

RESERVATION OF POSTS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES AND SEATS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (FOR ECONOMICALLY WEAKER SECTION OF PEOPLE) BILL—*Contd.*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Vir Sen.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, last time while speaking on this Bill, I had referred to the circumstances due to which the provision of reservation for scheduled castes was made in the constitution. There was such a situation in this country and in the society that the people were discriminated and favoured just on the basis of their castes and creed. In such circumstances, the said provision of reservation was made to do away with the discrimination between the people on the basis of their religion, caste and creed and to save the castes, classes and sections of our people, which are still facing this victimisation. Hence, a provision in the constitution was considered necessary. A provision to this effect has been made in the Article 16 and 17 of the Constitution.

Now the question is if the situations in which this provision was made, have changed even after 40 years of the freedom or after 35-36 years since the adoption of the Constitution? whether the situations have changed to that extent that a reservation on the basis of caste or class has remained no more necessary? Whether the discrimination, untouchability and hatred usually meted out to the people of scheduled castes and untouchables at the times of freedom, has come to an end. I think, we should think over it with a cool mind. After independence the ill will against them has not diminished instead it has increased. Now the extent of discrimination against them is more than it used to be before independence. This cause is existent due to our Hindu society and jurisprudence, where on the basis of religion it has been accepted that men are not born equal and some one is born high and some low. In "Manu Smriti" there are various shlokas which are evident of grave discrimination. Today, we condemn the

aparthied policy of Africa everyday and look down upon their policies and laws. I would like to quote one example. If a girl of high caste falls in love with a scheduled caste boy, Manu has prescribed nothing less than the death punishment for the boy. But there is no punishment for a Brahmin, even though he commits the most heinous crimes and the only punishment for him is to shave off his head. There is another provision that the 'shudras' have no right on property, so if they assert their claim on property, it should not be accepted and if they have any property in their possession, it should be forcibly taken away. It is also written that one who takes away such a property forcibly, commands great respect and admiration. So this is the background of the religion which is basically based on discrimination and still there has been not the slightest change in the feelings of the people belonging to such a religion. Even today, people known as shudras and untouchables are not considered even human beings but they are treated like animals. People are not prepared to give them a status higher than an animal. I would also like to mention many other things. It is also written that untouchables should be given rotten food in broken vessels which are meant for the dogs. That is the recognition we receive from our religion and our society, and I think that Manu is still living in the memory of the people. Those very feelings still exist and come to the fore whenever a scheduled caste demands his right and favourable feelings just banish. I would like to attract your attention to the area of discrimination. First take the villages. There are still bonded labourers in the villages. The Government has enacted laws to check it but inspite of that, there is no decline in the number of the bonded labourers. If you see actually who are these bonded labourers, you will find that in fact, they all belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, whom you call 'shudras'. Still such typical cases come to my notice when they were locked up in rooms, their wives and children were made captive and not allowed to go outside. If you go deep into the reasons of these incidents, you will find that their caste, their birth in a particular caste has been the root cause underlying such incidents.

SHRI RAJ MANGAL PANDE (Deoria): When our Shri Vir Sen is saying all these things here, I would like to request him to convert him into a brahmin and let me change over to his community so that I may also avail and enjoy all those privileges which are at present being enjoyed by him.

SHRI VIR SEN : First, I would like to ask Shri Pande about the law quoted from the Manu Smriti which may permit him to convert into shudra, a scheduled caste and me into a brahmin. "Manu-smriti" is here before you. You please quote even a single law from this book which permits such a conversion.

SHRI RAJ MANGAL PANDE : You may or may not be prepared for such a conversion. But as regards myself, I am fully prepared for that.

SHRI VIR SEN : Now when you have interrupted me. I would like to tell you a story about a person named Kalachandra Rai. Perhaps, you might not have heard of it. He was a Hindu Brahmin. When the daughter of the Nawab of that State proposed to marry him, the Nawab agreed to it, but all over India, not a single brahmin gave his permission for this marriage and the result was that, he had to convert into a muslim and after his conversion he destroyed many temples. In your religion, there is no scope for conversion. Moreover, if somebody seeks the Union of a cross breed, he also becomes an outcaste and degraded. As per the scriptures written by 'Maitreyi' etc. such a mother or father is not given an equal status in the society, Whether you are to prepared to give them an equal status? Today also, the traits of the time are the same and still, we find the instances of intouchability and discrimination. You convert me into a brahmin, I would like to tell you that my brother-in-law was the first sanskrit shastrī of India. He was adopted by the Aryasamajis and they converted him into a brahmin and a certificate to that effect was also given to him. But now, whenever he goes to attend a meeting, they say that they have converted him into a Brahmin. That trail has not yet ended. In spite of that you ask me to get you converted into a scheduled caste. We live a more clean and hygienic life than that of the Brahmins like

you. Whether you are prepared to give everyone of your religion an equal status? Then why do you talk such things.

I was saying that there are still such situations prevalent in our society, in which there are bonded labour and the people of low castes are not allowed to draw water from wells. What is the basis of all this discrimination against them? Is it their poverty or caste or their birth in a particular community that such a treatment is metted out to them. You may see that none of them belonging to these castes has his own land or his own house. Even if they are allotted land anywhere, persons of other communities forcibly grab their land and their houses. Their houses are set ablaze and they are turned out of their houses. That is the position in the villages. On the other hand, I would like to present the picture of police in cities. If someone happens to go to the police station to lodge an F.I.R. about an atrocity committed on him, he is either beaten up and shunted out by the police or, on the contrary, he is locked up there. Whether such a treatment is metted out to them for their wealth or poverty or because of their caste and birth in a particular community. As regards, the atrocities being committed on the people of these communities, we daily read about them in the newspapers. Setting their houses on fire has become a routine affair. Even after forty years of independence, even today if a person of low caste rides a horse, it is a must that he is beaten up and made to get down. You might have read a news item about an incident in South, which mentioned that a man was tied to a tree and forced to eat human excreta and drink urine because he had asked for his wages. Have you ever gone deep into the reasons of such a behaviour with them?

So I want to submit it again and you may see it with a cool mind that even today the situations which had necessitated the provision of reservation and other safeguards in the constitution, are still prevailing in the society.

As regards planning, the scheme meant for scheduled castes, are separated from the general schemes. It has been mentioned in your publication "Community inequality" that Government Officers try their best to

treat the grants for scheduled caste an amount separate from other grants. If a low caste person or a harijan demands something from the general quota, he is told that he already has a separate quota and he had nothing to do with the general quota. For instance, under a scheme, an amount of Rs. 2 lakhs has been allocated for scheduled caste and Rs. 2 thousand crore is sanctioned for the general category. It will be a better proposition if a share of about Rs. 47 crores is also given to the scheduled caste from the amount allocated for the general category. But they will not provide it. Such is the treatment being metted out to the people of scheduled castes today.

Such is the position in regard to the bank loans, that a big amount of loan is never sanctioned to the people of these communities. Big loans are given away only to the multimillionaires. In case a scheduled caste gets loan to buy a cow, a buffalo or a bullockcart, half of the amount is pocketed by the bank employees. Even if a buffalo is purchased and it doesn't give milk, the instalments of the loan cannot be paid. So as a result of this vicious circle, his house is attached and he is also served with notices by the bank for which he has to go to the lawyers for seeking their advice. On every notice, the lawyer raises his fees by Rs. 50. If he goes to the tehsil, then the amount is further raised by 10 percent. This is the result of your planning and you are implementing this scheme to raise the poor above the poverty line.

As regards, the admission in the schools and colleges recently a great hue and cry was raised in Delhi but the people of scheduled castes have been refused admissions in the colleges against their reserved quota. I would like to give my own, personal instance that my daughter passed the intermediate examination in first division with 89 percent marks but she had to stray for fifteen days to get admission to a college. No doubt, you have given it in writing that the students would be given admissions on merit basis only.

If selection is to be made on the basis of merit, only those who are born with a silver spoon in their mouth and are capable to engage private tuition at their homes will

alone be selected. But this thing cannot be expected from a poor boy who has to read under the lamp-post, who has no food to eat, no cloth to wear and no house to live in that he will figure in the merit list and secure 80 to 90 per cent marks. Now-a-days copying in the examinations has become the order of the day. The teachers are themselves helping in mass copying. They take even money for that and only those students who indulge in mass copying secure 80 to 90 per cent marks. Those students who have no money to grease the palm, who cannot indulge in mass copying and pass the examinations on their own merit cannot secure such a high marks.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI VIR SEN : I beg your pardon. Kindly do not ring the bell. It is a very important issue and I have to say a lot on this subject. The august House is also in favour of extending the discussion on the subject to the extent possible. I was going to submit that the present practice of giving admission in schools and colleges on the basis of merit and limiting the number of seats in classes is tantamount to closing the doors of higher education for the poor students. Poor students cannot receive higher education under this system. Thus the measure adopted by you to improve the lot of the poors is itself a great impediment in their way and it discriminates the poors. Now let us take the case of markings. The Scheduled Castes have been assigned the category of 08 and that of the Scheduled Tribes 07. With the marking of category on the answer books, the examiner comes to know as to the category to which the candidate belongs. Earlier, seats were filled up on merit basis. Now, after this categorisation seats are lying vacant. The seats are lying vacant due to the fact that marking is not done honestly. The moment the examiner comes to know that the candidates belong to Scheduled Castes, he fail them in the examination. It is my personal knowledge that the professors of medical colleges are so dishonest that they fail the candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes. The fail them continuously for 7 years in the same

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paper. Even students with lesser intellect will acquire mastery over a subject if they continue to study a particular subject for 7 years. But these students are failed deliberately, lest they should get through. The professors do not want that these students should become doctors. My nephew was detained for 4 years. I would like to know whether this sort of discrimination is being made on the caste basis or on the basis of poverty. These things happen in education. Now I will come to Government jobs.

At the time of awarding marks, they are being put in lower grades. Many students from the I.I.T. who were selected on the basis of competitive test came to me and told that they had been expelled from I.I.T., Kanpur. Very recently, I received a report that the students who were given lower grades for securing low marks in their first year examination have been driven out of the I.I.T. Their belongings have been thrown out. Why such things are being done? Was it done on the basis of poverty or on caste basis?

What happens in services. If at the time of recruitment caste is revealed, the person concerned will have to face the worst consequences and will not get employment. Last time also I have mentioned that there is no reservation for medical officers in the Defence Services. I know a case of a doctor who was selected by the Public Service Commission for the Defence Services. When he went to the Defence Department and filled up the requisite forms, he wrote on the forms that he belonged to Scheduled Castes. He was not given employment on that ground. In another case, a candidate wrote 'No' against the column meant for Scheduled Castes thinking that there being no reservation there is no harm if the caste is not mentioned. Later on he was removed from service when the department people came to know that he belonged to Scheduled Castes. There was no charge against him and there was no fault on his part. But he was removed. Now he is moving from pillar to post, but nobody listens to his woes. Where will he go? Those people who are supposed to take a decision in his case are also prejudiced and are not free from feeling of hatred and discrimination against his caste. Now, where to make appeal? Nobody is inclined

to hear arguments in his favour. Who will plead his case? This is the position.

Now let us take the case of promotions. There are a number of complaints in this regard. Do you have any reply to this? I shall take up this point later. Various tactics are being adopted to withhold the promotions of employees belonging to these categories. Their character rolls are spoiled on frivolous grounds. Some officers even write 'Not fit for promotion', putting them in a position from which they have no escape.

Very recently, I came to know a case in which a doctor was awarded excellent entry in his character roll by an officer. Thereafter another officer came who was more biased. As he was not there during the period for which the concerned officer earned excellent entry, he stipulated that in order to earn an excellent entry in the C.R., an officer should possess 20 qualities. These qualities were such that perhaps he himself did not possess. The concerned officer was informed that his excellent entry in the C.R. was scrapped as he does not possess the 20 qualities as stipulated by him for earning an excellent entry. Ultimately he was removed from service.

What I mean to say that it was not his poverty but his birth in an untouchable caste that cost his job. Now a days people do not take it easy if a person belonging to scheduled castes is appointed to high posts. He is posted at inconvenient places where he has to face a lot of odds, as a result of which he is forced to leave. He is assigned insignificant duties. This is how they are being punished. Lord Manu has devised the methods how to punish them. If two persons are found guilty of a charge the person belonging to Scheduled Castes will be removed from service and the other person will be let off after a warning. We come across this type of cases daily.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will take some more time for which I beg your pardon, because I have to say on a number of points. In fact, the entire House is prepared to listen to me. You can also ask the hon. Members about it. I will conclude my speech only after I have said everything I wanted to say.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have taken half an hour. .

[Translation]

SHRI VIR SEN : It is wrong. I am speaking on a very important subject. I, therefore, request you to give some more time to express my views..

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There are other people. Please wind up. You cannot dictate to me.

SHRI VIR SEN : I will speak about the points being raised.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is not to be done at your discretion. Otherwise how can other Bills will be taken up.

[Translation]

SHRI VIR SEN : Now the question is as to who oppose it ? It is a matter to be thought of. It is being opposed by those people who are afraid of the number of reserved posts to be filled up by the candidates belonging to SC/ST in accordance with the reservation policy. Now they can not come under it. In this connection I would like to emphasise that we are not going to encroach on anybody's area. We want to confine ourselves to the rights guaranteed by the constitution. We do not want 50 per cent reservation when our population is only 18 per cent. You should remain happy within the 85 per cent of your domain. I fail to understand as to why you people are objecting to it ? It was revealed by a survey that 98 per cent young officers of the I.A.S. are opposed to it. Now I read out some extracts from which you will come to know who they are :

[English]

"One recent study reports that 'the so-called middle range backward castes offer a stiffer resistance to the rising status of Harijans than the very highest castes'.....

[Translation]

Thereafter after 1 to 2 lines they say :

[English]

"The survey data concur that educated and urban people are personally more accepting of mobile untouchables and more opposed in theory to the continuance of the caste system. But even though less advanced segments of the population may have more to fear from the direct competition of Scheduled Castes, it is the higher castes, the educated, and the urban who seem most opposed to the preferential treatment."

[Translation]

Now you know very well that it is they who are of the view that people belonging to these categories have no right to rise to high positions.

One more thing is being said that reservation policy gives rise to casteism permanently. That is why it should be scrapped. I feel that there is no scope to say anything more in this regard. Casteism is flourishing even otherwise also. If the Government wishes to do away with casteism, it should encourage inter-caste marriage. Casteism is not going to be rooted out with mere scrapping up of reservation. Apart from this, some others are of the view that.

[English]

...reservation on the basis of caste has affected the morals, the administration and the society adversely.

[Translation]

16.00 hrs.

During these 40 years, only 3 to 4 per cent officers of the I.A.S. have come from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is not correct to say that the administration has become corrupt and inefficient due to these 3 to 4 per cent officers. What about the remaining 96 per cent officers. You may make self retrospection and enquire as to who is responsible for the inefficiency in administration. You think that the inefficiency in administration has cropped up due to these 3 to 4 per cent officers and recommend these people should not be given entry into this service. There are yet another group of the people who argue that these people are genetically inferior and born dull. In this connection, I would like to assert that nobody is bestowed with high

[Shri Vir Sen]

or low degree of intellect by virtue of his birth. The people who think so are prejudiced and their thinking is absolutely wrong that these people are born dull. People come in merits in the competitive tests held by Public Service Commissions, I may cite the instance of Dr. Ambedaker. Could anybody say that he was also born with less intelligence. Those who argue in favour of the theory 'born dull' are wicked persons and wrong doers.

Beneficiaries are also being demoralised. They are suffering losses for this. What a great sympathiser you are! You want that all the doors for their entry into services should be closed. Only then they will be benefited. In this connection I would like to say that we can take our own decisions as to what is right and what is wrong for us. There is no need for us to seek the opinion of vested interests. There is no need for them to take decisions. The practice of reservation did a lot of good to the Harijans and gave them honour. It provided them some rights and instilled self-confidence in them. They have been able to break some age old fetters. If reservation is stopped, they will not come in the service in the required number. There will be no way out for them because people making selections are not honest. If the selection is made honestly from the very beginning, there would be no complaint at the time of promotion. Everybody would be getting his due seniority. When selection is not at all made, where the question of seniority does arise. Hence people, who are objecting to provide reservation at the time of promotion, should make a self-retrospection and realise the fact that their continuing as super class officers is only due to the people belonging to these categories. Since the hon. Members are objecting to my long speech, therefore, I just want to submit that the environment prevailing in the Services is extremely hostile. The people in the Services become targets of sarcasm and harassment; for instance, they are suspended on petty charges, abused and at times cases in which a better placed person was asked to sweep the room have also come to me. Therefore, there is a need to change such an atmosphere and the idea of scrapping reservations on the basis of castes should be dropped. The day on which you

yourself whole-heartedly give an equal status to Scheduled Caste people and do not discriminate them, there will be no need left for us to make any reservations for them. But first you should yourself get ready for this. You have given only 3.4 per cent reservation in the I.A.S. during the past 40 years. Out of 15 per cent, you have not even provided 12 per cent reservation. Nor are you prepared to provide it, while in qualifications and ability no one is inferior to anybody. Viewing these things I can say that the Bill which has been brought forward is an indicator of feudal mentality and illustrates that some such plan should be brought so that the 'Sudra' community people of Scheduled Caste may not be able to join the services. That is why it has been stated that the family whose monthly income is above Rs. 500 should not be allowed to avail of the facilities. Now you should yourself understand that Rs. 500 is earned by a daily wager who gets work for only 100-200 days in a year. This scheme stops the child of even a peon from joining the services. On the top of it, it is said that elite people have been emerged in Scheduled Tribe also. So who are these elite? What per cent of the country's population will these 3.4 per cent people in the Services constitute? It is alleged that since they have all grown elite and are on high posts, therefore because of their presence the whole community should be condemned and brought to an end. In such a situation, those who have been educated, who possess some facilities, and can get through in the competitions by studying, will be stopped due to this restriction. On the other hand, those who are poor will not even study because they lack the basic capacity and will therefore never enter this field. Therefore its mentality is that they should be deprived of all the facilities. What is feudal mentality? It believes that we have the right to vote and they should vote for us. If they do not do so, they should be punished. If the other communities do not vote, they are appeased and if our community wants to cast votes freely, then steps are taken to force us to vote for them by beating us and stopping all the facilities. I feel that such a mentality should be dropped. The mentality with which this Bill has been brought forward is extremely suicidal. It is going to arouse ill-will in our whole nation. They feel that by scrapping reservation they

will be able to please the Scheduled Caste people. But that is not so—it will create permanent separatism in them and even your hope that they will give their views under pressure, will hold no good.

In the end I would like to quote an extract from Dr. Ambedkar's speech. Please listen to it carefully.

[*English*]

“These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization of the downtrodden classes must not be allowed to devolve into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a House divided against itself cannot stand very long. Therefore, the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the future, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance of its independence and better-continuance of democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life.”

[*Translation*]

I feel that the people must understand this warning. They should take a lesson and stop speaking against the people of Scheduled Castes, or else misbehaving and thinking against them. They should take a lesson from the foreign nations, from G.N.L.F., from Punjab, and from the Tamils of Sri Lanka—wherever injustice is made, and rights are suppressed, a revolt is arisen. If you want to be spared from such a revolt and preserve the nation's unity, you must leave discrimination. The country will unite into one nation only when you leave discrimination. So long as our country is tied up by casteism, it will remain divided and cannot become one nation. Therefore, those who sympathise with this nation and want that it should become one nation, must stop misbehaving the Scheduled Caste people.

With these words I conclude

[*English*]

SHRI K. RAMACHANDRA REDDY
(Hindupur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the

Mover of this Bill has come forward with an idea which has been agitating the minds of the people for a very long time. While the Constitution was framed, it was felt at that time that certain reservations should be made for certain castes and certain tribes. Because, at that time the situation was so bad that those tribes and castes were completely downtrodden, economically weak, and socially they were on a very low level. They have not been treated on par with the other communities.

16.10 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH RATH *in the Chair*]

So, at that time, the Constitution makers, thought that some reservations have to be made so that these Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribe communities could be brought to the level of the other castes. They took two factors into consideration at that time. One is the economic consideration and the other is the social status. Based on these two aspects, reservations have been made for ten years. After ten years, it was felt that it was not sufficient and these castes have not been developed completely. So, the reservation has been extended three times. In spite of these reservations, how far these castes have been improved? It is a question which has to be gone into at this stage. Then, we have to see whether the socio-economic status that was in vogue at the time of framing of the Constitution remains the same or are there any changes now? After forty years, you could see, the social stigma is not as virulent as it was in 40s or 50s. In those days, probably the untouchability has been practised at a very high level. It has been reduced considerably. In order to improve their economic condition, the reservations have been brought in. Now, we have to consider, whether we have to continue the reservation or put an end to it. Suppose we continue it, we have to see, whether there is any possibility for these communities to come up to the level of other communities.

As a result of these reservations, a lot of heart burning is there in other communities.

As far as the social status is concerned, the gap has been narrowed down considerably. Probably, the social status may not be considered.

[Shri K. Ramachandra Reddy]

As far as the caste is concerned, in the case of educated people, it has been narrowed down. Previously, the caste was the basis of the social standard and social mingling—inter-caste marriage. Now the caste has been given way to status. To whatever status a man belongs to; he would like his daughter married in a family who has got the same status. He does not bother much about the caste or religion. So, the caste is slowly disappearing and the status has occupied that place. This is as far as the educated families are concerned.

As far as rural communities are concerned, the caste system is still prevalent. Even now, they are not able to adjust themselves fully to the changed environments. Now, under the circumstances, the mover of the resolution has come forward with this Bill. As far as Clause 3 is concerned, the mover of the resolution has said :

“fifty per cent of the posts in Government services have to be reserved to the candidates belonging to economically weaker sections of the people.”

Every well meaning person has to think about this. I congratulate the mover of this Bill because he was able to attract the attention of the Government and some well-thinking people to this aspect. As I said already, there is a lot of heart-burning in other communities. For example, a boy belonging to a forward community gets ninety per cent marks and a boy belonging to Scheduled Caste or Scheduled tribe gets forty per cent. In respect of getting a seat in Medical College or Engineering College, the boy who belongs to SC or ST and got forty per cent marks is given preference to the boy who got ninety per cent. In regard to jobs also, the preference is given to Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe people. Because of such preference, there is a lot of heart-burning in upper communities. It is not as if the upper community people are all rich and the lower community people are all poor. If you take that view, it is incorrect. In the upper community, there are people who are very very poor, who are not able to make both ends meet. Those people are there. Among those people for whom reservations have been made, what is the percentage of people who have taken advantage of that? It is 1 or

2 per cent. If a survey is conducted, you will find that only 1 or 2 per cent of SC/ST man have got employment. I would like to advocate a different standard for consideration as far as jobs and seats in the colleges and schools are concerned. As far as all these jobs are concerned, most of these jobs have been cornered by those people who are near to the political leaders or those people who are near to high-ups or those people whose mother or father is in Government service. If you make a survey, you will find that 70 to 80 per cent of these jobs have been cornered by such people. As far as the rest of the population is concerned, they are suffering. I will put it this way. If an SC or ST comes up in the service, he is interested in his own children. He is not interested in his own caste. An SC or ST officer is interested in his own sons and daughters, in their betterment. He does not take the interest of the community as a whole. I would like to know how many officers, who are occupying high office have made any sincere effort to improve the lot of their own caste. When they themselves do not care for their own caste, how do you expect other caste persons to help them? This is one aspect.

As far as other aspect is concerned, rural people are there. In rural areas, highly educated people are also there. Because of the environmental circumstances, rural people are not able to compete with the urban people because their upbringing is different. When the rural people come to the cities for jobs, they are not able to compete with the urban people because the parents of the urban people are educated, some of their relations are in jobs, either their father or mother is in job and they are able to afford good education for them. So they answer very well when examinations are there or interviews are there. But the rural people are not able to come upto that level. That is why, when the competition is unequal, when the rural people are not in a position to face the competition, all the jobs are cornered by the urban people only. The job position in rural India is very very bad. If you take the statistics 70 to 80 per cent of the urban people and 10 to 20 per cent of the rural people get the jobs. 70 to 80 per cent of the rural people are suffering because of the unethical

competition. I want to urge upon the Government to come forward with a legislation that reservation should be based on population basis. Now rural population is 75 per cent and 25 per cent is urban population. You make reservations on that basis that 25 per cent of the jobs will go to urban areas and 75 per cent of the jobs will go to rural areas. There should be no competition between the urban and the rural people. It should be seen as to what sort of competition should be there so that seventy five per cent of the jobs go to the rural people.

Supposing a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe man is a big officer and he has got two or three children, he will be able to give them better education, he will be able to provide them all the amenities that the modern Indian citizens can be given. You take the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes residing in villages. Their children and the children of those whose standard is very low, will not be able to compete in equal circumstances. So, what I say is when an officer comes to a certain stage, the Government should see that that man is removed from the reservation list. I am not saying that his reservation should be removed but what I am saying is that he must be removed from the reservation list and the job should be given some other person, either Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. Only then the job potential as far as these people are concerned, can be increased. So, whenever the standard of a man is improved, he must be removed from the reservation list. A legislation has to be brought to that extent. You remove that man from the list and substitute him by some other Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe person in the village. This will give opportunity to other Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people in the villages. So, I request the Government to give deep consideration to this aspect and make reservations not on the basis of caste or creed or such other basis, but it must be on the basis of rural versus urban population.

I congratulate the mover of this Bill because he has been able to bring some ideas to the notice of this country. The thinkers of this country must think very well. We have to improve the standard of the rural India, we have to bring up the

standard of the rural India, to the standard of the urban India. The two Indias are now completely different. Therefore, I say that when a rural man occupies a very high position and if his sons and daughters are also there, then that man must be removed from the rural list and the opportunity should be given to some other rural person. Then only we can improve their standard. We have to remove the caste considerations and improve the standard of the people in the rural areas so that they are able to come up to a standard where they are able to compete with the urban people. So, I request the Government to consider that reservations, whether in schools or in jobs or in other areas, should be based on the percentage of the people that reside in the rural areas and in urban areas so that the gap between the rural people and the urban people can be removed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The time allotted to this Bill is almost over. Now what would you like to do ?

AN HON. MEMBER : This is a very important Bill, Sir. Let the time be extended.

MR. CHAIRMAN : By how many hours ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : By two hours.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : By three hours.

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor) : This is a very important Bill, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : For the present, let us extend the time by two hours and then later on we will see. So, if the House agrees, we will extend the time by two more hours for the present.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri C.S. Tripathi.

[*Tran latio.*]

DR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR TRIPATHI (Khalilabad) : Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Bill brought forward by Shri Ram Nagina Mishra has certainly become a controversial Bill. I have heard the views of

[Dr. Chandra Shekhar Tripathi]

the hon. Members. Some of them have severely criticised it while the others have supported it. But it cannot be denied that in this vast nation where one community was downtrodden, untouchable poor and suppressed, the provision of reservation facility made by our forefathers and constitution makers was extremely essential and worth appreciation too. After 40 years of independence a lot of changes were observed in the condition of the poor and the suppressed people for whom this scheme was introduced. The deserving people have certainly not got their right share. If this problem is viewed today, it will be found that about one-two lakh such affluent families have developed in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who are accumulating all the facilities. Sir, today our leaders will have to think on this subject. It is true that out of the poor, neglected and suppressed people for whose welfare this provision was made to improve their standard of living, 9-10 crores people are still living below poverty line, but on the other hand, nearly 4 lakh families out of those very sections have become millionaires and billionaires. Today all their near relations are getting all the facilities and those people are also getting the top ranks jobs. Therefore, the time has now arrived when the whole country will have to consider about this problem that the 2-4 lakh families of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe who have reached at par with the affluent society should be taken out of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Today it has become essential to fix a limit. We will certainly have to fix some such level that anyone who reaches that level should be deprived of the facilities (*Interruptions*). No one should be permitted to rob the wealth of the nation freely (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

[Translation]

DR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR TRIPATHI : Today if some person has become an I.A.S. or another person has got a high rank somewhere, then it is not on the basis of caste or reservation but on the basis of his own capability and ability that he has

got it, whereas you get all the facilities on the basis of caste. Therefore, those who attain a high status should not at all get reservation on the basis of caste. If such thing persists, what will happen to those 10 crore poor people for whose upliftment the whole nation and society is worried. Any provision should be such that 90 per cent of the people should get the benefit of it and not just 10 per cent. If there is any such law, system or machinery which does not bring benefit to the masses, it needs to be improved. Therefore, I would humbly submit to Shri Vir Sen that I myself seen and experienced that not even 2 per cent of the petrol pumps, diesel pumps or gas agencies allotted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are made available to them. All these are run by the high strata, rich people under 'benami' names. The Government will have to consider this problem very seriously. We have not made laws and reservations to enable other influential people to take benefits and deprive those whose standard of living we want to improve. We have formulated reservation policy for the benefit of the poor and our Government, our leaders and masses are worried about their welfare. They must get the benefit. If they do not get any benefit then that system will have to be changed without any hesitation.

It is not an issue towards which Shri Vir Sen has invited our attention. Today it is immaterial as to what extent people of any particular community achieved a high rank. No one can stop appointments to high ranks, neither can there be any ban on it but we should not forget that the fact that our Government had made those provisions and reservations only for the upliftment of the poor. We will have to think that those people in the Scheduled Castes/Tribes, whose standard of living has risen quite high, and who have become quite affluent, should no more get benefits on the basis of caste. The poor of that very caste who are still living in villages in crores, are prey to starvation and poorly clad or whose children can not get education due to poverty, must get those facilities. No one can say that the poor and the neglected should be deprived of assistance; it should certainly be given but that assistance should reach him. On the name of reservation some people want to snatch those facilities

by making fake certificates as is read in the newspapers everyday—that whenever there is a distribution of land, flats etc., a newly developed racket of people snatch the right of the needy by getting fake certificates of Scheduled Castes/Tribes. We, the Government and the society, will have to think in this direction seriously.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if poverty is recognised as the basis for reservation, then no one should have any grudge. Today, it is a well-known fact that out of 100 families of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, 90 families are still below poverty line while the condition, of remaining 10 families has improved a great deal. In other castes there can be 3 to 5 per cent poor people. Therefore when the economic base is taken as criteria for development, and attempts are made to improve their standard, then under no circumstances or way will there be a suppression of the rights of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, nor can there arise any reduction in the privileges and facilities. God knows why, in the grip of intense emotion, without broadening their outlook, people indulge in mutual feuds and the people with vested interest trap the society in struggle. If the reservation is given on the basis of economic condition, then the community which has the maximum number of poor, will get the maximum facilities and seats and *vice versa*. This will be a step towards the unity and strengthening of the country. Therefore, it should be taken very seriously.

Sir, I will not hesitate to state that at different times, the selfish elements and people with vested interests have tried to play with the unity of this country. I would like to state that in this very country and state, the copies of Ramayana were burnt many a times, and its pages were also torn. But, Sir, I would like to invite your attention to Ramayana for two minutes. I have studied Ramayana and have seen that the shining example of classless society which is found in Ramayana which is seen nowhere else, ever since the creation of earth. I quote a couplet by Goswami Tulsidas—“Bair na kar kahu san koi Ram pratap vishamta khoi”. There was no disparity among the people in that society. In that society, all were equal and there was no discrimination on the basis of big or small, rich or poor and caste or creed. Goswami Tulsidas has

written, “Daihik Daiwik bhoutik tapa, Ram raj kaahu nahin vyapa”. He has further stated that no one had any affliction and that the society was free from discrimination. That was the classless society. Sir, apart from this, he has written a lot.....

SHRI R.P. SUMAN : Also mention about his couplet “Shudra, ganwar, dhol, pachhu naari.....

DR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR TRIPATHI : Sir, a question about running “Eye Relief Camps” was raised last year by some hon. Members in this very House. It was stated that the people lost their eye-sight due to the operations done by the doctors of these ‘Eye Relief Camps’ Sir, while replying to this question, Shri Narasimha Rao had told the House that out of 500 operations, there was a possibility of failure in 5 cases or five persons might lose their eye-sight. The loss of eye sight in respect of these five persons becomes a news for the journalists and hon. Members of this August House, and questions are raised about this, while no one even mentions about the fact that 495 blind persons have regained their lost eye-sight. This is the misfortune of the country that all our activities are motivated by the negative aspects. Instead of looking towards 90 percent good works, we generally focus our attention on one or two bad deeds. Our hon. colleague has indicated towards a particular line. But I want to draw your attention towards several lines :

“Harsit rahen nagar ke loga,
Karhin sakal sur durlabh bhoga”.

I was drawing your attention towards these lines because there has been no provision for discrimination among the people in that society. On the contrary, a special attention had been given to the upliftment of poor and backward people and that is why everybody was happy in the Ram Rajya.

Vyasji has written 18 Puranas. In one of the Puranas, he has written—

“Asdash Puraneshu Vyasasya vachan
dwayam,

Paropyashya punyay papay par
peednam”

“Parhit saris dharam nahin bhai,
Parpeeda sam nahin adhmaai”.

[Dr. Chandra Shekhar Tripathi]

All the scholars, thinkers and the social workers have said in one voice that there is no greater sacred deed than benevolence and there is no greater sin than oppressing others. Therefore, there is no use making a mountain out of a mole hill. No country can progress and no society can prosper by promoting class struggle and by spreading feelings of communal hatred in the society. Adequate help should be provided to the poor and that is what the Government is doing in the welfare concept. This is the duty of the whole society to accommodate the backward, the poor and unrepresented people but in this process the society should not allow accumulation of wealth in a particular pocket, and if it allows it, then the sufferer will be that very society or class for which this law has been enacted. The Government will have to fix a ceiling on income so that the poor people may get more opportunities of progress and better representation in the society. The Government will have to fix such ceiling either today or tomorrow or after 20 years. If the ceiling on income is not fixed, then a particular section, affluent section will go on developing and a poor family will continue to remain where it was. Therefore, all of us will have to seriously think how the poor who actually deserve the benefits of reservation can get them. We shall have to do something to carry them forward.

In his speech, Shri Mishra has advocated the case of reservation of posts in the semi-Government institutions, educational institutions, sugar factories and textile mills. No doubt, it is good but the intention behind reservation should be that the Government's aid, amenities and all facilities should also be provided to those poor people who are not in a position to compete in open competition due to their poor economic condition. In spite of this, if some body is not able to compete in the competition and the Government goes on providing this facility in the name of any particular section, then the condition will certainly deteriorate. I would like to urge Shri Vir Sen that none should have the complaint that he would have progressed, had these facilities been provided to him; but due to his poor economic condition, he could not do so. All facilities should be provided to the poor but at the same time the capabi-

lity, the competence and the merits of the candidates should not be ignored. The ignorance of the capability, competence and the merits is creating disparity in the society. Very learned persons generally raise issues from the platforms of big public meetings regarding the interests of any particular section of the society. They say that there is no M.P., Minister or Governor from a particular castes, Sindhi for instance. There are thousands of castes in India. How will it be possible to have the representatives of all these castes? Therefore, the system of reservation based upon casteism should come to an end. The provision of reservation was made for the backward people. It was correct to do so and we appreciate it whole-heartedly. It is the responsibility of the Government to ensure that the benefits of reservation reach the depressed, down-trodden, proletariat and exploited people of the society. This is the responsibility of the whole country to see whether the benefits of reservations are reaching the deserving people or are being manipulated for the interests of others. In the name of Harijans, persons belonging to other castes are deriving its benefits. The benefits of reservation will not reach the deserving persons merely by making the provision of reservation in the statute book. The Government will have to do something concrete in this regard so that its benefits may reach the deserving people.

I would like to say that the Bill moved by Shri Mishra can neither be termed as condemnable nor commendable. But at the same time, his suggestion that economic condition should be the basis for reservation cannot be ignored. Today, crores of people belonging to different communities are living below the poverty line. They have neither employment nor any source of livelihood and are on the verge of starvation. Nobody bothers about them. Under these circumstances, it becomes the duty of the Government to safeguard the interests of the poor people belonging to upper castes for whom there is no provision of reservation lest they should die while begging or commit suicides. No civilized society should tolerate the deaths of its people due to starvation. I would like to say that while the provision of reservation made for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was justified and was a must and our leaders had taken this step in

accordance with the demand of the time and the society, but if in this changing society, changing time and because of increasing population, any Indian citizen belonging to any caste dies due to starvation or remains unemployed and poor, it becomes the duty of the country and the Government to look after his interests by making provision for reservation and by providing him all other facilities. I would like to request you once again that it will do no harm to the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes if economic condition is taken as the basis for reservation. Under this provision also, 90-95 per cent people belonging to S.C. and S.T. communities will continue to be benefited and only 2-3 per cent persons belonging to other communities will get the benefits. The Government will have to pay special attention to ensure that some families which are availing of these facilities today do not go on availing these facilities indefinitely.

Shri Reddy has raised the issue of discrimination of villages as against the cities. This is a very serious issue and needs to be given consideration. The children educated in villages do not find themselves in a position to compete with the children educated in cities whether it is the competition for admission in Engineering College, Medical College or the competition in Indian Civil Service. As a result, 80 per cent population of villages do not get those facilities which are available to 20 per cent urban population. The Government will have to pay attention towards this also. If we want to remove disparities, regional imbalance and want to eradicate poverty, we shall have to give more importance to this by adopting a social viewpoint. In spite of the provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the continuous vigilance of the Government, 80 per cent people of villages do not find themselves in a position to avail of the benefits of reservation, while the urban people go on availing these facilities. I, therefore would like to urge the Government to ensure that benefits of reservation reach the rural people so that the neglected, poor and exploited rural people, could march towards progress and the intention of our constitution makers could be fulfilled.

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla) :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me time to speak. In my view, the Bill moved by Shri Ram Nagina Mishra is very appropriate. Nearly 50 per cent population is economically backward and it will not make much of a difference if the facility of reservation is provided to all of them.

The people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are not getting full benefits of the posts reserved for them under the Constitution. Whether it is any Public Undertaking or a Government office, you will never find the Roaster register completely filled. Many such cases are pending before the High Court and Supreme Court. But no decision has so far been taken on it. These matters are kept pending. Here I want to say that Government has to keep in mind the efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and today being made by our Rajivji for upliftment of Harijans and Advasis and for the development of our country and to ensure that such programmes are implemented without any delay. As Rajivji is looking into the problems of the Scheduled Tribes by visiting various tribal areas the same is being done for the welfare of Harijans also. Nobody has been able to make as much efforts as have been made by Shri Rajiv Gandhi for moving the nation forward. Here I want to apprise you that some other parties also came to power here but they could not ensure reservation for us beyond 10 years but when Indiraji came to power, she did work for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I feel that today it is the responsibility of our party to make efforts to uplift the poor in the country. It is also essential that responsibility should be fixed on those who have failed to complete the reservation quota for the last 40 years of Independence. It should also be made clear as to the time by which this quota would be completed. If you continue to say that it is the responsibility of the State Government and the State Government says that it is the work of the district administration then this work will never be completed. The Constitution of India envisages a reservation quota of 15 and 7.5 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively which must be filled up first.

[Shri K. D. Sultanpuri]

Only then we can think of other people. So far as this contention is concerned that these people score less marks in comparison to those belonging to the urban areas, I would like to say that the number of teachers in the villages is inadequate whether these are High Schools or middle schools. The child who's father is in service scores good marks because he studies in a city and these very people get service also. The children of people living in villages do not get such an opportunity. I feel that same is the reason so far as plains are concerned. I visited a school in Bihar which is situated in a tribal area of Ranchi. When I asked the teacher there about the name of the Education Minister of India, he replied that he was not aware of that. A B.Ed. teacher does not know the name of the Education Minister because they do not try to read the newspaper. Tribals are the backward people but no efforts are made to uplift them. There are people in the opposition who criticise us for having done this or that and raise much hue and cry for the same but do not make any effort to uplift the poor of the country. They can talk about Bofors for days together but nobody talks about the upliftment of the poor people. They do not take any interest in this work. They have never demanded any discussion on this topic or on the report of the parliamentary committee constituted for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I feel that the people of our opposition parties do not take proper steps for the welfare of these people. I request them to take action against those powers who want to weaken the country by not completing their quota. Have you people taken any action against them? You have not taken any. Therefore, I would like to request my colleagues also that it is essential for them that they should make all efforts to supplement the efforts being made by our national leader Rajivji so that nation can move forward and the poor sections also get its benefit. Here I want to say that you have recommended an income of Rs. 500 which is very meagre, our colleague has rightly said that this is what a peon gets. What have you done? Is this amount of Rs. 500 adequate? Now-a-days even a labourer working on daily wages in Himachal Pradesh gets Rs. 15 and a labourer working

in a tribal area of Kinnoor gets Rs. 20-25 daily. I say, the prices have gone up now-a-days. Even the position of a Member of Parliament is very bad. You do not pay any salary to them. In some States in India M.L.As get more than what M.Ps. get here. Their economic condition is better than that of ours. Therefore, I feel that the question of economic condition should also be taken up by you properly.

The main problem which is before us today is about the backward class, Harijans and minorities. We all are one. We are concerned about the upliftment of our people. Most of our people are poor. There are some people among Rajputs and Brahmins who are wandering on roads but nobody talks about them, I want to tell you about recruitment in banks. There are recruitment boards for all the banks. Such Harijans are nominated who do not select Harijans saying that they are not competent. I submit that when I.A.S. Officers are selected, why these people are not selected on the posts of peon, clerks, etc. I want to tell you that Air India is a very big public undertaking where there is also a lot of bungling. Here a reference has been made about fake certificates on the basis of which the people get employment and become high officers there. There are many such cases in the notice of the Government of India. We asked for legal opinion of the Department of Law about it, they confirmed that there are such cases. The relevant file of the Department of Law is now before the Parliamentary Committee for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. I want to say that such things are done by those who have their self-interest. Some people say that it is done by politicians who get their own sons appointed. You are aware of the plight of a Member of Parliament. None of their children have any Petrol Pump or any thing else. The entire work is done by them of their own accord. If recommendation is made or any letter is written to a selection board, the Members of the Board say that they do not believe in recommendations. After all, we are elected Members. I want to say that if such a tendency continues, then we will not be able to ensure welfare of our society or a village. If we want to work properly then the request of a public representative, whether

he is an M.L.A. or M.P. should be acceded to. We try to bring the people of our area above the poverty line, if not all but some of them. Some people may be benefitted. I want to say that the aim of our Government is to uplift the backward people of the country and the Government is trying towards that end. For this it is essential that there should be a time-bound programme for completing the reservation quota for the poor people. If you visit an employment exchange, you will find the names of those poor villagers who got themselves registered there 5-7 years ago but so far no interview call letter has been issued to them. Our organised labour is in an advantageous position. They can resort to hunger strikes, raise slogans and their demands met. The Congress party has tried to benefit the poor people of India living below the poverty line by adopting 20 point programme and this is also mentioned in our manifesto but the bureaucrats hatch a conspiracy against us and take a major benefit in the shape of T.A. and D.A. Our people can be benefitted only when M.Ps. and M.L.As. are involved in this work and are given the right to take decisions in this regard. Only then those people can be benefitted. Efforts are made to spread casteism by saying that he should be ameliorated because he belongs to a particular caste. Every thing is done because he is a Rajput and he is a Brahmin. Harijans also belong to many castes and are moved by caste consideration. There are also many castes in tribes but we have not recognised casteism. The Congress party does not believe in casteism. Everybody should do his work according to his belief. This has been done to achieve national unity. The framers of our Constitution had felt that the benefit should reach the poor of the poor and if this benefit does not reach the poor of the poor it is our inefficiency. There is no doubt about it.

Some people remained in power for two and half years and now they are in the process of uniting four parties coming from North, East, West and South and they have no leader. The defectors from this side become their leaders and they want to usher in socialism. I want to know what are their policies? What is their foreign policy; what is their economic policy and how they want to uplift the poor? They

want to mislead the people of India. Their policy should be clear. This policy should clarify how they will ensure welfare of Harijans. This should be included in their manifesto. Will they adopt the manifesto set forth by Kashiram and defeat the Congress by offering some money to him? Formation of such a Government will not serve any purpose. It will be useful if they have a programme which is based on principles. Let us know what programme they have got and how they want to uplift the poor people; how they want to implement their foreign policy; how they want to solve the problems like Ramjanam Bhoomi? What programme they have got to solve them? They have no plans. Noise making does not accomplish any thing.

The proposal which has been presented here clearly indicates that economically backward people should be given reservation. I want to tell you that a provision is already there in Constitution in regard to the reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The State Government should be made responsible to pass on this benefit to the poor people of those Castes and this should be implemented under a time-bound programme. I want to say that backlog exists in almost all the public undertakings. This backlog should be completed and it is good that a provision of 50 per cent reservation is being made. Out of this 50 per cent 25 per cent posts be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe and the remaining 25 per cent for other economically backward people. But I do not agree with the condition of Rs. 500 as income. I do not know whether this will be implemented or not but I want to say that there should be at least a ceiling of Rs. 15 thousand per year so that people can make both ends meet.

17.00 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

I want to say that more and more provision should be made for the weaker section of the people.

Along with this I want to say efforts should be made to dispose of the cases of tribal people and Harijans pending in the courts since long. The Government should see to it that they are finalised as early as

[Shri K. D. Sultanpuri]

possible. There are many cases in the courts about the promotion etc. of these people and are pending since long. The people die but the cases are not decided. Such cases are pending in High Courts and other Courts throughout India. They pray to God about the finalisation of their cases because their plight is worsening due to the same. The Government should see that these cases are decided in accordance with a time-bound programme so that these people may get justice. I want that their cases should be decided with in due course of time.

About the period of ten years, we did get this chance of ten years which is now ending in 1990. God knows what will happen thereafter? The opposition people want to do away with this benefit. But we are fully hopeful that Rajivji would not allow to withdraw this facility. May God grant him long life. We have no fear from Rajivji. If such people who do not want to see Harijans come to power it will be very dangerous. They talk against us much.

I also want to say that the Selection Boards and Public Service Commissions which are constituted, select those who belong to upper classes and urban areas. Poor and the rural children face great difficulty in their selections.

For such children, a separate selection Board should be constituted. In the same way, as a separate system exists for children in rural areas. I feel that a separate Board must be constituted for the selection of tribal and Harijan children so that they are not at a disadvantage when it comes to selection for jobs.

The Government has set up Navodaya Vidyalayas. This is a very good step taken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. If good schools are meant only for bright students, how can weak students compete with bright students. There should be good schools for weak students also so that they are able to study well and come up. Bright students can show a good performance in any school. But we have to turn weak and unintelligent students into brilliant ones. We have to evolve a sound education system for such children of rural areas. Easy

admission to Government schools, exemption from payment of fees and such other facilities will have to be provided to help these children get educated and compete with other children, so that children of Adivasis, Harijans and weaker sections can be brought at par with the rest.

Seats in colleges are filled by dull students while the bright ones do not get an opportunity to get college education. Reforms are needed in the education system. These days, the children of landlords and capitalists manage to get admission to colleges at the cost of other deserving children. The children who really want to study suffer in the process. To put expenditure on University education to proper use, colleges should be brought under the Education Department so that they function properly. Our educational institutions should be run properly and shortcomings wherever found in the system should be removed. I wanted to say something on hilly areas also but time is limited. Schools are to be opened in the remotest corners of hilly areas. One Navodaya School is opened in one district. All public schools should be closed. Two types of education systems exist in our country. One is where students study pure English and the other is where Hindi is studied. The students taught in the latter are called 'Shastris' and looked down upon in the society and the former, the English-speaking class, occupies a higher status. Why should the country produce only lawyers. We should encourage our rural brethren, the people who are really instrumental in taking the country forward. I support this Bill and I feel that there is nothing lacking in it. The Bill says that income should be Rs. 500. I would like this to be increased to Rs. 15,000. The remaining 50% should be open to everyone. With these words, I conclude my speech.

[*Engl. ch*]

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor): Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in the debate on the Bill to provide for reservation of posts in Government services and seats in educational institutions for persons belonging to economically weaker section of people. The Cons-

titation of India has been enacted by the people of India. These five words are like a Bible to the people of the country. It guarantees to the people various things, namely, personal rights, liberty, equality before law, equal opportunity in employment, etc. etc. But I am sorry to say that this Constitution has hopelessly failed to protect the interests of the poor people. I would like you to look at Chapter III of the Constitution which is lenient towards the working class as well as the poor people of the country. It has failed to protect the people. I am citing you an example. It is Constitutionally guaranteed that the working class is to be paid a living wage. Now tell me how many people in the country are getting a living wage. I would say even people working in the industry for eight hours do not get a living wage. More than 33% of the people in the country are living below the poverty line after 40 years of Independence. Seventy three per cent of people are illiterate after 40 years of Independence. This is the taste of freedom that people have got after 40 years of Independence.

No doubt, we have achieved many things but we have also achieved Bofors deal and other things like Rs. 6.5 crore ONGC deal. We should not ignore that. That is why I say the poor people have not got the taste of freedom and the Constitution has failed to protect their life and liberty. Article 21 provides for protection to life and personal liberty. Who are the people who get protection to life and personal liberty? They are rich people, politicians and those who are placed in very high positions. I am sorry to say that the lives and personal liberty of the poor people are not protected.

Article 23 talks about prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour. Now many people in the country are working as bonded labourers. The Government says that bonded labour has been abolished. But it is not so. If you go to remote places in the rural areas, you will find that this system is still going on. On 22nd of this month, I visited Khomta Tea Estate in Gholaghat district of Assam. There I found that 56 young girls, below 10 years of age, were forced to work in the factory. When I tried to find out as to

how many-hours of work they were putting in, I was surprised to know that they worked from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. But what does the law, already passed in this House, say? Why does the law not protect these young children from such torture? Why the benefit is not given to them.

There is a provision for a just and humane conditions of work and maternity benefits under Article 42. The poor people are forced to work even on five rupees a day. They are not given their dues in time. The government machinery is silent about this.

There is a provision in Article 44 for a uniform civil code for citizens. It has hopelessly failed to protect the rights and liberties which have been granted to the people of this country, particularly those belonging to the poor sections of the society and the working classes.

In British days, some people were taken from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh to the State of Assam to engage them in different industries as labourers. Now their population has risen to 50 lakhs. I am very sorry to say that even after 40 years of independence, the percentage of educated people is less than .01 per cent. That is the taste of freedom. So, I support this Bill only partially and not wholly because of the fact that now in the name of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, only those people, who are placed high in the society, are getting all the benefits. The poor people are deprived of the benefits. I will cite an example. Recently, an interview was held by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in Assam for recruitment of an engineer. A boy, named Mohan Lal Teli, we ignored. He is a first-class engineer. Unfortunately he was born in a tea estate. He was not selected because he belonged to a community which has been ignored by other sections of the society. That's why he was not considered. But some candidates, who scored less marks than him, were selected. Is it not unfair? Now, in this country, we, the people of India means the people of this country, not the affluent class, not the bureaucrats alone and not the politicians alone. These words are from the Constitution of this country. This Constitution is the Bible of this country but it has failed to protect the

[Shri Bhadreswar Tanti]

rights of the poor people and the working class. After independence of the country, we have seen two classes of societies. One is the very rich and the other is the poorest of the poor in the country. Rich people are very high and the poor people are going down every day. That is the taste of freedom and the Government has failed in its real perspective to bring the people above the poverty line. The Bill says 'economically weaker section of the people means the class of persons irrespective of the caste whose income from all sources including the income of the family members does not exceed Rs. 500 per mensem.' I do not agree to this system. The privileges and the rights under Article 15 of the Constitution given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should continue. But there should be some reservations, restrictions for misuse of these benefits by the people of those respective sections. Now, who are the beneficiaries particularly under this provision? They are those who are affluent, rich, socially well known and economically sound. They are getting all the benefits. The poor people for whom these benefits are really meant do not get the benefits. In the name of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, all the benefits are being enjoyed by the other people. For example, the LPG connections and petrol pumps which have been reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are being enjoyed by certain privileged categories. What I want to say is that the provisions of the Bill are no doubt good but there should be some restrictions so that the poor people should get equal benefits.

The Constitution gives protection to the minorities. Why do they not provide for some provisions for employment and reservation of seats in educational institutions for the minorities? Why do they not promise or guarantee to the people of this country? All minority people are not rich, all of them are not economically sound. There should be some reservation for them also. Only because of this lacuna, 70 per cent of the people remain illiterate and 33 per cent of the people are living below the poverty line. Unless these things are seen in a microscopic way, the very philosophy of the Prime Minister, *i.e.* the unity and integrity and 'Bekari Hatao' will be jeopardized.

The country cannot progress without improving the conditions of the poor people; without redressing the grievances of the economically weaker sections of the people. If you go to big cities like Delhi, Bombay and other cities, I ask you, where is the place for the poor people to live? They have already been displaced from their places. That is what is happening.

So, the Government must come forward with practical solution, so that the conditions of poor people are properly looked into and then only the country will progress in a big way.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BAPULAL MALVIYA (Shajapur) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me time to speak. I cannot but agree with hon. Shri Mishra so far as his good intentions in introducing this Bill are concerned. But it seems as if this Bill is only good on the surface. In reality, some other objective is sought to be achieved under the cover of this Bill. I am sure the intentions behind the Bill are good. Yet the Bill goes against the protection accorded to Harijans and Adivasis in the Constitution. This Bill does not fulfill those provisions. I fail to understand his objective in presenting this Bill. He says in this Bill that reservation should be done on economic basis. Looking at other reasons on the basis of which reservation is provided to Harijans and Adivasis, we find that the first is poverty and the second is to accord them equal status in society. These are the two main reasons why Harijans and Adivasis have been provided reservation. Adivasis wear loin-cloth, live in jungles and remain secluded from the world around them. Reservation is meant to pull them out of deprivation and bring them into the mainstream of society.

Even 40 years after Independence we have not fulfilled the provisions of reservation. The policies of the Administration may be good but the number of technical hands emerging from these classes is much below the expected number. Posts are lying vacant. No Harijan or Adivasi is available to fill up technical posts. What is the reason behind it? So far as I understand, the reason is lack of encouragement to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That is why they are backward.

People feel bitter about Harijans being given the benefit of reservation. But in reality, Harijans do not get this benefit. The number of admissions is very low. Although the Administration has framed very good policies, but technical personnel coming from these classes are very few. More attention should be given to them so that posts lying vacant could be filled by the candidates belonging to these classes. The Government has clearly laid down that wherever there is reservation for Harijans and Adivasis and posts are vacant in their quota these people should be directly appointed. But what did the concerned officials do? They appointed people from general categories on a daily-wage basis for 90 days. Later on, their appointments were made permanent and what the officials gave in writing was that no Harijan was available. I have seen that although 50 Harijans were available from Employment Exchange and they were either graduates, higher secondary or matriculates, yet the officer gave non-availability of Harijans as the reason for appointing candidates from the general category. The real reason behind it is corruption. We are all aware of the existence of corruption but who is bothered? Corruption, like wind, is not tangible. We can feel it but can not see it. At some places the rate of corruption is upto Rs. 10,000, at others upto Rs. 20,000. Harijans and Adivasis are deliberately denied their rightful dues. The officer simply writes a note that posts be filled by general category candidates because Harijans are not available. Can we ever hope to reach benefits to Harijans with this state of affairs? The Government's policy is to provide employment to Harijans and Adivasis. But Central and State Government officials fail to implement it because of their dubious methods of working. Money is something which can make a person ruin another person's life. It is a kind of disease. Harijans and Adivasis should be directly appointed in the Government service. Reservation quotas should be filled up.

The intention behind this Bill is very good. Now even backward classes will get reservation. They should get this benefit on the basis of their being poor. If reservation is demanded by those who enjoy a high status in society and those who want to maintain prestige, then it will become

very difficult. A beginning should be made from the village level. People possessing 100 acres of land should not be given jobs. Reservation in the true sense is to provide jobs only to those who have only 5 acres of land.

It would be wrong to give jobs to people who already have large businesses. Today jobs are cornered by the rich.

I have seen that today it is the writ of the Finance Minister which influences every sector. Officials of the Administration frustrate the objective of its policies. This aspect has to be looked into. The process should start from the landless. Today people having large areas of land are also employed. This is due to the moneyed class getting jobs on the basis of money power. The poor remain unemployed. In the present scheme of things, the poor will remain below the poverty line because he does not have the money power to get a job. I feel that at least one member of every family should be given a job. One person in every poor family must have a job so that he can maintain the family.

Society consists of a variety of people, rich, businessmen and poor. But I feel that it would not be proper to do away with reservation for Harijans and Adivasis in order to provide them jobs. I have no objection to everyone being given the benefit of reservation. The reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should continue as it is. You may make reservation for everyone, we shall have no objections to that. But it has been seen that obstructions are created in the opportunities for progress of the Harijans and Adivasis. Hon. Shri Ram Nagina Mishra has brought this bill. I do not know as to what is the intention behind the bill, but the provisions made in it are very good. I agree with the point that the economically weaker sections should get priority in matters of employment, but in spite of it all, the reservation provision should remain as it is. 80 per cent of the poor people living in the villages should be allotted land free of cost. This is my request to you.

With this, I conclude. I am grateful to you for having given me the time to make my submission.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the object of the Bill presented in the House is to provide for reservation of posts in Government services and seats in educational institutions for persons belonging to economically weaker sections. This bill has been presented by Shri Ram Nagina Mishra. No doubt, Shri Mishra has conveyed his intention through this bill. I do not want to criticise the Constitution. I cannot understand as to what are the reasons behind these discriminations and reservations when all human beings are equal? What are the reasons behind it? Today slogans for unity are being raised. How can there be unity? We shall have to come together to strengthen its roots. The constitution was framed by our great leaders. That is why, I do not want to go into its criticism. If we are all equal, why this discrimination? I think reservation was introduced for the upliftment of the large number of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who were very backward and to enable them to get their due rights. During these 40 years, they have got the rights which they deserved. But in spite of that many seats are still lying vacant. I would like to know from the Government as to how many judges of the High Court belong to the Scheduled Castes? Even today, these classes are harassed in matters of employment and issue of loans. I regret to say that even the scholarship money meant for the children of these poor people is pocketed by the teachers. In this way the teachers pay little attention towards the children of those poor people.

As my colleague has submitted just now, 80 per cent of our population lives in the rural areas. As regards the condition of education there, you must be aware of it. The teachers only teach for two hours. These teachers live in the villages itself. They attend schools after ploughing 3 bighas of land everyday. The number of students is very large and generally one finds only one teacher in the entire school. You can guess as to what would be the condition in these schools. You stay in the cities, talk about Delhi University. You go to the villages and see the management of education there. In Bihar, there are numerous talented children belonging to the economically weaker sections who are refused admissions.

In this connection, hon. Shri Mishra has stated and I certainly support him that the system of reservation on the basis of caste should remain as it is; but at the same time the children belonging to the weaker sections irrespective of the community they belong to, should also be given an opportunity for upliftment. But they are deprived of these benefits. The minorities should also be included in it. Have we not fought for the freedom of the country? Was there any question of minority community then? What are the consequences of having neglected the minorities? What has been the result? Have we not participated in the freedom struggle? The minorities are not included in the benefits, the Christians are also a minority community. There are little facilities available for us. Our children are getting education and are capable but they are deprived of opportunities. I do not mean that you should do away with the policy of reservation. You have been providing for reservation for 40 years and there is no harm in continuing it. They have their rights and the reservation policy should be implemented properly. Along with it, as hon. Shri Mishra has submitted, and rightly so, that the economically weaker sections of the society irrespective of the caste they belong to, should get these facilities in the Government Services and in education. I support this bill and the spirit behind it and I am certainly not opposed to it as some hon. Members of the Scheduled Castes present here might be thinking. In fact, injustice is being done to them.

Malviyaji, do not take it otherwise, but I must say that even among Scheduled Castes, a particular section dominates. The others, for example the sweepers, the washermen are totally deprived of the benefits and, as a result, they are nowhere seen in the services. Jatavs should not feel offended, but it is true that in spite of their belonging to the same caste, only a certain section dominates and corners all the benefits. The officers belong to their group and they are selected and other Schedule Caste candidates are deprived of it. The reservation facility is for the Scheduled Castes as well as the Scheduled Tribes. What is the percentage of reservation for Scheduled Tribes? How many people have been taken in this quota, and

how many of them are there on the basis of forged certificates? Therefore, I want to submit that the provision for reservation is all right and should continue but at the same time, as hon. Shri Mishra has also stated, economically weaker sections of society should be provided with all sorts of opportunities. The children should also get the opportunity to compete in the examinations get proper educations and every sort of facility should be made available to them. Sir, you should also consider inclusion, of minorities for these facilities, ultimately, you will have to do it.

[English]

You have to consider the cases of minorities also.

[Translation]

Government will have to consider the case of the minorities. We do not have any quota, any reservation. Do we not live in this country? Have we not participated in the freedom? Do we not have any right in this regard? It is all right that you provided for reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

[English]

Why not Muslims, Christians and other communities which come under this category?

[Translation]

Without saying anything further. I want to submit only this much that the intention behind what hon. Shri Mishra has submitted is not as hon. Shri Malaviya has stated that it is like killing two birds with one stone. He has only expressed his opinion that the economically weaker sections irrespective of their caste, should also get opportunities for their upliftment.

I thank the Hon. Chairman for having given me time to speak. With these words, I concluded my speech.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a very large section of society which has been economically and socially exploited for years is called the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The reservation issue does not merely concern the framing of the respective law. It involves the thinking of years and includes the age-

old views of our great men. All great men, in whatever era they might have born, have said that the backward sections of every society which are suppressed in the name of caste or group should be uplifted. Until we lift them up, we cannot have equality in society. The resentment prevailing in the society cannot be quietened. It is for this reason that during the Independence struggle, our freedom fighters, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said that Harijans and Girijans would be given maximum importance in free India and the point of view of the congress has always been the same and it has always lent strong support to the cause of Harijans and Girijans and it continue to do so even today. Recently, when the period of reservation was about to expire, the question of extending it further was raised and our party took this issue up in the House strongly. The period was extended and even today we feel that the reservation policy should be strictly implemented. I am happy to submit that our Government has implemented it strictly at all levels. However, it does not mean that there are no shortcomings anywhere. There can be shortcomings at different levels. India is such a vast country. In a vast country like India, Harijans and Girijans have been given reservation. It is also not necessary that the entire machinery should stand with the same point of view and the commitment of the Government with which the Congress Party is standing. It is possible that there might be a number of bureaucrats who might be influenced by the common mentality of our society and might not be implementing the reservation policy strictly. But this does not mean that the Government is not determined to implement its policy effectively.

I would like to point out to the hon. Minister that the question of reservation is raised here and through newspapers quite frequently saying that the posts reserved in various services like I.A.S., I.P.S., etc. are not being filled properly. I feel that it is our own misfortune but the Government must clarify as to what the factual position is? It is extremely essential to clarify whether the State Governments are following the reservation rules and whether the Central Government is providing adequate reservation at all levels.

[Shri Harish Rawat]

So far as this Bill is concerned, I do not feel that its aim is to stop the reservation for Harijans and Girijans. This thing has not been mentioned anywhere in the Bill, nor can Shri Ram Nagina Mishra say so since he is a faithful worker of the Congress Party which is committed to the policy of reservation. Its worker, therefore, cannot go against it. The object of this Bill is to uplift those poor, suppressed and down-trodden people, who are found in every caste, whose economic condition is so weak that they can be compared to Harijans and Girijans and cannot, therefore, utilise the facilities available to them in the society. There are thousands of such brahmin children and those belonging to caste Hindus who are unable to pursue their studies, who have no means to wear good clothes and are deprived of the facilities due to poverty. After all it is the responsibility of the Government, the Parliament and the society to uplift them. I feel that this Bill has been brought keeping this point in view. Therefore there is no need to form an impression that reservation or the policy of the Government is being abandoned through this Bill. At no point does this Bill give such an impression. This Bill aims at trying to draw our attention towards the poor section which is found in every caste. I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister as to why we cannot give preference in the matter of admission to schools to those who have been deemed to be below the poverty line, irrespective of their being Muslims, Christians or Hindus, when we can provide reservation facility to Harijans and Girijans. If we give them preference, it will surely create confidence in them and there is not only a need to give them preference but also to provide financial assistance to them and the Government must step ahead to do the same. I feel that if this is the aim of this Bill, then the Government should not face any problem in achieving it. There can be various areas in which we can help the poor people. The Government has launched various schemes which aim at helping the poor people but what is seen is that instead of the poor people getting any benefit, it is the prosperous and economically advanced person who gets the benefit. Just now my

colleague was saying that the quota for Harijans in the distribution of petrol pumps and gas agencies is fixed. But who is getting the benefit of that quota? It is the one who is already a rich trader and who gets the agency under a fake name. Similarly the Government has started a scheme for giving loans through the banks to the poor and unemployed persons to enable them to start their own business. But even in this case also, the beneficiaries are those who are already in business. Such people are adding to their wealth by getting loans from the banks in the name of their children, relatives etc. and those who genuinely need money are unable to get it. I would like to submit to the hon. Home Minister that there is a need to look into such areas and to make efforts to complete the quota reserved for Harijans, Girijans and others who are living below the poverty line and then, thereafter, there will be no scope for any feeling of jealousy developing in various sections. On the contrary it will rather bridge the gulf caused in our heart due to the fact that some people are given reservation on the basis of a caste. For this, the Planning Commission, the Banks and the Ministry of Finance can be consulted and a solution found.

The hon. Prime Minister had recently presented a resolution before the country in Madras that we have to solve the problem of unemployment and I feel that if we take the people of the poor section with us in the direction of solving the problem of unemployment and say something to that effect, then we will be carrying out that resolution which the hon. Prime Minister has brought before the nation.

With these words, while welcoming the intention of this Bill I would only like to request that there should be no such feeling that we are trying to reduce the existing facilities available to any particular caste or community. We are rather trying to see that the reservation policy is implemented vigorously and effectively and at the same time due attention is paid to the section which is equally poor like Harijans and Girijans.

*SHRI MAURICE KUJUR (Sundargarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Oriya.

a few words on the Bill moved on this House by Shri Ram Nagina Mishra. The Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste people are the most neglected and backward section of our society. They remained neglected and backward during the preindependence days. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation saw their plight. He felt that the standard of living of these people should be raised. Therefore, he took keen interest in helping them in every sphere of life. Then the country got freedom and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was made the first Prime Minister of India. Pt. Nehru felt the need to help these people. Then it was decided that reservation facility be provided for them. The Constitution was amended with the provisions for reservation of seats in Educational Institutions and in services. This was done, because Jawahar Lal Nehru wanted to raise the status of SC and ST at par with the upper caste people. Smt. Indira Gandhi was just like the mother of SC and ST. When she became Prime Minister, she laid much emphasis on the upliftment of SC and ST. She laid stress on translating the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru into practice. When reservation facility was going to be discontinued, Smt. Indira Gandhi made immediate effort to restore it. Due to her effort we are still enjoying that facility. Like Smt. Gandhi, our present dynamic youth Prime-Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi is very sincerely trying his best for the arround development of SC and ST. While visiting different states, he enters the small huts of the poor SC and ST. He enquires about their well-being. He has full sympathy for these neglected people.

Sir, while speaking on this Bill, we are discussing the reservation policy. We know why the provision for reservation has been made. Now, we have to review the present condition of SC and ST and see whether they have been benefitted all these years. How far the reservation facility is fruitful for them? Forty years have passed since independence. Has the standard of living of these people improved? Have they received proper education which was necessary for them? What are the facilities being made available to them on the field of education all these years? We have to make a detail review of these aspects. In my opinion, a lot of improvement has been made in the field of education. Certain benefits have

been given to them. But their condition has not improved in all spheres as it was expected. The real benefit has not reached them. Therefore, now we have to find out the reasons why they could not make progress upto desired level. What are the lapses in our reservation policy? I think there is nothing wrong in our reservation policy. Fund is being provided under different scheme sponsored by the Centre for the upliftment of SC and ST. But the fund is being misused or misappropriated. The entire allocation is not being spent for them. There is nothing wrong in the programme, but there is lack of sincerity among the officials who are incharge of implementing various programmes pertaining to the welfare of SC and ST. So, we have to identify the lapses. We have to identify the dishonest officials and take action against them. We have to plug the loopholes in the implementation of the policy and programmes introduced with a view to bring the SC and ST people at par with other section of the society.

Sir, it is said here that benefit is being provided to SC and ST in service matter. Posts are reserved for them. Have all the posts reserved for them been filled? How many SC and ST candidates are getting into I.A.S. and other allied cadres services? We have to make a correct review of all these things.

Sir, the Adivasis are worst sufferer. You go to the remote areas, you will find the Adivasis. You go to mines, you will find them struggling hard to earn their daily bread. They are extracting minerals and engaged in loading and transporting activities. They are breaking stones and doing hard manual labour. They are exposed to sun and showers. If you go to a factory, you will see Adivasis working near a blast furnace. You can not stand up there for a minute but that is their place of work. It is so hot that you will feel as if your body is burning. But the Adivasis bear all the trouble. They continue to work there. They do not care for the health hazardous atmosphere. But you will not find them in air-conditioned offices. Therefore, we have to think of the working conditions of the poor Adivasis and Harijan workers. We have to think about their welfare. As I have stated earlier there is nothing wrong on our policy and programmes. But the machinery involv-

[Shri Maurice Kujur]

ed in implementing the programmes should change their attitude towards SC and ST. They should implement the programmes sincerely and wholeheartedly. Then only the programmes will be implemented successfully and the real benefit will reach to SC and ST.

I am reminded of an Urdu couplet : I would not speak out that couplet but will speak about the grievance of every Adivasi and Girijan :

“Kisse kahun apna koi is
kabil nahin

Yahan pathar bahut milta hai
par dil nahin.”

The purpose of my saying so is that the entire machinery involved in the implementation of tribal and Harijan Welfare Programmes should be reactivated. Those who are at the helm of affairs and implementing the reservation policy should have soft corners for the SC & ST. They should be given their due share. They do not want anything more. Then they will improve their standard of living and they will be at par with other sections of the society. The main thing is devotion and sincerity. The programme should be implemented the way the father of the Nation and Pt. Nehru wanted it to be implemented. It should be implemented with the devotion shown by Smt. Indira Gandhi and the sincerity shown by our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. If we think about the upliftment of SC & ST on the same way with that much devotion, then only they will derive benefit out of those programmes as well as reservation policy. They will make progress in the field of education. Their standard of living will improve.

Sir, I do not wish to say more about the Bill. If any Bill is brought before the House with a view to discontinue the reservation facility, I will say that the mover has no sympathy towards SC & ST. But I think that this Bill does not seek to discontinue the reservation policy. The mover of the motion perhaps does not have that intention. But he has demanded in the House for the reservation of seats in services

and educational institutions for economically weaker sections of the society. Sir, some schemes have been sponsored by the Central Government as well as the State Governments for the welfare of economically weaker section of the society. The economically poor people should be identified. The development schemes which are already there should be implemented for them. Then they will be able to become equal with other people in the society. When there are already ways to raise their standard of living, then where is the need to provide reservation for them in services as in the Educational Institutions ?

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

*SHRI A.J.V.B. MAHESWARA RAO (Amalapuram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Ram Nagina Mishra has introduced this Bill to provide for reservation of posts in Government services and seats in Educational Institutions for persons belonging to economically weaker sections with a good intention. The noble objective of our constitution is also to establish a socialistic pattern of society in our country. The establishment of a socialistic pattern of society was the cherished dream of the founding fathers of our Constitution. They thought of establishing a society where everyone living in this noble land of ours can enjoy equal status in all respects. They thought of a society where no man will suffer any sort of discrimination whatsoever. The Constitution was drafted in such a way as to realise the dreams of Bapuji, the father of our nation. Mahatma Gandhi dreamt of Ram Rajya. Shri Baba Saheb Ambedkar dreamt of a socialistic society where even a person belonging to a lower than the lowest strata of society enjoyed rights equal to those who belong to the uppermost stratum. But, in spite of having such a noble constitution to guide us, we are still far far away from that cherished goal even after striving for 40 years. These forty years of independence could not narrow down the various differences that are existing in our society. Certain sections of our society which were

neglected and humiliated throughout the centuries continue to groan under the weight of humiliation and maltreatment. The reservation facility was provided to SC and ST persons so that they can come on par with others. That was the intention why the reservation facility was provided to SC and ST under the Constitution. Initially the reservation was provided only for a period of 10 years. But later, experience has shown us that it was too brief a period to correct the existing imbalance. Hence the facility was extended time and again to provide these hapless brothers in our society to come up and occupy a respectable position in the society. But, as the misfortune would have it, the implementation of the reservation policy was so hopeless that there is hardly any change in their condition even after enjoying this facility for the last forty years. When we could not fulfil our commitment to SC and ST, a new section in our society is being sought to be created by the Bill. Hence, I do not feel it proper to ask for the reservation facility for economically weaker sections. The time is not ripe as yet. Sir, I do sympathise with the cause. Hunger is hunger whether one is born in a Brahmin family or in a Harijan

family. Hunger knows no caste or community barriers. But what I say is that a Harijan suffers humiliation coupled with hunger. Hence, in the case of Harijans the suffering is much more painful. These sections need our immediate attention. So, it is better if we fulfil our commitment towards these people before taking up the cause of economically weaker sections. The Constitution has already provided for reservation facility for the emancipation of SC and ST. Yet, we could not do justice to them. In no Department of the Government, the reservation policy was implemented strictly.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Maheswara Rao, you may continue your speech next time. Now, the House stands adjourned.

18.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till
Eleven of the Clock on Monday,
August 1, 1988/Sravana
10, 1910 (Saka)*