

15.30 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: STEPS TO PREVENT ATROCITIES ON SC/ST-Contd.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Satya Deo Singh, you may continue the speech.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH (Balrampur): First of all I would like to regret that during the presentation of such an important Resolution in the House, which is concerned with the poor and the women, no Minister from the Ministry of Home Affairs is present here. However, technically there are few Ministers here.

SHRI UMRAO SINGH (Jalandhar): There are four Ministers.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: The presence of four Minister will not serve any good. Sir, the issue is related to you. Why are you opposing it? Sir, when I had put forth this important Resolution before the august House on the 16th December, the objective was the same. Particularly in Uttar Pradesh a state ruled by S.P. and B.S.P. the poor, downtrodden and women are being persecuted in a well-planned manner now-a-days. Political reasons are behind their prosecution while this Government claims itself to be the Government of the dalits. I hail from Uttar Pradesh, therefore, I feel thoroughly ashamed. The Harijan women are not only being persecuted and raped but the cases of being meted out inhuman treatment are also increasing. Sir, Gory incidents are occurring but the Union Government is not fulfilling its responsibility. The Government in the State is not being run in accordance with the Constitution and it has no inkling of change in its treatment in coming time. Sir why such things are happening in Uttar Pradesh in such a manner? It is the biggest house of democracy. We, all, take oath of the Constitution here and swear that we will perform our task in such a manner that India regains its past glory and we can claim in the world with honour that the citizens of our country are not being discriminated on the basis of religion, sex, provinces, urban and rural areas and all have equal rights in a democracy.

But Mr. Speaker, Sir, we do not follow the principle of equality, honestly. Our words can be good, our sentiments can be acrimonious to express in the House but when the question of its implementation comes up, the things are altogether different.

What is the reason for all? The reason is that the so called elected. Government there, which could not get majority in the 1993 election, in which there was an alliance between two people and on account of this unholy alliance nothing is being done in Uttar Pradesh. The Congress party has played the role of a priest in this illegal marriage. Therefore, Sir, this Government too cannot run away from its responsibility. Sir, we have formulated some policies to run the democracy. Nobody has put pressure on us. Our founding fathers had worked hard to frame our Constitution. Soon as the new Government of Uttar Pradesh started its session on 16th December to have a control on the Legislature and to implement its jungle law on the press, the important part of the Constitution was attacked. The hon. Members of the Legislative Assembly were beaten up. They gave a message that anyone, who

would oppose them or their misdeeds and who would be an obstacle in their way, even if he is in the House, is not safe. Sir, they have stood by their assurance and are doing so with full responsibility.

The second important pillar is bureaucracy. It has its own importance in democracy. The importance of bureaucracy is that the decisions taken in the democratic set up should be implemented lawfully, as per the wishes of the people, independently, and without any fear. The IAS and IPS have been given protection under the Constitution so that they can work independently. But it has also been attacked. The bureaucracy of Uttar Pradesh has been made worse than slaves on the basis of caste. None of the officers of Uttar Pradesh has the backbone. They are so much helpless and have stooped so low that I can cite various examples of this kind. The second most important pillar which was responsible to run the democracy smoothly has been destroyed in a planned way in Uttar Pradesh.

Press is the third pillar of democracy. Journalism should be impartial and independent. It has no limits. If we try to mould it in our favour than, the press will not be able to work honestly. It is the duty of the press that it should praise the good works of the politicians being done in and outside the House and the deeds which are against the policy should be criticised. Today it is not being allowed to do so. Halla Bol programme is being launched in Uttar Pradesh. Its first victim were two newspapers, which did not try to put certain on their misdeeds. Later on they left one newspaper, the Dainik Jagran, as if Ayatullah Khumaini had withdrawn his fatwah but the Amar Ujala was not left. The newspaper packs, hawkers and journalists of this newspapers are being attacked. The S.P. and B.S.P. there do not have the mandate to transgress with the Constitutional rights of the people and torture them. Nowhere you will find such example that under the protection of the Government such a cowardness is being shown in Uttar Pradesh.

The most important pillar of democracy is the judiciary, it has also not been left. Whatever law is made here, can be reviewed once in the Supreme Court and the High Court and it was the intention of our Constitution but it is being attacked today. A Government sponsored bandh was observed on 13th December. No party opposes the Mandal Commission. All the parties support it. Bhartiya Janta Party also supports it. It was Opposed at first in 1985 by that party only. Then why a Government sponsored bandh was observed on 13th December, such a step was taken to threaten the judiciary, the fourth pillar of democracy Allahabad High Court was attacked. It was done under Government protection in the leadership of a CO. The main target of it was to bring dictatorship in Uttar Pradesh. Perhaps the Government there has forgotten the period during 1975 to 1977 when an effort was made to impose dictatorship on this country. At that time also the people of this country did not tolerate that I do not understand that

the political stature of the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has grown up so much that he can compare himself with the former Prime Minister of the country and can work as much as she did, but he is heading towards this direction only. I am diverting from my subject and I am very sorry to say that the hon. President is not being thanked here and the Government function is being done. Do we want to convey it to the hon. President that we have been so much ungrateful that we are unable to thank him.

This President's Address is not his own but it is of the Government itself. It is a citation, which the hon. President has read out among us. You are denying to appreciate it. The same sort of a misdeed was done in the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh. I would like to inform you, what sort of atrocities were done to muster support. In Shahganj, district Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh there is a G.R.P. post. Two persons quarrelled with each other in a passenger train. One of them was the nephew of the Member of Legislative Assembly from Samajwadi Party. When the G.R.P. people arrested them on the charge of quarrelling then the Member of the Legislative Assembly reached the police station with his retinue. You will be surprised that the terrorists might have been killed in Punjab by police but in the history of our country, the incident of attack took place for the first time under the protection of the Government. The M.L.A. reaches there with his goondas and a constable is killed then and there and the other one dies in the Benaras Medical College. The hon. Chief Minister reaches the House with him while the Governor is Addressing the House and gives him a seat near himself and after conducting a CID enquiry he is free. In this way a murderer enters the House with the Chief Minister. It is not merely a question of giving protection to a murderer but it is a good example of deteriorated psychosis. They want to convey a message to the whole State that the result of protesting against them will be like this and they can go to any extent. A number of people were killed during Panchayat elections in Andhra Pradesh. The elections are likely to be conducted in Uttar Pradesh. The present Government is going to issue an order that the commandos provided to all the M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s should be withdrawn. Weapons are being seized but the goondas will work under the police protection with the B.S.P.-SP. This is the law and order position there.

Sir, I had thought after raising the issue in the House last time that the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Members of Congress party and Shri Sultanpuriji would at least make such arrangements that in future the atrocities on the Harijans would not be committed but on 15th December in Baver thana in district Banda, which is the adjoining district of our hon. Chief Minister.

15.40 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SANTOSH CHOWDHARY *in the Chair*]

Kamla Tojan was coming after selling the cane buckets. She was caught. She was raped 5th time. She was a widow and her husband had died 8 years back due to T.B. and she was having three small children. When she reached the police station to lodge the complaint, it was

not lodged and the S.H.O. asked her that she often came to lodge the report, what difference it makes if someone has teased? When she reaches Banda headquarters, her report is lodged. On the same night, the rapists put the gun in her mouth and shot her dead. The goondas there have created such a terror that they catch anyone, rape her and both, the police administration and the Chief Minister are busy in protecting them.

Sir, you might have read the news in the Dainik Jagran three days back. It is very shameful that a sister is made naked before the real brother and they themselves become naked. The lady is beaten up and asked to dance and she is raped before her brother, can you imagine this incident? Can there be more dishonour than this? The same is done since she is down trodden, poor and she can not raise her voice. Had that brother some power, he could not have tolerated all this. 13 crore people were killed in Mahabharat also. Therefore, I urge upon the Government that if it does not have a check then Mahabharat will not be here in the House but on the roads and dishonour will not be tolerated and what more should I tell you?

Just now the hon. Member Dr. Parshuram Gangwar was narrating the incident of 28th February in which a 8-10 years old girl was picked up from the doorsteps of a sugar mill at Majhola in his constituency and she was gangraped.

[English]

SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA (Keonjhar): Madam, Chairman, what is the time allotted for each Member?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. You will certainly get time.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH (Balrampur): I would like to make a submission that it is a sensitive issue and time for the House should be extended. It is not an ordinary issue. It is a question of human behaviour, self respect and security of poor. Such incidents are stigmatizing the image of the country. All the Members will get chance to express their views if time of the House is extended.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is time.

[English]

I will certainly extend the time.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Dr. Parshuram had told that two women, 20 years old Munni Devi and Ramkumari belonging to dalit class were raped at Barkhera Kata village which falls under Devaria police station in Pilibhit district. They were not raped by any miscreants but a sub-inspector and two policemen of that police station perpetrated rape and the victims got no justice because the Government and the whole administration is trying to save those guilty officials. Earlier also this issue was raised here. On 2nd October, on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti, in 200 buses, people of Utranchal started for Delhi after seeking permission from the Government to raise the demand for separate Uttarakhnad state. The Government had allowed them to organise a rally and issued permits to 200 buses. People from eight districts of Utranchal took part in it. They were stopped at Rampur Tiraha crossing. At that time this constitutional issue was raised and we demanded for dissolving the Government of Uttar Pradesh. A team of the National Commission for women also went thereto inquire into the matter. A delegation of MPs also went there, a half hearted report was given on the incident at that time. You must have read the interim report given by CBI in High Court. They will give their final report upto 31st March. It has admitted that rape was perpetrated against seven women, 17 were the victims of their atrocities and false allegations under Arms Act were levelled against other persons, who were going to take part in the rally. I am not saying it on my own but this is the version of the highest Enquiry Agency of the Government of India which is trusted by all. The lawyer of C.B.I., Shri Choube asked for more time, as they were working in a difficult situation. It is really a blow on the democratic system that agency like CBI has to make request in High Court for not publishing the report given by it, as that will pose a danger to the lives of their witnesses. In democratic system criminals can get protection from the Government but how administration under an elected Government can prepare scheme to murder the witnesses who helped in unearthing a crime. The administration of that area can do this work? This is enough to prove that there is no law and order in Uttar Pradesh. The Administration is not working in accordance with the Constitution.

You often readily apply section 356 in such cases, especially when BJP Government is involved. But what is happening today? You are calculating to get some seats in Uttar Pradesh. Today 5 members from your party had been elected but if the same situation will prevail further you will not get even 4 members elected who stand by you in your adversity. You can keep on supporting that Government and public will question you for it. We will also tell about our work but you have to be answerable for misdeeds of this Government, whom you are supporting...(Interruptions)

Sir, who is being harassed the most under the rule of this Government which claims to be messial of weaker section. Which claims to represent poor. Women and dalits are being oppressed the most and if you permit me I would like to read out the names of some officials.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are a senior member and know that there is no need to utter the names of any officials.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Madam, this is not only a point to be debated but an introspection is needed in this regard as to whether we are going to take any steps or only debate on this issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This matter will be inquired threadfare but do not utter any name.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: I do not name those officials, but can tell their designation. IG Allahabad has been suspended.

[English]

IG, Baraily is under intensive investigation for the charges levelled against him by his own inspector in the thana."

[Translation]

DIG, Allahabad died of tension and an other DIG committed suicide. The third DIG was arrested by Lucknow police under the section 107 and 117. He is serving DIG, his photograph was published in all the newspapers while he was taken to Hajratganj Police Station in a police patrolling vehicle. Former D.M., Allahabad who is an IAS was suspended. People who attacked Allahabad High Court have been saved. Another SSP, Aligarh was suspended for a rape incident in a brick kiln in which people from ruling party were involved. This all is happening under the Government of dalits and it is the condition of IAS, IPS officials you can very well imagine the condition of other junior officials. No one dares to stop the increasing crimes in the state. Today that member from Bihar is also not present who speaks very loudly. He may be busy in Bihar because through elections Public is evaluating there performance in the last five years. I feel that number of murders in Bihar is more than the number of people killed in Punjab. This all is running our image. It is a country of Sati Savitri, Sati Madalasa and Queen of Jhansi Lakshmibai. Women are worshipped in our country but today police is perpetrating rape against them in police stations, the protector of administration are perpetrating rape for political reasons and in a planned way. If it is the way of democratic system then I feel that such type of democratic system will not go for a long time.

We always mention Mandal Commission but I would like to know whether SC/ST quota has been filled up. The Government decides the quota but they are not given employment you have been unsuccessful in providing important posts to them, where they can see their welfare. This is the reason for increasing atrocities against poor. Today all the districts in Uttar Pradesh have 'Harijan cells'

at a level of DIG, and IG. This cell is also set up in the office of DG who is the highest official in police. Statistics are being collected but statistics are useless because these cannot feed and provide relief to the poor and downtrodden. In the same way our Law and order system also have so many lacunae when any case of rape is taken to court, the victim is inquired by the lawyer in a humiliating manner. CRPC and IPC have also been set up. But collecting statistics cannot curb the atrocities against harijans.

Hon. Welfare Minister is also present. I feel that Shri Sitaramji has not been able to do much in this regard but I hope that you will do it.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF WELFARE (SHRI K.V. THANGKA BALU): You are always thinking of 'Ram' only.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: You have got both 'Sita' and 'Ram' in your Ministry. Why are you afraid of Sita Ram?

[Translation]

In reply to the question No. 382 of 8th December, 1994, Welfare Minister gave a detailed reply and tried to tell the world that he is much worried about the incidents of atrocities against harijans. I would like to read out this reply given by him.

[English]

I quote the reply to a question of a Member by the most honourable and most distinguished Welfare Minister of India. He says:

"Steps taken to curb atrocities on SCs and STs include the following:

(i) The States are released every year Central assistance at 50:50 basis and to the Union Territory Administrations hundred per cent for implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 under a Centrally Sponsored Programme.

During 1994-95, against a provision of Rs. 600 lakhs, an amount of Rs. 142 lakhs has been released till date.

Sir, the Mulayam Singh Government is taking recourse to same thing. The price for getting one's limbs broken is fixed at Rs. 10,000. The compensation rate for a victim of rape is Rs. 50,000. You earmarked Rs. six crore and allocated Rs. 1.25 crore. Nobody demanded this sum from you or the frequency and intensity of rape cases is not such as would necessitate disbursement of full amount. This question has to be looked from another angle. It is to be seen as to how can this persecution be alleviated. In order to salvage the people from this persecution, we shall have to make realistic amendments in our law. We shall have to make a twin attack on this social evil. You claim that you have been making amendments but you have made laws on papers alone with regard to the atrocities on

women and 'Dalits' which are misused. They are being trapped in a web of political craft and they are not getting the benefits they should really get.

The National Commission for Women should not be turned into a decorative bouquet but be given some powers. People should visit the spots of incidents and the victims should be given protection. The force you had to deploy in Uttar Pradesh was more than the cumulative strength of C.R.P.F. forces deputed to Bihar for election purposes. There is the Dowry Prevention Act, 1961—somebody's daughter, somebody's sister is burnt alive, but may be the people who commit such gruesome offences are least concerned about their daughters-in-law.

[English]

Dowry Prevention Act, 1961 should be suitably amended so that it gets some teeth.

[Translation]

The Government has many times amended the Cr.P.C. and the Indian Penal Code. The Evidence Act is all right but it should contain separate provisions for such offences. You should look into that also. The significant factor is the intention of the Government. There exists the Sati Prevention Act and yet sati is practised and the widows are shown the pyre—Sati might have once been the need of the hour. The women whose men had gone to the war resorted to this practice to save themselves from any physical assaults. Those days are gone now. Today, in this age of democracy, when we are heading towards 21st century, in a country like India, which is considered and seen as a country of civilized people, having the highly proclaimed Ganga-Yamuna culture, which we refer as a land of Gods and goddesses, of which we make tall claims of ideals, principles, character and culture and brotherhood, which has given many messages to the world; if in that country the women are subjected to 20th century like persecutions and this House, reflective of 90 crore population, shreds its responsibility by saying that this is a matter related to the State Government, then why did you make laws and set up commissions for Harijans separately? If this is not your responsibility, then there is no fun in conducting this debate. We should rise above party affiliations. This is not a question of the Government and the opposition but one of our prestige, of India's honour, of our character and a question of the message it gives to the world. We are not living in stone age, we are heading towards 21st century, we are talking of making cryogenic engines but even today, women are forced to dance naked and no FIR is lodged in the police station. In front of her father, her brother, a woman is raped, not in the darkness of night but in broad day light as if a scene of 'Sholey' were being shot. If this trend continues, then, I understand that the day of doom is not far away for this country.

16.00 hrs.

You are abetting anarchy and at the same time constitutionalising it, but at least you should make some

sincere efforts for these Dalits, these women in whose name you have been getting votes for the last 45 years.

With these words, I thank you for giving me time.

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Madam, Chairperson, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my feelings, my views and my agony with the mover of this Resolution, hon. Satya Deo Singhji. In fact, I thank Shri Satya Deo Singh for having brought forward this Resolution for consideration of this august House. There is nothing to oppose on a subject of this nature. It is a matter of disgrace and shame that atrocities are being perpetrated, on the weaker sections, viz., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others and in some cases on minority communities also and they are increasing. It is not a good commentary on our way of life in the country. Anybody's head will simply hang in shame for in an independent country like ours, with a rich cultural heritage, with a very civilised background, *Dalits* do not feel secured in some areas. Today's track record shows this. We just cannot think of such a situation. Their plight has been narrated by the hon. mover, Shri Satya Deo Singh. We cannot think of such things happening in a civilised country. It gives an indication that these are all symptoms of a barbarous way of life. To speak the least, it can happen only in a barbarous society. To take effective steps, to curb these things, and to prevent their recurrence is very important.

Madam, as you know, we are a Republic. We have our Constitution which is unique in the world and it is a very long document with everything provided in clear terms in it. Article 21 of our Constitution guarantees protection of life and personal liberty of every person in the country. It enshrines the right to live with human dignity, a precious right to which every human being is entitled to.

This has also been upheld by the Supreme Court. In a fourteen page verdict on 10th February, the Apex Court has ruled that those who have for centuries been denied their rights need the protection more.

Sir, our society is not a balanced one. It is very uneven. There are so many imbalances due to groupism based on caste, community, religion and so on. Hatred is intentionally preached and encouraged deliberately by vested interests. There are certain religious groups which practise discrimination. One or two years ago, one of the Sankaracharyas propagated that women should not read *Vedas*. So, in a country of our dimensions and complexities, with full of contradictory things going on, everything and anything is possible. That is the root-cause of the imbalance in our society. And it is but natural that in such a society, the weaker sections and the downtrodden need more protection.

As our is a federal structure, Governments both at the Centre and States are responsible for providing such protection. But the maintenance of law and order being a State subject, this protection part is more enjoined on the States. The Centre should, of course, create the situation and assure the States all the necessary help. But at the

ground level, protection and law and order measures have got to be implemented and guaranteed effectively by the State Administration only.

Madam, we are proud of our judiciary. At the same time, we must also admit that there is an erosion of values which is going on constantly in different spheres and the judiciary is also not free from it. Still, our judiciary conducts itself very well and it deserves the highest respect. In this respect, I would like to draw a particular reference. After committing atrocities against the Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections, the culprits immediately approach the courts for anticipatory bail. It appears that this sort of anticipatory bail has been granted in Madhya Pradesh. But, the Government of Madhya Pradesh appealed to the Supreme Court requesting that such anticipatory bail should not be granted in this sort of cases. Our Apex Court has ruled that in such cases anticipatory bail for offences relating to untouchability etc., should never be granted. In my view, this is a landmark judgment. I see a ray of light and I am convinced that not everything is wrong in this country. There is always a silver lining behind the dark clouds. And this is one such example. The Supreme Court ways very categorically that anticipatory bail cannot be granted for such offences.

Evils such as untouchability and atrocities against the downtrodden can be curbed completely only when there is a mass movement in the society. It is natural that there is always a tendency among the privileged people to ensure that they enjoy the privileges for ever and sometimes even at the cost of others.

Therefore, a sense of sacrifice and oneness has to be inculcated among the people.

Madam, we have to go into the main reasons for the atrocities. There are several factors. One of the reasons is—caste prejudice and untouchability. Even in some of our *Shastras* and the Epics, contradictory views have been expressed about castes. Our *Shastras* and the Epics are not unequivocal or uniform on everything.

Indebtedness is another reason. Poverty and economic conditions play an important role. The incidence of atrocities is less amongst the *Dalits*, Scheduled Castes, *Harijans* who are educated and rich.

Madam, our is a materialistic society. Those who have money—he might be a *Harijan* or a Mohamadean or might be anybody else—have some advantages over others, over the poor people of their own community. Education puts them on a higher platform in the society. If a *Harijan* gets good education and he qualifies in the Civil Services and becomes a Collector, he could even engage the best of *Brahmin* as his cook. Is it not happening in our country? Education and such positions make all the difference. Therefore, poverty is one of the important factors.

Madam, alienation of land is another major cause. I have my experiences during the days of the Emergency. I was then holding the Revenue portfolio in Orissa. We vigorously implemented land ceiling laws. About one lakh acres of land was found ceiling surplus? Distribution of

wasteland is another thing. It is very simple. Not a blade of grass grows in those lands. Distribution of such lands is done only for the sake of record purposes. But then, there is a ceiling on the surplus land. It is known that for an inch of land, even brothers do not mind fighting fierce battles between themselves which sometime even claim lives.

Madam, the famous historical battle of Mahabharata began because the Pandavas were denied five villages by the Kauravas. The Kauravas said, 'not an inch of land without war'. So, this alienation of land, this lust for land among the landed people, the aristocrats etc. creates problem.

Madam, I agree that we in this House have to fight against any kind of backwardness and will have to strive for a balanced society in this country come what may. But I am pained to make one observation that more than the higher castes people, it is the people belonging to the OBCs who are exploiting the Harijans in this heartland of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Is it not happening?

To get some political advantage, people try to club Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs together. What is our day-to-day experience? Can they live in harmony with each other? So, this alienation is another problem.

The other problem faced by these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is the access to drinking water. There is a superstition that if a well is touched by the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe people then that well loses its sanctity and the water of that well becomes impure. These so-called higher class people do not even allow the shadow of these Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to fall on the well. If the same people convert their religion—as many of their ancestors had done—then they are accepted by the society. We are all grateful to the Father of the Nation.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: You are in league with them.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: Please do not interrupt. What can we do? Our pity is, when we trust you, you betray us. You betrayed the Supreme Court also. We all know to what extent you had gone so far as the Babri Masjid issue was concerned.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: The point is that you fail to understand the real problem. You only try to make a political issue out of it.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: You may please try to raise your level. I am talking of a different level.

I was saying that it is a question of realising our duty towards the weaker section of the society and coming out boldly to protect them and to see that their lot is improved. In that context, I was saying that it was Gandhiji who coined the word *harijan*, which means that they are also the sons and daughters of God. In order to bring a fellow feeling for them and to see that hatred is completely abolished, he coined this word. His concern for the downtrodden and *harijans* would be evident from one instance which I would like to mention.

Madam, you know that Puri is famous for Lord Jagannatha temple. This place is famous world over for this temple. Once Mahatmaji went to Puri and he was accompanied by his wife. I think he went there in connection with some Padyatra. Kasturbaji, being a

religious lady could not resist the temptation of paying a visit to the temple. She expressed her desire but Mahatmaji told that it would not be proper on their part to visit the temple so long as *harijans* also are not allowed to go there. In spite of this, when Gandhiji was engaged in some conference, she along with some Sewa Dal workers walked into the temple without prior approval of Gandhiji.

How could it remain unnoticed? How could it come to the notice of Bapuji? Thereafter, they started talking to each other for years together. This was Bapuji's concern for harijans and girjans. But, he is also accused today by some new Leaders.

[Translation]

MAJ. GEN (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal): In Uttar Pradesh you are supporting the Government of those whom you are criticising here.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): It was discussed in our working committee and we had withdrawn our support.

MAJ. GEN (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI: That way you can befool some people for some time but do not try it on me with this window-dressing.

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: It is relevant. What they are saying is because of our concern for democracy. So, we should not be misunderstood. What is happening today in Bihar? Even today, in Bihar, our Prime Minister is not at all interested to impose President's Rule.

[Translation]

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR (Barielly): Nobody is preventing you from constructing the mosque there. You said that the mosque was damaged and now you go and construct it. Munda ji wants to say something and you are not giving him an opportunity to speak. Do not worry, the President's rule will be imposed on 28th.

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: If there is a compelling situation nobody can help. Even in U.P. the Congress is not interested in creating any uncertainty but at the same time, the Congress will never approve of this sort of unhappiness there. There are atrocities going on against the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. A women leader had made defamatory statements against the Father of the Nation there. It is their madness. Definitely, the people will be giving a befitting reply to those people.

As you know, the present Government at the Centre came to Office in 1991. Immediately after that several steps had been taken by the Government. Now you see in the operative para of this Resolution it has been stated that:

"This Resolution urges upon the Government of India

to take necessary steps to remedy the situation."

A number of steps had been taken by the Government of India in this regard.

A Chief Minister's Conference was held on 4th and 5th October, 1991 on prevention of atrocities on SCs and STs. A number of recommendations were made, a separate cell and a control room were created and funds were also provided; officers with proven integrity and sympathetic to SCs and STs were posted in atrocity-prone areas and several other measures were taken. I need not repeat all these things. If the guidelines provided by the Government of India and the decisions taken by way of consensus in the Chief Minister's Conference are faithfully implemented in letter and spirit, they atrocities if not eradicated fully, will come down considerably. But why this is not happening and who are responsible should be gone into and the hon. Minister should clarify this in this reply. We should also see whether drastic action should be taken because atrocities on SCs and STs is on the rise. According to Shri Ram Dhan, Chairman, National Commission for SC/ST, atrocities on SCs and STs has reached an alarming situation. So, what steps should be taken to prevent this should be gone into. I have a few suggestions. People sometimes suggest implementation of Article 356. But I feel it is a very very drastic measure. I think we should have a national debate over this issue because when atrocities are perpetrated on any section of the society whether inside the country or outside, we are not comfortable.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Excuse me Panigrahi. If the House permits, we can extend the time by one hour.

...(Interreption)

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (Mandsaur): It is a very important issue.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Does the Minister have any objection for extending the time?

SHRI K.V. THANGKA BALU: No, I am only supporting it.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: If the local administration is not alive to the situation when atrocities are committed, stringent action should be taken against the district administration. Mostly, atrocities are committed with political support. In such cases there is no political will on the part of the ruling party to take action against the perpetrators. What should be done in such a situation is an important matter that we should take into consideration. Now-a-days criminals are contesting elections, they become MLAs and MPs and sometimes they become Ministers too.

What restrictions could be put on them, this is another suggestion for consideration. Could they be prevented from contesting elections.

I may be excused while saying that there are some SC/ST people who enjoy certain privileges and who indulge in such atrocities against SC/STs. So, if they do such thing, could these privileges be withdrawn that should be considered. I believe, I am very clear about it. The people who enjoy certain privileges because of the caste

factor and indulge in atrocities should not be given the benefits that they get by coming under SC/ST or OBC category, etc. This is my concrete suggestion for consideration.

I would like to say something about restriction of arms and ammunitions, etc. The Chief Election Commissioner, in the recent elections, failed in his endeavour to see that the arms, etc. are surrendered on the verge of elections. It was a good attempt but by these arms had to be returned because of an order from the Court.

SRHI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): That was for licensed arms. But the point of issue was that the quantity of unlicensed arms floating around was enormously larger than the number of licenced arms. So what is the point?

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: Anyway people possess arms, sometimes holding regular licence and in many cases without any licence. So we have to see that people should not possess such arms and ammunition.

So, it is a question of poverty, where poverty is more intensified, more deep-rooted and the SC/ST people are helpless, they are being subjected to more atrocities. Therefore, we have to sincerely fight out this poverty. Anti-poverty programmes should be taken up in a more effective manner.

I would like to touch upon one more very important point, that is education. We have to see that each member of a family in our country gets the benefit of education. It cannot give results in a day or two but in the long run we will see that if people are properly educated and their life is improved upon, these atrocities will gradually diminish.

It has got to be a political will and a mass movement to create such an atmosphere. If such an atmosphere is created with the endeavour of all concern, all like minded people, we will be able to overpower this menace. Unless we do this we will not be able to help them. The situation today is such that if some gangsters try to commit atrocities on fellow lady passengers, others remain mute observers. So an atmosphere has got to be created so that these atrocities are not committed in the days to come.

With this I support the Resolution and at the same time I would suggest that the Government of India should ensure that the guidelines that are there in this regard are strictly implemented.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Madam Chairperson, I congratulate the hon. Member who brought forward this resolution. I have been seeing such resolutions for the past eleven years in this House and we drop these after making them an issue of debate. I would like to tell the Government that it can be curbed if the Government really wants to suppress and curb it. But the Government is lacking the will power. It is more frequently discernable in the States and such atrocities are committed even where the backward people are running the Government. The formation of Government by the backward people has not put an end to these atrocities.

These have been committed for long. The question is how to curb these?

The present Government at the Centre has been ruling the country by banking upon the votes of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the Muslims for the last 40 years. When this potential vote bank understood that justice is not being done to them, they started deserting them and their chairs also started shaking. Then, they resorted to defections and horse trading. How long can they survive like this? What can be more shameful for our democracy than the matter of atrocities on Harijans and scheduled castes raised in this House? In order to curb these, the foremost duty of the Central or the State Government is to provide funds for the education of these poor people. We should start educating their children and the Government should bear the whole expenditure. The problem is not going to get solved by long drawn discussions. Some of our learned friends can speak on the matter for hours together but this will provide no solution. This malady can automatically be cured once we spend on educating these classes. We have seen that the educated scheduled caste youth might be unemployed but they are not ready to come in before exploitation and injustice. The tyrants have to think twice before inflicting atrocities on them which are of two type i.e. atrocities perpetrated by the powerful privileged class and when they are themselves unable to suppress them, they take the assistance of the police to do so. Every year, such voices are raised here in the House. What can be more shameful for us. At places, the women are forced to dance naked and at others stripped off. What if the daughters and mothers of the privileged class people meet the same fate? We raise a matter here and think that we have performed our duty.

But actually, we do not accomplish this work, rather we tarnish the image of our country all the more. We have seen that the harijan women are disrobed, assaulted and fired at in polling booths in Bihar. This has been witnessed in my own constituency. Now the question is as to who are the perpetrators of such atrocities? The powerful and influential persons-irrespective of their castes; perpetrate such atrocities. Who are issued the licence of guns? The poor helpless persons have not been issued such licences. Those issued licences under the present procedure trigger off the guns unhasitantly during elections. It is the poor and not the powerful who have been deprived of their right to exercise their franchise. If these helpless persons are deprived of their political rights, what will happen to them? The Government must clarify this to us. They will simply discuss it and will do nothing in reality because they do not want that the poor may enjoy their rights. Due to this imbalance in the society a large number of educated youths are jobless. They have been cut off from the mainstream and they are resorting to extremism. But there are extremists in moneyed family also. By extremism I mean the person who in a fit of anger is prepared to do anything. Such persons are found in every family. But if the poor, the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward classes raise their voices they are labelled naxalites and they are tortured.

There is a village Lakhisa in Ghausi. There are dozens of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes who are graduates and postgraduates. They say that they are educated but jobless. However they further say that they would not tolerate atrocities. But the moneyed and influential people do not tolerate all this and they call police and term, these educated persons as naxalites. Are they naxalites? The Government is not at all paying attention towards them. If we are really their well-wishers, we should bring this major part of the society at par with the others equal in the society. The persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes who are educated and have joined certain ordinary jobs are not harassed by anybody, but those illiterate, labourer who somehow manage to eke out their livelihood, are being persecuted. I do not talk about the great leaders like Shri Mandal who have grown millionaire, but the women in tribal areas carry their 4 or 6 month old baby on their back while doing their job. Is it indicative of the progress of India?. It is a matter of shame. But nobody is ashamed of such things. We think that our responsibility is over by holding discussion here. But if we really want to uplift them we should educate them. The Government need not provide anything extra-ordinary to this class of people. The Government should simply incur expenditure for their education and open schools in every village. After 20 years this alone will curb atrocities on the poor. With these words I conclude.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI: Today we are discussing here atrocities committed on women in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. At present there is no Government worth the name in Bihar and we hope that the future Government will not indulge in such misdeeds. So far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned, our hon. colleague Shri Satya Deo Singh has already given the details of developments in Uttar Pradesh. We are here complaining against the Government of Uttar Pradesh, whose trends, outlook and administration are not normal. The style of running the administration of the U.P. Government in totally diabolic, monstrous and barbaric. Today we are complaining against it to the Union Government which has extended support to the former.

Just some time earlier, our hon. Minister of Home Affairs stated that the Centre has withdrawn its support from the UP Government. Perhaps the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is busy and he is not listening to me. I would like to ask the Government whether the withdrawal of support from the UP Government implies that the Centre does not agree to the style of working of the UP Government and it wants to topple that Government. But I think that the Government has just observed a formality by telling so, and it has tried to deceive and misguide the people. This way you are working in a idiomatic way 'heads I win, tails you lose.' One faction of your party and its leader Shri Narain Dutt Tiwari, a seasoned leader, seeks the withdrawal of support from the State Government and wants to topple it, whereas the another faction of your party tells that it will withdraw its support from the Government but it will not topple it. I want to know as to what is the meaning of withdrawal of support. A minority

Government in Uttar Pradesh is continuing with the support of your party itself.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was telling as to what was the use of complaining to those who share the equal responsibility with the U.P. State Government for misdeeds at Lucknow. All the deeds of that Government have been enumerated here. If the mentality behind running the administration is hooliganism, if its style reminds us of Nadirshahi, nothing can be expected from it. And what can be discussed here about them. I think that perhaps it is for the first time in the history of India or in the World History that a State Government sends its people in the Allahabad High Court for goondasim, otherwise on administrative grounds it is the responsibility of Government to protect the High Court but instead of doing so the State Government sends its people in a planned manner in the High court and they do riots and threaten the people there. How can a Government which functions in such a way be expected to give clean administration.

Of course, atrocities are being committed on women there but they are not leaving aside any section of the society where the atrocities and maladministration do not prevail. The Deputy Attorney General of our country says about this Government in the Allahabad High that the C.B.I. report of the atrocities on women in Muzaffarnagar should not be shown to Mulayam Singh Government otherwise those who have given witness against the Government in that matter will be murdered. When the Deputy Attorney-General of our country speaks so about the Government, what can then be expected from that Government. I would like to repeat, what has been said about this Government. What can one expect from the Government, which does not have majority in the Legislature Assembly and which says that they have majority on the basis of their dictatorial and autocratic attitude. The Congress Government here supports the Government in Lucknow, which is involved in misdeeds. I feel a shamed of discussing here about the atrocities committed on the women in Uttar Pradesh. Some of the speakers did discuss about it last time I will not repeat them. The Government, which says itself to be the patron of the poor and the backwards, want to do politics on their vote bank and with the poor people. During the period of only 15-16 months of this Government two thousand incidents of rape have been reported 90 percent or cent percent women out of those, belong to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward classes. The victims of rape are mostly the poor. The Government says that it wants the welfare of the poor and the backwards. It is trying to increase its vote bank through it. Examples were cited that the M.L.As of their Government raped the dalit women and this was not done once but several times and the Central Government instead of doing its duty, is extending its support to the State Government for petty gain. I would like to add one more aspect to it. Most of the cases of rape that are being committed or have been committed till date occur on account of land disputes or personal disputes as it happened in Aligarh. But the Mulayam Singh Government has made a black history in

Uttar Pradesh. In Muzaffarnagar the women were raped by the police in a planned way simply because they were coming to Delhi to raise their voices against the Government. The hypocrite Government of Uttar Pradesh says that they have sent the proposal of Uttarakhand to the Central Government. The women were coming to Delhi to take part in a rally in support of their demand. When they raised their voices, the Government machinery committed atrocities on them. This is a new system introduced by the Government of Uttar Pradesh. When I said it at first that women were raped in Muzaffarnagar, many people said that there is no proof of it. Today, it has been proved in the CBI enquiry and you might have read that a statement has been given in the High Court that 7 women were raped in the bus and 17 were molested. The condition of molested women is more worse than those who were raped. A woman of 23 years of age was left naked on the High-way. The Government of Uttar Pradesh is working like this and God knows, what the Central Government thinks. It has stopped so low for few votes.

The hon. Deputy Minister of Home Affairs is present here. My submission is that History will bring you in that dock where you will find nothing except to be stigmatised. Please, do not harm the nation for your petty gains. At least take action against those who are doing atrocities on women.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM LAL RAHI): He is not saying anything wrong but you are on the wrong.....*(Interruptions)*

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI: I could not understand what you are saying. But if you say that I am speaking something wrong, then I would like to say that it is your prerogative and you do that....*(Interruptions)* Just now the issue of withdrawal of support from Uttar Pradesh Government was being discussed. You are befooling the people by enacting this drama. You have stooped down even below the level of 'Noutanki'. The mentality of Uttar Pradesh Government, its administrative ideology and thinking is such that nothing positive can be expected from it. You may be knowing what has been revealed by CBI inquiry about Khateema incident... CBI is a Government agency. An S.P. orders from Nainital to fire on people going to take part in a rally while the another police personnel says that demonstration is going on peacefully. This all is happening in broad daylight. Today atrocities are being committed on women, common man and ex-servicemen who take part in any demonstration. There is no law and order and 'jungle raj' is prevailing in Uttar Pradesh. For animals too have some system and rules and regulation in 'jungle raj' but nothing of that sort is in Uttar Pradesh.

I feel that there is no need of describing the manner in which curfew was imposed and misused in Uttarakhand. It reveals the Government's malintention of taking revenge. Today, the funds allocation of funds for developmental works in Uttarakhand is being stopped. People of

Uttarakhand are being punished. The office of the Directorate of Tourism has been removed whereas tourism is the main source of income in hilly regions. For years there had been an office of the Department of Tourism at Dehradun which has been damaged to punish the people. The Government is settling account with the people and women and people of those classes of society who do not toe in these lines and do not give open support to the Government policy are being punished and miscreants are free to adopt any means such as rape bullet shots or battoning encroachments in their houses forcefully. Today Uttar Pradesh Government is involved in all such activities and Union Government is supporting it.

In the end, I would like to say one more thing about Uttar Pradesh. Hon. Minister of state in the Ministry of Home Affairs, would you spare one minute for me. Uttar Pradesh Government's rule has so much deteriorated in Uttarakhand so that yesterday, a small rally of ex-servicemen was organised in Delhi which was led by a former Vice-Chief of the Army staff, one Deputy Chief of Army staff, two lieutenant-generals and some other higher officials came to take part in the rally. You are not paying any attention towards the injustice and atrocities being committed in Uttaranchal of Uttar Pradesh. We know that you have your own problems but it is also a big problem. You would have to face the consequences of all this if you keep quiet and not pay any heed towards the problems of the public. We the people of Uttarakhand are suffering and I request you to ponder upon this matter. Some suggestions have been given here. I support the suggestions given by Panigrahi. Sir through you, I would like to tell this Government that there cannot be any improvement in the situation till the present Government is in power. I would like to say that under the rule of this Government atrocities on women, cases of rape and atrocities against people belonging to Uttarakhand will keep on increasing. I would like to say that you should dissolve the present Government and impose President's rule in the state if you want to respect women in Uttar Pradesh, improve the society and functioning of administrative system in the state. Otherwise whatever you are talking here, that will have no effect on U.P.

Sir, through you, I suggest that Uttar Pradesh Government should be dissolved. While supporting the suggestions given by other Members, I support this Resolution.

[English]

SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA (Keonjhar): Respected Madam Chairman. This is the first time that I have stood up to say a few words on this Resolution which has been brought before this House.

17.00 hours

(Shri Sharad Dighe in the Chair)

My friend, Shri Panigrahi said about education in this House. May I know from the Government as to what is meant by education? It is *Adhyatmik* or something else.

[Translation]

We always talk about atrocities on women but women are every where and in every section of society.

[English]

They are — Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities and General sections. Therefore, it is a serious thing that you are discussing here about the atrocity. What is the meaning of atrocity? How, it is to be put down? We are not looking at it. We are not taking care of that. Now, I may say here that in India we are having different governments. On the one side, Congress Government is there in the Centre. On the other, in States like Gujarat, the B.J.P. is in Government. what are they doing? ...*(Interruptions)*.. What are you doing there? In Orissa Congress Government is there. In Orissa, in my parliamentary constituency, there is no atrocity. It may be somewhere else.

[Translation]

BJP commit atrocities and this is the reason for its defeat in Orissa. They committed atrocities on my son and my son was defeated in elections. You have no alternative there. They had not allowed our agent to enter the polling booth and had beaten tribals.

[English]

Why has it been done? You are a party of gentlemen. You are politicians. You should play politics in that way, why is it that this sort of atrocity is being committed.

[Translation]

Now I would like to express my views in Hindi. Population of the country is increasing day by day. Muslim community do not accept family planning and thus our population is increasing. No one tell them about small family norms. Mahato caste has been included in the list of OBC following the recommendations made by Mandal Commission and it has decided to boycott BJP. Muslims also boycott BJP. Muslims do not like to support BJP in elections since the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute arose. Linkraj Munda took part in elections and not he but Congress was defeated in the State.

[English]

This is a democratic country. Now we are all Indians. We should have to live here peacefully.

[Translation]

Mahatma Gandhi had said that one should mix with all the people, work hard and earn his livelihood by himself, live gracefully and die gracefully.

[English]

This was the motto of Mahatma Gandhi, But we have forgotten him. Our Prime Minister is a very good gentleman; he is an honest man. You cannot challenge him. I must support him.

[Translation]

Mahatma Gandhi had asked to remove untouchability.

[English]

There should be a planning. Planning should be very systematic. But the planning is wrong.

[*Translation*]

What is the total population of India and percentage of harijans and tribals in it. These people are very poor and willingly go with a person for just Rs. 5—10. 50 per cent harijans and tribals are poor. No one cares for them. Just now Panigrahiji spoke on education. I would like to say that there are ashram schools and Sevashram Schools for tribals and harijans and Congress Government spends for them. I would like to say that Gujarat is ruled by BJP Government and I will be happy if you are able to do something there.

[*English*]

This is the Parliament. This is an august House. Now we have a strength of 545 Members. What are we doing here? We have to consider this aspect impartially and non-politically. Only then this problem of atrocities can be solved. But if we deal with this problem in a political way, we will not be able to solve this problem. It will continue further.

[*Translation*]

Sir, there is no elected Member in Planning Commission. Prime Minister, himself is Chairman and 22 Chief Ministers are Members of it. We were instrumental in getting 5 MLAs elected from my constituency but my son was defeated. I had been Minister for four years.

[*English*]

I was MLA in 1952. My guru was Shri A. P. Singhdeo. You do not know him. I do not challenge anybody. You have to examine this aspect. I did enquire about it. I have already lodged a case against you, the BJP. I know what is what.

[*Translation*]

Sir, I will not speak much but I would like to say that excessive atrocities are being committed in my area and in the end I would like to say that we will not let the BJP rule there.

[*English*]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I realise the tragedy and the pathos of the human situation that is implicit in the Resolution and the agony of the distinguished colleague who has move the Resolution, I fully share it. But while listening to him I have to share with you a thought. Are we only political animals? I know that Parliament is a political forum. But must we reduce every situation to a purely political dimension; must we turn our concern to the rape of our sisters and the killing of our brothers and to the atrocities perpetrated against our own fellow-beings into a political move, into a game of chess?

Sir, sometimes we should rise above politics. This debate should have been at a much higher plan than merely a tirade against a couple of State Government. I am very critical of the performance of the State governments in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in many ways. But surely those Governments did not exist yesterday or they will disapper tomorrow. Will the agony of the hon. mover be any less? Will the atrocities that are happening all around us be any loss in number? No. surely this

Resolution should have been couched with a more universal horizon. Why must we talk about only atrocities against a particular community and their women and only or specially in certain States? We must condemn it wholly and universally without any exception. We must condemn any atrocity against any community, against all women, any woman of India anywhere in the country. Then only we shall be true to the heritage of India. We must shed our tears on every human tragedy. We should not be selective in our pathos and in our sensitivities. We should not, only remember the women of Muzaffarnagar only and forget the women of Surat. We should not do it. That is the point.

Therefore, Sir, I would say that the atrocities against any section of society, against any woman of any group, wherever it exists in the country, at the local level it is weak, is indefensible, wherever it is not in a position to defend its honour, to defend its life and defend its rights, it must be protected by the administration, by the Government, by the party. That would be the test of Indianness; that would be the test of being true to the human tradition. Politics must rise to defend the weak against the oppression of the strong and in the complex society that we are a part of, every section of the community whether it is defined by religion, whether it is defined by caste, whether it is defined by language, whether it is defined by region is weak and somewhere and atrocities are committed against at that point where it happens to be so. At least our national politics, our national administration and our civilized administration must defend them against these inhuman marauders whom we harbour in our society.

Sir, we must try to awaken that feeling; in ourselves that every dead body that we see is that of our brother, that every woman who has been raped is our sister; that every house which has been burnt is our house. Strengthened by that dimension and feeling, we shall really be able to rise to the occasion and use all the power at our command, including the power of the speech that we exercise in this House for the defence of the weak in our society.

The degradation of women has deep roots in our society. We may talk of Sita. But we know that in our society today, although we give women an equal status under our Constitution, woman is at the receiving end. We see gender bias against woman from the moment she is conceived in the womb of her mother by a massive phenomenon called foeticide in our country. There is female infanticide on a massive scale in our society because we do not want girls. We kill them, we strangulate them, we drown them in hot water. We under nourished them, we do not treat them equal to our sons. We do not give them their rights even in our own house. And after marriage, as the hon. Member himself pointed out, they are subjected to dowry burning.

Then what is worse? They become the currency of politics. They are used to settle accounts; one community against the other. They are used to inspire a sense of terror in the other side to humiliate entire communities. Thus, they become, as I said, the currency of tenor politics. This is a much much more massive situation than what we are talking about here and there happening

in UP yesterday or in Bihar the day before yesterday. This is the phenomenon that we have got to aim at. Unless we do that, we shall not really be able to deal fairly and justly with the situation.

This has arisen in our society today because our entire political system to my mind appears to be disintegrating. Our social ethos has been fragmented and corrupted. There is criminalisation at every level—in politics, in the Government, in the administration. This is supported by massive corruption. Therefore the guilty goes scot-free and therefore the laws become ineffective. Laws are not even worth the paper that they are written on.

In all States, in all Governments, whichever be the party in power have we not seen the incidence of this phenomenon of terrorisation of communities through atrocities and through the deliberate degradation of their woman folk. No party is free from it. No party can claim a clean record. Everybody is naked in this bath; as the saying goes इस हम्माम में सभी नंगे हैं। It is only a matter of degree.

Therefore I would suggest that merely harking back to the old laws will not do. We know, we have the Civil Rights Act. But, Mr. Chairman, you must have looked at the annual reports. What a dismal reading they make, as if these cases of violation of civil rights of human being, of the Scheduled Caste, take place, only in scores! They are a part of our life. We see them happening everyday, everywhere, at every *nukkad*, every corner, every shop, every public place; but the official report says ten cases, here, twenty there or five here and five there. Are we playing a game? Are we trying to deceive ourselves about the extent of this phenomenon in our society? Something has to be done. Merely keeping these laws as decorations in our statute book will not do. Something more needs to be done.

Similarly, we passed the Act against atrocities. I would like to know from the hon. Minister, who is here, how many cases have really been taken to their logical ends. Logical end is not only prosecution, but the punishment of the culprits. How many have been punished during the last three or four years that this law has been in operation? Please give us the figures State-wise. Then we shall know which Government is to be given a pat on the back and which Government is to be rebuked. No Government has taken it seriously. These are merely used as some sort of a slave to our own conscience. We think we have passed the law sitting here, by raising our hands or by shouting 'Ayes' and that is done; the society is transformed. But the society is not transformed in this manner.

The society will be transformed only if a new social conscience is awakened. That is where my friend is absolutely right. Long-term measures are required. This is where the Republic has failed. In 40 years, we have not created the *homo indicus* that we had hoped for in the pre-independence period—a man of compassion, a man of wide horizon and human dimension, a man who takes the entire humanity within his embrace, a man who does not distinguish among religions, castes or groups, a Universal Man. That was the dream of Tagore; that was the dream of Gandhi; that was the dream of our freedom movement.

That man is nowhere to be seen, nowhere to be seen, yet, 45 years after independence. That is where the Republic has failed. It can only undo that failure and remedy the situation by applying itself deliberately and thoroughly and methodically to this process of generating this consciousness through education and if I may say so, social engineering.

Yes, the laws are there. The laws must be applied, but firmly and taken to their logical conclusion so that at least deterrent punishment has some impact on the minds of the society. But deterrent punishment again is not the final answer. Perhaps, the laws need more teeth. That teeth should be provided. The suggestions made in the various reports of the Chief Ministers should be looked into. It is much more important that we change the social outlook. It is important that we instil into the minds of our people gender equality, communal equality, a sense of humanity, a sense of—as I said 'Hindustaniat', a sense of being Indian. We look at the newspaper and then we say, "Oh! these people who have been killed are not 'us'." There our sympathy ends. But if we see that it is our people, then we bring it up to the Lok Sabha and raise a furore about it. That should not be done. We should not be so selective."

Now, I would like to point out that we must also look at it in a national dimension. The tribal belt, as very correctly pointed out by Mr. Munda, is seething with discontent. This is a situation that has arisen out of exploitation that they have suffered for centuries. That exploitation does include physical exploitation, but also includes sexual exploitation. Let me be frank. This constant exploitation has generated a feeling of revolt. If you do not pay attention to it, this will be a disintegrative factor in the society. This applies also to so many communities which are feeling frustrated, which are not receiving justice, which are being pushed to the wall. Let us not enrage them. Let us not push them into a reaction arising out of anger, a reaction arising out of a spirit of revenge because in a spirit of revenge, one forgets the larger identity, the common heritage in which he is a participant. He is limited to his own shell and he reacts in that manner. Therefore, in order to deal with these threats to our social situation, we must also include these dimensions that constitute a threat to our national integration, constitute a threat to our survival as a State and as a civilized society, in the long term. Through the educational process, we should create a new sense of identity, a new ethos in which there shall be less of these religious and casteist prejudices. Also, we should take more effective measures for elevating the economic status of these people through concrete means, not just by token gestures.

I would suggest that instead of creating a new authority, let us broaden the scope of the Human Rights Commission to look into all such cases, which are being ignored by the State Governments and the local administration. If a situation comes to light that the State Government or the local administration does not pay heed to any situation of atrocity against women or against men of any community, then that should be a legitimate responsibility of the Human Rights Commission to look into.

With these words and with these reservations, I conclude. I do not doubt the intentions of the learned Mover of the Resolution. But, I am only pointing out this. I wish that the Resolution was couched in a more universal frame; and therefore, it would have focussed better on the national situation and there would have perhaps been less of politics about it. Otherwise, I am afraid that the entire debate here tends to go into the misconduct of Shri Laloo and Shri Mulayam; and that is not what we are here for.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words on this important Private Member's Resolution moved by my friends, Shri Satya Deo Singh.

I fully support the spirit of the Resolution, expressing grave concern over the incidents of atrocities on people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and harassment of women. But, I wonder, why my good friends has mentioned only the States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in this Resolution. I fail to understand the logic behind this.

I have with me, the reply given in the Parliament where the State-wise number of cases of atrocities committed on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is given, whereby this House is informed that in Rajasthan, several hundreds of cases have been registered in respect of atrocities on the Scheduled Tribes. In Madhya Pradesh again, in the year 1992, 4571 cases were registered; in 1993, 4387 cases were registered. As regards the atrocities on the Scheduled Tribes people, in 1992, 576 cases were registered and in 1993, 1586 cases were registered.

I fully agree with my dear colleague, Shri Shahabuddin; it is not fair when he gave an impression that these atrocities are taking place only in the States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. We should express our concern over all these incidents, wherever they take place. Sometimes, we feel disgusted and our heart feels so much pained when we read some news item regarding this. Unfortunately, we come across very alarming news in northern States. For example, in Rajasthan, when a women social worker went for canvassing among the women, not to resort to *sati*, which is prohibited, she underwent harassment and the extent to which she was subjected to, is really heartbreaking.

Sometimes, we come across some news items where the youth belonging to one caste falls in love with a girl belonging to another caste; and when they want to marry, unfortunately, in the presence of the parents who have given birth to them and who have brought them up all these years, the villagers brutally kill the boy if he belongs to the Scheduled Caste or to a community to which the girl does not belong to. These things happen in these days.

Very near the capital city, some thing happened and we feel ashamed. I very well recollect this thing which happened a few years back when we were the Members of the Eighth Lok Sabha.

We cannot forget the news when in Madhya Pradesh—I do not remember the name of the village there were about 100 police constables and a person was not spared. He was killed just because he was in the premises of that temple. It is a fact that so many long battles have been waged against non-entry or prohibiting Harijans' entry into the temples right from Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Phule and Baba Saheb Ambedkar. So many other people have fought. It is unbelievable. In these days also, there are some people who do not allow Harijans to enter into the temples. Sometimes, we hear a 38-year-old or a 40-year old person raping a three-year old child. Has that fellow any sense?

When we hear all these things, we feel so sorry. But unfortunately, particularly when such incidents take place, my suggestion is that whatever be the reasons either because of some land problems or some instantaneous incident may take place if a District Magistrate or a Sub-Divisional Officer goes there immediately and takes stock of the situation and convenes a meeting of the elderly people in that area, I think, the situation will not aggravate further. Particularly in areas, which have a track record of such atrocities in a large measure, if committees of some responsible citizens, who love peace and who love harmony among different sections of the people, are involved, I think, the damage can be minimised.

In Nagpur, the second capital of Maharashtra, when the Assembly was in session, a large number of people belonging to a particular tribal community came to represent a genuine problem about which they felt concerned. Unfortunately, leave alone the Chief Minister—I do not know, he may be very busy in signing some contract with foreign multinational companies—but even the Minister in charge of Tribal Welfare did not think it fit to go and meet those people or talk to them and ask, "What is it that they want?" If we can do anything, it is all right. If we cannot do anything, we can say, "We will consider it. No heavens will fall." Unfortunately, the Government's indifferent attitude led to the death of more than 120 people which remains as the blackest spot.

I feel that the people who commit atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections, including women or minorities, should be disqualified from contesting the elected posts not only to an Assembly and the Parliament but also to the local bodies. These people will usually be behind the scene. They will try to provoke it.

Unfortunately, I recollect one incident. Even responsible Governments and parties sometimes behave only for political reasons. I request my friends to excuse me if I mention an incident. In the Idgah at Hubli, one political party tried to hoist our National Flag. Unfortunately, for some reasons, the Government that was there did not ask the people who were having control over that Idgah, "Why should that party go and hoist? Why should not these people hoist the National Flag?"

[Translation]

DR. RAMESH CHAND TOMAR (Hapur): Whether people from our party said it? Why are you saying a wrong thing? [Interruptions]

[English]

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: Let me conclude; please hear me. The National Flag is the National Flag for all of us, all 90 crore people. It may be that one political party wants to take political advantage out of it. But either the Government in power or that organisation must have come forward and said, 'What is it? Why should you come and hoist the national flag? After all, we are Indians. We will hoist it by ourselves.' That stand should have been taken. However, that stand was not taken by the earlier Government but the present Deve Gowda Government has taken that stand. I congratulate the present Government and the people concerned. I mention this because such a small incident had led to such a big battle for nearly two years. I really wonder why such things should happen. I only suggest that we should try to avoid such things and should not try to take political advantage out of those things. I really agree with my friend. Slowly, the trend is that almost all political parties are giving more opportunities to people with criminal track record. Several people are becoming MLAs, MPs and some of them Ministers. Unfortunately, this is vitiating public life. Unfortunately, people feel that bad characters who commit murders, dacoities and who create lot of disharmony in the society are being encouraged. This is a thing which is really causing concern. Such things should be discouraged by all political parties.

One incident occurred in Bihar five years back I mean, the Bhagalpur incident. The entire country was really astonished about it. I remember that a Committee was appointed to examine the Bhagalpur incident but it has not yet submitted its Report. That only shows the care and real concern that is being shown for the welfare of SCs and STs. Whatever it is, I congratulate my colleague, Mr. Satya Deo Singh for moving this Resolution and giving an opportunity for this House to discuss a very very important issue that is causing lot of alarm to the people of this country. So, I support the spirit of this Resolution. The Government should take all possible steps to bring down—it may not really stop altogether—the number of such incidents that are taking place throughout the country. Somehow, in Southern States like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, social reformation and awakening has started much earlier when compared to the Northern States. But, unfortunately, due to some special reasons, there is lot of friction, in some of the Northern States, between the upper caste and the SCs and STs. This is so particularly in Bihar which is mainly because of the land problem. I do not know how and why it is there. Unfortunately, several State Governments which have succeeded have failed to solve this problem giving rise to and scope for private armies which are killing a large number of SCs and STs and landless people.

I once again thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this Resolution.

SHRI ASTBHUJA PRASAD SHUKLA (KHALILABAD): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank Shri Satya Deo Singhji who has given us a chance to speak on such a topic which concerns India's culture India's dignity and India's honour. As per the information received from the Crime Rajasthan Bureau the incidences of crimes against women have doubled in the last decade. The situation has come to such a pass that one woman or the other is raped in every 47 minutes, a woman is abducted in every 44 minutes on an average, and every third woman is being tortured by her husband or some other relative. Besides, in every 17 minutes a woman dies in dowry cases. Last year, 82,819 women had been the victims of one crime or the other. All these statistics cause alarm for us.

Shri Syed Shahabuddin was just saying that it is a matter which should be seen in the National perspective. Of course, it inductably in the national perspective. It is a matter of great concern for us and this problem should be solved. Now the question arises as to on whom lies the responsibility to check such incidents. Which organisation will take stringent steps. To check such incidents the Government and the administration can take action to check such incidents but when they themselves get involved in such activities then who will check such incidents, On whom the people of India pin their hopes for protection. When we discuss these incidents, Uttar Pradesh tops the list. We do not discuss, the Uttar Pradesh Government because SP-BSF Government is in power there but we cannot help discussing Uttar Pradesh because more than 3000 rape cases and more than 1800 cases of abduction have occurred there in only one year. If I discuss all the incidents separately then it will become obvious that the Government has had a direct hand in all these incidents. The woman are raped there to celebrate a victory of a legislator of the ruling party in the elections.

A woman was stripped and paraded naked in the Daula village of Allahabad on the last 13th of December just because she had refused to go to somebody's house to work. 9 women were gang-raped there on 28th of December.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if we go on counting the each incident we will find Legislator of SP-BSP behind these incidents and wherever some official has made efforts to take some action against the criminal/rapist, he has himself been punished. A 12 year-old girl was raped in our district and the rapist was driven to Lucknow next day by a Legislator of the SP party. What can a police official do in such a situation? Exactly five days after another girl aged 14 was raped and the rapist was driven to Lucknow by a Congress Legislator.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the nephew of the same SP Legislator was killed in broad day-light at 12.00 noon. Some Cabinet Minister and big leader from here had visited our area and had even given a speech. The local

people are aware of it. The local police inspector took immediate action and the police captain also acted bravely but as a consequence of their efficiency the Police Inspector was suspended and the police captain was transferred to the Vigilance department. Their only fault was that they had tried to apprehend the criminals. Shri Satya Deo Singh ji just mentioned names of some officials. Their fault was only this much that they had tried to take action against the real culprits. If such incidents go on taking place then to whom would people go to seek justice? In view of all this, the Uttar Pradesh Government has no right to continue in power even for a minute. They have done what should not have been done. They committed contempt of the Court, they attacked the press, they are harrasing the bureaucracy. The whole administration has crumbled down. I would like to tell you that each District Magistrate has been asked to send rupees two and a half crores. What is happening? They have stooped to this extent? Now the District Magistrates have been asked to send rupees two and a half crore.

I would like to say that I had only heard that politicians patronise the hoodlums but now in view of the incidents taking place in Bihar, this belief is gaining ground. I am witnessing it for the first time that the Central Govt. is protecting a criminal government. I would like to tell the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Home Minister that a person who protects a criminal is a bigger criminal than the criminal himself. The crime and the Central Government is protecting the BSP & SP Government in Uttar Pradesh I do not understand as to by protecting the criminal Government, what colour the Central Government is going to give to the politics.

You formed your Government in Goa and thought that you had emerged as the biggest party. You formed your Government in Manipur by declaring that you had won majority in the elections. Can you not do it in Uttar Pradesh? Does the Constitution give two differently in two similar cases? And if the Bhartiya Janata Party had emerged as the biggest party then could they have not formed the Government? All the parties had unanimously formed a Government of SP and BSP. But now when all the parties have withdrawn their support from the Government then how is it that the said Government is still in power? *...(Interruptions)...* If you had had your way in Goa and Manipur as in Maharashtra then you would have formed Government in Maharashtra also. This credit goes to the public of Maharashtra. That they gave us an overwhelming majority and a chance to form the Government, you could not do anything and had no say there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that if instead of checking criminal activities the Government and the administration get involved in such activities then who will take action against them? You all are aware of Muzzaffar Nagar incident. Being in the vicinity of Delhi the people of all the parties were coming to Delhi to talk about their grievances. They were coming to Delhi to stage a demonstration. To rape them or set their buses

on fire so that they could not take their grievances to Delhi is not proper. This policy and this intention of the Government is not right.

Sir, if we keep discussing these topics and the Government continues its involvement in such activities, then how can it go on? If Legislators rape women in order to celebrate their victories or the rapists/killers are driven around in the Legislator's car, then how can things go on? Shri Satya Deo Singh ji said that after killing a G.R.P. personnel, the Legislators met the hon. Minister in his chamber. After all, against whom do you want to take action? What work do you want to get done?

Sir, I would like to say that if the crime is committed by an individual or the Government and if the crime is cognizable then the guilty must be punished. If an individual commits a crime then he can be punished by the Government. In such a case no big damage will be done to the society but if the Government itself starts committing crimes then the sovereignty and the security of our country will be jeopardized. I would like to say that the Central Government should stop protecting BSP & SP Governments of Uttar Pradesh. Do you want this discussion to remain a mere discussion? I feel that whether it is an individual or a Government no matter how big or influential, anybody who is involved in such a heinous crime should not be protected.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want that the Government should bare its intention. Do they want that some person or a Government official should rape or torture women. It should be made clear. I feel that no Government would tolerate anything like that.

Sir, a 22 year-old Yadav youth gets killed in my constituency and the former Minister of Education flies down to the killer's house by helicopter and enjoys a supper with him and the police official including the D.I.G. are busy garlanding the wanted criminal. I want to say that you could set an example by taking a stringent action against those Governments who are involved in such heinous crimes. Since you have supported them, so the reports submitted by the Home Minister and other concerned people highlight the chaotic and anarchic situation in Uttar Pradesh and you speak about it at public meetings, but, why do you hesitate at taking action. If you do not dispense with your dual policy then you will be ousted by the BJP who will take the most stringent steps against those who torture women.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI MANIKRAO HODLYA GAVIT (Nandarbar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened to speeches of eminent leaders on the Resolution moved by Shri Satya Deo. I would also like to speak on it. I would congratulate them on coming out with a good suggestion. I just heard several incidents of atrocities on the people belonging to scheduled castes, tribes of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. I would like to say that they are also citizens of this country. We all are aware of whatever treatment is being meted out to them. Though our constitution

provides them protection yet we all know as to how much help is being given to them by the local Governments, Central Government and the administration.

Sir, the House should know that I also belong to a scheduled tribe. So, I have been a witness to all kinds of torture and excesses being perpetrated on all those who are born in backward classes. The tall talks held here are not going to alleviate the atrocities being perpetrated on them in any way. Please pardon me, I would like to appeal to all the forward classes of the entire country that if they start behaving with the people belonging to backward classes on an equal footing, only then such atrocities can be alleviated. It is important that the people belonging to scheduled castes, tribes become enlightened. Atrocities are not perpetrated to such a large extent against the educated people of these classes, for instance in states like Meghalaya etc. North-Eastern part of India where there is a large number of people belonging to scheduled tribes yet such incidents do not take place there. A large number of cases of injustice, atrocities and raping of women are taking place in the Northern states of our country. Though the law and order system is strong yet when somebody goes to the officers in Government and highly placed police officials to seek justice he is thrown out of the Police Station and they too harass them. This is what we have heard.

I would like to say that people of all the religions and the entire society should treat the people of the backward classes as their fellow countrymen and behave with them accordingly. I feel that if we follow such ethos, only then this injustice, atrocity can be put to an end.

Who are the ruffians? These are the people who have money and who are zamindaars. Those who engage labourers in their fields or any other business and torture them. We have heard about that.

Today, the casteist forces incite people of one caste against people of another caste and in the name of casteism injustice is done, atrocities are perpetrated and women are raped. We have heard such cases also. I have been hearing about such incidents in this House for years together. The number of incidents of injustice, atrocities or rape against the people of scheduled castes or scheduled tribes is less in Southern States and Maharashtra but such painful incidents often take place in the northern India.

The highly placed officers also do not hesitate in doing injustice to the officers, employees belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes. We have also been witness to several cases in which such people have been transferred

to far-flung areas or an enquiry has been initiated against them. Several highly-placed officials, employees belonging to scheduled castes and tribes sometimes get dismissed or suspended just because they belong to backward classes. I have already mentioned that Adivasis are the aborigines of this country but they are not given proper placement in the society. No matter how educated they are, they are always looked upon as people belonging to backward classes. I feel that a mere enactment of laws is not going to solve this problem.

18.00 hrs.

The people belonging to backward classes are also human beings. They should also be treated as part of our society. Unless they are viewed thus, the injustice and atrocities perpetrated on them are not going to come down. It has been seen that political parties also take advantage of that. They woo them at the time of elections to strengthen their vote-banks and neglect them thereafter. Later, they are too busy to take action in the cases of atrocities perpetrated on them. This way the atrocities go on increasing.

The people belonging to scheduled castes and tribes should have feeling of security. It is very unfortunate that despite provisions made in the Constitution to this effect their lives are not safe. The Central Government, State Governments, forward classes and intellectuals should think about them. The social atrocities being perpetrated on them should decline from the social point of view also.

I thank Shri Satya Deo Singh for moving such a resolution and conclude my speech.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: This debate will continue next time.

18.01 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE Forty-eighth Report

[English]

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ D. CHAVAN (KARAD): Sir, I beg to present the Forty-eighth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned to re-assemble on Monday, the 27th March, 1995 at 11.00 a.m.

18.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday March 27, 1995/Chaitra 6, 1917 (Saka)