

*Suggestions—*

Statement No. III Fifth Session,  
1953-[See  
Appendix VIII, Annexure No. 79.]

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING NOTIFICATION**

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY  
TO THE MINISTER FOR INFORMATION AND  
BROADCASTING (SHRI G. RAJAGOPALAN) :  
Sir, I lay on the Table under sub-section (3) of  
section 8 of the Cinematograph Act, 1952, a  
copy of the Ministry of Information and  
Broadcasting Notification S.R.O. No. 2424,  
dated the 19th July 1954, making certain  
further amendments to the Cinematograph  
(Censorship) Rules, 1951. [Placed in Library.  
See No. S. 287/54.]

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh):  
Sir, may I ask whether it would not be better  
to circulate copies of these Statements to all  
the Members? If copies of these assurances  
and the action taken thereon are circulated to  
all Members then they will know what action  
has been taken by the Government in those  
matters.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They are  
always placed on the Table of the House and  
anybody who wants to see them can do so.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Besides placing  
a copy on the Table of the House it will be  
better if all hon. Members are supplied a copy  
of the assurances given and the action taken  
thereon by Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If any  
Member takes particular interest he can ask  
for a copy.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Sir, only one  
copy is placed on the Table and one copy in  
the Library. So, when

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several Members come, copies are not  
available to them for making a study of it.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: I would suggest  
that they may be circulated to hon. Members  
so that they may know what action has been  
taken by Government on those "Suggestions

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will be  
considered.

**MOTION RE REPORT OF COM-  
MISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED  
CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES  
FOR 1953—continued.**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Dr.  
Wadia may continue his speech on the motion  
on the Report of the Commissioner for  
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr.  
Deputy Chairman, one very noteworthy  
feature of the Report is the extreme generosity  
with which the Government have placed very  
large funds at the disposal of the  
Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and  
Scheduled Tribes. At the same time, this gene-  
rosity imposed a very heavy responsibility on  
the Government especially to see that the  
grants are well spent. Now, unfortunately, last  
time, even on the floor of the House, it was  
given expression to that the money had not  
been very honestly spent by certain officers  
and I think that requires very close looking  
into. There is also another charge laid that  
suitable people are not appointed by the State  
Governments to look after the interests of  
these people. These people require to be  
handled with a considerable amount of tact  
and sympathy and, therefore, the officers who  
have anything to do with them require peculiar  
qualifications, not merely of the ordi-academic  
type but certain moral qualities and certain  
convictions. In other words, they should be  
people endowed with a certain missionary  
spirit, who are really not merely to earn  
their salaries but to devote their

best energies to the cause of the people I they are expected to serve. I think, Sir, it is the duty of the Central Government to impose very definite conditions on which the State Governments could appoint backward class or scheduled caste officers, conditions which require certain academic qualifications certainly but also a requisite amount of training in dealing with such people. Such training is now forthcoming in several institutions and universities.

Another point that the Government has to note is that they should have a very clear objective as to what exactly they want to achieve in their treatment of the tribal communities, especially in the matter of education. There is, for example, the question of script. We are aware that many of these tribal communities have languages without any script. What is the script that should be encouraged in their education? Should it be the regional script of the people round about or should it be the Devanagari script or the Roman script—the script which has already perhaps been employed by some of the missionaries? It has been said, again and again, that it would be to the distinct advantage of India as a whole if at least one script could be adopted for our purposes but, unfortunately, as in so many other things, our local and provincial patriotisms have stood in the way and the adoption of Devanagari as a script has been thwarted, but, at least in the case of people who have no script, I think it should be the duty of the Government to see that they introduce the Devanagari script so that it would facilitate, at a later stage if necessary, the study of Hindi as well.

Apart from the script, there is a very important question as to the content of tribal education. Should it be a mere copy of the education that is given in our cities or in our rural areas generally or should it be of a special type suited to the particular needs of the different tribal people? Now, here, we have to note that, fortunately or unfortunately, the mis-

sionaries have been first in the field. They have already done a lot of good work in connection with these tribal people. I am conscious that at the present time there is a good deal of feeling against the missionary activities. I am not one of those who can, conscientiously criticise them for the good that they have done. I have no sympathy for the missionaries who make use of their opportunities for political purposes and if there are missionaries who become political officers, by all means it is the duty of the Government to check them and even to ask them to leave the country; but, so far as missionaries confine themselves to genuinely educational activities, I think we should be grateful to them for the good work that they do and even, to a certain extent, accept what they have done, particularly in their methods. These methods particularly refer to their very sympathetic attitude. Many of us have been educated in missionary institutions and although we may not have been influenced by their proselytising tendencies, we do appreciate the gentlemanliness, the courtesy and the sympathetic attitude that have been usually displayed by the missionaries to their students. I think we should appreciate that and one particular reason why the missionaries have succeeded so effectively even with the tribal people is that they have approached them so sympathetically and so understandingly. I know that there are several non-official Indians who have interested themselves in the work of tribal education but I have been very reliably informed by a very high officer connected with the tribal people that the approach of these non-officials is always not in the correct direction. It certainly compares rather unfavourably with the approach of the missionaries. I have been told that the non-official Indians do not quite appreciate the tribal customs, the tribal religion and the general tribal outlook on life. As soon as they come into contact with them, they begin practically—if I may use the expression—to Hinduise them when they are not ready to receive

LProf. A. R. Wadia] the Hinduising tendencies. In one case, I am told that even the names of the tribal children were changed; they are changed to Ram and Sita and such other Hindu names and that naturally creates a certain amount of antipathy among these tribal people. I think this sort of tendency ought to be resisted. After all, the tribal people have got a culture of their own and they have a right to that culture. We must remember that all the tribal people are not all Hindus in the ordinary sense of the term. They belong to different parts; sometimes they are of different racial stocks, speaking different languages, having different cultures and, therefore, whoever deals with them, should deal with them with courtesy and with understanding. If these non-officials do receive any grant from the Government, it becomes all the more necessary for Government to see that they approach these tribal people with the requisite amount of sympathy and understanding.

Well, Sir, I cannot congratulate the Government enough on the interest that they are taking in the education and the upliftment of these unfortunate scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people of India generally, but, sooner or later, the day will come when the tribal people will be absorbed as full-fledged Indian citizens and I am not sure—with any amount of education restricted merely to tribal culture—that, sooner or later, the stage may not come when they will aspire for the same education that the Indians have in other parts of India. In the beginning at least, it is the duty of the Government as well as of all Indians who are interested in their welfare to see that these tribal people are encouraged in their native arts and crafts, in their native sense of joyousness in life and that any amount of attempt at so-called civilising them does not interfere with their native independence and their native spirit of joy which generally prevails among these tribal people.

It is the duty of us all Indians to change our outlook. It will not do to look upon these other peoples as definitely inferior and I say so with a certain amount of conviction so far as these tribal peoples are concerned because they have been very much isolated from the rest of India. They have a certain sense of independence; they have enjoyed freedom for centuries and yet there are certain problems, specially relating to health and the normal conditions of living which require a certain process of civilization, and it is the duty of the Government as well as of the non-official agencies to do what they can, to give all their help to their uplift and to better the economic conditions of these people.

Well, Sir, once again I congratulate the Commissioner for the backward classes on the excellent work that he has been doing and the sympathetic outlook that he has been bringing to bear on the problems of the peoples that he has to handle. I only hope that he will be able to keep a very watchful eye on the subordinates that work under him. He is to see that they take up these jobs not merely to earn their living but that they take up these jobs and perform their jobs with a certain amount of zeal.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): Sir, I have read this report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes this year as well as last year fairly closely. It makes interesting reading. But I must confess it is also rather disappointing and depressing reading. There are a few bright spots in the report, but on the whole it is dull and a little dark, if I may say so. I don't believe and I think you also don't believe that the work of the Commissioner will help us to abolish untouchability; it can only alleviate social disabilities arising out of untouchability, but I do not think any Commissioner, Government of India Commissioner or any other Commissioner can abolish untouchability with all his staff and expenditure, j He can just mitigate the difficulties

arising out of the observance of untouchability. He himself states that there are a number of these disabilities yet prevailing. Four are very important and these are as follows: (1) Entry into shops, restaurants and hostels; (2) Use of wells, tanks and *ghats*; (3) Entry in temples, and besides these are miscellaneous disabilities. I have gone through the report and I hardly And anything reassuring telling me that on the whole there has been progress in any one of these items. There is not even the mention of any figures telling me, for instance, how many restaurants and hostels were opened during the period to untouchables, how many wells were opened and how many tanks and *ghats* were opened for the use of untouchables. It is not even mentioned how many temples were opened to the untouchables, and these are the three most important religio-social disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes are suffering. I am speaking more or less on Scheduled Castes because I am interested in them and I had close connection with the A.I. Harijan Sevak Sangh till some time back. Even now I am a member of the central board. I am not going to say anything about Scheduled Tribes. Nothing is mentioned in the report to tell me that there has been any considerable progress, with regard to these disabilities, nor do I find any mention in any statement, though the book is full of statements, of the money spent upon, say, for instance, sinking new tubewells or repairing old tubewells and the number thrown open to the public as well as to the untouchables. At least I have not been able to find that out here. On the other hand I find, Sir, that though this work will be directed from here and done by the States, the States on the whole are not as careful, are not as active, much less enthusiastic as they should be, about this work.

Sir, though the Report looks plum, though you find pictures of tribals on the outer cover in beautiful colours and all that, if you read the last 40 or 50 pages of the report and open any

*j or Scheduled Castes* 1440 and Tribes for 1953 page you will find things of this kind "The proposal is under consideration of the State Government." "The proposal is under examination by the State Government." Then again at another place it says: "The question of achieving uniformity of standard amongst the three types of hostels functioning in the scheduled areas is being considered by the State Government." Turning over to another page you will find: "The reply of the State-Government who were addressed in the matter is still awaited" and so on and so forth, Sir. Quite a number, almost half of the number of things suggested by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and addressed to the States have a reply of this kind, which is no reply at all. This is what we might call 'evasive replies'. It makes very sad reading. It is the States that have got to implement these things, but they are taking it very easy and I am not happy about it.

Sir, it is mentioned again on some other pages and the Commissioner says so—I am very grateful to the Commissioner for being frank and outspoken in many places as rarely the Commissioners are, and I congratulate him for his candidness—and what does he say? He says that the State Governments do not mention lists of villages where disabilities prevail in spite of reminders. Non-official agencies have not taken up the drive against untouchability, as they should. This is really too true and shameful. Officials do not educate the public—I think they themselves are not educated enough in this to be able to educate the public—in the matter of abolishing untouchability. To expect this from the officials is expecting a little too much. Free legal aid where necessary is not being given by anybody, non-official or official, much less by a State department. The Commissioner himself says all this and he himself confessed that there has been no appreciable improvement in the practices followed at present.

We then advance to the next section, which is also important, the

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.] 'Legislative and Executive Measures adopted by the State Governments' with regard to these disabilities, for the mitigation of these disabilities. They are numerous and classified under five categories. One is that housing sites should be given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to build their huts. In innumerable cases no sites have been given. They are there at the mercy of anybody to be thrown out at any time, and nothing has been done. Nothing has been done to give them any land to enable them to build up a cottage or any building material to set up a cottage of their own. Well, I do know that if they are given materials or a hundred rupees only, they could put up a decent nice little cottage. Nothing has been done in this direction at all. No sites have been given. They are at the mercy of anybody and everybody in the village in which they are. They are under duress and if they do anything not to the liking of the village they are thrown out of the sites they are occupying at present mercilessly.

Another thing I want to say is this. We are all interested in their welfare and for their progress the promotion of village industries and cottage in- dustries is necessary. Two of them which are very important, in which hundreds of thousands of people are employed are the leather industry and the weaving industry. There is also the Khadi and Village Industries Board to assist these industries, which is also the policy of the Government. But even the President was kind enough to mention in his Address that we have not made much progress with regard to these village industries. I am of opinion that at least with regard to the industries of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes there should have been something done and it should be done. It is a long way off to giving them agricultural land. I did a great deal in this direction in Rajasthan, when I was there as Director and I gave them a lot of land at Ganganagar and Alwar. That was because there was a deal of evacuee

property available. They had not a patch of land before and now they could improve their economic condition by the grant of lands. They yet remain untouchables but their social disabilities there are negligible. But land cannot be had everywhere. You can say, "Waste land can be had" and it is very easy to say that, but where are they getting them? Of course I wish waste land could be given to the untouchables. The Commissioner says the very same thing but he knows that hardly any land will be actually given. Now about these cottage industries I am perfectly clear that these two industries, the leather industry and the weaving industry, are the most important. And today there is the Handloom Board also with a Commissioner. But I am told that these industries being in the rural areas nothing or hardly anything had been done to revive them.

Now let us take money-lending and high interest charged. I do think that much can't be done here. Money-lending is there all over the country— more so in rural areas. It applies to everybody—scheduled or non-scheduled. Nothing much can be done. So also, representation on the local bodies—something can be done but not much. But on these two things—giving of sites to them with small grants or loans of Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 in kind, as building material or something of that sort, you can do much. So also about the promotion of cottage industries, more especially this weaving and leather industries. I would like to hear from the hon. Minister whether he proposes to do anything in these matters this year. Past is past: let the past be forgotten, but do you propose to concentrate upon this work at least where there can be measure-able progress? There is, however, a bright spot in the Report and that is about education. We have a budget here, a luxurious budget—a luxuriant budget as far as I can see. The budget goes up to Rs. 46 crores—I may be wrong about the figures—but taking what has been contributed by the States as well as the Centre for the

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND STATES (DR. K. N. KATJU): On a point of order, Sir, if I am not impertinent, may I ask my friend to speak a little slowly so that it may be understood here?

As I said, the Commissioner mentions three important non-official organisations. One of them is the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh and as far as I know, only Rs. 1 lakh out of Rs. 46 crores has been given to the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh to be spent through its own agencies. The other two bodies have been given next to nothing perhaps. I do believe that every effort should be made to spend this money or the major portion of it through non-official bodies. Where they do not exist, they should be created and they should be supported. Sir, I happen to be also a member of what is known as the All-India Bharat Sevak Samaj and its Central Board. The Samaj is trying to spend money through non-official agencies and I know what it means and what difficulties have to be faced. I know what kind of China Wall we have to break to be able to get money from Government for spending through non-official agencies. Sir, I am just back from Jaipur and some places in Rajasthan and I am sitting this time with about 20 workers or so from Rajasthan. They have all been shouting that the Government will never give them any money. The Collector wants to spend the money himself. The Commissioner wants to spend the money himself. The development committees are merely bogus committees and they give them no money at all. They want to show that they alone can do welfare work and they alone can spend money. The workers are saying that the Government is mis-spending. They say, 'do not go by the figures'. I am not prepared to say the same thing about this Report. I do believe that the money is being well-spent. But yesterday I had to face a volley of invectives. They assert that for the money that is being spent in Rajasthan I should not go by the figures. The money is being wasted by the officials. They may be wrong. But I say, 'do not mis-

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.] spend the money'. The workers from Rajasthan might have exaggerated but they are the best men from Jaipur and other places. So this is the feeling in the country that the money is being mis-spent. And if you will permit me this is my feeling that your department is not exempt from this weakness. I have a little connection with the Tribal welfare work and as far as I know you are not at all keen to spend any money through non-official agencies which already exist. So I do plead that this is the special field for non-official agencies and you must make the best use of them. You may say, it is likely, to be mis-spent. Supposing it is mis-spent, where is the guarantee that you won't mis-spend, that you won't misappropriate, that you won't take much time to spend? As a matter of fact the general experience has been that the Government agencies take enormous time to key up their own machinery and when it does get keyed up it spends right and left. It wants to spend on one item and ends by spending on quite a different item. I believe you too can make mistakes and are not infallible. Non-official agencies can also make mistakes and may make a few mistakes but they can be corrected by the public. They can be pulled up by the ear now and then. But here we go on shouting and nobody seems to hear. Not so with the public worker. Wherever we mis-spend, somebody comes thundering upon us. We cannot misappropriate like that. My plea is that this Report is very sad and the tragedy about it is that there is no mention of any non-official body worth while which has been spending money out of these Rs. 46 crores. Besides this amount, there is another Rs. 50 lakhs as special grant for wells and that kind of thing. Details are not given. So there are tons of money all round. When you read this Report and close it you feel that it is very sad that this thing is not going out; even the social disabilities are not vanishing.

Lastly I want to say that even supposing that this Report makes very good reading, and that the money is well spent, still all this cannot abolish untouchability. We are not going to solve that problem, because there is a kind of belief, a meta-physical belief in the *karma* theory or whatever you may call it, that some are born low and some are born high; some have a high professional occupation and others have a low professional occupation by birth. It is a belief based on the thought that God is just God but man will enforce his justice against man. Unless this meta-physical, pseudo-religious belief is uprooted, unless we realise that the problem is not merely economic, much less political, but it is mainly metaphysical, mainly religious-social and only partially economic and political, the problem cannot be solved. Sir, I had the privilege and the pleasure of being with Gandhiji for a long time. I was helpful in the drafting of the constitution of the A.I. Harijan Sevak Sangh, the corrected copies of which are in my possession. It is now photostated and kept with the Harijan Sevak Sangh. When I was with him very often these words were constantly drilled into my ears: "The real disease behind untouchability is the belief in high and low". In concrete terms it is the belief in high occupation and low occupation by birth. Unless this belief is uprooted, untouchability cannot be uprooted. All other measures are merely means for alleviating, mitigating disability arising out of untouchability. Unless this belief that some are born high and others low is uprooted and unless we engender the feeling amongst the people that we are all equal, no progress can be made.

Fortunately, Sir, times are moving and in towns, at least, we no longer believe that we are born high or we are born low. Even in the villages, somehow there is a feeling of equality gaining ground, that nobody is a high or low born person. This China Wall of a wrong belief is crumbling. Its foundations have been loosened!

very much. It has only got to be shaken up. Then the belief will go and, perhaps, untouchability will disappear. As things are proceeding now, I do not think that within a measurable distance of time untouchability will go. We are shaking this China Wall, but far too slowly and far too hesitatingly.

SHRI T. D. PUSTAKE (Mar'hya Bharat): How did those cracks *O^cur* in the China Wall?

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: The cracks are due to the working *\*f* the time spirit—the Yuga Dharm. But there was Gandhiji and the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh and other Sanghs with a number of good workers all *•over* the country. These workers have got to be mobilised. But we must know what the disease is and aim at treating the disease. The disease is the belief tha\* 'I am high born', 'I am low born'

M DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you' have dwelt too long on this. We are concerned with the factual report. Please wind up your speech.

PROF. N. R. MALKANI: But unless this belief is undermined—unless we concentrate upon that aspect, untouchability cannot be uprooted.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR (Bombay). Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is the third Report which the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes has submitted to the President. At the outset, going through the Report, one notices that the Commissioner makes a complaint against the Members of Parliament blaming him for not taking action on the various matters discussed by him in his Report. He says that the Members of Parliament have forgotten that he is not an executive authority, that his duty is merely to report. The executive departments are supposed to

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give effect to whatever recommendations or suggestions that he makes. I think his observations are very sound. He is not an executive authority and for the purpose of criticising what action has been taken, the criticism must be levelled either against the Home Minister or against the other departments of the Government of India<sup>1</sup>. But, Sir, while one must admit the legitimacy of the criticism made by the Commissioner, I think there is one criticism that one can legitimately make against the Commissioner himself in the matter of drafting and presenting his Report. I was referring to his chapter dealing with complaints, because I thought that would be one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in that book. We are all aware of the fact that the scheduled castes in particular, are subjected to all sorts of tyrannies, oppressions and maltreatment at the hands of the villagers in the midst of whom they live. And it would undoubtedly be a matter of great interest to know what are the tyrannies, maltreatments and oppressions to which they are being subjected almost every day. I have no doubt that the Commissioner's Report would be the proper place where such complaints would be recorded, but I find the Commissioner absolutely silent over this matter of the gravest importance for the scheduled castes. I find, for instance, that from the complaints which have come to me—and I am sure that many more complaints must have gone to the Commissioner; they could not be less than a thousand, or certainly five hundred, but I mention one or two which have come to my notice and are of very recent occurrence—I am told on very reliable authority that in Rajasthan thirty scheduled caste people have been shot down by the so-called dacoits. The real fact is that the Rajputs and the high caste Hindus do not like the scheduled castes in Rajasthan to enjoy what are called the fundamental rights which give them equality of status with the other Hindus. In order to terrorise them and to make them nervous, in the mat-



LJJR- a. ti. Ambedkar.j ter of exercising these fundamental rights, the high caste Hindus have organised themselves into a band of dacoits and they go on shooting the Chamars, who are trying to exercise and derive the benefit of the fundamental rights. Police parties have been sent there in order to give protection to them, but my information is that the police are in league with the dacoits. Half a number of guns possessed by the police were handed over to the dacoits and the report is made that the guns have been snatched away from them by the dacoits. Half the number of bullets are again handed over to these dacoits by the police. Only half are fired, probably in the air without causing any effect. The result is that the dacoits are getting on merrily. The dacoits are really nothing else but what existed in the southern States of America known as the Ku-Klux Klan, a band of Whites who were bent upon shooting down the negroes if they tried to exercise the right of equality which was given to them after the Civil War. I do not find any mention of this incident in the Report of the Commissioner.

I mention another incident, and that has occurred in Bombay. One Bhangi who was living in a village was supposed by the Hindus to have brought about a certain disease in the village. They thought the malignant influence which he possessed was the cause of a certain disease which was prevalent in the village. They caught hold of him and asked him to take a burning fire on his head and walk round the village, so that the evil forces which brought about the disease may pass away. Fortunately, they forgot that he had a turban on the head, and he too forgot to remove the turban. And the burning fire and the pot in which the fire was placed were so hot that practically half his cranium was burnt. I find no mention of this in the Report of the Commissioner. I know of a

case in the Hyderabad State, in the Aurangabad district, where a certain Scheduled Caste woman was declared by the villagers as a witch who was responsible for some kind of an epidemic that was prevalent in that village. The\* questioned her. She could hardly prove her innocence; there was no method of proving. The result was that not only she was belaboured, but her house was burnt, and the members of her family were subjected to ignominies of the worst sort. I do not find any mention of that in the Report of the Commissioner.

10 A.M.

My hon. friend, the Home Minister, I think, will admit that the scheduled caste people, for good reason or for bad reason, are in the habit of sending their complaints to me as well as to the Government officers, and I too possess a long list of these tyrannies and oppressions. I thought that it would be right to expect some reference to these complaints in this public document. But there is none whatever. And I have been wondering whether this Report of the Commissioner, so far as the record of complaints is concerned, is a doctored and tutored document. The Commissioner seems to have complete-I ly forgotten one of the most important objectives that underlie the creation of his office. The object was that public conscience should be energised by the presentation of the ugly treatment which the caste Hindus meted out to the Scheduled Castes, so that those who are enlightened enough may go among the public and tell them whether this is a behaviour worthy of a civilised people. But when you do not present these facts, when you suppress them, for one reason or another, this important motive and object in the creation of this office, I think, is completely nullified. I do hope that in the next report which the Commissioner will prepare, he will bear this thing in mind, and not be ashamed to present facts as they are presented to him by the

suffering masses, the untouchables. That is the first comment that I have to make over the nature of the Report submitted to us by the Commissioner.

It is quite clear that in such cases as have been referred to by the Commissioner there have been many violations of the law, and there have been an endless series of tyrannies and oppressions practised upon the Scheduled Castes. This is a matter which, I suppose, is a matter which is within the portfolio of the Home Minister. To what extent are the laws made especially for the Scheduled Castes or the general laws made for all people respected, and to what extent are the breaches committed punished? Sir, on the first day, when the hon. Home Minister presented the Report to the House, I happened unfortunately to come a little late. But I did catch him towards the end of his speech. And the impression that was left upon me, of the speech that he had made, was that what he had said was said in a spirit not merely of light-heartedness, but—he will forgive me if I say this—with a certain amount of levity. He asked: What is the use of prosecuting people? People will begin to do *Satyagrah*, people will begin to do all sorts of things. Therefore, let us not rely upon what might be called the vindication of the law. Well, if that is the attitude of the Home Ministry, then of course nothing can be expected. The lawlessness, which is being practised continuously for thousands of years against the Scheduled Castes, has been lawful, and will continue to be lawful, because it is impossible for the Scheduled Caste people themselves to come forward to prosecute the breaker of the law. As the Commissioner has said, the Scheduled Caste people are economically so subservient to, so dominated by, the caste Hindus, that it is quite impossible for them to come forward to challenge the very people on whom they depend for their economic livelihood.

That is an admission which the Commissioner has been making from the very beginning. It occurs in his first report, it occurs in his second report and he repeats it in his third report that it is useless to depend upon the scheduled castes themselves to vindicate their rights. They have ; neither the economic independence against their oppressors nor have they I got the means to prosecute their oppressors.

The second thing which the Commissioner does not seem to emphasise very much and which I know very well myself from my experience of twenty years is that in a large number of cases the police force is in league with the caste Hindus. Ninety per cent, of the police force is drawn ' from the caste Hindus. Only a few per cent, and a very small one is now being recruited from the scheduled castes but this only to the posts of J police sepoys. There are no officers amongst them. The result is that the upper grade policemen are in league with the caste Hindus. More often they refuse to record the complaints of the scheduled castes, when they go to j the Thana, in their station diary even j though the offence may be cognisa-i ble. They throw them out, turn them j out and tell them to go away. They do not record the complaint and secondly if they do, they probably would conduct the investigation in such a slipshod manner that ultimately the case fails. In this situation I ask the hon. the Home Minister whether he thinks that there is any duty upon him or not. I ask him whether the breaches of the law which ! are being reported and witnessed by j scheduled castes or other people are not breaches of the fundamental law and the fundamental rights? Are not fundamental rights part of the Constitution? If you are allowing a large mass of bullies and hooligans to trample upon the fundamental rights, are you not bringing the Constitution to contempt? Is it not your duty to create a special Department either

I. Dr. B. K. Ambedkar within the Home Ministry itself or separately for this purpose? The United States has got a Judicial Department, the duty and the function of which is to see that the Constitution and the Federal laws are respected. I think it is high time that the Home Minister realises that if the Constitution is to function, if it is to be the law of the land, if all people are to recognise it, his duty is to see that it is enforced, and the only way in which he can enforce it is to take upon himself the duty of enforcing it and not leave it even to the State Governments who can never do it, not even to the Police who has no desire to do it, and not even to the scheduled castes who have no means to do it. Therefore I hope that he will take the matter more seriously and attend to it in the manner in which a statesman ought to.

Now, I come to the subject matter of education. It is quite satisfactory I must admit, that the Government has been spending annually more and more on the education of the scheduled castes. If my hon. friend will forgive my mentioning myself, he will realise that it was for the first time in the year 1942 that the Government of India, at my instance when I was a Member of the Executive Council, accepted that they too had the responsibility for the education of the scheduled castes. Theretofore, education was purely a provincial subject. It was only so far as the Muslims and Hindus were concerned, that the Government of India had taken upon themselves the responsibility of supporting the Aligarh University and the Benares Hindu University by an annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs. I raised the question whether the Government which had recognised its duty for the Muslims and the Hindus, had not also a duty for the scheduled castes, and the Government of India agreed that it was a legitimate question and that the answer to that question could not be ex-

cept in the affirmative. They granted Rs. 3 lakhs as a grant for the education of the scheduled castes from the Central funds. While I am satisfied with the progress that is being made year by year by the enlargement of the educational grants for the scheduled castes, there are two points with which I am greatly dis-satisfied. One is this: At the time in 1942 when this question was raised by me for the first time in the Government of India, it was agreed that the responsibility for the education of the scheduled castes up to the university standard in India was to be borne by the Provincial Governments and that whatever contributions the Government of India made towards the education of scheduled castes would be devoted for their education in foreign countries. According to that understanding, the first batch of scheduled caste students was sent to England, although there was great difficulty in the matter of getting admission to English and American universities, because they were overflooded. Yet we here in the Government of India pressed upon the foreign universities that as it was for the first time that the lowest of the low people were being sent for higher education, the foreign universities should show them some consideration. The result was that we were able to get admission for about 30 scheduled caste students. Thereafter, in 1945 the old regime ended, and the Congress regime came in 1946. I had hoped that a system which had been inaugurated in 1943 or so and which had been given effect to and in which the Government's responsibility for the education of the scheduled castes in India and their education outside was accepted, would be continued, but to my great surprise, great chagrin almost I must say, I found that Mr. Rajagopala-chari who became the Education Minister in the Congress regime and who has a great knack for giving a pious look to an impious act abolished the system of sending scheduled caste students to

foreign countries, and since that time there has hardly been any student belonging to the scheduled castes who has gone abroad for further studies. I think that this is—what shall I say?—a most dangerous thing from one point of view. No doubt the Hindus do not like my criticism, but I am firmly convinced that my criticism is right, and I must repeat it notwithstanding the opposition with which it may be met.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): But the scheduled castes are also Hindus.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: Yes, if you call them so. I am statutorily a Hindu.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Factually also.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: Sir, the point is this. In this country, for reasons into which I need not go now, the fact is quite clear that the higher classes receive the highest education. Their children go to Cambridge, their children go to Oxford, their children go to the Columbia University and to all the other foreign universities.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Perhaps my hon. friend is probably not aware that Harijans or members of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are being sent to the foreign countries.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR:  
 repenting, I see.

DR. K. N. KATJU: They are benefited by it.

You are

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: I hear.

DR. K. N. KATJU: May I just say a few words? I heard him complain just now that the system of awarding foreign cannot scholarships to the members of the scheduled castes has been

given up and was being given up in 1946 by Rajaji. I was only just saying that foreign scholarships are being given today and that scheme was tried last year for one year and that scheme has now been made permanent for five years.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: You are reviving it because you have seen the folly of it.

DR. K. N. KATJU: It has been renewed. The scholarships are now being given.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: After an abeyance of several years.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I am not concerned with that point.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: You should look into the history of your Department. You cannot simply say, 'I don't know'. What I was saying was this. Notwithstanding what my hon. friend said, I think the criticism that I am making is very valid and very fundamental. Here in this country you find really two nations—a ruling nation and a nation which is a subject nation.

AN HON MEMBER: Question.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: The backward classes are all subject peopls. They have no authority in anj' ^>lance. None whatever. They have *r.a* place in Administration—they have no place in the Executive and the Executive and the Administration is entirely monopolised by the higher classes. They are monopolising it by reason of the fact that they have been able to get the highest education. Why not examine all the Secretaries of your Departments in the Government of India? The son and daughter of every Secretary in the Government is to be found in Cambridge or Oxford.

[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.] Twice and thrice they have made journeys in order to lodge their children there because they have the amplest means. The backward class man's son cannot get even primary education. This sort of revolution in the two different classes is going on for centuries—it is an intolerable business because we cannot allow one class to rule for ever. For some time they may but they must see that the other classes also become educationally qualified in order that they too may hold the reins of government. We are not going to be subject people all the time.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : There are no classes in India. This is a classless country.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: Therefore what I am saying is this, that if you really want to unify the people, to bring all the people on level, then it is not enough that you should get the highest education and others should get the lowest and not even the lowest. It is from that point of view that you must introduce the system of foreign education. It was with that aim that I struggled to get some quota from the Government of India and asked them to put the responsibility for university education upon the provinces. The States have been jolly glad to throw the responsibility upon you. What do they do? They are having prohibition, making people sober. Personally for myself I think a sober man who is an ignoramus is not to be preferred to a man who is educated and who drinks a bit. I prefer the latter. I am glad to hear that my hon. friend is now reviving the system of sending scheduled caste boys to foreign countries. I congratulate him.

Now, Sir, the other thing which has recently come to my notice is this, that the Education Department has issued a circular—I think a month or

two ago—to the effect that those scheduled caste boys only who have secured 50 per cent, marks in the examination shall get scholarships. Others will not get. I am wondering whether a generous Government with a sympathetic heart desiring to elevate the scheduled castes would ever think of prescribing so hard a test as securing 50 per cent. You must consider the condition in which the scheduled caste boy lives. Probably his father or mother has not got even a room set apart for his study. He probably has not got a lamp to sit by at night and study. He is living in the midst of a crowd. How do you expect him to secure 50 per cent, marks in the examination? It is an absurdity—utter absurdity. You must, for some time, allow the ordinary standard *viz.*, of 33 per cent, which has been recognized by all the universities and which is being recognised by you also for the purposes of employment in the Government of India. If a boy who merely passes is fit to be employed by the Government of India, why is he not fit for the grant of scholarship for further education unless you want deliberately to put some kind of an impediment in the growth of their education? The difficulty is this. The admissions take place some time in the last week of June. Various colleges admitted scheduled caste students without asking for fees because they knew that the Government of India would give them the scholarship. After three months of the joining of the College, the Ministry comes out with a circular saying that only those who have secured 50 per cent, will get scholarships. What are the colleges to do, with the boys whom they have admitted on the assurance that the previous system will continue in operation? What are the boys going to do who have got themselves admitted into the college? I hope my hon. friend the Home Minister will look into this matter and take it up with the Education Minister and ask them to square up this difficulty, at any rate so far as this year is concerned. You may do

what you like next year provided you give enough notice both to the students and to the colleges as to what you propose to do.

Then I come to the question of services. The Commissioner has divided his figures with regard to the services under three groups—the Army, the All India Services and the Central Services of the Government of India. With regard to Army, I find that in certain categories the position has deteriorated. In 1952 there were two Second Lieutenants belonging to the scheduled castes. In 1953, the position is "nil". Of Junior Commissioned Officers, in 1952 there were 801. In 1953 the number is 435. Noncommissioned Officers, in 1952 there were 3,273. In 1953, the figure has gone down to 2,533. Other ranks, in 1952, the number was 22,288. In 1953 it has gone down to 18,666. I am quite unable to understand this deterioration in the position of the scheduled castes in the Army. The Army, I thought, is the one place where not much intellectual calibre is necessary, I mean in the other ranks. May be that in the higher staff it is required—much intellectual eminence. But we are not talking about them. But taking the other ranks, we find that the figure has gone down from 22,000 to some 18,000. Why? The Army, I understand, has been expanding, and with the expansion of the Army one would naturally expect an increase in the number of scheduled caste men in the Army. In all other places, you say they are unsuitable. And that is a very ambiguous phrase. All public service commissions and appointing authorities have learnt that phrase by heart. You simply say the man is unsuitable, and there is an end of the matter. But in the Army what is there to be unsuitable? What is the unsuitability about? There you have certain measurement of the chest. There are very few people among the scheduled castes who would not fulfil that test. Then you have certain tests of height—some 5 ft. 4 inch-

es or so. Well, I think an sneauiea caste candidates would all up that height. *(Interruption)*. Very few, there may be, I admit, who may fail. But given these physical standards of health, chest measurements and height, I should have thought that almost every scheduled caste man was fit to be in the military service. And when you are denying them service in other departments of the Government of India, surely you ought to make some concession to them in departments like the Army and the Police where education is not a matter of any considerable moment. But there again you have been behaving in a stepmotherly fashion. I do not know whether the Home Department overtakes interest in these figures, or knows them and pursues the matter. Surely, the Commander-in-Chief ought to be asked by them as to why this deterioration has taken place.

Then, Sir I come to the All-India Services. These are what they call the Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. Recruitment to these, I think, started through the Public Services Commission, in the year 1952. My hon. friend Shri Datar will correct me, if I am wrong. But I think that is the year.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR): About 1946.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: No, I am not counting those whom they recruited from the Provinces. No scheduled caste man was recruited except one or two; the rest they found to be utterly unfit, although the Provincial Governments thought them quite fit. The Central Public Service Commission found them utterly unfit. That is all past history and I am dealing with the present. Has there been any recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service since 1952—when

[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.] the new Constitution came into force? I have not seen a single scheduled caste candidate being chosen by the Public Service Commission for the Indian Administrative Service—not one. I have not seen a single candidate being chosen by the Public Service Commission for the Indian Police Service either. It is only last year that I struggled with the Public Service Commission and induced them to accept one for the Indian Police Service. I wonder whether the Home Department which is in charge of services looks upon this matter as of no moment or looks upon this matter as a matter of high moment. These are executive services. My hon. friend knows very well the difference between an executive service and an administrative service. An administrative service is more or less a clerical thing. The executive service possesses the power of direction. It has directive authority. Now, I want to say and I want to say it quite fearlessly that 2,000 clerks are of no value as compared to one officer holding an executive post. In Hindi we call it "Mameki Jagah". What are these poor clerks? You will see in fortresses—but you have none in U.P.—in my part of the country the place is full of Maratha fortresses.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: 'Mar Quilla' we call it.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: BTT^FT ^ff

Now, these executive posts are posts from where direction can be given. The clerks need all kinds of protection. Any officer may spoil their character-roll by writing a bad remark or saying that the man is no good. The only way he can be protected is by having somebody in the executive service who might look into this matter and see no injustice is be-

ing done. Similarly with regard to the policy laid down by the Government. Whether that policy will fructify and yield results depends upon who are the people who are charged with the duties of executing that policy. If the executive authority is unsympathetic, is antagonistic, that policy, however good it may be, can never fructify. And let me add, that so far as my experience goes, the whole of the administration which is now composed of caste Hindus, is the most unsympathetic administration that the scheduled castes have to suffer under. This is because of the unsympathetic character of the administration. And when we have been shouting for representation in services, that claim is being maligned by calling it communalism. What we are trying to do is to reduce the communalism of the other people. We are not asking for communalism. I hope my hon. friend will remember this. Until and unless your administration and your executive becomes more sympathetic to the scheduled castes, none of your laws and none of your administrative-policies will bear any fruit.

Then let us come to, what are called, the Central Services. Here I am taking only the figures of permanent posts, not the temporary ones, as they stood on 1st December, 1952. The Commissioner says that the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Information and other organisations under its control have not supplied information on this point. Therefore, these figures relate to those departments which have supplied the information.

The figures are very telling. In class I the actual strength is 752 and the scheduled castes number 10; according to the proportion fixed by the Home Ministry that ought to have been 175. Class II (gazetted posts) total number is 642 while the scheduled castes number only seven; that

ought to have been 107 according to the proportion; class II (non-gazetted) total number is 1123 and the scheduled castes number 44; that ought to have been 185. Class III total number is 10,372 and the scheduled castes number 536 and this ought to have been 728. In class IV, the total number is 8807.

DR. P. C. MITRA (Bihar): How many of them applied?

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: The scheduled castes number 1251 but ought to have been 1478. Class IV servants, I think, are chaprasis and there you find the number of scheduled castes people fairly large. These are the figures which must be within the ken of the Home Ministry. They have laid down a proportion and surely, it is their duty to see that that proportion is carried out by the different Ministries. Why has there been this defalcation on the part of the various Ministries and why has the Home Minister not taken any action? If he had taken any action, what is the action that he took in order that the scheduled castes receive their quota which is fixed by him? Sir, it is a very black picture. If I may say so, very black. It reminds me of a cartoon which was drawn by the Germans during the last War. The cartoon depicted an old negro gentleman in Washington. When war was declared, the negro—as everybody knows, negroes are not well disposed towards the whites in America; they are always very angry, quarrelling with them for not giving them equality of opportunity—suddenly felt very patriotic and he said that he must transfer some of his patriotism to the young boy who was his son. He went to the market and purchased an American National Flag—small one which the boy could hold—and gave it to the boy. He said, "My son, I want to show you today our capital, our capital". The boy did not realise what it meant. Holding the boy by the right hand—and the boy holding the flag in his left hand—the old man took him round

and round in Washington City, showed him the Supreme Court, the Congress House, the Senate and so on and so on and ultimately, after lunch, came down to the White House, stood there for a minute or two, and said to the young boy, "My dear boy, this is the House of our President". But the boy said, "Father, what are you talking? He is a white man and how do you praise him?" The old man said, "Oh, shut up, that is only outward". That is to say, inside he is quite black. I think that might well be applied to the Home Minister; notwithstanding the white dress, he is very black inside and the evidence is the neglect which has been shown in the matter of seeing that the Home Ministry's own orders are carried out. Nothing has been done.

I have dealt with services and I will deal now with the question of propaganda. I see that the Government of India has sanctioned about Rs. 50 lakhs for the year 1953-54 for the purposes of carrying on propaganda against untouchability. The scheme, I understand, is that a part of the money is given to private agencies chosen by the State Governments and part of the money is given to all-India organisations directly by the Government of India. That is the scheme. I have no idea what my hon. friend means by the abolition of untouchability. What is untouchability? Let us understand it very carefully. Untouchability, so far as I understand it, is a kind of a mental disease of the Hindus. It is not a disease from which I am suffering, not any tumour which I have got, not a rheumatic pain or any of the physical disabilities which can be removed but it is a mental twist; every Hindu believes that to observe untouchability is the right thing. I do not understand how my friend is going to untwist the twist which the Hindus have got for thousands of years; unless they are all sent to some kind of a mental hospital, it is very difficult to cure them and I do not want them to be sent there. Therefore, I let us underhand what we talk and



[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.]

what we are doing. Besides, all must realise that untouchability is founded -on religion. There is no doubt about it and let us not be ashamed of realising it. Manu. in his law book, very definitely prescribes untouchability. He said that the untouchables shall live outside the village, that they shall have only earthen pots, that they shall not have clean clothes, that they shall beg for their food and so on and I cannot see how you blame the Hindus. For thousands of years, by the teaching of this dirty law they have got inculcated in their mind the doctrine that untouchability is a most sacred thing. The Hindu has been taught that the most pious and best of life is that of a rat who lives in a hole, unconnected with anyone. He must not touch this, he must not touch that, he must not eat this, he must not eat that, etc. and this is a kind of life which a rat observes by living in a hole. A rat would not allow another rat to come into its own house. That is the position and all that we can do is to see that untouchability which, as I said, is a mental twist of the Hindus does not protrude so much into public life as to involve the civil liberties of the people.

DR. P. C. MITRA: Untouchability is only a custom and usage.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: If you want to study that subject with me, I can spend a few hours with you.

Therefore, Sir, this propaganda business is quite impossible for me to understand. I agree with my hon. friend Mr. Kunzru that it may result in nothing else but a waste of public money.

^condly, I do not understand why this matter should be left to these what are called organisations of social workers. A social worker in this country is a professional; he has no such

thing as inner sympathy. He is a professional. If the Muslim League wants him, he will probably serve the Muslim League; if the Hindu Maha-sabha wants him, he will serve the Hindu Mahasabha; if the Congress wants him, he will serve the Congress. He is a professional and there is no such thing as, for instance, an inner love. As Tolstoy has said—rightly said—before you serve, you must learn to love. No man can serve anybody unless he loves him. These professionals have no love; they are simply trying to make their livelihood and therefore, perhaps, I would not be surprised if they are getting remuneration from all the three. I do not wish to comment on it. The proper thing, if my hon. friend wants to do, seems to me to be to take hold of these unemployed graduates. There are plenty of them, intelligent educated boys, who can be said to have some kind of a modern outlook in life or who might be said to have developed some public conscience in the matter. You employ them on some reasonable salary, give them a motor-bike or a cycle and give each man seven, ten or fifteen villages, and ask him to go round village by village, hold public meetings, address the people on the question of untouchability and tell them that this is something which is going to bring disgrace upon this country in the modern world. That way it would be far more fruitful and far more effective than the kind of thing that my hon. friend is doing. Why these social organisations have a fascination for the Congress Government, I do not know. In olden times, during the British regime, the Centre acted administratively through the Collector. Money was given to him and he was asked to discharge certain functions in certain fields. He could be held accountable to the Government. Money was safe in his hands. If you do not like the Collector then employ the kind of agency that I have submitted, namely, a group of intelligent boys who would be longing to do this service. This kind of a thing, a motley crowd, calling itself by some

kind of a name to attract people is of no consequence at all.

Then, Sir, .....

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): not Will they be 'professional'?

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: The Government servant is not a professional. Why? You want to use them later for canvassing votes for you in the elections. That is the whole trouble about it.

Now, Sir, regarding the other point, namely, selection of certain agencies by the Government of India and giving them funds to do this propaganda work, the Commissioner has made some observations on some communication that passed between me and the Home Department. He has said that other agencies have accepted the offer of the Government to receive money and to do propaganda. I was one naughty boy who refused and he thought that it might be v\$tl in bringing this default on my part to public-notice. I wish he had given him the full letter which I had written to the Home Department. I think Mr. Datar dealt with the matter if I mistake not, and he will recall that what I said was this that the bodies that were chosen by the Government of India, were political parties like the Harijan League and some other League, something like that, were all political bodies. The Federation was also a political body. So I think it was wrong for Government to hand over public funds to political bodies who may use the funds for political propaganda and not for the elevation of the Scheduled Castes, and I told him that there was the Chairman of another body which was being built up in Bombay, which was a purely social welfare body. It had large funds, somewhere between two and three lakhs of rupees. They were going to build a hall and carry on activity. Of course I forgot to mention therein that that body, although it was formed in Bombav, was not confined in the mat-

ter of its social work either to the Bombay city or to the Bombay State. It was open to them to do any kind of social work in any other part of India. The only thing was that its centre and head office would be in Bombay. Mr. Datar rejected my suggestion and put this matter in the report. All that I want to say is this. If Mr. Datar had communicated to me that he did *not* accept my suggestion, I am sure within myself that I would have changed my mind and accepted the offer in the name of the Federation because beggars cannot be choosers if for no other reason, and I even now say that if he insists that the Federation is the only body which the Government of India would entrust the money with, well, I have no hesitation, but I still maintain my view that this work ought not to be entrusted to political bodies.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of the economic emancipation of the Scheduled Castes. This, I think, along with education and services is the most important thing for the raising of the status of the Scheduled Castes. Now what are the means of raising the economic status of the Scheduled Castes? Obviously the economic emancipation of the Scheduled Castes will depend upon the opportunity that they get for what might be called entry into gainful occupation. Unless and until doors are open to them where they can find gainful occupation, their economic emancipation is not going to take place. They are going to remain slaves, if not slaves, serfs of the land-owning classes in the villages. There can be no doubt on that point at all. Now, Sir, out of these gainful occupations I personally feel no doubt that the most important thing on which Government ought to concentrate is the giving of land to the Scheduled Castes. They must be settled on land so that they might obtain independent means of livelihood, cease to be afraid of anybody, walk with their heads erect and live fearlessly and courageously. I think this is a thing which all the Ministers

[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.] are agreed upon, I take it that the one thing that Government ought to do is to provide land for the Scheduled Castes. Let us take that question. Firstly, is there land available to be given to the Scheduled Castes? Has Government any power to sequester land from those who are owning land now, take it away and give it to the Scheduled Castes? Is it possible for the Scheduled Castes to be financed by the Government in the matter of purchasing lands if land was to be sought? These are the three ways by which land could be given to the Scheduled Castes. Government should by law limit the holding of those who hold land and take away the excess and hand it over to the Scheduled Castes. Secondly the Government may finance the purchase of land if any is to be sold.

Sir, it is clear to everybody that land-holding in India is not merely a matter of economic livelihood. It is a matter of social status. A person holding land has a higher status than a person not holding land. Now it is quite clear that in the villages this matter of economic status is of the utmost importance to everybody. And no Hindu wishes that an untouchable should possess a piece of land so that he may reach a higher status than his community is entitled to under the social system. Sir, the question of a scheduled caste man getting a bit of land in the village seems to me to be utterly impossible. I do not know to what extent the Government will be able to make a law limiting the holdings. There might easily be a revolution. If the Government had, in passing land legislation, instead of giving the title of the property to the peasant, kept the title to themselves as paramount owners of land, they might have been able to pass a law that as the land belonged to the Government nobody would be allowed to hold more than a certain number of acres. But the Government has committed one of the greatest acts of

folly in creating these peasant proprietors. Sir, once Talleyrand told Napoleon. "Why do you want all this bother with Europe? Why do you want to create all this enmity? Why should you not be content with becoming the King of France with me as your Prime Minister?" There were a certain number of soldiers standing outside the palace of Napoleon holding their guns with bayonets shining in the light of the sun. Napoleon was a very abusive person. He told Talleyrand: "You were so much done in a silk stocking. Do you see my battalions?" He said. 'Yes, I see them'. Then Napoleon asked, "Why should I not be an Emperor?" To that Talleyrand replied and my friends will remember that reply: "You can do anything with these bayonets except sit on them." Now, you have created these peasant proprietors. You can't sit on them; they will sit on you. You have bungled and bungled most wrongly notwithstanding the advice of many people not to do it. But just to win political elections you did it and you are bearing the fruits of it now. However, this limitation I happen to study the Report of the United Provinces Tenancy Committee appointed by my friend, Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant. I know every line of it and I wonder whether the people who raised the cry that holdings ought to be limited know anything about the facts of it. What is the average holding in Uttar Pradesh? The lowest is about 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> acres and the highest is about four or five acres. That is all that there is and the further fact is that every inch of land in the U.P. has been under cultivation and in occupation. You can do nothing there and that. I am sure, is the case in most of the other States. Therefore my submission to the hon. the Home Minister is this that unless you want to go on fooling the Scheduled Castes by telling them, 'Oh, keep quite we are going to give you a piece of land. Either we will have a

ceiling or we will finance your purchase. We will do this or do that; unless you want to go on fooling them like this, you ought to think of some other method of doing that. This is a problem which you must solve and if you do not solve it, you know what consequences there might be—most evil consequences. The fire is burning outside; it may easily come in and the Scheduled Castes may carry the banner and you and your Constitution "Will go under. Nothing will remain.

Now, Sir, I am going to make one suggestion to my hon. friend and it is this. I find from the Planning Commission's Report that a very large amount of what might be called cultivable waste is to be found in this country. According to the Planning Commission it is 98 million acres. Now, my suggestion to my friends is this. The Government is going, I understand, to amend the Constitution. They are fond of amending the Constitution. Why have a Constitution at all, I do not understand, if you are amending it every Saturday? However, as you are amending it, I suggest that you amend it and put the cultivation of waste land in List No. 1 so that it will come within the purview of the Central Government. The State Governments have not got the means of developing that land. They are living like dog in the manger, neither developing it themselves nor allowing anybody else to do it. Therefore there can be nothing wrong in taking over the waste land by amending the Constitution in List No. 1.

11 A.M.

The second thing which I am going to suggest is one which many people may not find pleasant but I think there is no harm in suggesting. It is this, you again levy the salt tax. The salt tax was the lightest tax that we had in our country. At the time it -was abolished, the revenue was about

Rs. 10 crores and it might easily go up to Rs. 20 crores now. No doubt, the abolition of salt tax was done in the memory of Mr. Gandhi. I respect him and I suggest to you that you levy the tax and create a Trust Fund in the name of Mr. Gandhi—Gandhi Trust Fund for the development or settlement of the untouchables. After all, the untouchables, according to all of us, were the nearest and dearest to him and there is no reason why Mr. Gandhi may not bless this project from Heaven, namely, levying the tax and using it for the development of waste land and settling the Scheduled Castes on this waste land. There is promise in it; not only promise but a scope for performance. You know in the game of poker there is a difference between promise and performance. I give you a scheme where there is not only promise but there is also performance. I do not understand why the people of this country should not contribute through the means of the salt tax for the elevation of the Scheduled Castes. You may keep it quite outside the Budget just as a sort of a Gandhi Welfare Scheme which will perpetuate the name of Mr. Gandhi and which will give relief to the people whom he wanted to protect and whom he wanted to elevate. This is my suggestion to the hon. the Home Minister and I hope he will give this matter his most serious consideration.

Sir, I have done and I do not want to say anything more. The only thing that I would like to say is this that in all this effort which is being made by the Government, by the various social workers and the social agencies, there is one thing which gives me a very sad thought and it is this that our Prime Minister has taken no interest in this matter at all. In fact, he seems to be not only apathetic but anti-untouchable. I happen to have read his biography and I find that he castigated Mr. Gandhi because Mr. Gandhi was prepared to die for the purpose of doing away with

[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.]  
separate electorates which was given to the Scheduled Castes. He has said in his biography, 'Why on earth Mr. Gandhi is bothering with this trifling problem?' Sir, I was shocked and surprised to hear the Prime Minister—rather Mr. Nehru then in 1934—uttering these words. I thought that since the responsibility of Government had fallen on his shoulder he may have changed his view and thought that he must now take the responsibility which Mr. Gandhi was prepared to take on his shoulder, but I do not find any kind of a change in his mind. Sir, in the year 1952 a conference was held at Nagpur under the Presidency of my hon. friend, Babu Jagjivan Ram.

I understood that there was a very big *sharniana*. Two silver chairs were placed on the dais, one for Mr. Jag-jivan Ram and one for Pandit Jawa- harlal Nehru. There was an audience of two hundred to three hundred and one thousand police. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was supposed to inaugurate that conference. I have got his speech here, but I do not wish to trouble the House by reading it, but this is the gist of it. He was, I am told, in great anger against Babu Jagjivan Ram for having organised the conference. He said roundly "I do not recognize that there is such a problem as that of the untouchables. There is a general problem of the economically poor and the problem of the untouchables is a part of that problem. It will take its place and receive its attention along with the other problems. There is no occasion, no purpose in bestowing any special thought upon it." Sir, if the Prime Minister is prepared to throw such cold water—not cold, water from the refrigerator, so to say—what enthusiasm can we expect from the rest of the workers who have taken upon themselves the duty or the responsibility or the interest in carrying on with this particular problem: I do not think that untoucha-

bility will vanish. They believe 'yes'. I think 'no', as I said, because it has a mental twist. It will take years and years. At the same time, there is no reason why we should not strongly agitate for seeing, whether untouchability goes or not, that the social, economic, political and constitutional rights of the scheduled castes are fully protected. To that extent efforts must necessarily be direct

Sir, there one other word I should like to say. People might say that I have taken most of the time with the scheduled castes. I have not said anything with regard to the tribes and I am not going to say anything, because there are many friends who are more qualified to speak about them than I am. I shall, therefore, not venture to enter that field, but there is one thing which, I think, one can say and should say, because I find there is a good deal of confusion in the minds of the people as regards the relative position of the scheduled castes, the tribal castes and the criminal tribes. Now, Sir, with regards to the scheduled castes, the position is this: they are prepared—in fact, not prepared—but they are already within the pale of civilization. They are not outside. Their struggle is to achieve equality of opportunity and equality of status. That is their problem. With regard to the tribal people, their problem is totally different. They are outside the Hindu civilization. And the question that has to be considered with regard to these tribal people is this: do they want to come within the Hindu civilization and be assimilated and then acquire equality of status and equality of opportunity? I was talking to many leaders of the tribal communities—many men and women of the tribal community—they seem to be most reluctant to come within the pale of Hindu civilization.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-  
NAND: Question.

Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR: They prefer to live outside, they do not want to come in.

With regard to the criminal tribes, theirs is a purely economic problem: how well can you give them the opportunity to earn a decent living? If they can get the opportunity to earn a decent living, they will cease to be criminals.

Now, Sir, one question asked is this. It seems to me a matter of great regret that this Hindu civilization which is so many years old, some say six thousand years old—many people will not be satisfied with that period, probably they want to take it back—never mind about it let it be six thousand years old—has produced five crores of untouchables, some two crores of tribal people; and some fifty thousand criminal tribes people. What can one say of this civilization? With a civilization which has produced these results there must be something very fundamentally wrong, and I think it is time the Hindus looked at it from this point of view—whether they can be proud of the civilization which has produced these communities like the untouchables, the criminal tribes and the tribal people. I think they ought to think twice—not twice, a hundred times—they are conventionally called civilized—whether they could be called civilized with this kind of results produced by their civilization.

Sir, I thank you very much for this opportunity.

Mit. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think then: are still some thirteen hon. Members who want to speak, so I shall have to restrict the time of speeches. I would request hon. Members not to take more than fifteen minijites each. Of course, this does not apply to hon. Ministers. The debate will be continued tomorrow also.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I suppose I can take my time tomorrow?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. S. HEGDE) in the Chair.)

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, on Friday, as also today, we had a fairly exhaustive debate on the third Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am happy to note that, on the whole, the Report has been received fairly well, though there are certain hon. Members who are pleased to dub the Report as a sad and depressing document, on the one hand; and there are others who have called it a tragic document. As usual, Sir, my hon. friend Dr. Ambedkar has criticised it severely, more severely than it deserved. All the same, I am not going into the various general propositions that have been placed before the honourable House by various Members. I propose to deal specifically with certain points mentioned by hon. speakers and I desire to reply at least to some of them so far as the main complaints against the Government or against the Commissioner are concerned.

I would like to tabulate these complaints, and I would like to offer the Government view, so far as the nature of these complaints and also the-reply to them is concerned. Firstly, it is stated that the rate of progress is highly insignificant; the rate of progress made during the last few years in respect of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is extremely insignificant. Then it is contended that the State Governments are not carrying out their duties properly, and that especially in the case of the Scheduled Tribes, it has been the duty of the Government of India, under article 338 (2), to issue directions so that the State Governments will be compelled to comply with them, with a view to-

[Shri B. N. Datar.]

improve the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes. Then, Sir, it is contended with great vehemence by the hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, that as a result of the President's Orders issued after the inauguration of the Constitution, 9 great injustice has been done to the Scheduled Tribes to the extent that 63 lakhs of Scheduled Tribes people have been denied the special reservation, and also the other financial concessions, to which the Scheduled Tribes are entitled. Then, it is stated that there has been no systematic planning just as we have a Five Year Plan under operation, and we have also a second Five Year Plan under consideration. Therefore, Dr. Kunzru stated with great force that we ought to have a Five Year Plan both for the Scheduled Castes and also for the Scheduled Tribes. Then, Sir, the last point that was taken was that in respect of the Services, either under the Union Government or under the State Governments, there has been an extremely low representation of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. These are the principal questions to which I am going to confine myself in the reply that I am now giving.

Sir, so far as the first point regarding slowness of progress is concerned, I would concede that the progress is not as fast as the Governments at the Centre or in the States would wish. I would point out that there are certain handicaps which we have to take into account. So far as the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned, the progress under the British Administration was very low, except to a very small extent that they had reserved a percentage of posts for Scheduled Castes and some scholarships were being paid. Beyond that it must be conceded that the progress, so far as these Tribes and Castes were concerned, was extremely negligible. Then, what the present Government

of India had to do was to find out the factual information for the purpose of considering as to what the provisions of the Constitution should be. That naturally took some time. And it was only towards the end of 1950 that the Government were in a position to know what were the Scheduled Castes and what were the Scheduled Tribes, and what their number was. You would find, Sir, that under the Constitution, the functions have been very properly divided, and some functions are assigned to the Centre. But so far as the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, as also the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, is concerned, that was a State responsibility, or a function that was solely given to the States. So far as the Centre was concerned, it would come into the picture only in two or three ways. One was that the Centre could make certain grants and thus exercise a sort of indirect influence, so far as the implementation of the schemes was concerned. Then, under the Constitution, it is laid down in article 338 that the Government of India should appoint a Commissioner or an officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So far as article 338 is concerned, Dr. Ambedkar was perfectly right, I am happy, to say that he found that the authority of the officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was a right thing. In other words, we have to understand this position very clearly that so far as the actual implementation of the various welfare schemes for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is concerned, it is not within the province of the Government of India, because the executive machinery of the Government of India does not relate to the actual implementation of these schemes. After all, Sir, we have to carry out these schemes only through the various State Governments. And, therefore, the Commissioner was appointed. He would investigate into the conditions of these Castes and Tribes, he would make a report to the President, and the various complaints, the grievances, the suggestions and

the Various recommendations of the Commissioner would be brought to the notice of the State Governments with a request that they should be met as far as possible. Dr. Kunzru was right in saying that so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, there is no power under the Constitution for making it compulsory for the State Governments to carry out the wishes of the Central Government. But he stated that under article 339. sub-clause (2), it was open to the Union Government to issue directions for the purpose of laying down schemes and for the purpose of implementing them. To a certain extent it is true. But after all, the directions that have to be issued have always to be in the form of persuasive recommendations, and that is what we have all along been doing. You would find, Sir, that there are certain extreme provisions naturally for dealing with extreme cases where the State Governments may not carry out the directions of the Union Government. Then, in that case, the extreme remedy of a Governor's rule is there. This is not a matter in which any such grave emergency has arisen, because I would point out to this House that so far as the State Governments are concerned, though the problem is new to them to a certain extent and has to be administered in a different way, still, it must be stated to the credit of most of the Governments, especially the major Governments, that they have, from even before 1947, been giving some importance to this problem, the welfare of the backward classes in general. In Bombay, Madras, Mysore and certain other States, I find that they have been carrying out this work very satisfactorily, the work in respect of; the schemes for the welfare of the backward classes in general. The backward classes in general naturally included the present scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes, and also the ex-criminal tribes. And the work that they have done is of an extremely substantial nature, and what is now required is that under the Constitu-

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tion, after 1950, they have to show separately, under separate heads, what they have done so far as the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are concerned. And in this respect also, I may point out that most of the State Governments are trying their best to bring things under different departments, under different administrative divisions, for the purpose of meeting the requirements that the Constitution has placed upon them. Under these circumstances, Sir, there is no question of giving any directions to the State Governments, though I might point out to the hon. House that whenever we want to give certain grants—and in some cases, the House is aware that we have to make certain grants under article 275—we point out to the State Governments the general direction.

SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA—There is no quorum in the

DR. NAND THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. S. HEGDE): There is quorum. The Deputy Minister can go on.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It does not matter. We can better attend to the work of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. S. HEGDE): There is quorum. Please continue.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I was pointing out to the House that so far as giving directions was concerned, we had given directions to the State Governments as to the kind of schemes that they have to prepare and submit to us and then secondly whenever schemes are submitted by the various State Governments, we scrutinise them through the various Ministries and



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the Planning Commission. The schemes are then sanctioned and then it is left to the State Governments to implement those schemes. So you would find that so far as article 339 is concerned, the Government are taking all the necessary steps, and merely because the progress is not so swift or so fast as we desire, it would not be proper to condemn either the Government of India or the very good work that the various State Governments are doing. I would not like to weary you with the various figures that have been given in the report itself. I would point out to you in this connection how the Government of India have increased the grants almost beyond recognition, a number of times. As the hon. Dr. Ambedkar pointed out, it was in 1942 for the first time that the Government of India fixed a certain amount for the award of scholarships to the scheduled caste students, and the amount was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 3 lakhs. Now, that amount is going to be increased to Rs. 75 lakhs during this year, and the figures that have been given are eloquent testimony to the fact that year after year the Government have been doubling the amount, and from Rs. 2 lakhs we are now in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 75 lakhs, and from the figures that I have received this year we have received about 40,000 applications and it is quite likely that the Education Ministry might ask the Government to raise the amount to nearly Rs. 1 crore. So, the grants are being increased so far as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are concerned. That is a point which has to be noted very clearly. Year by year the grants are being increased, and all the applications filed by scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students are almost completely complied with and therefore we have to understand that the Government are doing their very best so far as the educational advancement of these people is concerned. Now, we have to look at it from two or three points of view. One is that by this

educational advancement we can raise the tone of these illiterate people. So far as the pre-matriculation course is concerned, the State Governments are giving almost free education, and thus you will see that the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students can have their whole course of education without any expenditure to their families. This is a matter which has also to be understood very clearly.

Then I should like to point out to the hon. Dr. Ambedkar that the scheme of foreign scholarships has been reintroduced and certain students from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been sent abroad. This scheme is going to be worked out because we do desire that the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are of the same level as the other communities in India. These people are nearly one-fifth of our population, because the scheduled castes are nearly 5 crores and the scheduled tribes nearly 2 crores. Together they are nearly 7 crores, i.e., one-fifth of our population. So far as the other castes are also concerned, they are only in varying degrees of backwardness. That is what we have to understand and appreciate. One of the baffling problems that the Government at the Centre and the Governments in the States are faced with is as to how to bring all these communities to a common level of enlightenment; this is a problem which cannot be tackled in a day. We have to approach this problem with a great amount of appreciation and understanding. Then I may also point out to you without going into the figures very deeply that it has been settled that more than Rs. 40 crores—a part of the amount has already been spent—are going to be spent on the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Three years of the first Five Year Plan period are almost at an end and during the remaining two years the whole amount will be given, and the responsibility for this is divided equally between

the State and the Centre. Thus you will see that we are doing all that is possible to help the States for the implementation of their various schemes for the improvement of the condition of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the ex-criminal tribes. I do not want to go into the general question of economic condition or housing, etc., but I would point out to this House that in the various States that I have visited—and they number more than ten—I found that the conditions are gradually improving. They are having housing colonies for these people even in such a tiny State as Coorg. Housing schemes have been undertaken in various States, and in the Part B State of Hyderabad which I only recently visited, I found that this problem was being tackled very energetically. There are other States also where this question is being tackled as energetically as possible. In the State of Orissa where I had gone into the interior, it was a matter for gratification to me to find that the scheduled tribes are taking a keen interest in educating themselves and in agriculture. Thus you will find that the problem is being tackled. All that we require is that we should have the sympathy of the Members of Parliament, and I would request all the Members to find out by actually going to the villages or by going to the centres of the various schemes as to what exactly is being done by the various Governments. They will find then that the progress is not so slow and is not so insignificant at all. All the handicaps that these people have been suffering—economic as well as social handicaps—are a matter of history now, and it will take, I hope, only a decade or two for raising the whole tone of society to such a pitch that there would be complete literacy, must do is to exercise some and find out what is being the various State Govern

What we patience done by ments.

Then, Sir, Dr. Kunzru raised a very important question. He said that 63

lakhs of people belonging to the scheduled tribes have been denied the right of special reservation of seats and also the right to have the financial concessions given to them in the way as they are being given to scheduled castes. So far as this question is concerned, I may point out to the House that this question was first taken up by the Constituent Assembly itself. The Constituent Assembly appointed certain Committees including those on Minority Rights and on Tribal Areas. Those Committees tried over two years to find out and to specify the various tribes which should be considered as scheduled tribes and various castes which should be considered as scheduled castes.

They went through this problem with great enthusiasm but in the Minority Committee itself as also in the Constituent Assembly there was found a great divergence of opinion on principle and therefore what was done by the Constituent Assembly was to entrust the solution of this question as to the specification and the enumeration of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the President. That is the reason why we find in article 341 and article 342 the de-

tion given to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is, it is stated, that

there would be the scheduled castes which would be so enumerated by the President in his order. Similar comments were offered so far as scheduled tribes were concerned. I am pointing out these circumstances to show that our representatives in the Constituent Assembly tried hard to come to an agreed conclusion but on account of the difficulties of the problem they

could not do so and ultimately they had to refer this question to the President for his consideration through the Government of India. This was about December 1949. Then the Government of India took up this question with the various States and a conference was called in May 1950 of the representatives of the various States

[Shri B. N. Datar.] and then certain tentative but agreed conclusions were arrived at. They were sent back to them and the President's present orders dealing with the specification so far as the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes are concerned was the result of a measure of general agreement so far as the State Governments are concerned. It will also be found that so far as this figure of 63 lakhs is concerned the Government of India have got and the State Governments agreed with it, certain data. The first data was that in the census of 1931 the Census Superintendent laid down a separate class of people known as primitive tribes. He took into account certain criteria and basing his conclusions on those criteria, he found out, according to him, the figures so far as the primitive tribes were concerned. So this was the first data that we had in the 1931 census. Thereafter the Government of India Act was passed by the Parliament of Britain in 1935. They also required certain materials for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Therefore in 1936 they issued another order and that has also a great bearing. What was done so far as that order was concerned was they went into the whole question and they found out that between 1931 and 1936 there were certain tribes which had more or less harmonised themselves or coalesced with other communities especially with other castes—especially those tribal people who were living not on the mountains but on the plains. Therefore; the conditions had changed. Now what is the underlying purpose of keeping a scheduled tribe as a scheduled tribe? That is because there are certain elements on the strength of which they can be separated from the other sections of the society. There are also scheduled castes which are separated from the other sections of the society on account of the disabilities to which they are subjected to due to untouchability and the scheduled tribes also had certain specific characteristics so far as their |

living or their manners and customs were concerned. But in respect of a very large portion of the population what had happened was that certain tribes by having come down out of the mountains to the plains, became coalesced or they merged themselves in the various communities which were the normal communities of India and therefore it was felt by the then Government of India that it would not be proper to treat a tribe as an ancient or primitive tribe merely because it was formerly one, and on account of this a certain number of tribes were dropped from the list prepared by the Government of India in 1936, or what was known as backward classes. They had a new expression—they have not got the expression of scheduled tribes but they had a backward expression. Then another thing also happened, viz., that; there were certain scheduled tribes who on account of untouchability—you have to understand this because the difference between the two sometimes is not very great—what happened was that in the case of certain tribal people who had come down to the plains, they also were being treated as untouchables in common with the other untouchables in that part of the country. Therefore what was done in 1936 was that some of the tribes which had been described as primitive tribes in 1931 were not described as tribes at all but were described as scheduled castes. That also accounts for some difference. Then there were also a number of other similar circumstances where it was found that the enumeration was to a certain extent wrong so far as the 1931 census was concerned and therefore a principle was laid down according to which if the State Governments came to the conclusion that a primitive tribe which was so recognised in 1931 had ceased to be primitive in the sense that they did not have separate manners and customs but that they coalesced themselves with other communities, then, the then Government of India in 1936 laid it down that such communi-

nes should not be considered as tribal communities or scheduled tribes at all and you will find that so far as the present enumeration by the President in his order is concerned, we j

have followed to a very large extent what was done in 1931 and what was done subsequently in 1936. Then a question was raised the other day that so far as the 1941 was concerned it shows a figure of scheduled tribes which was far larger than the figure that was come to by the Government of India as on 1st March 1950. There also one point may be noted. So far as the 1941 census was concerned that census was to a certain extent, boycotted because the national movement was going on and therefore there was not complete response from the people so far as actual enumeration was concerned. Therefore the Government found that the 1941 figures were not necessarily accurate nor were they complete and the whole question, as I pointed out to you was considered at all levels—in some cases I might point out to the House; that the matter was even taken to the Cabinet and then a decision was given in September 1950—you will kindly note this date—and the Government of India came to the conclusion that certain communities should be considered as scheduled tribes and certain communities as scheduled castes and therefore the President's Order was issued and the Government of India had to undertake this work because the Constitution stated that it should be left to the President. That was, as I pointed out to you, by the Constituent Assembly. This happened in September 1950. Then in December 1950, Dr. Kunzru and about 15 or 16 other Members of the then Constituent Assembly made a representation to the Home Ministry that the enumeration was wrong and all the contentions that were taken up by the hon. Member the other day in his speech were taken in the representation that was addressed to my Ministry by these 16 Members of the Constituent Assembly. Then the whole

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matter was again reconsidered and a full and detailed reply was given in February 1951 to the hon. Members. Now a copy of the reply given by my Ministry has already been placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha, and if necessary I am prepared to place it on the Table of the Rajya Sabha if it is required. Now you will find if you go through the representation of Dr. Kunzru and others, and the reply that the Home Ministry has given, that there is nothing new so far as the contentions on this point raised by Dr. Kunzru were concerned and I was surprised to find that the grounds given by the Government of India, according to him, were not satisfactory at all. They were fully satisfactory and the whole matter was come to after full consideration. In fact, as I pointed out to you, the President's Order was issued first and then an objection was raised and a representation made for reconsidering it. Still the whole matter has been very properly considered and the last point that I would refer to in this connection is that what was done by the President in 1950 is not sacrosanct. Under articles 341 and 342 it has been provided that in the first instance the President will specify and enumerate the various castes. And then, for example, if changes are going to be made, then it is only the Parliament that can make any changes and nobody else. Therefore, you will find that after the President's Order in September, 1950, if any changes are to be effected, that can only be made by Parliament that is to say, both Houses of Parliament

I might also point out in this connection that the Government of India have already appointed a commission under article 340 of the Constitution, known as the Backward Classes Commission and the President has requested this Commission to consider this question also, because we have before us not only the problem regarding the scheduled tribes, but also that of the scheduled castes. We have got cer-

[Shri B. N. Datar.] tain complaints received from various associations that either the enumeration is wrong, or that something has to be added on. Therefore, the complaint is based either on the ground of wrong addition or wrong exclusion. The whole matter has to be considered by the Backward Classes Commission. The Commission has been requested to go into the whole question and advise the Government of India with a view to seeing whether any changes in the Order of September 1950 so far as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are concerned, is at all warranted. I might point out to the House that they are almost at the end of their labours and before the year is out, the Backward Classes Commission will be submitting their report as also their advice so far as these questions are concerned. Therefore, in the light of the background of all that I have said, and in the light of the various steps that we have taken with a view to ascertain the correct position. I would humbly submit to the House that the Government of India cannot be blamed at all, and in fact, there has been no non-representation so far as the 63 lakhs of people are concerned. No new ground has been brought forward and I can say there has been no non-representation, especially to such a large extent as 63 lakhs of people and the whole question, as I said, will be considered next year after the report is received. And I may assure the House that necessary action by way of taking the permission of both the Houses will be undertaken by the Government of India, after the report has been received and fully considered.

It was contended that the Government of India and the State Governments have not prepared their Five Year Plans so far as the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are concerned. To a certain extent this objection is valid. But to the remaining extent it is not, because so far as the general condition of the sche-

duled castes and the scheduled tribes is concerned, that is something which is in common with the others in the land, for instance the illiteracy, the economic backwardness or other circumstances. They are all common to all the communities, including what are known as backward communities or scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. So we have to take it with the Five Year Plan which is already in operation and the second Five Year Plan which is under preparation will give due consideration to the general problems of all the backward communities in India, including the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. But Dr. Kunzru was right in asking us to have a Five Year Plan so far as the special conditions or rather the special handicaps of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes are concerned. Now, this Order was issued in September 1950. We had no time in 1951 and 1952. Therefore, we called for various schemes extending naturally over one year. Then we found that it would be better to have, instead of one year schemes, two-year schemes and that is now being done and the two-year scheme formula is actually being worked, so far as most of the States are concerned. I may also point out that there are certain States like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa—these States have large numbers of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes—they have special Ministers there in charge of the welfare of these communities. There they have already taken up the question of having a full Five Year Plan, and other States are also following suit. Here I may point out to the House that the suggestion made by Dr Kunzru is a very good suggestion and we shall try to implement it as far as possible. It is quite necessary that the Government and the people also should have a very clear picture of what the present conditions are and what the Government at the Centre and the States desire the conditions to be, after removing the handicaps and limitations under which our people are suffering. So to some extent, as I said, this suggestion is being

worked up and will be given full effect.

Then another problem that was touched upon by a number of speakers was the very low representation of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes in the services. Now this is a fact and therefore I have no desire to belittle the gravity of this complaint. But we have to take into account certain difficulties in the way of the Government also. So far as the services are concerned, we have in the Constitution, article 335 and other articles. In article 335, they have clearly pointed out that it shall be the duty of the Government to give proper or adequate representation to the various backward communities, consistently with the maintenance of proper standards of efficiency. Therefore, here we have to consider that there must be maintained at least the minimum standard of efficiency. Often-times on the floor of this House and also in the other House and also in the press we hear complaints that the efficiency is not what it ought to be, that efficiency has gone down. Government are alive to this problem and are anxious that efficiency should be maintained at the highest level, considering the various circumstances under which India is living. That is a factor on which Government are very strict, that our services should be efficient, ought to be honest also. Consistently with this maintenance of efficiency, we have to find out a formula by which we can satisfy the legitimate requirements of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. So far as these tribes are concerned, the House will agree with me that they have been taking to education only very recently. We have to understand this fact that it was only after 1942 that the members of the scheduled castes and to a certain extent the members of the scheduled tribes are taking to education. In these circumstances, it is very difficult for these communities, these castes or

tribes, to come up or to qualify themselves for services. That is one of the reasons why their number is not rising as high as I would have them rise. That is one circumstance which has to be noted. Then so far as the general entry of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates into these services is concerned I may point out to this House that on the whole they are entering the services more or less, after 1945 or 1946. You have also to take into account the very low conditions in which these persons are living; it is a very unfortunate circumstance but education does not lie merely in passing the examinations. You require a certain amount of environment which ought to be fairly enlightening and therefore it is that you find that their number cannot rise though we are very anxious that it should rise consistently with the minimum standards of efficiency. Even there also, I might point out to this House that - the U.P.S.C. and the Government of India are trying their best to open up as many openings as possible for them. We have introduced a certain reservation so far as direct recruitment is concerned. In respect of the all-India services it is 12½ per cent, and in respect of the other services it is 16½ per cent, for the scheduled castes and 5 per cent, for the scheduled tribes but the difficulty is that, in the first place, we do not get the sufficient number of scheduled caste candidates. That is one point; secondly, those that come up, even though they have passed the examinations, it is found on very close scrutiny, do not come up even to the minimum standards. You are aware, Sir, that often-times criticism is voiced that the U.P.S.C. is holding what is known as the oral or personality test at a very high level. To a certain extent, you would agree. These personality tests are necessary because especially with the I.A.S. and I.P.S. candidates have to be put in charge of districts; they would be in charge of very embarrassing circumstances which they have to handle tactfully but firmly. Therefore, we

[Shri 8. N. Datar.]

must find out not merely what he has learnt but what he is and what he is likely to be. The personality test that is being developed is a necessary test and I might point out to this House that there are a number of high caste Hindu or Christian or Indian boys and girls who, though they have taken the highest degree at the Universities, passing out in the first class or in some cases standing first in their areas, have failed miserably so far as this test is concerned. That general test is absolutely necessary and though there are these difficulties, the Members of the U.P.S.C. are sympathetic. I might give an example of how we are doing our best to take in scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates provided they have passed the examinations. Suppose, out of 3,000 one hundred candidates pass and there are only thirty vacancies. Let us also suppose that a scheduled caste or scheduled tribe candidate is number 99; the practice that is being followed is that inasmuch as the candidate has qualified in the general examinations he will be taken in subject to the personality test even though he is 99 and the number of posts to be filled is only 30. That is how the matter has been treated with the greatest consideration and sympathy subject, as I already said, to the considerations of maintaining proper efficiency. We have given other concessions also; we have given age concessions; in a number of cases, we are giving concession in regard to payment of fees also. Ordinarily, certain fees are charged so far as the other candidates are concerned, but so far as the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates are concerned the fees charged are one-fourth of the ordinary rate or, in certain cases, no fees are charged at all. Still, I would concede that their number is not rising as it ought to be and therefore we are having recourse to certain *ad hoc* arrangements. One of the arrangements that we are going to have is that we have asked the U.P.S.C. to give us the names of one hundred persons exclusively from amongst the

scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates. We propose to appoint them immediately. Similarly also, in the higher posts, we are considering to what extent we can introduce the principle of greater representation based on *ad hoc* arrangements.

12 NOON

Another very important question based on principles arises. So far as reservation is concerned, we have agreed to a certain percentage of reservation so far as direct recruitment is concerned. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has, in his Report, raised another question; he states that even so far as promotion is concerned, we should introduce a reservation. That is a matter which is beset with great difficulties; we have to consider to what extent even in respect of promotions there should be a reservation. After all, there is a limit to reservation also; when once, on account of special considerations given to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, a man enters service, then it is naturally the desire of Government that thereafter he would rise slowly on his merits and he should not rise from post to post only because he comes from a scheduled caste or a scheduled tribe. Any such feeling will have a demoralising effect so far as urge for good work is concerned on his part and so far as the other members of the service are concerned. It is on account of these reasons that it is very difficult to agree to such a suggestion; Government are considering whether, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency they could to a very small extent do something so far as promotions are concerned. That is the reason why, in higher posts, the number of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates is extremely low and Government are aware of the position. They are doing their best. The best course would be for those interested in the welfare of these people to have or to institute special courses of study specially for

them. I was happy to know that certain universities have taken up this question of preparing candidates for the competitive examinations held by the Government of India and we do desire that we get the best of our young men and women. For example, if the scheduled caste people are also properly trained—and if this training is done free—that would be a very good substitute for the very low or want of training that they have in the environment and conditions under which, they have grown.

You will find, Sir, that these are the various steps that the Government, have taken; the State Governments are also [doing their best and we are asking them to go on with greater alacrity. , After all. the whole task is stupendous and we have to move very slowly.

I shall make a passing reference to one or two points that Dr. Ambedkar raised. He stated that the amount of Rs. 60 lakhs this year and Rs. 50 lakhs that the Government gave to the various State Governments last year as also for the different associations, for the purposes of carrying on proper propaganda for the removal of untouchability is a waste. I am sure that is not a correct approach at all especially] so far as the rural areas are concerned. Through proper social workers if we approach the rural people, explain the whole position to them, if we also tell them how unjust it is for the people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to be denied their fundamental rights, I am quite confident, Sir, that the village population, the rural population is almost if I may say so, a hear what entirely wrong. We have got the best of social workers: it is the social workers who brought about the independence of India. That should not be forgotten. Even now. we have got a class of social workers whom I find in far off parts of

India. I had gone down to Uangs—I had gone to other tribal areas also—and there I found that many young people, young men and women, in some cases husband and wife together were carrying on the great work of social regeneration of these tribal people. The statement that Dr. Ambedkar made is entirely wrong, besides being blasphemous. It is the social workers alone who bring up the general level of society and therefore it is that we are having social workers.

Dr. Ambedkar said that the political associations should not be helped at all. To this, my answer would be that we have in India a condition in which it is very difficult to make a distinction between political work and social work because after all the whole work is social. So far as all-India organisations were concerned, we offered to them, even to the Federation, certain amounts because they were all-India organisations.

We told them that, so far as the spending of this amount was concerned, it should not be spent on political objectives at all or for political purposes. Now this condition was accepted by two other all-India organizations and we are giving them full help. The same help, it must be pointed out, was offered to Dr. Ambedkar's association also, and what he stated was he referred us to a third education trust in Bombay. Now the task that we had undertaken was not merely educational; it was economic; it was psychological, and therefore we could not accept what he stated regarding one educational trust in Bombay. We wanted to grant recognition to the Scheduled Castes Federation because it was an all-India organisation. Now we could not consider local organisations at all.

And then lastly it may be pointed out that it was wrong entirely on the part of some hon. Members to have suggested that the whole work is officialised. That is not a correct statement at all. Now in the various circular letters that we have sent or in the directions that we have issued



[Shri B. N. Datar.] to the various Governments either in respect of tribal welfare schemes or the Criminal Tribes Welfare schemes or the Scheduled Castes (Removal of Untouchability) schemes, we have stated it very clearly—and our circular letters are before the House—that as far as possible, the amount should be spent through non-official agencies. Now you would agree, Sir, that there might be very good agencies in a State of which we are not aware. There are a number of such organisations and I may point out to this House that a very large portion of the grants that we are making to the States is being spent through the non-official organisations. It is entirely incorrect to say that the whole amount is being spent only through Government departments. Government departments step in and they carry on the work only if proper non-official agencies are not found or are not prepared to accept the proper conditions that we have laid down. Our desire is that, as far as possible, this work being of a social nature, it

- ought to be done by social workers. If social workers or social service organizations are not available or are not coming forward, naturally we can not allow the work to stop and State Governments are carrying on their work very well.

Then it was contended that most of the amount was spent on the administrative side. Now a distinction has to be made between the establishment charges and administrative charges. Now the task that has been undertaken is almost a pioneer task and therefore various States have appointed either social welfare officers or Harijan officers or tribal welfare officers. These officers have to be appointed. So far as the districts are concerned, they have to carry the people with them. It is not like the normal work of Government. It is a social work. It is part of what can be called a welfare side of Government work and for that we require social workers and officers have to be appointed. They have to go to certain

places. They have to create a field for that work and then to supply the needs. For that purpose administrative expenses to a certain extent have to be there, but we see that, as far as possible, administrative expenses and the establishment charges are kept low, as low as possible.

Lastly, Sir, I am very happy that this year we have a report from the Commissioner which is fully exhaustive. On former occasions a complaint was raised that the report was scrappy. This year he has given a lot of information, and there is a repudiation of Dr. Ambedkar's statement, an entirely wrong statement. He enquired as to whether the report was doctored or tutored. It is neither doctored nor tutored and this becomes clear from the fact that on a number of occasions, on more occasions than one, he has criticised Government. He has been critical of the State Governments and the Central Government and this is the report that we have and I admire the way in which the report has been written by one who is only now an officer but who himself was a great social worker and it is rather fortunate that we have got an officer of this type and therefore the report that he has prepared is a testimony not only to his efficiency as an officer but to his great interest in social work for which specially he was appointed. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I join the large number of my colleagues here in congratulating the Commissioner on the report that he has submitted to the President through the Home Minister. I am glad, Sir, this time, as stated by the hon. the Home Minister, the report is coming a few months earlier than it did last in the Lok Sabha and here I believe, it is coming up for the first time. We are, as I am fond of saying so, thankful to Government for small mercies and are glad that the Home Minister has chosen to bring it before the Rajya Sabha for consideration. That itself is something on which I should like to congratulate

him and I warmly welcome his motion.

Sir this is such a vast subject that it shoud be very difficult for anyone to do full justice to it in the shape of a report. Considering the handicaps that the Commissioner has had, considering the difficulty of obtaining statistics in respect to various matters pertaining to the welfare and progress of the scheduled castes and tribes, considering the neglect shall I say, or the inability of some of the State Governments to furnish information on many of the material points, I think, Sir, the Commissioner deserves all congratulations on bringing what I reckon as a very useful and helpful document. Well, the reading of it does raise—and I suppose in most of us—mixed feelings, and for very obvious reasons. While it does show signs that we are on the march towards the desired object and goal and while there has been, I believe, marked progress in certain directions, at the same time you will find, Sir, that the attitude of the generality of the people has not very greatly altered towards this vexed problem of untouchability and the other disabilities the scheduled castes and tribes suffer from. It may not be altogether wrong also, Sir, to state that the Governments of the various States themselves—not all of them—at any rate have been too eager to pursue these matters vigorously, as vigorously as not only the scheduled castes and tribes themselves would like but also, the rest of us here would like to. There is room for our concluding that things perhaps could have been very much better. It is easy enough to criticise the Governments, whether at the Centre or in the States, but have the public not an equal responsibility in trying to do their utmost to see that the various measures undertaken by the Governments are made effective, are implemented in such a way as to result in the elimination of the disabilities they suffer from? Can we in all true conscience feel that each one of us, members of the public, has done his best in order to see the

realisation or the fulfilment of the grand objective that the Constitution has placed before itself? I am afraid, Sir, there may be a big question mark.

Then comes the part of the Central Government. I have referred to the State Governments. I will presently deal here and there with regard to some of the acts, shall I say, of omission and commission of the Central Government. I am not inclined to be merely critical but I am sure that the hon. the Home Minister would welcome something by way of criticism, constructive and helpful, rather than merely laudatory utterances.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I always dislike laudatory utterances.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Sir, I can very well appreciate the attitude the hon. Minister has taken and I believe that he, more than anybody else, would welcome criticisms. I will refer presently to those aspects where things possibly could have been done better. And then, Sir, lastly I would say, have the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes no responsibility in the matter? Is it a question only of the Central and the State Governments and the general public or is it also a question of their own effort, self-help, organisation, attitude of evoking and attracting sympathy and conducting and behaving in such a manner as to gather a large volume of support of the rest of the body politic? Have these things no part to play in the fulfilment of this objective? I think, Sir, the magnitude of the task is so great that all these elements should combine to tackle this problem if we want to realise any satisfactory results within a reasonable measure of time. •

Let me take just a few instances because I am afraid the time is not enough for me to deal with all the questions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. S. HEGDE): There are only 15 minutes.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Is that so? I thought there was a little more time because tomorrow also the debate is to continue. In that case, I must cut short my speech terribly because I had a number of things to refer to.

Let me take just a question like this. It is agreed that the Central Government is making grants especially with regard to things like education, propaganda etc. which I would even characterise as liberal. Not that they will remain to be so for a long while.

IMR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

I am pretty sure that within a short period the amount that they have allotted will become totally insufficient to meet the growing demands of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The schemes that the State Governments will be sending to the Centre are bound to increase with the result that the allotments being made now would not be sufficient to meet even a fraction of the needs of the various States in this respect. I think everybody will agree that in the Five Year Plan we have got to have as one of our main objectives this question of the amelioration of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I find here on page 377 there is a reference to the amounts of money that the State Governments are spending on these welfare measures. Now, while generally speaking, many of the States have increased allotments, some of the States, I am sorry to say, have considerably cut down these allotments for Harijan welfare. The Hon. Minister probably following the arguments advanced just now by the Deputy Minister, will say that this is a responsibility of the State Governments and after all what is it that we can do?

Now, there are two questions which I would like to ask; whether in the Five Year Plan itself they have not made provision for these welfare measures in regard to the activities

of some States. Sir, in regard to one State the Plan itself contains a scheme for the expenditure of Rs. 1 crore in the course of five years which is as much as to say an expenditure of Rs. 20 lakhs every year. This is one item included in the Plan itself and the various subsidies, grants, loans and contributions which the Centre is making with reference to that Plan. We find in 1951-52 a sum of Rs. 19 lakhs was actually spent on these welfare measures while in 1952-53 the amount has gone down from Rs. 19 lakhs to Rs. 6 lakhs. I would ask the hon. Minister .....

DR K. N. KATJU: Which State is it?

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I do not want to mention the State but he has got only to turn over the pages and he will find it. I want to know whether there is any machinery at the Centre to see that these various schemes sanctioned under the Five Year Plan are being properly implemented; otherwise are we fulfilling the terms of the Constitution or our own policies? This question of reduction from Rs. 19 lakhs to Rs. 6 lakhs is certainly not a thing of which any of us could be proud. (*Interruptions*:-) Will you allow me to go on? There is no need to mention what State it is. I am only referring to that instance to show that the Centre has evidently failed to bring home the point to the State concerned. This is, I say, an act of omission which could have been easily avoided and things could have been perhaps better so far as the scheduled castes are concerned if the Centre had taken more interest in the execution of its own plan.

Then, Sir, I would refer to the help that is being rendered for the educational advancement of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. As I said, I warmly welcome the grants and allotments made and the way in which things are going on but all that I am pleading for is that they must be prepared for making more grants.

As regards the other welfare measures, I consider housing is one of the most important things for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I know of the State of Mysore which, was spending about Rs. 19 lakhs on Harijan housing and they had a fine system which could be adopted in other States also. I would beg of the Central Government to just understand what the scheme is like. It is a thing which has yielded results. The scheme is this that the Harijan himself has to put up the walls while all the wooden and roofing material would be supplied by the State. This kind of grant-in-aid is a thing which works wonders—miracles, I should say. Because, otherwise the spoon-feeding by way of making over the whole of the grant of housing is not going to yield full results and we will not be able to put the allotments that we are making to the best advantage.

Then as regards employments in services I must seek your permission to say a word or two. I am inclined to agree with Dr. Ambedkar on this point, namely, that entertainment of candidates from these communities in Services is a thing which has a great influence on the community as a whole. The hon. the Home Minister the other day was trying to draw the analogy of a patient going to a doctor and asked whether he would choose to go to a doctor of his own community even though he may be inefficient or a client going to a lawyer who may be inefficient. Sir, the question is not always an issue of that nature. As has been said, there are a number of departments where such a very high educational qualification may not be necessary and in those departments it would be very desirable to recruit people from those communities. You may be aware. Sir, that in Mysore as early as 1918 there was the Sir Leslie Miller Committee going into the very question which Mr. Datar was referring to—representation of backward and depressed classes in services. And there he has expressed the opinion—it was not a local man, it was the Chief Justice of Mysore, a

person from the U.K.—that if you give them some special encouragement and enlist them in the gazetted and non-gazetted services, it will have a very wholesome effect on the entire community. That was with reference to what Mr. Datar said—not only with regard to scheduled castes but also the backward classes.

Now, I am afraid this psychological help and advantage is a thing which is not very much realised by those who are not in a similar position. I have had certain experiences of these things and I know that that is a thing which will have a great effect on the community at large. And so, without harming the efficiency of a department if it is possible to recruit people from these communities. I think every opportunity should be taken to provide them with the appointments.

Sir, I would like to refer, within the short time at my disposal, to one or two points which our hon. friend Dr. Ambedkar referred to. He made sweeping generalizations, with which I do not think any section of the House could be ever in agreement. Now, I have noted a number of points, but I can only refer to one or two of them. He referred to what is called a 'mental twist' a mental attitude of Hindus in regard to untouchability and scheduled castes. He said there is no Hindu in the whole of the country who is without this 'mental twist'. If we study the entire history of the amelioration of these classes, the Harijans and the scheduled castes, what is it we find. Sir? Who is it that has really tried to focus the whole attention of the people at large on this great issue? Is it the Harijans themselves or is it the other Hindus? I know this question was being agitated for very many years, even before Mahatma Gandhi stepped into the political arena of India's freedom struggle. But I do not want to mention all those figures. It makes quite a galaxy of names if I were to say the various persons who dedicated themselves for the cause of the uplift of Harijans. But, Sir, when Mahatma ji himself is there, I would ask any honest person to say whether anyone

I Shri H. C. Dasappa.] was able to do so much for the Harijans' cause as Ga'ndhiji. Then why speak of this strange expression that every Hindu suffers from this kind of a mental twist? What wonderful progress has already been made in this land of ours where we are ridden by what one may call religiosity and superstition, where our religion has entered into the kitchens. That in this land of ours there should be tjai(= almost revolutionary change in the outlook of the people is itself a great thing, of which we should aril be proud. And yet I was extremely sorry to hear the wholly unjustifiable remarks of Dr. Ambedkar in his otherwise able speech. We may all sympathise with it because it is only if we get beneath the skin of the scheduled castes and tribes, that we will be able to see that there are enough provocations for them to take up such, an attitude—an attitude of bitterness, of anguish, and of hostility even for the matter of that. The only "Prayaschitta" I would like to urge is that each one of us in our lives and each Government, State or Central, should try to implement the provisions of this Constitution as much as possible. (Time bell rings.)

Just one point more to which\* I may make specific reference before I conclude, Sir, and that is this. I agree with the Home Minister in his discouraging this separatism and separate colonies for Harijans. That is not going to help us in the least. In fact, whether it is with regard to labour colonies or with regard to the colonies for Harijans, or other scheduled castes and tribes, it is an unwise policy to have these colonies exclusively set apart for this community or that tribe or this labour force. It is far better that we dovetail their residences into the general scheme of the housing of all these various sections of the body politic. Then the question of untouchability will more or less automatically disappear by itself. Therefore, Sir, I agree that we should do everything to afford them education and to give them housing

along with the rest of the community to raise their economic status and, also, provide them enough opportunities to contribute their own quota in the administration of the country. I think if these things are done, pursued vigorously, from day to day, then we will be very near the consummation that we all so devoutly desire.

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं अपने कमिश्नर साहब को, जिन्होंने यह रिपोर्ट पेश की है, इसलिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस बात के लिए अधिक से अधिक प्रयत्न किया है कि सब चीजें इसमें आ जायें। एक आदिवास की झोंपड़ी से लेकर उन्होंने इस रिपोर्ट में केंद्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में कितने मंत्री हैं, सभी बातों का समावेश किया है। और इतना ही नहीं उन्होंने कमिश्नर की हैसियत से अपने सुझाव भी दिये हैं। वे भी सुझाव इतने महत्वपूर्ण और अच्छे हैं कि किसी भी सरकारी नौकर से इस तरह के सुझावों की आशा करना दुराशामात्र ही होता है। इसलिए मैं श्री कान्त जी की ही रिपोर्ट के आधार पर आपके समक्ष कुछ बातें रखूंगा।

बात असली यह है कि आदिवासियों और हरिजनों का सवाल केवल एक राजनैतिक प्रश्न नहीं है। हमारे सामने दो प्रश्न हैं। एक प्रश्न यह कि हम मानवता के आधार पर अपने देश के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को बराबरी के अधिकार दे कर उसे ऊपर उठावें, और दूसरा यह कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण यह होना चाहिये कि हम ऐसा काम करें जिससे हमारा राष्ट्र जिसने अभी आज़ादी हासिल की है, बलवान बनें, मजबूत बनें, ऊपर उठे और छाती निकाल कर चल सके। इन दो दृष्टिकोणों से यदि हम देखें तो हमें

यह मानना पड़ेगा कि आज जो हरिजनों की व्यवस्था है, जो आदिवासियों की व्यवस्था है, उससे हम संसार के किसी भी राष्ट्र के सामने सिर ऊंचा करके नहीं जा सकते हैं और न यह ही कह सकते हैं कि हमारी संस्कृति, हमारी सभ्यता, हमारी आजादी और हमारा देश इतना ऊंचा है कि संसार में उसे हम सर्वश्रेष्ठ कह सकें। एक ओर अपने देश में हम अपने पूज्य, प्रधान और लोकप्रिय प्रियदर्शी नेता जवाहरलाल नेहरू को देखते हैं जिसका बुद्धिमत्ता और शांति के क्षेत्र में संसार में बोलवाला है, तो दूसरी ओर मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारी दृष्टि में देहातों व शहरों में रहने वाले मेहतर और मेहतर माताएं भी आती हैं जो अपने सिर पर मैले का टोकरा रखे सड़कों और गलियों में चलती हैं। यदि इस दृष्टिकोण से हम अपने देश की संस्कृति और सभ्यता का अनुमान केवल पण्डित जवाहरलाल जी या अपने को देख कर करें तो उससे हमारी संस्कृति और हमारी सभ्यता का सही अनुमान नहीं होता। हमारे राष्ट्र में हमारी ताकत यदि कोई है तो वह गिनी जायगी हमारे "बीकेस्ट लिंक", हमारी कमजोर से कमजोर कड़ी, को दृष्टि में रख कर। हमारे देश में हमारी कमजोर से कमजोर कड़ी हरिजन हैं, आदिवासी हैं। जब हम एक ओर अपने को बहुत ही अधिक सभ्य, शिक्षित और संस्कृति वाले कहते हैं, उस समय दूसरी ओर हम जब वस्तर जिले में आज भी नंगी रहने वाली जातियों को देखते हैं मडिया लोगों को, तब हमें सन्देह होता है कि हम इस आजादी के युग में हैं अथवा राम और कृष्ण के भी पहले के युग में हैं जब कि मनुष्य नग्न अवस्था में

पैदा हुआ था। इसलिये हमें देखना यह है कि हम इन आदिवासियों को उसी नग्न अवस्था में रखना चाहते हैं या उन्हें सभ्य भी बनाना चाहते हैं, उन्हें आगे भी बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। हमें यह भी देखना होगा कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हो गया, प्रजातंत्र स्थापित हो गया और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति इस राष्ट्र का मालिक हो गया, उस अवस्था में भी क्या उन मेहतरों को जो कि आज भी मैला फैकते हैं और उन बहनों को जो कि आज भी मनुष्य का मैला अपने सिर पर टोकरी में लिए शहरों में निकलती हैं हमें उसी अवस्था में रखना है जिसमें वे हैं। हमें उनका इस स्थिति को बनाए रखना है या उसको नष्ट करना है?

हम मानते हैं कि आज बहुत काम हो रहा है और यह इतना बड़ा काम है कि एक दिन में पूरा भी नहीं हो सकता। परन्तु इसका अर्थ यह भी नहीं है कि हम लापरवाही से काम करें। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूँ कि विचार कीजिये कि स्थिति सुधर कैसे सकती है। आपका विधान कहता है कि देश में कोई अछूत नहीं कहलाएगा, अस्पृश्यता कायम नहीं रहेगी। परन्तु हम देखते क्या है? अस्पृश्यों के साथी सन्त विनोबा भावे आज भी यदि वैद्यनाथ के मन्दिर पर जाते हैं तो उन पर लाठियों की वर्षा होती है। मुझे क्षमा किया जाय, मैं किसी धर्म, जाति या समाज पर लांछन नहीं लगाता हूँ। मैं आपसे यह कह रहा हूँ कि जिस विश्वनाथ मन्दिर को शताब्दियों पहले औरंगजेब ने तोड़ कर नष्ट किया था, उसमें आज भी कोई हरिजन नहीं जा सकता है। यह हमारी सभ्यता का, यह हमारे विधान का और यह हमारी

[श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज]

स्वतंत्रता का एक नमूना है। आखिर यह चीज नष्ट कैसे होगी? क्या कानून बनाने से नष्ट होगी? क्या एफिशियेंसी की दुहाई देकर या एफिशियेंसी के आधार पर नौकरी देने से हम इसका सुधार कर लेंगे? मैं तो आपसे कहूंगा कि यह काम एक क्षेत्र में कटने का नहीं है इस में सर्वतोमुखी कार्यों की आवश्यकता है। हमें अपने विचारों में परिवर्तन करना होगा, हमें अपने जीवन में परिवर्तन करना होगा और सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हमें बलिदान करना होगा उन स्वार्थों का जिन के बल पर इन हरिजनों को हरिजन बना कर रखा गया है।

एफिशियेंसी के सम्बन्ध में मैं आप से कहूंगा कि एफिशियेंसी एक बहुत ही रिलेटिव और रबड़ के माफिक चीज है। इसको जैसा तान दिया जाय, तन जायेगी और छोड़ दिया जाय तो सिकुड़ जायेगी एफिशियेंसी क्या है? एफिशियेंसी बनती है उसका रोज का रिकार्ड बनाने से। एक चर्मकार पानी पिलाने वाले का काम करता है। आफिस में उसकी नौकरी दी जाती है। परन्तु आफिस में कोई भी नहीं चाहता है कि उस चर्मकार के हाथ का पानी पिये। इसलिए उसका रिकार्ड खराब किया जाता है। यह शिकायत की जाती है कि वह ऐरोगेट है, बराबर नौकरी पर हाजिर नहीं रहता और फिर चार आठ दिन के बाद वह नौकरी से निकाल दिया जाता है क्योंकि वह इनएफिशियेंट है। इसी तरह से दफ्तरों में भी होता है और छोटी मोटी नौकरियों में भी होता है। वह इसलिये नहीं कि वह इनएफिशियेंट है पर वह

इनएफिशियेंट बनाया जाता है क्योंकि उसकी जगह पर और लोगों को रखना है और उन लोगों को रखना है जिनके ज्यादा वसीले हैं, जो बड़े खानदान के हैं और जो पैसे वाले हैं। इस प्रकार वह बेचारा हरिजन कुछ दिन नौकरी करने के बाद अपने घर चला जाता है और फिर भोज मांगने लगता है।

मैं एफिशियेंसी की बात आप से कहूँ कि यदि ईमानदारी से उनको एफिशियेंट बनाने की हमारी इच्छा है, तो एफिशियेंसी की क्लासज़ खोल दी जायें और उनको महिने छः महिने की ऐसी ट्रेनिंग दी जाय जिससे इनएफिशियेंट लोग एफिशियेंट हो जायें।

दूसरी बात यह कही जाती है कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन सब लोगों के हितों को देखता है। मैं मानता हूँ कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन वाले इम्पार्शल हैं और उनको होना चाहिये और यदि नहीं होंगे तो अब हो जायेंगे। परन्तु मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अपने देश में इतने प्रान्तों के पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन्स हैं और एक केन्द्रीय सरकार का है, किन्तु क्या एक भी आदिवासी किसी पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन का मेम्बर है? मुझे किसी एक आदमी का नाम बताइये। कोई नहीं है। ऐसी दशा में जो आज नौकरी देते हैं वे जब तक वहां बैठे हैं तब तक हरिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के सामने जरूर इनएफिशियेंट होगा और जो आपने उसको नौकरी में १३, १४ प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन दिया उसके अनुसार उसे कभी नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी। आपके आंकड़े स्वयं बतलाते हैं कि जहां १६ प्रतिशत का रिजर्वेशन था वहां दो ढाई प्रतिशत

हरिजन नौकरी पर आयें। आजादी के साथ साथ हमारा संस्करण, पुनर्निर्माण और पुनरुद्धार होना चाहिये। आजादी का अर्थ यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि हरिजनों को उसी रास्ते पर हम को ले जाना है जहां वे कुछ साल पहले थे। डाक्टर अम्बेदकर से मैं बहुत बातों में सहमत नहीं हूँ और राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में जवन भर मैंने उसका विरोध किया है। परन्तु आज उन्होंने हमारे डिपार्टमेंटों के आँछड़े बताये और इस रिपोर्ट के आधार पर यह सिद्ध किया कि जबसे हम को आजादी और गणतंत्र मिला है तब से हरिजनों की संख्या प्रत्येक डिपार्टमेंट में कम होत जा रही है, तो क्या संस्करण के यह अर्थ होते हैं कि जो हरिजन या आदिवासी पहले अधिक संख्या में आ गये थे वे अब कम कर दिये जायें? मेरा खुद का अनुभव है कि राजनीतिक सत्ता एक बड़ी सत्ता है। हमने अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य से युद्ध किया और उस युद्ध में अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य को यहां से निकाला। किस लिये? इसलिये कि सत्ता हमारे हाथ में हो। परन्तु यदि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के हाथ में सत्ता नहीं आई तो क्या वे बैसे रहेंगे? मुझे दुख हुआ इस बात को जान कर कि जिन प्रान्तों में पहले फुलफुलेज्ड हरिजन मंत्री थे वे धीरे धीरे कम किये जा रहे हैं, जिन प्रान्तों में पहले वे फुल कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर्स थे, वहां अब वे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर्स बनाये जा रहे हैं। तो हमको देखना यह है कि जहां तक राजनीतिक सत्ता का सवाल है, उनको राजनीतिक सत्ता आप को उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि के साथ देनी पड़ेगी। उनको सरकारों नौकरियां भी देनी पड़ेंगी। यह भी हरिजनता को निकालने का एक बड़ा भारी साधन है। जिसके पास

राजनीतिक सत्ता होती है उसके पास समाज के लोग जाते हैं, उसके पास बैठते हैं और उसको सलाम करते हैं। तो हरिजनता निवारण का यह भी एक साधन है कि सरकारी नौकरियों में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को अधिक से अधिक स्थान दिये जायें। क्योंकि केवल शिक्षा देने से कुछ नहीं होगा। शिक्षा देने के बाद यदि उनको समाज में शासन में और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में बराबरी का अधिकार नहीं दें तो उसका हरिजन क्षेत्रों में उलटा असर होता है। वे कहते हैं कि बिना पढ़े लिखे होने पर हल भी हांक आते थे और डोर भी चरा आते थे लेकिन पढ़ने लिखने के बाद वह काम भी नहीं कर सकते और नौकरी भी नहीं मिलती, बेकार घूमते हैं। न इधर के रहे और न उधर के रहे। इसलिये यदि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उन्नति करना चाहते हैं तो यह आवश्यक होगा कि गवर्नमेंट सर्विस के लिये जितनी तादाद मुकर्रर है कम से कम उस तादाद पर पूरे तरीके से उनको लिया जाय।

डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब पूरे समाज को लिये कहते हैं कि हिन्दू समाज में ऐसा दुर्गुण है जो कि निकल नहीं सकता। मैं उनसे बित्तमन्न प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि वे देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि राजा राममोहन राय, दयानन्द सरस्वती, महात्मा गांधी, आर्य समाज के लोग, जिन्होंने भी हरिजनोद्धार का काम किया है वे सब कास्ट हिन्दू से, सवर्ण हिन्दू से पैदा हुए।

श्री बी० बी० शर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
रामानुजम् कौन थे ?

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज : महात्मा गांधी, जिन्होंने कि इस बुराई को



[श्री आर० यू० अग्नि भोज]

जड़ मूल से खत्म करने की कसम खाई, जिन्होंने कि आमरण अनशन किये, वह सवर्ण हिन्दू थे। वह डाक्टर अम्बेदकर नहीं थे जिन्होंने कि एक बार भी अनशन नहीं किया। महात्मा गांधी ही ने बार बार अनशन किया। इसलिए मैं मानता हूँ कि यह बुराई है लेकिन इस बुराई को जड़ मूल से उखाड़ने की यदि किसी में शक्ति है या शक्ति पैदा हो सकती है तो वह हमारे देश के नेताओं में ही है और उनमें ही यह शक्ति पैदा हो सकती है यदि यह शक्ति महात्मा गांधी में थी तो उनके उत्तराधिकारियों में भी वह शक्ति है कि वे इस बुराई को जड़ मूल से उखाड़ कर फेंक दें और यदि वह शक्ति विसुप्त है तो उसे जागृत करें। मुझे विश्वास है कि यदि हम में वह शक्ति जागृत हुई और उसको जागृत करके बल पूर्वक हमने काम किया तो यह जो हरिजनों की गिरावट हुई अवस्था है यह एक स्वप्न की बात हो जायेगी और हमारी आने वाली पीढ़ी वाले सिर खुजला कर पढ़ेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में कभी अनटचेबिल सरीखी जातियाँ भी थीं क्योंकि उन्हें वैसी जातियाँ दिखाई नहीं देंगी। वे पूछेंगे कि ये जातियाँ तो हमें दिखाई नहीं देती, आखिर क्या बात है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि हमें इस क्षेत्र में विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि राज-नैतिक क्षेत्र में, सामाजिक क्षेत्र में, धार्मिक क्षेत्र में, शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, समाज में मेल जोल बढ़ाने में, एक दूसरे को सहायता और मदद करने में और राष्ट्र को एक साथ उठाने में हम मदद कर सकें। इस काम में हम जितना मदद कर सकें उतना ही अच्छा है। अन्त में मैं इस रिपोर्ट को रखने वाले को तथा

रिपोर्ट को तैयार करने वाले को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। श्री कान्त जी ने होम मिनिस्ट्री को ऐसा अवसर दिया कि वह ऐसी रिपोर्ट रख सकी। उन्होंने न केवल रिपोर्ट ही दी है बल्कि अच्छे सुझाव भी दिये हैं और जो सुझाव इसमें श्री कान्त जी ने दिये हैं उनको यदि हमारी सरकार कार्य रूप में परिणत कर सके तो मैं समझूँगा कि साल भर के लिए वह बहुत बड़ा काम हुआ और हमारी सरकार इसके लिये बघाई की पात्र होगी। उन्हें पुनः धन्यवाद देते हुए मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ।

SHRI K. B. LALL: On a point of order, Sir. On the first day when I pointed out to you that some time limit might be fixed, you were pleased to say that there was no necessity to fix any time limit and that nobody would be debarred from speaking.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I did **not** say that there need not be any time limit. I only said that everybody would have an opportunity to speak.

SHRI K. B. LALL: You said that nobody would be debarred from speaking. My point is that because of the absence of any time limit, I find that today, for example, somebody has spoken for 90 minutes, some for 35 minutes, some for 23 minutes, etc. I have noted down all the timings here. There has been a complete breach of order. I have given my name and I have been waiting. I approached the Secretary and he told me that I need not stand up and that I would be called anyhow. I do not know but if a time limit had been fixed, I might have been called by now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order, and I think I will be justified in deducting these Ave minutes from your time.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I do not question the Chair, but as I said, there has been a breach of order all along.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order in it. Shri Deokinandan Narayan.

श्री डी० नारायण (दम्बई) : उपसभा-पति महोदय, हम इस वक्त कमिशनर साहब की रिपोर्ट पर विचार कर रहे हैं। मेरे सामने सवाल यह है कि इस रिपोर्ट को किस निगाह से देखा जाय अछूतों की उन्नति कितनी हुई इस निगाह से देखा जाय या हमारे सवर्णों की दृष्टि में कितना फर्क हुआ इस निगाह से देखा जाय?

What should be the yardstick? रिपोर्ट में बहुत सी बातें लिखी हैं . . .

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Please continue from the word "yardstick".

श्री डी० नारायण : रिपोर्ट में बहुत सी बातें लिखी हैं कि सरकार ने अछूतों की भलाई के लिये यह किया, वह किया। जो कुछ किया उसके लिये तो सरकार को बधाई है परन्तु देखा यह जाना चाहिये कि जो समाज आज तक अछूतों पर अन्याय करता आया है उस समाज की दृष्टि कुछ बदली या नहीं, क्योंकि सच्चा सवाल सामाजिक न्याय और सोशल जस्टिस का है न कि इसका कि कितने अछूत भाई पढ़ गए, कितनों की माली हालत सुधरी, कितनों को नौकरी मिली। इन बातों से यह नहीं माना जा सकता कि कोई उस समाज का उद्धार हो रहा है हालांकि ये सब बातें उचित हैं और सरकार बहुत अच्छा काम कर रही है परन्तु जब हम सारे समाज को देखते हैं तब हमें यह सोचना होता है कि जो अछूत समाज है उस समाज की ओर हमारी जो निगाह थी उस निगाह में कुछ न्यायप्रियता आई या नहीं? क्या

कुछ मनुष्यता आई, क्या हम सवर्ण कहलाने वाले लोग अछूतों के साथ समता का बर्ताव करने लगे? जब इस निगाह से हम इस रिपोर्ट को शुरू से आखिर तक देखते हैं तो निराशा मालूम देती है क्योंकि सच पूछिए तो रिपोर्ट में इस में बात का तसफिया देना था कि अछूतपन मिटाने के लिए सवर्ण जातियां क्या कर रही हैं, सवर्ण जातियों ने अछूतों के लिये क्या किया, उनकी दृष्टि में क्या परिवर्तन हुआ और क्या वे उनके साथ समता से पेश आती हैं। एक छोटी सी बात ले लीजिये। गत वर्ष का वाक्या है कि जिस वक्त मेरे प्रान्त में अकाल पड़ रहा था, कुंवों में पानी नहीं था, उस वक्त मैंने देखा कि उस जमाने में जब कि कुंवों में पानी नहीं था गांवों में सवर्ण हिन्दू अपने कुंवों से उन्हें पानी नहीं लेने देते थे और उन्हें दो दो तीन तीन, चार चार, मील तक पानी के लिए जाना होता था। जब तक यह हालत बनी रहेगी तब तक आप क्या कह सकते हैं। भले हूं सौ, पचास ग्रेजुएट हो गये हों, या सौ, दो सौ को नौकरी मिल गई हो परन्तु पांच करोड़ जनता के प्रति बाकी तीस करोड़ जनता क्या बर्ताव करती है, यह इस काम की सच्ची कसौटी है।

श्री एच० पी० सक्सेना : कुंवों के मामले में आपने क्या किया?

श्री डी० नारायण : वह मैं बतला दूंगा, आप बैठिये। तो मैं इस रिपोर्ट की तमाम बातों को इस कसौटी से देखना चाहता हूं और कमिशनर साहब से मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आगे यह रिपोर्ट इस निगाह से भी लिखी जाय कि सवर्णों की दृष्टि कहां तक बदली है,

[श्री डी० नारायण]

सर्वण कितना न्याय करने लगे हैं, सर्वणों में कितनी समता की भावना आई है, सर्वण उनके साथ किस तरह का वर्ताव करते हैं ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं खास कर कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस रिपोर्ट को हमें यों भी देखना चाहिये कि अछूतों में जो सबसे नीचे की श्रेणी के लोग हैं उनकी क्या हालत है । यह दृष्टि खुद रिपोर्ट लिखने वालों ने भी जाहिर की है । अनुसूचित जातियों की प्रगति और उन्नति की खरी कसौटी है भंगी, डोम अथवा मेहतरों की दशा, जो हिन्दू समाज व्यवस्था में सबसे नीचे खड़े हैं, यानी सबसे खरी कसौटी इस काम की यह है कि भंगियों की हालत क्या है ? क्या भंगियों की दशा सुधरी है, क्या मेहतरों की दशा सुधरी है, क्या उनके सिर से मैले की टोकरी कम हुई है ? मनुष्यता के लिए यह सबसे बड़ी लांछन की बात है कि आज की दुनिया में एक मनुष्य प्राणी अपने सिर पर दूसरों का मैला ढोता है । बरसात के दिनों में जब कि ऊपर से पानी पड़ता होता है तो मैले की टोकरी से मैला बदन पर गिरता होता है । यह बात दुनिया में मनुष्यता को कभी भी शोभा नहीं दे सकती परन्तु वह हालत हिन्दुस्तान में अब भी जारी है । क्या उसमें कोई सुधार हुआ । सब पूछिये तो इससे और गिरी हुई बात दुनिया में हो ही नहीं सकती कि एक मनुष्य अपनी टट्टी अपने जैसे दूसरे मनुष्य प्राणी से पेट के लिए उठवाये । यह चीज जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में, शहरों और कसबों में हो रही है उसके लिए आपको सोचना चाहिये । मैं तो

कमिश्नर साहब से कहूंगा कि उन्हें अभी से ऐसी कोई तजवीज सोचनी चाहिये कि यदि आज नहीं तो करीब १० या २० वर्ष में जल्द से जल्द यह प्रथा बन्द हो जाय । उन्हें यह देखना चाहिये कि यह जो भंगी का मैला ढोने का व्यवसाय है वह बन्द हो जाय । जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक अस्पृश्यता नष्ट नहीं होगी । इतना ही नहीं इससे न तो आप में मानवता पैदा होगी और न उन भंगियों या अछूतों में मनुष्यता का खयाल पैदा होगा । तो सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि पहले इंसान को इंसान बनाना चाहिये बाद में और कोई बात । वह तो इंसान ही नहीं रहता जबकि वह दूसरों के मैले की टोकरी ढोता है और आप सब लोग देखते रहते हैं । यदि वह गरीबी के कारण ऐसा करता है तो मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि क्या सर्वण हिन्दुओं में भंगी से गरीब लोग नहीं ? उससे आप ऐसा धन्धा तो करा कर देखिये तो जरा । वे कभी नहीं करेंगे । वे मरना बेहतर समझेंगे बनिस्वत इस धन्धे को करने के । मैं कमिश्नर साहब से कहूंगा कि इस काम के लिए खास कमीशन कायम हो कि किस तरह से यह काम या धन्धा चले और १० वर्ष या २० वर्ष में यह बन्द हो जाय । इस काम के करने में कुछ सुधार तो फौरन हो जाने चाहिये ।

दूसरी बात जिसकी ओर मुझे आप लोगों का ध्यान खींचना है और जिसका इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ६३ पर विवरण दिया गया है वह इस प्रकार है : “जिस नर्क कुंड के विषय में मैंने अपनी सन् १९५१ की रिपोर्ट में वर्णन किया था, उस को देखने के लिए एक बार मैं फिर गया । मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि अमानुषिक ढंग जिस में हरिजन लोग पैर

से टट्टी को मलते थे, एक तिहाई बदल गया है और उसको टैंक लगे हुए ट्रैक्टरों द्वारा बाहर ले जाया जाता है।" इस तरह की बातों को कमिश्नर साहब स्वयं अपने आँखों से देख चुके हैं फिर भी यह चीज कानून द्वारा बन्द नहीं की जा सकी है। इस बात को हम सबको सोचना चाहिए और इस बुराई को जल्द से जल्द दूर करना चाहिये। हमको इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि इस व्यवसाय में ऐसे तरीके ढूँढ़ें जिसमें कि यह व्यवसाय कम होता जाय। यह व्यवसाय कब बन्द होगा यह तो अभी नहीं कहा जा सकता है मगर उसकी क्रिया में अवश्य सुधार किया जा सकता है। इस काम के लिए टट्टियों में सुधार किया जाना चाहिये, लाने ले जाने में सुधार होना चाहिये। जो आदमी इसको ले जाता है, उसका सिर पर ले जाना बन्द होना चाहिये, स्त्रियों को और बच्चों को यह काम करने न दिया जाय, यानी बहुत सी बातें और बहुत से सुधार इस विषय में हो सकते हैं, जिनको हम आसानी के साथ कर सकते हैं, और जिनकी ओर में कमिश्नर साहब का ध्यान विशेष रूप से खींचना चाहता हूँ।

अब जो बात मैं कह रहा हूँ उसकी ओर मैं डा० अम्बेदकर साहब का भी ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब जो खुद को अछूतों का एक बड़ा रहनुमा समझते हैं और हिन्दुओं और सवर्ण हिन्दुओं को इस बात के लिए दोष देते हैं कि हरिजनों की स्थिति के लिए ये लोग जिम्मेदार हैं बहुत कुछ मानों में वह सच है। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ किन्तु हरिजनों में आपस में जो छुवाछूत है, उसके लिए कौन दोषी

है? आज भी हरिजनों में इस तरह की अस्पृश्यता और छुवाछूत मौजूद है। आज हम देखते हैं कि चमार जाति के लोग महार जाति के लोगों के हाथ का पानी नहीं पीते एक दूसरे को नहीं छूते, इसी तरह से ढेड़ मांग जाति के लोगों के हाथों का पानी नहीं पीते, भंगी भी दूसरी अछूत जाति के लोगों के हाथ का पानी नहीं पीते, यह जात पात का भेदभाव इन लोगों में अभी तक चला आ रहा है। क्या डा० अम्बेदकर साहब और अग्निभोज साहब ने इस समस्या की ओर कभी ध्यान दिया? पहले उनको अपनी जाति में से इस बुराई को दूर करना चाहिये। जब इस तरह की बुराई को वे अपने समाज से दूर कर देंगे तब वे दूसरों पर दोषा रोपण कर सकते हैं। इन लोगों का कहना है कि हिन्दू सवर्ण जाति वाले अछूतों के साथ न्याय नहीं कर रहे हैं, माना हिन्दू न्याय नहीं कर रहे हैं किन्तु क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि हरिजनों में जो भेदभाव एक दूसरे के प्रति अब भी दिखाई देता है, क्या वह न्याय कहा जा सकता है? डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब को इस चीज की ओर अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिये।

1 P.M.

अब मैं हरिजनों की वस्तियों के बारे में सदन का ध्यान विशेष रूप से आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आप गांव में कहीं भी चले जायं हरिजनों की वस्तियां वहाँ पर पायेंगे जहाँ पर गांव खत्म होता है, जहाँ पर ज्यादा गन्दी या गलीज जगह होगी वहाँ पर ये लोग रहते हैं। यह हालत एक दो गांव की नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश के चारों तरफ हर भाग में इस तरह की जगहों में ही हरिजनों को रहत हुए

[ श्री डी० नारायण ]

आप पायेंगे। एक ओर महार जाति के लोग होंगे तो दूसरी दिशा में चमार जाति के लोग रहते होंगे। इसी तरह पूर्व दिशा में भंगी बसे होंगे तो पश्चिम में डेढ़ जाति के लोग, यानी गांव के चारों ओर हरिजन के ही घर दिखाई देंगे। उन लोगों की बस्तियां इस तरह की होंगी कि वहां साहब का कुत्ता तक बैठना पसन्द नहीं करेगा। जब वर्षा होती है या बाढ़ आती है तो इन बस्तियों पर पहले आफत आती है जिसका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता है। कई तरह की गन्दगी इन बस्तियों में रहती है फिर भी हमारा समाज उस चीज को बरदास्त करता चला आ रहा है। हमें इस बात की ओर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि उनकी बस्तियों को सुधारा जाय जिससे उनमें मानवता की भावना पैदा की जाय, स्वच्छता के विचार उनके दिमागों में आ सकें। और वे दिन प्रति दिन अपने को सुधार सकें। इस बात की ओर हम सब लोगों का ध्यान अवश्य जाना चाहिये और जहां तक हो सके उनकी बस्तियों की हालत को जल्दी सुधारना चाहिए। सरकार तो यह काम करेगी ही मगर जनता का भी यह कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि उन लोगों की उन्नति के कामों में हर तरह की सहायता प्रदान करें।

अभी यहां पर पढ़े लिखों की बात कही गई है। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक दो बातें कहनी हैं। हमारे हरिजन भाई पढ़ लिख कर अफसर हो जाते हैं मगर जब वे नौकरी करने किसी शहर में जाते हैं तो उनको रहने के लिए किराए पर मकान तक नहीं मिलता है। मुझे इस तरह के कई उदाहरण मालूम हैं।

हमारी तहसील में एक सर्फिल इंस्पेक्टर साहब आये, उनको अछूत होने के कारण मकान नहीं मिल सका और लोकल बोर्ड की धर्मशाला में पड़े रहना पड़ा। जब उनको उस गांव में कोई मकान किराये को नहीं मिल सका तो उन्होंने अपना तबादला करा लिया और पुरानी जगह को लौट गये। इसी तरह से एक हरिजन प्रेजुएट जो कचहरी में काम करता था उसको भंगी बस्ती में रहना पड़ता था। बहुत से हरिजन भाइयों को गांवों से शहर में काम करने या पढ़ने के लिये रोजाना आना पड़ता है क्योंकि उनको रहने के लिये जगह नहीं मिलती है। जब हम लोगों का इस तरह का बर्ताव इन लोगों के साथ हो तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि डाक्टर अम्बेदकर जैसे रहनुमा का भाव क्या हो सकता है? परन्तु इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि पढ़े लिखे हरिजनों का सम्बन्ध भी अपने अनपढ़ जाति वालों के साथ कोई बहुत अच्छा नहीं होता है। वे भी अपने अनपढ़ भाइयों से समता की दृष्टि से, बर्ताव नहीं करते, उनको दूर ही रखते हैं। जब ऐसा ही बर्ताव हमारे पढ़े लिखे समाज के लोग जिसको कि उच्च समाज कहा जाता है अपने वे पढ़े लिखे भाइयों के साथ करते हैं तो डाक्टर अम्बेदकर की जाति में पढ़े लिखे लोगों का अपने वे पढ़े लिखे लोगों के साथ किस तरह का व्यवहार हो सकता है, यह आप लोग समझ सकते हैं। मेरा कहना है कि इस तरह का भेदभाव हमें नहीं करना चाहिये। हमें सबको समान दृष्टि से देखना चाहिये, ऊंच नीच का भेद सामने नहीं लाना चाहिए, यह देश के लिए बहुत हानिकार चीज है। हम सब लोगों को अपना दृष्टिकोण बदलना होगा तब ही हम

समानता की भावना देश में पैदा कर सकते हैं।

अन्तिम बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि अगर हमको हरिजनों का उद्धार करना है तो हमें उनको बराबरी की भावना से देखना होगा। अगर कोई हरिजन किसी नौकरी में चला गया तो उसको मकान रहने के लिए नहीं मिलता है। इसी तरह से इन लोगों को बाजारों में दुकान खोलने नहीं करने दिया जाता, होटल नहीं लगाने दिया जाता, फल नहीं बेचने दिया जाता और अगर वे लोग इस तरह का व्यापार करते हैं तो कोई उनकी दुकान से खरीदता नहीं है। इस तरह के कई संकटों का उन लोगों को सामना करना पड़ता है। अगर हम लोगों को अछूतों को सामाजिक न्याय देना है तो हमको इस तरह का बर्ताव बदलना होगा। बाजार एक ऐसी जगह हुआ करती है जहाँ व्यवहार में मनुष्य बहुत सी बातें भूल जाता है और वहाँ पर जब एक सा बर्ताव होने लगता है तो वह भेदभाव भी भूलने लगता है।

श्री कन्हैयालाल डी० बंध (मध्य भारत) : जनेऊ पहिना देने से सब भेद भाव मिट जायगा।

श्री डी० नारायण : नहीं, जनेऊ पहिनाने से तो कुछ नहीं होगा क्योंकि वह ऐसी चीज है जो पैसे में तीन तीन मिलते हैं। हमें चाहिए कि हम हरिजनों को बाजारों में अन्य छोटे बड़े सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के साथ दुकानें खोल कर धंधा करने दें। उनके लिए होटल, रेस्टाँ आदि खुलवाएं। जब वे बाजार में आपस में व्यवहार और लेन देन के लिए मिलेंगे तो उनकी हालत बहुत कुछ देखा देखी

सुधर जायगी और एक दूसरे की दृष्टि भी सुधरने लगेगी। वगैर ऐसी किये दृष्टि बदलने वाली नहीं है। बहुत से ऐसे रोजगार हैं, बहुत सी ऐसी व्यवस्थाएँ हैं जो सरकार के हाथ में हैं। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप उनमें हरिजनों को दाखिल कीजिये। रेलवे मिनिस्टर साहब यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, इसलिए मुझे याद आ गया कि रेलवे पर जो टी स्टाल्स हैं, फूट स्टाल्स हैं, और भी बहुत से स्टाल्स हैं, उनमें क्या मंत्री महोदय हरिजनों को लाइसेंस नहीं दिला सकते?

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore):  
Who will buy from them?

श्री डी० नारायण : जो लेना चाहें लें, जो लेना न चाहें न लें, परन्तु सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि जिस तरह से वह नौकरियों में हरिजनों के लिए हिस्सा सुरक्षित रखती है, स्कूलों में उन्हें सुविधा देती है, स्कॉलरशिप देती है उसी तरह से उसका यह फर्ज है कि हरिजनों को स्टाल्स दे, हरिजनों को भी कैटीन दे और इस तरह से लोगों को हरिजनों से भी चीजें खरीदने के लिए प्रेरित करे। हम उनके पास जायें इस चीज की बड़ी आवश्यकता है और यह बात मुझे खास तौर से आपसे कहना है कि बगैर ऐसा किये आप उनका सुधार नहीं कर सकते और न उनका अछूतपन ही दूर कर सकते हैं।

आखिरी बात मुझे यह भी कहना है सरकार से कि मैंने बहुत सी फैक्टरियों में यह देखा कि अछूतों को नौकरी नहीं दी जाती है और रिपोर्ट में यह कहा गया है कि फैक्टरीज तो प्राइवेट हुआ करती हैं। अभी जब फैक्टरियाँ प्राइवेट हुआ करती हैं तो फिर ये एक नहीं, दो

[श्री डी० नारायण]

नहीं अनेक कानून फंक्टरियों के लिए जब सरकार बनाती है तो क्या आप यह भी कानून नहीं बना सकते कि उनमें अच्छतों को भी औरों की तरह सब किस्म के काम दिये जाने चाहिये? तो मेरा कहना है कि कारखानों में अच्छतों को लेना ही चाहिये और कानून बना कर जरूरत हो तो उनकी तादाद भी निश्चित कर देनी चाहिये। शुरू में तो सरकार की ओर यह कोशिश की जाय कि फंक्टरीज वाले उन्हें बगैर कानून बनाए ही रखने लगे और अगर वह कोशिश कामयाब न हो तो इस के लिए कानून तक बना दिया जाना चाहिये।

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir, I shall begin by congratulating the Government on bringing up such a nice report. It is not only a nice report, but it contains very honest and good things. I am not one of those who criticise this report, for the sake of criticism. There is no doubt that the Government is sincere and Government is sincerely following the old method. There are persons who have opposed and who have narrated their stories of grievances, how the so-called untouchables or tribal people are suffering. I agree that there are grievances. Dr. Ambedkar gave us a list of grievances and I agree with him also. But the thing that I want to point out is that the criticisms that have come, have all come from different points of view or different angles of view. It has pained me very much to hear such criticisms. I have also a few suggestions and I shall offer them. But the first criticism that came from my hon. friend, Shri Bodra <> Chhota Nagpur was certainly from a i mint of view that smacks of politics, it is not the fault of the Government. The Government is doing things sincerely and I am sure some of the workers are working in Chhola Nagpur among the tribe people; they are

sincere workers. One of them who has been criticised here, is a life-long worker who has been serving the cause for the past 20 years in that area and he has exclusively given his time and life to this sort of work. He has been criticised, not because there is anything wrong with him, but because the work is not being appreciated from a point of view that is political. Dr. Ambedkar also had the same grievances. He wants that things should be done through such and such an agency, and not through such and such, an agency, because otherwise the credit would go to the party. So it is not the real problem that affects them. The real thing is they want the work to be done by their agency and they should get

of the proverb " किसी का घर जले  
और कोई हाथ सेके ।" It is not

existence of untouchability that affects them. What they want is political cover, political position political advantage. That is what they want and that is what they want to get out of it. This is the real thing behind Dr. Ambedkar's point and that is behind the back of Mr. Bodra's mind. That is because they want to exploit the people. They want to exploit untouchability. They want to exploit the backwardness of the people. They are not in their heart of hearts, for removing this backwardness, to remove untouchability, for they want to keep them always where these backward people are. That is their policy. And that was the British policy? The British were not for removing this backwardness or to remove untouchability, to improve their lot, because I know once the late Lala Lajpat Rai asked the British, "Well, if you have so much of solicitude for these downtrodden people, are you prepared to provide Rs. 5 crores for the work of ameliorating the condition of backward people?" Government did not agree. Why should they? They actually flourished upon such things. They lived upon these differences. They patted the backward people and told them, "See,

/ou are being exploited by the high-caste Hindus." And these people thought the British were their real friends. They want to do us good. But the Britisher wanted the backwardness to exist. It was not to their interest to remove this backwardness and they laid some traps. I am sorry to say those very traps are being followed by the Government. That is my grievance. I have complimented the Government on their sincerity, on their honesty and sincere efforts. But I am only sorry that they should also become prey to the trap laid by the British people. They may not be believing in it, but they are treading the same path and they are accustomed to think and recognise the tribals. they recognise the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. They recognise the existence of castes and still everything is done in that way. Therefore Dr. Ambedkar is following the same path that Mr. Jinnah wanted to follow. Hearing his speech, I feel that he is suffering from the same belief from which Mr. Jinnah was suffering. And what are we doing? We are doing the same thing as we did towards Jinnah. We feel like guilty persons. When he said something, we said, "Yes we are guilty". Similarly, when Dr. Ambedkar says something, we feel guilty and say, "Yes. This is the attitude taken by our Government". But I want them to be quite sincere. I want them to be sincere, candid and bold enough

to say that this is a wrong attitude of mind. They want to be recognised as a separate entity in this society; that is how the Britishers laid the trap and we have fallen into that trap. They are still working on the same trap. I want the Government to examine that position and see how they could mend matters in the light of the present situation. The position is so peculiar today that so many people want to be called scheduled caste today. I know of a very well known person of my State who held a very high position; he was a Rai Bahadur. He was telling a man wearing a thread and claiming to be a *Rashtriya* "What will you get by becoming a *Rashtriya*? Claim to be a *Sudra* so that you may get the best advantage and also you may remain at the top of the society". That is the mentality. We are daily getting so many persons asking us to give certificates saying that they belong to the scheduled caste or the backward class. This is meant only for political purposes and political exploitation.

MiB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue your speech tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 8.15 tomorrow morning.

The House then adjourned at sixteen minutes past one of the clock till a quarter past eight of the clock on Tuesday, the 7th September 1954.