

17.30 Hrs.

MOTION RE. TWENTY THIRD AND TWENTY FOURTH REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

MR CHAIRMAN : We will now take up for consideration the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The total time allotted for this business is 12 hours.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL) : Sir, I move:

"That this House do consider the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1974-75 and 1975-76 and 1976-77, laid on the Table of the House on the 1st March, 1978 and 9th May, 1978 respectively."

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are only two names with me. Mr. Mandal, you are not speaking? You don't want to speak?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA) : Why should he speak, Sir?

(Interruptions).

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : (Gandhinagar) : Sir, he is asking the House to consider the two Reports for three years. Let him say a few words by way of introduction.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Anyway, nobody can be forced. Now, Mr. K. K. Murthy may speak.

SHRI KUSUMA KRISHNA MURTHY (Amalapuram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to offer some of my observations on the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

(Interruptions)

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : Sir, the Reports belong to the ancient time! Therefore let him refresh our memory. Let him tell this House on what those Reports contained, some of their broad features, the main outlines, and then we can discuss.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : Sir, it is not the practice that the hon. Minister speaks while moving such a motion. He only answers the debate and it is not necessary and it was never been the practice in the House.

(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN : I don't think Mr. Murthy wants any gudar etc.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : Sir, I am quite serious about it. I submit for your consideration that the motion is :

"That this House do consider the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1974-75, and 1975-76 and 1976-77, laid on the Table of the House on the 1st March, 1978 and 9th May, 1978 respectively."

Therefore, Sir, the Reports cover a period of three years, from 1974 until 1977.

(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let me say something on this. I should not observe anything at this stage, but I feel a little sorry that since it was announced two days ago that this subject would be taken up, the hon. Members are expected to study the whole matter. They should not rely only on what the Minister speaks. (Interruptions). The usual convention is not that. He will reply when all the debate is complete.

Now, I do not want to express any remarks, but I have not received any names as yet except two.

That shows the seriousness of the hon. Member regarding this debate.

Motion moved:

"That this House do consider the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1974-75, and 1975-76 and 1976-77, laid on the Table of the House on the 1st March, 1978 and 9th May, 1978 respectively."

SHRI KUSUMA KRISHNA MURTHY (Amalapuram) : I would like to offer some observations on the 23rd and 24th Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The 23rd Report relates to the year 1974-75 and the 24th Report to the years 1975-76 and 1976-77. So far, 22 Reports have been discussed on the floor of this House. The 23rd and 24th Reports were submitted to the Government more than a year ago but this House is very busy with very important business to be transacted, and the discussion of these Reports could not find

a place so far. Besides, the latest report, i.e., the 24th Report covers up to 1976-77 only, and we are now in 1979-80, and this clearly shows that the Reports for the years 1977-78 and 1978-79 are not part of the present discussion. Therefore, we are discussing reports relating to matters almost three years old, and the suggestions and observations mainly deal with omissions and commissions three years old, and some of them are bound to lapse in course of time and I believe this is the best course of action for the Government to solve the present problems of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This is the way the important problems of S.C. and S.T.s have been tackled. This is very unfortunate situation so far as the discussion on these Reports is concerned.

The constitutional responsibility of the Commission centres round the actual working of the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is reasonable to presume that Government are fully aware of the total condition of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in India today, after having discussed 22 voluminous Reports on the subject.

To start with, it is supremely significant that we have to deal with the problem of atrocities on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the land of their own birth today. Government is quite well aware of the facts of the number of atrocities, the nature of the atrocities, the places of atrocities and why they are increasing day by day. Day in and day out the atrocities are committed on Harijans on a large scale. Whether they were less under the previous Government or more under the present Government is not the point, but why they should be committed on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes alone from time to time? This is the crux of the problem. Besides, we have clearly seen that Government stood dumb founded and helpless on more than one occasion. Apart from this, even after having prior information about the possible commission of atrocities on Harijans, the concerned authorities behaved most partially, and this fact has been clearly accepted by the superior officers in the police department on more than one occasion.

One glaring feature in regard to the atrocities on Harijans is that the vested interests and the landed class are clearly interested not only in killing Harijans as such but in terrorising them by showing what the consequences would be if the Harijans started asserting themselves. If the Harijans remain as sub-human beings, there is no problem at all, but if they want to claim their minimum civil rights to live like human beings, atrocities are committed on them to show them what the consequences would be.

There are instances where from dawn to dusk villages inhabited by Harijans were burnt down and razed to the ground. There are instances where helpless Harijans women were subjected to all kinds of tortures, including raping them inhumanly. There are instances where innocent children were butchered and burnt alive. There are instances where the young, old, the sick, and even pregnant women were subjected to brutal raping. Most of these places I have personally visited, and discussed the matter with the actual victims of these brutal acts. My experience shows clearly that though the Government are very anxious to deal with these atrocities with an iron hand, those who are entrusted with this responsibility behave most partially and thereby even the protection to life was denied, let alone these people being given minimum justice. In this matter, the police force has to play a vital role and we have seen some of the cases where the police not only utterly neglected their duties but also helped the rich and the landed to terrorise the helpless Harijans. We have seen many instances and Bihar stands as a clear testimony to this fact. My clear and specific question is, what the Government have done so far in dealing with the police officers who have deliberately neglected their duties and responsibilities in this matter? I am sure that very little has been done whenever there is a clear violation of their responsibilities. Unless there is a clear system of penalising the officials who are entrusted with this responsibility and who do not fulfil it, I do not think that there will be any solution to this problem. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the Government to evolve a system wherein such officers would be penalised severely.

Apart from this, there must be a clear provision to encourage and also give proper and adequate representation in the category of police Inspectors and sub-Inspectors to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, at least to the extent of 30%, as suggested by the Kalelkar Commission, so that genuine protection can be expected from the police side. We have seen a number of instances where, whatever may be the nature of the atrocities and wherever they have been committed, the culprits generally go scot-free. The reason is very simple. In this society based on caste and communal prejudices, it is impossible to expect minimum justice from high hands. Besides, in the legal system, we must provide an encouragement to a sizable number of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to occupy a large number of posts in the judiciary. This is very much necessary.

[Shri Kusuma Krishna Musthi]

The Government has very keenly introduced a Bill on Special Courts to deal with the offences committed before, during and after the Emergency. But there is a problem which is very grave and the situation is worsening and the moment is explosive and that is with regard to the atrocities on Harijans. Curiously enough, the Government is quite silent over this matter and they are found quite helpless. Therefore, I would like to draw the special attention to the Government to set up Special Courts to deal with the atrocities on Harijans in this country. Unless a kind of system is evolved in which such cases are dealt with quickly and the culprits are brought to book without delay, it will be very difficult to give justice and protection to these communities. This kind of evasiveness on the part of the government in dealing with this matter will definitely boomerang at the Government. In our federal system we have found the dual responsibility. Whenever atrocities are committed against Harijans, the Central Government says that the law and order problem is a state subject and it remains a silent spectator in many cases. It is not going to help in solving this problem. Unless the dual responsibility is done away with and unless the Central Government takes care of this problem, it is very difficult to expect the natural justice and the Government would fail to control the menace of atrocities on Harijans.

Out of personal experience, Mr. Karpuri Thakur evolved a system wherein he wanted to give training to the S.Cs and S.Ts and weaker sections to use lethal weapons in order to protect themselves. He was desperate and helpless and finally he has come to the conclusion that in order to enable the S.C. and S.Ts to protect the modesty of their women and also their lives, this approach became imperatively necessary. The Government should take this Karpuri Thakur's approach as an imperative means to solve the threatening problem of atrocities on SCs and S.Ts in this country.

Coming to the economic side of the problem, while allocating money for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Government goes on the basis of the percentage they constitute among the total population.

We know, the Scheduled Caste population forms about 15 per cent of the population in general. But whenever we talk about the removal of poverty, we talk specifically about a class which is below the poverty line. Whenever we are making allocations, we must make allocations

specifically for the Scheduled Castes. In a general population, the Scheduled Castes form about 15 per cent. But among the poverty classes, they form more than 60 per cent. Therefore, whenever you are making allocations to remove the poverty, the Government should be very clear in making allocations to the extent the percentage is constituted by these Scheduled Castes and Tribes. This is a very important thing. Otherwise, there is no use of talking about the removal of poverty without making these classes free from poverty.

In the Plan also, there are a number of ways and means to bring them up economically free from want. There is a special component plan evolved for these classes. The clear intention of this is, that in the total outlay, they want to allocate sectorwise. What I mean to say is that these classes constitute their percentage in a different way, from sector to sector. For instance, among the small and marginal farmers, the Scheduled Castes form about 20 per cent whereas among the agricultural labours, they constitute about 60 per cent. If you come to the leather industry, they constitute more than 80 per cent. Therefore, when you are making special allocations sectorwise, the allocations also must be earmarked according to the percentages of these classes from sector to sector. Then only we can expect a general growth of these classes from the point of view of economic development.

Apart from this, there should be functional mobility and they should be encouraged to have a mobility in seeking their professions. They should not be confined in making allocations to the classes they are born and the professions to which they are habituated. Unless we bring about functional mobility in professions, we will be further segmenting the society into water-tight compartments. That does not solve the question of social cohesion and national integration. Therefore, the Government must, in making allocations, think in terms of functional mobility in professions among these classes. Otherwise, a class which is meant for scavenging always remains a scavenging class. The Government must also come forward with a legislation to abolish carrying of night-soil on the heads.

In the previous Plan, they made a special Central assistance to the Scheduled Tribes to the tune of about Rs. 100 crores. It has given a very big fillip in their developmental activity. But they have neglected the Scheduled Castes completely. Probably, the Government is thinking that the Scheduled Caste population is living

in a general atmosphere, in the mainstream of life. That may be correct. But so far as the development from the point of view of economic growth and removal of poverty is concerned, it is absolutely wrong to think that these classes have had an opportunity of getting the benefits of economic development.

For instance, we have constructed a number of irrigation projects during all our Plan periods. But the Scheduled Castes have no lands to irrigate. We have constructed a number of bridges and the roads. But they have nothing to transport over the bridges and the roads. We have built so many factories. But they have no money to invest. We have increased the number of railways.

But they have no opportunity to make use of the railways or railway wagons. The general growth of economy has in no way touched these classes, though they are living in the mainstream of life. They are labourers and their contribution to the capital formation is very significant. They always crave for a minimum wage or for a piece of land to construct a hut. They never question how much amount of the existing wealth belongs to them. Therefore, then we are creating future wealth, we must be very clear in giving an opportunity for them to own some part of the wealth. So far as the special Central assistance is concerned, the Working Group has already suggested Rs. 500 crores to be earmarked for them and, I believe, this is the minimum possible amount the Government should earmark for the Scheduled Castes during the current plan.

Another important aspect in this regard is that whenever they are making allocations, I request the Government to allocate in terms of quantity, not percentage-wise. Whatever allocations have already been made in terms of quantity must be retained even if there are any cuts in the final Plan. We are thinking in terms of their economic growth, betterment and other improvements. In the light of this, it is essential and imperative, from the point of view of their economic growth, these allocations must be retained in the final plan.

Apart from this, we find that we give assistance to a number of States for giving assistance to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes through cooperatives etc. So, a beginning has been made, but the allocations must be made in a big way in order to encourage these classes because we know that the banks are quite reluctant to offer assistance to them. Therefore, in providing seed money, Government has to increase the percen-

tage and allot money in a big way to bring them into the mainstream of economic life and to develop them economically without further delay.

Coming to the aspect of reservation in employment, we have seen that though a period of 30 years has passed, and there are provisions in the Constitution for safeguarding and protecting the interests of S.Cs and S.Ts and there is also a Commissioner for scheduled Castes and scheduled Tribes to look into the working conditions and other safeguards meant for these classes. But still, there is a backlog in filling up reserved posts. We have seen that in thirty years, though the reservation is 15% for scheduled castes, they have so far implemented only 3.46% in the case of Class I employees. In the case of Class IV it is somewhat more, and in categories like sweepers etc. they have given 100% because there is no competition for these services. It clearly shows that the Government is not very keen in implementing what they have assured them in the form of safeguards.

We know that in Art. 335 in our Constitution it is clearly mentioned that 'with due regard to maintenance of efficiency' reservation has to be made. But this Art. 335 is being misused. They have never understood the spirit of this Art. 335. In the light of these words, they try to misuse them while implementing the reservations rules and that is why we find, today, a backlog of un-filled quota meant for these classes. Apart from this, unless in Art. 335 the word "with due regard to maintenance of efficiency" are replaced by the words "with due regard to minimum prescribed qualifications", we will not be able to give proper representation to these classes, for which purpose this Article is meant.

There are other things in our system like "suitability", "confidential reports", etc. These are not at all workable in a society which is based on caste system. Unless these practices are completely abolished, we will not be able to provide natural justice and we will not be able to give a proper fillip to the social advancement to these classes. Therefore, whenever there are safeguards provided, there should be a clear provision to see that they are properly implemented and if the safeguards are not properly implemented, there should be a provision in our system to penalise those who are not properly implementing them. Unless there is such a system for penalising offenders, we will not be able to achieve the desired objectives in our society. Therefore, this is a very important issue in regard to the safeguards provided for these classes but

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the Government, even after having discussed 22 voluminous reports, have not done much in regard to their services. Still their percentage in services of all higher cadres remains the same.

Apart from the percentages, we have seen that in the private sector there is no such thing as reservation at all. There are four lakh private sector units, in which we can find a lot of employment potential. In the public sector employment opportunities are very limited and the Government is not doing anything in spite of repeated requests. In the private sector, a major part of the investment is from the nationalised banks and therefore Government has a right to insist upon a certain quota for these classes. Otherwise, creating a provision for reservation becomes an absolute mockery. In a sector where there are four lakh private units, we can find a lot of opportunity but, even today, we see that it is difficult to find a single regular employee from S.C.s. or S.T.s. in each of these four lakhs units in the private sector. Therefore, the reservation provision should be extended to the private sector also soon.

With these words I conclude.

श्री हुकम देव नारायण यादव (मधुबनी) - सभापति जी, अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के आयुक्त का प्रतिवेदन सदन में घाता रहता है और उस पर हम बहस करत रहते हैं। लेकिन यह प्रतिवेदन, जब बटनाएँ पढ जाती हैं और हरिजन और आदिवासियों पर जहाँ कहीं जुल्म और भ्रत्याचार हो जाते हैं उनका रिकार्ड भर होता है कि यहाँ यहाँ भ्रत्याचार हुआ। उसका एक बहीखाता बनाया जाता है। इसमें हथ पड़ लेते हैं कि कहा कहाँ कैसे कैसे जुल्म हुए।

हरिजन और आदिवासियों के बारे में मनु के समय से, शास्त्रों और कुरान में हम भा रहे हैं। उसी तरह से आज कल आयुक्त के प्रतिवेदन में लिखा होता है कि हरिजन और आदिवासी पर ये जुल्म और भ्रत्याचार हुए हैं। सदन में हम उस पर विचार करते हैं। लेकिन हरिजन और आदिवासी पर जुल्म और भ्रत्याचार हो नहीं, उन्हें समाज में समता का स्थान मिले, उसके लिए कोई ठोस कदम उठाने की तरफ आज तक कार्यवाही नहीं हुई है। इस के लिए जब तक साकार और सगुण दृष्टिकोण नहीं अपनाया जाएगा तब तक कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। अब तक सब कुछ निर्गुण ही होता रहा है। तुलसीदास जी ने कहा है—

विचाराम बय सब जन जानी

करतुं प्रणाम औरियुग पाणी ।

इसी तरह से भंकराचार्य ने कहा है कि सब ही ब्रह्ममय है। सब निर्गुण है और सब में ब्रह्म है। सब जगह ईश्वर का निवास है। इसी निर्गुण का हमारे विहार में रूप माना है कि जब किसी पासवान से जिसको दुसाध कहा जाता है अगर कोई छू जाग तो कहा जाता है कि हड़डी छू गयी है। अगर किसी तेली का सामना पड़ गया तो कहा जाता है कि उसके देखने से याता खराब हो गयी।

अगर इन तरह से काम समाज के अन्दर चलना रहा तो कभी भी समाज का उत्थान नहीं होने वाला है। समाज के अन्दर, देश में निर्गुण के बारे में बहुत बातें कही गयी हैं लेकिन मगुण में कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। अगर इस देश के अन्दर किसी ने मगुण के बारे में कुछ कहा या उस पर चलने का प्रयास किया तो उसे कठिनाई में पड़ा हमारे विहार में श्री कर्पूरि ठाकुर को कठिनाई उठानी पड़ी। बिहार में कर्पूरी ठाकुर को जाना पड़ा उस के पीछे एक यह भी कारण था। चीन में माओत्से तंग ने मास्किनिक क्रांति के लिये सरकारी सेना का प्रयोग न करके एक भ्रमण से समाप्त नौजवानों की सेना का निर्माण किया था जो किसी मिद्वान या कार्यक्रम के प्रति भिड़ने वाली हो। वे सरकारी पलटन के बल पर कुछ नहीं कर सकते थे। इसी प्रकार से श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने भी समाज के सामने एक मगुण रूप रखा। सरकारी नौकरियों में, पुलिस में स्वर्ण लोगों का अधिकार होने से वह हरिजनों पर जुल्म और भ्रत्याचार रोकने में असमर्थ रही। इस लिए उन्होंने कहा कि अगर हमें हरिजन और आदिवासियों पर भ्रत्याचार और जुल्म रोकने हैं तो इन्हें सरकार की बन्दूक देनी होगी, इन्हें सरकार की तरफ से हथियार देने होंगे। पुलिस के धरोसे उनकी रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है। वे इन बन्दूकों और हथियारों के बल पर अपनी रक्षा स्वयं करेंगे। यह सगुण रूप है। अगर उन के पास भी जैसे ही साधन हों जैसे कि स्वर्ण लोगों के पास हैं तो उन पर भ्रत्याचार और जुल्म नहीं होंगे।

श्री कर्पूरि ठाकुर जी ने यही प्लान किया और कहा कि हम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की पलटन और पुलिस बनावेंगे जिस में केवल हरिजन और आदिवासी ही रहेंगे और— जो जो डेमिस्टिब एरियाज हैं जहाँ पर कि हरिजन और आदिवासियों पर भ्रत्याचार होते हैं वहाँ वह उनकी रक्षा करेंगे। लेकिन समाज के अन्दर जो करोड़ों वर्षों से बर्ण व्यवस्था चली आ रही और समाज उस से प्रसित है, भारतीय समाज का जो बुद्धि-जीवी बय है, जो सिद्धांत और विचार में बड़ी बड़ी बातें करता है लेकिन उस का सगुण कदम उठाने की तरफ ध्यान नहीं जाता।

मैं सभापति जी यहाँ तक कहूँगा कि हरिजनों का समाज भासा, लेकरी वाला काबू भास हो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी पीसी हुई हाथी पर चढ़कर कहाँ चली गयीं लेकिन जब कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने यह कहा कि स्वर्ण लोग हरिजन और आदिवासियों पर जुल्म बंध

करे नहीं तो सरकार के हथियार हम उन को दे देंगे और हथियारों से लैस करने तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा कि हरिजनो को हथियार देना बे-बुनियादी है, किजुल है। हरिजनो के लिये रोने का काम तो किया जाता है लेकिन जब शान्ति का कोई कदम उठता है, तो ममाज से जो निहित स्वार्थ वाले लोग हैं, उनका जो छद्म रूप है वह सामने आ जाता है। शान्ति का जिन्होंने छद्म रूप धारण किया होता है जब मीका जाता है तो उनका असली रूप प्रकट हो जाता है जैसे श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी का प्रकट हो गया है। हथियार इन लोगों को देने के सबाल पर। उनका खला ध्यान हम सम्बन्ध में आ गया है।

जो इन पर जुल्म और अन्याचार होते हैं उनके कई कारण हैं सामाजिक, आर्थिक, शैक्षिक, प्रशासनिक बहुत से कारण हैं। एक वर्ष व्यवस्था भी इसका कारण है। भारत में लोगों में यह भावना पैदा की गयी है, उनके विभाग में यह भर दिया गया है कि श्री बचपन से ही भर दिया जाता है चार वर्ण हैं, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य और शूद्र। यह भर दिया जाता है बचपन से ही और तब से जब से हिन्दू धर्म के अन्दर उन को दीक्षित किया जाता है कि ब्राह्मण तो मुख से पैदा हुआ है, क्षत्रिय बाजू में पैदा हुआ है, वैश्य उदर से, और शूद्र पैर से पैदा हुआ है और शूद्र का काम बचल सेवा करना है, सेवक बन कर रहना है और हमीसाग वह पैदा हुआ है। यह जा ब्राह्मणवादी व्यवस्था बचपन में ही विभाग में संस्कार बना कर बिठा दी जाती है इसको आपको बदलना होगा और शूद्र से ही शिक्षा में परिवर्तन करना होगा कि बचपन में ही बच्चों के लिये इस प्रकार के पाठ्यक्रम तैयार करके उन को देने होंगे जिस से मनुष्य में समता को भावना पैदा हो, समता का भाव जगे। बचपन में ही आपकों उन को इस तरह से शिक्षित करना पड़ेगा और पाठ्यक्रमों में परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। आज बचपन से ही उन के विभाग में घृणा की भावना पैदा की जाती है, कट्टरपन्थी हिन्दूवाद के रहते हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों, हरिजनो और सबर्णों में भेदभाव की भावना को ठूस दिया जाता है। यह बढ़ाया जाता है। कि मुसलमान लुटेरे थे। हिन्दू इस देश के मुसलमान हैं। लेकिन इस चीज को भुला दिया जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में रजिशा, रहीम, रसखान, शेर शाह, बहादुरशाह मुसलमानों के भी उतने ही थे जितने हिन्दुओं के थे। इस दस्तो बचपन से ही बच्चों को संस्कारों को आपको बदलना पड़ेगा। जातीय द्वेष की भावना बचपन से ही निकालनी पड़ेगी। जब बचपन से ही उन के विभाग में खराब कर दिए जाते हैं तो उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि हरिजनों पर अन्याचार होते हैं और हो रहे हैं। वर्ण-व्यवस्था और जाति व्यवस्था को अगर आप सोचना चाहते हैं तो केवल भाषणवाजी से आप इसको रोक नहीं सकते हैं। डॉक्टर लोहिया हमें सा कहते रहे हैं, चाँदी ने हमें सा कहा है, गोकुल बुद्ध ने भी कहा है कि जाति व्यवस्था को

तोड़ना चाहते हो तो अन्तर्जातीय विवाह को प्रोत्साहन दो। अन्तर्जातीय विवाहों के बारे में वर्तमान सरकार कानून बनाए और इस को सरकारी नौकरी के लिए अनिवार्य कर दे। बेटों के मामले में जातीयता चली है। जहाँ तक रोटी का मामला है जातीयता टूट रही है। राजनीति के बारे में जातीयता मिट चुकी है। किसी भी जाति के लोग होटल, गाँधी बस आदि में एक जगह बैठ कर खापी लेते हैं लेकिन जब बेटों की शादी करने जाते हैं तो अपनी बिगदरी में ही जाँगे। यादव अगर जनता पार्टी का है तो अपनी जाति के लोगों में ही अपनी बेटों की शादी करे फिर वह चाहे किसी भी पार्टी में हो, जनता पार्टी का यादव अपनी पार्टी में ही किसी दूसरी जाति वाले के साथ बेटों की शादी नहीं करेगा। कांग्रेसी और सी०पी०एम० में जा कर अपनी ही बिगदरी में अपनी बेटों की शादी करेगा। जब तक बेटों के मामले में जातीयता नहीं टूटेगी राजनीति के मामले में जातीयता तोड़ना निरर्थक हो जाएगा। और बेटों के मामले में तब भिटेगी जब कि कानून बना दिया जाएगा कि सरकारी-नौकरी के लिए अन्तर्जातीय विवाह अनिवार्य हो। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता है तब तक आगे काम नहीं चल सकेगा।

प्रशासन में हरिजनो और आदिवासियों की आज भी कितनी हिस्सेदारी है हमका आप देखें। जब तक रिजर्वेशन की बात हाँती रहती है। कहा उन का अपना काटा मिला है। क्लास 1 की बात तो दूर रही क्लास 3 और 4 की नौकरियों में जितना उन का कोटा है वह उनको आज तक नहीं मिला है। एक मनु महाराज से जिन्होंने कहा था कि शूद्र सेवा करने के लिए पैदा हुआ है। उन्होंने कहा था कि सेवक का काम करने के लिए ये पैदा हुए हैं। आजकल भारत में भी हम को तीसरी में नहीं बल्कि चौथी श्रेणी में ही रखा गया है। तीसरी और चौथी श्रेणी में भी पूरा अधिकार हम का नहीं मिला है, उस में भी नीचे धकेलने का ही काम हुआ है। आई० ए० ए०, आई० पी० ए०, कलेक्टर और कमिश्नरी वाली जो नौकरियाँ हैं उच्च पदा वाली जो नौकरियाँ हैं उन पर जब हरिजनो और आदिवासियों के बेटे बैठते हैं तो उनकी छानी चौड़ी हो जाती है और उस के अन्याचार और जुल्म जो उन पर होते हैं वे दकते हैं। ऊँची कुर्सी पर इनके बेटों का बिटाने के लिये राजनीति में, नौकरियों में, व्यापार में, पसलन में, जब तक स्थान अरक्षित नहीं होंगे, उनको पूरा कोटा नहीं दिया जाएगा तब तक वे आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं, तब तक उन पर जो जुल्म होने हैं वे बन्द नहीं हो सकते हैं।

ये जुल्म क्यों हो रहे हैं इसका कारण यह है कि उन के अन्दर जाति। पैदा हुई है, राजनीतिक भेदना पैदा हुई है। जब हरिजन और आदिवासी में राजनीतिक भेदना बनी है, अधिकार के लिये आगे निकला है, वह भी बचपरी

[श्री हुकम देव नारायण यादव]

और समानता का हक चाहता है तो संघर्ष होना स्वाभाविक है। हजारों मालों से कट्टर-पन्थी हिन्दूवाद से प्रसिद्ध सम्प्रदाय ऊंची जाति के लोग आज उनको बराबरी का स्थान नहीं देना चाहते। इसीलिए संघर्ष दिखाई देता है। आज हरिजन और आदिवासी का पढ़ा लिखा बेटा, चाहे वह मिशनरी स्कूल का पढ़ा हो, या साधारण स्कूल का, जो भी शिक्षित है वह समानता का दर्जा चाहता है। और जब वह दर्जा उस को नहीं मिलता है तो संघर्ष करता है जिसकी वजह से जुल्म और भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ रहे हैं। सरकार इस भ्रष्टाचार और जुल्म को रोकने के लिये कठोर कदम उठाये। अभी जो जाति की खड़ी रेखा है यानी जो जितनी ऊंची जाति का है वह उस रेखा पर उतना ही ऊंचे है और सम्पन्न है और उस जाति की खड़ी रेखा के निचले पर बैठा है और जो हरिजन और आदिवासी है वह उतना ही उस रेखा के नीचे है, पीड़ित और दुखी है, इस खड़ी जाति रेखा को आपको पढ़ी रेखा करना पड़ेगा तब जाकर जुल्म समाप्त होगा, अन्यथा चाहे जितनी गैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्टें आयें उन से कोई काम चलने वाला नहीं है। मुझे धारणा है कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार इस काम को प्रवर्धन करेगी। हमारे माननीय धनिक लाल मण्डल, जो गृह मंत्रालय में प्रायः बंती हैं और डा० लोहिया के नेतृत्व में रह कर अखिल भारतीय सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के मंत्री की हैसियत से नारा लगाते थे "संसोया ने बांधा गाँठ, पिछड़ा पावे 100 में साठ," जिसकी वजह से वह आज नही पर धाये हैं, मैं धारणा करता हूँ कि हरिजन, आदिवासी, पिछड़े और अल्पसंख्यकों के लिये जो उनका नारा था कि सरकारी नौकरी, व्यापार और पलटन में कम से कम 60 प्रतिशत उन के लिये स्थान जरूर सुरक्षित किया जाये, इस काम को वह प्रवर्धन पूरा करेंगे तब जाकर काम ठीक बनेगा।

SHRI A. C. GEORGE (Mukandapuram): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset I would like to express my deep appreciation of the observation which was made from the Chair, viz., in spite of the fact that sufficient notice was given—even for what I may call a pre-historic report—the attendance in this House, the enthusiasm of the Members—leave alone the Opposition even among the ruling party—and the total attitude is one of absolute, callous and indifferent to a problem which we all like to proclaim as a burning issue. If a total liquefaction or solidification of the speeches of the Members of Parliament on the Subject of Harijans were made—this air was made liquid and then made into solid—it would have come to tons and tons of sympathy for the Harijans. But the fact remains that the more we talk about the Harijans the more we find the atrocities being committed on them. I

think many of the poor people in the rural areas and villages must have been praying in their own humble manner that for God sake do not talk for us more so that we may live in peace without the aggressions by the higher caste.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the other day I was going through some of the proceedings in Parliament during the past three to four years and I found that a very interesting psychological change has happened. Whatever may be the other criticism about the government before 1977, the main point and crux of the criticism by Members of Parliament either from the Opposition or the ruling party about the problems of Harijans was that there was no improvement in their lot. They stand where they are. There is *status quo* and there is no marching forward, Sir, it is during the last two years, that is, after 1977 and if you look at the proceedings—I am only requesting for an impartial study—you will find there is this sudden occurrence of the atrocities on the Harijans. Before 1977, whether you call it successful or unsuccessful, some sincere efforts were made to hand over economic power to Harijans, especially to make them land-owners or owners of land, to make their economic position higher and higher. So, it is widely known. Let us forget the politics. The higher communities during the emergency—whatever be the faults of the emergency—were feeling a grouse against the Harijans, because, there was a feeling that the backward communities somehow or other, psychologically or effectively or administratively, were given lot of preferences and more and more lands were given to them. Now, Sir, after 1977 what has happened is this. I am not blaming Mandal ji. I am not blaming even the hon. Prime Minister. I am not blaming any one of the ruling party members, Cabinet Ministers or others in power, I am blaming the psychological atmosphere that has come about. Somehow it came about and I do not want to say how it came. The upper class, people, those who were handling power before, some few years back, got the feeling: 'Now it is our Government'. So, that was the psychological change. After the 1977 elections, somehow a feeling has gone round that it is no more the period of the Harijans, it is no more the period of the backward communities, we have come back to power. Sir, it is this psychological feeling which came about which I may call a backlash. This is causing us concern. I am not blaming Mandal ji; I am not blaming the Home Minister. I am not blaming any member of the ruling party. It is just a psychological change. In the rural areas, in the villages, the upper caste people, the dominant community, the economic warlords, had a feeling that the era of the Harijans and the

backward classes has gone; now it is our Government. That is how these atrocities have come about. It is this psychological atmosphere which I may request my very very good friend Mandal ji to tackle. We have to create a feeling that after all this is not a Government of the higher castes; this is a continuing government which is continuing the work of giving back economic power and social justice to the lower caste people.

I would request the hon Home Minister to have a very efficient administrative set up for this. Finance has the Enforcement Directorate in the Department of Finance. You have got what is called the Enforcement Directorate to see that the economic measures or the financial measures are strictly enforced. There is the enforcement Directorate to collect money or to safeguard government's money. There is the Department of Revenue Intelligence to report whatever is happening about economic offences. Money is more superior than human brings! So, what I am submitting is this. Just like the Enforcement Directorate in the Finance Ministry, to collect money and to safeguard money, just like the Revenue Intelligence, to collect information about what is happening on the economic front, so also, let there be an Enforcement Directorate or Intelligence Directorate, to act as watch-dog about what is happening among the Harijans. We have got the Coast Guard organisation. We think that our Coasts are to be specially protected. Why cannot we have a Guard for safeguarding the interests of the Harijans? This is my demand. Let there be Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Guard, so that their interests are protected. Let there be an Enforcement Directorate and let there be an Intelligence Service. Let there be a comprehensive and concerted effort made to see that the harijans—if not uplifted—are not disturbed from the present position where they are. At least let them make a living. What is happening is, the more we talk about harijans, the more we see atrocities on the harijans in the villages. That is why I am suggesting this. Let there be a special police force to look after the interests of the Scheduled Caste people. There must be a special Enforcement Directorate to see that the Scheduled Castes are protected. There are various laws and regulations, well-intentioned laws and regulations, enacted by the Government. But, is there any such Enforcement Directorate here? Is there any such intelligence Wing to it to see what is happening to the Harijans?

That is why I am now drawing three parallels. Just like the Coast Guards Organisation, here also, let there be a special wing to look after their interests in the villages. Don't entrust it to the ordi-

nary police people. I am not blaming anybody. But it so happens that the Police people come from the upper strata of society or upper community. Naturally their bias will be there. I say this: From now on, in the recruitment to the Police Force, you reserve at least 50% for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That will bring about a drastic change in the present situation. I am not talking about the IAS and IFS. I am not asking this for the administrative posts—for IAS, IFS and so on. I am asking this only for the Indian Police Service. Let the higher caste people of those higher intelligentsia take to IFS and IAS. But in the Indian Police Force, let there be a 50% reservation for the scheduled caste people from the top down the line, even upto the level of the constables. That would make a change. Otherwise I am making a humble suggestion, that is, just like the coast-guards who defend our coasts, we should also defend our humble people. That is why I suggest that three wings should start functioning. Now, we have got reservation for SC and ST. I remember Mr. John F. Kennedy launched a programme called "operation head start". Even in the United States, there are Harijans and there Harijans are Negroes and there the slogan of Martin Luther King was "we shall overcome". Unfortunately, Dr. Ambedkar is no more with us. Dr. Jagjivan Ram is not sufficiently interested.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why ?

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : I do not know. If the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe leaders are given the position for a long time, then they also become the part of the establishments. So, what I am suggesting is: let there be a concerted effort to see that the SC and ST are able to avail of the opportunities given to them. In the United States, the Negroes had also had a lot of facilities offered to them. But Mr. Kennedy found that all the so-called facilities offered were not availed of by them. Take my own State, that is, Kerala, which is far ahead in the matter of giving facilities to the SC and STs. Even in the enlightened State of Kerala, the fate of SC and ST is not something which, I may say, is ideal. There, the children are offered educational facilities. But their social and economic set up is such that they drop out from 7th or 8th standard. How can they avail of all the stipends and other facilities that are offered to them when they do not go beyond 7th Standard or 8th Standard. I am requesting you to have a sample survey of whether the facilities including the stipend facility are availed of by these people. Because of the economic condition, they drop out at the stage of 7th

[Shri A. C. George]

standard or 8th Standard. Then what is the use of giving such facilities. I am only drawing the parallel of John F. Kennedy's programme of "operation headstart". He knew the Negroes were much backward and their starting point is one kilo metre behind if you think that this life is a race. The Negroes have to start one kilometre behind and they have to run in the race with the Americans whose starting point is one kilometre ahead of the Negroes from the starting point. Indian Harijans, especially in North India, are more than a hundred kilometres behind the normal starting point. That is why I am asking you give them a special boost. You may say "I give them stipend of Rs. 100/- for college course, Rs. 150/- per month for Engineering course and Rs. 200/- per month for Medicine" But who is going to avail of these facilities. The poor boy is dropping out of school because he cannot survive because of the economic conditions. If eight annas are paid to work in the field, his immediate temptation is to drop out of school and work for Re. 0.5 or Re. 1.00 and go to the films with that money: All this remains a hypothetical and academic set up. I do not blame any political parties. But we are now in the same place where we were in this respect. That is why I suggest that there must be a concerted effort to see that Harijans, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are emboldened to see to it that they really avail themselves of all the facilities offered to them. There must be a definite Department as a watch dog for this purpose. I am sure Mandalji will take note of my points: Sir, the basic principle behind all the help that is offered has not helped them to raise themselves to the required status. But, Sir, the anomalous situation is there in this country that has been prevailing for the past 30 years. If a scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe is converted into another religion, that moment all these disabilities disappear. From then on he does not have any social disability.

18 hrs.

All the reservations, stipends and facilities offered to the students are stopped forthwith. I can understand that, but there is another aspect also. If you go back to the old religion, you get all the old disabilities. This is very much prevalent in this country. I think, this Government is applying the biggest force of inducement for conversion. If somebody converts himself from scheduled castes to some other religion out of conviction—I agree there may be some misuse—but if it is out of conviction, why should he lose the facilities which he can

avail of from his social background or from his economic background. If somebody is converted to Islam or Christianity, he will not have the facilities, but he converts back to the Hinduism he is supposed to have got back all his disabilities. This has got to be stopped. Particularly, in northern India this problem is viewed from the religious point of view. Let us view this as a social problem and let us be sensible. This anomaly and contradiction has to be stopped.

I would now like to speak about a particular community in my State, called Kudumbis. For the past eight or nine years, I have been trying my level best to have them included in the list of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In the State of Kerala, they are one of the most backward people; their population is more than six lakhs. On account of some funny rules and funny calculations, they are kept out of the list of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I request that when the situation is reviewed, Mandalji will be realistic enough to look into their case and have them included in the list of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR : You can send it to the Committee concerned.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE: I have already done that and I would be writing to Mandalji also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : Sir, I took the liberty of speaking on this, because when I looked around, even the scheduled caste Members whichever be the side, their number is less than 2% here now. We are discussing what happened in 1974-75, 1975-76 and 1976-77. What happened after 1977 has yet to come. We will be discussing the acts of omission and commission after 1977 later, but we know that the acts of omission and commission after 1977 are colossal and it will be staggering. I would like to impress on this House that when we discuss the problems relating to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and want to tackle this problem, let there be a sense of urgency let there be a sense of sincerity and let there be a sense of purpose behind it. Let us try to view the whole thing as one which is a national problem. If you are thinking of protecting the money of the people and of the Government, let us think of protecting the people of this country also.

SHRI JADUNATH KISKU
(Jhargram) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this discussion relating to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to speak in Bengali.

**Mr. Chairman, Sir, I regret to say that even after 32 years of independence, there has not been any change in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people. Over 70% of the people of our country live below the poverty line. Majority of them belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the economic, social, educational, political, practically in every field they are backward, neglected, oppressed and exploited. Needless to say, our present bourgeois structure of society is mainly responsible for this sorry state of affairs. These scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people are the most exploited in the present social system. If we are to bring about any improvement in their lot then the present bourgeois system of society shall have to be completely demolished and replaced by a socialistic pattern of society. All the instruments of exploitation should be nationalised forthwith. Present land system should be completely over-hauled and drastic land reforms should be effected. The benami land holdings in excess of the prescribed ceiling should be recovered from the zamindars and jotedars and distributed amongst these people free of any cost. All the private and fallow land in the hands of the Government should be distributed among the landless agricultural labour and the adivasis and harijans free of cost. These are the people who mostly inhabit the hilly and forest areas and earn their livelihood from the forest products. They are being deprived from the forest wealth as a result of various forest laws introduced recently. They used to earn their livelihood from the wood, honey, leaves, fruit, etc. collected from the forests.

The Government should look into this and ensure that they can go about collecting these things from the forests without any handicap or hindrance. Under the present system these forest products are purchased from these people by the traders and middlemen at a negligible price and they earn huge profits by selling them in the markets. As a result of this, these poor people are being deprived and exploited. The Government should establish large size multi-purpose coopera-

tive societies in these areas so that their exploitation by the clever traders and middle men may be stopped and the poor people may get a just and proper price for their forest wealth. This will enable them to live a happy and contented life. In the forest areas the adivasis have converted large areas of fallow land into cultivable land with their own efforts. The Government should hand over the ownership of such land to these people. Many Harijan adivasis cultivate the land of jotedars in the capacity of share croppers. At present many of them are being uprooted from such leasehold land (Larga). The Government should take special steps to ensure that they are not uprooted from such lands.

In the forest areas rearing of animals is the chief means of livelihood of the harijan adivasis. The forest department is preventing the cows, buffalos, goats, sheep etc. from entering the forests. As a result of this these people are facing great hardships. Except the forests where else can they find ground for grazing their animals? Therefore, the forest laws shall have to be relaxed to look after the interests of the harijan adivasis. To save these oppressed and exploited people, the Government must nationalise all the mills and the factories, all the banks and all the schools and colleges. Only then they will find opportunities of employment in the factories, they will be able to get loans at low rates of interest and they will get extensive opportunities of education in the educational institutions. From the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is seen that as compared to our total population the adivasis and harijans have made no progress at all in 32 years of independence. Even now the problem of drinking water in the rural areas has not been solved. Proper and adequate roads have not yet been provided for travelling from one village to another. Primary schools have not yet been set up in every village. Opportunities of education in the schools and colleges is very much limited for these people. Facility of medical treatment in hospitals are practically absent. Even now the adivasis harijans live in dirty and shabby huts and on the footpaths. In the field of employment/services the reservations that has been provided for is seldom implemented. This can very well be noticed from the number of unemployed people in the country. In every Ministry and department either of the State Government or the Central Government or the public sector undertakings rosters are not being properly maintained in respect of recruitment,

** The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Jadunath Kisku]

promotions etc. This has been stated in the Commissioner's report itself. Although some adivasis, harijans have been recruited in class III and class IV posts their number in class I and II posts are absolutely negligible. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report has stated that the reservation quota is not being implemented according to law in the following establishments at Delhi:—

1. Planning Commission, New Delhi.
2. Department of Rehabilitation, New Delhi.
3. Department of Industrial Development, New Delhi.
4. Department of Health.
5. Directorate General of Employment & Training.
6. National Institute of Family Planning, Ministry of Health & Family Planning.
7. Delhi Milk Scheme, Ministry of Agriculture.
8. Joint Cipher Bureau, Ministry of Defence.
9. Engineering Projects (India) Ltd.,
10. Khadi Gram Udyog Bhavan.
11. Engineers India Ltd.
12. Education Department, Delhi Administration.
13. Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking.
14. Delhi Transport Corporation.

Sir, the Adult Education Programme has not yet been introduced in the adivasis and harijans areas. It appears that the adult education programme is heading for failure. I will draw the attention of the Government to this request that this programme may soon be introduced in the adivasi areas. Removal of untouchability Act has not yet been fully implemented. At many places in the country it is seen that atrocities, murders, rape etc. of the harijan and adivasis are taking place every now and then. Those who are responsible for committing such atrocities are often let free even after they are apprehended. The Government should put down such incidents with iron hand.

श्री ज्वाला प्रसाद कुरील (पाटनपुर) : सभापति महोदय, यह जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट पर बहस चल रही है, उस पर मुझे कुछ भ्रज करना है।

“1974 की रिपोर्ट जब सदन में पेश हुई थी, तब मुझे ऐसा लगता था कि मालूम होता है कि जिनकी ज्यादातियां हुई थी, वे कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में हैं और जो 1974 की रिपोर्ट पेश हुई है वह इतनी देर से इसलिए पेश हुई है क्योंकि जो ज्यादातियां इन्दिरा जी के शासन में हुई थी, वे जाहिर न हो पाए। बेलची का जब किस्सा हुआ, तो इंदिरा जी वहां पर भागी भागी गईं, पैदल गईं या हथी से गईं या किमी और मनारी से गईं। यह मैं नहीं कह सकता लेकिन महारमा के गांव में जब बिहार में 14 गन्धालों को गोली से मार दिया गया, तब वे वहां क्यों नहीं गईं? इसी तरह से गुजरात में एक छोटा सा गांव है, जिस में ब्राह्मणों की संख्या ज्यादा है, वह उन की बस्ती है। वहां पर हरिजनों को कुए में पानी नहीं पीने दिया गया। उम के पाम में एक गन्दी नानी निकाल दी गई और उम में पानी बहा दिया गया। यह कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में है। वहां पर ब्राह्मणों ने हरिजनों को यह गन्दा पानी पीने के लिए मजबूर किया क्योंकि वहां पर दूसरा पीने का पानी नहीं मिल सकता था। जबदेस्ती 12 हरिजनों का उस का पानी पिलाया गया। और 12 स्वर्गधाम पहुंच गये अर्थात् 12 हरिजनों की मृत्यु हो गयी। उस समय इंदिरा जी थी और उनके गृह मंत्री भी थे लेकिन किसी ने भी चर्चा नहीं की। एक जगह पर चार औरतें प्यासी होने पर पानी मांगने गयीं। इस पर ही बड़े लोगों ने कहा कि तुम भ्रष्ट होकर हमारी तरफ मुंह कर के बात करती हो, और उनके चूतड़ों में गर्म शलाकें कर के दाग दी।

बेलची की बात बहुत की जाती है लेकिन मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वहां क्या ऐसी बात हो गयी। वहां पर हरिजनों के साथ ज्यादाती कहना एक सच्चाई पर पर्दा डालना है, झूठ को सच बताना है। क्योंकि वहां पर जो घावमी मारे गये, वे गोलियों से मारे गये। उन में हरिजन और बैकवर्ड भी शामिल थे जो गोलियों से मारे गये। जिन्होंने मारा, जो बाद में मुल्जिम बनें उन में भी हरिजन और बैकवर्ड लोग शामिल थे। यह सब काण्ड हुआ। लेकिन उन के बारे में कौसी घाफत सच्चाई गयी। जो यहां से रिपोर्ट लेने गये उन्होंने भी झूठ-झूठ की रिपोर्ट बना कर यहां दे दी।

इस सब के पीछे अगर कोई सवाल है तो वह यह है कि जब तक हरिजनों का आर्थिक आधार मजबूत नहीं होगा तब तक सब कुछ ठीक नहीं हो सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में यही एक बात आती है कि वैधानिक संरक्षण जो

उन को प्राप्त है जब तक उसे पूरा न किया जायेगा तब तक उनका आर्थिक आधार मजबूत नहीं होगा। उनका जो रिजर्वेशन का कोटा है उस को पूरा किया जाए। वह भाज क पूरा नहीं हुआ है और न पूरा करने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है। जब तक यह पूरा नहीं होता तब तक कहा जाता रहेगा कि बड़ी भारी ज्यादतियाँ हो रही हैं। मैं प्रथम श्रेणी या द्वितीय श्रेणी के पदों की बात नहीं करना, लेकिन जो चतुर्थ श्रेणी के पद हैं जिन में कि मेहतर आदि वर्ग के लोग शामिल हैं उन श्रेणी में भी 12 प्रतिशत से अधिक उनका कोटा पूरा नहीं हो पाया है।

मैंने कानपुर शहर में देखा है। जहाँ कि सफाई नायब बनाये जाते हैं। उन पदों को किसी मेहतर या जमादार में नहीं भरा जाता। उन पदों पर भी पंडित और ठाकुर लोग रखे जाते हैं। मैं एक जगह भीतर गांव की बात जानना हूँ जहाँ सफाई के लिये भी एक पण्डित जी ने अपना नाम लिखा दिया। वहाँ पर जब कभी ज़रूरत पड़ती तो पण्डित जी किसी मेहतर का बनाकर सफाई करा देते और उमें दो रुपये दे देते। यह बात जिलाधीश तक गयी। इस प्रकार से दुनिया भर के बहाने बना कर हरिजनों के जो अधिकार हैं वे भी उन को नहीं मिल पाते हैं।

मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि अस्पृश्यता घटी है, छुआछूत घटी है। लेकिन उस का स्थान घृणा और डेप ने ले लिया है। छात्रा-वास में जहाँ पढ़े लिखे लड़के होते हैं, अगर कोई साबला लड़का देख लिया तो कहते हैं कि यह जगजीवनराम है या यह अम्बेदकर का बाप है। ऐसी बातें साम्प्रदायिक और रूढ़िवादी घरों के बच्चों से सुनने को मिलती हैं और इनका असर हरिजन बच्चों पर पड़ना है और सरकार पर भी असर पड़ता है।

मुझे 40 साल कांग्रेस में बिताने का अवसर मिला है। जब भूमिहीनों को जमीनें देने की बात आयी तो मैंने अपने जिले के कांग्रेस वालों से कहा, कांग्रेस की कार्यकारिणी में भी कहा कि ए कांग्रेसियों घर छोड़ कर, बाहर निकलो। श्रीमन् एक भी कांग्रेसी घर से बाहर नहीं निकला। दावा बहुत किया जाना है लेकिन हुआ कुछ नहीं। जब बहुगुणा जी मुख्य मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने बहुत प्रयास किया था लेकिन उनका प्रयास भी सफल नहीं हो सका। कैसे सफल होता जब कि मन ही नहीं मिलते थे। जब मन में बात आये तब योजना सफल होवें। यह भूमि आवंटन की बात सब समाप्ता बन कर रह गयी। कुछ उससे फायदा हुआ लेकिन बाद में बड़े लोगों ने सोचा कि खलिहान की जमीन, सार्वजनिक हित की जमीन भी ली जा रही है। फिर उन्होंने एक ऐसा कानून बनवाया कि जो सार्वजनिक हित की जमीन दी गयी है

उसे वापस लिया जाना चाहिए। इस कानून के नाम पर जो अच्छी अच्छी जमीनें उन बिचारों को मिली थीं, वे वापस लेनी शुरू हो गयी। इस तरह से सार्वजनिक उपयोग के नाम पर धार्मिकता की गयी बहुत कुछ जमीनें वापस हो गयी हैं। उस कानून को काब्रसी बना कर चले गये लेकिन उसका फल अब हमारी सरकार को भगतना पड़ रहा है। हिन्दुओं में जो अस्पृश्य लोग हैं वे मेहतर हैं, डोर उठाने वाले हैं, सफाई का काम करने वाले हैं, जितने घृणा के काम हैं उनको जो करने वाले हैं वे हिन्दुओं में अस्पृश्य हैं। धर्म परिवर्तन के नाम पर जो एक बिल पेश हुआ है उसको आप देखें। हिन्दू धर्म कब बच सकता है? अगर हम यह कहते हैं कि धर्म परिवर्तन न किया जाए तो हम को ऐसी बात भी करनी चाहिए जिससे धर्म परिवर्तन का मोका ही न जाए। धर्म परिवर्तन लोग जो कर रहे हैं? कौन है जो कर रहे हैं? क्या धर्म परिवर्तन करके वे सुखी होंगे? जो भूखे हैं, जो नगरे हैं वही कर रहे हैं। पांडिचैरी में मैं अभी हाल में गया था। वहाँ मैंने धार्मिकवासियों को देखा है। मूज की रस्सी कमर पर बांध कर और धागे पीछे पुराना कपड़ा लटका कर वे अपने तन को ढकते हैं। इतनी घोर गरीबी उन में व्याप्त है। जो सुधारवादी हैं वे जा कर उनकी स्थिति को देखें तो नहीं। फिर कहते हैं कि धर्म परिवर्तन को रोक, जाए। मिशनरी ईसाई के पल्ले वे पड़ेंगे तो वे उन्हें खिलाएंगे, पिलाएंगे, अच्छा कपड़ा पहनाएंगे, उनकी सेवा करेंगे। अब उस तरह के लोग धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं तो कैसे आप रोकेंगे? अगर रोकना चाहते हैं तो जा कर देखें कि किम घोर गरीबी के मुँह में वे पड़े हुए हैं और उससे उनको निकालो।

भारक्षण की बात भी की जाती है। वैधानिकता की बात को आप छोड़ दें। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि भारक्षण से लोगों को बहुत तकलीफ है, खास तौर से इसलिए कि वे सबसे हैं कि अकल का ठेका, बुद्धिमानों का ठेका केवल कुछ खास कामों के पास ही है। जब यह बात उनके बस से बाहर हो जाती है तो वे कहने लग जाते हैं कि प्रोमोशन में कैसे यह चीज हो सकती है? उन में तो योग्यता ही नहीं है। हरिजनों में योग्यता नहीं है तो क्यों आपने एक हरिजन डॉ० अम्बेदकर को ला मिनिस्टर बनाया था जिन्होंने इस देश का सविधान बना करके आपको दिया। अपने से ही आप बना लें। क्यों नहीं बनाया। इन में सब तरह की हिम्मत है। पाखाना उठाने की, डोर उठाने की, सफाई का काम करने की हिम्मत है क्योंकि वे हिन्दू हैं। दूसरे भी तो हिन्दू हैं और हिन्दू होने के नाते अगर आपको ही जिम्मे यह सब बातें डाल दी जाए तो आप भी बड़े सुधारवादी बनते हैं, देखें यह सब काम आप कर सकते हैं जो मेहतर बनार करता है। अगर हमारे पैसे हिन्दू होने के नाते बड़ों पर डाले जायें तो कह देंगे हम हिन्दू नहीं हैं। गांधी जी ने बहुत कुछ किया है। उन्होंने अपने आश्रम में यह परम्परा डाली थी लेकिन यह परम्परा बहुत अधिक ध्यान

[श्री ज्वाला प्रसाद कुरील]

नहीं चली। गांधी जी की बहुत दुहाई दी जाती है। लेकिन हम नहीं सोचते हैं कि उनकी हत्या क्यों की गई और किस ने की। प्रताप नारायण ने कहा है।

हाय रम कैसे हम भूलें अपनी लज्जा उनका शोक गया हमारे ही हाथों से हमारा राष्ट्रपिता परलोक बापू ने हमें आजादी दिलाई। हिन्दू जात वाले क हाथों ही उनकी हत्या हुई। गांधी जी के सीने से निकली खून की बूंदों की कीमत, एक एक बूंद की कीमत हजार लाख भारतवासी भी अपना खून बढ़ा कर अदा नहीं कर सकते हैं। अदा इस तरह से ही कर सकते हैं कि वह जो चाहते थे समाज को जो उठाना चाहते थे, उसका आर्थिक पुनरुद्धार करना चाहते थे उसके लिए उन्होंने जो सिद्धान्त दिए थे उनको आगे बढ़ाया जाए। उनका केवल नाम ले कर कब तक हम उनको धोखा देते रहेंगे। रोटी बेंटी का जो सवाल उठते हैं उससे बहुत बड़ा भारी काम हो जाएगा इस विचार कामें नहीं हूँ। इसका कारण यह है कि एक ही कौम ब्राह्मण आपस में लड़ते हैं और मारे जाते हैं। इस वास्ते अगर बदलाव चाहते हो तो पेशा बदल कर दिखाओ। कोई हरिजन अगर संस्कृत पढ़ लेता है तो वह वेद पढ़े, सत्य नारायण की कथा करे। पेशा अगर बदला जाता है तब तो यह कहा जाएगा कि हिन्दुत्व की भावना आपके अन्दर है अन्यथा नहीं। जो समाज की सेवा आज कर रहे हैं हिन्दुत्व के नाते तो आओ आप भी वैसा करके दिखा दो। भेष बदलने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जितना भी सुधार हो रहा है वह स्पर्द्धा के कारण नहीं हो रहा है। आप कह दें कि अब आरक्षण नहीं होगा। खास कौम के लिए इसको खत्म कर दिया जाए। इस आरक्षण का आप विरोध करते हैं तो एक बात मैं कहूंगा सरकार से कि जो लोग खास कौम के लिए चाहते हैं कि आरक्षण न हो उनके लिए आरक्षण आप कर दो, जितनी उनकी संख्या हो 15-16 प्रतिशत उससे दो चार प्रतिशत उनको अधिक दे दो, बाकी सब को फ्री कर दो। जो विरोध करते हैं उनके लिए आरक्षण कर दिया जाए और बाकी कौम को फ्री कर दिया जाए। तो यह जो रिपोर्ट आती है कमिश्नर की और सब की, इस से हमारा भला नहीं हो सकता है।

भला दिल मिलाने से हो सकता है। कबीर ने कहा था :

“कबीरा घाव न निदिये जो पांय तरहोय,
कबहुंके उड़ि आंखिन परे, पीर घनेरी होय।”

इसलिये हमको और अधिक न सताया जाय। बरना हो सकता है कि हमारा रोष फूट पड़े। बहुत दिन हमें परेशान किया है। समाजवाद की हवा डा० लोहिया और गांधी जी ने चला दी और वह तिनके जो रास्ते में रोंदे गये हैं वह उड़ेंगे और हो सकता है कि समाज के किसी वर्ग को नुकसान हो। हम नहीं चाहते कि समाज के किसी हिस्से को हमसे नुकसान हो। गांधी जी, कबीर ने अहिंसा का पाठ पढ़ाया, बाबा साहब अम्बेदकर ने बौध धर्म का रास्ता दिखाया है जो अहिंसा से अतप्रोत है। हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारे हाथों की कारीगरी जहां लगी हो वह नष्ट हो, चाहे मकान हो, खेती हो। बल्कि हम तो चाहते हैं कि मानवता के नाते सब को बराबरी, समता और समानता का अवसर दिया जाय। युगों से जिनके बल पर मौज उड़ायी है उनको भी साक्षीदार बनाइये। जनता पार्टी की सरकार आयी है, जो आप हमारे कंधे पर आड़ागोड़ी लगाये बैठे थे वहां से आप हट जाइये बरना हमें भी अंगरई आने वाली है आप गिर जाओगे और आप की गांठें टूट जायेगी। बस मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है।

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRA-DHAN (Deoghar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country is so constituted with so many races that one cannot imagine how to solve the problem. There are so many castes and communities, so many races and religions. So, it is a very complicated matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 10.30 A.M. tomorrow.

18.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till half past Ten of the Clock on Thursday, May 10, 1979/ Vaisakha 20, 1901 (Saka).