

[Sh. P.A. Sangma]

So, we will take action as per law. This is an assurance. I do not think that, if they were in my position, they would have given that much of an assurance.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRIRANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM): I request that the discussion under Rule 193 be continued after 6 O'clock.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to continue the discussion under Rule 193 after the Private Members Business?

MANY HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY MINISTER: So, it is agreed that we shall continue the discussion regarding Cauvery Water Dispute after the Private Members Business.

THE MINISTER OF WATER RESOURCES (SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, after 6 O'clock or we will discuss it on Monday.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Sir, I will prefer that we can continue after 6 O'clock and then we will decide depending on the number of speakers.

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA: Sir, Monday would be better. (*Interruptions*). We will see what is the attendance at 6 O'clock. If we can continue after 6 O'clock, we will do so. Otherwise, we will continue on Monday. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA (Hassan): Sir, the Minister has said that this subject will be taken up again on Monday. Tomorrow and

day after tomorrow are holidays. The situation in the Karnataka is already so grave and the people are suffering. This is how the Government of India is treating this Cauvery Water Dispute. We have gone to the extent of persuading the hon. Speaker and the ruling party to fix a time for today to discuss this issue. Now, I am sorry to see how the proceedings of the House are going on. This is not the way to treat such a serious issue. This issue is treated with scant respect and I am sorry for the way in which the whole matter is dealt with by the ruling Party. If they are serious, it is their bounded duty to maintain the quorum in the House. It is left to them. I may mention that on several occasions, the House had set up to 2.00 A.M. and if at all they are serious, this should be disposed of.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA: We shall try at 6 O'clock. If there is enough attendance, we shall continue. I agree with his sentiments that we have to discuss it in a very serious manner, and we shall be present here at 6 O'clock. We would be very happy to do so. We do not want to shift it to Monday. We want to continue the discussions today itself. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Treasury Benches are also interested to sit after 6 O'clock.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: So, we will continue the discussions after the Private members Business.

15.39 hrs

RESOLUTION RE: STEPS FOR ROOTING OUT CASTE STRUGGLE-CONTD

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we take up further discussion on the Resolution

moved by Dr. K.V.R. Chowdary on 29th November, 1991 regarding steps for rooting out caste struggle.

Now, I call Shri K.M. Mathew.

SHRI PALA K.M. MATHEW (Idukki):
Sir, in the introductory part of my speech last week I had said that the Indian caste system is based on Chadurbamia. The professional differentiation enables the different castes to respect and recognise each other. So there was a kind of inter-dependence as well as peaceful co-existence. Now, that was in the past. That is not the position now. That peaceful co-existence based on different professions, professed by these different castes has changed. Now, during the last few decades the political leadership of the country has utilised caste and casteism for its own purposes and before that the British Government used caste in India to divide and rule the country. That has been followed by some of our political leadership also. This is still going on. Even after Independence. I would say the political leadership of all the parties make use of caste, exploit casteism for their own selfish political interests. This is one of the root causes of the present struggle.

Jawaharlal Nehru once said: India contains all that is disgusting and all that is noble and casteism is a canker eating the vitals of our society.

Casteism originated in the pre-historic invasion in the past and that has grown into our hearts, that has grown into our superstitions and social habits and still it is going on in a more aggressive way. This stubborn social phenomenon stems from the peculiar historic and economic circumstances that are tied together into an ugly bundle by the sanction of religion. So, these two things, religion and casteism, are tied together. They are related to each other. To perpetuate caste, it is clothed in the religious dogma of immutable change. You are a *shudra* because of your misconduct in the past incarnation. Now your present misbehaviour in the present incarnation, in the present life, may result in the caste demotion in the next birth.

Mahatma Gandhi had been going on with a ferocious and life-long fight against this. Caste is a blow to our own society and it seems that the mainstream itself is sick. So, I would say that casteism cannot be exterminated by simple treatment as gangrene cannot be cured by lavender water. One-fifth of the population is suppressed by a system more devilish, I would say, than the British system itself. We cannot wait will eternity for belated reformations to be effected. We have to make certain fundamental changes in the system itself.

The foundations of freedom are sapped when anybody is denied equal rights because of his colour, because of the shape of his nose, because of the deeds of his forefathers or because of his beliefs.

Freedom is meaningless if we keep one-fifth of the population under perpetual subjugation. There has to be a total change in the social structure and a cultural revolution has to take place in this beloved country of ours. As Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said - as I pointed out earlier - India contains everything that is disgusting also. In our culture also, there are many good things, but along with that there are many bad things. That has to be radically changed by a cultural revolution which should be brought about as soon as possible. Otherwise it will be too late and that will endanger the whole system of life in the country.

One unfortunate part of the whole thing is that no intellectual or no sociologist gives a coherent account of the whole system - what it is at present, or what it has been in the past. Caste is inevitable. But casteism has to be rooted out. Casteism has been created for exploitation of a vast majority of the people. But we know that the hindrance is one section of the people itself. Those who were supposed to be hindering the whole progress should take the initiative.

Dr. Ambedkar had suggested that inter-caste marriage would be one of the best methods for exterminating casteism in the country because that would fuse blood and the fusion of blood will drive away the sense

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of inferiority, the sense of alienation and the sense of being not a part of the mainstream.

I refer to the cultural revolution that should take place for the restructuring of the whole society. One of the most important things which Dr. Ambedkar and other Hindu reformers in the country have suggested is that the lower caste should acquire intellectual superiority. The danger lurks in the intellectual sphere. We know the emergence of Buddhism in the country. Buddhism could make some changes in the caste system of the country. But the enemies infiltrated, polluted and frustrated the efforts.

In this century itself, Marxism was supposed to make some good efforts to root out casteism in the country. But unfortunately, that has also been dominated by the enemies of the lower caste and, unfortunately, they also totally failed to make any serious effort or to produce any serious effect in the country.

Finally, I would suggest that people who are interested in rooting out casteism in the country should all join together, come on a common platform and make conscious efforts and campaign for eradicating this evil which has been existing in the country and ruining the whole nation in the last hundreds of years.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ASTBHUJA PRASAD SHUKLA (Khalilabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir today, caste-conflict in the country is a matter of challenge to us. The reason for these conflicts is that the implementation of policy of the Government has not been up to the mark. In some cases politics is also the biggest factor for these conflicts. There was a proposal to take away surplus land from feudal landlords to distribute it among Harijans, Dalits and the landless farmers. No provision was made to ensure possession right against lease. There are many States in which possession of land is taken on by the use of arms since independence and the, landlors wants to

retain lease by the use of arms. This is the result of the wrong policy adopted by the Government. A year ago political attempts were made to create caste conflicts in the name of Mandal Commission. There are certain castes in India which live in villages and cities and are engaged in lowly jobs which do not earn any respect for them. They have not been developed socially, educationally and economically. There should be such planning that they may get an opportunities for development. At the same time there are some people in these socially, educationally and economically backward classes who have progressed a lot.. They must not be given any privileges. Incidents of committing suicide by some youths of the forward classes happened in the name of Mandal Commission. They are unemployed and have no land for farming and no means of employment. They thought that they could not get employment in future. Their development is blocked. They did not take to arms but tried to commit suicide. On the other hand, it is said that we should struggle for our rights. It is an indirect attempt to start a political conflict. On the one hand, the policies of the Government are wrong and on the other hand, policies is responsible for caste conflicts. Right from the distribution of tickets in elections we commit mistake, we try to give the ticket to the candidate whose caste is in majority so that he may win the election. Thus was start caste conflicts. We should make law to prevent the caste-conflicts. I would like to request the political parties and the leaders that the conflicts will not end by raising the issue and delivering speeches. To prevent caste-conflicts our policy should be based on the thinking of first person singular number. We will not behave in a manner that may lead to caste conflict. We should have such thinking so that there are no conflicts. It is the responsibility of the Government to take right steps to implement the law. With these words I conclude.

SHRI MANJAY LAL (Samastipur): Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I have risen to speak in favour of the Private members Resolution urging upon the Government to take steps for rooting out caste struggle, moved by Dr. K.V.R. Chowdary. By

introducing this Resolution, Shri Chowdary has brought about a ray of hope in this regard and I would like to express my gratitude to him. The existing caste system is a fall out of the 'Varna' system enunciated by Manu. Whereas the caste system enunciated by Manu is akin to vertical line where an individual is discriminated against another on the basis of his or her caste, the views of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia with regard to the caste system is like a horizontal line, where a human being is not discriminated against, on any basis, whatsoever. Manu is credited with the establishment of the present social order but it was Dr. Ambedkar, who is the architect of our constitution. Whereas the laws of Manu were responsible for creating schisms and spreading hatred and resentment in the society, Dr. Ambedkar's constitution envisaged social equity and equality. I have been in the Socialist movement. Even during the struggle for land reforms, the small and marginal farmers supported the landlords, just because they belonged to the same castes. Casteism makes people insane. This lunary causes irreparable damage to the society. Dr. Lohia had emphasised the need for providing special opportunities to the weaker sections to eradicate the obnoxious caste system. In fact, it was Dr. Lohia who called for a reservation policy and it has found expression in the recommendation of the Mandal Commission. It is necessary to uplift the backward classes to break the backbone of the caste system. Everyone is well acquainted with the havoc played by casteism in South India. The Harijans and Adivasis had to hang bells around their neck and carry broom in their hands, when they moved out of their houses. This was done as the people belonging to the Upper castes did not want even the shadow of these people to fall on them.. They were even forced to clean the sputum. We will have to bring about equality and prosperity in the society to eradicate caste system. The Government must provide special opportunities to the weaker sections of the society to bring them at par with other sections of the society and also enact laws to bring about equality in the society. Further, Government should enact a legislation to

encourage intercaste marriages. Conferences should also be held to eradicate caste system. The Government should provide funds for organising such conferences and community feasts and job reservation should be made available to people practising lofty ideals like inter-caste marriage. We cannot put an end to caste struggle through the barrel of gun. The need of the hour is an ideological struggle. Mahatma Gandhi had waged an ideological struggle and he was able to make an impact because he practised what he preached. The Government should work towards eradicating caste system by providing incentives including special employment opportunities to people doing inter-caste marriages...(Interruptions).. With these words, I conclude.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar): Sir, I thank Shri Chowdary for moving such a resolution. The fact is that casteism has dealt a severe blow to this country. The situation has not been assessed till now. If casteism is rooted out from this country, a major problem will be solved. It is really unfortunate that even after 45 years of independence there is casteism in the country. At the same time it can be said that modernisation has lessened the intensity of casteism. Casteism is very strong in villages but it has lost its intensity in urban areas. A person's caste is not verified if he drinks tea in a shop in Delhi but if the person does the same thing in a village his caste is verified first of all. If he belongs to a lower caste he is served tea in a container used by persons of similar caste. Such things do not occur in cities. It can be said that after 40 years of Independence casteism has lessened to some extent. But in reality, casteism is increasing.

I think if casteism grows at this rate, it is bound to destroy the country. The effect of casteism is that power was concentrated in the hands of 25% of the population while 75% of the population worked in the agricultural sector. They did not get any chance to come into power. When they were

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likely to get a chance, they were disqualified because they were said to be untouchable or unsuitable. I can say with surety that if this 75% of the population had been in power, the situation in the country would not have been as it is to day. This is because these people would not have been power crazy. But this Government has been moving in one direction even since Independence. This is the reason why problems have arisen in states like Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. So it is necessary that casteism is done away with. Casteism is not a new development. Shri Manjay Lal rightly said that 'Manu' evolved the caste system and we people are just following that system. No one marries outside his or her caste. Love marriages are acceptable in urban areas but in rural areas the couple would be termed 'outcastes'.

A Harijan is not allowed to enter a temple. On a visit to Banaras, the late Babu Jagjivan Ram had touched an idol of Sampurnanand. The local Brahmins considered this a sacrilege and proceeded to wash the idol with Ganga water. Banuji at that time commanded as much respect as the Prime Minister. Yet, his touching of the idol of Sampurnanand made the idol lose its sanctity. So we all must work together to root out the growing casteism in the country. Pujas in temples are performed by Brahmins and the last rites of a person are also performed by Brahmins. This is for other, but a Hindu can be purified through 'Shastras'. So there is a need to understand the situation. Otherwise this country will disintegrate. It is necessary to do away with casteism in this, country. This can only happen if there is a law for this purpose. Of course, there is a Dowry Act to check dowry practice but still dowry practice continues overtly or covertly. A law should be made to punish those who marry within their respective castes. This can be implemented to some extent. Nobody keeps his or her caste a secret. Such a law will be in the national interest. There seems to be no other alternative.

Sir, there are laws to punish burglars, dacoits and murderers and so there should be a law to prevent marriages within castes. Will this change the situation? If it does not, then everything should be left to Providence. So all hon. Members are requested to think over this matter and keep their promises to their electorate. I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak. With these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The time allotted for this subject was two hours. We have completed two hours. Is it the desire of the House that we should extend the time for another one hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right. One-Hour's time is extended. Now I call upon Shri Sobhanadreeswara Rao Vadde to speak.

SHRI SOBHANDREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, first of all, through you, I would like to congratulate my colleague Dr. K.V.R. Chowdary for bringing forward this private member's Resolution to enable this House to discuss this issue at length. He has brought forward a very important item which is causing great concern to all well-meaning citizens of this country.

Sir, you will agree that it is not a new thing that the caste conflicts are occurring now. They were there even earlier also. But now there are increasing incidents of such conflicts. Whatever we say, I am of the opinion that caste altogether cannot be wished away from the society because it is there since several thousands of years. The caste system had a marginal, positive role while it has caused a lot of harm to the society in our country in the sense that because of the caste system there was demarcation of certain responsibilities which were required to cater to the needs of the society. To some extent, it has given some social security to some population in those olden days. But unfortunately it has led to

social inequalities and inequities.

Sir, you are aware of the tremendous contributions that were made by great social reformers right from Shri E.V. Ramasamy Naicker in the deep South, Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. All these stalwarts tried their best to eradicate the caste system or to minimise the evil effects of the caste system. Even during the Eighth Lok Sabha, I very well remember some incidents which took place in Madhya Pradesh where some Harijans were not allowed to enter a Temple and a lot of social tension had taken place. The other day-I will not repeat and consume the precious time that is given to me-my friend Shri Mukul Balkrishna Wasnik narrated about the incidents in Parbhani District a few months back. A police constable, who happened to be from Harijan community, was deployed to protect the Maruti temple and when rain came, he wanted to get into the temple. He was thrown out and in the process, he died. It only shows that still to what extent the caste inclination is being perpetrated and to what extent, the upper caste people are looking down at the people, who are from the lower castes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:- Shri Rao, there are minus points in the society. Can you throw some light as to how this casteism can be abolished and a new society could be evolved through inter-caste marriages and through such other things?

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: That will form part of my latter speech. Most of the lands, productive assets, buildings etc were in the hands of the upper castes whereas the lower caste people were denied of all these things. Also, people were not allowed to become literates. When some people tried, they were punished. In this process, the *Karma* concept has also killed the initiative and the dynamism that should be there in any society. Earlier, though the atrocities were committed, but there was not much resistance from the people, who were subjected to such atrocities. But, now, in the recent times, because of the socio-political developments, people have become more

conscious of their rights and they are fighting and in this process, many things are coming to light. Even now, it is a wonder that from 1981-86, as many as 1,15,000 cases of crimes against SCs and STs alone were registered in this country. In the year 1989, more than 14,000 atrocities on SCs and STs were committed out of which 4,793 were murders and 7,593 were rape incidents. Madhya Pradesh to the list with 4,200 and odd cases, followed by Uttar Pradesh with 3,945 cases, Rajasthan with 1,580 cases, Bihar with nearly 1,000 cases, Andhra Pradesh with 500 cases and so on.

Now, I will come to the main issue.

I would like to say that though the caste system altogether cannot be alleviated but the evil aspect of the caste conflicts can be minimized. In the sense, the line that demarcates one caste from the other can be minimized by encouraging inter-caste marriages. If the inter-caste marriages are encouraged on a larger scale by giving more preferences to such persons who take up inter-caste marriages, especially from weaker sections, the backward or the SCs and STs, in employment as well as in self-employment programmes also.

16.14 hrs

[Shri P.M. Sayeed *in the Chair*]

To some extent there is some preference in respect of employment. But in respect of self-employment programmes, no such thing is there. It must be taken on a larger scale. The great person, Choudhury Charan Singh, during his life time, has struggled hard to encourage these inter-caste marriages and he himself encouraged his family members for inter-caste marriages. But, unfortunately, he was dubbed as casteist by the capitalist and monopolist press though he fought against casteism through all his life. And, unfortunately, some persons who were at the highest helms of affairs in this country, who favoured their own community, their own caste in a very large number in Government, in administration and elsewhere, have been

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described as very moderate people, very forward people and so on.

Sir, only when literacy is spread, this caste evil effect can be minimised. But unfortunately, even now, the literacy rate is only 50 per cent. It is still worse among the BCs, SCs and STs.

Another way of reducing these caste conflicts is to bring the people of the weaker sections and backward classes the SC and ST people - above the poverty line, on par with other sections of the society. For that the Government must come in a bigger way to help those people to strengthen themselves from the economic point of view.

Unfortunately it is the political parties which are fanning these caste conflicts in many cases. Some time back we have seen this with our own eyes when, for the first time an attempt was made to provide reservation facilities to socially and educationally backward classes a constitutional obligation which was being neglected for merely four decades - some political parties had created some disturbances which resulted in the self-immolation of a good number of youth causing a lot of apprehension in their minds. We are aware of all these things.

In Andhra Pradesh when our TDP Government was there, when it tried to give wide representation of almost all section of the society in the State, unfortunately the main opposition at that point of time the Congress I, had gone all out, out of the way, to encourage caste conflicts. They had criticised the Teiugu Desam saying that it was favouring a particular community, though it was not a fact at all. Now the Congress Government has come to power in Andhra Pradesh. Everybody knows as to whom the Government is favouring. This type of short-sighted actions for political advantage should be stopped and no political party should encourage the caste conflicts and divide the society on caste lines.

One may try to help his own people, the

community or the caste. But at the same time one should not encourage caste division and try to put up one caste against the other. Whichever political party does this, it is condemnable. I suggest that whenever a political party or a politician openly advocates casteism or propagates casteism in such a way that divides the society among caste lines, he should be disqualified from the political arena and a suitable amendment may be brought forward in the electoral reforms that are proposed to be introduced in a short period of time. Among other packages of amendments, this item also may be seriously thought of.

Shri Sitaram Kesri, the Minister for Welfare, is also very much committed for the uplift of the socially and educationally backward people. They should be brought to the mainstream of the society. I hope that the Government will take necessary steps to provide them such opportunities as are guaranteed in the Constitution, but which are not implemented in all these four decades. The Government should take up several economic measures to help them, so that they are also brought forward and the jealousy of one section against the other do not continue in future and the country makes progress with harmony among different sections of people.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, firstly thank you for calling out my name, thus giving me an opportunity to participate in this debate. I also thank the Mover of this Resolution for having brought it before this House which provided an opportunity to the House for a discussion on this topic of social and political importance.

As you know, casteism, the caste conflict is not a new thing in our society and in our country. Even outside our country - in different countries - it does exist in different forms. Anyway, casteism in the form as it exists today in our country is definitely a slur on our democracy. The earlier we get rid of this evil, the better it is.

No democracy can really be meaningful

and survive if there are some people who are lesser than equals. In a democracy, if there are some people who are lesser than equals, that democracy cannot have a bright future. We have inherited this from the past and this has been our legacy. Many things have already been told by my learners friends here. Casteism has been a handle and an instrument in the hands of the privileged people, the higher caste people to exploit the situation, to exploit the weaker sections to exploit the lower caste for their own selfish gains.

As I told you, this is our legacy and we have inherited it from the past. This a salure on our democracy. Now, the question is how to get rid of it. A very serious and a sincere attempt is being made in our country to get rid of this. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, was the Messiah of the poor people and the saviour of the untouchables. At the same time, I do not undermine the role played by Dr. Baba Sahib Ambedkar. I do not do that in any way. I have my regards for that great son of India. But, during the freedom struggle, it was Gandhiji who initiated a lot of measures for the upliftment of the poor people and untouchables in particular. There was no difference between what he was thinking and what he was speaking; and between what he was speaking and what he was doing.

Once Gandhiji visited Puri in Orissa, from where I come. As you know, Puri is the seat of Lord Jagannath. World famous Jagannath temple is there. He had come there on two occasions. Once when he was undertaking the "*Harijan Pada Yatra*". Kasturba Gandhi also accompanied him. While in Puri, he could not resist the temptation of visiting the temple and having a *darshan* of Lord Jagannath. But, Gandhiji said no to it, since untouchables were not allowed to go inside the temple. She tried to control herself; but being a religious lady, she could not resist the temptation of visiting it. With the help of a Seva Dal worker, without the knowledge of Gandhiji, she visited the temple. But, her visit could not remain a secret and Gandhiji came to know of it. Husband and wife-Gandhiji and Kasturba-

stopped talking to each other since then. It lasted for a long period. This was Gandhiji. Such was his sincerity for the cause of untouchability.

He founded Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad. He was depending on public charity and donations for running the ashram. When, for the first time, a Harijan boy wrote to him to be an inmate in the ashram, Gandhiji without thinking for a moment, replied to him in the affirmative. There was also the shortage of funds to run the institution.

Untouchability was so strong then that after his admission, the financiers who were earlier financing stopped giving donations. Still Gandhiji was not upset. He has written himself. That very evening somebody, who wanted to remain unidentified, came and gave a very handsome amount more than expected. I have read it from some of his writings.

Gandhiji wanted the Sabarmati ashram to be renamed as Harijan Ashram. I say it because today there are some attempts in some States to replace the name 'Harijan' by 'Dalit'. I do not appreciate such attempts from wherever they may come for changing this name. There is a sanctity behind it. Gandhiji called 'Harijan' as a man of God, a child of God. He was so involved in it, he had so much regard for this word 'Harijan' that he brought out a paper by the title '*Harijan*'. He was publishing a Harijan periodical. He founded an organisation also for 'Harijan Welfare'.

What I mean to say is that there is hypocrisy in all of us. It is not just a question for discussion. It is a question of change of mind. A revolutionary approach is called for. The social reformers and the politicians have a great role to play in this direction. We will be speaking at the top of our voice decrying this on the floor of the House. But when we sit for distributing the party tickets at the time of elections, we would enquire about the caste and community and are guided by such considerations. Are we not hypocrites? Who is responsible for the

[Sh. Sriballav Panigrahi]

casteism taking still deeper roots in the country?

Today it is taking a different form. There has been some progress in this direction. There is no doubt about it. The system of Varun Yavastha has changed. It was there earlier on the lines of karma i.e. profession. Then they were having it by the profession. Then, it came to whatever work one did regardless of the nature of profession, only by birth, their caste was known. So, even today, I know of a few instances or cases where qualified young men from high caste, due to unemployment, do not hesitate to apply even for the post of sweepers. When I asked somebody as to why he was applying for the post of sweeper being a high caste boy and being a graduate, he said, "What is the harm in doing such a job? I am not getting any livelihood or a job anywhere. I do not mind in taking up this job with all seriousness." So, things have changed. If such people are recruited as sweepers, then this may also bring a revolution in this sphere. Nobody could think that one is encroaching upon another's field. It will be a mixture. So Sir, things have changed in that way. When an SC person gets through IAS and becomes a district magistrate, even a Brahmin boy prepares food for him, arranges his bed and polishes his shoes and so on. Education should be for all in our country. There should not be illiteracy. Our intention is very clear in our Preamble. We want to create a society based on equality, free from exploitation, a classless and a casteless society. Equality of status should also be there. All these are there in the Constitution. We have to see as to how to implement it.

Sir, inter-caste marriages should be promoted. I am in favour of reservation also as it had been earlier for the past ten years. As long as inequality is prevalent in abundance in our society, we have to give preference and have reservations in various fields.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister has to reply. Please try to conclude.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: Regarding dropping the surname, I am all out for it. I was hearing some of our friends speaking from the other side. I am at pain to hear and I am constrained to make some observations about the Mandal Commission's recommendations. About the caste system, and to bring an end to the caste system. I do not know how Mandal Commission recommendations will be helpful. I am rather confused about this idea to some extent... (*Interruptions*).. If you go by socially and economically weaker sections, then it is all right. But if you go by caste consideration, then in that case, we have some zamindars, some royal families who belong to tribal class who are entitled to all benefits including stipends for their children while reading in schools and colleges.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention to a news item of Indian Express dated the 6th April, 1991. This pertains to Patna. It is about a rich family which belongs to OBC. This family owns 700 acres of land and they have in their living room a chandelier worth about a lakh of rupees. But this family is entitled to reservations in Central Government jobs as recommended by the Mandal Commission, whose report, the former Prime Minister, Shri V.P. Singh is hell bent upon implementing.. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRITEJ NARAYAN SINGH: You have said it, they want to implement the Mandal Commission Report (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: I am not prepared to sit down. Nor can I be shouted down. I will express my views. I am not opposed to the upliftment of the socially and economically backward classes. I say this because if there is no economic criterion, then even the very affluent people will grab these facilities. Why should there be such an adverse situation I do not understand this. This is what appeared in the press. This Mandal Commission's report will lead to a dangerous situation, if it is not modified

properly. We should drop the surnames. Will the names of castes have to be included in the Census and other records? Will they remain there for ever? If this report is not modified, it will only perpetuate the caste system and its evils. Let me clarify again that I am all for the eradication of poverty and upliftment of the down-trodden. This is what I told you. What is your objection to it? Should the children of senior IAS officers who are economically and otherwise quite well off, be getting all these benefits on a continuous basis? Should those royal families, who are regarded as Scheduled Tribes, also get these benefits for all time to come? (Interruptions) Therefore Sir, if casteism is to go, surnames should be dropped; inter-caste marriages should be encouraged; there should be education for all and jobs for those who are economically backward. There should be equality. Class system and caste system, both should be removed. Gandhiji was also opposed to caste system and class system. What I say is that the poorest of the poor should be given preference. What is wrong with this?

Casteism is perpetuated because people have double standards. In elections and in public forums, people speak something, while practising something else. They do so to get political mileage and benefits and to exploit others. Growing violence and this type of exploitation are the biggest evil on this land of Gandhiji. Such exploitation should not be perpetuated for all the time. That is why I expressed my views frankly and I am quite clear about it. Casteism should go. We do have a lot of legislations. But that alone does not work. It should be backed by popular support. Political leaders, social workers, religious leaders and others should come together to put up a united fight against casteism which is raising its ugly head here, there and everywhere in our country and which is a slur on the name of India, the largest democracy of the world.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam): Sir, I am thankful to Shri K.V. R. Chowdary for having brought this resolution for discussion in this House. The

whole country is concerned about the caste struggle that is going on in various parts of the country. Many hon. Members who have just spoken before me have mentioned about various castes that exist in our country and their *utpatti* according to Manu Smriti. Some hon. Members also pointed out Dr. Ambedkar's thinking about the caste system that prevails in the Indian society. All the hon. Members have expressed their concern to wipe out the caste system.

To eradicate the caste system, we must create a congenial atmosphere. When we send our children to schools, right from the Kindergarten stage, the children are asked as to what their *Appa's* name is;

[Translation]

What is the name of your father. What is the name of your mother. Which caste do you belong to.

[English]

Even, we ourselves-the Members of Parliament - are writing our titles at the end of our name. No doubt, we are discussing about the caste system in this House, but nobody is prepared to delete his title.

In the Indian society the craze for caste system has emerged because there are such privileged castes in our country who have always enjoyed a special treatment in the society. These privileged class people have always tried to treat the other classes as beggars. Panigrahiji very rightly asked why should the Mandal Commission's Report be implemented. I am also totally against the Mandal Commission Report, provided these inequalities-either politically, socially or economically - are removed. But, one thing I would like to say I request Shri Panigarni nobody is interested in giving reservation to multi-karorpati.

First of all, we should understand as to what is the Constitutional provision. Constitution says: "Educationally and Socially backward". A Karorpati man cannot be socially or educationally alleviated but a

[Sh. K.P. Reddaiah Yadav]

some of an IAS, IPS or a Class I Gazetted Officer - as put by Shri Reddy - can get an educational or other status.

But you cannot eliminate such people from reservation. Today, I am very vociferous and honest but still I am not getting the social status in this very House.

SHRI SRIKANT JENA: In this House?

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: Yes, here also. You take the example of our Cabinet.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Here, you are given preference.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: There are sixty Ministers in the Union Council of Ministers

Out of that sixty, ten harijans are there. And there are five muslims. I know how they are being respected. How are they being respected by their Secretaries? Shri Panigrahi does not know about this thing. Because, he is born brahmin. You convert yourself as a backward caste, then only you will realise the problem. I am not against Brahmins. One Brahmin is controlling the whole country.

In the Council of Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, there are 50 Ministers who belong to Scheduled Caste, minorities and so on. In the Cabinet eighteen Reddis are there. Some people are put in charge of Animal Husbandry and some people are put in charge of Poultry and so on.

Shri Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, the Minister of Law, Justice and Company Affairs should be ashamed of this situation which is prevailing in this *Punyabhoomi*. Did the Prime Minister question his Chief Minister as to why he has not included each and every caste in his Council of Ministers? Why did he not involve the backward class people in the day-to-day affairs of this country's administration? They would not say anything.

It is because Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav is there in Bihar. There, people are enjoying the freedom. Democracy is there. Even have nots are safe in Bihar. If these people join hands, then nobody can do anything. Even Shri Narasimha Rao and Shri Vijay Bhaskara Reddy will be nowhere. So, whatever Shri V.P. Singh has done is correct. He did try to do justice to the poor people. If you are not able to correct this now, you will see that after ten years, this will become a real problem. The upper caste people will come down and the lower caste people will rise to the top. I do not want that thing to happen. I would like that our unity and integrity should be preserved. We should prosper. Brahmins in this country are not at all visible now. They have gone. Reddis, Yadavs and so on have also gone. But even then, a new phenomenon has taken place in this country wherein the Yadavs, Reddis, etc. are strictly following the brahminical policy. Only in the Government service, brahmins are there. Therefore, I would urge upon this august House not to say abolish caste system.

No unless the people of this country realise this nothing will happen. How did the BJP got one or two seats? It is not because of their ideology or principles of nationalism. It is only due to religion. Therefore, we should encourage this system in this country, get together and then take over the political reins of this country and do justice, just like the socialist Krishna has done during the days of Mahabharata. He has finished everybody. He made everybody equal vertically, not uniformly

[Translation]

Balrama was sent to Duryodhana and Krishna remained with Dharmaraj. Both, the Pandavas and the Kauravas were taken to Kurukshetra and that spelt their doom

[English]

That is how the downtrodden people of this country and Muslims have suffered. Shri Kamaluddin Ahmed, or whoever it is, if you are just the followers of your leaders you

are doing innumerable damage to your brothers and sisters, the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes; you just mind your business, if you are a Minister only be a Minister. Do not give a call to your Muslim brothers and sisters of this country.

We are from the villages. We will tell the reality. We do not give lectures. I know that 50 per cent of the people who give lectures here, they are hundred per cent caste Hindus, including my party people.

[Translation]

People belonging to backward classes and Scheduled Castes work hard for a living.

[English]

We have not tasted power or the corruption in this country. I am sure that even in this Punyabhoomi according to Mahatma Gandhi, people have to come up and take the reins of the administration. Our people go to the U.N.O. and say that there is no corruption or that there is no exploitation in my country.

[Translation]

There is no corruption whatever in India.

[English]

These people will go and hoist our flag there.

[Translation]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Sir, the resolution regarding caste conflict and rooting out caste struggle is being discussed. Almost all members have understood the seriousness of the problem and voiced the need for rooting out caste conflict. Society should not be divided on the basis of caste. Earlier a person's caste was determined by the type of work he did. This concept changed with time and caste began to be associated with one's birth. This led to exploitation of certain castes. Today, the problem has attained such a magnitude that

comrade Tej Narayan Singh is seeking divine intervention. Even the Communists are accepting the existence of God.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Lenin also said it.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: Nitish Kumarji, it is true that Lenin also said it. I shall not go into the fate that Leninism has met now in Moscow.

The caste system in Hindu society led to many atrocities. Hon. Members who spoke earlier cited many examples. Mahatma Buddha gave a call to put an end to the caste system and this led to a change in Hindu and Sikh society. The reality is that despite the fact that Neo-Buddhists are converts you had to plead before the National Front Government that they should also be given the benefits of reservation. Separate Gurudwaras for Sikhs were not made because of the caste system. Matters related to religious conversion are repeatedly raised in the House. Religious conversion did not take place because people were attracted to another way to reach state of salvation but to escape caste-based atrocities. The Muslims and Christians were a product of that period. 44 years after Independence and even after conversion the Muslim and Christian converts call themselves backward classes. We hold the divided Hindu society responsible. Is there any religion which can claim that it does not discriminate on the basis of caste? Which Member will say that his religion does not discriminate on the basis of caste and, as such, there is no need for reservation. The hon. Muslim members want reservation in education and jobs on the basis of economic criteria. There is a similar demand from the Christians. I am not classifying any religion as good or bad. It is a serious problem that can be solved only by enacting a law for the purpose. Hon. Shri Panigrahi said that Mahatma, Gandhi said that 'Shudras' could not enter the temple at Puri. Suddenly Kasturba visited the temple. For some time they were not on speaking terms. Later anyone could visit the temple, but things did not change at all. Mahatma Gandhi said that 'Shudras' were not allowed

[Prof. Prem Dhuma]

to enter that temple... (*Interruptions*) Kasturba's sudden visit angered him... he did not speak to her for some time... (*Interruptions*) ...This House is aware of the seriousness of the problem... (*Interruptions*) It is not possible to solve this problem just by making a law and giving reservation facility. Some of my colleagues said that inter-caste marriages should be encouraged. If an Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes candidate qualifies the Civil Services examination he or she does it by hard work. I would like to know the figures relating to the number of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes officers in the I.A.S. who went to their native places to get married.

17.00 hrs.

Shri Reddaiah was saying that it is not good to add the surname of Sharma, Varma or Thakur. I know there are some examples. Some of our class-fellows belonging to the Scheduled Castes were appointed in higher posts and they started adding surname like Sharma with their names and they were cut off from the villages.

AN HON. MEMBER: Can't they live in a city?

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: I don't say that they can't live in a city, but there is some place beyond the city as well, they may live there. Let me say something about my village. There are so many smaller castes in my village and these people belong to the Scheduled Castes. When a person of any particular caste occupies a higher position, he severs his moorings from his own caste. The people who rise above their brethren they also sever their connections from them and forget their past associations. There are smaller castes among the Scheduled Caste people of our village, and there is reservation for all of them. One person from Scheduled Caste is not ready to take his meals with another person belonging to the Scheduled Castes. It is only in Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha or any other platform that they say caste Hindus have done so and so, but it is

only in lower caste people like weavers, shoe makers and doondas that they do not inter-dine with each other. We people, Rajputs and Brahmins etc. dine with them, but they won't allow the people of their own caste to dine in their company. Those who hail from villages will accept that such a situation is still prevailing there.

Shri Chowdary has brought a move, but I believe that the hon. Minister has to reply. He hails from Bihar and I believe he will shed some light on this subject. If we go on making laws, it won't bring about any change. The primary thing is to change our thinking, our psyche, then alone the caste-system will come to an end. All the people shall have to make honest efforts in this direction, and I fully agree with my friends who are in favour of a change. Change is a must. But efforts on the social level would be more important. We should collectively take steps in this direction, not to divide the society on the basis of caste and everybody should have equal opportunities and it would be ideal for all to have equal opportunities of education. If people get equal opportunities, of education and will progress educationally, they will be able to earn respect for themselves, as the the Hindu who spoke earlier said. When a person achieves a higher status, the people of higher castes are also ready to be in his service. Therefore, it is very important to improve his educational status and style of living. This way we can get rid of this practice.

SHRI VISHWANATH SHASTRI (Gazipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate Dr. Chowdary for bringing a resolution to abolish the caste-struggle totally. It is a fact that we shall have to struggle hard to get rid of caste-struggle in our country. When the caste system was introduced in our country for the first time, four castes were conceived to control the society. Efforts were made to convert this caste system into fragmentation. Certain objectives were fixed to keep the society under control, even then the society could not be divided into four castes. It could not be put into practice.

Later on, the castes were formed on the

basis of the job. When the castes were formed, it became practically difficult. Although one single superman conceived the idea of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaish and Shudra. So these were not separate from one another, but all the four aspects were present in one. But, unfortunately, the situation has reached at a stage where the system conceived by many has compelled us to be born in some or the other caste. If we are born in a Harijan or a Brahmin family, is not our fault, because we don't have any control over it, but the people who consider themselves as superior have created a gulf in order to maintain and sustain their supremacy, and it was once again introduced into the society when other classes of society were deprived of education and property. This way a new society and a new class was formed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the foremost question in a democratic country like India is whether people in our society would have some respect or hatred on the basis of caste. Certainly, such a struggle cannot be stopped at once. The question is that Mandal Commission also evolved as a step in that direction that the community (caste) which was neglected since times immemorial was not developed even after the independence. They are not being respected in the society...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Time allotted for this Resolution comes to an end at 1706 hrs. What is the consensus of the House?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: It may be further extended by half an hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Okay. (O.K.)

SHRI VISHWANATH SHASTRI
Reservation is for those who did not get respect in the society, who could not participate in power, and when it spread to the extent that these people can worship Parashar Rishi and have regards for Ved Vyas, but when Babu Jagjivan Ram also does something according to *Manu Smriti*, he is considered a shudra. But when that shudra unveils the statue of Dr. Sampurnanandji at Banaras, the Brahmins

get it bathed with the water of the Ganges. It has become an important problem of our country. Unless we adopt the policy of equality of equal rights propounded by the father of India's Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar, we can't put an end to the struggle even if we make any number of efforts. The struggle is increasing. Why? The reason is that the people who have remained neglected right since times immemorial those who had no voice, if they get an opportunity of education, a sense of self-respect has come to them, and when they have awakened they will demand their rights and their self-respect.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the people who have established a right of their own for the last so many years are not ready to shun their privileges, but these people want to struggle to get their right of equality. Unless there is a change in the point of view, the struggle will go on and it may even accelerate. The people who were once controlling the society are now anxious that they are not able to observe the rules of the neglected class. He could not even have the self-respect to sit on a bad (charpoy) or a chair at ease. Now the children of such a man are educated and are coming forward demanding their rights. When they begin demanding their rights they are suppressed. Shri Ram Naresh Yadav is a Member of the Rajya Sabha. When he became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for the first time, the people would shout the slogans- "Ram Naresh Kursi Chhodo, bhains charao" (Meaning Ram Naresh, quit the chair and feed buffaloes) Who were the people shouting these slogans? With these slogans, a sense of self-respect is developing among the backward people of the society, who are neglected and backward because of the attitude of the Government, and the Government is sensing a caste struggle in such a situation. It is not a class struggle. It is a fact that the Government is not ready to give up the privilege granted to it. If somebody else tries to have the privilege, he is subjected to slander. This practice will not last long, and in fact we can discuss the problem related to service also. I would request the hon. Minister, Shri Kesri to provide the figures as to the number of a particular caste

[Sh. Vishwanath Shastri]

(community) in a particular service and also of percentage of the number of families working. It is very strange that the Prime Minister who is at the top is a Brahmin, the person heading the judiciary is a brahmin and the President is also a brahmin. In spite of the Brahmins occupying the posts of top bureaucracy, even the beggar is a brahmin. In my area, there is a community known as Mahapatra. In Uttar Pradesh, Mahapatra is a community who perform the Funeral "Kariya". Let me inform the House about their system of marriage. When a marriage is arranged in the community the groom's family asks the other family. "aap ke ghar mein kai lota chalta hai?" (Means how many people are begging in your family?) It is also a contradiction in the society. So the main question today is of social respect and participation in power. This kind of difference should be abolished.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You too may do so.

SHRI VISHWANATH SHASTRI: You may leave the education order of Many. If you believe that you are superior, you will become, but somebody considers himself superior and others as backward and scheduled caste, that won't survive. If all the citizens are equal, why the distinction of Brahmin or Harijan? This kind of feeling shall have to be given up and the system of education shall have to be changed and equality be brought about.

People talk of inter-caste marriage. Subsequently, there were very good children also, but please excuse me, a neglected (abandoned) woman like Sita was received from a khud (um) and Lord Rama becomes Rama only after marrying that Sita. Can we do so? Under such circumstances, nobody is ready even to touch her? It should be understood. Secondly it is a fact that the fearful form of casteism is creeping into politics these days. Here lies the real trouble. I too am not in favour of casteism, but is it easy to wipe off casteism from this country?

Our colleagues talked about removal of casteism. Most of the people embraced Islam after being frustrated by other castes, and even in Islam, people like Sheikh, Sayyed and Pathans were born who had come with a message of equality. Even Islam has been fragmented into various communities in this country. Nobody can deny this. It is such a big shield which is very difficult to pierce. Everybody is aware that this country was enslaved because of...community. But the Government feels that the power is in danger if these people join politics. The Government visualises casteism because the power is (politicians are) in danger. Harijans, backward people, Adivasis and people belonging to minority communities have lagged behind on social, economic and all other planes since thousands of years. They were exploited, when these people became united, and an awareness came to them, the people who controlled the power, visualised casteism.

If the Government is interested to abolish casteism there should be a fundamental change in the system of election. The candidates should not be nominated on the basis of parties, instead there should be symbols. Every party should issue its manifesto and the people should vote on that basis. Accordingly, the number of seats should be allotted if any party bags a particular number of votes. When a party is getting, say, a particular number of votes, it should be left to the party to decide who are the Members of the party is nominating to the House. This will prevent all kinds of disputes, quarrels and other mishaps. The partyman would decide there alone so that our society is based on a new basis. With these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak.

*KUMARI FRIDA TOPNO (Sundergarh): Mr. Chairman Sir, I shall speak in Oriya. Sir, I would like to speak a few words in the Private Members Resolution which has been moved in this House to root out caste struggle from the society. Sir, in the Vaidic age works were distributed among the people on the basis of the work they liked

to do. They continued to do the same kind of work and gradually achieved efficiency in their respective trades. Subsequently, their castes were determined on the basis of the work in which they were involved and the caste system was established. But the situation could not continue smoothly for a long time. The caste system created differences among the people. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Karan's were regarded as high caste people and occupied high positions in the society. They got special honour in the society. On the other hand no body cared for the Shudras. They were regarded as low caste people. They were tortured by the caste, Hindus the upper class people hated them. The poor Harijans, the Shudras, all were oppressed and suppressed by the caste Hindus. It continued for ages together. In some places the caste Hindus sprinkle water mixed with cowdung on the routes where the Harijans walk. They think that the road became unholy. The Harijans were not served any food in the Houses of caste Hindus, if at all served they were served on the leaf. Even this evil practice is still going on at many places.

The Harijans are not allowed to enter into the temple or mosque. Why such discrimination, how long they will be treated like this. This is really a great injustice. This is mainly taking place still in the rural areas. In the urban areas the situation is not the same. It is gradually improving at several places. Actually this is no caste system. There is no caste as such. As I said earlier it was determined on the basis of the type of the vocation they had accepted. In the creation of God all are equal. All are the same before God. The blood of every person is red, no body's blood is yellow or green. Everybody's blood is red. So all should be treated equally. But Sir, the growing struggle has caused a great concern for everybody. The Harijans are the real victims almost everywhere. They are ill treated even today by the caste Hindus. The Harijan villages are not being developed. The Houses of the Harijans are burnt by the caste Hindus. They are suffering untold misery. Nobody is paying attention to help these havenots. How long they will lead miserable condition? If there

is only one well in a village the caste Hindus use the water of that well and the Harijans are not allowed to drink the water.

Sir, as you know Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the farmer of our constitution and several other freedom fighters were very much concerned to see the condition which was then prevailing in the society. They had observed the plight of those down trodden people. So, they had given the call to remove untouchability from the society. All the Sudras were named as Harijans by Mahatma Gandhi. He did so with a view to remove untouchability from the society and to abolish caste system from the country. We have got a set of rules and norms. Directions have been given to the State Governments to protect the Harijans from the clutches of so called caste Hindus. We have passed a series of legislations in the state Assemblies and parliament. Resolutions after resolutions have been adopted. But they are of no use if we sincerely do not observe those rules, if we do not carry out the directions and if we do not implement the Acts. So, people's co-operation is a must if we really want to remove the untouchability and caste system. For this education is a must. Unless we educate the rural people, unless we create awareness among the Harijans and unless we educate those suppressed class people objectives to root out the caste struggles will not be achieved.

Sir, the untouchability and other atrocities etc. are not there among the S.C. & S.T. Officers. If a S.C. or S.T. boy gets IAS or IPS or if he is made superintendent of police or Deputy Superintendent of police he does not face any problem. Every body pays respect and due honours to such high officers. They freely mix in the society. But the problem is there at the low level.

Sir, I want to say some thing from my own experience from my service life. When I was appointed as a District Welfare Officer at a Keonjhar district in Orissa under the department of Tribal and Rural Welfare I had some experience in the field. The Ashram schools are under the control of T&RW Department. There was a Resident. al

[Kumari Frida Topno]

school in the district of Keonjhar where a Brahmin was working as Head master. He wanted to remove untouchability and the feeling of caste from the minds of the S.C. & S.T. students who were studying in that Residential school. The "Bhuyan" Community who belong to scheduled Tribes was considered superior to "Juangs" who also belong to Scheduled Tribes. Since it is a Residential School the students from Juang Community were also studying there along with Bhuyan boys. They were living in the same Hostel of that Residential school. Juangs were considered to be inferior to Bhuayans. If a Juang boy touches the food of Bhuyan boys they will not eat the food. The Headmaster wanted to remove the caste system and he wanted to tell those boys that every body is equal. Though he was from Brahmin caste, he told those students that everybody will sit together and take their food. Students irrespective of their community can serve food. This created an ugly situation there. The parents of both Juangs and Bhuayans came to the school when they learnt this and they wanted to kill the Headmaster. In such situation I visited the school and with great difficulty I convinced those people that their children are all equal while they are in school. If at all they are bent upon to observe the caste system they can do so at their homes when their children go to their houses after vacation. They should do so because the school is not an ordinary place. It is just like a religious institution. So everybody should be treated there equally.

Sir, we can not achieve our objective unless we implement the things which we say here. Mere speeches will not solve the problem unless we create awareness among every class of people and unless we educate them. We have to pay special attention to help the Harijans, Advasis and other down trodden people. We have to see that the Reservation policy is implemented effectively. All the posts reserved for S.C. & S.Ts are filled up by them only and all backlog of employment is also cleared we should reserve seats for the S.C. & S.T. students in every school, college and

engineering colleges. If they get higher education the untouchability will be removed gradually. If we encourage intercaste marriage that will help in abolishing caste system. If the marriage is done systematically it will also root out the caste struggles. This is my personal feeling. But we should make a rule. We should stand on a common platform and see that this social evil is eradicated. While we go to the villages we should tell the people that we all are the children of God and we should treat everybody equally. If we convey this message to the people the problem of caste struggle could be rooted out.

With these words I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to participate in the discussion and conclude my speech.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I would like to congratulate Shri KVR Chowdary for providing us an opportunity to participate in this discussion. I would like to mention only two points in brief about the concern that he and other Members have expressed over caste war that is likely to take place in this country. I would like to submit that a hoax of caste war is being created and it is not such a scale as it is being posed.

17.26 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

There was a time when there were a few castes which were identified as backward. With the propagation of education, more avenues of employment and political openness, some of the castes among the backward and Scheduled Castes made progress. Consequently, some castes came at par with high castes. The high castes created a hoax that there is a likelihood of a caste war. I would like to cite an example.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the famous journalist of India Shri Khuswant Singh gave some figures about the percentage of different castes who were in Government service soon after Independence, in an English weekly 'Sunday' published from

Calcutta a few months back. I would not like to quote the entire figures but would like to give only the percentage of particular caste. The percentage of that caste in Central services was just 3 per cent at the time of Independence but in 1984-85 their share went up to 63 per cent. Who encourages casteism? If you want to wipe out casteism, it cannot be done by raising voice against casteism. We may say whatever we want but caste-system is a bitter truth of our social set up. In ancient times caste was linked to one's profession but with the passage of time caste was identified with birth in a particular family. Caste was identified with marriage also. We are about 525 members in the House. How many of them have entered into inter-caste marriages. If we try to find out the reasons we will come to know that most of the marriages are solemnized within the castes but we deny the fact and say that we believe in caste system.

Some people blame the Mandal Commission for that and they say that their children had forgotten about the caste system. I do not know what they mean by this but whenever they seek matrimonial alliance for their children they clearly write in the advertisements in the newspapers that they want bride or groom of a particular community. This gives us a clear picture of our society and the entire country. This is nothing but hypocrisy. They may say that they do not believe in caste system but in practice they do everything within their own caste. Merely speaking against castes will not serve the purpose because that is done by everybody, even those who were 3 per cent in Government services and are now 63 per cent in services.

Shastriji discussed it at length and gave facts about other services also. The influential and those who matter in the society write against casteism and participate in discussions and seminars on it but this alone will not serve the purpose.

Dr. Ambedkar was the first person to raise these matters after Independence. After him was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who said that the shackles of caste cannot be

broken without making efforts to do so. He found that there are two reasons—one is birth and the other matrimony. Even Chaudhary Charan Singh once a leader of the Congress Party who later became the Prime Minister also said that these shackles should be broken. He had written a letter to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that if Pt. Nehru believes in breaking the shackles of caste system he should make necessary amendments in the constitution to that effect. He suggested that class I posts must be reserved for those who enter into inter-caste marriages. Pt. Nehru replied that marriage is a purely personal matter and we cannot put a binding on the people under law. That was a strange logic.

I want to discuss two three things. Babu Jagjivan Ram was a great Congress leader who belonged to Bihar. He was an efficient administrator and a fiery orator but he belonged to the Scheduled caste. A college in the name of Babu Jagjivan Ram has been opened in Gaya, Bihar from where Shri Rajesh Kumar who is sitting here has been elected. The high caste labelled that college as 'Chamra College', because Babu Jagjivan Ram's caste is called chamar in Bihar. They are called Jatavs in Uttar Pradesh. So the college was labelled as 'Chamra' college. Shastriji rightly mentioned that when Babu Jagjivan Ram unveiled the statue of Dr. Sampurnanand, who was himself a socialist and a staunch believer of socialist ideology, the high caste people washed it with Gangajal (water of Ganga) to purify it. This is a fact and we cannot forget or ignore this bitter and hard reality. Sampurnanand was himself a shudra. He was a Kayastha and Kayastha have been put in the category of Shudra by the Brahminical system. This was challenged by Babu Jagjivan Ram in 1977 when the question came up before Kaka Kalelkar Commission. There was a controversy over it when Shri Karpoori Thakur implemented the recommendations of Mungeri Lal Commission. Babu Jagjivan Ram used to give various reasons and there was a logic behind it. Shri panigrahi has left. Had he been here, I would have asked him, when he says that they should be given an opportunity. If a person of that community opens a restaurant and the people come to know

[Sh. Nitish Kumar]

that it is a hotel of 'Chamar' or person belonging to Scheduled Caste... I will take three minutes to conclude...no high caste even if he is of revolutionary ideas would like to take food at that hotel. So they cannot even run hotels.

But contrary to it, if a person belonging to this community, becomes a Police Inspector, S.P. or district Collector and visits the house of his colleague or a Brahmin or person of high caste he is offered the best cot or best chair in the House. That means when a person has power of office and is enjoying high status the shackles of casteism automatically break. Therefore, if they have to progress and prosper, they will have to be given power of office and power of pen also. There is no other way out. If a Chamar runs a hotel nobody will even visit that hotel but if that Chamar becomes a collector or S.P. the high caste try to give him allow the respect. Therefore, if we want to avoid caste war we will have to give them power of pen. Special opportunities will have to be given to the people on whom atrocities are being committed.

It is easy to say that they should be provided equal opportunities. If a lame person and a healthy person are asked to run a race and the one, who wins, would get a reward, would it be justified? They cannot be treated at par. If a lame person runs, special points will have to be fixed for him. Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Lohia and Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan who led an agitation in Bihar were in favour of this argument. When he visited Begusarai in Bihar, many people offered him sacred thread (Janeu) and flowers, He said I am a shudra-though he was a Kayastha by birth - and therefore, I do not have a right to wear the sacred thread, though I can keep the flowers. He returned the sacred thread and announced in the public meeting that the sacred thread is the symbol of a particular community. Thousands of sacred threads were dropped at his feet. Though it was an agitation for social change, even then there were some in our movement who opposed it. They tried to convince JP but he did not

budge. They wore the sacred thread in the jail but Shri Jayaprakash Narayan appealed to them to break the sacred thread. If we do not reward those who marry out side their caste or encourage them, the caste system will not be abolished. If the caste system has to be abolished they will have to be given power of office and power of pen. I want to thank late Karpoori Thakur for taking an initiative in this direction which inspired the Janta Party Government in 1977 after his death to take a decision that whosoever will enter into inter-caste marriage will be awarded prize. This scheme is still in vogue in Bihar that whoever marries outside one's caste is awarded a prize. The Minister of Welfare is sitting here. We have high expectations from him because he too has suffered all these things. We struggle and fight for them in the Congress Party also. We have outward sympathy with them and pay lip service. We have sympathy with all those who champion their cause. We have sympathy with Shri Patel who is sitting with a red cap on his head because he belongs to us. He has gone there and left the socialist movement, that is why we have sympathies with him. We expect that he would take new initiative. If we keep the issue of reservation and providing class I posts to those who enter into inter caste marriages, I think that would be better. In fact it could be a step forward to break the shackles of caste system. I think now that the ball has been set rolling we should try to find ways how to abolish casteism.

With this words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shall we extend the time for another 25 minutes? There are five Members to speak. Today, the reply of the Minister shall have to be over. So, if each were to take three to five minutes, I think this could be completed.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right. We extend the time for another 25 minutes. The Members who are to speak are; Shri Prem

Chand Ram; Shri Madan Lal Khurana; Shri Gopi Nath Gajapathi; Shri Brahmanand Mandal and Shri Ayub Khan. If each were to take three minutes, I think, we could complete it because we have extended the time for a long time.

[*Translation*]

SHRI PREM CHAND RAM (Nawada):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to thank hon. member Shri Chowdary for having made the House aware that caste system is a slur on the face of society and is a poison which is vitiating the web of our society and the day is not far when everything would crumble down if things continue like this. I would like to submit here that caste system has a long history. The circumstances were such during the ancient times that people had to live together out of necessity and earn their bread. But this caste system was the brain child of so called intelligentsia and dishonest persons. They wanted to exploit the workers who were constituting the major chunk of population those days. A handful of wise men who were at the helm of affairs thought how these workers could be divided and exploited. The only way they found out was to divide and exploited. The only way they found out was to divide them according to the trade they were engaged in. Those who were engaged in manufacture of leather product was called 'chamar'. Those who were engaged in manufacture iron products were called blacksmiths. Those doing wood work were called carpenter and those washing clothes were called 'Dhobis' or washermen. Those who throw dirt belong to high caste whereas those who carry that dirt were called Dhobi and untouchables. It has been discussed several times in the House that the practice of carrying nightsoil should be done away with but it has not been done away with so far. Those who carry nightsoil even today are called untouchables.

Sir, I would like to point out that the entire country and throughout the world the people are thinking in this direction that this should be stopped. This cannot continue for

long now. We will have to provide special opportunities to those who work hard and carry out unpleasant tasks in the society. If timely attention is not paid to do away with the caste system, the very fabric of society will get destroyed. Therefore, serious attention must be paid in this direction. We should not mere preach but practise as well. If we do not change our style of functioning, it will continue. Every day we discuss terrorism and legal system in the House but nothing happens in practice though we have discussed casteism many times in the House. Even in high caste there are rich and poor Brahmins. The situation today is that even though there are poor among the Brahmins and Rajputs they are termed as forward. This is what is happening. There was a time when he was having enough to feed his family but now even though he works hard he does not have enough food. What will he do under the circumstances. He has realized that his own people are his exploiters.

The big fish swallows the small fish. That is an old adage but is true even today. One caste is committing atrocity on another caste. Similarly, there is fight within the caste also. A poor girl in a particular caste is forced to marry poor boy of the same caste. This is creeping in politics and religion also. The number of poor have increased. A handful of people have come together. So this system will have to be rectified. The classification of society should be done on a different line. Those who are no more engaged in manufacture of leather products are still being called 'Chamar' though they have progressed a lot and have got good education. Similarly, those who have left the work of carpenter are still being labelled as carpenters. In the new context and circumstances these should not continue

Excess of everything is bad and this has also crossed all limits. Therefore, it should be ended. It is causing us concern because if we do not launch an agitation or movement against it, it will never end. If casteism is ended it will benefit the entire country, community and the entire world. With these words I support this resolution.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are four more persons to speak. Suppose if all are allowed, I think we need another one hour. We have already extended the time for this Resolution twice. If you all desire, I can ask the hon. Minister to reply because we can't stick to two-three minutes. It is all outdated requests. If you really stick to two-three minutes, it is okay. In the absence of that we cannot extend the time further.

Now I will call Shri Madan Lal Khurana and request him to complete his speech within three minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, even after 43 years of independence, the issue of ending the caste conflict is being raised in the House and the Government is being asked to take strong steps in this regard. Out of 542 members, only a few are present here. Just now, some other hon. Members have arrived for discussion on the Cauvery issue.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that what should have been done in these last 43 years has not been done and only some slogans have been given such as there will be socialism, poverty will be eradicated and casteism will be abolished. But all our efforts for achieving this all have not been made. Why the situation of struggle arose while this could have been done through peaceful revolution also. As a peaceful revolution can come about in the economy, the same can come about in the caste-system too. So far as casteism is concerned, this problem arose when the theory was adopted that the caste of a person will be based on his birth. It was not there in our ancient texts. I would like to give the example of the Ramayana. Several people say that casteism has been propagated in this epic. But Lord Rama took the help of Shabari, boatmen, monkeys and the Scheduled Caste people during his exiles and fought against a Brahmin who committed

a sin. He took the help of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people to fight against a Brahmin. When he got back the throne, he abandoned his wife just for the sake of remarks passed by a washerman. He gave so much importance to a washerman. He attached such importance to his remarks. When Sitaji left she too lived under the shelter and protection of a sage Valmiki. If we look into history, we find that caste was not considered much important then. Today, whatever is being done is done to achieve one's selfish ends. There was an era when some particular classes, the Brahmins created this caste-system just to maintain their supremacy. But it is unfortunate that even after 43 years of independence, we discuss here the caste-system and the conflicts taking place due to it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in my opinion, as long as this untouchability continues the caste system cannot be abolished in the country. The untouchability must be abolished.

The issue of reservation was raised. I would like to make it clear. I am not saying this for the first time that this anti-reservation agitation started in 1989. Before that, the BJP had already said about it in its election manifesto and in 1984, when Karpoori Thakur had adopted this formula in Bihar, the coalition Government of BJP was there. (Interruptions) Both of them had made this formula... (Interruptions). Kailashpati Mishra and Karpoori Thakur had made this formula... (Interruptions)... I would like to submit that before this agitation, we had clearly said it in our manifesto that reservation should be provided for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backwards and economically weaker sections also. Just now, a mention was made about a handicapped person. It is not necessary that a handicapped person will belong to the Scheduled Caste only. He may belong to any caste. Therefore, reservation should be provided but the Government should take some concrete steps in this regard. 42 years have passed but still we are hearing it.

I demand it as the hon. Minister is

present here. Just now, it was said that Shri Kesari is very progressive and is in favour of welfare of the backward classes. He might be in favour of backwards for some political consideration. If the Government really wants the welfare of the backward classes and the poor and wants to abolish caste system, it should issue a white-paper about the mistakes that were made in the last 42 years and the steps the Government wants take in the next 5 to 10 years for the upliftment of the backwards, the poor, the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. A time bound programme should be made and brought before this House and a white paper should also be issued. Only then I will be able to know that the Government is really serious about it. A proposal has been presented after 42 years and there are 10 Members to listen. It will lose its importance. With these words, I support this motion.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We have got seven to ten minutes at our disposal. We have allotted two hours for this discussion and we have exceeded that. A number of Bills are also pending; at 6 o'clock, we have got some other subject. So, may I request the hon. Minister to reply?

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF WELFARE (SHRI SITARAM KASARI): First of all, I would like to thank Shri Choudhary for bringing this resolution, by which he has attracted the attention of the House as well as the entire country to this issue. I am having to say it with much sorrow that the history of the caste-system in our country which has dealt a blow to this country, to the society and to the social harmony, is very despicable. Secondly, it is quite painful to submit about the ways differences were created between a man and a man on the basis of caste in this country. As a result, the country could not achieve the progress it should have achieved.

Despite all this, Shri Khurana said just now that even after 40 years, the sorry background of our democracy is that the low

castes are not allowed to raise their heads even today. Even the custodians of the society, who expressed their opinions and thoughts regarding social set up in this country, have not been free from it. This country has given birth to a number of great personalities like Maharishi Valmiki. You mentioned about Tulsidas and Ramayana. I have not read it that Lord Rama rode on a chariot but you have done that. I have also read Ramayana....(Interruptions)... Please listen to me first. Lord Rama did not go on a chariot from Ayodhya. But your Rathayatra in the name of Lord Rama was a symbol of casteism...(Interruptions)... I am saying whatever Shri Khurana has said. How does the caste system work in different ways and from various angles of thought is known from it that the biggest weapon the clever people use is the exploitation of the society by keeping it in dark...(Interruptions)... many sages came, Ram Mohan came, Mahatma Gandhi came and Dr. Ambedkar came, who attacked this caste system and even Tathagata Lord Buddha attacked it. (Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: The congress defeated Dr. Ambedkar.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: A lot of things take place under the cover of castes. All of us want to abolish the caste-system. But it has to be seen who really want to abolish this system. Superstitions are also linked with it.

It is painful that both the sides talk about the abolition of caste-system, but it is painful that you have opposed the reservation. Nitishji head said correctly that reservation was necessary. Why was it so? There can be two reasons for it. The society cannot become perfect unless all its limbs are all right. There are no two opinions about it. This country had several thinkers like Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar proposed reservation on the basis of his experience of working among the neglected and struggling people. Gandhiji agreed to the reservation proposal out of his kind heartedness and sympathy. The provision of reservation was made under the Poona-Pact of 1932.

[Sh. Sitaram Kesari]

18.00 hrs.

As you are saying that Dr. Ambedkar was defeated by you, by us or by anyone. The election process is at its own place. We are talking here about thoughts and about a practice. Dr. Ambedkar's ideology is quite relevant today.

It is essential to discuss Dr. Ambedkar today. He expressed views on caste-system, on social injustice and on social inequalities which are relevant even today and we follow his views.

The most important thing is that in the present situation in the country, we have to see towards which way we are going. Can the integrity of the country be maintained with casteism, social evils, religious and communal tension? It can never be maintained. We should be committed to maintain integrity of the country and an atmosphere of social harmony has to be created. Without social harmony, the integrity of the country can never be maintained.

That is why, I would like to thank Shri Chowdhary for drawing the attention of the country to this important issue. I would like to submit here two or three points about reservation, as some of our friends have raised this question. Shri Nitish Kumar and Shri Vishwanath said here that there are two provisions for reservation. We have kept two provisions for reservation and one of them is economic provision so that the poorest may also get the benefit of reservation. The socially and educationally backward in the same caste should be uplifted. It has also a specific meaning. The caste-system and family set up have become so deep-rooted that an S.P. Collector or S.D.O. does not want that any of his poor relative should come there. Therefore, it was necessary to make such provision that the poor among the backward classes should get the reservation first and if there are no such candidates, others should be considered. It is very clear. Why was Kaka

Kalelkar Commission set up? Because he had experience of social inequalities. The same situation was there during the time of Gandhiji. Gandhiji had said that some people in the society wanted to dominate the society and the attacked that social evil. When Gandhiji had said that the untouchables are the children of the God, it meant two things. One is that they are gift of the God and secondly, he had admonished the upper castes for segregating them from rest of the society.

While not taking much time, I would like to thank all the Members who have taken part in this discussion. Particularly, I would like to thank Shri Choudhary for bringing this resolution and attracting the attention of the society, the country and the Government to this issue. The casteism is the biggest curse on our country and the biggest stigma on our society and it should be abolished. But I have deep suspicion that those who have to abolish it are very clever and want to maintain it and also talk in a way that hurts the feelings of that organ of the society. On the contrary the feelings of these people are also hurt but there is much difference between the two. There are no two opinions that this Government is committed to a caste-less and classless society. Although we criticise each other but so far as intention is concerned, it has been declared by our Hon. Prime Minister many a time in this House as well as from the ramparts of the Red Fort that we want to usher in such a social set up where there will be no social ill will. Therefore, we are committed to bring social harmony in society.

SHRI SRIKANT JANA (Cuttack): Are you filling an affidavit in the Supreme Court?

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: It will be filed before the 26th January. This has been declared.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: What is the stand of the Orissa Government? Is its intention clear?

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Sir, all the

parties have difference of opinion on this issue. At the same time, they have identical views. All parties are deeply involved in it.

SHRITEJ NARAYAN SINGH: Whatever views one is having, one's views are right.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: In the 1989 election manifesto of the Congress, there was no mention of reservation.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Maybe Shri Khurana is not aware why Kaka Kalelkar Commission was constituted. I would like to tell him that in 1950, Pt. Nehru had moved a motion in this House under Article 15 (1) of the Constitution that the socially and educationally backward people will be given reservation. We are talking about the independence period, about 1950, whereas you are talking about 1989. This provision was implemented in all the States since 1950 itself.

18.07 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I would like to submit that we as well as the Government are committed to the abolition of caste-system and there should be social equality.

With these words, I would request Shri Chaudhary to withdraw this resolution.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: We will not take up the next item.

[Translation]

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, my resolution is there in the list. It will lapse if it is not taken up today.

MR. SPEAKER: We will see it next time.

18.08 hrs

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

(II) Cauvery Water Dispute-Contd.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Deve Gowda.,

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKARA MURTHY (Kanakapura): It is my turn Sir. I was on my legs.

MR. SPEAKER: Please proceed.

SHRI M.V. CHANDRASHEKARA MURTHY: Mr. Speaker Sir, we are not discussing this issue for the first time in this august House. In the last two decades, on several occasions this issue was raised and discussed without coming to any finality. Also, the notification of the Tribunal's order three days ago, has created a lot of reaction in the State of Karnataka and the entire States is boiling and burning. More than ten people have been killed in firing. Today we are discussing this issue with pain and agony.

Since I come from the Cauvery Basin district I would like to give a brief background regarding Cauvery dispute. Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are the two major parties for using Cauvery waters. The use and development of the Cauvery water was regulated by the earlier agreements of 1892 and subsequently 1924 between the two States, viz. the erstwhile Mysore State and the Province of Madras, now Tamil Nadu. In 1924 Agreement, it was specified to provide a province of Madras, presently Tamil Nadu to develop nearly 3 lakhs of additional irrigation from Cauvery basin. At the same time the Karnataka was allowed to develop irrigation to the extent of 2.4 acres only. According to the Fact Finding Committee of 1972, Tamil Nadu has developed 11.56 lakh acres of additional irrigation while Karnataka developed only 3.68 lakh acres from 1928 to 1971. This is a very important factor. These issues are to be confirmed. These facts are very important to make a final decision with