, from the religious standpoint, any superiority or inferiority among its followers. Therefore, it is an insult to these very religions if there are such people as untouchable Christians or tribal Christians or civilized Christians and from that very standpoint the use of the word 'backward' in connection with these people should be banned. I do hope that Mr. Mahanty does not go so far as to say that the benefits that the Government intends for the tribal people should not be extended to them. I hope that they will be extended to them because they still continue to be tribals. I am not so sure about the untouchables. I think the time must come when they ought to be taken into the ordinary fold of the Indian community and especially in the Hindu religious community but

so far as tribals are concerned, they have been so isolated for centuries that whatever may be their religion, they should be encouraged with all the resources that the Government can command. Should I continue on the next day, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

GOVERNMENT ORDER MODIFYING
THE DECISION OF THE LABOUR
APPELLATE TRIBUNAL ON BANK
DISPUTES.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Sundarayya.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Andhra): Mr. Chairman, the Government's modification of the Labour Appellate Tribunal's Award on the bank disputes raises very, very grave issues not only for the bank employees, not only for the middle-class employees, not only for the working classes in this country, but for all the people of India. I say this because this heralds the fact that the Government has given up its declared aim of creating a welfare State, of giving and guaranteeing a minimum wage for the employees in our land guaranteeing minimum social justice to all, because it cannot be done without cutting the profits of the vested interests. The Government says that it is not prepared to cut the profits of vested interests, but it is prepared to cut the wages of the employees, even though they may not be a satisfactory minimum wage.

Now, let us examine the dispute of the bank employees. For the last seven years, this thing has been going on and tribunal after tribunal has been appointed. And what is the result of all these tribunals? What is the ultimate result? Compare the Sen Award with the latest Labour Appellate Tribunal Award as modified by the Government of India and you will find that this modification cuts into the pay structure recommended by

the Sen Award. At the initial stage there is a cut from Rs. 5 to Rs. 29! And then again, there is a cut in the pay scales of employees at the 25th year except in area III from Rs. 7 to Rs. 65. The Labour Appellate Tribunal at least compensates to some extent by increasing the dearness allowance. Now the Government comes and cuts the dearness allowance by restoring the Sastry Award dearness allowances. This means that in dearness allowance also there is a cut of Rs. 10 to Rs. 48. Now, what does all this mean? What does this amount to as far as the employees are concerned? After these cuts, what is the wage on which a middle-class employee, a bank employee is expected to live? Sir, in cities like Bombay and Calcutta—mostly costly cities recognised as such by the Government also—he has to live on a pay of Rs. 100. I am taking the case of the employee in a D class bank. But after all, whether he is employed in a D class bank or an A class bank, if he gets only Rs. 100 he has to live on that sum of Rs. 100 in Bombay or Calcutta. The place does not become any the cheaper for him just because he is employed in a D class bank. Similarly, in towns with population of less than 30,000 the bank employee has to live on a minimum of Rs. 76. This is the minimum that the Government is forcing on such employees. Just compare this sum of Rs. 76 or Rs. 100, which Government feel justified in imposing, with the wages of the managers of these banks. The Managing Director of the Imperial Bank has been getting or rather he is being paid Rs. 6,500 to Rs. 7,500 as salary, income-tax free. I do not know what this "income-tax free" means. But my information goes to show that in the two years, from 1947 to 1949, the Imperial Bank has paid a sum of Rs. 24 lakhs as income-tax on behalf of the Managing Director.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What?

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras): Rs. 24 lakhs paid by the Bank on his behalf?