

NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM

122. SHRI M. VALIULLA: Will the Minister for TRANSPORT be pleased to state:

(a) the total mileage of roads which are likely to come under the National Highway System in each State at the end of the Five Year Plan; and

(b) what was the total mileage of roads under the National Highway System in each State in the year 1950?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS AND TRANSPORT (SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN): (a) and (b). A statement giving the required information is attached. [See Appendix VIII, Annexure No. 88.]

BOOK-STALLS ON THE CENTRAL RAILWAY

123. SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: Will the Minister for RAILWAYS be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of book-stalls on the various railway stations on the Central Railway; and

(b) the names of those book-stall holders?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS AND TRANSPORT (SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN): (a) 64.

(b) Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Co. Ltd., Allahabad.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

MOTION RE REPORT OF COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES, 1953.—
continued.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri K. B. Lall will please continue his speech.

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): Yesterday, I complimented the Government for sincerely and honestly attempting to ameliorate the condition of the scheduled caste people and I referred to the political design and exploitation of

~~some~~ persons who do not want the work of the Government to progress in this direction. I also referred to the trap laid by the British people in their own day and how our Government also seem to be treading the same path and falling into the trap laid by the Britishers. I will now illustrate how our Government is treading on the old path without counting what results that will lead to. In the short time that may be at my disposal, I will refer to some of the points raised here and in the debate in Parliament on the Report of the Commissioner for the year 1952 in the Lok Sabha and the papers circulated.

You will find that one of the points raised was that the children of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be given free education at the primary, secondary and university stages in all technical schools. So far as the sound of it is concerned, it sounds very well to the ear. But look at the implication of it. How will it work if those who are no longer backward and who are enjoying high positions equal to any other person in society—if their children are admitted free, are entitled to free education in this manner? How do you advocate the children of Dr. Ambedkar or Shri Jagjivan Ram being given facilities of free education, while his chaprasi who may be a Brahmin and who may be suffering under many disadvantages is not being permitted free education for his son? Can you understand that? That is the thing. Similarly, there are so many things which go to show that we are talking and thinking in the same old way as we did in the British times. Because the Muslims were patted at that time they claimed so many things. That is the habit of our people even now, clamouring in that way, taking up the thread and howling in the same fashion. Today also we find here the same sort of cry is being raised in the name of untouchability. I maintain that if there is anything like untouchability, that should be declared a crime under the Indian Penal Code everywhere and no quarter should be given to the person who believes in untouchability or practises untouchability, unmindful of the

effect of it on the reputation it will have on our country and our Government. If our Government is sincere, if we are sincere, we should not care for any section of the people or section of society which still wants to adhere to the old habits of untouchability. They should be shown the right path by the force of the law. That is a thing that I can understand. But you recognise untouchability. At the same time you give preference to the children of the so-called untouchable people, to the children of Dr. Ambedkar and the children of Shri Jagjivan Ram.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): No, they are excluded now.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I don't know whether their names have been cut off from the roll of the untouchables. So long as you believe in this fashion, you will go on committing these mistakes. I have got this list in my hand and I was staggered to see the things in it, to see them think and speak in this way. I find for instance that they should have reservations, and the Government is pleading like an accused person and admitting the advisability of giving consideration to such questions. There is the demand for implementation of the reservation order in certain services. There is no doubt the representation of the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes is inadequate in the Central and State Government services, it is said. For this purpose, the Commissioner has suggested in the 1953 Report that Government should set up a Committee on which, in addition to representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and other Ministries concerned, there should be one Member of Parliament, belonging to the Scheduled Castes and one belonging to the Scheduled Tribes. When I see such things being discussed in this way, when the truth of the statement is being admitted by our Government, it looks as if our Government is pleading like an accused person, a guilty person. I ask them, "Why should you plead like a guilty person?" They should give a bold reply and say

they are not going to recognize untouchability in any form or in any way. That courage I want to instil in our Government. They should say boldly that they are not going to put up with this sort of thing any longer. And for that I will suggest, when they require of me my suggestions, several ways to ameliorate the condition of those who are really backward. I will give them my suggestions just as I once gave my suggestions to one of the communalists, a caste-minded, big leader in the country who presided over a caste-conference. There he had brought up the usual arguments. He was a nationalist and he presided over a caste conference, because, as he said, he wanted to ameliorate the condition of the people, in certain respects, for, as he argued, each part should be made strong so that the whole body may be strong. So he thought of presiding over the conference. Just look at the lame excuse that was being given. Is that your argument for presiding over the caste conference? You want illiteracy to be removed. You want child-marriage to be stopped. You want widow marriages to be introduced. You want the physical health of the people to be improved. You want all these evils to be banished. But all these evils are found in all the castes. So why not have an all-India conference? Why not have an all-India conference or a conference on a territorial basis, an all-Bihar Conference if you like? An all-India removal of illiteracy conference, or an all-India widow re-marriage conference or an all-India child-marriage restraint conference? Why not have that so that all persons may have a common platform and may take part in the effort to remove these evils? Why should you be arguing on behalf of Kayast or on behalf of Brahmin? Why should you have a Kayast Sabha, or a Brahmin Sabha or a Rajput Sabha or a Bhumihar Sabha? Why not create a common platform for all the common evils?

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of information, Sir. Does the hon. Member have untouchables in his own caste?

SHRI K. B. LALL: Yes, so many. You have them in every caste. I know even Dr. Ambedkar would not like to speak to his Brahmin chaprasi, if he goes before him. I have seen a manager who belongs to a backward class, the manager of an estate, and when he is hearing a Brahmin who appeals, "My Lord, I am not guilty, the others are guilty" the manager says, "I know all in the whole village, these Brahmins and others, all alike are rascals. I am not going to hear you." That is the language they use. So backward class people also use such language against Brahmins. If they are not untouchables, there are backward persons among Brahmins also.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Are there "Adibasis" also among Brahmins?

SHRI K. B. LALL: Yes.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Madras): Sir, on a point of order. The hon. the Home Minister in his opening speech prefaced his speech with the remark that he would be here to hear and profit by the suggestions that would be made by the various Members. But he does not seem to have been either hearing or listening to the suggestions of the present speaker. So I fail to see how he can profit by it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. You please continue, Mr. Lall.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I am going to suggest that instead of proceeding on the basis of scheduled caste or tribal caste, we should introduce a system of recognising backward class No. 1, backward class No. 2, backward class No. 3 and so on.

(Time bell rings)

I think I have hardly spoken for ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You took five minutes yesterday.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I think you said that there was no point of order and

that a breach of the order is the order of the day.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; you yourself objected to hon. Members taking more than the allotted time. You cannot go against your own objection. No exception can be made in your case.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I am under the merciful Chair above whom hangs the scales. I will finish in five minutes. I will refrain from replying to the points raised by Dr. Ambedkar but I am giving useful suggestions for the Government that if they recognise the backward classes, they will really help the backward people and regenerate them; there can be backward classes who have not got land, then those who have not got any property, those who have not got literacy; of course, conditions may be thought out but if you follow such a system you will find that many people belonging to the high castes will come under your backward class No. 1. Thus you will save yourself from the stigma of encouraging the caste system. Our purpose should be to liquidate the caste system, to liquidate backwardness, to liquidate untouchability etc. and not to encourage the integration and consolidation of backward castes. Big conferences are held and Ministers go and bless them and preside over such conferences. That kind of thing, should be discouraged; if you do not do that it would mean that you are encouraging and helping those people to consolidate and strengthen their position in the name of ameliorating their condition. In the name of ameliorating their condition, the backward people are taking advantage for consolidating themselves and for creating a political platform. They are creating a position in the country similar to the one which Mr. Jinnah created in the old days. In the name of helping the Mussalmans, he organised a separate nation. Here also, if you remember, Dr. Ambedkar spoke in the same strain yesterday; he was not prepared to support your civilisation, your culture and he was maligning everything that smacked of Hindu culture or civilisation,

anything that ~~snatched~~^{Amoked} of our ancient heritage that we are proud of. Don't you see that this is the same way in which Jinnah was talking? How did he end? He ended by separating the Mussalmans altogether so that the Mussalmans are now claiming to be the descendants of Afghans, Persians, Moghuls and Arabs whereas they are children of this soil, children of our forefathers; they are blood of our blood and the same blood which runs in us runs in them but they are thinking of foreign people as their forefathers. The same will be the case with our people who, in the name of removing untouchability, want to organise the untouchables in such a way as to capture votes and to make their own position secure. They will then invite the Americans and say that they are being harassed, in the name of democracy, by these people and so, "come and invade our country". That way, history will be repeated again in our time if you do not take time by the forelock and if you do not organise your efforts in a proper way. One of my friends pointed out that there is untouchability amongst the untouchables also and I would have given horrible instances of such untouchability; there have been even fight amongst these people. These things have been going on from time immemorial. Dr. Ambedkar should have taken note of these things but he has not cared to look to such things. I have got reverence for him and I regard him as a very big person but at the same time I cannot brook, in silence, the attitude of mind that he exhibits on such occasion but it is all due to the fact that our Government policy and our policy makers in this regard are not on the right path. If you go on conceding in this way (Time bell rings.).....in the name of ameliorating their condition, helping them to organise and to consolidate their position you will meet with the same situation as you met^{with} with the Mussalmans at one time.

Thank you Sir.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN:
Mr. Deputy Chairman, the hon. Mem-

bers who have preceded me have dealt at great length with most of the points and I wish to make only one or two very brief and very general observations in the limited time that has been allotted. What is the aim of this Report? What has been the aim of the Reports in the past? To quote from the Report itself, "the aim of the Report is to indicate the progress that has been achieved and the measures that have been adopted during the year ending December 1953, to promote the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, etc., etc." Then the Report goes on to state, "experience has, however, shown that in spite of repeated and urgent reminders, it has not been possible for the State Governments to furnish me with the required and sufficient data in time for inclusion in the Report." Now, Sir, what exactly does this indicate? It indicates, to my mind, a complete lack of seriousness, a complete lack of any real deep or deeply thought out policy on the part of either the State or the Central Government. Here we have the Report of 1953 and when we see the Report of 1952, the proposals that are given in that Report by the Commissioner on page 46 are as follows: "As far as I could find, the main issues on which legislation is necessary in order to safeguard the interests of these communities are (a) housing facilities, (b) security of land tenure, (c) debt redemption and check on money-lenders, (d) promotion of cottage industries and other economic interests, (e) representation in local bodies, panchayats, etc., etc." These were the proposals put forward by the Commissioner in his Report in 1952. Reading through the Report of 1953, we see how miserable have been the attempts on the part of the State Governments and on the part of the Central Government to try and implement those recommendations or to take any form of executive or legislative action in regard to those recommendations. The hon. Home Minister in his usual very eloquent and very slick manner, if I

[Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan]

may say so, has tried to steal the thunder from all those who might be speaking by wonderful assurances in his speech that since the Report has come, "we have done this, we have done that and we have done the other. This State Government and that State Government has sent this proposal, that proposal and the other proposal and, of course, we are all very busy examining these proposals and very soon we are going to give you a wonderful picture as regards all these things" But, Sir, that is not at all satisfying. Let us not delve into the future, let us not go too deeply into the past, let us just take the facts as they are—let us take the Report as it is—and in doing so let me make it clear that it is not from lack of trust in the Members of Parliament and Members of the State Legislature but it is from a lack of trust in the policy of the Government as we judge it from our experience of action that has been taken in the past few years since the Congress has come into power. It has become a practice, Sir, in this House in recent days, particularly since the debate on foreign policy for Members of Parliament to give short accounts, sometimes accurate, sometimes inaccurate accounts of history. The hon Mr Datar's reference to history yesterday is perhaps more astonishing than any other that has been made on the floor of this House. To quote him he says that all the handicaps that these people, that is the people of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been suffering from, economic and social handicaps, are a matter of history now. These are his words and I regret to say that I beg to differ from him that they are not a matter of history but they happen to be a matter of very bitter reality to the people of the Scheduled Castes and to the people of the Scheduled Tribes today. Let me advise him to remember the saying that past experience should be a guiding post and not a hitching post. He tries to make past experience a hitching post and I would request him to remember that it should be a guiding post.

Now to refer to the report itself, what progress has been made from 1952 in 1953? We have first the Appendix No XXII, already referred to by a previous speaker, an Appendix that is perhaps a record in sphinx-like silence on the part of the various State Governments. On every issue, whether it be education, whether it be social welfare, whether it be the question of land legislation, again and again what do we find? "The reply from the State Government is awaited. Details from the State Governments not available" and so on and so forth.

Therefore rather than refer to that Appendix, I would like to take up Section V where the Commissioner has given us a very lucid, a very helpful picture of what advances have or have not been made. Here when we look at the housing facilities, what does he say? He says that no legislative measures have been adopted by any State Government for providing housing facilities exclusively for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, that the position throughout the country is most unsatisfactory. He also gives us a few figures and I would like to quote some of them. Take the figures for Bombay, for instance where loans have been granted. Only 0.21 per cent of the Scheduled Castes have benefited and 0.05 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes have benefited. From the lands in Hyderabad the housing facilities have benefited only 2 per cent of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In Travancore-Cochin the beneficiaries are only 1.25 per cent of Scheduled Castes and 0.1 per cent of Scheduled Tribes and so on and so on. These are the figures that we come across.

Similarly with regard to the security of land tenure which I consider the most important because today throughout this country, if we study the subject closely we find that it is basically the economic disabilities that have given rise to the social disabilities which the Scheduled Castes have got to face. In my State particularly, to this day, we find that in the district of Ramnath and Tinnevely, if a

Scheduled Caste man is to go along the street of a village or town and if a high caste Hindu passes by, whether it be in any conveyance or whether it be on foot, the Scheduled Caste man has got to stop and turn his face away from the road so that the high caste Hindu will not be polluted by having a glance at the Scheduled Caste man. To this day that practice exists

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND
(Madhya Pradesh) How many instances are there like this?

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN
If you will be patient, you will get the instances also. To this day this practice continues. To this day when a Scheduled Caste man is courageous enough to assert his rights and walk along the streets, what happens? The high caste Hindu will get down from his carriage, he will catch hold of the Scheduled Caste man and he will beat him up and there is nobody to come to the rescue of the Scheduled Caste man. Instances? It is a daily occurrence. There is no point in my going into them one by one, State-wise or city-wise or town-wise, but Dr Shrimati Seeta Parmanand can have all her desire for statistics fulfilled if she will meet me later on because I cannot go into instances in the brief period of fifteen minutes, but this is the position even today. And why is it that we find in the record of complaints in the Appendix that has been given to us, with regard to the number of complaints that have been registered that they are very miserably few in number? The reason is stated very clearly in the Report itself. The reason is that today the position of the Scheduled Castes is such they are so dependent on what are termed in this Report their better placed brethren that they have neither the courage nor the economic independence nor the economic facilities for launching those cases that are necessary to bring to book all cases that are in contravention of the Social Disabilities Act. This is the position to-

day. If that particular Scheduled Caste man who has been beaten up for walking with his head upright on the streets of Ramnagar or Tinnevely should dare to launch a case against the person who beat him up, what would have resulted? It would result in his being thrown off even that miserable piece of land that he is allowed to cultivate. Today the vast majority of our Scheduled Caste people are either landless labourers or tenants-at-will. Here in this report itself we have got certain figures given to us. In Bihar 70 per cent of the Scheduled Castes are landless labourers or tenants-at-will. In Bhopal it is 82.64 per cent, in Delhi 50 per cent, in Coorg 86 per cent and so on and so forth. In no particular area does this percentage come to less than 55 to 60 per cent. So it becomes quite clear that unless and until the Government has a bold policy with regard to land reforms, unless and until the Government while taking steps to remove social disabilities, also take steps to remove the economic disabilities, the steps that they take for the removal of social disabilities can be of no avail. We welcome every legislation that is brought forward for the removal of these social disabilities, but again and again we have to remind the Government that unless and until you tackle the problem as a whole, the problem of the peasantry in our country today being faced by eviction, today being faced by feudal exploitation, unless that problem is faced and tackled properly from the very bottom, the problem of social disabilities of the Scheduled Castes cannot be solved. We do not agree with the theory of one nation oppressing another nation. We feel that we are all one nation. But today it is the oppression of one class of people by another, one section of people by another. Take for instance this example. In Andhra waste land was given to the Scheduled Castes and today those Scheduled Caste people to whom this waste land was given are being evicted. And on what basis are they being evicted? This is perhaps the most shocking instance that can be brought to the notice of anyone. They are being evicted to get

[Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan.]

the land for political sufferers. More than 10 or 15 Scheduled Caste women have been arrested for being on the lands that are today to be taken away from them and granted to political sufferers. This is in Karamchedu in Andhra and here within the Report itself we find the Commissioner being very frank and saying that in many places where land reform is being planned, where land reform is being drawn up, the landlords in panic are getting the peasants to put their thumb impressions to documents the contents of which they are not aware of and are thus taking away any right that they may have to the land. Here suggestions have been made by the Commissioner, very apt suggestions that the Government should take notice of seriously, that any legislation in regard to Land Tenure can only be useful, can only be profitable in regard to the Scheduled Castes and the landless peasants if such legislation has retrospective effect. Sir, my time is nearly over and therefore I will deal with only one point and that too very briefly, and that is the point that Mr. Datar and Dr. Katju have tried to ram home into us that the Central Government would love to do everything, but what can they do because it is the State Governments that are responsible. Probably when I use the word 'ram' Dr. Katju may say it is a petty word, because 'petty' is a favourite word of his. Anyway that is the point he has been emphasizing again and again, that it is not the responsibility of the Central Government and that they have done what they can and so on. Therefore I only beg to draw the attention of the House to one or two glaring examples of how the Central Government even where it can help and should help has not helped. Here in this Report is perhaps one of the most shocking examples of segregation of the Scheduled Castes. In Kumbakonam in a village in Tanjore district there is a post office where the Scheduled Castes are not allowed to enter. For the Scheduled Castes, down the lane in a corner tucked away some-

where is a special box into which they post their letters. This surely is a matter of which the Central Government should be ashamed and on which the Central Government can take action because Posts and Telegraphs is

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND STATES (DR. K. N. KATJU): May I suggest, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that my hon. friend might send this specific complaint to my hon. colleague the Minister for Communications? I am sure he will look into it and the members of the Scheduled Castes will be permitted to go right up to the counter, as they ought to, to purchase their envelopes and so on. This is all imaginary—most of these things.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful for this gratis advice and I wish gratis legal advice was given to the Scheduled Castes as well by the hon. Minister. What I wish to point out is that I look upon the Central Government as one cogent whole and when the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for guarding the interests of the Scheduled Castes and for extending the social privileges and rights of the Scheduled Castes, I should think it would be quite easy for them to bring this matter to the notice of a brother department, though looking at page 397 of the Report, even about that I have my doubts. Just one point; (Time bell rings.)

I will finish in a minute. There is a suggestion by the Commissioner for exemption of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students from tuition fees at all stages of education and increase in the amount provided for award of scholarships and the position in regard to that is, "The Ministry of Education who are concerned in the matter have been asked to consider the recommendations of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and take necessary action in this regard. No information as to the action taken by them has yet been received from that Ministry." That is the position that we find in

the Central Government. Whenever these issues are taken up for discussion in the two Houses we find that various assurances and promises are given but nothing is being done. I would once again appeal to the hon. the Home Minister that what we look for from him is a much more imaginative and bolder policy in regard to this problem and that he should look at this problem not only as a problem of social disabilities but that these social disabilities arise from economic disabilities and it is only if they look at it from a broad and imaginative angle that the Government will be able to tackle this problem as it should be tackled and that they will be able to fulfil those provisions in the Constitution which enjoin on the Central Government the task of taking forward our country and our nation and particularly this most oppressed and exploited section of the people of this country towards progress and freedom.

SHRI K. C. KARUMBAYA (Ajmer and Coorg): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratulate the Government, the Home Minister and the Commissioner for having brought out this Report. Strictly speaking, according to Dr. Ambedkar none of us is fit to speak on the Report because according to him we are all suffering from a mental strain.....

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: Mental twist.

SHRI K. C. KARUMBAYA: Thanks for the correction. He says that since we are suffering from a mental twist none of us is fit to speak on the Report or about the progress of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But in judging the usefulness of an act it is the motive that is taken into consideration. If you read the Report from one end to the other, you will find that there is a sincere spirit behind the Report to work for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Look at the number of workers that are spread all over India, working for the last 30 or 40 years, paid, unpaid, excommunicated, not

known and not heard. They are working all over the country in the five lakhs of villages. What class do they come from? Do they come from the class to which the hon. Dr. Ambedkar belongs? No, mostly they belong to that class who are suffering from a mental twist.

Dr. Ambedkar was telling us that a fire was burning and so all of us must take care. He gave us a stern warning that we must be ready to quench the fire. He gives us a stern warning but I give him a pious advice. An intelligent man as he is, he forgets that if cholera or plague or any fire comes he will not be free. He thinks that the class of people he refers to will be free. I know that the fire is burning outside India and we must take care that the fire does not come in not by giving a warning or appealing to a particular class to take care to see that the fire does not come in. I believe it is only a bluff. It is only a threat. An intelligent hon. Member like Dr. Ambedkar cannot seriously mean that when the fire comes he will be free but others will be devoured.

I said I congratulate the Government for the Report. We have a lot to criticise also. After independence many of the honorary workers, many of the constructive workers who have been doing such a splendid work have not played the same role as they were doing previously. I remember one thing that Mahatma Gandhi advised us and that is that every Congressman, every public worker must take at least one Scheduled Caste man as one of his inmates. I do not think many of us have done that. All these seven years, we have still made marvellous changes, revolutionary changes but we have yet a lot to do. If Dr. Ambedkar had told us that what we have done is marvellous and that there is a lot more to be done. I would join with him to criticise the Report to that extent: no really criticism but a constructive suggestion. Instead of that, here in this House and outside on the platform he has been going on

[Shri K. C. Karumbaya.]

for the last so many years bullying, threatening and passing all sorts of remarks except doing any constructive work to uplift the people of the class to which he belongs. I say that the Report certainly requires commendation; work has been going on splendidly for the last so many years. In no other country has such a revolution been brought about in these seven years as in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in this country. No country in the world is free from disability like this. Let us take the case of England; let us take the case of America; let us take the case of Africa. There also there are people suffering from casteism or untouchability. Each country is suffering from some mania or other like this. In England the King is known as the Defender of the Faith; in America a Roman Catholic has never been a President; in Africa they are suffering from the colour bar. Our country is perhaps the worst, but still no country, no human civilization has been able to evolve a system where equality is given. In India, to our credit, we have been trying to evolve a human society where high and low, or this casteism, or colour bar does not exist. Through non-violence, we have been trying to evolve a society, which no country in the world has attempted. Our friends on the other side, our friend Dr. Ambedkar must realise this, and I know since he has been in touch with the affairs of the Government for the last so many years, he knows certainly well what the Indian Government has been doing. So I tell him, I make a mild request that instead of carrying on a destructive propaganda like this, he should join those public workers who have been doing so much to ameliorate the conditions of these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. No nation will be ashamed of the changes that we, in India, have brought about during these seven years or during these past thirty years or so with regard to casteism. We have been accused that we have been suffering from a mental twist.

as he says; I say, similarly, he has also been suffering from a mental twist. Please see what the people from other countries who visit this country tell us. They say that we have achieved marvellous results. They are unbiased people. That is the praise we have been getting from those who come from outside. So, I say the Report certainly requires commendation. But there is this thing. All of us have been feeling that everything depends on the Government. Everything depends on legislation; everything depends on an Act or a Bill. We come here, speak on Bills, on legislation and get it passed and we think that our part of the work is finished. No. Every one of us must realise that as soon as a Bill or an Act is passed, we should carry it out. It is the co-operation of the public, it is the co-operation of the Members of Parliament, M.L.As, Ministers, and everybody that must be forthcoming. To some extent, it is lacking. Every day we are passing any number of laws and legislations and thereby we think our part of the work is complete. Our work is not complete there. Along with our work for legislation, we must identify ourselves and co-operate with the Government in carrying out the details of the legislation.

So, Sir, I congratulate the Commissioner and the Government and the Home Minister. I thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before calling upon Mr. Dwivedy to speak, I wish to state that Dr. Katju will reply at 12-20 P.M. There are thirteen speakers more, so each Member can have only ten minutes

10 A.M.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: This is very unfair, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It cannot be helped, Madam. So, please try to be as brief as possible.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while discussing this Report, it has to be seen whe-

ther the steps that have been taken for the betterment of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the removal of untouchability have contributed generally towards removing the inequalities that exist in our society as a whole, because to my mind, Sir, it is not for us to consider here how much amount has been allotted for each purpose and how it has been spent. That is not the main point for consideration. The whole thing is to be looked at from this point of view; whether it is really contributing towards the establishment of a casteless society; because, to my mind, this removal of untouchability is very much connected with that larger problem. Viewing from that point of view, I find this Report thoroughly unsatisfactory. It is nothing but a record, a progress report of the Government of India. I do not know why the Commissioner has been so very apologetic in this Report, while his previous reports gave us sufficient indications of the steps that ought to be taken in that direction. Probably when he submitted those reports he was suffering under a handicap, because his position was not clearly defined. After his position has been clearly defined, I do not know why he should not give us complete proposals as to the progress in this direction.

I will not take much time, I would only try to point out certain things to you, Sir, in this connection. I do not want to go into the Report, as the time is so short, but I may only refer to the statement that has been supplied to us. It shows how serious is the Central Government about the recommendations. Sir, I will just read one item from it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has been circulated to every hon. Member, so you need not read it.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Sir, here there is a suggestion from the lower House. The suggestion is given one by one. For example, it says: "Immediate steps should be taken to provide

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with compulsory primary education all over India". The action taken by the Government of India on this is: "It is the aim of Government to provide compulsory education to all the citizens irrespective of caste or creed." Please see the reply. There are other suggestions, namely, Government should extend educational facilities, provide drinking water, and all that. It has been stated on behalf of Government that the suggestions have been brought to the notice of the State Government. I do not know, is it a satisfactory manner of presenting a Report to us? It shows as if Government is acting as a post office. What has been done and what has been achieved, have not been recorded. This sort of a Report is thoroughly unsatisfactory.

The Commissioner's Report, of course, says, as I pointed out, that so many things, so many recommendations are being implemented in some way or other, but there is a significant point which the Report has said about Orissa. It has stated that, although some activities have been carried out with regard to education and other things, there has been nothing concrete as regards the economic development of tribal people in this area. You know, Sir, in Orissa out of 146 lakhs population, 53 lakhs are Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, I would like to know from the Government whether they are satisfied with the grants which they are making, and whether the money that is provided in the Orissa budget is sufficient for this purpose.

I would, Sir, also point out to you another thing. I would presently show how this money that is granted for the removal of untouchability in Orissa is being spent for political purposes. I have had some correspondence on this matter with the Home Ministry. I am so sorry to note that the Commissioner, who happens to be very closely connected with this affair, has not given us any report. That is my complaint. Whenever he visits some places, he does not consult anybody,

[Shri S. N. Dwivedy.]
does not meet any non-officials, does not like to know what is the reaction of the people, but goes there as an official surrounded by Ministers and other officials, and records whatever they say. Sir, they have given some three lakhs of rupees for propaganda in connection with the removal of untouchability in the State of Orissa, but that money, I am sorry to say, is being spent for political purposes. They have started an organisation about which I have spoken before in this House. On the 4th of May, one Minister who happened to belong to the Scheduled Caste made a statement asking the people to join this organisation, and not to join any other political party. He has been made the President of that organisation to which this money has been entrusted for carrying on propaganda work in connection with the removal of untouchability. He asked people in the following terms:

"I want to request my Harjan brethren of Orissa not to support any other party. We have to make full use of the grant and the benefits bestowed upon us by the Congress Government. We can reach our goal only if we follow this path."

He has made this statement on the 4th of May. And I pointed out in my letter to the Home Minister that if the money that is provided for the removal of untouchability, on the recommendation of the Commissioner, was spent like this, it would be a sheer waste. And I requested him to make enquiries. But the reply that I got was really surprising. Probably, the Government of India referred this matter to the Government of Orissa. The Minister's statements were not only published in one paper, but they were published in many papers. He published a statement in one paper contradicting the reports, as late as the 13th of June 1954, i.e., after a letter was received from the Government of India. That is one example I have given to show how things are done. And in the reply that the Home Min-

istry gave me, they have clearly stated that two main political parties are associated with the organisation over which the Minister presides. That means, Sir, the entire money is being distributed amongst these political parties, the two main political parties, which have reached an agreement amongst themselves. And I have before me some clear instances to show that some workers have gone and carried on the election propaganda in favour of the Congress. Sir, I only wanted to bring this point to the notice of the Government because I want that the Scheduled Castes Commissioner, if the Government of India is so busy with other matters, himself should go and enquire into this matter, and let us know—and let him also tell the Government of India—whether the money that has been given to Orissa is being spent for the purpose for which it has been granted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dwivedy, do you belong to the Scheduled Castes?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: I do not belong to the Scheduled Castes. But that does not matter, because this money is not meant to be used that way.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, the allegation you are making, Mr. Dwivedy, is like a double-edged weapon. Other Members will also make similar allegations against you. Therefore you should be careful while making these allegations.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: I do not know what you aim at. I only want to point out that the money is not being spent for the purpose for which it is meant.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House understands the implications of your allegations.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Whatever may be the implications, I want the Government to make an enquiry in this matter and I am prepared to prove to the hilt every point that I have

made, and I do not want that the money of this Government should be wasted like that. This is creating a very bad precedent in our country, and I feel, Sir, things should not go on like this. Unless we take a very serious notice of these things, they are bound to have a very bad effect on the functioning of our democracy as a whole. Therefore, I wanted to bring this point to your notice.

Now, I want to say another thing, Sir. It is not only the State Governments that are at fault. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister as to what the Government of India have done in the Part C States which are under their direct control. What concrete steps have they taken for the removal of untouchability in these areas? It is no good giving this excuse that it is the duty of the State Governments and, therefore, we have nothing to do but to recommend and suggest measures to them. What about the States which are under your direct control? What steps have you taken there?

As regards other matters, Sir, I have indicated in my amendment, that this question is linked up with the question of the economic development of these people. Therefore, I have suggested to the Government of India that they, in consultation with all the State Governments, should decide that at least in the year to come they will provide one million landless Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes men with lands that are lying all over our country so that these people will get their prestige and security, and will, within the course of the next ten years, as has been provided in the Constitution, be at par with members of the other communities. Therefore, in my amendment I have specifically suggested that the Government of India should take such concrete measures in this direction. Sir, I have finished.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI (Orissa): May I know from the hon. Member as to who is the Secretary of the Associa-

tion through which the amount has been spent? If I may be permitted to say so, Sir, the Secretary belongs to a party which is in opposition.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: As I have stated, Sir, two main political parties have been combined together. The Secretary belongs to the other party, as I have already stated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does the Secretary belong to your party?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: He does not belong to my party, and I do not want that my party should be associated with an affair like this. I want that this money should be spent for social purposes.

SHRI S. M. HEMROM (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank the Home Minister for bringing forward this Report for discussion in this House. I thank also the Chair, because the Chair has been very much pleased to give enough time and as long as three days for the discussion of this Report. And next, I also congratulate the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for bringing out this Report, the third Report, which most of the Members have praised so eloquently. But I take this Report with mixed feelings. It looks bigger in size, it is more glazing than the previous reports. But, in fact, to me it appears superficial, evasive, empty, voluminous, beautifully printed and cartooned. I call it empty because the schedules and the tables appended to this Report will show that it is full of dots showing all blank mostly. Sir, it has been said that the ameliorative measures adopted have gone to improve the lot of the Scheduled Castes, but permit me to say that this is more or less due to the fact that political consciousness and also measures for their privileges came to the Scheduled Castes many decades ago, as a result of which Dr. Ambedkar came into the political picture of the country. The tables attached to this Report show that the benefits which have accrued to the tribals are very insignificant

[Shri S. M. Hemrom.]

because their case had been brought to light only in the recent past. The money that has been spent on the ameliorative measures for these people has not been well-spent because, as the hon. the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs himself admitted the other day, they have not formulated any plans. I do not know whether it is the fault of the Union Government or the State Governments, but the fact remains that the depth of the problem has not been touched. I would not have come so enthusiastically to speak a few words but for the fact that the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs told us the other day that they had not yet arrived at any decision as to which people belong to the Scheduled Castes and which belong to the Scheduled Tribes. Thus you will see that there has been not only a lack of any plan for their welfare, but also even a lack of definition. Of course, there have been some States like Orissa and Bihar which have formulated some plans. Coming to the definition, it is said that the President's Order specified which people belonged to which caste or tribe, then the census of 1951 came and following that the elections. It is after the elections that the Government appointed this Commissioner to discriminate as to which people belong to which class. Under the circumstances, I would suggest most humbly that in coming to a conclusion as to which people belong to which class, we should take the help of our Research Department as well as that of the anthropologists. If you go into the history of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and also the volumes and volumes that the anthropologists, Indian as well as foreign, have given to us on the subject and the past census reports it is quite clear as to which people belong to the Scheduled Castes and which people belong to the Scheduled Tribes. Sir, I do not know whether the Government is sympathetic or apathetic, but as people generally say, everything will be judged by actual work, and by the actual achievements. There

are certain castes who really belong to the tribes and there are certain tribes which actually belong to the Scheduled Castes. A caste which is enumerated in Bihar as a Scheduled Tribe is taken under the same President's Order of 1950 as a Scheduled Caste in Orissa. I hope the hon. the Home Minister will to some extent remove the misconceptions under which some of our officials seem to be labouring.

Some States have passed legislations for removing the curse of untouchability. In other States they have not passed such Acts. The hon. the Home Minister has pointed out on many occasions that merely passing legislation will not remove the disabilities of the Scheduled Castes. What I submit most humbly is that if the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are given proper opportunities for education and also the means of livelihood, there will be no need for all these legislations. The problem is also to a certain extent dependent upon the way we tackle the problem of land distribution and agriculture, because the majority of these people are dependent upon agriculture. I would point out that the way in which this land problem has been dealt with is hopelessly unsatisfactory. Not only in my State but everywhere the slogan of all the political parties is, 'Land for the landless tillers' but the landless people have missed the benefit of this cry. Recently once I had occasion to go round my constituency with the Minister in charge of tribal welfare and also the Collector of the district. We found that the landless people had completely missed the opportunity of getting any land allotted to them. Everywhere the same complaint came. This is due to the fact that the Governments both at the Centre and in the States have not made any survey of the extent of the land available for distribution and also the number of the landless. The Government's steps in this regard have always been half-hearted and hesitant. In the

State of Orissa to which I belong, some time back the Cabinet took the decision that they should return all the lands in the Koraput district to the Scheduled Tribes who were deprived of their lands in the recent past by unfair means. In certain cases they were given back the lands but after a few months overnight the Cabinet took a decision and again alienated the Scheduled Tribes from the lands which they really deserved because nowadays the slogan is that the land is for the landless tillers but I don't know how these things miss the notice of the Commissioner and the other Assistant Regional Commissioners. I submit that this is due to the fact that we have no voice either in the Centre or in the States. In certain States they have opened departments and separate ministries for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but we have no such permanent department and ministry in the Centre. If there had been any such ministry at the Centre that would have been quite able to co-ordinate the activities of the different States.

(Time bell rings.)

They are like the refugees who were created by the extreme extravagance of Hinduism and I submit that they should be treated with much more care and sympathy than those shown to the refugees.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA (Andhra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the point should be dealt with in two ways. One is to know the subject and the other is how to meet the problem. Going through the various reports of the Commissioner or the speeches of the Congress people or Ministers, we find that they know the subject very well and also the problems concerned but how to meet the problem is not properly dealt with. In this connection I may submit that knowing the problems well they are not attending properly. It is a gross injustice done by the Government.

They know that there are so much of social disabilities, so much of economic disabilities amongst the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and backward class people and they also know the ways and means to meet such a problem and yet when they keep quiet like this for a long time, one cannot tolerate this indifference and the lack of co-ordination between the States and the Centre cannot be pardonable. The Commissioner as well as the Ministers and various speakers from their side admit that there is so much of untouchability or social inequalities but at the same time they don't seem to be sincere in attempting to solve the problem fairly. So far as untouchability is concerned, I may bring to your notice the way the Congress Ministers and responsible Congress people are behaving even though they preach about the eradication of untouchability everywhere. When they go to the various pilgrim places, they bow their heads to the unscrupulous Pandas here and there and they wash the feet of those Pandas who have no faith in the removal of untouchability. I don't wish to refer to the various names of those respectable people who have been recently visiting all pilgrim places but it is a fact that these people are behaving in such an indecent way. Recently I had been to Banaras. I was surprised to know that hitherto the people were free to go directly to the heart of the temple and they could touch the idol, except the Scheduled Caste people. Now when the Scheduled Caste people want to enjoy the same privilege, those Pandas refuse to allow even the Hindus to touch the Lingam (god). This shows how the Government is ignoring the gross injustice done to the Scheduled Castes and other people who have been deprived of their privileges as per the Constitution. So many people discussed about the necessity or urgency of meeting the situation by providing education and communications in the hill stations and by providing such other things to remove the social disabilities. I do support all those sug-

[Shri V Venkataramana]

gestions which are good but I want to deal only with one or two points so far as the administration and economies connected with this problem are concerned. So far as administration is concerned, as has been admitted by the hon. Deputy Minister, there is no co-ordination between the States and the Central Government. It is a pity how the Central Government is keeping quiet when the States are so irresponsible to implement the policy of the Centre. In this connection I may bring to your notice that the Andhra Government have allowed the lapsing of the entire amount which has been allotted by the Centre for the benefit of the hill tribes. The Centre was keeping quiet all these days without questioning the irresponsible nature of the Andhra Government. When the State Governments are behaving like this, is there any solution to meet the problem in a better way? That is the thing to be discussed now. So far as the hill tribes are concerned, the administration is very bad—I must say that there is barbarous administration and there is inhuman treatment by the officers in the hill regions. There are those who are called Mutadars so far as Andhra is concerned in the agencies. They are something like village munsiffs and they are the representatives of the Government in the hill region. The treatment of the Mutadars is something unpardonable. They collect the taxes and they don't give receipts. When the agriculturists demand receipts from them, they don't give receipts but they collect the taxes more than once. If they refuse to pay they will be tied to the trees and will be whipped. On various occasions I may say that some of the houses of the hill tribes were burnt in the hills and that matter was brought to the notice of the District Collector and to the Government also but the concerned District Collector did not take proper action. We have reported to the Police Department as well as to the District Collector and State Government but no action has been taken so far. On one occasion when these people were

not issued receipts we advised the local agriculturists to demand receipts or not pay taxes that resulted in harassing the agriculturists.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. The proper place to raise this question is in the Andhra Assembly.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA: I mean to say that when such a nasty administration is going on there, how can the policies of Centre be implemented?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please don't make such remarks.

SHRI V VENKATARAMANA: Like that, the Forest Officers, the Mutadars and the Police Officers are ill-treating or behaving in an inhuman way. So far as the economic position is concerned, there is so much wealth in the vast forests that can be utilised for the good of these people. Cottage industries also can be started there. There are large areas of cultivable land in the hilly regions. All these people who have been located in a scattered manner in the various forest regions can be placed in one place and agricultural colonisation can be started for their benefit. Of course 'here is the system of "podu" cultivation in the hilly regions and this has been objected to by the Forest Department, for various reasons. But since there is no guarantee of permanency of land tenure to the agriculturists there, the hill tribes cannot but take to this type of "podu" cultivation. They cannot give it up unless there is a proper system of land tenure. So far as this subject of land-tenure is concerned, many speakers have dealt with it. Not only the hill tribes but also the people of the Scheduled Castes are affected by this problem. It is suggested that socialisation of all the lands would solve the problem. But I submit that such socialisation of the land can never solve the problem and it would only lead to unemployment of those people who are now employed in agriculture. The only way in which you can solve this problem is to organise

all the waste land that is about 291 lakh acres, on a co-operative basis and to give employment to all the landless people.

4 As regards the giving of scholarships and other educational facilities to the students belonging to these castes and tribes, they can get them only if they secure more than 50 per cent. marks. It is generally impossible for a Scheduled Caste boy or even a backward class boy or a hill-tribe boy to get more than 35 per cent. marks. Therefore in all such cases, it is absolutely impossible for the Scheduled Caste boy or the hill tribe or the backward class boy to get the real benefit out of these scholarships, as also from other educational facilities. Therefore, I would suggest that those who pass the examination, should be given these scholarships and such other facilities.

Finally, I would say that there should be better co-ordination between the State and Central Governments to tackle and solve this problem in a better way.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: Mr. Deputy Chairman, before I commence my speech, I should like to associate myself with the remarks that fell from a lady Member who spoke a few minutes back, I mean Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan and the advice she gave to the hon. the Home Minister, because we all know how he is anxious to tender advice to the House, particularly to the women Members. Of course, with his revered age and experience, he is always welcome to do so. But an opportunity to return the compliment is still more welcome to us. But I am sorry to find just now that this advice does not seem to have gone home, as far as the Home Minister is concerned for he is not listening.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I don't know what was the rebuke which she wanted me to hear.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She wanted you to be attentive to her speech.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: I was saying

DR. K. N. KATJU: But it was said before, when somebody else was speaking. What she has said now, I have heard. But what was the rebuke administered to me by another lady here?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That you were not hearing her speech.

DR. K. N. KATJU: They do not know what I have heard and what I was not hearing.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: But we do not hear what he says.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: Perhaps he is an "Ashtavadhani".

DR. K. N. KATJU: She does not know what I have heard.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: That is why I pay him the compliment of saying that he seems to be an "Ashtavadhani."

Now, to proceed with the matter before us, at the very outset I would like to refer to the cover of this Report. I think that even though the Report deals with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, a better specimen of their present condition could have been put than this and I think they would also not welcome this picture which reminds them of their utterly primitive state which may exist now in very remote parts.

Anyway, I have not much time to go into the details. I have noticed most of the previous speakers observing a timelimit of about 13 to 14 minutes and I shall try to finish even before that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can take less than ten minutes.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA-NAND: I would like to compliment the Commissioner on the report he has made. He has made the best of a diffi-

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]
cult job. I won't say a bad job. It is a difficult one, because he himself has stated and coming as I do from the State of Madhya Pradesh, I can understand it—he has referred times without number that information was not received, plans not yet ready. So knowing as I do the difficulties he has to control with, with the extent of the problem and the lack of personnel that he has had to contend with and the States have to contend with in the various States, I say it is a difficult job. The Report is not that way, much of a guide if one were to take into consideration the vast amount of Rs. 40 crores plus the Rs. 4 crores that is to be spent, half of which has already been made over to the States under the Five Year Plan. Now, Madhya Pradesh, for instance is one of the three States where special ministers have been appointed for this purpose. Of course, Rajasthan is the fourth State, but that is under a different article of the Constitution. I come from such a State and I also come from Chhindwara which is inhabited mostly by the Gonds where there are two tehsils considered entirely tribal tehsils. I have, therefore, a few suggestions to make which I hope will be taken in the light of suggestions and not in the light of criticism, because nobody is more aware of the difficulties than I am.

Before, however, I come to other suggestions, I would like to make this one suggestion. As Members of Parliament have to consider this Report, it would be a good thing if the Centre which as it gives most of the money should be able to call the tune, insists on the State Governments that they make Members of Parliament in those areas *ex-officio* members of their committees so that instead of coming and criticising here, they could be held responsible to some extent and they could by their experience and the ideas gained here from different States help in this work and thus place their experience at the disposal

of the various States. This dual control of this organisation has led to a lot of confusion. We all know that in every sphere when money does not come from your own pocket or when the money is not to be collected from various taxes, etc. you do not feel much responsibility about the expenditure. In private circumstances also it is the same. Certain remarks that fell from the Home Minister, for instance, have disclosed a rather undesirable state of affairs. He has remarked: "Every rupee should be spent by them that year. No money should lapse." At another place he said: "To this there is good response". In view of these remarks I would like to point out one thing. This is not the only matter which a State Government has to deal with. The State authorities being busy with various other matters and the Ministry not having the tribal welfare work as its entire work—and in our State the Minister for Tribal Welfare is responsible for the Public Works Department and also for tribal welfare, the plans very often are not ready in time.

I know that when several reminders went from the Ministry here to spend every pie as soon as possible, before the year lapsed—not only that, when some sort of stricture was passed when the State was not spending the money in spite of so much of the money placed at its disposal by the Centre frantic efforts were made to spend it in a manner into the details of which I do not want to go here. These would not do credit to our administrative methods and to the care which we bestow on giving a return of every pie to the Scheduled Tribes. I would only mention that a particular expenditure was incurred and the amount spent was twice the amount that should have been spent. That was done because there was no time to go into the details but I have pointed this out—and I pointed this out to the authorities and also through a letter in the paper. The Commissioner told me that he has made enquiries; even to make enquiries the machinery was the same. There was

no time or perhaps they did not feel it necessary to undo what has been done. I am just giving this as an instance; this may not be such a big instance and perhaps it was a question of spending Rs. 40,000 more than ought to have been spent but as we have to spend Rs. 22 crores and if this policy is going to be there that no money should lapse and that every pie has to be spent—I am quoting the hon. Home Minister again—that every year, what might happen is that the money may not be well spent. We have not the personnel nor is there a proper study of the exact extent of the work. Even if we have that material ready, we have not the means to organise the solution of that problem. If this policy is there, it would lead to further waste of money. I would suggest that there need not be such a very great haste to use every pie; I do realise that that way it would mean that the people for whom the money is meant will not get the benefit in time but, on the other hand, what would happen is that during the next five years when we are not likely to have this same amount of money, perhaps it would be difficult to go on with the machinery in full working and get the full benefit of the many full-fledged schemes. Money would be lacking then; usually, in various schemes, money is the main consideration. Here, money is plentiful but the other means to organise that are not there, i.e., the personnel. I will not go into greater detail because I am sure that from what little I have said the Government has been able to get a suggestion about the future course of action.

With regard to the scholarships, I have to say that even this year, in announcing the scholarships to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs, the wording is "for one year". Last year also, it was for one year. I should like to ask how Government expect that anybody who has to plan his college course of education will be able to make his plans with the guarantee that the scholarship will be given for one year. The decision about the scholarships

was taken some time in April and I am told immediate communications were sent to the State Governments but no publicity was given, as far as I know and as far as I could make enquiries in Chhindwara. I sent intimation to the five high schools of my district town but they said that they had not received any information because of this dual control policy. When I wrote to our State Government they said that they did not have the forms nor did they have a list of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes given in the district is different as far as the State is concerned and quite different as far as the Central Government is concerned. They said that they did not have the latter list but that it could be obtained on payment. I must say to the credit of the Central Government that they sent these forms and the list even earlier than the State Government; finally the State Government said that they did not have the forms. When Rs 75 lakhs were made available by the Centre for the benefit of these people, even as late as 5th or 6th July 1954 hardly any publicity was given. At the request of many people, I also represented and the date was extended to the 31st August. Even with regard to these scholarships, I would like to point out that the Government has not given assurances to these people that these scholarships would be for the duration of their course of study. I would like them to take this fact into consideration and they say that these scholarships would be for the entire duration of their studies if the progress was satisfactory.

Several Members also raised the point and I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister what he means by saying that he would welcome more and more students going in for foreign studies and that he would like to send as many students as possible to foreign countries. Sir, the same demand was made by Dr. Ambedkar. If it is the policy of the Government to set a premium on foreign degrees, then

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]
it is a proper policy but I thought, Sir, that our educational policy is going to be—and the recommendations of various commissions and educationists have been—that we should not, when employing Government personnel here, set a premium on foreign qualifications. That lowers, in the eyes of our own people, the value of the degrees given by our universities. I would not come in the way of the backward classes or the Scheduled Castes or the Tribes getting educational facilities but I would like Government to give this type of assurance after taking into consideration the policy of the country as a whole, as far as education is concerned.

I would like to make a few more remarks hurriedly, because there are other points with regard to Dr. Ambedkar, points which I want to deal with in greater detail because I feel in a way that it should not be left for the Government to reply to those points and that a Member from the Party should do it better. I would only say, Sir, with regard to the hostels and dispensaries and schools, even in a State where there is a special Minister, it has not been possible to do anything much. Nothing very much has been done and only one hostel has been added to the three existing. Out of the three, one was near Chhindwara. As far as dispensaries are concerned, only one dispensary has been added. That may be due to lack of communications. Similar, Sir, is the case about education and I would like only to mention that the condition of food and other arrangements of hostels is really far from satisfactory and Government should see into this. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has toured only for three days in Madhya Pradesh, from the 28th to the 31st March, in a State which is so backward, where the State Government has not been able to utilise even a fraction of the money allotted. It is very necessary, Sir,—when the Commissioner has remarked again and again that no information

has been received, reminders are not taken heed of—for him to go personally and contact the people to find out what the real difficulties are.

I do not approve of the policy that education of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes should be delayed until teachers from those very communities are trained. That is exactly what is happening in Madhya Pradesh; they are waiting for the teachers to be trained in the training schools that are being started. Schools should be started with whatever teachers are available; matriculates could be trained within three months. I have it on the authority of Mr. Basu, Principal of the Central Institute of Education, that in three months people can be really trained adequately for primary school teaching as an emergency.

Now, I would like to deal with a few points made by the great doctor, Dr. Ambedkar. First of all, Sir, I would like to record my protest here about the division of time. Dr. Ambedkar may be an experienced Member but he got one hour and forty five minutes; he may be considered to be the representative of the depressed classes—he was at one time—but I would only like to refer the House to the result of the recent election where he stood from Madhya Pradesh as a representative of the Scheduled Castes for election to the Lok Sabha which will put a stamp on his representative character. From the point of view, Sir, I would like you, in future, to apportion the time a little more equitably—I am using the word in a hurry, for want of a better expression.

Sir, the Doctor said that perhaps the Government's document was "tutored and doctored". I would like to refer to the usual psychological working of the mind by which one projects one's mental working in one's speech and conclusions, as the psychoanalysts say. If we are to see "tutoring and doctoring".....(*Time Bell rings*.) I would like to refer to the recent speech of the same Doctor on foreign policy and I would not like to say anything more.

Sir, he gave the example of certain reservation being made for the Scheduled Castes in the services. The hon. Member was referring to Dharma Sastras and Manu. Manu also has ordained that women and Sudras should be treated on a par! Even then women have set an example of giving up their reserved seats in the legislatures and are not asking for any preferential treatment anywhere. Sir, he should in the interest of the country and in the interest of the unity of the nation not ask for any reservation irrespective of merit. He was a member of Government. He should respect standards of administration better than anyone else. He knows that people from the various backward communities are not today educated to the same extent as those in advanced communities. He made that confession himself by saying that for the police and military, at least for the lower ranks they are educated enough. How can he in all fairness ask that, in spite of that, Government should see that the percentage in services according to their numerical strength should be carried out? We can wait. We should remember Rome was not built in a day. He made a remark that he had with great difficulty to persuade the Public Service Commission to take in one member in the higher grade. Sir, I was sorry to hear an ex-Member of Government making a sacrilegious confession on the floor of the House that he was capable of canvassing the Public Service Commission and thus set up a bad example. Sir, his action or his speech might be taken as a sample of behaviour, or whatever we say by the younger generation among Scheduled Castes but I hope that the remarks that fell from the hon. Member, Dr. Ambedkar, will not be taken as sample of behaviour we should be capable of.

Sir, he said that the tribal people do not wish to come into the Hindu fold Sir, I have been living among the tribal people for the last 10 or 12 years. In Chhindwara town itself my bungalow is surrounded by all tribal

people houses. Within a radius of half a mile there are all tribal people. So I would like to say that unless there is someone who carries on malicious propaganda and misguides them, they have certainly greater love for Hinduism. They follow Hindu ways and this, I must say, Sir, is a fact. In this connection I may point out, Sir, that surely we have not forgotten Dr. Ambedkar's past record when he wanted and threatened to march all the untouchables to the Buddhist fold to go and embrace the Buddhist religion, but that is past history, yet it shows the attitude of that mind. As he referred to Gandhiji I am forced to point this out. He said all young unemployed boys with cycles should be engaged for carrying on propaganda so that untouchability could be removed. Sir, he is not aware, as he has been staying in Delhi and other towns for the last so many years, of the conditions in villages. They will not pay heed to what these young boys have to say; they would heed to saints and sadhus if they are asked to spread the gospel of Kabir in the villages and do away with untouchability. Sir, he said that "untouchability is a mental disease of the Hindus" and I may, Sir, only for want of time, just reply to that by saying that to speak in the terms he did, is nothing but an obsession or a mania.

Sir, I would just say one word about M.R.A. and I would make an appeal to Dr. Ambedkar and say that the best solution for all the problems which the Government is trying to solve is the spirit of M.R.A., that is, forget the past, do not bear any resentment and come together in a spirit of love which the M.R.A. only recently preached.

11 A.M.

One word I have to say as a remark was made by the hon. lady Member from Madras. Mrs. Krishnan, who gave that example of untouchability from Tinneveli. I would ask her—Madras after all is the best educated State in the whole of India; so at least we have always said—how such

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]
examples or cases occur in a place where particularly the Communists are there to take up cudgels on behalf of the depressed and oppressed, and it may be, Sir, even if I were to go on an exploratory tour, one or two cases may be found, but then one swallow does not make a summer! To maintain that this kind of a state of affairs remains there as a general rule and to give imaginary figures, etc. is not going to be helpful. When you generalise a thing it is your duty to quote facts and figures on the floor of the House and to substantiate your statement. If there is a solitary example or a few examples, that does not stigmatise the whole community to the extent made out.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO (Orissa):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, as an anthropologist, my sphere of interest is limited to the tribal people and I have a few observations to make in that respect both as a student of anthropology and also as a previous officer of the Backward Classes Welfare Department in the Government of Orissa.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, clause (2) of article 339 of the Constitution clearly lays the ultimate responsibility for the administration of the scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes on the Central Government. The reasons for doing this are not far to seek. In my opinion the reasons for this special provision lie in the fact that these tribes, these tribal people are separate societies by themselves having their own history, own traditions, own languages, own culture, and scheme of values, which unless tackled very carefully and by specialists in the social sciences and in anthropology are liable to lead to dire tragedy. This, Sir, has been amply illustrated in the very very tragic case of the Todas of Madras who to-day, because of the uncontrolled culture-contact forces which have been let loose upon them suddenly, have been so over-

come by the shock that they have lost the incentive to survive even. It is not too much to say, Sir, that to-day the Todas are on the verge of liquidation. They have been dwindling for the past 30 or 40 years at a terrific rate, and now they are almost a microscopic society. I am sorry to see that the report which is under consideration to-day says nothing about the responsibility of the Central Government to protect this dwindling tribal community through the advice of specialists and anthropologists. Not only in Madras, Sir, but in my area also, namely, Orissa, the Savara tribes, which have a very ancient record of greatness and development, are to-day in a most miserable state of decadence because of the unkind effects of this kind of ignorant and uncontrolled culture-contact which has been let loose upon them. Our ancient scriptures namely, the Vedas, relate the high birth and bright future of the Savara tribes by calling them the sons of the great sage, Viswamitra. From that point of view we have in our religion even, mentioned, that these tribes are really Brahmins and Kshatriyas and not, what we call, backward classes to-day and, what we regard as, backward classes now, because they contain in themselves the germs of greatness to make India great and to be assimilated in Indian society if dealt with kindly and sympathetically. These Savara tribes, in our inscriptions, are reported to have had a great past but today because of the unkind treatment and the unsympathetic behaviour which we—we should be ashamed of it—have shown towards them in the recent past, they are living in the inaccessible hills of Orissa shunning all the plainsfolk and shunning as much as they can their exploiters and those who live making capital of their simplicity.

Now, I adduce in the short time at my disposal these two examples of how carefully one should plan these things and consider these things, namely, the assimilation of tribal peoples into the Indian nation in order to make them an integral part of it and in order to draw strength from

them for the future advance of our nation. Sir, I am sorry to see the lack of provision and of machinery on these lines in the Report and in the various schemes of the Central Government who after all are ultimately responsible for the development of these people and for bringing them into line with the rest of the Indian nation.

Now, Sir, in so far as the Central Government has failed in this duty imposed upon it by the Constitution, we can see evidences of it in the shortcomings that are patent today in the policies and schemes of the various State Governments. I have already mentioned that I was the Special Officer for the backward classes in an honorary capacity in Orissa and that I had the honour and pleasure of working with Shri Ambalal Vyas who had been borrowed from Thakar Bapa's institution, to bring about the betterment of the tribal areas there. One of our main problems there was—and I think this is a problem common to the tribal people throughout India—to bring about an incentive for education amongst the tribal peoples. Ashrams were opened; schools were opened and Khonds, Parjas and Bondas Parjas were invited to come and read there. They were given various facilities; they were given blankets and other things. They took the blankets, ate good food and after two or three days they left the institutions and went back to their homes. This was happening repeatedly in the various Ashrams and other places of education in Orissa. We did not know what was at the bottom of it. After a careful study of the whole situation, I as the honorary Special Officer of the Government drew their attention to the fact that these people had no incentive to study, no incentive to educate themselves, because the whole medium of education was wrong. They have their own culture, their own language and their own religion. If the medium of education were through their culture, through their language and through their own mythologies, then they would have

had that incentive to remain in the Ashrams, exchange views with other students and try to educate themselves. But instead of that what did they find when they came to the Ashrams? When they came to the Ashrams they found that they had to practice Ram Dhun every day and they were being trained to become good vegetarians which they intensely disliked. So there was, as far as we were concerned, this basic problem facing us and today in my opinion in most of these Ashrams and schools the paucity of Adivasi students is mainly owing to this fact that we are directly or indirectly trying to impose our culture upon them which is quite against the traditions of Hindu society. So unless we change that attitude and try to teach the Adivasis in their own culture and according to their own medium of education, we cannot succeed in that respect and the Government in my opinion should take that suggestion seriously because the State Governments pay very little heed to it. As for the script, as my hon. friend, Dr. Wadia suggested, that may either be Hindi or the regional script or it may be a phonetic system of Romanised script. That does not matter in the least, but the basic fact is that today we have certain preconceived notions and certain preconceived traditions of our own and today we mix with our fellowmen because we find the same traditions and we find the same culture reflected in them so that we are enabled to exchange views with them sympathetically. That, in my opinion, is the right approach with the tribal areas also.

The second problem lay in the fact that although it was an accepted proposition that the tribal areas should be brought up in the sense of integration and not that of segregation, the effects of integration in the past had been so bad on the morale and on the health of the tribal people that the Government and the authorities were really afraid of letting loose that process without control in the present situation of our society.

[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo.]

Sir, this open and unrestricted integration that was brought about between the plains people and the people of the tribal areas has resulted unfortunately, I am sorry to say, in a deterioration of the health of the tribal peoples. The tribal peoples are, as you know, very simple folk, with very simple customs and with a very simple code of morality. When it came into contact with the craftiness and with the intricacies of the other society, i.e. our own society, it resulted in the spread of various kinds of venereal diseases amongst the tribal peoples.

(Time bell rings.)

And this has been one contributory factor in the diminution of their numbers which we find so tragically exemplified amongst the Todas. Hence, what I say is not only should we pay heed to integration, which we want to enforce amongst the tribal peoples, but we should also pay very serious heed to the health of those tribal peoples. We should consider how they can be treated for these serious diseases if this integration is brought about and also how the other diseases which are rampant to-day amongst them can be treated. I will just end by saying that the very fatal disease of 'Yaws' should be taken into serious consideration. 'Yaws' is a type of syphilis which spreads among the tribal people without any sexual intercourse. It is disseminated through some mysterious reason and it appears among little children of three or four years in the mouth, in the ears and in various parts of the body. It is a most dangerous disease and as far as I know up to date no remedy for it has been found and research has revealed no reason for the spread of this disease. The Health Ministry of the Government of India should pay serious attention to this and it is through methods like these that we can help to solve the problems facing us as far as the tribal peoples are concerned.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय (मध्य भारत) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि जो रिपोर्ट पेश की गई है वह बहुत स्पष्टवादिता के साथ है और उसमें जो काम किये गये हैं वे भी बतलाये गये हैं और जो करने को हैं उनकी तरफ भी इशारा किया गया है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE) in the Chair.]

केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी कितनी है और प्रांतीय गवर्नमेंट जो काम नहीं कर रही हैं उनकी जिम्मेदारी कितनी है, यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इस पर काफी मेम्बरो ने कहा है कि यद्यपि सीधी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्र की नहीं है। तो भी केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट रुपया देती है और निगरानी की जिम्मेदारी उस पर है, इसलिये प्रांतीय गवर्नमेंटों से ठीक तरह से काम करा लेने की तरफ केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट को पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिये।

इस रिपोर्ट में एजुकेशन के विषय में काफी कहा गया है और विरोध करने वाले मेम्बरो ने भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि कम से कम एजुकेशन में काफी काम हुआ है जिस में फारेन स्कालरशिप देने की बात भी है जो दी गई है। सविसेज के लिये भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार के कंसेशन प्रांतीय गवर्नमेंटों ने दिये हैं और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने भी दिये हैं, यद्यपि सविसेज में जैसा डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने बतलाया था, कुछ संख्या कम हो रही है। इसका कारण ढूँढना चाहिये कि क्यों कम हो रही हैं। हमें उनको सविसेज में बढ़ाना चाहिये। बहरहाल जो कंसेशन दिये गये हैं जैसे कुछ उम्र में कंसेशन दिये गये हैं और कुछ रिजर्वेशन में कंसेशन दिये गये हैं, वह एक प्रशंसनीय

बात रही है। आज हरिजनों में बहुत सी डिसएबिलिटीज हैं, बहुत सी अयोग्यताएं हैं, कुआं में पानी नहीं भर सकते या देव दर्शन नहीं कर सकते या और बातें जो हैं उनकी तरफ गंभीर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है और उनकी तरफ काफी लोगों ने ध्यान खींचा है।

आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारना आदिवासियों के लिये भी और हरिजनों के लिये भी काफी जरूरी चीज है। मेरे ख्याल से फाइव इयर प्लान में काटेज इंडस्ट्री का खोलना जरूरी है और इसकी तरफ ध्यान दिया ही होगा। उनको ज़मीनें दिलवाने के विषय में काफी कहा गया है। मैं समझता हूं कि ये दोनों सजेडन्स बहुत जरूरी हैं और सब से बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण काम यही है कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिये उनको भूमि दी जाय और उनके लिये काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज खोली जायें। यद्यपि डाक्टर अम्बेडकर की बहुत सी बातों में पसन्द नहीं करता लेकिन मैं उनके इस सजेडन से सहमत हूं कि सारे देश में जो कल्टीवेबिल वेस्ट लैंड पड़ी है उस को आप लिस्ट नम्बर १ में ले लीजिये। सेंट्रल सब्जेक्ट के बारे में आप कास्टिट्यूशन चेंज करने वाले हैं, तो कुछ ऐसा रखिये कि वेस्ट लैंड हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को ज्यादा दी जाय। इस पर जरूर गौर करना चाहिये अन्यथा इस समय जो भूमि की स्थिति है और जो आंकड़े हैं उनके अनुसार किसी प्रान्त में इतनी ज़मीन नहीं है कि आप हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को ज्यादा बसा सकें। इस प्रकार जो कल्टीवेबिल वेस्ट लैंड पड़ी हुई है उसका ठीक तरह से उचित बटवारा हो ताकि जो भूमिहीन जातियां हैं उन को ज़मीन मिल

सके। इस विषय में हमको बिल्कुल अपना दिमाग बन्द करके नहीं रहना चाहिये बल्कि दिमाग खोल करके रहना चाहिये और यह सोचना चाहिये कि हमें उनको ज़मीनें देनी हैं जिन के ऊपर एक दो शताब्दियों से नहीं दलित सहस्राब्दियों से अत्याचार हुये हैं। इसके लिये हमें खास प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। मेरे ख्याल से ज़मीनों के विषय में डाक्टर अम्बेडकर का सुझाव अच्छा है और ध्यान देने योग्य है।

डाक्टर अम्बेडकर साहब ने बताया कि हरिजनों के ऊपर शताब्दियों से अत्याचार हुये हैं उनसे उनके दिल में बिटरनेस है, दुख है, दर्द है, यह बात हर एक की समझ में आ सकती है। लेकिन यह बात भी मैं मानता हूं कि उनके कथम में बहुत परवसिटी भी है। हिन्दू माइंड के बारे में जो उन्होंने यह बतलाया कि हिन्दू दिमाग के अन्दर ऐसा डीलापन है या उसके अन्दर ऐसा औंधापन है या दिमाग ही औंधा है, अर्थात् उल्टा है, जिस से वह सही बात सोच ही नहीं सकता, यह बात उनकी ग़लत है। यह जो नतीजा उन्होंने निकाला है, इसको मैं बिल्कुल नहीं मानता। लेकिन हिन्दू शास्त्रों का अध्ययन करते हुये और स्मृतियों का अध्ययन करते हुये जब हम देखते हैं तो हमें पता लगता है कि पुरानी किताबों में भी धार्मिक आधार पर अस्पृश्यता का बड़ा ज़बरदस्त समर्थन किया गया है और इस पाप का प्रायश्चित्त करने के लिये गांधी जी ने हमसे कहा था। इस लिये इस सम्बन्ध में हमें ज्यादा प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। नान आफिशल एजेंसियां इसमें ज्यादा काम कर सकती हैं। डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने जो नान आफिशल

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय ।]

एजेंसियों पर प्रहार किया वह ग़लत था । उन्होंने कहा कि सारी नान आफिशल एजेंसियां मरसिनरीज हैं, भाड़े की टट्टू हैं, पैसे की गुलाम हैं, पैसे के लिये काम करती हैं । कम से कम हरिजन सेवक संध ने बड़ा अच्छा काम किया है । अन्य संस्थाओं ने भी काफी निस्स्वार्थ भाव से काम किया है । इस लिये यह भी उनका आक्षेप ग़लत है । लेकिन हमारे हिन्दू समाज में जो दकियानूसी विचार हैं उनसे हम को लड़ाई लड़ना है और इसकी ओर उन्होंने हमारा ध्यान खींचा है । मैंने एक स्मृति में पढ़ा था कि शूद्रों को वेद पढ़ने का अधिकार नहीं है ।

“अथास्य वेदमुपशृण्वतए

त्रपुजतुम्यां श्रोत्रे प्रपूरयेत् ”

अगर कभी शूद्र वेद सुन ले तो :

“त्रपुजतुम्यां श्रोत्रे प्रपूरयेत्”

गरम करके लाख और शीशा उसके कान में डाल देना चाहिये । तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि ऐसी स्मृतियां जिन्होंने हिन्दू धर्म को कलंकित किया है उनसे लड़ना किस का काम है । अम्बेडकर साहब उनसे नहीं लड़ सकते हैं । इस सम्बन्ध में सर्वण हिन्दुओं को गंभीरता से काम करने की जरूरत है । यह भी सुप्रसिद्ध बात है कि हिन्दू धर्म में ऐसा आया है कि :

“स्त्रीशूद्रौ नाधीयतामिति श्रुते : ”

वेद का हवाला देकर कहा गया है कि स्त्री और शूद्र को वेद पढ़ने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है । परन्तु इस विषय में समाज सुधारक भी सर्वण लोगों में से हुये हैं, इस को डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने स्वीकार नहीं किया है । कुछ ऐसे ऐतिहासिक कारण रहे जैसे हम निरंतर

शताब्दियों से विदेशी शक्तियों के अधीन रहे, इस लिये राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता न होने से हिन्दू जाति में जो ऊंची जाति कहे जाने वाले लोग थे वे अधिक कार्य नहीं कर पाये । लेकिन फिर भी इस ऊंच नीच भावना का विरोध करने वाले आज से नहीं बल्कि हमेशा से सर्वण हिन्दुओं में होते रहे हैं । शायद डाक्टर अम्बेडकर ने इतिहास का अध्ययन ठीक ढंग से नहीं किया है । लेकिन मैं बतला सकता हूं कि उपनिषदों में बतलाया गया है कि ब्राह्मण धर्म क्या है, ब्राह्मण कौन है । एक उपनिषद ऐसी है जिस में बतलाया गया है कि न कोई जाति ब्राह्मण है और न कोई शरीर ब्राह्मण है बल्कि जो ब्रह्म को जानता है वह ब्राह्मण है । इस लिये यह बराबर कहा जाता रहा है कि कोई छोटा नहीं है, कोई बड़ा नहीं है । गौतम बुद्ध और महावीर आदि जितने भी समाज सुधारक हुये उन्होंने यही बतलाया कि न कोई छोटा है और न कोई बड़ा है । इसी तरह नानक, दादू, दयानन्द, राजा राम मोहन राय आदि ने भी इस बारे में काफी कहा है । यद्यपि जो कुछ डाक्टर अम्बेडकर बतला रहे थे उसकी तरह हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिये, लेकिन कुछ बातें उन्होंने ग़लत बतलायीं ।

चूंकि उन्होंने अपनी बातों का एक सिद्धांत या एक शास्त्र सा बना लिया है, इस लिये उसका उत्तर भी शास्त्रीय पद्धति से दिये जाने की जरूरत है । इस हिन्दू सिविलिजेशन पर उन्होंने आक्षेप किया है कि इसमें आपने ५ करोड़ अछूत बना दिये, दो करोड़ आदिवासी बना दिये, लेकिन साथ ही यह उन्होंने नहीं बतलाया कि ये नौ दस करोड़ पाकिस्तान वाले भी आपने बना दिये । यह भी

हमारी हिन्दू सिविलिजेशन का परिणाम है। फिर ५० लाख आपने एक्स क्रिमिनल ट्राइब्स बना दिये। तो यह जो नतीजा है हिन्दू सिविलिजेशन का उसकी तरफ उन्होंने ध्यान खींचा है। लेकिन दरअसल में बतलाऊं कि डाक्टर अम्बेडकर के इस ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन को कोई उचित नहीं समझता यह तो ग़लत है। आर्यों और अनार्यों की जो सम्म्यता मिल करके हुई है उससे यह कास्ट सिस्टम उत्पन्न हुआ है। मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि जे० एच० हटन की एक किताब है “कास्ट इन इंडिया”। उसके अपेंडिक्स में बतलाया गया है एक रेफ़रेंस से कि राय बहादुर राम प्रसाद चन्दा ने “Non Vedic elements in Brahmanism” में लिखा है कि हमारा जो वैदिक धर्म है उसमें बहुत सी नान वैदिक बातें हैं जो कि पशुपति, शैव्य, जैन तथा बुद्ध आदि सिद्धान्तों से ली गई हैं तथा अन्य बातें जैसे लैङ्गिक पूजा आदि। ऐसी बहुत सारी बातें हैं जो कि नान वैदिक हैं। वैदिक काल से पहले और आर्यों से पहले जो अनार्य जातियां रहती थीं उनसे बहुत सी चीज़ें आपने लीं।

श्री प्र० च० भंजदेव : उसका कोई प्रमाण नहीं है।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : इसका प्रमाण आप को मानना पड़ेगा यदि आप ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से वेदों का अध्ययन करेंगे।

श्री प्र० च० भंजदेव : अध्ययन किया है।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : तो यह मानना पड़ेगा कि भारतवर्ष में दूसरी

जातियां आयी जैसे : Negritoes Race, Mediterranean Race, Iranian Race, Armenoid Eurasiatic Race, Proto Austroloid Race, Kotarian Mon Khmer or Austro-Asiatic, वगैरह, वगैरह।

ये सारी जातियां आर्यों से पहले भारत-वर्ष में आयीं और वसों और उनके धर्मों में से और उनके कल्चर में से हमने कितनी बातें लीं। मैं एक सिद्धान्त बतला रहा हूँ कि भारतवर्ष में जाति प्रथा कैसे पैदा हुई। अम्बेडकर साहब ने जो कहा कि हिन्दुओं में आर्यन्स और नोन आर्यन्स का फर्क रखने वाली बीमारी अभी भी उनके दिमाग में घुसी है, वास्तव में हिन्दुओं में ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। आखिर डा० अम्बेडकर साहब भी किस स्टीक में से होंगे क्या वह कह सकते हैं। आज के युग में रक्त की जांच से सम्बन्धित कई सिद्धान्त निकले हैं। उनके अनुसार मंगोलियनों में या आर्यों में या ड्रैविडियनों में या मेडिटरेनियन आदि जातियों में कौन कौन किसम का ब्लड पाया जाता है—ए०, बी०, सी०, डी०, ओ० इस तरह से कई वर्गों में उन्हें रखा गया है—इस सब की जांच हो गई है। तो जांच करने से यह पता चला है कि जातियों में आपस में ब्लड इस तरह से इंटरमिक्सड हो गए हैं कि यहां कोई शुद्ध रक्त है नहीं, सब मिल चुके हैं और विश्वास और धर्म भी मिल चुके हैं। तो इस प्रकार के मिक्सड कल्चर के पैदा हो जाने पर यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि हिन्दू लोग किसी खास तरह के टाइप के लोग हैं। हिन्दू लोग कोई प्योर ब्लड के आर्यन भी नहीं हैं और विश्वास में भी प्योर आर्यन नहीं हैं क्योंकि विश्वास में भी आर्यन

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय ।]

और अनार्य सिद्धान्त आपस में मिल चुके हैं । इसलिए आर्यन और अनार्यों की कोई दो जातियाँ या दो कल्चर अलग अलग हिंदुस्तान में ह, ऐसी बात नहीं है । सिर्फ अस्पृश्य जातियाँ, जो आजकल छूत कहलाती हैं, उनमें ही आपस में कितना छूतछात और भेदभाव पाया जाता है यह आपको मालूम है । एक भंगी दूसरे सांसी के हाथ का छुआ नहीं खायेगा । क्या डा० अम्बेडकर साहब ने या दूसरे लोगों ने अपने आपस में छूतछात को मिटाने के लिये कोई प्रयत्न किया । वे खुद तो कोई कंस्ट्र-क्टिव काम नहीं करते और सारी हिन्दू जाति के ऊपर आक्षेप लगाते हैं । उन्होंने खुद ही सिद्धान्तों का और हरिदास का अध्ययन नहीं किया । (टाइम बैल) में दो मिनट और लूंगा । एक सिद्धान्त यह बताया गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू आर्य अलग हैं और बाकी लोग बिल्कुल अलग हैं और यह कि आर्यों ने उन लोगों पर अत्याचार किये और कास्ट सिस्टम यहां चलाया । यह सिद्धान्त ग़लत है । कुछ विद्वानों ने बताया है कि सभी प्रिमिटिव जातियों में ऐसा विश्वास पाया जाता रहा है कि अगर हम किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति को छूवेंगे तो हमारे अंदर की वैवीय शक्ति उसके अंदर प्रवेश कर जायेगी या उसकी खराब शक्ति हमारे अंदर आ जायेगी और इस तरह से अंटेचेबिलिटी या कास्ट सिस्टम का जन्म हुआ हो । मगर आर्य संस्कृति में इस तरह की चीज का परिचय नहीं मिलता है जिसको कि हम कास्ट सिस्टम कहते हैं । कास्ट सिस्टम अनार्य और आर्य सिस्टम का मिक्सचर है । वह अनार्यों से आया है । आर्यंस ईरान में हैं, वहां उनमें कोई

कास्ट सिस्टम नहीं है, इसी तरह से आर्यंस में जर्मन लोग, यूरोपियन लोग शामिल हैं, परन्तु उनमें कहीं कास्ट सिस्टम नहीं है । सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान में ही कास्ट सिस्टम क्यों पैदा हुआ, इसका कारण यह है कि प्रिमिटिव जातियों में छुआछूत के बारे में इस तरह का भाव था कि कहीं दूसरी जाति के साथ स्पर्श से हमारी शक्ति घट कर खत्म न हो जाय और उस व्यक्ति में न घुस जाय । यह सिद्धान्त माना 'mana' का कहलाता है जो प्राचीन जातियों में पाया जाता था । ऋग्वेद से पहले के आर्यों की जो सम्म्यता थी उसमें भी अंटेचेबिलिटी का लोगों में खयाल पैदा नहीं हुआ था । यहां पहले नोन-आर्यन लोग रहते थे और बाद में जब आर्यंस आने लगे और यहीं बस गये तो उस सम्मिश्रण का परिणाम यह हुआ कि कास्ट सिस्टम यहां डेवलप होने लगा और वह अब तक नहीं मिट पाया है । इसके मिटने से ही देश का और हिन्दू जाति का उद्धार हो सकता है । लेकिन हिन्दुओं के दिमाग का जिस तरह से डा० अम्बेडकर ने अध्ययन किया है और उसे "ट्रिब्यूट" बताया है उससे यह मालूम होता है कि उनका खुद का ही दिमाग ट्रिब्यूट है । यह कहना कि हिन्दुस्तान में आर्यों ने अनार्यों पर अत्याचार किये हैं और भेद-भाव रखा है, ग़लत है क्योंकि वे लोग आपस में, आचार में, विचार में और व्यवहार में एक दूसरे से मिलजुल चुके हैं । अछूत कोई अलग नहीं हैं और न हिन्दू कोई अलग हैं, वे सब एक हैं । इसलिए इस सदन में बार बार उन्होंने अपनी जो थियरी प्रोपेगेट की है उसमें कोई सार नहीं है । श्री अम्बेडकर भावि जिन झूठे उसूलों को फैलाते : उन्हें झूठ

धाऊट करने की सख्त जरूरत है और इसके लिए प्रचार होना चाहिए ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है वह बहुत अच्छी है, और आशा करता हूँ कि इस साल के काम में जो त्रुटियाँ बतलाई गई हैं उन की ओर अगले साल सरकार ध्यान देगी ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): May I suggest that as there are several speakers, it would be very helpful if you take ten minutes each?

SHRI S. BANERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, if I rise to speak on this subject, I do so with the full realisation that it is very vast, and the magnitude of the task is immense. Still, I will say that the Government of India has, under the Constitution, immense power to raise the status of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes. In fact, it has done very little. The professions of the Government here, as in all other spheres, have been very sublime, but the performances have been, as in any other sphere, ridiculous. The Constitution says in article 46 as follows:

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

I would ask the hon. Home Minister to say what special care what special protection, the Government of India has given, from exploitation and all sorts of social injustice, to these three classes. If he wants my answer, I will say that they have done absolutely nothing, emphatically nothing, unconditionally nothing. The Five Year Plan, of which so much capital is made by the Govern-

ment and their supporters, has given Rs. 38 crores for the welfare and development of backward classes including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the total population of these being more than 10½ crores, more than 25 per cent. of the whole population of the sub-continent of India. What does it amount to? 10½ crores being the population of the backward classes including the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, they have been given for their development Rs. 38 crores. I would ask the hon. Home Minister to work out a simple arithmetic, and he will find that the result will be Rs. 3 per head in five years for the development and protection of the interests of these three classes. Is this not ridiculous? The professions are sublime, but the performances are ridiculous, as I have already said.

Two things are needed for the elevation of the status of these three classes, and they are, education and economic rehabilitation. When we ask for compulsory free primary education for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes, the Government confront us by saying, "There is a provision in the Constitution of India to provide free elementary education to all the people of the country." But they conveniently forget that these people deserve special treatment, and cannot the Government who have the means at their disposal promulgate here and now provisions for giving free elementary education to these classes? They can, but they will not. I do not know the reason why they will not.

The cases of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes do not stand on all fours with each other. The Scheduled Castes occupy a very peculiar position. They are within the society and still outside the society. They have no privileges and rights that are enjoyed by all the other sections of the Hindu society. The Scheduled Tribes form a class apart. They are cut off from all life and civilisation. I would

[Shri S. Banerjee.]
take you, Sir, and the hon. the Home Minister, to a country where whole peoples who have been nomads from time immemorial have been regenerated. Regenerated how? They gave them education; previously they were illiterate and they were devoid of all culture, but within the course of a few years, they have made them a civilised portion of humanity. I refer to the Northernmost part of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government conceived and successfully implemented a scheme which has redeemed the whole population there from the depths of superstition and ignorance into which they were steeped for so many centuries together. I would ask the Government to take a lesson from this example. Given the time I would read out passages from a booklet called 'Peoples Regenerated' published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, which I had the honour to receive when I was in Moscow a month and a half back. I will place the booklet on the Table of the House for the benefit of the Home Minister and his department.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Why on the Table? Give it to me.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: (After passing on the booklet to Dr. K. N. Katju) Only taking the book will not do. You will have to go through it and apply what you have learnt from it.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I have not given any guarantee about that.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: For education, what have they done? They have only awarded scholarships, scholarships for all sorts of education, including under-graduate, graduate, post-graduate and professional. The number is 5893 out of ten and a half crores. You please work out the percentage. Add to this, they say, "We are sending out six students of each group abroad." I would ask the hon. the Home Minister to pause and consider and give me a reply whether

this is adequate. (Time bell rings.) You have been so kind to others. If you will only.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): Only two more minutes.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Is that the warning bell or the final bell?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): You can have two more minutes.

SHRI S. BANERJEE: Dr. Ambedkar, in his own inimitable way, characterised the Hindu civilisation as a curse on human society. If that is true of the Hindu civilisation, it is also true of the Christian civilisation. I will refer to one instance. The Christians of the South are mostly from the untouchables there. The Christians in this part of India are not allowed to sit together with the Christians of the upper classes of India. I do not find Dr. Ambedkar here, I am sorry. I will only remind him that civilisation at all stages is based on the economic conditions prevailing at the time. It is not particularly true only of India. It is true of every country in the world. Each stage of civilisation is based and inexorably based on the economic conditions prevailing at the time. We should not forget that. Therefore, if we want to remove the disabilities suffered by the depressed classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes, we have got to change the economic conditions prevailing in India at the present moment lock, stock and barrel.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I recognise no class and no caste. Happily I am being governed under a Constitution which, though it provides safeguards for the uplift of the so-called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, makes no distinction between the non-Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes and provides for opportunities for the progress and development of all on an equal footing. I long for the day when that high priest of untouchability, the Shreemahant of the Scheduled Castes, the hon. Dr. Ambedkar, would begin to think

and to look upon himself as a full-fledged and full-blooded Hindu rather than as a person belonging to an inferior group known as the Scheduled Castes. It is a sign of the inferiority complex from which he is suffering. There is no mental twist or mental disease from which the so-called caste Hindus are suffering.

Sir, my impression is that the hon. Doctor makes a regular daily study of Miss Mayo's 'Mother India' and derives all his inspiration from that unholy book. If he is so fond of Western civilisation and thinks that Hindu civilisation or the Indian civilisation for that matter is a blot upon humanity, I can only pity his mental deficiency, because I know that I cannot help it. He is so obstinately made that reason he recognises not, arguments he cares two pence for, and his own self-made convictions are as dear to him as the existence of the Scheduled Castes Federation itself, of which he is the high priest. Sir, I may humbly tell the House that like democracy which is a way of life and which can best be learnt by practising it, this non-observance of untouchability is also a way of life which can best be learnt by practising it and my humble prayer and entreaty to each and every Member of the House will be to practise the removal of untouchability and efface it from wherever it is to be found rather than go on preaching that this untouchability should not be observed and it should be effaced from the surface of the Indian land. It is not by that method and not also by the method of the production of the voluminous and bulky reports that untouchability will be removed. I may here tell you that I practise no untouchability with all the people of the so-called Scheduled Castes with whom I come in contact. There is no distinction, there is no restraint on my people coming in contact with them in my own household. When people belonging to the Scheduled Castes enter my house we mix freely with them, they are perfectly at liberty to touch anything of the household they like

including the eatables provided; of course, they are neat and clean. It was in 1932 when the Great Mahatma staked his life for the cause of the Hindu society as a whole and saved it from being partitioned by the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, that while in the Fyzabad jail, I cleaned the latrines of the jail, filled the night-soil in the buckets and took them to the garden of the jail compound in order to prove that I do not look down upon those people who work for us as scavengers.

From most of the speeches that I have heard I have inferred that almost all the speakers laid stress on the loaves and the fishes that are being distributed to the so-called untouchables and the Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes getting very little share. I may tell you that I am not at all concerned with that side of the problem. I am concerned only with the social side of it and unless and until this obvious blot on the *savarna* Hindus of observing untouchability is removed, no amount of Governmental aid will help them. You cannot raise a man economically artificially. There are so many other factors which go to raise a man's status economically. There is education there is culture, there is society, there are environment and there are so many things which the so-called untouchables will have to create for themselves. They should have in themselves some creative energy, some creative genius which unfortunately they presently lack, not because of any disability that has been placed upon them by the law of the land but because of the old traditions.

I pitied Dr. Ambedkar when he was speaking that he still looks upon himself as an untouchable. Having had a place in the Government of India—he was a Member of the ex-Viceroy's ex-Executive Council—we honour him by all possible means and yet he is suffering from that incurable disease that he is looked down upon by the *savarna* or the caste Hindus and he is treated as an untouchable. He is not and that is why I said that I long

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]

for the day when he will begin to look upon himself as a full-fledged Hindu and would extend the same advice to other persons of whom he is the leader to shake off and to wipe off that inferiority complex.

One of his suggestions I very strongly and emphatically repudiate and I request the Government never to put it into execution. I have protested against it even before and I protested against it now and say that the re-imposition of the salt tax is a thing which I can at no cost agree to. Even if the money coming out of that tax is to be utilised to raise a great memorial for the great Mahatma, I shall not vote for it because we have got so many traditions, such a long history starting from the Dandi march connected with the salt tax that its re-imposition in India will be a sacrilege and therefore I oppose it.

(Time bell rings.)

I am sorry that Dr. Ambedkar is living still in the nineteenth century. He has not forgotten the old Dolapalki agitation in Garhwal and he thinks that these poor people known as the untouchables are still being exploited, molested and ill-treated by the caste Hindus. It is not so. Things have considerably changed, they have changed beyond recognition. The very presence of hon. Dr. Ambedkar here and so many of the other friends of ours with whom I again emphasise, I am dealing and am intimately in close contact without having any false notions of religion, of high and low, should prove that. I appeal to him to change his attitude and frame of mind towards the so-called *savarna* Hindus and look at things in the broader vision which he finds in India today. There is going to be no separate election for Scheduled Castes after another 5 years. There is only a ten years' limit fixed and I will in good time and in advance advise my friends who represent the Scheduled Castes here to teach their constituents, to that effect so that this thing may not have any

greater lease of life. Sir, I am very sorry that I have not even been able to touch upon half of the points that I wanted to. Still I will make a running commentary on a few of them.

While thanking you for the opportunity you have given me, I would say that I wanted to understand from my hon. friend Mr. Wadia who made a complaint about something in which he used the word 'Hinduise'. I don't think it is true and I repudiate most strongly any impression that he might have tried to convey that the Hindus were thinking of Hinduising other people. Nothing of the sort. The Hindu has never been guilty of that offence. He has simply given away from his own stock but has unfortunately had not the power to take from other stocks and that has been its greatest defect and Pakistan is the living product of that very defect of the Hindus. So there is no point in charging Hindus with Hinduising anybody.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, very many speakers have already spoken and now it is time that the debate is closed and the hon. Minister replies. But I do feel that there are one or two things which I should bring to the notice of the hon. the Home Minister. I feel that so far as the social aspect of the question is concerned, the removal of untouchability can only be brought about by local organisations, and Government will not be able to do much in this case. I have been touring a lot in the areas where Scheduled Tribes live. I have been to Chhatisgarh States in Madhya Pradesh. I have been to the ex-State areas of Orissa, to Tripura and to Manipur and I have seen that Government servants with coat and trousers, putting on even Gandhi caps, are not very much liked by these ordinary people, the criminal tribes and the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes people. They want to see people who were clothing as they themselves do, who talk to them in the language that

they understand. Therefore, I would beg of the Home Minister to see that so far as this aspect of the question is concerned, money is given to organisations which are local, which belong to that area, or at least to that province. People from outside, especially officials will not be able to make any great advance. That is so far as this point is concerned.

The other point that I was going to mention is this and that is a very essential one. Members of the Assembly and Members of Parliament who take part in these debates I am very sorry to say, forget all about it when they go out of the Parliament House. If we went to the villages and tried to rouse feeling against untouchability, in every place that we visited I think we should be getting very much better results than by making only speeches on the floor of the House. Let everyone take a sort of vow that so far as we are concerned, wherever we go, we shall preach the removal of untouchability. Laws will not remove this evil. The laws have been there. So many laws have been made. It is the mentality that has to be changed. I do feel that this is a great slur on our country, this untouchability, and the sooner it goes the better it is for the country. This cannot be done by the Government alone Sir, I am quite clear about it. It is by the efforts of the people themselves that this can be removed.

Then there are a few other points. The need to give higher education, giving these people posts in the services, these things were urged in the speeches. We have got about a hundred pages in this Report dealing with them. Then there is the reservation of seats to these people in the Assemblies and in Parliament. That is all quite good. But it does not touch the masses, the majority of the people are uneducated. They are landless. They have nothing and for them it does not very much matter how many people have gone to England for further education, how many people

have gone into the different services, in this Government or in the State Governments. What is really necessary for them is land.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.] Land is the real thing and it should be given to them. But land alone will not do. In addition to land, there must be co-operative credit societies for their assistance. There must be co-operative farming organised, because these are poor people and land alone will not solve the question. Therefore the attention of the Government has to be directed to these points. There must be co-operative societies. There must be co-operative farming.

(Time bell rings.)

12 NOON

Sir, I shall finish in two minutes. I was very much pleased to find in one of the places in Madhya Pradesh—I mean Bastar—which is a community project area, great improvement effected by the people themselves. All the Adibasis, the Scheduled Castes and also the Scheduled Tribes people were taking keen interest in the work there in all the Government activities. That is because the local Congressmen and the local people took interest in it. They were found helping in the making of roads. Tanks were also made there. Then they were having forests allotted to themselves. They could have one-twelfth of the forest area so that there was no forest trouble. Then there were fisheries, for they used to make tanks. They had dispensaries. All these things were done by the people themselves at the instance of the Government.

Sir time is short; otherwise I could have spoken longer and convinced the Government that it was necessary that this side of the question should have received more attention than it has actually received so far.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am sure the House will join me in my appreciation of the Report of the Scheduled

[Shri S. Mahanty.]

Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner for 1953 which has been presented to us. When I refer to the Report, I refer to its make-up, I refer to its printing, I refer to the get-up of the Report, not its contents. And I am sure the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in more places than one in his Report has expressed opinions and sentiments which are not much at variance from mine. It is a story of helplessness. It is a story of callous indifference of the State Governments whose primary responsibility it is to ameliorate the conditions of the people whom we call backward. This conception of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes whom we call backward, was a conception of the 1935 Government of India Act. For obvious political reasons the British Government thought of keeping these people, these millions of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people as a sort of a safety-valve against the nationalist movement in India. The welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people was a special responsibility of the Governor. It was a most unscientific attitude, but it served the political purpose of the then Government very well. And I am sorry to say that we also seem to have inherited that very unscientific attitude from the British Government.

Coming, Sir, to the backward classes, this is a relative term. In many States in India, there are many places where the so-called caste Hindus, the Brahmins and Kayasthas and others live in much more primitive and backward conditions than the so-called backward people. Sir, if we have thought of retaining this concept of backward people, it is only for our own political purposes. We want to get returned to legislatures from safe constituencies. Therefore we exploit the misery and ignorance of these people for our own needs and retain them as a permanent feature of our national life. If I am not wrong, there is a provision in the Constitution which

stipulated a period of 10 years and if was considered that within that period, these people would be brought up to the level of the other advanced sector of India. So the question at present reduces itself to this; though we have now spent a major portion of that stipulated period, how far have we progressed towards that end? A perusal of this Report will not only disappoint us, but it will leave us with the impression that at this rate of progress the amelioration of the condition of these people is never to be attained, that these people can look for no redemption from their handicaps, at the hands of the present Administration. At this stage end of the debate, I will not go into that question, but will only say a few words on the amendment that I have proposed.

In my amendment, I have proposed that such members of the Scheduled Tribes, after their conversion to Christianity or Islam, should not be considered backward people.

Sir, I invite the attention of the House to the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950; the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1951; the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 and the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1951. These two Orders, the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order and the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order are identical in composition. They are identical in purpose too; but there is only one difference. And that is a vital difference. In the case of the Scheduled Castes Order, it has been clearly provided and stipulated that a member of the Scheduled Castes, after his conversion to Christianity or Islam, should not be considered as belonging to a backward community. What I now propose is that similarly a member of the Scheduled Tribes, after his conversion to Christianity or Islam, should not also be taken to belong to a community of the Scheduled Tribes. I will cite a concrete illustration which will bring home my point to the House. Let us go to the Chhota Nagpur plateau; that is culturally and linguistically

virtually a no man's land; there are several tribes living there in relative degrees of advancement or backwardness. A committee under the very able chairmanship of the late lamented Mr. A. V. Thakkar went into the condition of these people and submitted a report to the Constituent Assembly of India. In that report it has been clearly pointed out that in the Chhota Nagpur plateau, only 7½ per cent. of the tribal people are Christians who, educationally, economically and culturally, are to some extent much more advanced than even the non-tribal people living in that area. There is this 7½ per cent. of the people, the very advanced section of the tribal people among the whole population of Chhota Nagpur. The rest 93 per cent. of the tribal people are left to the tender mercies of these people forming the very advanced section who always exploit them for their own ends. Coming again to the Chhota Nagpur area, what do we find there? We find a peculiar phenomenon there; persons who have passed the bar-at-law examination, have joined the Inner Temple, persons who have advanced Western education, persons who have filled in many important roles in society and persons who are comparatively more fairly and highly educated than most of their countrymen—it is a shame—are claiming for themselves safeguards which is sought to be extended to them by lumping them Scheduled Tribes. I am also sorry to mention, Sir, that the Home Ministry has never examined this question. Now the question to be examined is, how long are we going to keep these millions of people as backward people. We have to start the process of elimination from now on. Those people who have taken to Christianity find much better scope for development, educationally, economically and culturally.

SHRI KANHAIYALAL D. VAIDYA (Madhya Bharat): Question.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: You may question; you may question for a variety of reasons but you cannot question a fact. You cannot simply question

a fact. If you question me, I will ask you to go to Ranchi District in Bihar where the Christian Adibasis live with a much higher standard than most of non-tribal people.

SHRI KANHAIYALAL D. VAIDYA: I can also take you to places.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Therefore, Sir, my humble suggestion to the Home Ministry—I would have liked to develop my point but due to the limited time at my disposal I cannot do it—is that they should consider ways and means to exclude such tribal people who have taken to Christianity or to Islam or to any other religion which does not impose on them any social limitations from the omnibus term 'backward classes'; thereby we will be advancing a long way towards the solution of this problem.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR (Travancore-Cochin): Mr. Deputy Chairman, in regard to the Report submitted by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, nothing much need to be said.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: A little louder.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR:.....because he is an officer employed by the Central Government, asked to go round and write a report regarding the activities organised by the Central Government towards the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. In his Report, he cites—on the basis of the principles he believes—that in many parts of the country the Scheduled Castes are being treated as untouchables still, that many have been evicted from the lands and that in certain places many have been given facilities towards social progress. He has also said in his Report that certain State Governments have carried out while certain others have failed to carry out certain of his suggestions. This is the sort of Report he has placed before the Government and the Government has brought it before the House for discussion. We know of the experience for the last so many years of the struggle of the organised and of the un-

[Shri N. C. Sekhar.]
organised people who are being called now as the Scheduled Castes for the redress of their social grievances. I come from a State where the Scheduled Castes people number about eight lakhs. I know how they have been treated and are being treated. The Government claim that all these advances as recorded in the Report as well as in certain other Reports of the Central Government and State Governments are due to the mercy and clemency of this so-called Government officials but I want to bring certain facts before this House to show that it is not solely due to the mercy of these people that certain things had been done. Whatever has been achieved is mainly because of the struggle organised by these people against the tyranny which has been perpetrated upon them by certain privileged sections of the people. I also belong to a caste Hindu family and I know how my own family—how my own father and my own uncle—treated the untouchables, the so-called *Pulayas* and *Paraihs*. In our place there used to be called *Adimas*, that is slaves; each landlord family was owning such *Adimas*. When a family was partitioned these people would also be partitioned. Even today the same thing is happening in certain parts of the Cochin State. The Nambudris—they are called Janmis—own land and for cultivating these lands they have in their employ certain *Pulayas*—a number of them—and when a family is partitioned these *Pulayas* are also divided between the members of the family. That is how things were going on and are going on even today in certain parts of our country. Now the Report says that untouchability is observed in Malabar, in Travancore-Cochin, in Tamilnad and in other places. Kumbakonam is also mentioned as the place where untouchability is observed even with regard to the use of post offices. So many like cases have been mentioned in the Report but there are so many others which are not being mentioned in the Report. When such cases were brought to the notice of

the police, they were either neglected or the people who brought such cases were penalised. That is how things are happening even today. There is a Temple Entry Law in Travancore-Cochin but the Home Ministry should investigate as to how many *Pulayas* and *Paraihs* are allowed to enter the temples. In Palghat Taluk there are about 25 Brahmin *gramas* where no *Paraih* or *Pulaya* or even the *Izhivas*—who are also called backward—is allowed to pass through those *gramas*. That is how untouchability is rampant in our part. You might remember what Swami Vivekananda had once called—when he was touring this part—called it—Kerala—a lunatic asylum because of this fact that a vast number of people were being treated worse than slaves. That is how things are still going on. So how are you going to remove it? Certain Members have said that Government will not be able to remove this untouchability by law and the local people can alone do this. I say the Government must take the necessary steps to see that the so-called upper class caste people who have been observing this untouchability for so long a period as 6,000 or 10,000 years, do treat such people as human beings.

Secondly the first and most important task that devolves upon the depressed class people themselves is to organise themselves to fight out this untouchability. They must organise themselves and assert themselves, as Kaka Kalelkar is reported to have said in some meetings which he addressed the day before yesterday somewhere in U.P. These people must organise themselves, no doubt, but will the Government allow them to do so? This Government patronises such organisations as the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Harijan League and such other organisations which are disrupting the organisation of the Harijans in certain parts of this country, who are organising themselves against this social tyranny. Government should see that such organisations are not encouraged by giving them funds and all that. This fund must be utilised

through the organisations of the untouchables themselves. This is one of my suggestions.

Secondly, Sir, evictions are taking place on a large scale and these reports also bring to the notice of the Government that in certain places of the country eviction of the Scheduled Caste people from the land is taking place. These untouchables who have come to possess little plots of land are being evicted by the *zamindars* or the landlords. That is taking place all over the country. In our place not hundreds but thousands of evictions have taken place and even now are taking place. Certain cases were brought before the police and before the Malabar District Collector and before the Collectors of certain other districts and these cases were for some reason or other overlooked or not taken up. Thus so many people have been evicted from their home steads or from their plots of land. This is how the untouchables are being treated there on the economic front. I find from certain papers distributed to the Members by the Government that they are going to bring forward certain Bills for this House to enact them into law. So far so good. But that won't do. Government must see that those who are observing untouchability are punished as criminals.

Sir, I shall cite one instance. There was a *Pulayas* marriage procession and certain *Pulayas* in that procession were found to have been wearing chappals. The Janmi of the locality on seeing some of them wearing chappals got angry and he managed to get those *Pulayas* to remove their chappals and hold them upon their heads and walk along without any noise. This is how certain Janmis in Kasragode taluk in South Kanara are behaving towards these people.

In other places, for example in Chirakkal taluk, 8 murders of *Pulayas* have taken place and these cases were brought to the notice of the police but the police refused to investigate these murders and to spot out the murderers of these people, the poor

Harijans. Harijan young men are being murdered and hung over the branches of trees at the instance of the big Janmis whose influence is overwhelming over the police there. It is because the Janmis, the landlords, or some other influential big orthodox people get angry when they find that some of these Harijans are advanced in their social status and in education and they begin to move about as freely as any other members of the caste Hindus, and they manage to get these advanced Harijans murdered or isolated from their area. This is how things are taking place. How is the Government going to check all these happenings? But this can be checked only by and through the organisation of the Harijans themselves. For that the Government should encourage them. But would the Government give them the encouragement to organise themselves and to manage their affairs with the help of the Government? The Government won't do it. Then, Sir, the whole thing is embedded on the feudal land system itself which is a curse and scourge of our society and it should be removed. But the Government is not going to remove this existing land system which is a curse upon the people and which gives strength to the landlords to suppress these people. Unless this reform is brought about as early as possible, certainly, however much you spend upon the welfare schemes, that would not bring about the desired benefit to the desired extent.

With these words I bring to the notice of the Home Minister that their pace in making necessary reforms is very slow and that what they do is only for name's sake. If they are earnest in bringing about such measures they must take the necessary steps to bring about radical land reform as well as bring about certain measures to check the evil of untouchability and punish such people who observe this untouchability.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had a very lengthy discussion on this report, I welcome it because the welfare of the Scheduled

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]

'Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes of India is not and should never be a party affair and it has to be approached from the national point of view because we are all agreed that their welfare should be promoted as quickly as possible and they should be brought up to the level of all the other citizens of India. There can be no dispute on this basic approach.

Now, hon. Members must have seen that at the end of this Report for the year 1953 the Commissioner has added an Appendix in which it is mentioned as to what were the recommendations made by the Commissioner in his Report for 1952 and what action had been taken by the Government on those particular recommendations. The same procedure will be adopted so far as this Report is concerned. But I went further than this. Unfortunately we had no debate upon the 1952 Report in this House and the debate in the other House came at a very late stage; that was in December 1953. Hon. Members had been circulated a cyclostyled memorandum containing the points that were raised and the suggestions that were made in the course of the debate in the other House. They were all most carefully analysed subjectwise and each one of those suggestions was considered and wherever we could, we took action upon them. Now in the memorandum which has been circulated all that has been pointed out. I am only mentioning this that we attach the greatest weight and the greatest respect to the suggestions which are made by hon. Members when they speak on this particular motion and I can only say this that every speech that has been made here during the last three days will be very carefully analysed and the speeches which will be made in the other House will all be carefully analysed, every suggestion noted and you will be informed as to what particular action has been taken upon those suggestions and what the Government thinks about them, how far they are considered to be feasible, how far they are considered not to be feasible and so

on. Now it occurred to me, while discussion was going on, to go through this memorandum once again, and I was rather interested to find that practically every suggestion that has been made to-day or yesterday was made by hon. Members last year, and the action that was taken has been mentioned in this particular matter. There are some new points which I shall deal with in a moment.

Now what should be the approach and how the matter should be dealt with is of tremendous importance. Some criticism was made by hon. Members as to the contents of the report and it was said that it was not a very proper report, it was a very dry report, it should have contained something much more. Dr. Ambedkar was rather very severe on this point. I greatly regret his absence because I want that hon. Members who in the course of their observations, lengthy observations and long speeches, make many attacks on Government should be here to listen to what we have to say to them. It so happens that Dr. Ambedkar and other hon. Members are not here but I hope that what I say will reach them in due course. Now he said: What is there? I have received reports that 30 members—Harijan brethren—were shot in Rajasthan. There was some dispute about some disabilities and so on. Nothing has been mentioned. The Commissioner should have gone and made enquiries as to in how many cases Fundamental Rights had been exercised and in the exercise of those Fundamental Rights Harijans had been maltreated, had been killed and had been injured. Were any enquiries made? How did the police behave? He went on in that strain. I think it is desirable, because it is a matter of some importance, that we must in fairness to the Commissioner let the Commissioner know as to what he is required to deal with in his Report. He cannot put forward before Parliament or submit to the President something which is entirely irrelevant. Article 338(2) of the Constitution deals with this matter. It says: "It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to

the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct." Now it deals only with the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and as the House is aware, we have got one big thing, namely, reserved seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the different Legislatures. The second is article 335 which I had better read here. I shall have to refer to it later. "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State." That is one safeguard which he has to discuss and then there is the general directive in article 46, I believe. It is a general directive and relates to the weaker sections of the community. It says: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

Now, I respectfully submit to the House that it is no business of the Special Officer to mention in his Report as to what has happened to the Harijans in the exercise of Fundamental Rights which are extended to every single citizen of India. There are dacoities; there are murders. Dacoities may take place for the sake of robbery, loot and so on and murders may take place for a variety of reasons. That is all a question of law and order. It is the concern of everybody that law and order should be maintained. I suggest, Sir, that Dr. Ambedkar's criticism as it was directed almost personally to the Special Officer was not well-founded. It was rather unjust because it is not the duty of the Special Officer to go

into this question of general Fundamental Rights. It is not as if somebody had been killed. I know how these things take place. I deal with this matter and they come to me from several States in the form of mercy petitions to the President and I know why people are murdered. There are a variety of reasons—land disputes, irrigation disputes, matters arising out of family disputes and all sorts of things. Now, it may be that in Rajasthan or elsewhere people were murdered or killed because of some dispute which may have had its origin in some of these matters. That is a question for the police who will investigate into those things. There will be a trial and after the judicial verdict if a person is found guilty he is punished. Where does the Special Officer come into this picture at all?

Secondly a reference was made to another point by one of my hon. friends here and by Dr. Ambedkar also and that relates to the employment of the people of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the military services, in the armed forces of the Union. They say, "It is very curious that in one of the appendices which the Report contains we find that the figures for the year 1952 are a little higher than the figures for the year 1953". And Dr. Ambedkar commented with some surprise that this deterioration was inexplicable. He asked the reason for this. Now I made some enquiries into it myself and the report which has come from the Defence Ministry is very curious. They say that the figures for the year 1952 were joint figures for both the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Dr. Ambedkar particularly referred to Other Ranks and the 1952 figures for Other Ranks mentioned in the Report is 22,288. The figure for the next year, that is 1953, is 18,666. Naturally he said, well, there is a reduction. I am informed that the Defence Ministry upto 1952 kept in their registers joint figures for both Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and when we asked for figures, they sent us those figures. From 1953 they keep two figures separately for Scheduled Castes and Sched-

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]
 duled Tribes. The Defence Ministry say that in 1953 there were not only 18,666 Scheduled Caste members but in addition there were 3,697 members of the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore there is no marked difference at all: I think the figures for 1952 and 1953 are about equal. So that explains the seeming reduction in the year 1953. Unfortunately, by an accidental mistake the figure for Scheduled Tribes is not mentioned here. I think the Commissioner asked for the figure for Scheduled Castes only and they sent him the joint figure for 1952 and the figure for Scheduled Castes for 1953. Scheduled Tribes have been omitted.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: On the next page it is mentioned On page 257 that figure is mentioned and the total number is no less than that for 1952.

DR. K. N. KATJU: That is what I am saying. Dr. Ambedkar referred only to that page. Nothing else.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: There should have been a note added.

DR. K. N. KATJU: That is right.

Now, I am very glad, Sir, that in this year's debate, some hon. Members paid specific attention to the case of Scheduled Tribes and the tribal areas. We are doing our best. They are a fine people. Some complaints were made about officers and so on and so forth. But I can point out to you that in the Five Year Plan there is a specific provision of Rs. 15 crores in the current plan for the Scheduled Tribes, out of which Rs. 9 crores has already been spent and Rs. 6 crores will be spent in the remaining two years. I am hoping that in the Second Five Year Plan, there will be a larger provision for the betterment, uplift and welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

One point was raised by my hon. friend from Ranchi. He said the Assistant Commissioner was not looking after them very well and he complained about something that happened between him and others. Now, I venture to point out that my Commissioner here and his assistant officers,

have got no executive duties. They are bound to listen, they should listen to every complaint that may be conveyed to them by Members of Parliament, members of Legislatures, every single citizen, and to investigate—if it requires investigation—and then to send on that particular case to the State Government or report it over here. But so far as the Commissioner is concerned, his powers only amount to this: either to forward his advice or his comments to the State Governments or to bring the matter to the notice of the Home Ministry. He cannot possibly pass any order himself. I rather regret that there the Assistant Commissioner was not properly dealt with. I do not know what the hon. Member expected him to do. While I am very anxious that Members of Parliament should take the greatest interest in the particular matter—in all public matters—hon. Members should also realise the difficulties under which public servants, public officers, labour. I mean, they have got to investigate; they have to hear; very often news that is brought to hon. Members, local Members, Parliament Members is exaggerated. Sometimes it is baseless, sometimes it is wellfounded. He has to listen to the Members and investigate and I am sure no hon. Member desires that whatever he says—probably based on hearsay, upon reports made to him, because hon. Members have no personal knowledge of these matters—that should be taken as something solid like the Rock of Gibraltar, and action taken at once against him—if there is a complaint against a public servant, he ought to be dismissed then and there or remarks made, and so on. I won't touch on that point further.

Then, my hon. friend Dr. Kunzru—probably he has gone elsewhere—referred to a very old matter about the figures. I am rather sorry that he raised it, because it is a 1947 figure. He said the 1941 census figure was this. Then came the President's Order, and the figure was reduced by so many lakhs. Then came the 1951 census figures. They are all given there. Now,

this matter was gone into at great length. As my hon. colleague Mr. Datar pointed out to the House yesterday, in 1951 he sent a memorandum which was very carefully examined—I think in Sardar Patel's time or Rajaji's time and an answer sent; that thing is now practically close. The investigation has been made. The suggestion that this difference exists and there is something sinister behind it, I think, is completely unwarranted.

Now, I come to Dr. Ambedkar's speech. He occupies a very distinguished position in our national life. But when I was listening to him, quite candidly, Sir, I said that that mentality is not calculated to promote the welfare either of the so-called higher classes or the so-called untouchables or backward classes indeed. That mentality is fatal to the advancement of the country and to the achievement of the results that we desire. We hear everybody saying: "Well, we want a casteless society." Personally I do not understand it. Today in India which is the class or community which wants to shelter under the guise of caste? Not I; not a Muslim; not a Christian; no one. If I appear in an examination, if I seek a job, if I go elsewhere, everywhere, it is unnecessary for me to say whether I am a Hindu or a Muslim, or among the Hindus, Kshatriya, Brahmin, Vaishya, and goodness knows what. I am not blaming the Constitution, but the fact is that the only persons who mention the caste in the forefront are members of the Scheduled Castes. Today the tables have turned. It may be that yesterday, or five thousand years ago, we were Brahmins, or Kshatriyas—and goodness knows what. They were the top dogs and, therefore, they took advantage of that. Today the situation is that we are all in the same flowing Ganga. The Constitution does not recognise any difference. The Constitution makes everybody equal. When you sit for your competitive examinations, you take your chance; it does not matter a twopence under the Constitution as to who you are. The person who raises

the question of caste today is Dr. Ambedkar, because how many seats are reserved—20 per cent. When I came to office in 1937—take it as the literal truth—I was receiving wires, representations, protests—why this man, who has been appointed a Deputy Registrar to a seat reserved for the Harijan people or Scheduled Caste, is masquerading as a member of the Scheduled Caste. He is a 'Sonar', a 'Sonar' is not a scheduled caste; therefore, chuck him out. And, over and over again, I tell you, claims were made by people who were not members of the Scheduled Castes to be entered as a Scheduled Caste—because they said they will get a job, they will profit by it. Eight and a half per cent. reservations in seats ordinarily, they won't get. They may not come in the competitive list. But with their lesser qualifications, they could come in if they are called Scheduled Caste. Therefore, for a question of bread and butter, it is much better for anybody, who is never recognized as a member of the Scheduled Caste, to say: "I am also a Scheduled Caste member". And, therefore, there was always a question, a formal decision by the Government whether he can claim to be a member of the Scheduled Caste or not. Today you get the same thing. Disputes are raised before the Delimitation Commission. You are reducing the number of the Scheduled Caste representatives. Therefore, I do say that today this country is not casteless. Why? Because the Scheduled Caste people are raising the question of caste. They will not allow that question to be, so to say, ignored. And you hear every day that the Constitution provides that these reservations and these distinctions should all disappear within the course of ten years. But they say, "No, no. Please keep them going; they ought to continue for 20 years, for 30 years." Therefore, I say, we ought to face the facts. The country is inhabited both by the high-caste people and the low-caste people. When you start choosing them, everybody has got a mental twist. They say, "Here is the Hindu religion". I was almost going to use another word for

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]
it. Let us say, "Blessed religion". What is there in it? Nothing. It has only produced five crores of untouchables and two crores of Scheduled Tribes. And Dr. Ambedkar then almost insinuated, and hinted, that this Hindu *samaj* should be abolished, the Hindu religion should go to dogs. Now, do you mean to say that this is calculated to promote fellow-feeling? This India has produced, as someone said, during the last two thousand years, social reformers. We have got Guru Nanak, we have got Kabir, we have got our saints and philosophers. Their verses are recited in the villages. And just consider, you have a man like Swami Vivekananda. He goes from India, he stands, in 1896, before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and he says to the world, "I am a Hindu, and this is what my religion amounts to." And he attracts them. During the last 60 or 70 years he made people understand what the Hindu religion is. And here is Dr. Ambedkar suggesting that Hindu *samaj* is a rotten *samaj*, the religion is rotten, the philosophy is rotten, it has produced five crores of untouchables; therefore, it ought not to exist, it ought to be demolished. I respectfully say that this thing is undesirable, politically undesirable, socially undesirable, and it is not in the national interest, and not the right approach.

I ask another question. What has Dr. Ambedkar done in the matter of abolishing distinctions between the Scheduled Castes themselves? It is very good to say that a Brahmin will not drink the water touched by a Scheduled Caste man. But, has Dr. Ambedkar, as a President of the Scheduled Castes Federation, been able to bring together all the five crores of people? I can then understand what he says: "Well, here is the Hindu *samaj* divided into two big groups. One, the so-called high-caste Hindus who ought to be, so to say, banished out of existence, and then, here is a solid group of five crores of people who among themselves—please remember—are united as one group." Is that the

condition anywhere? They become all one when the question arises as between the so-called high-caste people and the others. But as between themselves, especially from the social point of view, this untouchability point of view, it is common knowledge that all these Harijan *bhaees*, these Scheduled Castes, are divided themselves. They are split up into hundred fragments, into two hundred fragments. What has Dr. Ambedkar done for removing that untouchability from his own followers? It is very easy to fling stones in a sarcastic mood, or in a philosophic mood, speaking from a very high pedestal. I make a present of this point to my hon. friend from Coimbatore. She might consider it. It is a matter of some importance.

Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, what I want is this, that the cordiality of relationship should be restored. This Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights. Fundamental Rights only extend to the public sphere. If there is a well sunk through the State revenue, well, everyone, every citizen of India, is entitled to use it; if there is a public temple, everyone is entitled to go and worship there; if there is a public educational institution, everyone is entitled to go there. Quite all right. But in the private sphere you cannot interfere. There is no such Fundamental Right. A cannot compel B to eat with him. B cannot compel C to marry his daughter to his son. No such thing can happen. It is a Fundamental Right given to everybody that in his private life he should be left alone. If you go on abusing in this fashion, casting a reflection in this fashion, do you mean to say that you would be able to remove these disabilities? Many of us here say that this system of touchability or untouchability was very much prevalent in the higher castes. I do not know about others, but in my own community, in the very early days fifty years ago, even crossing the seas was considered to be an impious act, and anyone doing so, so to say, was considered to be an outcaste. The

more orthodox members of the community will not eat with him, will not take any food touched by him. You have been to England; therefore, your mother would not eat the food touched by you. So, in the private sphere, it is only persuasion and goodwill which can bring about results. If you adopt a sort of masterful attitude, you suffer, you fail. That is the point that I wanted to make, a very important point to which I wanted to draw the attention of the House, because every day, every morning, you read, "Abolition of castes". Agreed. So far as the Constitution is concerned, it has abolished castes. In ten years' time there will be no reservations, no limits, nothing of the sort. The main principle that will remain is that the backward classes of India whether they are Hindus, whether they are Muslims, whether they are Christians, will be entitled to protection, and to assistance from public funds, so that their economic condition may improve, their standard of living may improve. That is all. But there will be nothing on racial grounds, nor on any religious grounds, nor on communal or economic grounds. If you go to a village and you say, "As it is today constituted, I want that Hinduism should be remodelled, all Brahmin should cut off their *chotis*, and they should be forced to act in this particular manner; all the *Kshatriyas* should be brought to their senses, because this country may become casteless", it is almost absurd. And I suggest that you will not succeed in it. When we are talking of casteism, it is in another sense, namely, I am standing for a seat, I am opposed by some Thakur, my another competitor is a *dhobi*, all entitled to seek election. When I go about canvassing, I say to a Brahmin, "Well, I am a Brahmin, please give your vote to me." Similarly, when a *dhobi* goes about canvassing, he says to all *dhobis* and to all the Scheduled Caste people, "Please give your votes to me, because I am a *dhobi*." That is condemnable, that is to be condemned. I can understand casteism in this sense. But using the word 'casteism' as if it were going to recast the whole Hindu society is

not correct. You may be able to do it but it will be only after a revolution or bloodshed. People will not take it lying down in this fashion. It is all easily talked about hurting people's feelings in the matter.

Now, there is another thing to which I should like to draw your attention—Dr. Ambedkar made a great deal of it—*viz.* the number in the services. He read out in a very damaging way: "Look at it. 107 higher posts. How many Scheduled Castes? Two or, say, seven. Compare it." It strikes one at first sight as something remarkable. Out of 107, you are giving only 7 to these people, but the 107 includes officers of all grades, officers who were appointed three months ago or six months ago and officers who are now nearing their superannuation and will probably have retired within three months from now. I do not know how many members of the Scheduled Castes were employed in the higher services in the Central Secretariat, in the I.C.S. or the I.P.S., when Dr. Ambedkar joined the Government of India somewhere about 1942. Probably he was the only one in his own Ministry. He was the Member in charge and everybody else was from the now condemned upper castes. The result of it all is that these appointments began only recently, five years ago or six years ago. You may say that the numbers are not sufficient, but if you compare this number with the entire total which includes people who probably joined in the year 1924 or 1930 and say that the disparity is striking, it will be a great fallacy. We will be able to draw a proper and correct inference statistically only if we were to start using this argument from the year 1940 or 1941. Secondly, Dr. Ambedkar over and over again said that it was a question of political status. I entirely agree. Nobody can deny. Suppose Dr. Ambedkar falls ill, he will go to the best physician. I imagine he does. Dr. Ambedkar himself is a distinguished lawyer, but even the most rabid among the higher caste Hindus, if he has a case in the court, will engage

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]
Dr. Ambedkar with his wonderful persuasive advocacy. He will not think, "Dr. Ambedkar is a born enemy of the Hindus and so I must not engage him." Please ponder over this. If it is a case of personal interest, then we want the best of assistance and want to employ the best of talents, but if it is a question of the management of public affairs, then of course we can have third-grade men or second-grade men. Everybody forgets those four or five words in the Constitution "subject to considerations of efficiency." Now, would Dr. Ambedkar say to me, "Appoint as a Judge of the Supreme Court any briefless lawyer who is available"? Would he say "Appoint as the Director General of Health Services some young physician who does not know how to cut even the appendix"? Will he say so? No. He again and again emphasized his point about appointments 1 P.M. to the posts of executive officers, because what is the good of people being appointed as clerks or *chaprasis*? He says, "We want posts of executive officers." The argument is perfectly sound. We used the same argument ourselves, when Lord Curzon was there, about the employment of Indians, but, please remember that the so-called executive officer when he is appointed and put in charge of a district, is not to look after the members of the Scheduled Castes alone. He has to look after the entire population of the district. On the initiative of the District Magistrate, on his tact, on his personality or want of it may depend what is going to happen there. There may be a riot or a riot may be stopped. We cannot take risks. There is a determined attempt on our part to do the needful in the matter. My hon. friend, Mr. Datar, here has given instructions on the subject, and nobody can be keener than the Government of India that the members of the Scheduled Castes should be raised to the level of the other people, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there is a public also which is entitled to protection which is entitled to the

services of suitable men. It is not a question of mere loaves and fishes. "I have got Rs. 20 and Rs. 5 I am going to give to you." We cannot deal with public affairs in this fashion. Gandhiji used to say that the wealthy man should consider himself to be a trustee for the welfare of the people at large. Whoever the Minister may be, for years together every Minister, whether he is a Hindu or a Christian, or a Muslim or a member of the Scheduled Castes, as soon as he accepts office, becomes a trustee for the public, the people at large. I am surprised whenever I hear that if we appoint a Harijan member to the Public Service Commission—the Union Public Service Commission—that will be the proper sign. I was once invited by the Chairman of the U.P.S.C. to go and visit them. He said, "Will you please come and just be present at our personality examination." I went. Probably they had about five or six candidates and I found nine Members of the Board sitting round the table. Everybody asked questions. The interview lasted for about 25 or 30 minutes, and then the candidate was asked to go. Now, everybody was marking under certain heads—character, personality, ready response, mental nimbleness, etc. The Chairman asked, "Mr. A, what do you think?" Mr. A said, "I think he is fair". Mr. B said, "I agree". Mr. C said, "I do not think so. I think he is below average" and so on. So a few opinions were taken, and the final result was based on the general opinion of the nine people there. Is it to be said that, if we appoint a member of the Scheduled Castes or a member of the Anglo-Indian community, or a member of the Muslim community, he is going to say, "I am going to function in this way and you must take it from me that ten per cent. Anglo-Indians or 10 per cent. Scheduled Castes or 10 per cent. Muslims must be appointed"? His voice would be one voice amongst 9 in regard to every candidate. They are all trustees for the benefit of the people of India. Their duty is to choose, subject to the orders of the Government, the best suited

men. It is an aspect, I submit, which is somewhat forgotten. I should like to touch very briefly on one or two other matters. The suggestion is very common these days. Land is the root both of trouble and of comfort in India. Everybody says that it is also the root of all status in India and so we should give them lands and they go on giving figures. There are 98 million acres noted somewhere and there are statistics waiting to be dug up and there is an amendment by someone saying that one million people should be given lands. Everybody says that there should be a land army. I agree—do it; but I don't know the cost because what I do know is this. I was a Minister of Agriculture for 3 or 4 years and have been taking interests in the countryside for the last 30 years and I do know this that the Indian peasants with his poor implements has brought under cultivation every single acre of land that he could. You go and see and the complaint is that there is no pasture land or that the cows and cattle are cursing us because we don't give them sufficient fodder but we are going to tax. What I want to contest is the argument that you give some lands and with that you will give status. Sir, I am speaking with great trepidation. Mr. Deputy Chairman, because it is such a topic and everybody is saying about it but none thinks of the standard of living. I give somebody two acres today and he dies after 5 years leaving 2 sons. Those two acres become one acre and then there is fragmentation of holdings and goodness knows what that one acre will produce but they say, "Give him lands because with that he shall acquire status." I sometimes feel that you are probably living in a world of 100 years ago. Status then went with the feudal order that was in force—with the Rajas, Maharajas and all those people. Personally, I may say that when I started in the profession, then I said to myself, "Well better build a house, let me buy half a bigha in a village and I will become a *zamin-dar*". Fortunately I did not do so and I did not spend the money here and

there and saved myself from a great calamity afterwards but today my submission is that the old notions must be revised. *Zamindars* are gone. Where is the old status? You know what 5 acres mean now. What I am anxious about is that every landless man should get something to eat. There should be some resources placed at his disposal—cottage industry or any industry. He should raise his standard of living. I sometimes wonder whether 2 acres of land would raise his status. You give him land, he will stick to it like plaster and he will not leave the village and how much do you expect that he will be able to make out of that? He will live in the village and his child will grow, and if he wishes him to be taught, the expenses will grow up and he will live there in a hut. Is that the philosophy of life, is that the ambition of Members opposite that their standard of living should be limited to about Rs. 25 a month?

AN HON. MEMBER: Something better than what they have now.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I say I am not contesting it. Whenever there is extra land give it. You know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that there is a general discussion about putting a ceiling to all agricultural holdings, that no man should have more than 30 acres. In Travancore-Cochin a Bill has actually been introduced in the Assembly by the Government which says that no one shall hold more than 30 acres. They give him 6 months' time to divest himself of his extra lands. I don't know—it might be given to a daughter-in-law or to a brother or to a son but 30 acres is the limit and then the rest will be distributed. So there will be some land available. Give it, I have no objection; but we are, I think, making a little too much of it.

I wish to close in another two minutes. There was another matter which was rather important and Dr. Ambedkar repeatedly brought it to my notice and he said it should be done, viz., salt tax. Now I shall naturally convey his suggestion to the Finance Min-

[Dr. K. N. Katju.]
ister but I was rather struck by one feature. Gandhiji made it the very symbol of our national agitation. Why? He said this is one of the cursed taxes as it makes no distinction between the poor and the rich. As a matter of fact it is something against the poor. So far as the man comfortably off is concerned—rich or moderately rich—he eats fresh fruits, *mithais* *sandeshes*, *rasagullas*, eggs and goodness knows what else, and in his menu salt may be just a little pinch. So far as the poor man is concerned, salt is the only main thing. He does not get *gur* or sugar. He just gets his *dal-bhat* or whatever it may be, with his salt, and Gandhiji used to say: "The poor man is keeping bullocks and sheep and if you impose a tax on salt, you tax him unduly." I don't know whether Dr. Ambedkar has considered all that, because he says it will bring you Rs. 20 crores. Twenty crores would be very welcome but would it be welcome to hon. Members here? Because when you impose the salt tax, not only do you abolish the distinctions between the rich and the poor but I suggest to you that it will be a heavy load on the poorer sections of the community, and the poorer he is, the greater will he be made to pay. Otherwise, I shall have this thing carefully considered.

Lastly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think we must be fair to the State Governments also. I think we have a table here in one of the Appendices, giving broadly the sums actually spent by all the State Governments on these welfare schemes, educational and other schemes for industry, etc. It is fifty-fifty—a little more for the States. Speaking broadly I think 55 per cent. is spent by the States from their treasury and the Government of India contributes 45 per cent. The total expenditure I think is just over four crores and a few lakhs and the Central Government Grant is about 190 lakhs. So you must not be under the impression that the State Governments are not doing anything. And then this question of how much has been spent

upon education, upon scholarships, etc., has been gone into by Mr. Datar at length. I need not go into it again. It may be that among the State Governments some may be more active and some may be a little less active. We must make allowance for all that.

I conclude by assuring the House once again that every speech which has been made by any Member will be most scrupulously studied and carefully examined and every suggestion that has been made I shall personally consider and my friends, the Secretary and the Special Officer will consider and will give effect to it if it is possible to do so. If we cannot do it, we shall tell you the reason why, and next year either in the Report itself or by a separate memorandum you shall get the information supplied. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall put the amendments.

The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you press your amendments, Mr. Dwivedy?

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: Yes, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

'and having considered the same, the House regrets that the report has failed to give any concrete suggestions for a speedier progress towards the development of the Scheduled Castes and Schedul-

ed Tribes and that it is apologetic in nature'."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put the main motion to the House.

The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Report has been considered. The House now stands adjourned till 8-15 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at eighteen minutes past one of the clock till a quarter past eight of the clock on Wednesday, the 8th September 1954.

Editor of Debates,
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