

adopted. The British Government had no occasion to bring forward such a legislation. But by mere legislation, things will not improve.

Railway journey is not safe nowadays. You must modernise it. More than anything else, the tracks must be renewed and the signalling equipment must be modernised. Many other members have spoken about the condition of the trains and I need not repeat all that again. Because of want of time, I cannot say anything more. But we should see that people should feel happy to travel by trains. Of course, every mode of transport has become hazardous nowadays. Even plane journey is not safe and it is worse than the train journey. Only thing that I would like to stress is that these railway accidents are mostly due to human failure. That is where the Railway Minister should see that efficiency is improved at all the railway stations. Railway stations must be modernised as they are all old and niggardly looking stations. I know that for everything you want money. My point is that you can do it in a phased manner. It should be ensured that elementary and basic amenities are provided. Have you seen the toilets at any time in the railway stations? Have you seen the restaurants in the railway stations? Have you seen the waiting rooms? The Railway Minister should travel more in trains than in planes. It is very necessary and you must also have surprise checks. Then only things will improve.

I am sure that the hon. Railway Minister will see that the injustice that has been done to the State of Karnataka is set right and justice done. I have already proved by facts and statistics how injustice is done to Karnataka.

DISCUSSION RE : REPORTED ATROCITIES ON MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES IN UTTAR PRADESH, ANDHRA PRADESH BIHAR, MADHYA PRADESH AND SOME OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY RESULTING IN SEVERAL DEATHS AND INJURIES TO MANY PERSONS

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We shall

now take up Item No. 11 under Rule 193. I request Shri Amar Roypradhan to initiate.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : The Home Minister is not here.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Other Cabinet Ministers are here. Shri Bansilal is here. They will take note of the things.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It is an important issue..... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Home Minister is here. She will convey the feelings of the Members to the Home Minister. I request all the members to kindly sit down. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : We have a lot of allegations to level against..... (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA) : I am very much here

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Home Minister is here. She will reply. What is wrong with that? Please sit down. Mr. Reddy, please sit down,

AN HON. MEMBER : Is she having independent charge of the Ministry?

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : That shows the importance that is being attached to a serious issue like this, by the Government.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Home Minister is here. Other senior Ministers are also here. They will take note of the things. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. KHISHORE CHANDRA S DEO : This shows the callous and cavalier attitude of the Government.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. What do you want?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : We want the Cabinet Minister here.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is not necessary. I am asking you all. Please sit down. Please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Minister is here, she will reply.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD : The Minister of State is here. Meanwhile, since the Minister was busy, so we have sent a message to him.

AN HON. MEMBER : Minister is a Minister, you cannot discriminate between...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Why are you shouting ? Are you not interested ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : Sir, the Home Minister should have gone through the Order Papers to know his work... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There are many instances. Even 193 we have taken, the statements we have taken and many things we have noticed. What is wrong with you. Please sit down...(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : This shows the lack of seriousness on the part of the Central Government, in regard to the whole question. Obviously they do not realise the urgency of the matter.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down all of you..... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please carry on.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a fact that in our country—India, according to the Government figures 28 crores of people are living below the poverty line, though we know that 70 per cent of our total population are living below the poverty line. However, it is also a naked fact that out of these 28 crores, according to Government figure, 22.6 crores belong to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe community. We can feel the gravity that where the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people live and what is their economic condition.

These Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are not only living in Orissa, but also in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, where the Prime Minister had gone to see their distress a few days ago... (Interruptions)

There is a question of West Bengal also, madam, please keep quiet. These are the people whom the Prime Minister went to see far away in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa, to see their condition. What is their condition, he does not know. These are the people of whom one Smt. Phanas Punjis of Orissa sold her 12 year old younger sister-in-law Banita at Rs. 30 only. These are the people of whom Kamala Majhis sold her two year daughter at a price of Rs. 8 only. This is the socialism of Congress...(Interruptions)

These are the villages where malnutrition has reduced the villagers to human skeletons with sunken eyes and faces. It was admitted by our hon. President of India while unveiling a statute of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Calcutta. The President pointed out that even if laws had been framed under the Constitution to safeguard the rights of the downtrodden and socially backward classes, their plight had not improved. Besides these downtrodden sections of society needed protection. For 30 long years you have not given them protection, political protection, economic protection, that is the tragedy of the country. But in this country, atrocities are going on. Atrocities on Harijans and Girijans in different parts of the country like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat are going on unabatedly. It is also continuing in Singpur Raswal, Karamchedu and Sahebganj. We forget the teachings of Swami Vivekananda..... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Vyas, please, I am giving you a chance when you can speak. Mr. Acharya no discussion. now allow others to speak...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request the members to keep quiet and allow the member, who has already initiated the discussion, to speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : They have no sympathy for the woman.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : We forget the teachings of Swami Vivekananda. Swami Vivekananda long ago in the 19th century last part taught us this ;

"Forget not that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers. Thou brave one, be bold, take courage, be proud that thou are an Indian and proudly proclaim—

I am an Indian, every Indian is my brother."

But alas ! Not to speak of Swami Vivekananda, it is the tragedy of the country that even we have forgotten Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi. I think Prof. Ranga will agree with me that those who are ardent followers of Gandiji do not want or approve any violence on the bank of Sabarmati.

But it is a tragedy that the time has changed altogether. The followers of young Gandhi are very much fond of lathi, goli, bomb and murder. Anti-reservation riots are going on in the Dandi Abhijan Marg of Ahmedabad. Can you deny it ? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : He is only accusing the Congress I Party. *(Interruptions)*

Even if the problem is more serious, one cannot accuse the party. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : They will do the same thing when we speak. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : We will sit down, but if they disturb us like this, we will also disturb them when they speak. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I want to know whether members are taking it seriously or not.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : Atrocities on Harijans are going on in different parts of the country. What is the total number of crimes like murder, rape, arson on SC & ST people ? These are the figures of the government which have been supplied to us. The total number of crimes in the year 1984 on SC was 15,885 and on ST 4,230. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT : Out of these, 50 per cent are reported from West Bengal and Tripura.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : According to the statement, Madhya Pradesh is on top in the list of crimes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I don't think everybody is serious in listening to the debate.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : In Madhya Pradesh, the total number of cases of crimes on SC & ST was 8,681, murder-246, rape-285, arson-289. And then the next is the Prime Minister's own State, Uttar Pradesh. The total cases of crimes on SC & ST was 4,000, murder-213, rape-176 and arson-377.

Next comes Bihar, the state from which the hon.'ble Minister of State comes. Total number of cases is 2,048 ; murder cases : 105 ; rape cases : 120 ; and arson : 209 cases.

Next is Rajasthan, which is the fourth State. Total number of incidents ; 2,048 ; murder : 38 cases ; rape : 74 cases and arson : 110 cases.

Next comes Maharashtra.

*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What about West Bengal ?

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : I am coming to West Bengal also. These are the figures given by the Government. These were supplied to us by the Home Minister in reply to a question. In West Bengal, the total number of crimes was 33 ; murder : nil ; rape : 11 cases and arson : 2 cases :

AN HON. MEMBER : Not correct.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am ready to accept any challenge from the hon. Minister of State any time.

Now, in Kanpur district what happened a few days back in Singpur Raswal village ? An incident took place on the 21st July, 1985. Some Members of Parliament visited that spot on the 26th July, 1985. I will read out from their report :

"The Thakurs of the village headed by Darshan Sing, Gao Pradhan, armed with guns and other lethal weapons entered the Harijan locality at midnight of 21st July."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Pradhan, please be brief, because many hon. Members want to speak.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN :

"After surrounding the locality they gunned down several Harijans mercilessly. Ramkishan, his 15-year old son Shyamsunder were shot and kerosene was poured on their bodies placed on a cot and burnt. Geeta with seven months pregnancy was heinously killed. They removed her clothes and shot through her vagina ripping the abdomen. Seethu the two-year old daughter of Ramesh Chand was also gunned. The sixth man who was killed was a sixty-five year old Harijan. All other Harijans ran away to escape instant death."

This is what happened in Uttar Pradesh. Just for six bighas of land the six Harijans were killed Thakur Darshan Singh was a notorious person of the locality. They overthrew his gangmen. And, twenty cases were filed against him, but the local police did not arrest him because he belonged to the party in power.

It is a matter of great regret and shame that the hon. Minister of State, Shrimati Ram Dulari Sinha, when she went to Andhra, she made some remarks regarding the N.T. Rama Rao Government there. But those irresponsible and politicking remarks were not made in Uttar Pradesh ! Why did she not find time to go to Uttar Pradesh to teach a lesson of the Constitution of India to Shri N.D. Tiwari and ask him to read it ?

Why did she not have the time to go to Bihar and tell Mr. Dube to read the Constitution properly, because he was totally ignorant of the Constitution ? So 16 ST people were killed in Sahibgani, Bihar.

Why are all these things happening ? The root causes are the land, the forestry and job reservation. Their problem is a socio-economic problem.

The reservation policy was introduced constitutionally under Articles 15(4), 16 (4) and 46 with a view to uplift the conditions of SC & ST people of our country. Articles 15(4), 16(4) and 46 of the Constitution have become the charter of right for the weaker sections of society. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his address in the Constituent Assembly hinted at the complete absence of equality in the Indian society. He said :

"Our Constitution holds out a promise to eradicate social and economic inequality. The goals of economic inequality to be fulfilled by economic projects and plans, while social equality is to be achieved by provisions for reservation, promotion and upliftment of backwardness."

Even after 38 years of independence we have not been able to fulfil the promises made to the SC & ST people. That is the tragedy. What are the main reasons ? In so many reports of the Commission it has been said clearly that land, forestry and job reservation are the main things which can solve the problems of SC & ST people. Even in job reservation what is the position ? You will be astonished to read the figures of reservations in respect of Home Ministry given in the Second Report of the SC & ST Commission's Report, page 264. The figures are like this. In Class I total number of posts-3306 ; SCs-116 i.e. 3.51 percent and ST-61 i.e. 1.85 per cent. In Class II, total number of posts-2553 ; SCs 142 i.e. 5.56 per cent ; STs 35 i.e. 1.37 per cent ; Class III, total number of posts-177345 ; SCs 22743 i.e. 12.82 per cent ; STs 12250 i.e. 6.91 per cent ; Class IV, total number of posts-47505 ; SCs 5651 i.e. 11.90 per cent ; STs 2631 i.e. 5.58 per cent. Out of total posts the percentage of SCs in Class I is 4.83, Class II 8.07 and Class III 11.54 and in STs the corresponding figures are 1.04, 1.24 and 3.04.

The position is much worse in other Ministries. The figure for the Union Bank is 4.42 per cent only what to speak of other undertakings including banking. What is needed to be done immediately is land reforms, land distribution and land recording. What is the progress that has been made for it in the country ?

According to Mahalanobis Committee Report the surplus land in the country was 630 lakh acres; according to the Planning Commission's Report it was 215 lakh acres; according to the Economic Survey Report of 1979-80 it was 46 lakh acres. And the land in the possession of Government as on 31 March, 1984 was 21 lakhs acres. And the land distributed is 12.5 lakh acres only.

What are the positive steps that have been taken to fill up the SC & ST backlog in Government services either in State or in Centre immediately either by special direct recruitment or by promotion? The 20 point Roster must be followed very strictly. If any officer does not do it, he must be punished for that.

Finally I say that mental reservation is required to be driven out from the minds of not only bureaucracy but also the Central Government Ministers and leaders of the Congress (I) Party.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing here a very vital issue. You know it and Government also know it, still I would like to reiterate that no nation can progress by segregating a section of its society from the mainstream of social and economic life. Our country is facing this situation now. The subject we are discussing today relates to a particular section of the society which is being subjected to murder, loot, arson and their womenfolk are being raped. Such incidents are taking place in our country daily. The main reason therefor is that you have not only kept the social and economic exploitation alive but also given a push to it. That is why we are facing these problems today. I would not repeat what several hon. Members have said, but would like to bring to your notice the incidents which I have witnessed. I had also visited Singhpur village in Uttar Pradesh. I saw for myself and also had talks with the people of the village. What had happened was really most inhuman. Six members of the family of Ram Kishan, Baitha by caste, were butchered. While bullets were being fired, one of his sons ran away with his wife and children and entered into another house, but he was not spared there too

and was killed. Ram Kishan's fault was that he was an educated person and had opposed exploitation. He had contested the election for Pradhan's office. This is your administration.

The second incident took place in Prakasam district in Andhra Pradesh where six harijans were killed in Karamchedu village over the issue of drinking water. Five hundred harijans fled the village. It was reported in the press that the Chief Minister reached the spot next day but who were the persons with the Chief Minister? It were those people who had committed these crimes..... (Interruptions).....why are these people disturbing me? Why do they not allow me to speak? I do not say that they were his relatives or not. But the fact to be noted is that the murderers were accompanying the Chief Minister, how could then the police arrest them? Members should rise above party affiliations. Since you are discussing here the issue of harijans, you should be sincere in your expressions about them. The major point is that after the formation of this Government, after our young Hon. Prime Minister took over the reins of the country, more than one hundred harijans have been killed in Bihar from where I come. What are the reasons for these killings? The reasons are that you enacted minimum wage laws, you introduced the 20-point programme, enforced land ceiling laws and propagated them over T.V. and radio and made these people aware of their rights.

15.30 hrs.

SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN *in the chair*

Now when they have woken up, they are being killed like this. They are being killed in two ways, by the police and by feudal lords. Land army was raised there. To fight whom? It is a matter of shame that you handed over arms to such people. Our hon. Home Minister should find out how many harijans were given arms and how many middle class people were given arms. What are the aims of raising land army, Brahmarishi Army and Kunwar Army? They were raised to finish harijans and adivasis. And if you term them naxalites, then I would like to know who is responsible for their emergence

and who reduced them to this position ? Evidently, there has not been balanced development. The level of development has been very high in one part and very low in the other part. In the face of such an uneven development, if they would not become extremists, what else will they turn into ? These days people are starving and not getting work. It is you who have taught them to take to arms, to rebel and then if they struggle, you term them naxalites. They are dragged from their horses and shot dead by the police.

I am not making a speech. I would like to know what programmes you propose to implement. Recently, in Kaithi village in Aurangabad district, 10 harijans were killed and it was said that they were killed in an encounter with the naxalites. You have all the arms, ammunitions and if anyone possesses a gun for self-defence, you have the rifle, you have all the weapons. The Police killed them by showing it as an encounter. I had written a letter to you in this regard. I got a reply that it was an encounter between the naxalites and the police, as per the report of the State Government. But no inquiry committee was constituted for this purpose to check the recurrence of such incidents in future.

Similar incident also took place in Katihar where Adivasis were killed. In Manihari block, for thousands of years people have been celebrating a festival called Sirwa in which they catch and eat fish. The Pramukh of that block had the contract of fishing. When these people caught fish on that day, the Pramukh ordered firing without the permission of the Magistrate. In this incident four Adivasis were killed and four were injured. Similarly, the Police shot dead 15 Adivasi demonstrators. After all, what were these people possessing that posed risk for you ? If a member of a prosperous family is killed while indulging in hooliganism, you say that he has been killed by naxalite harijans. In my constituency, the Commander of Brahamarishi army belongs to your Party and is a Member of Rajya Sabha (I do not want to name him). He is a Chief Commander and an M.L.A. of your party is the Commander. It is a matter of regret that on 18th February, persons belonging to 'Brahman Sena' colle-

cted in Jharkhand of Ghosi Block, the rifles were also collected and they started firing. They announced that if any man did any mischief, his head would be severed. They proclaimed that a youth had become the Prime Minister and they were his elder brothers. Such a propaganda is going on in that area. The result was that Bachoo Paswan and Shivanandan Paswan were beheaded in Kukrasa village of Ghosi block on 5th March 1985. They have not been arrested till now, in spite of dozens of letters written by me. These things are happening under your nose. I had written dozens of letters in this regard but no arrest has so far been made.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in Kaku block a meeting was being held under the auspices of Kisan Sangram Samiti in which about 4 thousand people had assembled. The Police resorted to lathi-charge to disturb the meeting and in the stampede that followed, Bokhari Ram was shot dead. He was a member of Griha Raksha Vahini and his number was 1 1592. That man was on a guard duty at the treasury in Chanoti block four days before he died. The Police contend that he had been a naxalite for the last two years. If he was a naxalite, why was he not dismissed from the service earlier ? When he died he was declared a naxalite. The S.P. and D.S.P. are responsible for it. This is an issue on which you will have to think. Atrocities are being committed on the poor. After shooting him dead, he was branded a naxalite. Today bungling is committed even in the matter of their promotions in service. The high caste people do not want that these people should become their officers. If there were no reservation for these people in Parliament, they could not have become M.Ps. They have become M.Ps only because of the reservation..... (Interruptions)..... You see, there is no reservation in village Panchayats, so there is no harijan Pramukh in them. However honest and dedicated he may be, without reservation he cannot become Pramukh..... (Interruptions)

The committee which was formed under the Chairmanship of Manmohan Singh in its report on law and order stated that it was only in West Bengal that the law and order situation was satisfactory. Government says that the law and

order situation is satisfactory in Bihar. Then what is the necessity of setting up police posts in the villages? This shows that the law and order situation in Bihar is most unsatisfactory. In my constituency, there are police posts in 200 villages. This shows there is no order worth the name there.....(Interruptions).

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please resume your seat. Nothing will go on record. Even if you say anything it will not go on record. My dear friend, there is no use of your saying so many things. It will not be recorded. Shri Bhattam....

(Interruptions)\*\*

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH : We have been given time, how the proceedings would not be recorded....

(Interruptions)\*\*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not recorded. It will not be published too. What is the use ?

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please resume your seat. That will not be recorded. Whatever you said will not be recorded.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY ; Don't be a dictator, Sir. What is wrong? Why should it not be allowed ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You can't say like that. No; nothing doing. Mr. Bhattam.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : Unless he has said anything unparliamentary you cannot do it. He has not said anything unparliamentary.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is my ruling ; it will not go on record. He has exceeded the time. You must obey the Chair. Chair regulates the time. Shri Bhattam.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : Please don't do that.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : This must go on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM (Visakhapatnam) : Sir, atrocities against Harijans are continuing unabated. There is no part of the country which is free from such atrocities. Unfortunately it has become a country-wide phenomenon. In spite of the efforts made by the Government and stringent action taken by various State Governments, these cruelties and atrocities are raising their ugly head. Several instances of atrocities are there. Irrespective of the political parties to which we may belong, we should all put our heads together and unitedly and wholeheartedly condemn this unfortunate phenomenon. There is no question of trying to take political advantage and make political capital out of such colossal and ghastly human tragedy, and the political parties should also evolve for themselves a common code of conduct. There may be some people involved in perpetrating these atrocities and the people involved may also belong to certain political parties. So, the first and foremost duty of all the political parties is to see that those people are removed from the list of members of such parties and they are not admitted by any other political party whatsoever and they should be removed from the membership of all political parties. Some such understanding should come and it is not as if we are here to find out whether this can be stopped and we are not here with a purpose to find fault with each other and see how best we can take advantage of each other's fault, and that is not the purpose for which the discussion is initiated in the beginning.

While I say with all the emphasis at my command that we condemn all such incidents wherever and whenever they occur and we also condemn the persons involved in them, we not only condemn them, but we also help the Government of whichever party it is, and stand by them to root them out and nip them in the bud and also wipe them out. There is no doubt about that.

Unfortunately, this is a socio-economic phenomenon. There are haves and have-nots and between them there is a conflict and tension. The haves from the vested interests and they try to protect their own interests. Unfortunately, in this

process the weaker sections, the Harijans and Girijans, and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the unfortunate victims and the vested interests rule the roost, they resort to ugly and ghastly incidents and they put an end to these people or eliminate them or kill them. This is what is happening. So, Sir, naturally and basically this is a socio-economic phenomenon. This is a conflict between the haves and the have-nots and this is continuing. When these people want to preserve their own rights, invariably these clashes occur and that is how we must have to basically look at this matter and it is not as if we can always take political advantage and try to malign somebody and go on carrying a tirade against somebody. That is not the way.

Now, Sir, let me refer to my own State. An unfortunate incident occurred in a place called Karamchedu which is in Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh. On 16th July this year an unfortunate incident occurred which was followed the next day by a ghastly incident in which five Harijans were brutally murdered and 18 were seriously injured. And most of the Harijans had to leave that place and they had to seek asylum elsewhere. This unfortunate incident has happened in Karamchedu for which we are all shocked ; we are all surprised and we wholeheartedly condemn that. It is not only that. Let me bring to the notice of the House that the Andhra State Legislative Assembly has today passed a unanimous resolution condemning the ghastly incident at Karamchedu and that is the decision of the A.P. Legislative Assembly. So, the A.P. Assembly has done all its best. The Government of A.P. has done its best with a view to curbing it down and condemning it wholeheartedly irrespective of the persons whoever involved in the matter.

Now, while saying that, there may be one incident for which the A.P. Government has to regret for, the people of A.P. have to regret for. But what is happening in other parts of the country and what is happening in other States? Let us go into that. I have with me a report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This report has been placed on the Table of the House and circulated to us. This report is very

clear when it gives figures. This is not confined to any particular area. There may be one incident in Andhra but what has happened in other States? What is happening in other parts of the country? Let us look into that.

Let me, for instance, take Bihar State because that is the State which occurs here first. In the year 1979, according to the report, the number of atrocities reported are 2,152. In the year 1980, the number of atrocities are 1,900. In the year 1984, the figure is 1,845. So, that is the performance claimed by Bihar from which our hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs comes. (*Interruptions*). I am not particularly attributing anything to her. Let me be very clear about this. It is because, after all, this is a situation even in her own State for which she may not be held responsible. She may not be able to do anything. Let her take care of the situation in her own State. In her State, Bihar, let us see, what has happened in the first three months of the year in the months of January, February and March, 1985. In reply to a question, the same Minister, she herself, gave a reply and I am reading from the reply :

“In the last three months, 20 murders occurred ; 24 rapes took place and 57 cases of arson were also reported.”

This is in her State in the first three months of this year. This is the progress ; this is the achievement of the State from which the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mrs. Ram Dulari Sinha comes.

Now, let me refer to other States because after all we are discussing about the similar situation in the country. What is the position in Uttar Pradesh? Sir, in the year 1979, 4,102 cases of crimes were reported or 4,102 atrocities took place. In the year 1980, 4,279 cases were reported. In the year 1984, 4,200 cases took place. In the year 1985, during the first six months, i.e. from January to June, 1,563 cases took place in Uttar Pradesh. In three months, from January to March, 1985, 83 murders took place in Uttar Pradesh ; 66 rapes took place ; and 192 cases of arson took place in Uttar Pradesh. This is the position in Uttar Pradesh. Sir, this is the State which is leading the

entire country. This is the State where the constituency of the Prime Minister is situated and this is the situation in this part of the country. I just cannot say that it is because the Prime Minister comes from that place, it is happening, or so and so should be personally held responsible for this. I am not saying that. This is the position in Uttar Pradesh.

Let us see what is the position in Madhya Pradesh. Similarly, let me quote some figures as far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned because it is fast competing with Uttar Pradesh and also Bihar.

In 1979, in Madhya Pradesh, 3,866 cases were there.

In 1983, 3,877 cases of atrocities took place.

In the year 1984, 5,195 atrocities took place.

This is an all time record in Madhya Pradesh.

From January to March, in the course of the last three months, 1713 such cases took place in Uttar Pradesh. 25 murders, 63 rapes and 79 arson cases took place in Madhya Pradesh. This is the situation.

Like that we go on giving the figures from the statement given by the Minister herself on the floor of the House to the Members. But it is not my immediate interest to give out all the figures and take the time of the House.

This is an all India phenomenon whoever rules and wherever the Congress rules. This is not totally absent. And therefore are we here to take political capital out of this? Should it be our endeavour? Is this the way in which we should look at the problem? Certainly I am not looking at the problem like that. At the same time, I also charge that this Government is incapable of putting an end to such a phenomenon and that they are not able to stop that.

What did the Minister of State of Home Affairs do when she recently visited Andhra Pradesh and went to a place called Karamchedu where I referred to an unfortunate incident that took place on 17th June? There she said 'The Government has no right to exist.'

MR. CHAIRMAN : She did not go there as a Minister. She went there in a private car.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA : None of your Ministers came to receive us ... (Interruptions) I went there in the car of an MP.

[English]

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : She said that the Government there has no right to continue to exist. This is her statement. What is the position in her own State? Should their Government continue to exist there?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Even if a Minister goes in a private car, she does not cease to be a Minister. Let us be very clear about it.

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : That is what she did. She also said "A time will come when the Centre will institute an inquiry into the onslaught. They cannot keep silent."

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot allow more time. You have taken 15 minutes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : This is an issue on which we have given notice. They will go on shouting anything they like and are we to keep quiet?

(Interruptions)

I know how this case took place in...

(Interruptions)

Here I read from the "Indian Express" ... For her intemperate statements, for her reckless and irresponsible statement and she claims to have gone there as an emissary of the Prime Minister. We are not questioning anybody to go anywhere. After all, any Minister can go to any part of the country. She goes in the name of the Prime Minister. But at the same time, when she is going as a representative of the State, then the Government car is made available. But she does not get into the Government car. There is the private contractor. And she gets into that car with Congress symbol and with a hand symbol in that car and travels from this place to that place.

Is this the way in which a representative of the Government should function? Is she going to further the interests of a political party or is she going to serve any purpose so far as that unfortunate incident in that particular area is concerned?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry, Mr. Bhattam. Please try to conclude. It is the Business Advisory Committee which has allotted the time for discussion...

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): We can sit upto mid-night. No time has been allotted. Please allow him to continue.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhattam, please conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot understand why he is so angry. The leaders of major Political Parties have taken a decision in the Business Advisory Committee to allot such and such time for the discussion, and that time has been divided among the Parties according to their strength.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Just now in the Business Advisory Committee it has been agreed that, if it is necessary, we should sit for a longer time today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I do not know.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : In anticipation of that recommendation, you can give him more time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs says that nobody else had gone there except the Chief Minister. On the 17th, this incident happened. The very next day, on the 18th, the Chief Minister flew to that particular area. But she says after going over there that only the Chief Minister had gone and nobody else. In fact, after the Chief Minister's visit, several people have gone there. (Interruptions)

To Kalahandi a Scheduled Tribe area, where people are dying of starvation and semi-starvation, it was only the Prime Minister who had gone. May I ask the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home

Affairs why she did not go there? How many such places has she visited? (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA : I have not said that the Centre would institute an enquiry. Perhaps you do not know that some time ago I went to Bihar also which is my own State in the month of April when 15 Adivasis were killed there

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will get time for personal explanation.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar) : We want to hear her.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The hon. Member is yielding.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not for you to decide. The Chair will decide. Mr. Bhattam, please conclude.

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : As far as this incident is concerned...

SHRI K.H. RANGANATH (Chitradurga) : On a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is the point of order?

SHRI K.H. RANGANATH : The hon. Member seems to be very happy about the atrocities committed on the Harijans. The Speaker has given permission to discuss this issue, but not to make use of this time to take objection to what the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs had stated.....(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order. Please resume your seat. Mr. Bhattam, please try to conclude. You have taken 20 minutes. You must obey the Chair.

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM : I have given Notice. I have the right to speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhattam, you cannot continue like this. Please conclude in one minute.

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Here is a case where the Chief Minister rightly announced a judicial inquiry into the matter.

For the first time in the history this has been done. And it is not by a High Court judge also ; it is by a Supreme Court judge ; that has been announced. Has this been done anywhere at any time before ?

My friend has given an instance where six Harijans were ruthlessly murdered ; one of the ladies was also brutally killed in an inhuman and uncivilised manner.

(Interruptions)

And what has happened there ?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No no, I can't allow this. What can I do ? I can't listen to all this.

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : In Andhra Pradesh, in the month of March, on 8th March, orders were issued by the Department of Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for relief and rehabilitation of victims of atrocities against SC and STs. It is a comprehensive order which was issued as long back as March itself. It is mentioned there Sir, that in the case of temporary incapacitation, Rs. 2000 are given, if death occurs Rs. 10000 are given, if it is grievous hurt Rs. 1000 are given, if rape takes place Rs. 5000 are given, for partial damage to houses Rs. 1000 are given. Like this series of benefits are offered there. Ten thousand houses are offered to be constructed for the benefit of Harijans, for the unfortunate victims of the incidents.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now you conclude.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : You have to accept that. It is the way in which the Minister...

(Interruptions)

Allow me to conclude Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Now you construct a compound sentence !

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : There is a police out-post which is opened there. Two patrols of police were given there for the protection of the people and relief measures are offered. Regular jobs were given to the next-of-kin of those deceased persons. Not only this, these people should

go for some employment, otherwise they can't live. Employment under the same residence should be given. More amount should also be given. In Singpur where similar and much more dastardly incidents have occurred, not even judicial enquiry was ordered and relief was given. Let us not take any political advantage. We are not here to find faults. Let the Minister explain as far as these incidents are concerned. We cut across the party line and try to see that these incidents do not occur. In Andhra Pradesh we don't rest contented till this is rooted out and we are strongly committed to it...

(Interruptions)

We have arrested 65 persons. In the case of UP what has happened ? Let the Minister make an announcement.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhoopathy don't repeat what he has already stated.

[Translation]

SHRI. G. BHOOPATHY (Peddapalli) : Mr Chairman, Sir, after the independence of the country, Gandhiji had said, "the light of independence should be taken to the huts of harijans." But it is a matter of great regret that the leaders of the Congress did not act on the message. They have tried to take this light to the big bungalows and the houses of multi-millionaires and they have been successful in doing so.

Every day harijans are murdered in the country at one place or the other. They are subjected to humiliation and insults. It is the policy of the Government that if six or more harijans are murdered at one place or in one village, then only a discussion is allowed in the House. But if murder of one or two harijans is committed then it is not allowed to be discussed here.

The harijans have faith in the Congress Party and the Congress Government from the beginning. But the leaders of the Congress have no faith in the harijans. At the time of elections, they have a doubt that the harijans might not vote for them. Then they get them some land on lease or get the houses built for them. In this way the Congress Party has been getting harijan votes.

*(Interruptions)*

When again the elections are due, the Congress leaders unleash a reign of terror on these harijans threatening them that if they did not vote for them, the houses of the harijans would be burnt and they would be murdered. In this way, the Congress leaders have been threatening the Harijans into voting for them.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM (Gaya) : It is not the policy of the Congress.

SHRI. G. BHOOPATHY : I have fought Assembly elections four times against the Congress. The Congress leaders create difficulties for harijans by offering them liquor and money. They do not realise their difficulties. These congress leaders offer them liquor during elections. It is only due to the Congress leaders that harijans take liquor.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : I have a Point of Order.

[English]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Roberstganj) : Point of Order, Sir.

MR CHAIRMAN : Please don't disturb him. When you get your chance, you can reply to him.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : How can we say ? He is making a political speech. He is not confining himself to the subject under discussion.

MR CHAIRMAN : You will get a chance.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : I have a Point of Order. It is unparliamentary to cast an aspersion on a particular community. This should be expunged from the proceedings.

[English]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is an allegation against a caste. It should be expunged.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the allegations being levelled by him against the Congress should be expunged.

SHRI. G. BHOOPATHY : Sir, Swami Vivekanand had undertaken foreign voyage for the propagation of spiritualism. He was given a rousing welcome in other countries. When he returned to India, Lakhs of people lined up for several miles to welcome him and to seek his blessings. They touched his feet and requested him to solve their problems. On his way, a harijan came forward with an earthenware full of water and requested Swamiji to quench his thirst with water and get rid of the fatigue. Swamiji drank water and told the Harijan that the latter had a pure heart and a divine face. Saying this, Swamiji gave him blessings and went away. That harijan did not demand anything from Swami Vivekanandji in return. Similarly, why should we demand anything from this Government ? I would only say that we are capable of working hard and we should be left to our fate. But you should stop murdering harijans.

Now I come to Andhra Pradesh. Shrimati Sinha paid a visit to that State. It was not because of any sympathy for the harijans. She wants to take the place of Shri Chavan...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA : There is no such quarrel here. You cannot create differences among us. We are united.

SHRI. G. BHOOPATHY : She is treading a very wrong path. We have faith in the Prime Minister. He is doing excellent work. He will definitely do something for the harijans. We are with him but the Madam comes between us. The Madam has recommended to the Central Government to dismiss the Government of our leader, Shri Ramarao. Madam, you are like our mother. You should not do such things. Please follow the right course. We visited Raswal and Sinhpur and saw the situation there. The Government of our Telugu Desam has been in power in Andhra Pradesh for the last two years. You can compare what the Congress Government have done for the harijans in the last 30 years and what the Telugu Government have done in the last two years. I would cite an example. There are six reserved seats in Andhra Pradesh and all the six seats are with our Party. The Congress Party has not got

any seat out of these six seats. Now you can guess from this how much faith the harijans have in us. Our colleagues went to Singhpur Raswal also. We discussed the conditions there with them for four hours. After all, what have you done for the harijans? If the Congress Party and the Congress Government claim that they have done a lot of work for the development of the country, it is wrong. About 70 per cent harijans have constructed roads, railway lines and have undertaken a number of developmental works. No rich man has contributed his mite on these tasks. All these things have been done by the harijans, as a result of which the country has made progress and the people are leading a comfortable life. Killing of Harijans is indeed most despicable. I am not blaming any party. But my complaint is against the goondas who kill Harijans and the saddest part of it is that the responsibility of apprehending those goondas has been entrusted to those officers who are corrupt and take bribes. If any party wants to do something for the upliftment of the harijans honestly then it is a very good thing. Every party including the Congress Party should work honestly for the upliftment of the harijans. But I would like to say that if you want the upliftment of the harijans in the real sense then an amendment should be made in the Constitution. We want 75 per cent reservation for three years only.

[English]

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI :** I would request the hon. Member to get it passed by the Telugu Desam Government in Andhra Pradesh and then come up before this House. Will you kindly accept this proposal?

[Translation]

**SHRI G. BHOOPATHY:** Let them come fully armed to kill the harijans after three years and we would then see how powerful they are? With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI GANGA RAM (Firozabad) :** Sir, I am grateful to you, and to the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs in particular, because through his

efforts we have been able to get this Calling Attention Notice converted into discussion under Rule 193. When our request was not acceded to, we felt disappointed because cold blooded murders of poor harijans are being committed in the country and we were being denied an opportunity to have a discussion thereon. I am grateful to you and the hon. Minister that it has been converted into discussion under Rule 193 and we have been given an opportunity to speak on this issue.

Our friends who went to Singhpur in District Kanpur were very much agitated. They also met the Hon. Speaker separately but did not get an opportunity because of parliamentary procedure. Still we tried very hard. Now, I am grateful to you for giving us an opportunity to speak about those who have been killed and cannot come to life. In this House there are not only representatives of 70 crore people but many scholars and thinkers of the entire country are also there. But, I observed that when the massacre of harijans was being discussed, the issue was being given a political colour. It is a matter of shame. In fact the problem of security of the harijans is not a political one and it should be solved by intellectuals, social reformers and people's representatives with a cool mind and find ways and means to bring about improvement in the situation. When we talk about Andhra Pradesh, they say why the Union Minister of State visited the State and why did she not go to Uttar Pradesh? The point at issue is not where she went or where she did not go, the point is that of mass murder of the harijans.

We cannot put life into those harijans who have been killed, but I would like to tell you why our Minister of State visited Andhra Pradesh and why did she not go to Uttar Pradesh. It had been decided that a team of 8 or 10 congress MPs would visit Andhra Pradesh, but unfortunately a very sad incident took place and our young Parliamentarian, Shri Lalit Maken, was shot dead. So, the team of the Congress M.P.s could not go there. Still, we are grateful to the hon. Minister who found time to visit Andhra Pradesh and undertook a study of the situation there.

Why did she not go to Singhpur village of Kanpur? I have got a reply to this question also. Many Congress MPs visited the village. Even the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the Congress President of Uttar Pradesh also visited the place and the Union Minister of State, Shri Vir Sen, also reached there. Thus, people in large number had visited the place. (*Interruptions*). But it is not the question whether someone reached a particular place or not. The question is how to solve this problem. I suggest that efforts should be made to solve this problem without getting agitated and find ways and means to solve this problem. It should be solved with a cool mind. When such inhuman incidents take place in the country, we all—be it Government, the ruling party or the opposition—hang our heads. The population of the country is nearly 70 crores and according to the 1981 census, about 12 or 13 crore people have been categorised as harijans, whose 229 castes have been termed scheduled castes. These people are very poor and unhappy. I am of the view that the harijans were made to do a different type of work in the society ever since the creation of the Universe and they have been made to suffer since then. Now, it is the duty of this very society to look after these people of weaker sections and protect their life and property. Our Congress which have been in power since 1936-37 have adopted every possible measure to ameliorate their lot. But here the situation is different and even if God himself becomes the Prime Minister or the Home Minister even he cannot change the social system of the country all of a sudden. All of you will agree with it. So, all of us would have to see how this problem is to be solved. So far as details of the atrocities on the harijans are concerned, I have got a document which contains everything and murders of the harijans that took place have been described in great detail in it. I was Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Uttar Pradesh in 1977 and 1978. In this connection a meeting was held there and it was stated therein that the harijans were subjected to less victimisation after the Janata Party came to power. I quoted the figures available in the files which revealed that during their

regime the number of cases of atrocities on the harijans was maximum. I have got a list with me and if you give me time, I can give details of the incidents that occurred in 1977-79. This list contains details not only about Uttar Pradesh but about the entire country regarding incidence of atrocities committed on Harijans. Harijans are there in all the States except Nagaland. Harijans are there in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh etc. Atrocities are committed on them in the same manner due to caste considerations. If the number of such atrocities is more in Uttar Pradesh, it is because of the fact that it is the most populous State. The more the population the greater will be the number of such incidents. To say that atrocities are on increase in U.P. and Andhra Pradesh as compared to Madhya Pradesh is meaningless and without any logic. It remains a fact that the harijans are being subjected to atrocities throughout India.

I would like to submit one thing more. It is only when the harijans are killed or are converted that our society gets agitated and they start thinking about them. No action is taken in advance and nobody goes there to help them. Government provides assistance according to the policy laid down in this regard and only to the extent of their responsibility. At this sad moment, I recall a couplet of Fana Kanpuri, which is as under :—

*Sahil ke tamashai har doobane wale par  
Afsos to Karte hein imdad nahin karte.*

Nobody goes to help them and no effort is made to understand their sufferings. After murders of the harijans are committed, a series of speeches are made everywhere. I would like to quote below a few portions of the Editorial of the "Dainik Jagaran" appearing some time in 1981 :—

"Their condition be improved by holding conferences. The discontent cannot be generated among the harijans cannot be removed by mere speeches and assurances. Why should harijans continue to remain a part of that society which treats them as the most degraded ones. How a harijan is low as compared

to a caste Hindu? Unless this ego of caste Hindus is curbed, creation of a sound Hindu society is not possible".

Sir, the question is that this is a very serious problem and all of us should find a solution to it unitedly.....(Interruptions) Let me continue. I have got an opportunity with great difficulty. I want to say something about the sufferings of a community. I am very much perturbed. I want to express my feelings. Let me continue.

Sir, recently four incidents of murder of the harijans have taken place. As stated by me, earlier I have got details about the previous incidents. Recently, an incident occurred in Andhra Pradesh. Every incident has the same reason. The reason is neither political nor administrative, but social. A strange tendency has developed in the society of our country. When a harijan girl is raped, people belonging to each political party start shouting and outrage with the poor girl is made public. A hue and cry is raised after a Harijan is murdered. The political parties vie with each other in issuing statements. This is not the solution of the problem. My friends should try to understand about the massacre of Harijans in Andhra Pradesh recently. I appreciate and understand their feelings. A pond is there and separate arrangements have been made for the harijans for providing drinking water. Separate wells are dug for harijans in this country even now. You go to the villages and see their pitiable condition. Separate water tank is there in Karamchedu village of Andhra Pradesh for the harijans. Some caste Hindus brought their buffaloes there for washing and when the harijan women present there objected to it, the Caste Hindus committed such heinous crime that six persons lost their lives and 23 others sustained injuries only because the harijans objected to the washing of buffaloes of the caste Hindus in the water meant for drinking by the harijans. All this happened in Karamchedu village of Prakasham District of Andhra Pradesh. This incident reminds us of the dark Manu Smrit era wherein *Shudras* were considered so low that they had no right to drink pure water and live with dignity.

I know that in villages the caste Hindus have a tendency to harass the harijans in various ways. Singhpur type incidents are the result of the same tendency. It is wrong to say that there was a clash over land or dispute about lease. When we met the Harijans of Singhpur, we came to know about the reason, which is centuries old. The local Thakurs told us that the Harijans have become very arrogant and they contest election against the village Pradhan. Now they greet us with 'Ram Ram' and do not bow before us and when we pass through their 'Mohallas' they do not get up to show respect to us.

Sir, this tendency is widespread in the society. To get agitated or enraged will not serve any purpose. All of us should ponder over this problem seriously. Government is doing whatever is possible. Their resources are limited and within the limited resources and set up it is doing every thing possible. Society should itself ponder over this. A Sanskrit scholar has said—

*Vidya vivaday dhanam madhy  
Shakti padesham par peednaya  
Sa dushto vipreet etat  
Gyanay danay charkshanay*

The noble souls in society utilise education for acquiring knowledge and money for charitable purposes. The powerful protect the weak. The powerful in the society should protect the poor and should not commit atrocities on them.

Besides, I would like to give some suggestions. A reference has been made just now about providing financial assistance to the affected families. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has given some financial help. Our Hon. Prime Minister gave an amount of Rs. 75 thousand. The Union Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs went there and studied this problem. It is meaningless to go into what has been said by a particular person. Nobody should get agitated over it. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has provided financial assistance of Rs. 1.70 lakhs. I am not aware whether Central Government have also given some financial assistance or not. Apart from financial assistance, we should know that one Ram Lakhani Dhobi and his 15 year old son were shot dead and

then burnt on a cot. Kerosene oil was sprinkled on his daughter-in-law Gita who was 7 month ; pregnant and was dragged out of the house and riddled with bullets. Her two year old daughter and her young husband were also dragged and shot dead. The question is whether we should only raise a hue and cry or be satisfied with financial help provided by the Government or the society ? What would be the result ? We have to adopt certain measures and create such an atmosphere in the society wherein recurrence of such incidents could be avoided. This is what I want to submit before you.

So far as the question of preventing victimisation and atrocities on the harijans is concerned, I know that in Uttar Pradesh a post is there for the Scheduled Castes. There is a similar post at the Centre also. There is a D.I.G. Cell in U.P. as in the Central Government. Whenever a State gets an opportunity it makes similar arrangements. But I would like to suggest to the hon. Home Minister that investigation of such cases should be entrusted to a separately constituted police force, as the investigations made in the cases so far did not yield any satisfactory results. I would suggest the constitution of an independent police force, exclusively to prevent atrocities on the harijans.

I would like to add that the people in the society should come forward and try to remove discrimination. I would like to know how many social reformers have emerged in the society after Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekanand, Dr. Ambedkar and Rishi Dayanand. The fact is that their souls are in anguish on account of the present state of affairs in the country. It is the need of the hour that a social reformer like Swami Vivekanand or Mahatma Gandhi, Rishi Dayanand or Indira Gandhi should emerge from the new generation of the country who could solve this problem. This problem cannot be solved by the Government or through discussions it can only be solved by the social reformers.

I would like to put forward one more suggestion. Now television network has reached every nook and corner of the country. It should also produce programmes to ameliorate the condition of the

harijans. I would request the hon. Minister that some programmes should be telecast regarding this social system at least every alternate day, if not daily.

I would finish my speech after saying only one more thing. Regarding the causes of the incidents which occurred in the village Singhpur, I had talked to the youths of the village. They informed us that they had been running from pillar to post for six months and pleading that their lives were in danger and they would be killed. They had also pleaded for the issue of arms licences, weapons and arms. You know that if one individual is armed with a 315 bore rifle and on the other side even if there are five hundred people without any arms, they cannot face one armed individual and all the 500 persons would be killed. I would request the hon. Home Minister that he should kindly write to the Chief Minister of the States to issue arms licences to these poor persons in maximum number.

I wanted to speak a little more, but time is short and there are many Members who have also to express their views. I am very grateful to you that you gave me an opportunity to express my views.

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA** (Robertsganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are very grateful to the Hon. Speaker and especially to the hon. Home Minister that they agreed to convert the calling attention notice into a discussion under rule 193.

Sir, it is matter of deep regret that even after 37-38 years of independence, we should discuss in this House atrocities on the harijans and tribals. Sir, I was pained very much to see that some Members on the other side, instead of speaking on the problem or giving suggestions for the solution thereof, got involved in political controversy. There should not be any difference of opinion on this matter, whether we belong to this side or that side. Today we have to consider the situation in a country, which had given the slogan of

**Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam**

**Sarvejanah Sukhino Bhavantu**

as the theme of its culture. Many distortions have crept in our culture today and

all sorts of atrocities are committed on the harijans and Adivasis and they are even murdered. Sir, what are the root causes of such a situation? Our colleague, Shri Ganga Ramji, has rightly said that our society has not risen above the distortions in our caste system as also above the social system which has been prevalent for so long, even after so many years of independence. First of all, I would like to submit to the Government that the facilities which have been provided to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes under the Constitution should be ensured through a time-bound programme. Such a situation should not be allowed to continue for long. We should not bother about statistics. The fact is that we have not been able to achieve the targets whether it is employment in services, economic development, social reforms or educational reforms. We should work expeditiously to achieve the targets.

When Shrimati Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister in 1980, she gave directions to all the Chief Ministers that the first and foremost task of the Government was to check atrocities on the harijans and Adivasis and they should take effective steps in this direction; but it is a matter of regret that the problem has become complex, because law and order is a State subject. The directions and the policies of the Central Government are not implemented by the State Governments. I know that if two persons of the same village—one caste Hindu and the other Tribal or harijan—apply for an arms licence the Station House Officer of the police station would not recommend the case of the harijan or tribal, because one has to pay illegal gratification for getting an arms licence in the country these days. The harijans and Adivasis do not have money to pay bribes. Government would have to think again for how long would it take to supply arms to them for their protection and for how long such officers would have the power to recommend arms licences who accept money therefor? Government should go into the reasons for atrocities on the harijans. I was studying the situation in Bihar and I was very much pained to see that we had been holding discussions on the report of the Mandal Commission here, but on the other hand atrocities are being committed on the harijans in Bihar. The

present structure of the society is such that a certain caste is considered higher than Ahir, Ahir is considered higher than Pasi, Pasi is considered higher than Dhobi and Dhobi is considered higher than Chamār. All the political parties would have to sit together and consider how to change this caste system. The recent happenings in Gujarat and other places are a challenge to the very future of democracy in the country. If we do not consider the important aspects with a view to bringing about national integration, the situation might become more serious. When the issue of reservations came up here, it was said that there was need to bring about a national consensus about it. I agree with this point of view. It is a well known fact that the number of the harijans and Adivasis in the country is 25 per cent of the total population. The process of rationalisation had started since 1967. There are certain States which have not furnished information regarding the harijans and Adivasis in their States despite repeated reminders by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In such a situation it becomes our duty to sit together and consider this matter. The quota of the harijans and Adivasis has been filled in I.A.S. and I.P.S. But we should consider this issue as to what was the requirement regarding class III and class IV posts, which we could not implement according to the spirit of the Constitution despite 38 years of independence. The harijans and Adivasis are, therefore, suffering in two ways. On the one hand, the society says that there is much publicity regarding concessions to Harijans on Radio and Television and on the other hand it is not being implemented. The publicised programmes are not implemented and this is proving to be a curse for the harijans. My first demand is that the declared policy regarding the harijans and Adivasis must be implemented. I would like to point out that the programme under I.R.D.P. and N.R.E.P. are not being implemented properly. A buffalo worth Rs. 1500 is being provided to the Adivasis for Rs. 3000. Is it not a fact that not even half of the surplus land made available as a result of implementation of the Land Ceiling Act has been distributed among the harijans even after 37-38 years of independence? The harijans have not been given the possession of the land which has been allotted to them. They have been given the lease, but suits are going on in the courts

Government should come forward in this matter. If the Government have given the lease of the land, it is their duty to hand over the possession of the land also to them. At present the Government have put the harijans and Adivasis in more difficulties. We should consider how to remove their difficulties. There are three or four reasons for the atrocities being perpetrated on them. The harijan has awakened today and he knows that atrocities are being committed on him. If his daughter or daughter-in-law is molested, he is prepared to face the situation. Secondly, as one of my friends has just now said, the harijans cannot sit on the cot. We know how a harijans officer is treated even today. Even today if he goes to a village, he is not treated as an equal and is not offered drinking water in a glass tumbler. How then their morale can be boosted? Therefore, I demand that since reservation cannot be allowed for long, nor is it desirable, there is need to formulate a time-bound programme to bring backward sections of our society at an equal footing and to educate them. The type of education being given to the harijans in District Board schools and other schools would not help to bring them up as equals.

So far as the question of giving them scholarships is concerned, I may tell you how the harijan students are harassed even in this matter. Of course, our Government want to give them scholarships but they do not get it and the whole year elapses. This is not confined to one or two places only but this is the story everywhere. I, therefore, want to submit that our budget needs to be codified in each Ministry. You can see for yourself how many tribals or harijans have been given licences for setting up industries and how many of them have been given cultural facilities. They, of course, have received some assistance, and work under I.R.D.P. and today there is awakening among them.

Here, one thing which I want to say is that the lot of our harijans, girijans and tribals can be ameliorated only if an environment for their upliftment is created. Since our tribals live under peculiar conditions, their lot cannot improve unless facilities to suit these conditions are given

to them. Today, all their traditional rights are being usurped and concessions have been withdrawn. As a result, what do we see in Bihar? Are naxalites not there in Bihar? When they raise their voice for their rights, they are branded as naxalites. Similarly, the tribals, wherever they are, whether in Bastar or elsewhere, they find themselves isolated. Today, I am glad that some work is being done for their welfare under the leadership of our able Prime Minister. Special programmes are being drawn up for the harijans, girijans and tribals so that they could be uplifted. All such programmes of the Government are there in a big way. The same old situation is not there any more. Therefore, time has come now when we need not hide anything and we should work for creating an environment for their education, economic development and security. Cutting across party lines, both ruling party and opposition should extend their whole-hearted cooperation in this endeavour.

I would also like to point out that so far as the question of right to equality guaranteed under the Constitution is concerned, upliftment of the harijans and girijans in the country cannot be ensured as long as equal opportunities are not provided to them to achieve that equality. As long as we do not work whole-heartedly to enable them to enjoy that right to equality guaranteed under the Constitution, nothing will happen. They also want to have the right to equality. They also need a treatment similar to the one we give to a sick family member in the form of good food till he regains health. Today, they expect that kind of treatment from you. They expect feelings of brotherhood and love. Therefore, I want that not only the harijans, girijans and tribals but other people should also come forward in this endeavour and raise their voice, it is not our prerogative. Today, Shri Madhu Dandavate should speak, Shri Narayan Choubey should come forward, because whenever the subject of atrocities on Adivasis and harijans comes up in the House, we do speak, but others, do not make their contribution. Therefore we all should come forward today and reassure lakhs and crores of these people that the situation of Gujarat would not be repeated anywhere in the country. Should such a situation recur, the entire country

would be behind the harijans and Adivasis to protect them. Thank you.

**SHRI R.P. SUMAN (Akbarpur) :** Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a very important subject in this House today. It is most distressing that today in the country of revered Bapuji, who gave the country the message of humanity and non-violence, despicable incidents of this nature are taking place in many parts which make all of us hang our heads.

While this discussion is going on here in the House and we are listening to the views of the hon. Members, I want to say in no uncertain terms that these incidents are not taking place in a particular State, these are not confined to Andhra Pradesh alone, such incidents have taken place in other States as well. While on the one hand we are criticising the incidents in Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand we are defending the incidents of Andhra Pradesh. But it is a fact that the pattern of incidents in Andhra Pradesh has been the same as those of Kanpur.

I had myself gone to Singhpur village in Kanpur. Shri Gangaramji M.P., Shri Mahavir Prasad, General Secretary of the Congress party in the State and the Union Minister of State had also gone there. Prior to that the Chief Minister of the State and two senior State Ministers had also visited these villages and made announcements with regard to relief. Similarly, the hon. Members from Andhra Pradesh had said that their Chief Minister had paid a visit to the affected areas and made announcements regarding relief, but that is a different matter. The major issue is that mass murder took place in Andhra Pradesh as also in Kanpur, Madhya Pradesh, Tripura and other places. In one month mass murders took place in four different States and we had seen that everywhere the same issues were raised over and over again and you are well aware of those issues.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would not like to say much on this subject because other hon. Members have thrown light on it. I would like to draw your attention to two or three issues in brief. I would like to talk about the incidents which occurred in Kanpur in particular, because the Congress is in power in that State. Later, I would

speaking about Andhra Pradesh, otherwise the Members of the Opposition would say that I have a partisan approach. I had visited Singpur Raswal and I do not hesitate to say that these unfortunate incidents would not have happened but for the negligence on the part of the administration. The dispute between the harijans and the Thakurs started on the issue of the election for the office of the village 'Pradhan' and since then the harijans have been receiving threats to their life and property. I am citing an example which happened in the year 1984. A harijan was killed on 31-5-84 and the hay-stock of another harijan was burnt on 8-6-84 and the Jhunjhar Police Post was informed in writing on 12-7-84 but the incharge of the Police Post did not take any action in this regard. Then the complaint was lodged at the Mangalpur Police Station on 17-7-84 but in vain. On 19-6-84 two harijans were beaten up for merely sitting on a cot and the harijans took up this incident with the Officers, they just laughed it away and did not take any action. I am making a mention of these incidents because when these incidents occurred, the incharge of the Police Post was Shri R.S. Sangar, who is a Thakur and again when the complaint was lodged at the Police Station, Shri Udambir Singh was the S.H.O. who did not take any action in this regard. Later, when the case went up to the D.S.P., Shri S.K. Singh, he also did not take any action. When some harijans complained to the incharge of the 'Harijan Cell' on 27-6-84, the Inspector who went for inquiry was Shri Ranjit Singh. I have myself seen the way the said officer used to go and conduct the inquiry. He used to sit at the very doors of the persons against whom the complaints were lodged and you can yourself imagine how the inquiry was conducted and justice was dispensed. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am saying this because when those harijans and Adivasis gave in writing on 28-6-85 to the S.P. Kanpur (Rural), Shri R.K. Tiwari, about serious threat to their life and property and that any serious incident could occur there, you would be surprised to know that he marked that complaint as 'Seen, file' and did not take any action thereon. On the 21st July, this incident occurred and six harijans were killed. So, we should pay immediate attention to these sequence of incidents. Had the police taken effective measures to

deal with the situation at administrative level, the incident would not have occurred at all.

Secondly, I would also like to add that the arms licences of accused, who had killed so many harijans in one year and against whom cases are still pending in the Courts, and the case came up for hearing on 29-7-85, were not confiscated. On the other hand, the harijans have been continuously applying for the last one year for gun licence but they have not been issued any licence so far. Instead, the nephew of one of the accused Darshan Singh who is 'Pradhan', Gopal Singh was issued a licence within one month and the same gun was used in this incident. I am saying this because had the police officers adopted effective measures to deal with the situation, this sad incident would not have occurred and this shameful incident would not have come up for discussion in this House. I would, therefore, request that such situation should be tackled with a heavy hand.

I can recall that for the last many years such incidents have been continuously occurring in Kanpur, whether it was in Behmai, Astabad, Dastanpur or in Singhpur Raswal. I would cite one example why all this is happening and where the flaw lies. I am admitting it and perhaps the Members of the Opposition might say 'Shame, Shame'. Because this is not applicable to the States ruled by the Opposition parties but it is applicable to the States ruled by us. It is, therefore, sad. The Opposition is not feeling it but we do.

In the Behmai Carnage, 20 Thakurs were killed and the Director General was immediately removed. In the Dastanpur carnage 9 Mallahs were killed and the Chief Minister tendered his resignation. But in the Singhpur Raswal carnage, only the incharge of the Police Post and afterwards an Inspector were suspended. On the one hand in a case of carnage the Director-General was removed but on the other hand it was a clear cut case of murder and still only the incharge of the Police Post was suspended. If the Government would continue such a policy

and act in this manner how can we expect that justice would be dispensed ?

We are well aware that these incidents have been occurring because of the position of the caste system and untouchability which has crept in our Society in such a way that it has vitiated the whole atmosphere. Whenever any such incident happens, this plea is put forward.

An official in the rural Kanpur had said that one of the Harijans had committed a murder only a few days back. Thus, the facts of this incident are being twisted. The complaint of that incident was lodged under section 396 of I.P.C. by the police, and not under section 302 of the IPC, which the intention of weakening the case so that the matter could be hushed up. It was registered as a dacoity and not as a case of murder. Moreover, it is being said that the harijans are to blame for this incident. One Urdu poet has aptly said :

Gunahgaron me shamil hun,  
gunahon se nawakif hun  
Saza to janta hun,  
par Kunda jane Khata Kya hai.

The same thing has happened in Andhra Pradesh as well and there also the social conditions are the same. When the hon. Member, Shri Ganga Ram, spoke about Andhra Pradesh, none of our Opposition friends cried 'Shame, Shame'. When we came to know about the horrible incident that occurred in Andhra Pradesh, through the newspapers, we felt extremely sorry. The Chief Minister had denied that legal aid would be provided to those harijans, because harijans have been killed.

Who are the killers ? Who were the persons who went along with the Chief Minister in an entourage\*\*\*\*was also in the entourage. It is a matter of shame and they should be ashamed of it. (Interruptions)

I can challenge it. It is a matter of shame and you should be ashamed of it.

(Interruptions)

\*\*\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[English]

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : This must be expunged from the records.

[Translation]

SHRI R.P. SUMAN : I can give you those names. Please listen to me.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : If all of you stand up, I cannot hear you. Let one person say at a time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : He is telling that the Chief Minister had not gone there. The Chief Minister is helping the people who were responsible for this. It is all completely false.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : When you take your chance, you say it is not correct. You are free to correct it.

(Interruptions).

[Translation]

SHRI R.P. SUMAN: They are the people who shed crocodile tears in the name of harijans.

(Interruptions)

Sir, these are extremely shameful incidents and drastic steps should be taken to stop them. We would, therefore, like that wherever such incidents occur, irrespective of the party in power there, effective steps should be taken and the culprits should be brought to book.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Mr. Chairman, I want to raise a point of order.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is the point of order? Under what rule? It should be under some rule; under what rule?

[Translation]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Mr. Chairman, I am on a point of order.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Under what rule?

[Translation]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Sir, on a point of order.

(interruptions)

[English]

Mr. CHAIRMAN : Order, Order. I asked you, under what rule. You are raising a point of order. There should be violation of some rule. If there is infringement of the rule, under what rule?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is making an allegation.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: You are free to deny it.

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Don't allow this to happen. He is attacking the Chief Minister. It should be removed from the record.

[Translation]

SHRI R.P. SUMAN : Sir, these are very shameful incidents. We should act firmly to check them. They are taking place on large scale in Andhra Pradesh.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Why are you allowing him?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will look into it. If there is anything objectionable I will remove it.

[Translation]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Sir, this is allegation being made against us. It should, therefore, be expunged.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no. First of all, you are free to correct it. If whatever he has said is wrong you are free to correct it.

Second thing : If there is any violation of rule, we will look into it. If there is violation I will rectify it.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : He is making an allegation.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let the hon. Member conclude. All of you may please sit down. If there is any violation of rule, it will be rectified.

AN HON. MEMBER : You should expunge it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will go into the record. Now let the hon. Member conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI R.P. SUMAN : Sir, the utterances made in their speeches by our friends in the Opposition have come before this House and I wanted to prove what their intention is. There is a lot of difference between what they profess and what they practise.

It is true that atrocities are being perpetrated on the weaker sections, harijans, Adivasis and the poor. Our administration should take ruthless steps to curb this and wherever such incidents take place the district authority, particularly the Police Superintendent should be removed immediately from there. Impartial inquiry should be conducted and action should be taken keeping the facts in view. At the same time, the posts such as that of Commissioner, etc., which are lying vacant, should be filled up expeditiously. Very firm action is needed today to safeguard and provide security to the poor harijans against exploitation.

With these words, I conclude.

17.05 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHER *in the chair*]

\*SHRI BAJU BAN RIYAN (Tripura East) : Mr Chairman, Sir, today we are discussing the atrocities committed on harijans and girijans. We discuss the same problem in this House in every session. But Sir, the number of atrocities on harijans and girijans go on increasing day by day in all the States where Congress Government is in power. I want to say very clearly that these incidents of

atrocities are the result of and reflect the policies and programmes adopted by the Congress Government and the laws enacted by them in the name of protecting the harijans and girijans. The measures adopted by the Government in the name of protecting their land and their constitutional rights are not being properly implemented. As a result of that the harijans are becoming the victims of atrocities on them and they are increasing day by day. The Commission on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes set up by the Government have analysed that the causes of atrocities on harijans and girijans may be classified as follows :

1. Land dispute
2. Economic problems
3. Police atrocities
4. Personal enmity
5. Untouchability.

Other reasons for such incidents are—rape, kidnapping, molestation, robbery, exploitation by contractors etc. etc.

From the facts and figures supplied by the Government for the year 1984 in respect of crimes like, rape, murders, arson etc. committed on harijans and SC/ST people, it is seen that the total number of such incidents is 20,159. Out of that the number of scheduled caste victims 15936 and that of scheduled tribes is 4223. Shri Amar Roy Pradhan who spoke earlier had pointed out that Madhya Pradesh leads in the number of such atrocities, followed by U.P., Bihar and Andhra Pradesh in that order. In all these States during the period that this report covers i.e. in 1984, the Congress Government was in power. I am giving the number of atrocities committed on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes separately in the various States :

\*The speech was originally delivered in Bengali.

This is according to the Government figures :

	Total no. of crimes	against SC	against ST
M.P.	8681	5537	3144
U.P.	4200	4200	Nil
Bihar	2048	1845	203
Andhra Pradesh	244	190	54
West Bengal	33	18	15

But Sir, the number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Tribals in States like Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Tripura is not small. Therefore we see that in those States where non-Congress to Opposition parties are in power, the number of crimes against harijans and SC/ST people are far less, compared to Congress ruled States. It can be said that in those States where the Opposition Parties are in power, the programmes and economic policies of the Central Government regarding the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are being implemented in a far more effective manner. That is why in these States the incidents of atrocities on the harijans etc. are much less compared to the Congress ruled States. Sir, the Central Government has undertaken several large projects in the interest of the country and the nation, like Bharat coking Coal and various iron and steel factories, various hydro-electro projects etc. Sir, these projects are being set up mostly in the areas inhabited by scheduled caste and scheduled tribes people. Due to these projects also, these poor people are getting uprooted from places of their original habitation and getting displaced as their land is acquired. I am not saying that the Government should not take up these projects as they are in the interest of the country. The country will surely prosper and develop through them. But at the same time I will say that the Government should pay due attention to those harijans, girijans etc. who are getting uprooted and displaced on account of these projects. These people

should be provided employment in those very projects in keeping with their education and other capabilities, they should be paid full compensation for their land and houses etc. from where they are being displaced. Had the Government attended to these problems, the number of atrocities on them would have come down. But what do we actually see? In Bharat Coking Coal mines which is situated in Bihar, 50000 workers belonging to the scheduled tribes had been retrenched or dismissed during the last seven years. They were of course working against low-paid jobs. In this way through the implementation of different Government plans and projects also, the SC/ST people are facing more atrocities and harassment.

Sir, in the name of conservation of forests, they are being made to suffer. From times immemorial, these tribals, harijans and girijans had been depending on forests and forest products as a sort of their birthright or their socio-economic system. They live in the forests and hills and depend on forest wealth for their economic activities and their means of livelihood. Forests are the foundation of their economy and provide them food. After this Government came to power the tribals were driven out of their natural habitat of forests and denied the right to forest produce. False cases were instituted against these people and they were being uprooted and evicted. Contractors are being appointed in the forests who are destroying valuable forest wealth and these harijans and girijans are being employed by them against very poor wages. This is also a form of atrocity on the harijans and girijans although the Government do not count them as such and it does not find a place in the statistics of the Government. When the tribals and adivasis agitated on this ground, the police resorted to firing on these hapless people. At a place in Bihar, called Bhanju, in April, of this year, an Ex-M.P. of this very House, Sir, Anthony Murmu was killed in police firing. I have got figures that between 1978 and 1982 there had been 14 cases of police firing on the adivasis and tribals in which 25 person killed and a few thousand adivasis and harijans were injured. The Government is responsible for these incidents. They

invited police firing on the tribals in the name of conservation of forests and in the name of implementation of their various projects. Over and above the reasons already enumerated by me for atrocities on harijans, I will mention another additional reason and that happens to be a political reason,

Sir, the major political parties in India specially the Congress party which is in power today and is running the Government of the country, is joining hands with the regional communal parties, particularly these parties formed by the tribals and the harijans in various States. The small regional and communal parties are being misled and exploited by the Congress party for their own political gains. This way the unity and integrity of the country is being affected adversely. Sir, what is happening in some of the North Eastern States like Nagaland, Mizoram, and Tripura? In my State Tripura there is an extremist party called 'Tribal National Volunteers'. This is an underground terrorist wing of the 'Tripura Upajati Juva Samiti', which is a regional party of Tripura. This TNV has been created in their political interest. Now, the demand of this TNV is, that they want to create an independent tribal State in Tripura. They want that in that independent Tribal State only Tribals shall live and nobody else. I think that this is a wrong idea and wrong thinking. If we separate ourselves from the rest of India and are cut off from the mainstream, then we, the tribals and others living in that State will stand to lose and we will suffer more and will become weaker.

This Tripura Upajati Juva Samiti is being used and utilised for election purposes. During the last Tripura Assembly elections in 1983, during the last Lok Sabha elections in 1985 and during the elections to the Tribal area autonomous district council, under the sixth schedule, held on 30th June, 1985, the Congress entered into electoral alliance with this regional communal party. With the alliance of this 'Juva Samiti' and with the help of the TNV its underground terrorist wing, the Congress did achieve temporary improvement in the election results no doubt. But I think that this politics and policies of the Congress is creating conflict and discord

among the tribals themselves on the one hand, and between the tribals and non-tribals on the other hand. This TNV has resorted not only to the murder of the Tribals in Tripura, they have also murdered many Bengalis who are more advanced. They are instigating the people to commit murder and as a result of that instigation, many innocent tribals are being murdered. Here one hon. Member mentioned in his speech earlier, that in 1980 there was a massacre of the tribals in Tripura. I may tell him that, it was not a massacre of the tribals alone, it was a massacre both of Bengalis and tribals. That was actually a riot. The Congress party there, the 'Juva Samiti' and the 'Amra Bangali' party were jointly responsible for that riot. We have stated it clearly again and wherever possible.

In the end I will say that if the Congress does not change its policies, then the incidents of atrocities on harijans and girijans can never be stopped. The Government have said that they had issued guidelines to different States in 1980. They have examined the working and effectiveness of those guidelines. After reviewing that, in April '85 they have issued fresh revised guidelines to the States. Let us wait and see how these revised guidelines work. I know that in the earlier old guidelines no provision was made for issue of licences for guns to the harijans and girijans to help them in self protection.

Sir, I clearly remember that on the floor of this House, Shri Zail Singh'ji, who is at present the hon. President, had once announced that licences for arms and guns shall be issued to the Tribals, girijans and harijans for self defence on a priority basis. I do not know whether that has been implemented anywhere, in any part of the country.

Of course, I do not think that by issuing licences for guns to them, the whole problem will be solved. If they can be made economically self reliant and economically strong, if they can find independent means of livelihood that will be the only permanent solution of the problem. A vast majority, almost 90%, of all those who are living below the poverty line in India, belong to the Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and

tribals. They have to go to others and depend on them for their food and means of livelihood. That is why all types of atrocities are committed on them, and they are on the increase. The only way to save them and to let them live like human beings, is to overthrow the present Government in the country and to establish socialism and a socialist Government. I see no other way. I think that is the only solution. Just as in Russia and China poor classes arise, awake and marched forward and found the path for their survival, similarly we have also to follow the same path. There is no other way. With that I conclude.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. K S. Rao.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : When is the Minister to reply ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are a large number of Members who wish to speak. We shall see.

SHRI K.S. RAO (Machilipatnam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not belong to the pre-Independence period ; I belong to the post-Independence period. Still, from the information that we have, I could understand that the nation was one in throwing out the rule of the foreigners and the rule of oppression irrespective of the fact to which caste or community or creed or religion we belonged to. Today we find in certain parts of the country similar feelings in the weaker sections of the society, particularly in the downtrodden and the Harijans. Though there is freedom politically and, to a certain extent, economically, socially they are still not feeling that they have the freedom to express their feelings, and they are not being allowed to live in their own way in certain parts of the country. There are clear examples. We have seen this recent past not only in Andhra Pradesh but also in other parts.

I have been hearing some of the Opposition Members telling the House that the Congress has not done anything to the Harijans. I want to tell them that it is the Congress Party that has created confidence in the minds of the poorer sections of the society that here is the Government which will protect them

when they are in trouble, when they are beaten mercilessly. I would certainly agree if somebody were to say that there is not as much economic development and progress among these sections as there should be. But one cannot dispute the fact that there is political freedom and there is social consciousness among these sections. Particularly during the time of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, every one of them did feel that, if some injustice were to occur to any one of them, her Government was there to protect them. But in the recent past, some of the incidents that have occurred show that the trend is being reversed. There would have been criticism with more vehemence from the Opposition Parties had the Janata Party not come in power for some time during which time the country had seen so many atrocities being committed on the Harijans. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, whatever may be the slogan, whatever may be the speeches they may be making, we know what is happening there today. I know with how much vehemence and how much thumping of benches they would have criticised us in the House saying that the Congress has not done this and that, had this incident not occurred in Andhra Pradesh. I can understand what federalism means in their minds. Possibly, federalism according to them means that they do not want the Government of India Ministers to go and find out what happened in a particular area.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : When you were speaking, he was hearing you patiently. You should also hear him when he speaks. Why are you getting agitated ?

SHRI K.S. RAO : Possibly they have not realised that we are living in an era where every citizen knows what his rights and what his duties are. In a period where there is total ignorance, a husband could have claimed, if he had killed his wife, that nobody should interfere in that matter because he had killed his own wife. But he can not do it today.

In Andhra Pradesh, they may have won the majority in the Assembly elections, but the Government of India is there, and the Prime Minister or the Home Minister

of the Government of India has every right to visit a particular area and find out what atrocities were committed in that particular place.

I can still understand the opposition members asking the Government as to why the Central Government has not sent the concerned Minister or some other Minister to other parts where such incidents have occurred. But I cannot find a reason how a Minister of a particular State could question why Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, has sent the Home Minister and what for? I don't expect that the Minister of a State will heckle a Minister of the Central Government who has come and find out the truth in person. I accompanied her on that day when Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha had come. I have received her at the Airport of Vijayawada and I took her; we went together.

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Was it in a private car ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI K.S. KAO : We went there. Arrangements were made by the Party in Andhra Pradesh. Madam, in her speech at Chirala, after visiting the injured in Guntur hospital later.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is wrong if she had used a private car ?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Did she visit Andhra Pradesh after informing the State Government ?

SHRI K.S. RAO : Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha, during her speech in Chirala told the Home Minister of the State Shri Nageswara Rao.....

"I understand that you have questioned the propriety of the Prime Minister in sending the Home Minister to find out the truth about the atrocities committed in Karamchedu..."

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : Nobody questioned.

SHRI K.S. RAO . Remember, the Prime Minister is not the Prime Minister of one state. He is the Prime Minister of the country as a whole. He has got every right to send anybody to anywhere in the

country, why Andhra Pradesh alone, Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha said "I came here on the advice of the Prime Minister. But still, as the Home Minister of this country, I have got every right to come to your State and find out the truth about all these things". If all these things were to be wrong, if they have to make so much fuss about it, I am of the opinion that in course of time if that federalism was to decide the country's future, no Government of India Minister can go anywhere in the State, if it were to be in the hands of an Opposition Party.

(Interruptions)

Yes, my friends were telling that Congress Party has not done anything to Harijans. Mr. Chairman Sir, the Opposition...

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : She did not inform the State Government, Sir.

SHRI K.S. RAO : The Hon. Colleagues in the opposition parties are making any amount of claims. Let an impartial enquiry team visit the entire Harijanwadadas of Andhra Pradesh and make an assessment and find out the truth. Whether it is Press whether it is Parliament Members team, it may be anything. Let them find out whether Harijans of Andhra Pradesh are secure in the hands of the Congress Government or in the hands of the TDP Government today.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : We can certainly say that they are more happy in the hands of the TDP Government.

SHRI K.S. RAO : After Smt. Ram Dulari Sinha visited there, a judicial enquiry commission was announced. But today we find...

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : On the very first day, on 18th the Chief Minister had announced the judicial enquiry.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Why do you blame? We are all in Congress. Unnecessarily you are making fuss.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You had your say. Now I have allowed him to have his say.

(Interruptions)

It is on the record. Whatever he has to say, let him say.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K.S. RAO : I am not the one who will support such incidents even if it were to occur in Delhi. Why any part of the State or any other distant part, whether it is ruled by the Congress Party or by a non-Congress party. But here is a case, the case of Karamchedu which is totally different from all other incidents...

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : How is it ?

SHRI K.S. RAO : The incident is like this. On the 16th evening when a person belonging to the well-placed community took a buffalo near the village tank and was trying to give a wash with water going into the pond, it was objected to by a young man of the weaker section. He said, "We do not get enough drinking. This tank is meant for drinking water for all the communities of the village. Why do you unnecessarily spoil and pollute the water?" Immediately the upper community man tried to man-handle him. I certainly do not attribute it to any particular party. But this ego is existing in the upper community and this is their attitude to the weaker sections of the community wherever they are and particularly in rural areas where the richer sections are in good number and where there is unity among the richer sections while the weaker sections are not so united, these incidents are occurring and I am of the opinion that not only in Karamchedu but in many other villages in Andhra Pradesh it is going to occur...

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : That is your predictions ?

SHRI K.S. RAO : The country cannot be happy by merely saying that the Chief Minister has visited the village. 'We have paid Rs. 10,000, we are going to build houses.' and all that. We certainly appreciate the measures that have been taken. But it is no solution-paying money or giving employment and then putting them to all the torture. They were not killed in a clash. It is not a fight between two individuals. It is not a fight between two

families. It is a fight between the ego of this well-placed section of the society and the weaker section of society which lack economic and other powers. They are mercilessly and indiscriminately killed and injured irrespective whether it is a child, old man, lady and whether the person involved or not in the incident is immaterial. Not only that, they went and chased them for miles and then killed them or injured.

The other day our team went there. There is nothing wrong. It is absolutely right. Let us go and find the truth. There is no use to just sit here and find fault with the Home Minister who went there. The Home Minister did go and she visited all the houses. She wanted to enquire personally but somebody from behind was asking the Collector to go to the Home Minister and tell her what has happened. She said, 'I have come here. Certainly I will hear you, but I have come here also to know the facts by personally inquiring from the people of the locality.' But he was trying to see that the information is given by the Collector and the Home Minister should go back taking the information from the Collector...

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : What is the report ?

SHRI K.S. RAO : I will say that the Union Home Minister has not come all the way from Delhi to take the report or the information from the Collector or the Superintendent of Police and go back. If it were to be so, she need not have come all the way from Delhi to Karamchedu. She also came to know personally what has happened there. In the meantime a person belonging to the other wing was making a comment that 'Here is the Home Minister who has come here to make politics on the dead bodies.' That is their slogan. This is the way they are thinking. That is how they find fault with the Government of India and the Home Minister.

Such incidents have to be condemned irrespective of in what place they occur and I am of the opinion that immediate measures must be taken to see that such incidents do not occur in other parts of the country by taking stringent measures. It is not enough just to leave these things to

the routine judiciary or the routine processes of law that are available in the country. It takes a long time and no justice may be done. In course of time there may not be evidence or they may purchase the witnesses and see that all the culprits go scotfree. Automatically the confidence among the weaker sections of not only in Karamchedu but throughout the country will be lost. They still feel that in case any action is taken against them, we will know in course of time. We will find after one or two years what has happened to these people—whether they go scot-free or they are punished. If the intention of the State Government is clear then hats off to them. Only when these culprits are punished we will say that they are good. Today from the incident that has occurred and from the actions of the police I can authentically say that they are not acting in a manner they should have done.

Sir, I was there on that day. The villagers complained to me that some of their people are innocent and they were just walking on the road and they have been detained by the police. Then I went to Kalyan Mandappam where they were detained and asked the DSP there the reasons for which he has detained them. He fumbled and said that he has detained them just for the sake of law and order. When I asked him to release them immediately he did so. People had gone out of the room to the varandah but did not leave because it was raining. Then the DSP said you asked me to release them but they are not leaving. Then I told them nothing happens to you if you just get drenched in rain one day. Please go away. Then I wanted to inquire from the other wing where 40 others were detained. He refused me permission to speak to them. Then when I asked the DSP himself what for he has detained them. He said under Section 144 he has detained them. But when I asked whether he has suspected the bonafides of the people and given them enough warning about that Section once again he fumbled and said, "Sorry, Sir. I cannot do anything. I cannot release them."

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Sir, I rise on a point of order. The judicial inquiry is going to take place. Where is the question of levelling charges against the

police officers? The concerned police officer has also been transferred in the interest of justice.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order.

SHRI K.S. RAO : And when I asked to get me connection on wireless or telephone to the DIG or SP he said both the instruments are not working. This is the way they have acted. Then how do you expect the people to have confidence? They might have given some money or houses but do you expect the rich and the well-placed to kill the poorer sections and afterwards pay some money out of their riches? Is it the way how things are to be solved?

Sir, in fact, the people of Karamchedu are to be appreciated by one and all. They refused to accept help from the State Government. At the same time I was hearing somebody saying that the Minister of State, Shrimati Ram Dulari Sinha asked them not to accept the help. It is a wrong information. They themselves had refused. When the Chief Minister arrived on 19th whereas the incident occurred on 17th it is understood from the news media that they refused to accept flowers and fruits offered by him.

Sir, if the inquiry is conducted without any bias and favour then hats off to them. I request the House, the Chairman, Speaker and the hon. Minister to immediately think of some type of legislation to be brought in to deal with such cases at the earliest so that the culprits do not go scot-free and fear is infused in the mind of the rich people and confidence is infused in the mind of the weaker sections of the society. Thank you very much.

[Translation]

SHRI MANKURAM SODI (Bastar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to speak about Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. It is a district predominantly inhabited by the tribal people and harijans who have been oppressed and exploited for centuries and are being exploited even today. I shall give some precise examples in this regard. Even now some so-called advanced people, self-styled progressive people, are making tribal girls of our district Bastar their concubines.

They purchase land in their names and take possession of such land. When a son is born to such a concubine, the land is transferred in his name. Afterwards, the so-called progressive people get the land transferred in their own names and thus become the landlords. This is the first type of exploitation.

The second type of exploitation is that these people engage the adivasis as domestic servants and purchase tribals people's land in the names of those servants and later themselves become owners of the land while the poor Adivasi servants remain servants only. Sir, many a time, the land with teak plantations worth lakhs of rupees is purchased in the names of these servants. This is because there is a law that land belonging to the Adivasis cannot be purchased by non-Adivasis. Teak wood worth lakhs of rupees is cut from this land and sold by these people. This way these people become millionaires while the poor Adivasis remain servants.

Then, Sir, we are sore over the implementation of the reservation policy. It is not being processed properly. In our tribal, hilly and backward areas, children not receiving good education because the system prevalent there is that of one teacher for five classes. Then the teachers do not attend the school, and if at all they show their presence for only 15 days in a month. They draw their salary and leave the schools. Thus the schools in fact remain open for 8 or 10 days in a month. You can very well imagine what sort of students will come out of such schools, what division will they secure; certainly they will secure the third division. Now, these third division holders have no standing in your society. How can such boys and how can such areas progress? I leave it to you to ponder over it. Those so-called progressive people, who had been the stooges and sychophants of Britishers for hundred years, became millionaires and multi-millionaires and got their children educated in prestigious colleges and renowned educational institutions and now they have become IAS and IPS officers, but our children are not even able to get the post of a peon. The boys of our area do not have the opportunity to be able to become even a peon. This is the position. If an industrial unit is set up in our area and

the officer in the management charged with the recruitment task happens to be an outsider, he will not appoint our boys even as peons. This is the position obtaining there. And the sense of frustration, dissatisfaction is consequently increasing. When our boys after completing their studies encounter this situation, a feeling of revolt creeps in their minds. We prevent them from doing anything that would go against the national interest. We try to pacify them with the assurance that we shall take up this matter with the Government with the request that some concrete measures be taken in this regard.

Then, we want reservation, i.e., relaxation of some marks for the third divisioners so that they may get admission in educational institutions which otherwise they are not able to get. They must be given a chance to enter medical and technical institutions where a number of seats have been reserved for them. They must be given at least one chance to enter these institutions. For this, some relaxation in marks should be given to our boys keeping in view the fact that our boys come from areas where the system of one teacher for five classes is prevalent. After admission, we do not want that any consideration be shown to our boys. They should be awarded degrees only if they are good enough and if they complete their courses successfully.

The anti-reservation agitation going on in Gujarat and elsewhere is an indication of the fact that the people who had been the stooges, slaves and servants of the Britishers for 100 years never thought of taking us along with them during these 37 years of independence. They would like to keep us backward and boast of independence. The adivasis and harijans living in the rural areas had fought for freedom together with Mahatma Gandhi and other great freedom fighters and that was how we attained independence. Here, the urban traders, princes and stooges of the Britishers have amassed wealth and created assets, but we, the poor, the inhabitants of the forests and hills followed the ideals of Gandhiji and of democracy. It is, therefore, our right and the urban dwellers should not be jealous of us for continuing reservation for 37 years. The people in the rural areas by and large are not so

jealous. We would like them to be 10 steps ahead of us but let us also be two steps behind them. We shall progress slowly and steadily. If our boys become peons, they will be able to educate their wards at least upto middle standard.

A person who has passed VIII standard would like to impart education to his son upto Matric. Similarly, a matriculate would like to impart education to his son upto B.A. and the process will go on. In this way, even if we do not come at par with other people, we shall at least, come closer to them.

The harijan and Adivasi employees are not in the habit of flattering anybody. It is not part of our nature. We cannot indulge in sychophancy.

These days who gets a good C.R. ? The employees who indulge in sychophancy and cater to their needs in the rest houses get good C.Rs. The employees who work hard do not get good C.Rs. At the time of promotion, they are told that they cannot get promotion because of bad C.R. so, it causes resentment among them,

Roster system was introduced to put an end to all these things. Under this system, if one does not get his due, he will at least be at top next time according to the roster. But honesty is not observed in this respect also.

We all make tall claims in our speeches before the public and say that we are marching towards a socialist society. But when the question of distributing benefits arises, we have our own reservations.

There is resentment among our people. Our educated youth do not normally like to indulge in sabotage but they unwillingly join the urban people in such activities. When we go to employment exchanges for getting our names enrolled, our names are put in the last. Shri Panika has rightly said that only that person becomes successful who pays illegal gratification. We cannot do so. When these people were harassed during the freedom struggle, they took shelter in the forests and started living in the mountains. There is abundant natural wealth in these mountains but in the quest for that wealth they are being displaced from there.

These poor people have no shelter where they could go. They wander from place to place. This wealth is nature's gift. They were hoping that the same would be utilised by their future generations when better days would come but they are being compelled to flee from there.

Similarly, when a dam is proposed to be built in the hill area, the poor are forced to leave their fertile land when comes under the command area. Likewise, if a village falls in an area, where mining work has to be undertaken, it has also to be vacated. The compensation paid to them is one fourth of the value. It is far less than the market rate. With this amount the farmer is neither able to construct a house nor can purchase an acre of land. He has no alternative but to run from pillar to post. If these poor people are to be displaced from there, the Government should make proper arrangements for their rehabilitation. Now, after thirty seven years of independence, we must give thought to this problem and find a proper and just solution to it. Only then our country will progress.

[English]

SHRIMATI VYJAYANTHIMALA BALI (Madras South): I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to express my views on the atrocities and crimes on the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. First of all, I would not like to go into the details and give an account of the statistics or make irrelevant remarks like our learned hon. members of the opposition sitting there.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : That itself is an irrelevant remark !

SHRIMATI VYJAYANTHIMALA BALI : Especially, the way they were talking about our Minister, I thought it was a bit too much. Because, as a Minister she has every right to go and find out the truth from the people and just not get a report from the Collector and go back to Delhi. So, what she did was in her right and I do not think that it is proper on the part of the Opposition members to make snide remarks.

SHRI S.B. BHATTAM : She is welcome to go. She can go even to Bihar !

**SHRIMATI VYJAYANTHIMALA BALI** : She will.

**SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY** : Why has she not gone, then ?

**SHRIMATI VYJAYANTHIMALA BALI** : I am sorry to say that the opposition people think that there is only one State that is safeguarding the interests of the down-trodden. They think that they can as well safeguard the whole of India. The way they are talking, it seems like that. But they cannot do what our beloved Prime Minister the late Shrimati Indira Gandhi did. Can they do that ? I challenge them on this. And this is exactly what our dynamic Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi is doing.

Ours is a vast country and we have almost 10.5 crores of people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who are treated very badly. It was drilled into their heads that they were inferior because they belonged to a low caste and they accepted it meekly as the will of God. They were subjected to humiliations like slavery, bonded labour and they were not allowed any education. Leave that alone, they were not allowed even to mix with other communities. We should cool-heartedly analyse the root cause of this deplorable and shameful act of one community against the other.

As a great book of knowledge and wisdom, Geeta says, that all human beings are alike. What differentiates one from the other is action which is karma. It also says that weakness invites troubles. When one is physically weak, one is susceptible to diseases, if one is socio-economically weak, he is attacked by the strong and the rich. A weak society is dominated by a strong society. A weak country is invaded and attacked by a stronger and powerful country. This is the crux of the whole situation and this is crux of our whole problem. Due to centuries of domination and exploitation, we have segregated our own community, our own people and treated them as untouchables. We have discarded our own people to a subhuman level of existence just to derive from them labour which we are not prepared to do ourselves. We deny them

education, lest they became intelligent, they become enlightened and ask for their rights, their due share and benefit in the game that we achieve out of their hard-work. We took away the cream and threw them in the slums, till national leaders like Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar, our late beloved Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi came to their rescue. Sir, till Gandhiji started living in the harijan slums, till Pandit Nehru went to these tribal people and danced with them arm and arm, we can say it treated the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes mercilessly and heartlessly. Our sensitivities were not drawn towards them, until efforts were made by our late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi who rushed to wipe the tears of the downtroddens, be it anywhere, in any part of the country, she even went riding on the elephant to be with them, to give them solace, whether it was, atrocity or whether it was calamity, she was always there to give them a helping hand. I challenge whether any of the opposition leaders did that. Such actions are being followed up by our dynamic Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and it is a pity if our learned opposition Members have not gone through the papers, when our Prime Minister has gone to the remotest corners of the village today and this picture was published in all the newspapers I am sorry if they have not seen that. Their socio-economic backwardness and dependents are being exploited openly. This creates communal friction which should be prevented, not by law, nor by legislation, but improving their economic condition and education so that they can think for themselves. Today, it is not only the affluent community or one particular community that is harassing them, even the guerrillas today, are killing these poor people, as we can see in the papers. I do not want to go into the details it is for the opposition to do all that. I appeal from the floor of the august House to all the hon. Members irrespective of any party affiliations that everyone of us would be responsible custodian of their safety, welfare and their emancipation so that they do not have to live in shame, fear or dishonour. The rural development programme and schemes should be honestly implemented and fund earmarked for them and their welfare should reach them and not got drifted away for

other purposes. I have received several complaints that in various States including my own State as well, the funds do not reach them properly, they are diverted and this has to be stopped.

Regarding atrocities and crimes, there should be Police Station Officers from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes posted in such areas, where serious crimes take place.

18.00 hrs.

There should be public prosecutors to deal exclusively with cases of crimes and atrocities against SC and ST, to punish those who are responsible for it. This is a great national task; this is a vital issue today which we are facing. There can be no difference between human lives. States should see to it that they cooperate fully and contribute openly by working with the government irrespective of party affiliation, and then only we can see to it that our poor sisters, our down-trodden sisters and brothers are safeguarded and protected, and that we can all look after them individually; and it should be the task of every Indian to do that.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD) Since there are many members on the list to speak on this subject, I suggest that the time of the House for this discussion be extended by two hours more so that more and more members could be accommodated.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDI (Mahbubnagar) : We can sit one hour more today and one hour more tomorrow.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : We can sit two hours more today and two hours tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So, the time of the House for this discussion has been extended by two more hours that is upto 8 p.m.

[Translation]

\*SHRI N. MAHALINGAM (Nagapattinam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on

behalf of my party the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I wish to participate in the discussion on the atrocities being committed on SC/ST people in the country and make a few suggestions.

Our young and dynamic Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi is undertaking tours of areas inhabited by SC/ST people and is trying to assess personally whether the welfare schemes meant for their upliftment are yielding the intended benefits. His immediate reaction reveals that these people have not derived any benefits from such schemes. He visited Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and some tribal areas in Orissa. The very fact that a special developmental scheme has been announced by him for the benefit of tribal people in Bastar confirms that the welfare schemes are being implemented tardily and callously.

A sense of fear has gripped the scheduled caste people by the continued anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat during the past one year. The agitation started in Madhya Pradesh before the elections was put down. That has to be commended by all of us. In Gujarat many people have been killed in this agitation. Properties worth several crores of rupees have been destroyed. I demand that energetic steps should be taken to contain this anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat before it flares up in other parts of the country.

We have come across news items about the killing of six scheduled caste people in the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh and the killing of six more in a village in Andhra Pradesh. This has become a regular phenomenon in our country. Effective steps must be taken up to root out this wanton killing of people belonging to scheduled caste. When we raise questions about this in this House, we are told that law and order is under the charge of the State Government. We do not know what steps are being taken by the State Governments to bring the culprits to book.

The Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

[Shri N. Mahalingam]

Tribes is not also taking interest in the problems of these poor people. Kindly see the work done by this Committee during the past 16 years, after its constitution in 1969. This Committee was set up with express direction that the Annual Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be examined and then the Committee should report to the House as to whether the recommendations contained in this Report have been implemented by the government or not. It is really regrettable that during the past 16 years this Committee has examined only one Annual Report of the Commissioner for SC/ST and presented a Report to the House. This Parliamentary Committee has been confining its work to find out whether the reservation policy is being implemented properly in this Department or that Department of the Government of India. When we enquire about this, we are told that since the Reports of the Commissioner for SC/ST are being discussed regularly on the floor of Lok Sabha there is not any necessity for the Committee to examine them separately.

Besides this, the Janata Government appointed a separate Commission for the welfare of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes with a Chairman and four Members. Presently there is only the Chairman and there are two Members in this Commission. This Commission has not got the sanction of the Constitution, because before the Constitution could be amended for this purpose, the Janata Government went out of power. The Congress Government also has not brought the necessary Constitution Amendment Bill in this regard. This Commission is giving reports containing two or three recommendations about the problems of SC/ST people. From this it is clear that the Commission is not exerting itself to ameliorate the misery of the SC/ST people.

Before the Constitution of this Commission, the Commissioner for SC/ST was being appointed by the Government to fulfil the constitutional obligation. In the Constitution there is an exclusive provision for the appointment of a Special Officer for this purpose and the Commissioner for SC/ST fulfilled that purpose. After the constitution of this Commission, the Commissioner for SC/ST stopped his

annual report also. Previously he was submitting regularly his annual Reports to the House. This Commissioner was made a Member of this Commission. Now, unfortunately even the Commissioner's post has not been filled, though the former Prime Minister had approved the name of a Vice-Chancellor of a University. We do not know the reason why this appointment has not yet been done. Besides there is also a vacancy of a Member in the Commission.

The Commissioner for SC/ST, who is a constitutional authority, has not yet been appointed by the Government. The Commission constituted outside of the Constitution is also not functioning effectively for the welfare of SC/ST people. No steps have been taken to give constitutional sanction to the Commission. The Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of SC/ST is also not discharging its duties towards these downtrodden people. In these circumstances, you can well imagine how the problems of these people are going to be resolved.

Firstly, I suggest that the Parliamentary Committee for the Welfare of SC/ST should be directed to take personal interest in resolving the problems of SC/ST people. Secondly, after appointing the Commissioner for SC/ST, he should be designated as Chief Commissioner in the place of Chairman of the Commission and the Members of the Commission should be declared as Commissioners. If this is done, the Government can easily circumvent the necessity for amending the Constitution. This Commission under the charge of Chief Commissioner will function, with the constitutional sanction, for the upliftment of SC/ST people in the country.

Sir, the SC/ST people constitute 25% of our population. Originally the interests of SC/ST people were looked after by the Home Ministry; then it was shifted to Education Ministry. Again it has come back to the charge of the Home Ministry. I suggest that there should be a separate Department of SC/ST in the Central Government and then only some permanent solutions can be taken up for implementation effectively. We have a Sports Minister and we have a Minister for Cultural Affairs. I demand that there should be an independent Minister in the

Central Government to look after the welfare of SC/ST people. Before I conclude, I would suggest that we should stop condemning one another and we should engage ourselves to give succour to those people who are dying alive. Instead of spending our energy in political controversies, we should concentrate in finding out ways and means to help these people in perennial distress.

With these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

**SHRI RANJIT SINGH GAEKWAD** (Baroda) : After waiting for a long time I got this opportunity to express my feelings over the atrocities committed against the Harijans and Scheduled Tribes.

I heard the hon Members speaking about the problem but very few suggestions to face this problem have been made. Unfortunately, and I was very sad to see that Members, quite a large number of Members, from either side have turned it into a political issue rather than give suggestions to solve it, to make emotional, fiery speeches in the House so that they can be publicised through the news media.

Sir, this is a problem which has been with us for centuries.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY** : Sir, the Home Minister is being disturbed.

**AN HON. MEMBER** : There are a number of Home Ministers. One Minister is listening.

**SHRI RANJIT SINGH GAEKWAD** : This is also a problem which cannot be removed in a very short time. The prejudices against the caste system have been so intense, and so deep-rooted that one has to go right down to the crux of the reasons to find a solution to get rid of the stigma which has been sticking to us. It is not a question of how many cases of atrocities against the Harijans or the Scheduled Tribes have taken place in a particular area or who is ruling that area. What is important is that even a single instance proves that the prejudice in that area exists. It is not that any Government which is at fault, or any individual who is at fault, it is these deep-rooted old prejudices, these

feelings, these understandings which are the main cause.

In the beginning there were four sections i.e. Kshatriya, Brahmins, Vaish and Shudra. These sections were made according to the type of work that was undertaken by the individuals and not what family he belonged to. Ultimately it so happened that the same work was done by the child and it became a sort of family business or family trade. From that this evil born. And to a great extent, literatures like the Ramayana and the Mahabhartha have also overplayed this problem which we are facing today.

I am very proud to say that I come from a family of rulers who had tried to eradicate this prejudice. Here I would like to mention my great grandfather's name, Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad. He was the ruler who, in order to remove this prejudice and to uplift the backward people had set up a set of programmes. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the product of that programme. Some other Harijan leaders also came out of that. He had set up educational institutions to educate the down-trodden and Harijans. When Brahmin teachers refused to teach these people, Muslim teachers were employed to teach the backward classes and Harijans. That is how the backward classes and Harijans could come up. So it is very difficult for a person like me to even understand why a Harijan is considered as something below us. He has two hands, two eyes, ears and everything. He can do almost everything and sometimes even better than what we can do. But even then he is treated as an out-caste. How to remove this? This is what we should think of seriously and honestly : otherwise, the atrocities which have been taking place for the last 35 to 40 years will keep on taking place and casteism will never go from this country. Even in our political sphere when tickets are allotted, we think of caste system whether we like it or not. If we ourselves do not stop thinking in those terms, then what right do we have to advocate that the caste system should go? It is our responsibility to see that the backwards and those who are behind us, get an opportunity and we should create opportunity for them to come to our level so that they can walk with their heads high. It is shameful that

[Shri Ranjit Singh Gaekwad]

we always try to forget our drawbacks. Truth is always bitter in some cases. We have to face the bitter truth if we want to improve the condition of our country and its people.

On the other hand, the Harijans also having been spoon-fed, have got into the habit of being spoon-fed. They have nothing less than that we have but we are not giving them the opportunity to use those facilities properly by using their own strength, understanding and brain. For instance, when a student reaches the stage of going to a medical college, why don't you allow him to compete with other students? If he has the brain, the intelligence to compete, then he should be able to compete. Or he can be given admission to the college because of this stigma but then he must compete and must work hard for achieving position and for preserving the trust that has been placed in him. Constantly financing them and pushing them is not going to help them to use their strength and their brain.

As another hon. Member has said here, I too endorse his views that the young minds can be converted to think that all are equal. Younger generation, young children can be easily made to think the right way. It is the older people who instil all these ideas into the young minds and that is why this prejudice has not been able to be eradicated. We should have special lessons, when literature classes are taken, to tell them how this casteism came into being and how it is wrong to think that these people are below us and are not good enough to be accepted in the society.

Atrocities have mainly been taking place against the Harijans because they have not been accepted in the society. I have a very strong feeling and a very strong support for the Harijans who have never had the proper chance of coming up due to these prejudices. I, therefore, request that whatever programme is taken up or whatever is done for these Backward Classes or Harijans, should be minutely monitored time and again to see how they are progressing and whether anything is lacking or anything is going wrong, and accordingly amendments should be made in those programmes. Only then can this

upliftment programme come up, otherwise we will still be where we are and we will still be making these emotional and dynamic speeches in this House which will only be speeches which can be read in the library and no action will be taken on them. Thank you.

[Translation]

DR. B.L. SHAILESH (Chail) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is really quite regrettable that we have to discuss this matter in this House today. These incidents are very painful for the country. We should be ashamed of them. I fail to understand how Indian culture, which is the protector of moral values, is decaying. A lot of discussion has taken place on it in the House. So, I do not want to go into details. But I would like to say why such atrocities are being committed against the poor and helpless harijans. In our society, the strong were called 'Kshatriya' simply because they were supposed to use their strength to protect the weak and the helpless. Their only job was to protect the society. But it is an irony of fate that they feel proud of using their strength against these poor helpless harijans of their own village and in their own country. They have changed all the values. Now the situation is that the protectors have turned destroyers and they are ruining these families for ever. Be it Andhra Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh, these things are taking place everywhere. The social murders of harijans have vitiated the atmosphere in the country which is exploited by certain elements in the country to accomplish their selfish ends by creating disorder and adverse conditions, because, these poor rural harijans have grown up in poverty. They look old in the prime of their youth as they are subjected to extreme exploitation by the rich and the grave atrocities committed on these poor harijans have rendered them absolutely helpless.

Sir, through you, I would like to know how long these atrocities would continue to be perpetrated on them in this independent country even after 38 years of independence. We as well as this House are very much concerned over these heart-rending incidents. We express our sympathy to the aggrieved families.

Sir, I would like to know what was their fault for which they have been subjected to such atrocities. Their only fault is, I think, that they are poor harijans, they are helpless and are reeling under abject poverty. Their second fault is that they want to live with honour like other free citizens of free India to usher into the 21st century. Bharat Mata, the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi had tried to create a new environment to give all persons equal status in the society in order to remove the sufferings of the harijans. As a result thereof the harijans started getting recognition in the society. Similarly, our young Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is inspiring not only his own country and society but the entire mankind to move into the 21st century. As you all know, he paid a sudden visit to Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan to ensure all round welfare and development of the poor Adivasis. He himself made a survey of the plight of these poor helpless people. It appears that certain selfish elements in the society are not happy over it. The Hon. Prime Minister wants to establish an egalitarian society and wants to see everybody prosperous, but certain anti-social elements do not like it. These people try to exploit these political activities and create feeling of separatism in the society and these treacherous and anti-social elements then relegate in the background and thrust the blame on the Government. This process has been going on for the last 38 years.

Sir, through you, I humbly submit to the hon. Home Minister to try to remove this disparity as early as possible, otherwise we apprehend that the poor helpless people, who have suffered so many atrocities, would be forced to revolt in sheer desperation. Double standards are being adopted in the implementation and interpretation of law and the harijans in the country are compelled to live like second class citizens. They are leading the life of slavery in this independent country. It is regrettable that the State Governments are not taking any action to prevent such acts. They treat this genocide of the poor and helpless people as a petty incident and an eyewash treatment is being given in the matter of protecting their lives and property. Sir, the police administration and the Intelligence Agencies have also

forgotten their duties. Despite getting prior intimation about these incidents, the lives of these poor people could not be saved. Sir, it appears that the State Police and the State administration are in connivance with each other in perpetrating this injustice. I am sorry to point out that despite warning, proper action was not taken and carelessness was exercised in taking action. In the end, I would like to submit, through you, to the Hon. Prime Minister that being a true socialist, well-wisher of the poor and champion of clean administration, he should set up a special cell in his own Secretariat to give a practical shape to his policies and issue directives to the State Governments to properly implement the policies meant for the welfare of the harijans. The cases of persons found guilty of not implementing these policies should be investigated and suitable directives issued so that these downtrodden people may get justice through his bold efforts.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM (Gaya) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, a serious matter is being discussed in this august House. I do not want to make it a political issue, because it is a human question. This matter should be viewed from humanitarian angle. But it is very unfortunate that the leaders of Telugu Desam Party tried to give it a political colour.....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Why don't the Congress insist upon three fourth share of atrocities, Sir ?

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : I am very grateful to our hon. Minister of State, Shrimati Sinha, that she made an effort to find out the factual position whether it is Andhra or Bihar. She visited Bihar where 15 tribals were murdered and she had also visited Andhra Pradesh. Ever since the formation of Telugu Desam Government in Andhra Pradesh, three incidents of brutal crimes against the harijans have taken place. During the last three years, hair raising incidents of atrocities by caste Hindus on the harijans have taken place. Before that, incidents of atrocities on the harijans have taken place at Padarikupam in District Chittoor in 1983, at Pedyapuram

[Shri Ramswaroop Ram]

of Mehboobnagar in 1984 and at Karamchedu on 17th July 1985.

18.29 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

As soon as the Rama Rao Government was formed, I had drawn the attention of the Government through a Calling Attention Notice in the Seventh Lok Sabha that 84 houses of Harijans were set on fire just after the formation of the Government. Why had it happened there? The reason was that the harijans were committed to a programme. The harijans could not go along their way. As a reaction to that, this incident had taken place. So far as the incident of murders at Karamchedu is concerned, the son-in-law of Shri Rama Rao, Dr. Venkateswara Rao, was contesting the Assembly elections there. The harijans did not vote in his favour. As a result thereof.....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : Mr. Venkateswara Rao is not a candidate in that constituency but somebody else. It is wrong.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is not a candidate there.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If anything is objectionable I will expunge it.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : These harijans had cast their votes in favour of the Congress. This village falls under the Parchur Constituency of Dr. D. Venkateswara Rao, the son-in-law of the Chief Minister, Shri N.T. Rama Rao and the caste Hindus of this village are relatives of Dr. Venkateswara Rao. All of them are related to him.....(Interruptions). He is the son-in-law of Rama Rao Saheb. I am talking about him. Such an incident has occurred there. If there is any dispute about land, one agree about the cause of the trouble. But his Government did not make any arrangement to construct a pond for providing drinking water to the harijans. Such an arrangement was not made by Shri Rama Rao Saheb. Such an arrangement was made by our Congress Government during Indiraji's regime. But this act of bathing the buffaloes in the drinking

water is not only despicable but inhuman also. It would be correct to say that by putting on ochrous dress and playing the role of Lord Krishna, you cannot help the poor and the harijans. You would not be able to earn their love in this manner. We do not want such Lord Krishnas who play the role of Lord Krishna in films only. Today, we would have to drive away such a Krishna from Andhra Pradesh who helps only his son-in-law in the name of the harijans. We shall have to remove such a Krishna in Andhra Pradesh.....(Interruptions).....

[English]

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY : Sir, why is he talking only of Andhra Pradesh?

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : These incidents are taking place in Bihar and they are taking place in U.P. daily.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : Protect me, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I am protecting you, don't worry.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : Our Government has been very serious about the problems of the harijans. The leadership of our party is in the hands of our dynamic leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi and he himself is going to every hut of the harijans and Adivasis to apprise himself of their problems. He himself is visiting their areas to see what help is being provided to them under N.R.E.P. and I.R.D.P. and what projects are being implemented under these programmes. As a result of these programmes, the population of the people below the poverty line has gone down from 54 per cent to 37 per cent of the total population after our party came to power. The reasons for decline in poverty is that after formation of the Government under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our Home Minister wrote letters to the Chief Ministers of all the States :

[English]

“The Central Government has simultaneously given a serious thought to the cases leading to commission of crimes against Scheduled Castes. Among the Scheduled Castes workers, over 48% are agricultural labourers. They form the largest occupational group among Scheduled Castes. In most of the cases where the poor S.C. agricultural labourers try to assert their rights to minimum wages fixed by the law, they are perhaps threatened with reprisal and atrocities are perpetrated upon them.”

[Translation]

I would like to tell you that our Government have done a lot of monitoring work to check atrocities on the harijans and Adivasis. Our Government are quite vigilant about their problems. I do not want to blow trumpets about it, but it is a fact that whether it is Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh or any other part of the country, wherever incidents of atrocities on the harijans or Adivasis occur, it appears as if it is the end of human kindness and we should be ashamed of such incidents. We should give serious thought to this problem, whether we belong to this side or that side of the House. Nobody will be able to grind his political axe by winning over the harijans and their problems cannot be solved in this manner. We cannot command love and respect from them by simply talking about them. We should take action for their welfare. When we raise our voice in their favour, we are not raising it just for one or two per cent of the population of our country. The harijans and Adivasis constitute about 25 per cent of our population. We are, therefore, discussing the problems of 14 or 15 crores of people in the House today which is not a small thing.

We want that houses should be constructed for them. You would also not implement land reforms for them and buffaloes are bathed in the drinking water meant for the harijans and as if this was not enough, harijans are murdered and then they make it a political issue. Is it good on the part of the Government of the State to do so? We condemn such a

Government wherever it might be, which allows such incidents of atrocities on the harijans, girijans and Adivasis. Besides, we condemn ourselves as well. You can see for yourself what is happening today and who are launching agitation in Gujarat, the land of Gandhiji and in the city where he was born and at a place where the slogan for the uplift of the harijans was raised. The people who are speaking against the harijans are supporters of the Janata Party and the opposition parties. The members of Patel community are launching agitation there. You are inciting them. You have never thought over it that that there are 15 crore harijans and Adivasis in the country. One should go and see their houses in the villages. They do not have land, nor do they have means to have a square meal. There is no arrangement of drinking water for them. The feudal system is still prevalent there. The policemen, who hail from the feudal class, hoot them down and rape their women. These people are also neglected in schools and colleges. This is the situation even after 38 years of independence. You would have to give a serious thought to it. Government are not to blame for it. This is the result of the attitude of the society. *Manu Smriti* would have to be burnt. After burning *Manu Smriti* a new society would have to be created as envisaged by Rajivji. In modern India, there would not be any exploiter or the exploited, it would be an egalitarian society in which there would be no exploitation. This is possible only when the old system of the society is dismantled and a new society is created after burning *Manu Smriti*. Today I give a call to this effect in this august House and we would have to think seriously in this direction. If you want to derive political advantage in the constituency or in the House by shedding crocodile tears over the dead bodies of the harijans, it is not going to serve any purpose. The disease has aggravated with successive doses of medicine. As a matter of fact, the malady is not being treated. Land has not been distributed to them. The reserved quota of posts, meant for the harijans, has not been filled. Nobody has given any thought to it.

Sir, another point which I want to mention is that due to casteism, Bihar has

[Shri Ramswaroop Ram]

been the scene of atrocities. Where casteism exists, atrocities are bound to be there and it is because of this that its incidence is more there. But there is some ray of hope that the killing of the harijans has ushered in an era of awakening. The one who has been ruined, who has been exploited, is prepared today to raise his voice against this oppression. But ours is a feudal system. The police commit atrocities on them in the villages in connivance with landlords. Petty police officers commit atrocities in connivance with the landlords. Government have also admitted the fact that all atrocities are committed there on the question of minimum wages and on the question of land. Whatever be the cause, the police declare them as naxalites in connivance with the landlords. They say that they are naxalites. I want to tell you about a news report carried in the 'Nav Bharat Times' dated 5th January, 1985 published from Delhi. Ten harijans were murdered in a village in Aurangabad in Bihar. The poor harijans had returned to the village tired from work. They were resting like any other person who rests after getting tired. Some landlord went to the police and told them that naxalites had assembled there. The petty police officers went there; they were already hand in glove with the landlord and resorted to firing. The persons who died in the firing were Suresh Mistry, Satyendra Mistry, Umesh Mistry, Nathu Dugar and Firangi Dugar. Of these, Suresh Mistry, Satyendra Mistry and Umesh Mistry were brothers, all of them were shot dead. The dispute was that they were not being given right of ownership of the land. Therefore, I would request you to stop this programme, only then atrocities would stop. If at all you want to implement this programme, you will have to take it up with a firm determination. But, today when I go through the incidents of the last three years, I am distressed to find that the atrocities in South India are on the increase as compared to North India. In South India, in Andhra Pradesh, Harijans are being murdered without any fear, atrocities are increasing there, because there we have a Krishnavatara. Krishna is ruling there...

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Please clarify it, what is this Krishnavatara ?

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House. I want to give some suggestions, but when he is asking, I shall have to clarify Krishnavatara. Incarnation of lord Krishna is ruling there, a habit to kill Harijans is being inculcated there and he, whose cause you are advocating here, has taken up the role of Krishnavatara there. The role of Lord Krishna had been to fight against tyranny, to suppress the tyrants. But your Krishna has taken up the role of siding with tyrants and oppressing the poor.

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY (Nalgonda) : No, no.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : This is a slur on you, on Andhra Pradesh and a slur on the newly emerged Krishna. This Krishna will have to be removed; this is the cry of heart of the Harijans

[English]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): You may repeat the falsehood ten times, but it will not become the truth.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : Our Krishna sides with the poor whereas your Krishna is the destroyer of the poor.

[English]

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY : Why is he taking the name of 'Krishna' who is not here? He might be a 'Ravana', but 'Krishna' is not here.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM : I have read in the newspapers that a Committee was set up there for judicial inquiry, but the judge who was holding the inquiry has resigned two days back... (Interruptions)

He has resigned; he might have been pressurised. I want that a committee of this House be set up which should visit Andhra Pradesh.

[English]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : We welcome it. Let them visit Andhra or any other place. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM :** This committee should visit Andhra Pradesh and find out the facts. Perhaps, the new Krishna must have exercised some pressure upon him and he might have resigned in reaction thereto. The situation has deteriorated since then. A committee of this House should be constituted. (Interruptions) A stringent law should be enacted to check such atrocities. Inter-caste marriages should be encouraged so that marriages within the caste could be banned. Although it will be a harsh measure and will not suit the country, but you will have to do something in this regard. It will promote national integration and will create an atmosphere of goodwill.

Responsibility should be fixed up on the D.M. and the S.P. of the district where these atrocities take place.

2.5 lakh hectares of surplus land should be distributed to achieve socio-economic development.

I thank you and also the Minister of State who took strong action in the matter.

**SHRI RAM BAHADUR SINGH (Chapra) :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the harijans and girijans in our country feel alienated from the mainstream of the country today. Till they are drawn into the mainstream, the country cannot progress fast. No country can be called progressive till the people of every caste, community and creed in that country are able to lead an honourable and honest life.

The plight of the harijans and girijans in our country is pathetic today. A harijan or a girijan cannot even dream of leading an honourable and honest life, what to speak of his expressing the desire to do so. If he does so he would be murdered—that is the only fate that he would meet.

This was the main reason behind the Singhpur carnage that took place in Kanpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The harijan Ram Kishan had neither committed any crime against Thakur Darshan Singh nor had he insulted him. His only fault

was that he had exercised his right guaranteed to him under the Constitution and he had filed his nomination against Darshan Singh in the village 'Pradhan' elections in which the latter was defeated. Once again his fault was that he had instituted an enquiry into the swindling that Thakur Darshan Singh had done when he was the village 'Pradhan'. Ram Kishan's only fault was that he belonged to a harijan family. When Thakur Darshan Singh fraudulently confiscated the property of a widow, Ram Kishan had protested against it. This led Darshan Singh to send his hirelings on the night of 21st July to Ram Kishan's house and six people of his family were killed. Those killed included Ram Kishan, his two daughters, his daughter-in-law who was pregnant, his two-year old grand-daughter and his 65 year-old maternal uncle. Ram Kishan had reported to the local police station about the threat to his life. This incident did not happen in one day only, such incidents happen over a period of time and it is an old story. Ram Kishan had apprehension that such an incident would take place and that was why he had lodged a complaint at the local police station but the local police did not take that seriously and rather held it to be false. As a result of this, six people of Ram Kishan's family along with Ram Kishan were killed on the night of 21st July.

A similar incident occurred in Katihar district of Bihar. 'Sirva' festival is celebrated in the month of April in Bihar. On this occasion all the villagers go for fishing collectively at the village pond and there is no caste discrimination. On the 12th of April the villagers did community fishing in Badharbil reservoir. When they were returning, the SHO of that police station, Shri Vishwanath Singh, along with the local Sub-Inspector Shri R.P. Tiwari of Manihari Police Station and four gunmen fired on them on some lame excuse and as a result three Adivasis i.e. Jatlu, Guru Murm and Sangram Soran were killed.

Another incident in the same district occurred in Bharahi reservoir of Bhandar Tal, under Brari Police Station in which Kare Lal Udao was killed and a thirteen year old boy Ramesh who was studying in class nine in Neema Adivasi Avantiya

[Shri Ram Bahadur Singh]

School was apprehended, and he is still rotting in Matghar jail. The local people informed the officials but they conspired to save the Sub-Inspector and the 'Pramukh'. They said that these Adivasis were armed and they had tried to snatch the guns from the constables and that was why firing was ordered. I would like to ask that if a crowd of ten thousand assaults four gunmen the Sub-Inspector and the SHO, Vishwanath Singh, is it possible that they do not receive even a minor bruise or injury. Sir, the Adivasis are sentimental people and if they are armed with bows and arrows and become violent, no one can face them, not, even the gunmen. But these Adivasis were neither armed nor violent and Vishwanath Singh went there alongwith police personnel equipped with rifles but without Magistrate and fired on them to save the policemen and in the process three Adivasis were killed. Those who conspired to save that Sub-Inspector were none other than the DIG, the Collector, the Commissioner and the S.P. of the State. The four officers hatched the conspiracy in Kashi R.B. of Katihar and implicated the Adivasis and a case was filed against them. I submitted a memorandum to the Home Minister, Shri S.B. Chavan, in the month of May giving details of the incident. It was signed by ex-M.P. Shri Yuvraj and Shri Surendra Mohan, Janata Party leader and four sitting Members of the House. I had requested him to order a judicial enquiry into this matter because these Adivasis were subjected to atrocities and they were implicated in false cases, but Shri Chavan has not initiated any action so far in this regard. He did not even care to reply to the letter which was signed by four hon. Members disclosing the facts of the incidents, while on the other hand he boasts of great sympathy and love for the Harijans. If he really has any sympathy for the Adivasis and the harijans, I would request him to constitute a committee of the hon. Members of the House to enquire into this incident and also give compensation to the families of the deceased. This enquiry would reveal all facts about this incident.

In the 'Ekma' Division of 'Saran' district, to which I belong, some harijans have been living on a piece of land for the last fifty years. The place is called

Ledurha. For the past 15 years, the local administration in collusion with the landlords is trying to harass the harijans. Under these circumstances if they try to put their demands before the authorities, they are charged with taking to arms. Whenever they try to lead an honourable life, such incidents occur.

In the end I would like to point out that when Shri Chavan spoke about the incident that occurred in Andhra Pradesh he wondered at the way the Minister of State for Home crossed her limits...

SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA :  
Do you still bear a grudge...

SHRI RAM BAHADUR SINGH : No, I do not bear any grudge, but my heart is weeping, I was not surprised at all because the traditional background to which she belongs teaches to own the achievements and disown the failures. There is a story in our area which goes like this. Some boys killed a donkey in a village. Out of fear they went to the village priest and requested him to find a way out for atonement as they had committed a great sin. The priest said that this sin could be warded off by making atonement in a big way. When one of the boys said "but Panditji, your son Santosh is also one of the sinners", the "Panditji" at once changed his stance and remarked :

Saat, panch ladka ek santosh,  
Gadha maare kon hai dosh.

The same is true of her. When atrocities are committed on the harijans in Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu Desam is in power, it is said to be a sorry state of affairs but when the Asbal carnage took place she did not even have the time to visit that place. I can recall that when the Narayanpur carnage took place, Shri Banarsidas was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. I might also recall that the then State Minister, Shri Mohan Singh had condemned it in the State Assembly. But later when the then 'Prince' and the then Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi visited that place they outrightly stated that the Uttar Pradesh Government was ineffective. The Uttar Pradesh Government could not protect the rights of the harijans and, therefore, it had no right to continue in office. If the Uttar Pradesh Government had no right to continue in

power then Telugu Desam also do not have any right to remain in office. If you have the courage, why do you not dismiss the Andhra Pradesh Government and the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar? But I know that you will not do so. I would like to point out that the incident, irrespective of the State where it has occurred, has the same severity, whether it takes place in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh or Bihar. Whatever may have been the immediate reasons but the main and the most important reason is that the structure of our society is such that it has forced us, for the past five thousand years, to commit atrocities on the harijans. You will have to give it a thought in all seriousness. The country is faced with many problems. If this problem is not solved, the country's integrity will be in danger. Whenever this problem of caste, colour, creed has erupted in our country, the country has been degraded and defamed. The people from various walks of life like the members of the Opposition, social reformers, economists, statesmen should come together and think over this. An organisation to preach and propagate the thoughts and ideas of these men should be set up. Young people with missionary zeal should be encouraged to do this work. They should be educated and trained in such a way that they may go from house to house, from village to village and meet the harijans, girijans and the caste Hindus and make them aware that till all classes of the society are not equally developed, proper all-round development of the country is not possible.

Secondly, evaluation should be undertaken of IRDP, NREP and RLEGP programmes because the benefits of these programmes are not reaching those for whom they are intended.

Thirdly, such a curriculum should be introduced in the primary schools as may help remove hatred from among childrens minds in regard to caste, creed and untouchability.

Besides, I would suggest that the administration should be toned up so that such incidents could be stopped without delay, otherwise these incidents will continue to occur. I would also request you to implement the reservation policy sincerely

and effectively because the harijans and girijans have not been able to get their due as a result of the policies that were being followed for the past 37 years.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur) :  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, incidents of atrocities against the people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in any part of the country are shameful for all of us. Discussions on these incidents have taken place in this august House several times. The representatives and leaders of all the political parties have expressed deep concern on this issue. They have laid stress that such incidents which take place so frequently should be checked. This is a slur on our nation. The Constitution provides to the harijans and tribals the same right to lead an honourable life as has been provided to other citizens of our country. But even then incidents of atrocities against them are continuing unabated. There is abatement in these atrocities sometimes, but there is no complete check on them. Statistics regarding these atrocities have been given here that in Madhya Pradesh 5000 incidents took place. in Uttar Pradesh 4000 and in Bihar 3000 incidents took place. But these incidents are reported ones. There are a number of such incidents which go unreported. Of course the aggrieved people go to the police stations to report the matter but their complaints are not registered. Thus the number of actual incidents is more. Our colleague from Andhra Pradesh is sore over the matter but there is no point in getting sore. Neither the Andhra Pradesh Government nor the Uttar Pradesh Government are to blame for these happenings. Government have no hand in these killings. We shall have to think how to do away with the caste system and the discrimination of high and low in our social set-up and then work on war footing to undo this. Only then such incidents can be contained. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and the Government of India will have to take this course. The incidents of atrocities are not confined to individual and mass killings; even political murders are taking place to which no hon. Member has drawn the attention of the Government. At several places the harijans are not allowed to vote. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the people as well as the

[Shri Zainul Basher]

Government know that there are many places from where important leaders of political parties contest elections. They show sympathy for the harijans but during elections the harijans are not allowed to cast their votes in those constituencies.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) :  
Are you talking of Baghpat ?

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER : In Baghpat harijans have not been allowed to cast their votes till now. There the harijans are not allowed to cast their votes. The question of their doing so does not arise at all. But apart from Baghpat, there are many other places where the harijans and tribals are not allowed to cast their votes. There are many Members sitting in the House in whose constituencies, the harijans and tribals are not allowed to cast their votes. I would like to know from the hon. Minister how he proposes to put an end to this political atrocity. What amendment are you bringing in the Constitution in this respect ? A large section of the people of the country, which belongs to this category and which can make or mar the prospects of a political party to form a Government is not allowed to cast their votes. They are stopped from going to polling booths and thus deprived of the right of casting votes. May I know what are you going to do in this respect ?

Apart from these political atrocities, economic atrocities are of no less magnitude. There are no two opinions that the Government have provided a number of facilities to them under various programmes. They have benefited by land reforms. After imposing ceiling on land the surplus land and the leases of land belonging to gram samaj have been distributed among the harijans and tribals for cultivation. This land has been distributed among them. But I would like to know how much land has actually gone into their possession ? Probably they might not have got possession of any land. At every place, the influential persons have taken hold of the land forcefully. Government machinery has been unsuccessful in evicting the unauthorised occupants and hand it over to the harijans. In some cases, stay orders from courts have been obtained. This matter has been raised a number of times

in this House that a legislation should be enacted to the effect that the issue in regard to such allotment should be made non-justiciable to the court. But no legislation has been enacted to this effect till today.

Now I would like to say something about my constituency. I write hundreds of letters every month to the district administration that possession of such and such land has not been given to the harijans and the possession should be handed over to them. But no attention is paid to such letters. Until the administrative machinery intervenes in an effective way, atrocities on the harijans would not be curbed. Just now an hon. Member was citing examples of this 'Singh' and that 'Singh'. So long as the feeling of casteism is there, the harijans will remain secluded from the society. So long as these high caste people continue to talk in terms of Brahmin, Ahir, Muslim and spread such sentiments, atrocities on the harijans and tribals will not be stopped. Now the harijans and tribals have awakened. They have become enlightened and come to know of their rights. They know how to live in society with dignity.

Today, the benefits of anti-poverty programmes have reached these poor people and some of these have come above the poverty line and their economic condition has improved to some extent. They now have the courage to face things. Today they do not feel afraid of anything, rather they are prepared to face it. This awakening is also responsible for increase in such incidents. If someone tries to do injustice to them they do not take it lying down. So, they should be given protection and an arrangement should be made by the Government whereby they may develop self-confidence and get full benefits of the programmes undertaken for them.

I am happy that our Prime Minister has started undertaking visits to the tribal areas and seeing for himself whether tribals are getting benefits of the Government programmes or not and how they are leading their lives in poverty. He visited Orissa, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. I think he will visit other States also and along with the tribal areas

he will visit the harijan areas also. The other day the Prime Minister has himself admitted and we have also been saying for the last five years that the benefits of I.R.D.P. are not reaching the poor in an adequate manner. He admitted this fact in the House as well as outside.

**SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN (Barmer)** : The Prime Minister visited the harijan areas also.

**SHRI ZAINUL BASHER** : Yes, he visited those place also. It is said that the matters raised in this august House are not heeded by the Government and that the Government Officials do not go on the spot to see things for themselves. Shrimati Ram Dulari Sinha has done a good thing that she visited Andhra Pradesh to see for herself the atrocities committed on the harijans. There was nothing wrong in her not using the Government car. She used a private car and if she had used the Government car, it would have hardly mattered. Therefore, our friends from Andhra Pradesh need not get evicted. However, I think if our Minister had used the Government vehicle, there was nothing objectionable in that.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA)** : No one came to receive us. There was no Minister to receive us either at Hyderabad airport or at Vijayawada airport.

**SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad)** : This is not correct. The Ministers were not informed, nor any programme was sent.

**SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA** : All programmes are sent to the State Governments.

**SHRI ZAINUL BASHER** : In the end I would request the Government that the facilities to be provided to the harijans and tribals through the various programmes should actually reach them and for this purpose there should be effective implementation of these programmes. When they get these facilities actually then only their economic condition will be improved and they will achieve equality with other sections of the society. There are no two opinions that a vast section of the people of our country are against atrocities being

committed on harijans and tribals. There are only a few people whose mentality is bad and they should be brought to book.

Another thing I would like to say is that the election law should be amended. Today, a large number of harijans cannot go to the polling stations to cast their votes and in this way they are suffering political atrocities. This situation should be remedied. We are tired of discussing atrocities on the harijans and tribals. Government should take steps to stop such atrocities so that there may not be need of discussion on this subject in future.

**SHRI DILEEP SINGH BHURIA (Jhabua)** : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the House is again discussing the atrocities being committed on the harijans and tribals. Even after 37-38 years of independence such incidents are taking place in the country. This House condemns these atrocities.

When the country achieved independence, the leaders of the country had said that we would carry all the people of the country along with us. Why are these incidents taking place today ? It is because the Congress Party has awakened the people. When the people are awakened and get the rights, it hurts those people who rule over them whether they are rich or have faith in something else. The day this feeling is no more and the conflict of ideas is no more, there will not be any incident of this nature from the same day.

In Gujarat, slogan is being raised to do away with reservations and the roster system. When Parliament has enacted law that until the harijans and tribals come at par with other sections of the society, reservations will continue, then why are these things happening ? Members belonging to the opposition parties say one thing in the House and another thing outside. We shall have to control them. The State Government is having dialogue with the people who are demanding that the roster system should be done away with. Why is the State Government holding such a dialogue with them ? This thing is happening in the State where Sarvodaya Movement was launched and where Mahatma Gandhi spent his whole life in

[Shri Dileep Singh Bhuria]

order to achieve this goal. This is happening in that very State. What was needed was that we should not have negotiated with them.

Harijans and Adivasis are very much a part of our democracy. The unity and integrity of the country is linked with them. They have full faith in democracy and they are loyal to the country. And still they are being persecuted !

I am happy that our Prime Minister has visited the tribal and harijan areas. He enquired from the harijans and tribals whether they were getting food or not and whether they had fodder for their cattle or not. It is for the first time that the Prime Minister of our country visited the huts of the harijans and saw for himself the progress of the schemes formulated by the Government for those people. He assured those people that action would be taken against those officials who did not carry out their duty properly and he did take action. The 20 Point Programme was formulated and Schemes were formulated for those people under I.R.D.P. so that they may be benefited.

I do not want to go into politics. Regarding Andhra Pradesh, an hon. Member has stated that in his State all the seats have gone to the harijans of his party. If it is so, then a harijan should be made the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. But you will not do that. But here you can say anything.

Why are incidents of atrocities on the harijans and tribals taking place? These incidents take place mostly in the villages. I do not want to name any particular caste. The incidents take place there because there the harijans and adivasis have no political power. Until you give them political power, there will be no abatement in these incidents. I can say with certainty that if a Government official does not help people of other castes and helps the harijan and adivasis according to rules and regulations such incidents will not recur. However we do not need your help. You only instruct your officials not to suppress us. When they will stop suppressing us, no such incidents would take place from that very day. Today, the people in the villages are educated and enlightened. You have enacted a number of laws for these

people. You have also given leases of land to the harijans and adivasis, but no harijan or adivasi has got actual possession of any land. When they go to take possession of the land, the village *Sarpanch* threatens them at gun point. His gun will have to be snatched. If it is done, I feel the harijans and Adivasis will become powerful and enlightened and the 20-point programme of Shrimati Indira Gandhi would be implemented. They are pressurised. A reference has been made about casting of vote. It can happen in U.P. But the greatest revolutionary and enlightened Adivasi of Asia lives in my constituency. If somebody takes away his wife or land, he would kill that person with his bow and arrow. The S.H.O. also does not help him. If the S.H.O. comes to his help, everything will be all right. What type of officers are deputed by you to settle land disputes or implement other programmes? You send the most condemned officer in a harijan or adivasi district. You should depute officers who are interested in serving the poor people. Whenever Mahatma Gandhi visited a place, he used to stay in a harijan hut. Officers having such motivation should be deputed in those districts. Only then their welfare can be ensured.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, a national problem is being discussed here and many hon. Members have expressed their views in this regard. Some Members expressed constructive views and others confined themselves to party politics. So far as parties are concerned, I would like to say that this matter should be kept above party politics. We should follow the ideals which sustain the human values. Who are the people who are being subjected to atrocities in the country? A harijan whether working under the Government or in a public undertaking or in any service in India, has not been provided complete protection. Unless they are given complete protection, they cannot progress. Our late Prime Minister gave the 20-point programme to the country. But what has happened under this programme? During emergency, certain people did not get possession of land. After that they were subjected to

grave atrocities. This is not the state of affairs in one particular State but in all the States. The Hon. Prime Minister has taken positive steps to solve the problems of the adivasis. He deserves congratulations for that. Other Union Ministers and State Government Ministers should also follow suit. They should visit the harijan and adivasi bastis. No educational facilities have been provided to them. In competitions, the rural children cannot compete with the urban children, irrespective of the fact whether they are Rajputs, Brahmins or belong to any other caste. Even in competitions for bank service, they are not able to compete. These days the bureaucrats have greater say everywhere. The hon. Minister gives the same reply which the bureaucrats prepare for him. They should conduct enquiry on their own. It may be Andhra Pradesh or any other State, whenever a Member visits his constituency, he finds that welfare measures meant for the harijans and adivasis are not being implemented. We have got no powers.

In services, a quota of 15 or 22 per cent has been reserved for the harijans and adivasis. But they are not appointed against this quota on the plea that they do not possess requisite qualifications. But all the posts of sweepers will be filled up by them only. I would request the hon. Home Minister to see whether orders issued to the States by his Ministry are implemented or not. You should see how these orders are being implemented in the States. In Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and other plain areas, lot of atrocities are committed. I would like to point out that if the human values are honoured, such incidents would not take place. These atrocities are being committed from the time our late Prime Minister undertook the programme for distributing land among the poor people, and made a provision for advancing loans to them through the nationalised banks. One of our friends has said that in each district there should be one District Magistrate who should look after the protection of the harijans and adivasis. Today, what happens is that if any officer is to be chastised, he is posted in a harijan adivasi area. He incites the people so that he may be transferred from there. So long as the State Govern-

ments do not implement your instructions, the harijans will not be able to enter services. If any State does not do so, you should call a meeting of the Chief Ministers. As long as one remains a Minister, one does not take care of the harijans but if one does not remain a Minister, one will start raising hue and cry for their welfare. The I.A.S. Officers have formed a cadre. In this way only their relatives are taken in services. Nobody will take care of the harijans as they are not able to come up in competitions. Even employment exchanges do not issue cards to them.

I would like to point out that if the country is to be given a direction in right earnest, we would have to be sincere and honest. Our learned friends make a lot of criticism here. Neither Andhra Pradesh Government nor the Central Government order firing. It has been said here that the hon. Minister had gone there. She is a Minister and can go anywhere in the country. She is duty-bound to listen to the woes of the poor. Our Prime Minister also undertakes such visits. I would like to say that even MPs should do so and submit a report to the Prime Minister about the atrocities being committed on the harijans and about the progress made in regard to implementation of the Government's programmes by the bureaucrats. Our Prime Minister gives due regard to the viewpoints of the Opposition. Full weight is given to what they say. It is the duty of the Opposition also to cooperate with the Government. We have to take the country ahead unitedly. We have to put an end to these atrocities. If we continue to blame each other, our country will never progress. Every month a programme should be chalked out for the welfare of the poor. This will help in evaluating the work done by the officers concerned. They should not connive with the District Magistrate by offering him that his transfer orders would be revoked or by showing some other favour to him. Such things should not be allowed to take place. It is also our duty to look after the interests of our officers. But the I.A.S. officers have done a lot of harm to the country. They have created bitterness among us. This system has been in existence since the

[Shri K.D. Sultanpuri]

British times, but now time has come when we should think of changing it. Their viewpoint will have to be changed. Unless we do this and bring improvements in this system, our country will not be able to progress.

I would like to say that if atrocities have been committed on the harijans in Andhra Pradesh, we would have to make arrangements to ensure that such incidents do not take place in future. This will increase our prestige. We should try to prevent atrocities wherever they take place, whether it be Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh. I hope that while replying to the debate on the subject the hon. Home Minister will definitely spell out some solution of this problem, so that these people could lead an honourable life.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Kishore Chandra Deo.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : One point of order. I think there is no quorum in the House. Let us continue the discussion tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I think there is quorum.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : Not many hon. Members are here to hear about the atrocities. What is the use of speaking here ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Even among Ministers only one Minister is there.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Those who have to speak, they are there, except people like us.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are three Ministers.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : But the Home Minister is not here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : She is there. Home Minister is there. Shri Kishore Chandra Deo, you can start.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Atrocities on us will continue till eight o'clock.

19.27 hrs.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : (Parvathipuram) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, as I rise to speak I must say that it is a matter of shame that again certain situations have necessitated this kind of a discussion in this august House. Atrocities on Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been discussed in this House several times before, in earlier Lok Sabhas also, several Members have expressed their opinion on this matter from all sides of the House. Several Ministers have given assurances, Home Ministers, successively one after another have given assurances.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : Sir, let me have a chance after him.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : Despite the assurances given by the various Home Ministers and the views expressed by Members from all sides of this House, this kind of incidents continue to occur in various parts of the country not as just one stray incident here or there, but on quite a rampant scale.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the main reason for these atrocities on weaker sections has been the continuing disparity between these exploited classes and the other sections of the society. I do not have to go into the details because we are short of time and lot of Members have already expressed their views on these aspects. But apart from these economic aspects I would like to bring to the notice of this august House the fact that there are also political undertones in these episodes that have been taking place. Members on the other side, lot of them, have mentioned, and they have referred to, the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi as a champion of Harijans and the weaker Sections. Mrs. Gandhi was in power for many years. Why is it that the economic condition of the Harijans and the weaker sections still remains the same ? It has gone from bad to worse ! I mean that the Members should at least think before saying such things.

They are talking of Andhra Pradesh accusing the present Government. Are they not aware that this Government came to power only in 1983 ? As if Mrs. Gandhi was there to emancipate them—to what extent had she done it ?

Sir, I admit that large sums of money have been spent on the development of Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in various parts of the country, in my State also. But where has this money gone? Have these people actually got any benefit out of it? Crores of rupees have been spent, special projects have been drawn up. Many luminaries, VIPs, dignitaries and Ministers have visited these places. But the beneficiaries have been the intermediaries, not the Scheduled Castes, or Scheduled Tribes themselves. I can say this because I represent a Scheduled Tribe constituency and I know what has happened to all the money that has gone in huge sums into these areas.

Whatever hon. Members may feel and say, the general impression would be that this is not the concern of one Member or you or me or any Member of any State Legislature, but this is concern of the nation. I am sure, this august House ought to be one on an issue like this.

Some references were made by Members from the other side. Definitely there has been some political motivation in many of the atrocities that have been committed in different States. In Uttar Pradesh the Thakurs are dominating. So if they commit atrocities on Harijans, no judicial inquiry will be ordered. No Minister goes there and no action is taken. Somewhere else the Bhumihars commit something, nothing happens. But in Andhra Pradesh or Karnataka if something happens, you run over there. This kind of double standard is not going to help in the long run. Mrs. Gandhi is no more. But the present Government is also following in certain aspects what she did.

The practice of this Government has been to give power to the upper caste, to get money from the business class and to get votes from the lower castes. Now there is a slight change. Instead of business class it is multinationals. So, there is a slight amendment in the general quality. What I want to tell you is that you cannot fool the people of a country for all time. You can fool them for some time in a small manner. But you cannot do it all the time with all people. This is precisely what is going on. I am not trying to cast any aspersion. But this is what I generally feel.

The Members of the ruling party have said that there is nothing wrong in the Home Minister going to any State. There is absolutely nothing wrong. None of us has said that there is anything wrong in the Home Minister or Minister of State for Home Affairs visiting a State when some trouble was on. But the way it was done definitely gives room for us to think that it was done only on political considerations.

Of course, the Minister is free to go in anybody's car—contractor's car, private person's car or State Government's car. She said that there was nobody to receive her. In this case I have got the information. I have got it verified not only from Telugu Desam Party Members but also from other sources in the State that there was a Government official to receive the Minister. But she chose to go in the car of a contractor. If this country is going to be run by a party which is in the hands of contractors, then even God cannot save this country, I am sure, you will agree with that. After going to that place she said: "I will have the C.M. out; I will intervene in the matter." Sir, I am also a student of political science like you. I know the basic norms or tenets of a federal polity. But there is a limit to that also. At some instances when it comes to the law and order situation you say that it is a State subject. In a matter like this when it suits you, you straightway go there and say: "I will throw the Chief Minister lock, stock and barrel." She also went to the extent of alleging that the C.M. did not know the Constitution. Just making wild allegations and trying to make political capital on an issue like this—it is only going to further aggravate such a situation and create more tension in the society. The Minister of State for Home Affairs also went to the extent of saying that because the C.M. was a Kamma and people involved there were Kammas and because they belonged to the same caste, that is why no action was taken against them. Why did he then institute a judicial inquiry hoping that something comes out of it? Whether they are Kammas or Reddys or anybody, they certainly deserve the punishment. Or if you think that there is something wrong, you institute your own inquiry and prove that what he has done is with some caste bias. Just to make wild allegations to make political capital out of it is something

[Shri V. Kishore Chandra S. Deo.]

which I consider a heinous crime. This is more atrocious than the atrocities themselves. It is done in order to fan communal riots. I do not know whether she has gone there to study and solve the problem or to add fuel to the fire or rub salt on the injury.

This is how it looks to me. I do not want to take up issues State by State but in Bihar, as my other friend from Janata Party also mentioned, when tribals had gone to catch fish in a village, some people, who were against those tribals, came with the police party and they even opened fire—the hon. Minister must be aware of it—and three persons died. Instead of apprehending these police officials who were in league with those against the tribals, the tribals, on the other hand, have been charge-sheeted. Is Bihar ruled by N.T. Rama Rao? You cannot have different standards for different States according to convenience. This kind of politics has actually ruined the country and brought us to this stage. I can tell you that whether it is atrocity on Harijans, whether it is on Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, whether it is on weaker sections, in most of the cases there has been some hand behind that. I mean there has been some kind of political patronisation behind this. You go through most of the cases and you will find the same thing. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister when he replies tomorrow, that in the last five years how many such cases were there, in how many cases did they launch prosecutions and arrested people and punished them, and in how many cases the enquiry which had taken place, was just dropped, and who were responsible for these atrocities which had taken place. I do not want to name each and every case because there would be so many and I also cannot remember all. But I would like to know the fate of the commissions that were set up on all such cases during the last five years. This is how things have been going. I am not here to hold brief either for Telugu Desam party or for the Congress (I) party. I do not belong to either of them. But I want to make it clear whether it is congress (I), whether it is TDP, whether it is my own party or whether it is Janata party or whether it is any other party, that just paying this kind of lip

sympathy, coming to parliament and making an outburst of different kinds of statistics or hurling allegation at each other, is it not going to solve this problem. First of all, you must decide not to take any political benefit out of such a situation. This is a norm which, of course you cannot do by legislation, it can only come through practice. Unless you refrain from intervening in such situations with the motive behind your mind, this kind of a situation is bound to continue. Of course, below all these lies the main criterion, which is economic, and I am sure, with affluence and with the increase of standards of living among the weaker sections, among Harijans, among Scheduled Tribes, naturally this phenomenon will also reduce.

Some hon. Members have spoken about not giving licences to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am not going to ask as to why licences were not given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but I want to know from the hon. Minister in how many cases were weapons taken away from those who had used them against Scheduled Castes, or Scheduled Tribes, or against the weaker sections, or from those who were suspects, or from those who were involved in such cases. I want to know the number of weapons, the number of cases, the number of licences that have been impounded, and the number of weapons that have been seized from upper class people who have indulged in such activities. This is all I wanted to say. But I would expect the hon. Home Minister to reply to the points that I have asked. Of course, he is not here, but I think the Minister of State has taken correct notes of what I have said. I also demand an explanation from the Minister of State for Home Affairs because it is my charge that she had gone there to eke out political games out of it for the reasons I have already mentioned. If she has heard them, she will give an explanation for that.

SHRI SALEEM I. SHERVANI  
(Budaun) Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion under rule 193. I do not want to criticise any government because such incidents are taking place in most parts of the country. I briefly want to speak what I personally feel.

India, in the last 38 years since independence, has made tremendous progress in the field of science and technology, agriculture and industry but one area where we have not seen much improvement is human relations. Every now and then we read and hear about atrocities committed on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections of the society. This is a country in which Mahatma Gandhi spread the message of love and tolerance. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru worked for the progress and prosperity of this country. Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave up her life for the unity of this country, but still there are some people who, by force and by violence on the weaker sections of the society, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, try to destabilise the growth of India. Recently I happened to be in Budaun and a case came to my knowledge where a Harijan, while going to his house, stepped in someone's field which was not even ploughed, and he was mercilessly beaten up. Fortunately I happened to be there and I brought the incidence to the knowledge of the Superintendent of Police, and I am glad that immediate action was taken. But how many cases are reported? Out of fear, number of cases are not even reported. It is the responsibility of any government to create an environment of honesty, truthfulness, fearlessness and forgiveness. It is important for us to keep a record of the number of incidents that are taking place, but what is more important is to keep a record of the actions taken and the number of people convicted for the crimes. On the 5th of August, 1983, while replying to a debate in the Rajya Sabha, the hon. Home Minister said, "The States have already been asked to impress upon the officers, particularly the weaker sections". Recently, on the 15th of April, the hon. Home Minister, in a D.O. letter to all the Chief Ministers, gave certain guidelines and said, "It has been found that despite various measures, the Scheduled Castes remain the most vulnerable section of the population and become the victims of crimes and other indignities." In his guidelines he has mentioned that "A few units of Special Structure Force, highly mobile and well-equipped, may be located in strategic areas. The Force should be so composed as to instil a sense of confidence amongst

the Scheduled Castes and deter the potentiality perpetrators of such crimes."

There are various other guidelines in which I would not like to go but what I would like to mention here is that certain steps should be taken, and certain areas where repeatedly such incidents take place, should be monitored more closely and a foolproof feed-back system should be established so that immediate action can be taken. More than that, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes officers should be posted in sensitive areas so that the weaker sections of the society, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes develop confidence in the administration.

Lastly, I would say that if no improvement takes place, then, through legislation, stricter measures should be introduced and harsher punishment given, such as, refusal of bail to the habitual offenders.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri): Sir, at the outset, I want to submit that I would not approach this problem from party angle. I would approach this problem from national angle. It is a commitment in the Constitution of India, it is not a party commitment or a national commitment. There should be social equality and there should be equal dignity for each. In that background if the entire thing is analysed, who is negligent can be easily located. Here, I would like to mention that in the year 1960, in the month of September, the then Home Minister had directed all the State Governments to appoint Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe District Magistrates and S.Ps. in sensitive districts.

May I know in how many districts SPs and District Magistrates were appointed from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people? If we know that, that will indicate how far Home Ministry's directives are being implemented by the States. On party basis I do not want to make any allegation. In the year 1978-79, If I am correct, the Home Ministry instructed all the State Governments to set up special courts to adjudicate the cases of atrocities against harijans and scheduled tribes people. How many States have done that? Which are those States which have

[Shri Braja Mohan Mohanty]

not done that? In the Home Ministry there is a cell to monitor the harijans and scheduled tribe welfare measures. May I know, which are the States which have defaulted? What action is taken by the Government of India to remind them to pursue the action which has been initiated by the Government of India? It is alleged by some of the members of the opposition as to why the Home Minister should visit Andhra Pradesh, as if Andhra Pradesh is not part of the Union of India. If some village catches fire, and if the Minister can afford to visit that village, it is a most desirable thing. Why do you read mischief in her visit?

Sir, I am only stressing one thing: Among the scheduled castes there are some weaker sections. There are some sub-castes. Now the time has come when Government should give more attention to the weaker sections of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. They should be brought on equal footing with others. The western scientists are now developing a new theory about heredity. They say heredity is a factor for high calibre and intelligence of the boy. So far as Indian analysis is concerned, on equal economic footing, the Harijan boys fare better than the caste Hindu boys. This is a very enlightening factor in our social lives. As a matter of fact there was always the feeling that they are intellectually inferior which has been found to be false.

Now another thing is this: There are some false prophets who are propagating amongst harijans for conversion saying that conversions will improve their lot. They say, you become converted to Islam or to Christianity or to any other religion. But that is not the answer to the problem. As a matter of fact you know that the black people and the Negroes get converted into Christianity; but the situation has not improved. There are poorer people among the Muslims and also among the Christians. So that is not the answer to this problem. On the contrary they will be deprived of the assistance and reservation facilities that are available to them. So, that is not the answer. My submission would be that caste basis movement will not improve their lot. Now the time has come when the

scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people must join the movement of the toiling masses of India and the poorer set up of society, that is, those who are struggling against the privileged people in the country. That alone is the real struggle which will improve their lot.

It is not that by any movement on caste basis we will help them, either scheduled caste movement or scheduled tribe movement. It is not like that. The problem is a socio-economic problem. To confront it, they should amalgamate themselves in the movement of the toiling masses of the country. That alone will improve their lot.

So far as scheduled tribes and scheduled castes are concerned the most important measure which will improve their lot is land reform. Unless land reform is expedited their lot will not improve. My personal experience is this: Unless land relationship is changed radically it is very difficult to improve their lot.

As a matter of fact, we are talking a lot about political parties, but political alignment matters very little in this regard. During the Bengali-Assamese conflict in Assam all the Assamese belonging to all political parties irrespective of their political affiliations are all on one side. Similarly all the Bengalis belonging to different political parties are on one side. So, party affiliation is not that strong in India. So also, when there is confrontation between Harijans and caste Hindus. Irrespective of their party affiliations, all caste Hindu people are on one side and all Harijans are on the other side. In that background we have to view this situation to see what steps we have to take to improve their lot and bring social equality and remove the indignity from social life.

Very recently, perhaps last year, the Home Ministry through the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, started a programme of propaganda against this evil and there was a novel of Prem Chand and there was a film by Satyajit Ray as a television feature entitled *Sadgati* and the story of *Sadgati* is this.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO: What is it called?

**SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY :** Satyajit Ray has prepared a feature film, 'Sadgati'. The theme of *Sadgati* is that the Brahmin pandit has oppressed a Harijan and ultimately he is succumbed to death. When that film was featured the Home Ministry and Information and Broadcasting Ministry have thought that they have done justice to the cause. But immediately there was a controversy all over the country. They said that this novel does not answer the problem. It is only the privileged people who want to clear their conscience. So, this is only an anatomy of the problem and no solution is given. Still, the evil persists in this country. What does this mean? That is why the time has come irrespective of party affiliations every citizen of India whatever may be his political commitment, whatever may be his religious persuasion, everybody has to work for the removal of this social evil. Not only in the Hindu community, but in the Muslim community, although there is no caste system as such, yet the society is stratified. The people who came from Arab countries claim superiority over the people who are the converts here. So also the Christian community is stratified. So, this is a social evil and that must be confronted with the united effort of the people.

[Translation]

**SHRI KAMMODILAL JATAV (Morena) :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. Hon. Members from the Opposition as well as from the ruling party have expressed their views in respect of atrocities being committed on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I am grateful to them because I belong to a scheduled caste and this august House is discussing our problems.

38 years ago, there were only two scheduled caste leaders in India—Shri Jagjivan Ram and Dr. Ambedkar. They were scheduled caste leaders before 1947. But after 1947, lakhs of harijans became I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers. When poor people make progress in the country, atrocities do take place. Only two factors are behind these atrocities. One is Panchayat elections and the other is allot-

ment of leases of land. In Panchayat elections sometimes the opposition parties encourage the harijans to fight elections and extend their support to them. But after the elections are over, they incite the people by saying that such and such harijan has shown disrespect to you. This gives rise to atrocities. In this way, atrocities are committed on the harijans during Panchayat elections.

Similarly, under the 20-Point Programme, harijans have been given land on lease. In my constituency, there are at least 75 per cent such cases where land leases have been allotted to harijans but have not been settled so far. When land is given on lease, the people go to the court and obtain stay orders. If any harijan dare challenge it, atrocities are committed on him. I, therefore, submit that if the harijans and adivasis are given land leases, such cases should be made non-justifiable. It will put an end to atrocities on the harijans and adivasis in the country. Many hon. Members as well as I stated on many occasions in the past that such a Bill should be introduced in Lok Sabha so that atrocities on the harijans and adivasis could be put an end to.

With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

[English]

**SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars) :** Sir, many hon. Members from both the sides of the House have spoken about the atrocities on Harijans and Adivasis and other backward classes. Many of the hon. Members have accused the high caste people as the people who commit those atrocities on Harijans and other backward people.

But, according to me, it is not true because for hundreds and thousands of years, all the castes, high and low, Harijans and others, are living together. But the Government should realise what is happening. The backward and the poor, especially the Adivasis, love to work hard. In the Adivasi area, some vested interest, namely, some money-lenders, contractors businessmen and such other people, want to earn easy money and to grab money

[Shri Piyus Tiraky]

from these poor people. Only these money-lenders, contractors etc., are the main cause of atrocities in all the areas of the country, if you make a proper assessment of the problem. Whenever these poor people are in troubles, these money-lenders and contractors create communal disharmony among the backward people because unless they inject communal disharmony, the police will not come into the scene. With the help of the police, these vested interests give troubles to the poor. We should not, therefore, put the entire blame on high caste people for the communal troubles in the country. It is not true.

These money-lenders take the help of the police force to commit atrocities on Harijans and other backward classes in all parts of India whether in Bihar or in Uttar Pradesh or anywhere in the country.

What is our society? What are you thinking of our Indian society? What are you thinking of our Indian politics?

What for are the Harijans fighting? Just helping them with spoon-fed development will not do. What for did the Indian people fight against the British? We must realise that what is needed is political power. They have not yet been given the political power. Unless they get the political power, they cannot be brought on to the national mainstream, on level with the other castes, what we call 'high castes'. So, it is the political power that is needed and it is for that reason they are agitating. If the blame goes to the high castes, then no party can remain here. The Harijans do not actually have any Harijan as Head of any party except perhaps the RSP of which I am the leader here. I am the only tribal leader. No other party in India has got any tribal as its leader or head, because they do not want to recognise any backward class people as head of any party. Shri Jagjivan Ram was a very competent man, but on account of his caste, he was not given a chance to lead the country. If he had been given that chance, the entire political system would have changed.

In Indian politics we have recognised that it is a question of survival of the fittest. If you are not fit, in the Indian politics you cannot survive. And these

people, for centuries, have not been found fit. In this political system, in this democracy, what are you following? It is the Capitalist form of government that you are following. The capitalists are exploiters. Only they get into highest positions. Our society praises and honours those who have very little physical work or no work at all. There is no honour or dignity for physical work. The tribals and Harijans are hard-working people in the villages and they love to work. These contractors and money-lenders who have gone there do not do any physical work; they only take a share in the product, rather the lion's share, by sheer exploitation. The tribals and Harijans cannot tolerate such things. So, they get involved in fighting. And what is the Government doing? The police goes and protects the property. In our country holding private property is a fundamental right. We have the right to have unlimited private property. The police is helping those moneyed men, and these vested interests give a communal colour to such clashes. Government should realise that it is the vested interests who are creating so-called communal clashes everywhere. So, when any atrocity is committed anywhere, Government should be wise enough to see whether it is really a communal clash or it is the vested interests who are creating it. Otherwise, the entire polity will be ruined. In the Indian society, Hinduism—some hon. Members have already spoken about it; I should not repeat—is based on casteism.

If you attack the castes and try to abolish them, Hinduism itself will be in danger. Hinduism creates castes and so also other religions. Even Christians, Muslims and people belonging to whatever religion, they are also following the same pattern because they have been influenced by the Hindu religion. Even in Christianity, they cannot follow a different system.

The tribal people or Harijans, even though they may be more qualified even from the religious point of view, they cannot get the same status as the persons belonging to other castes. It is a social problem. What happens to them? Some tribal people have joined Hinduism; some others joined Christianity. But what did they

get out of it? They got inferiority complex. They say that they have joined another religion but they are not being treated equally; they are kept at a low level. The inferiority complex is there.

Sir, in this society, the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are there in a large number. There are more than one hundred Members of Parliament. They can balance the Government of India. They can have their Government; that much majority they have got. But where is the political power, where is the ballot box power? Money is influencing the ballot box also. What happened to the leaders of the tribal people and Harijans and Scheduled Caste people? They have to work as a force for the leaders of the majority class or high class. There is no chance to come out. So, the Government has to find out the basic reality that where from the atrocities are coming.

Moreover Sir, not only Harijans and Adivasis, the so-called upper class is also coming down and that day is not far away. They will come down to save themselves because the exploiter has already joined. Those who have money have already formed a class. They have captured every corner. They know how to get money from the poor people.

This is the position Sir. I don't believe in blaming the higher class or any party or any person. That is, perhaps, totally wrong. Wherever or whenever any atrocity is there, please enquire that some

vested interest is there and is trying to put it in the communal line just to save its face and to blame the Indian polity altogether.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Minister will reply tomorrow.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: All of us are waiting for so many hours just to hear the Minister.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The same problem will arise tomorrow also. The Minister has to reply after 6.30. The next day being a holiday, most of the members will be wanting to go.

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## BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

### *Eleventh Report*

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY  
AFFAIRS (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD):  
Sir, I beg to present the Eleventh Report  
of the Business Advisory Committee.

20.09 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of  
the Clock on Wednesday, August 14, 1985/  
Sravana 23, 1907 (Saka).