

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue on Tuesday.

15.29 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
FIFTY-FOURTH REPORT

SHRI RAM DHAN (Lalganj): I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 9th April, 1975."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 9th April, 1975."

The motion was adopted.

15.30 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: MEASURES TO REMOVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INJUSTICES TO WOMEN—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We resume discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri Indrajit Gupta. He may continue his speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Allahpore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on the last occasion, I only had the time to read out the text of the Resolution, which I will not repeat now because it has been circulated to all Members.

15.31 hrs.

[SHRI DIVESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI in the Chair]

Since the occasion for this discussion has arisen primarily due to the fact that the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted a Resolution calling for the observance of this

year 1975 as the International Women's Year, I would like to begin with by pointing out the significance of this decision. I may say also that it is somewhat ironical that it has fallen to my lot as a representative of the much maligned tribe of bachelors to move this Resolution. I am afraid, the majority of my colleagues, who are married men, do not seem to be so eager or enthusiastic to come forward to take initiative in this matter. If this Resolution has to be implemented, it has to depend on the actions by married men and not by bachelors.

I wish to point out that the Resolution adopted at the 27th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the 18th December, 1972, which called upon all members-States and people to observe 1975 as the International Women's Year contains the following very pertinent paragraph in its preamble. I am not going to quote more than that, because there is no time:

'Considering that it is necessary to strengthen universal recognition of the principles of equality of men and women, *de jure* and *de facto*, and that both legal and special measures have to be taken by Member-States which have not yet done so to ensure the implementation of women's rights...'

I wish to point out that the United Nations has laid particular stress on the fact that by equality of men and women, they mean not only *de jure* equality, but also *de facto* equality, not equality which is simply on paper, but equality in actual practice and in effect. Secondly, this paragraph has called upon Member-States to take specific legal and social measures to ensure implementation of women's right, and this is the point on which I wish to develop my arguments.

I was looking through the proceedings of the Committee which was set up by the United Nations much earlier in 1967 to discuss the Draft Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination

against Women. It was a draft at that time. It is a very interesting United Nations Publication. In that I find to my surprise that the record of the positions taken up in this Committee by the Indian representative and the positive contributions made by the Indian representative are such as to establish the fact that even two decades after independence in 1967, the official Indian position was retrograde and socially reactionary. It is a very surprising fact and I would not have known it, if I had not gone through this document. I will give one or two examples for the benefit of the Minister

In Article 6 of this Declaration, the Committee had proposed:

"All appropriate measures, particularly legislative measures, shall be taken to ensure to women, married or unmarried, equal rights with men in the field of civil law.

All appropriate measures shall be taken to ensure the principle of equality of status of the husband and wife, and in particular, a woman shall have the right to free choice of a husband and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent" etc

But to all these clauses, amendments were moved by the Indian representative which were of a retrograde character though these amendments were subsequently withdrawn because obviously they could not mobilise support in a body of that kind. But an attempt was made to qualify all these provisions by insertion of a phrase 'as far as possible'. Wherever it said 'measures to ensure', the Indian representative said, "Insert 'as far as possible'." And as regards the right of the woman to a free choice of a husband, here, the Indian proposal was that these words 'free choice of a husband' should be deleted. Later it was withdrawn. Then, again, in Article 6 paragraph 3, we find that even there was a phrase which spoke of the prohibition of child marriage and betrothal of young girls before

puberty, the Indian representative—I could not find out who this representative was—moved an amendment calling for the deletion of the phrase and betrothal of young girls before puberty'....

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Hoshiarpur): Perhaps he was not a bachelor.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Thank you for the wise comment you have made.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): Why should you assume that he was a man?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I should be very much interested to know if you have the information, please give it to me. That is also necessary to know.

Then they wanted to delete also a provision for necessary social services including child care facilities which the Indian representative said, should be deleted.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who is this foolish man?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I do not know

Then the question of Article 10—the right to work and to a free choice of profession and employment 'Free choice of profession and employment'—I do not know why anybody should object to this. Here, the Indian representative suggested that the following words should be added:

"subject to considerations of suitability to a particular type of employment and to professional and vocational advancement"

Of course, all these amendments, not any of them, I think, got much support there and finally they were withdrawn. But does this not show that we cannot afford to be complacent, thinking that we are always saying very nice and high-sounding things taking shelter behind general principles, nice words and these committees which were set up one after the other

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over the years. Even the new Committee on the Status of Women, I think, has produced quite a good report, quite a valuable report. Perhaps I think they would have yet another committee to go into the recommendations of this committee.

Behind this facade, I would say, the basic attitude which still persists in our society is not to advance along this road of ensuring equality of the rights of women. I do not mean to suggest that nothing at all has been done in this country or that women have not advanced. They have. But I should say that that has mainly been due to the efforts of women themselves, to the struggle they have conducted, the movements they have conducted and the agitation they have conducted and very many enlightened women leaders have been thrown up in our country who have been able to focus public opinion on many questions and to some extent they succeeded in getting recommendations on these issues. That is true. But the point here is that in the International Women's Year an obligation is imposed on all Member-States to stop just talking but, by implication, to act and to have specific and concrete schemes and legislative and administrative measures. That is the point. That is the reason I am raising this resolution for discussion. Otherwise, I might not have raised it. And it does not mean that when 1975 is over and when we enter 1976, then all this must be forgotten and relegated to the limbo of history. It is not a matter simply for some speech-making during 1975. I know we have to struggle against centuries of conservatism, centuries of irrational prejudices which belong to an obsolete, feudal society which is a thing of the past and which should be a thing of the past but which still dominates our minds. What does it mean? It means women who constitute roughly half of our society and who are considered good enough to cast votes at the time of elections and so on are being discriminated against? For what reason

it is being done? As far as I am able to see there is no fundamental reason for the discrimination except that woman performs a biological function which is different from that of a man. What is the difference between a man and a woman and why should there be any other difference? So, irrational are we! It is so because our minds have got accustomed and our thinking has got accustomed to see women as a kind of specie who is supposed to perform a particular biological function and that we must treat half of this society as though it is not entitled to equal rights with men. Therefore, I would say that this is a long and difficult struggle against the sensitivity, against many acts of misery suffered by half of our society and cruelty perpetrated upon them. Many instances of injustice and discriminations are found in the pages even of this Report of the Committee on Status of Women. I have no time to go into the quotations and so on because we have limited time at our disposal. But the fact remains that female children in our country from their very birth, since they are considered socially to be an obligation, are considered to be some sort of a burden. There is a tendency in our society to neglect the care of small girl children even before they attain adult age. I find that in the last 70 years between 1901 and 1971 the number of women in our society as compared to men is going down. In 1901 they were 972 for every 1000 males. Now their figure has gone down to 930. The other day in reply to a question, the hon. Minister had replied that there are so many good laws and legislations from which women can benefit equally as men can. But as far as marriage laws are concerned whether it is Hindu Marriage Act or Special Marriages Act, whether it is Succession Act or Adoption and Maintenance Acts, even these acts which are of a specific nature and confer some specific rights and benefits to women, are actually in practice availed of by only a tiny fraction of women—those who are better educated.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: My hon. friend made a reference to a reply I gave on Monday. The reply I gave was in relation to his supplementary question about the total amount of allocation and not about the legislative measures.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The total amount of allocation was for social welfare. Social welfare measures may or may not be statutory but I think it was implied that by social welfare men and women can be benefited equally. What I am trying to point out is that this is not a reality in the society in which we live. Women who have received benefits of education to some extent, who are economically independent in the sense that they are earning, who are employed and can afford to be self-reliant to some extent, these are actually the only women in our country who can take advantage of whatever positive or beneficial legislative measures are there for them. Only 0.4 per cent of Indian women have got university degrees. Less than 30 lakhs of women are matriculates, 82 per cent are illiterate. In some States like U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, the figure shows that 92 per cent of women are illiterate. What is the use of making laws which they will never even hear about, which they will never know about? I do not want to go into this at length. But we should see the reality today and what we find today is that even the educated section of women are not able to maintain their position in public life in the country. It is interesting to see the composition of elected women members of this House, of the Lok Sabha. In 1952, 23 of them were elected. In 1957, 27 were elected; 1962, 33—this is the highest watermark. And in 1967, this came down to 28. And in the last election, that is, the present House, here are only 21. I would believe that average women MPs. elected to the Lok Sabha are at least more educated than many of our unfortunate sisters in the countryside. But here you see what

happens. They are not able to maintain their position even in this House which is of course elected by men and women, both. In this connection I may say that our party has made the proposal in our suggestions for electoral reforms that in the Indian Parliament there should be a fifteen per cent reservation of seats for women.

And, as far as social oppression goes. I don't want to deal with this too long. There are certain interesting questions facing this country and the Government for some time and I would like to know the reaction of the Government. For example, the Law Commission has submitted its Fifty-ninth report not so long ago to the Government regarding the amendments to the Hindu Marriage Act and the Special Marriage Act. Women's organisations have been demanding that all marriages should be compulsorily registered and no marriage should be considered valid unless it has been compulsorily registered, under whatever registration machinery you would like to set up. People have been demanding that at least in this year 1975 after so many decades why should a husband and wife not be allowed without any impediment to have divorce by mutual consent. What you find today is that under the law there are so many difficulties and so many obstacles. So, the question is whether these things should be removed or not. Then there is the question of right of property for daughters as against sons. All these things are there. I do not want to discuss them in great detail. There have been various proposals and demands made by various women's organisations and certain amendments have been proposed to many of these points, in the Fifty-ninth Report of the Law Commission. And I would like to know the reaction of the Government.

And then there is this eternal question of dowry. I think that in this year 1975 we should give some sort of special award or some form of

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public recognition to that girl whose news came out in the papers, a poor harijan girl of Gonda district in Uttar Pradesh, by name Radhika, who, on her marriage day, when she found that the bridegroom party had arrived, and the bridegroom's father, who had earlier said that he would not ask for dowry, asked for dowry, at the last moment started demanding dowry, this girl Radhika is reported to have come out of the house and driven away the bridegroom's party saying that if they demand dowry, there is going to be no marriage. I think it is well worth while for the Government to try to find out the facts of this case. Somebody should be sent down to the remote place somewhere in Gonda district of U.P. to find out who is this girl.

SHRI SHIVAJI RAO DESHMUKH (Parbhani): Where is the bridegroom's party?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The bridegroom's party might have gone back to Maharashtra. I think that this girl, Radhika, can be declared to be a sort of a heroine of the Women's International Year. This should be found out.

What about the amendments to the Dowry Prohibition Act? There is another discussion which is likely to come up in the form of Half-an-Hour Discussion later this evening. The Government has got plenty of opportunities to clarify and tell us their thinking on the subject whether they are prepared to make the demanding of the dowry as a consideration for the marriage as a cognizable offence or not with more stringent penalty both in terms of fine and imprisonment. In our opinion, this should be made much more strict.

Government itself has admitted in this House that the State Governments who are supposed to administer this Act, do not care even to enforce the existing law. Some figures were given the other day. Until 21-12-1974

it was claimed that from all over the country, only thirtyeight cases of the so called violation of the existing Dowry Prohibition Act had been reported. There is also a recent example. We read about it. I think that many Members here are aware of the fact that young boys and girls of the Bohra community had come on deputation to Delhi also and met many Members of Parliament and Ministers about a year ago, who, in their community, are subjected to all sorts of social oppression in the sense that they are not even given permission to marry by their religious head. In the Bohra community, he is known as the Syedna whose traditional permission known as "Raza" has to be taken. Unless Syedna gives Raza, no couple can carry in the Bohra community. There has been a big movement going on for social reforms. These young boys and girls, recently in Udaipur, Rajasthan, about 105 couples, defied this oppression of their custom or rule or whatever you may like to call it. Hundreds of couples combined together and conducted a sort of mass marriage. So, the people are fighting in their own way. My point is: what is Government going to do?

Then I come to the question of working women. After all, I think, if the women are not permitted to work to earn for themselves, then they will remain in a position of subjection to men. If they are dependent on men and if they are not able to be self-reliant, then there is no hope of getting equal rights for them.

In our country, in 1961, 27 per cent of the total working force were women and now it has gone down to 18 per cent. This is including the agricultural, agrarian and the industrial and domestic sectors. The trend is that the number of women instead of increasing is going down. There are only about a million or so who can be called educated women who have got the benefits of education. Out of one million, roughly fifty per cent of them are primary school teachers; 15 per cent of them are clerks and

typists, 15 per cent of them are secondary teachers, 7 per cent or so are nurses while 10 per cent and the rest are doctors, lawyers, college teachers, artists, ministers, administrators and so on. These are all together no more than 10 lakhs in our country. The remaining about 95 per cent of women's conditions are the worst—80 per cent of them work as agricultural labourers, 15 per cent work in some factories in plantations in unorganised industries—sweated industries—and in domestic houses as servants. This is the vast silent community of women whose voice is not heard and who are not in a position to organise themselves to be articulate enough to express their grievances. It is to this section of women. I suggest, that the Government and the society in general should pay special attention in this International Women Year. What are we going to do for them?

Sir, now the Labour Minister is here. He knows that even the old ILO convention of equal pay for equal work is not observed in our country. This is one of the very old conventions of I.L.O. and it has also been ratified by the Government of India as member State of I.L.O. But only the other day it had been admitted that even in those industries which come under Minimum Wages Legislation like stone breaking, stone crushing, agriculture, plantations, building construction, cashew, etc. even here women are paid less than men even though they are doing the same work. This is not a surprise because in a capitalist system it is the law of maximum profits which operates. Therefore, these women belonging perhaps to the lower castes who can supply good cheap labour to these industries are being exploited by the owners with the object of maximising their rates of profits.

I think this year in June the sixtieth international conference of ILO is going to be held in Geneva where they have inscribed even on

the agenda the question of equal opportunities and treatment for working women. So, I would like to know from the Labour Minister what the Indian delegation attending this Conference are going to report about the conditions of working women in India. I was glad to hear the other day that at long last the Government is thinking of bringing a Bill to enforce this principle of equal pay for equal work. We know that by itself is not enough. Wherever these women are not organised—even in the case of big organised industries—and whenever the question of giving additional benefits in the form of maternity benefits or creches etc. has been raised the employers have taken advantage to drive those women out of employment. This has happened in cotton textile industry, jute industry and also mines. Several hundreds and thousands of women used to work in these industries but now the statistics show that practically their employment has been reduced to zero. Thirty thousand women used to work in jute mills. Now they have been completely driven out. In the mines also—except one or two occupations on the surface—they have not been kept any longer.

I would end by saying since we are pledged—in words at least—to advancing the country in the direction of fuller democracy and socialism, which we talk about day in and day out, it would be well also to study the conditions of women in the socialist countries, how they have been able to attain a status of real and complete equality with men in everything and how they are not bothered by this problem of being economically dependent on men and their having to be subject to them in some way or the other. Many friends, I believe, have visited socialist countries and seen it for themselves and they know very well that in the matter of employment, in the matter of careers, in the matter of education, of administration, of

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State care of children and State care of working mothers, there is something which the socialist countries have really got to be proud about what they have done for their women because the maker of the first socialist revolution V.I Lenin said that socialism can never be complete if half the society, 50 per cent of the society, which consists of women, are not brought on a par with men in conditions of equality and that unless this is done, there can never be a proper socialist society. See, Sir, where are we in our country?

16.00 hrs.

Finally, I would end by making a few suggestions. These are not my suggestions. These are part of some of the concrete measures which have been suggested in the programme of the Indian Committee for the International Women's year. I think many of these can be taken up in this year itself if the Government is serious about it. I have already mentioned the need for legislative amendments to make taking of dowry a cognisable offence. That is not enough by itself. A campaign should be initiated for social boycott of marriages in which dowry has been given or accepted as a consideration for marriage. Let the Members of Parliament at least take the resolve during this year that in their own particular areas, they will organise at least social boycott of one marriage where dowry has been given or taken as a consideration for marriage. Let us start something. Then, Sir, they have proposed free legal aid and homes for women who are in distress due to cruelty and ill-treatment by their husbands. They have no place to go. Where are they supposed to go?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL
AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): You have no experience.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Have you?

They have proposed that at least in each major city there should be at least one home set up this year where women who are in distress due to ill-treatment by their husbands can go and take shelter if necessary and also get free legal aid. I do not think this is a thing involving crores and crores of rupees. But, it would meet, I think, a very urgent requirement. Fourthly, better maternity facilities in the countryside so that children at least are able to survive. At least one trained midwife in every village. How many deaths are there of children due to lack of these most elementary facilities? They have also suggested more health centres, naturally, in the villages for children and at least one primary and two subsidiary health centres in each block. For women agricultural workers, they have suggested some seasonal creche system where they can have their children looked after while they go and work in the fields. They have proposed that each State should have at least two vocational training centres for women. There is some provision in the programme which the Minister was referring to for vocational training, but, nothing is spelt out. It is impossible to say from that what is the extent of this programme, to how many people they will cater and what are the types of vocational training going to be given and so on. Here, we are trying to concretise the demand more in the sense that each State would have the target that at least two vocational training centres should be set up during this year. Then, there should be no restriction on employment of married women. Still, we find these things. In Calcutta, the other day, I found an extreme example, not of employment, but, where a school, quite an old and well established school expelled a girl of that school because she got

married. When they discovered that she has married, they said they will not keep a girl who has married and they expelled her. This is a strange thing. Employers and owners of companies and concerns in many places, as we know well...

AN HON. MEMBER: What about air-hostesses?

SHRI INDRAJI GUPTA: Once they get married, apparently they claim, the employers claim that these girls are no longer able to spend all their time for their job. I do not know. A few years ago, a big campaign was carried on by women employees in the chemical and pharmaceutical concerns, in Bombay, I know, because some of these companies had introduced a rule that if the woman gets married, she cannot keep her job. This is a fantastic state of affairs.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): Either husband or job.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Then cheap canteens or hostels for working women in towns. This is also mentioned briefly in the programme the Minister had told us about, but nothing has been spelt out. Then creches and nurseries for working women. It is just impossible for her to work, unless she is provided by the State with creches and nurseries where her children can be left during working hours.

Finally, an adult literacy campaign among women. Naturally this will be mainly in the rural areas. A campaign for removing adult illiteracy among women should be carried out. Nobody objects to their being illiterate when it comes to casting votes during elections. All of us get elected through a large number of votes of women, but the moment the election is over, nobody is bothered about the fact that 85-90 per cent of them are still sunk in illiteracy after so many years of independence. This is a shame to our country.

Therefore, the Government, which is led by a woman Prime Minister, should come forward and inspire people and mobilise young people to go to the countryside and launch a campaign for the removal of adult illiteracy among women. This has been done in many other countries. The Minister knows about it.

I do not wish to take more time. I have just indicated some of the facts of the problem and suggested a few concrete steps which can be taken. Although we have been hearing all sorts of talk, goody goody talk, we are lagging far far behind the international standards enjoined upon us the minimum standards in terms of the resolution of the UN General Assembly. At least this should be on our conscience that we, men, must give a good account of ourselves in this year before the world community and before our own people.

MR CHAIRMAN: Resolution moved.

"On the occasion of the declaration by the United Nations of 1975, as International Women's Year, this House urges upon the Prime Minister to initiate a comprehensive programme of specific legislative and administrative measures aimed at removing the economic and social injustices, disabilities and discriminations to which Indian women continue to be subjected, particularly in the field of marriage and divorce laws, dowry customs, maternity and child welfare in the rural areas, unequal pay for equal work, educational and employment opportunities, vocational training and facilities for working mothers"

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

for "particularly in the field of marriage and divorce laws, dowry customs, maternity and child welfare in the rural areas, unequal pay for equal work, educational and employment opportunities, vocational

[Shri B. V. Naik]

al training and facilities for working mother"

Substitute—

"and declare the period from 1975 to 1985 as the 'Indian Women's decade' for the emancipation of the 30 crores of women in this country and attain the full potential of their growth and personality, and appoint a high powered committee of committed and eminent women and men to watch over the progress during the decade" (2)

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are a large number of speakers wishing to participate.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): Lady members should be given preference.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will, I would request members to limit their remarks to 7-10 minutes if possible. In order to get over the limitation of this Resolution having been moved by a bachelor, I will give preference to ladies.

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA (Khammam): I am glad that Shri Indrajit Gupta has brought forth this Resolution in connection with the International Women's Year that there should be a comprehensive programme for specific legislative and administrative measures aimed at removing the economic and social injustices, disabilities and discriminations against women. I think he is justified in doing so because all over the world it is perhaps his party which is the first which believes in giving equality to women.

When I was a child, I was attracted to socialism mainly for the reason that there is perfect equality for women in a socialist society. I am also glad that most other parties, because of political reasons or out of growing knowledge are following suit, because today in this country as well as in

the world women are a force and they cannot be neglected.

The other day I think Shri Vajpayee's party also passed a resolution recognising that there should be equal rights for women and there should be perfect equality between men and women. I am interested in the rights of women being recognised by all, to whichever party one may belong. I do not want women to be pushed back a thousand years or to the age of Sati. I am trying to meet the leaders to whichever party they belong and to persuade them not to have any reservation or conservatism in their thinking. Some persons of the RSS were wearing black badges when Mrs Gandhi became the Prime Minister... (Interruptions). You do not like that, even the mention of that. It is a big progress You yourself are not one of those categories because I read in one of the press cuttings: "Mr. Vajpayee said at a women's meeting that women must leave chakki and choola; they must come and participate in national struggle" I congratulate him for that. I wish all the other Members of his party believed in what he said.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): On the contrary when this Resolution has come you have put on a black blouse

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA: That is to mourn the persons who do not believe in the freedom of women

Then we talk of freedom it is not merely political; it is in every field. From the bottom the women have got to be liberated and she should be allowed to develop her own personality and make her contribution and do her duty and participate in all the aspects of national life. I was reading that in Soviet Russia the attitude has changed; when somebody mentioned something about women Marx said: Bourgeois cannot think of a woman except as a commodity. That was the spirit of the great socialist leaders

in Russia. In our country I do not know whether the socialist friends have the same kind of attitude. In Russia in many jobs like doctors, etc. there are more women than men; 60 per cent of the doctors in Russia are women. In politics there may be less women. Here is a report about what happened in China; it says:

"When a Brigade in Cheng-Huan commune in China decided to complete an irrigation tunnel the women in the area protested fiercely about being excluded from the great socialist task of lifting stones, breaking mountain rocks, etc. After intense struggle and criticism, the top men gave in and the leader of the women's team was lowered by ropes deep into the earth to set the dynamite fuse; there were cheers all round... There are stories of progressive daughters who refused the choice of husbands by parents, rebellious wives and widows who are on jobs instead of worshipping Buddha at home. The accent is on liberation. The proletarian spirit among women is emphasised".

Mao himself believes that women are the best instrument to bring about the revolution. Because of the part played by women in our country during the freedom struggle there was no need for them to have a movement like the suffragate movement as in the western countries. The Constitution makers said that women should be given equal rights along with men. They are wisemen. Gandhiji himself had written a book: women and social injustice. He always emphasised this aspect. Pandit Nehru would not stand the sight of women wearing purdah. These are great personalities who brought about transformation in our society. Most of the women were illiterate; yet they participated in large numbers. Thousands of them went to jails. As a result of that we got the vote of franchise. Still the committee that had been appointed by the Government reveals that articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution are there only in name; they have not materialised in real terms.

Our friend was referring to ILO Resolutions regarding equal rights for women, especially during this year. There are so many resolutions like the I.L.O. resolution on equal wages for equal work. We are coming from the villages and we know how women labour are exploited in the villages. Even now there are some places where women labour are employed because they are cheap labour and they are exploited. So, why should there be discrimination? I was suggesting to some of our Trade Union leaders that there should be a separate wing for the women labour so that this kind of discrimination could be removed. I think there was a proposal to bring forward a legislation, regarding equal wages for equal work. The Government was also considering this aspect.

So many legislations have been passed since Independence like Hindu Succession Act, Hindu Women's Right to Maintenance Act, etc. So many Acts are there. They need a thorough amendment. Discriminations are shown against women; though to some extent, some rights have been given, still there are discriminations. Take for instance, the Hindu Succession Act. Section 6 of the Act does not treat women as coparcenary and there are two clauses in this. One of them is Mithakshara. It states that woman is an equal partner along with men. If that is so why should there be discrimination? Otherwise you dispense with this clause.

Now, the Landing Ceiling Act in different States is already in progress. Unless you bring an ordinance for dispensing with the Hindu Succession Act, girls will not get any property right. Even the little economic rights which they have got will be lost. However much you talk of Dowry Acts or other Acts, they become futile. Why do you think of giving dowry and why don't you treat girls equally along with the boys? Neither we want to give dowry nor we want to get dowry. We want equal rights as children of the same country. We

[Smt. T. LakshmiKanthamma.]

should also be treated in the same manner as the boys are and there should be no discrimination at all. Why should injustice be done to women? You say that if girls are given equal rights, then everything will be distributed equally. If you have anything to be distributed, you don't want to distribute it. But if there is only poverty to be distributed, you say that let it be distributed between the boys and the girls.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Madam, we are not against equal rights for women. But the question is that it may be used for scuttling the Land Ceiling Legislation and reforms. Therefore, are you going to agree for the halving of the ceilings on land in case equal rights to women are conceded?

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA: If you cannot do justice, you please sit down.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: This is an essential thing. We are not against women's right.

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA: Let the girls get the right. If you don't get the right, you give it to them. You are so much generous. I am not fighting, because all the rights of women have been fought for by men.

Whatever you have, let it be distributed on an equal basis. Men have not opposed it. To my surprise, many Members of Parliament to whom I have spoken were prepared for it. Even the State Governments are prepared for it. But these are central legislations. The centre should take the initiative. Immediately an ordinance should be brought to amend the Hindu Succession Act and remove the injustice to the girls. We have tried to remove some of the discriminations in administration about recruitment etc., but still there is a lot of discrimination against women in recruit-

ment and service conditions. Government should take notice of it. I think this is engaging the attention of the Government. Yesterday I attended a function in which the Education Minister, Prof. Nurul Hasan also spoke. By women's education, the whole society will progress. We do not want any charity. Without women's progress, society will not progress and the country will not progress. Dr. Karve has said. "If there are limitations on the availability of education and if I have to choose between boys and girls, I will certainly choose girls because educating a girl means educating the whole society." I do not say boys should not be educated. In some States including Andhra Pradesh, education is free for girls up to matric. In the International Women's Year, you should make it free upto graduation.

There are many more things I want to say, but because of limitation of time, I will take some other opportunity. I once again request that all these Acts should be amended so that we give equal rights to boys and girls and all discrimination against women may be removed.

*SHRIMATI BIBHA GHOSH GOSWAMI (Nabadwip): Mr. Chairman Sir, I extend my full support to this resolution brought forward by Shri Indrajit Gupta. The women of India played a very glorious role in the freedom struggle of our country. Therefore they very legitimately hope that in free India their conditions would improve and they will get equal status and equal rights along with the men. In our Constitution equal rights of the women have been provided for in articles 14, 15 and 16. Some pieces of legislation have also been enacted like Hindu Code Bill, The succession Act, Dowry Act, etc. as have been mentioned by Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthama. I would not say that all these legislations have proved futile. Some women belonging to the upper classes and the middle classes have benefited from them and

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

have been able to enter the public life of our country. A few women have been elected to the State legislatures and the Lok Sabha. A few have become Ministers and have joined other professions. One of them has become even the Prime Minister of this country. But they form a very small fraction of the total female population of this country numbering nearly 26½ crores. By and large the great majority of our women find themselves in the same darkness as before. In this feudalistic and capitalist society of ours which is dominated by men, the women continue to be the victim of exploitation, discrimination and oppression. Not only that as a result of the ever increasing economic crisis in the country the degree of exploitation and oppression committed on the women are also constantly rising. To cover up this actual situation lot of drum beating is being resorted to about the legislation enacted for the uplift of the women. These rights given to women remain on paper only in the vast majority of cases. To make these rights of women really effective it is necessary to bring about a change in the economic system of the country. Without this the condition of women cannot really change. In this International Women's Year if we examine and compare the situation prevailing in the socialist world and that part which has not accepted the socialist system, we will find that freedom of women, emancipation of women has been achieved in the socialistic part of the world. Whereas in the other part, even in UK and USA, the women have not yet got equal status and equal rights. The question of equal status and equal rights of women is basically dependent on the economic system prevailing in a country. Economic freedom is the corner stone of equal rights. Even after 27 years of independence, the Indian women are still faced with economic dependence, illiteracy, mental slavery and medieval superstitions. In this respect the situation still remains as prevailed even 100 years ago.

In our country about 87% of the women do not play any part in the productive process of the country. The small fraction that do take some part in the productive processes, are also being gradually removed. In spite of many social obstacles and discouragement women are getting themselves enrolled in the employment exchanges due to this economic pressure. In 1971 the women enrolled employment exchanges numbered nearly 6 lakhs. Shri Indrajit Gupta just now mention that there are 30 lakhs Matriculate girls in our country. At the end of 1971, 2½ lakhs among them were enrolled in the employment exchanges. At present that number must have gone higher. Post Graduate women enrolled in the employment exchanges numbered around 9 thousand at the end of 1971. The percentage of women employed in various industries is gradually going down compared to the total employment figures in these industries. In 1961 the percentage of women employed in industries was 16.5, in December 1971 that came down to 9.16%. In mines, Shri Indrajit Gupta has said, many women have left and in 1971 their number was 10.8% only compared to 15.7% in 1961. In the coal mines 47876 women were employed in 1954. In 1964 that number went down to around 30,000 and at present that number has further gone down. What is the history behind this decline in the number of women workers in the mines? In the Labour Tribunal's Award it was recommended that women workers will be paid 75 percentage of the wages paid to male workers. An appeal was made against this award in the labour courts. There it was decided that equal wages should be paid for equal work but along with this judgment the fear was also expressed that as a result of this perhaps the employers will retrench women workers. In spite of this apprehension the Government did not take any step to protect women workers and they were retrenched by the employers, as feared. As a result of extension of the law regarding wages

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and minimum work load in the textile industry, many women workers were retrenched from that industry. The Government did not take any step for the security of their employment. In the jute mills also thousands of women workers have been retrenched and the disparity in their wages still prevail. It may be said that the Government is leading the way in this direction. Mention has already been made about the ILO Convention, so I will not go into that. In the Railways a large number of women workers are employed as casual labour and they are paid less than the men. They are denied the protection of law. In Vijaywada division alone, there are over one thousand female casual workers. The same situation prevails in almost all the divisions of the Railway. The recommendation made by the Central Wage Board in 1966 in respect of the Plantation labour for a rise in their daily wage rate also maintains the disparity between the wages of female and male workers. The Central Wage Board recommended a rise of 15 paise per day for the male plantation labour in Kerala where as far women the recommendation was 11 paise only. Similarly in Assam it was 8 paise for men and 7 paise for women and in Darjeeling was 9 paise for men and 7 paise for women. So, we find that the Central Wage Board itself provided for and maintained the discrimination and disparity in the wages of men and women workers, although it is well known that the men and women in the Plantations do identical work. In the same way in the mica mines, in the Cashew industry, in the rice and wheat mills of Madhya Pradesh the same type of discrimination against women workers has been provided for in the law itself. In this background it is no wonder that the private employers are exploiting the women workers as they will and discriminate against them in matters of wages.

Mention has already been made about the Air Hostesses and nursing trainees etc. the employers are openly

declaring they will lose employment if they marry. The evidence tendered by M/s Macwell Electricals before the Norms Committee was shocking. We are even ashamed of recalling that. They said in matters of employment the conditions that was enforced about women workers remaining unmarried should continue. They feared that a women worker will not be able to discharge the same work load after marriage because they will be further burdened by domestic responsibilities. Therefore they should not be continued in service after marriage. It is indeed a matter of shame. Then the atrocities and exploitation made by bosses on the female employees rarely leak out because there is the fear of losing ones job. The women have therefore to tolerate all these exploitation mutely for fear of losing their job. There are hundreds of small factories where less than 50 women are employed. The question of providing maternity benefits there just did not arise. They do not fall under the ambit of maternity benefit Act. Even in the bigger establishments which are covered by the maternity Benefit Act, what facilities are provided to the working mothers and their children? In the the factories, Rs. 8 29 lakhs were spent in 1961 for providing maternity benefit. In 1971 that amount came down to Rs. 7-30 lakhs. In the mines, maternity benefit was given to 6,038 women in 1966 but in 1971 only 4,846 women were provided maternity benefit. So we find that the quantum of maternity benefit is gradually declining. This is the situation in the factories and mines. But what has the Government done for the working mothers in the Government offices? A large number of women work in the Secretariat in Delhi, I will ask how many 'creches' have been provided for them by the Government? About 21 crores of women live in the rural areas of our country. Although our Constitution recognises their right to landed property and inheritance, only a small fraction of these women really enjoy this right. I do not know what is their actual percentage but it

is almost nothing. In a country where the major portion of the land is in the hands of hardly 5 per cent of the people and where about 75 per cent of the people are landless, what real benefit can accrue to the majority of the women from this constitutional provision is any body's guess. It is indeed a folly to expect that this will bring about any improvement in the condition of the women by and large. Unless the land is redistributed properly and justly through basic land reforms and ownership of land is given to men and women alike, it is sheer foolishness to expect that the women will be able to achieve social status and equal rights. At present the female agriculture labourers are not only being paid lower wages but they have also to work in the fields leaving even their two day old infants behind. These thousands of unfortunate women have no provision of maternity benefits, their infants do not have any facility of creches and even a little milk is also not provided to these children. A few months back the women agricultural labourers union held a conference at 'Harhoa' in West Bengal and passed an unanimous resolution demanding that the Government should arrange facility of 'creches' for their children. If in this International Women's Year the Government lend their ear to their appeal then I will think that some worthwhile action has been taken. The female agricultural labourers nowhere get equal wages for equal work in this country. From an account available for 1956-57 in respect of Bihar it is seen that the women get hardly two third of the wages paid to men. There are a large number of women employed in the 'Bidi' industry. They number a few lakhs in the country. There are over 3 lakhs in West Bengal alone. About West Bengal we know that when men are paid Rs. 3.50 on every 1000 bidis, the women are not paid more than Rs. 2 for the same number. The Government have no law to regulate the wages of such workers. There are many other fields of work like the

building workers, those in handloom industry, in brick kilns in the coir factories etc. everywhere the women are paid lower wages. In addition to social discrimination they are victims of wage disparity also. In the social field the women do not have equal rights, the dowry system has not been abolished, polygamy and child marriage are prevalent in the interiors. All legislation in these respects remain on paper alone. Prostitution is not illegal and prostitution cannot be abolished unless there is socialism in the country. The other day I saw a draft legislation sent by Prof. Nurul Hasan seeking to amend the act of 1958 with a view to prevent trafficking in women. We read in the papers that here, in the heart of New Delhi. Adivasi women are being forced to prostitution to enable their husbands to pay off the debts incurred by them at the time of their marriage. Then there are atrocities committed upon women in the name of religion also. The religious heads create obstructions in the way of their marriage. We heard that young women in Kerala were made 'Nuns' and taken out of the country to force them in immoral professions. The poor Muslim women are, always in fear of 'Talak' as provided in their marriage laws. No action has been taken to save them from this system and to afford any security to them. In Bombay there is one 'Bohra' community. There is a custom prevalent among them that the first right of a newly married girl is the 'Dowry' of their religious head. Last year, seven newly married couples recently rebelled against this custom. This was mentioned by Shri Indrajit Gupta also. In the field of education, about 82 per cent women of our country are still illiterate. Although primary education is free, many poor landless parents find it difficult to send their girls to school. Out of those who do go to school, about 70 per cent drop out before reaching the 4th standard. Hardly 8 per cent finish the secondary stage—

Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma said in her speech that education should

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be free for women upto Graduation. In this context I cannot help recalling one Education Department circular in West Bengal about 2 years back. Education was free there for girls upto class eighth since 1956, In 1972 the Government in the name of the constitution issued a circular that a student who fails once will not be entitled to free education the next year. After much hue and cry on our part and on the intervention of Prof. Nural Hasan that measure has been withdrawn. Speaking about compulsory education also, we get stranded at the socio-economic system of the country.

In addition to the disparity in their economic, educational and social status, even the normal civic life of the women are being disrupted today. We are observing International Women's Year but in West Bengal thousands of mothers and sisters and housewives are being forced to flee their homes and seek shelter elsewhere. They are prevented from attending their professions, their husbands are not able to go to their places of work. The hooligans and mastans who call themselves Congressmen are making their lives miserable. It is indeed a matter of shame that the police are committing untold atrocities on the women even in police lock-up. The atrocities committed by our policemen under the Congress rule have even surpassed those committed by the Britishers. We have heard of poor 'Vimla' who was raped by the police in a 'thana' in Kerala and committed suicide by jumping in a well on her return home. Two women were similarly raped by the police in Trivandrum. One of them also committed suicide. Comrade A. K. Gopalan reported these cases to the I. G. Police. The Home Minister of Kerala shamelessly said that the women were of loose character. A large number of women have even been brutally murdered right from the beginning of the Congress rule. Starting from Latika, Protiva, Amys and Geeta many women have been

murdered in the Congress regime. The mothers and sisters have to face police 'latihis' and firings in their democratic agitations at many places. Smt. Ashima Poddar gave evidence in an open court about the inhuman brutalities committed on her in police lock up. The Congress hooligans came to that court to attack the Judge also.

Sir, the women of West Bengal came in a delegation to the Prime Minister to protest against these atrocities. They twice came to the Prime Minister. The last time they came, there had been an attack on the Chairman and leader of our West Bengal Democratic 'Mahila Samiti', Smt. Jyoti Chakravarty among many others. She is an old lady above 65 years and as a result of that attack she was hospitalised for over 6 months. How shameful! Sir, Geeta Chatterjee of Sonarpur came to the Prime Minister and in her evidence mentioned the names of those persons who murdered her husband and criminally assaulted her. The Prime Minister had assured her in my presence that she would look into the matter. But those two persons whose names were mentioned as the offenders are moving about boldly even today as leaders of the Congress and no action has been taken against them in spite of these serious offences.

The question of equal status and equal rights for women is totally dependent upon changing the economic basis of the society. Today the mothers in our country are forced to sell her son for 4 rupees due to the pangs of hunger. A lady residing in 'Bhatia building' in Jalpaiguri was going to buy the son of a village woman for Rs. 4. Both the buyer and the seller of the human child were produced before the D.C. of Jalpaiguri, but no action has been taken by him. The present social system of our country does not have any remedy for such evils. While inaugurating the International Women's year Shrimati Gandhi called upon the women of the world to unite in their fight against hunger. But in

our country hunger has got a permanent footing due precisely to the Congress misrule.

Unless we effect real land reforms, the problems of providing adequate means of livelihood to the masses cannot be solved. And till that is solved, the question of economic freedom of the women does not arise. In the Socialist world, freedom of women, and their equal status and equal rights have been effectively established. The Government in our country speak about socialism but in reality the exploitation of the poor masses has become keener. This very Government has really obstructed the path of education, economic freedom, equal rights and social emancipation of the Indian women. The Government is stalling in the way of total and revolutionary change of our social and economic systems, which is the mater-key for bringing about the emancipation of Indian women, on the other hand they are talking loudly about the freedom of women in this International Year. This hypocritical attitude cannot bring about equal rights for the women. The boat of women's emancipation is anchored with the feudalistic and capitalistic social system. This anchor has to be uprooted if the Indian women are to make progress. But to achieve that, our women will have to walk shoulder to shoulder and unitedly with all the democratic people on the scientific path for recasting our economic system of society. They should unite in a determined bid to remove all obstacles in their path including this present anti-people Government. There must be an awakening in our women, that they should uproot the present system of society. If we can bring about this awakening in our women, that would be the greatest contribution in this International Women's Year, for the emancipation of the women. I again extend my support to the resolution of Shri Indrajit Gupta.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call upon the next speaker, I have to point out that two hours have been

allotted for this resolution. The two hours will expire at 5.30 but I have before me a list of 18 speakers, and only three have spoken till now.

AN HON. MEMBER: Increase the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the time is increased, probably Shri Samar Guha's resolution will lapse. Therefore, I will leave it to the House to decide as to how the House wants to proceed in the matter.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I make an appeal to the House. This is not only a non-controversial issue, but it involves the honour of one of the greatest sons of our country, and I hope there will be no two opinions about this resolution. Therefore, if you extend time today for half an hour more and give just a few minutes to me to introduce this resolution, it will do.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon): This is a very legitimate demand of Mr. Samar Guha. He should be given an opportunity to move this resolution and then give him five minutes to speak.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I think the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs will also support me.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI B. SHANKARANAND): We have no objection. But it depends upon upto what time you have to continue it.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: His point is right. But I speak for not extending the time of the resolution. But the subject is very important. Can the House, in its wisdom, decide to discuss this in the form of a general discussion during this session or some other day under Rule 193(b)?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot do it.

SHRI N. K. SANGHI (Jalora): The rule may be suspended and Mr. Samar Guha's resolution may be allowed to be taken up next time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are a lot of complications if you suspend the rule and permit Mr. Samar Guha to bring his resolution on the next day. There is a rule No. 30 to this effect. I am going to read it out on page 15 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha: It says:

"When on a motion being carried the debate on a private member's Bill or resolution is adjourned to the next day allotted for private members' business in the same or next session, it shall not be set down for further discussion unless it has gained priority at the ballot."

Therefore, all these complications are there. Unless it gains priority in the ballot, it would not come up for discussion on the next day. If a private Member's resolution is adjourned on a motion to the next day it does not automatically come up for discussion unless it gains priority in the ballot.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Sir, I moved this resolution on the last day. I do not know how it is continuing today.

MR. CHAIRMAN: On a motion being moved when a private member's Bill or resolution is adjourned to the next day, it shall not be set down for further discussion unless it has gained priority at the ballot (Interruptions). I think there may be a scope for interpretation or making an exemption from this rule. I feel the best thing would be, instead of entering into this debate, to extend the time today or as the House may decide, we can permit Mr. Samar

Guha to move his resolution. What is the consensus of the House?

SHRI N. K. SANGHI: Mr. Indrajit Gupta's resolution does not adjourn because it has not yet been concluded. So, it automatically comes thereafter.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: In this case my resolution will automatically lapse. I will again beg of you to see the nature of my resolution and only then you will understand. Let there be a discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think we can postpone today's half-an-hour to some other day. (Interruptions).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr. Samar Guha may be allowed to speak.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA (Babraich): Two or three hours are daily taken out of this schedule. Therefore, this limited time should be devoted in the order in which things are placed. Every time, whether there is something relevant or irrelevant, two or three hours are consumed. Therefore, I have a serious objection to the agenda of the Order Paper.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): Last time, Mr. Indrajit Gupta was given permission by the Speaker by the consensus of the House to introduce a resolution. I think Mr. Indrajit Gupta's resolution is very important. In the case of Mr. Samar Guha, I think, his resolution is also important. We do require a good deal of time to discuss Mr. Indrajit Gupta's resolution.

I should say this is a very important subject, a very vital subject. I would suggest, if Mr. Samar Guha can be given a few minutes, he can move his resolution and Mr. Indrajit Gupta's resolution may be taken up again later on.

MR. CHAIRMAN: By how much time do you want to extend the debate on this resolution?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Upto 6 O'Clock.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much time will the hon. Minister take?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): Sir, I would have very much liked that the Government should benefit from the views of the hon Members on this very important issue. I very doubtful if much time is likely to be given by the House to a discussion of this important issue. At the same time, I entirely agree with the views expressed by my hon. friend, Mr. Samar Guha, that his resolution may also be taken up. Is it not possible to make a waiver of rules, to have a motion waiving the rules, so that Mr. Indrajit Gupta's resolution can be discussed on Friday, a fortnight from today, and then Mr. Samar Guha can also move his resolution on that day. With so many hon Members wishing to speak, it would be very unfortunate if we were to stop them from speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In that case, you may move a formal motion, looking to the rules, to that effect.

Anyhow, I am continuing with the debate and, in the meantime, let the House decide about it.

Shri B. R. Shukla.

श्री बी० धार० शुक्ल (बहराइच) :
 सम्पापति जी, यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष है और यह बड़ा उपयुक्त है कि इस वर्ष में श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने यह संकल्प सदन के सामने रखा और महिलाओं की दशा की ओर हम लोगों का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया।

जहाँ तक महिलाओं का स्थान हमारे भारतीय इतिहास में है, यह बात सर्वविदित है कि महिलाओं का स्थान किसी प्रकार के पुरुषों के स्थान से हमारी संस्कृति में,

हमारे इतिहास में, हमारे धर्म में कभी नीचा नहीं रहा। जितने यज्ञ, जितने अनुष्ठान होते हैं, वे कभी पूर्ण नहीं माने जाते हैं जब तक कि स्त्री और पुरुष दोनों ग्रंथ जोड़ कर पूजा न करे। इसलिए कालान्तर में अगर स्त्रियों की दशा में कोई अवनति हुई, उन का शोषण हुआ, तो उस का कारण हमारा इतिहास, हमारा धर्म, हमारी संस्कृति नहीं है बल्कि वे कारण उपस्थित हो गये जिन के कारण कुरीतियाँ समाज में आईं। जहाँ तक हमारे विधान का सम्बन्ध है, उस में स्पष्ट रूप में इस बात का प्रावधान किया गया है कि रंग, धर्म, धर्म के आधार पर कोई भेद भाव कानून के सम्पादन में नहीं किया जाएगा। अब सवाल यह आता है कि फिर स्त्रियों की दशा क्यों खराब है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि स्त्रियों की ही दशा खराब नहीं है बल्कि पुरुषों की दशा भी खराब है। करोड़ों की संख्या में लोग बेकार हैं और इस देश में 60 फ्रीसदी से 70 फ्रीसदी तक ऐसे लोग हैं जोकि सरोबी की रेखा के नीचे अपने जीवन को बिताते हैं। महिलाएँ भी उसी वर्ग में आती हैं। महिलाओं की कोई ऐसी दशा नहीं है जो कि देश के अर्थिक नर पुरुषों से विभेद है। हमारे देश में प्राथिक विषमता है, सामाजिक विषमता है और हर प्रकार के सामाजिक और राजनीतिक शोषण के लिकार पुरुष भी हैं और स्त्रियाँ भी हैं। स्त्रियाँ शारीरिक रूप से और शिक्षा के दृष्टिकोण से कमजोर रही हैं और आप जानते हैं कि जो कमजोर वर्ग रहा है, उस का हमेशा शोषण होता रहा है। स्त्रियाँ क्योंकि शारीरिक रूप से कमजोर हैं, उतना लड़ नहीं सकती, उतना परिश्रम नहीं कर सकती, उतनी शिक्षित नहीं थी, प्राथिक साधन हमेशा पुरुषों के हाथ में थे, इसलिए स्त्रियाँ स्वतन्त्र रूप से अपने अधिकारों के लिए नहीं लड़ सकी।

लेकिन अब देखिये कि हमारे देश में कानून की व्यवस्था क्या है? कानून की व्यवस्था से ही क्या स्त्रियों की दशा में

[श्री बी. पार. शुक्ल]

सुधार किया जा सकता है। मैं उन आदमियों में से हूँ जो यह कहने का साहस करते हैं कि केवल कानून की शरण ले कर किसी वर्ग का कल्याण किसी भी देश में नहीं हो सकता है। इस के लिए सामाजिक और शैक्षिक क्रान्ति की नितांत आवश्यकता है। अब आप देखिये कि मुस्लिम सभ्रदाय में क्या बात है। मुस्लिम सभ्रदाय में अगर एक पुरुष स्त्री को कहे 'छोड़ा, छोड़ा, छोड़ा', तीन बार 'छोड़ा' कह दे, तो वह उस को छोड़ सकता है और उनम स्त्री को कोई राय नहीं ली जाती। स्त्री अगर किसी पुरुष के अत्याचार और कुकर्म से पीड़ित है, तो उस को यह अधिकार नहीं है कि वह 'छोड़ा' कह सके, और अपने पुरुष को छोड़ सके। क्या ऐसा कानून हम इस सदन के अन्दर ला सके जिस में एक मुस्लिम स्त्री को वे समान अधिकार तलाक के मामले में मिलें, जोकि क्रिश्चियन मजहब में और हिन्दु मजहब में एक औरन को हैं। ऐसा हम नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि इस के कारण राजनीतिक है। वह वर्ग किसी भी कारणवश अपनी धार्मिक भावनाओं में, अपनी धार्मिक परम्पराओं में इतना विश्वास रखे हुए है कि अगर कोई बात इसके लिए कही जाए, तो वह कहा जाएगा कि इन के परमंनम कानून के ऊपर हम हस्तक्षेप कर रहे हैं और जब वह संहिता प्रक्रिया में इस प्रकार का विषय आया कि उस कानून के प्रावधान मुसलमानों के ऊपर भी लागू हो, तो हम ऐसा नहीं कर सके और इस देश में किसी को भी हिम्मत नहीं है यह कहने की कि वहाँ पर समान सिविल कोड का मन्वयन किया जाए।

दूसरी बात आप कि देवें अब यह कहा गया कि स्त्रियों को प्रांपार्टी राइट्स दिये जाएं, जहाँ तक हिन्दु कोड का संबंध है, जिसकी सम्पत्ति है वो कि नान-एथीकल्चरल है, जोकि कृषि से संबंध नहीं रखती है, उस के लिए कानून

में यह व्यवस्था है कि जब कोई व्यक्ति मरे, तो उस के जितने पुत्र हैं, पुत्रियाँ हैं, सब का अधिकार बराबर का होगा और समान रूप से सम्पत्ति का बटवारा होगा। यह हिन्दू कोड में है और क्रिश्चियन कोड में भी यही कानून है लेकिन मुस्लिम कोड में यह है कि उस में लड़की को मिलेगा बहन को मिलेगा। अब इस का नतीजा क्या होता है? इस का नतीजा यह होता है कि अगर हिन्दू कोड में एथीकल्चर प्रोपर्टी में ऐसा कर दिया जाए, तो लीन को लड़का भी जाँतेगा और लड़की भी जाँतेगी। लड़की का विवाह अगर 20 काम की दूरी पर हो गया तो वहाँ से बटू हैम उम के जीतने की व्यवस्था कर सकती है। इस लिए कानून के पडना ने यह व्यवस्था रखी कि क्योंकि प्रांपर्टी का, मरगति की मरगति रखना है और उम का विभाजन इस प्रकार नहीं करना है, जिस में उम को मरगति रखने में अमुविधा हो, उम का प्रबंध करने में मुविधा हो, इसलिए यह रखा गया कि लड़की का उम में हिस्सा न दिया जाए और जितना धना पत्नी का विवाह होगा, वह लड़का वहाँ पर जा कर अपने पति का जायदाद में शिरमा लेगी। मुसलमानों में ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं रखी क्योंकि उन के मामले मरगति को रखा का सवाल नहीं था। उन के यहाँ विवाहित प्रथा यह रखी गई कि उसी परिवार में लड़की का विवाह हो सकता है। इस तरह से लड़का और लड़की एक ही परिवार में रहते हैं और उन के यहाँ सम्पत्ति के विभाजन का प्रश्न नहीं होता। तो मैं आप से यह सुझाव कर रहा था कि यह सब सुधार कानून के जरिये नहीं किया जा सकता है। इस के लिए सामाजिक सुधार की जरूरत है।

जहाँ तक समान वेतन का सम्बन्ध है, सरकारी नौकरी और नैर-सरकारी नौकरी के यहाँ तक उपाय है, उस में तो सब को बराबर वेतन मिलना है लेकिन जो नौकरी करते

घौर जिस में केवल शारीरिक परिश्रम के भ्र.घार पर मजदूरी दी जाती है, उस में कुछ भेदभाव रखा गया है। एक आदमी जो कुदाल मार कर मेहनत का काम करता है उस को घौर एक स्त्री को जो वह काम नहीं करती है बराबर का वेतन मिले, इस को आप कैसे करेगे। यदि स्त्री और पुरुष फसल की कटाई और मड़ाई का काम समान रूप से करते हैं, तो उस में समान रूप से वेतन होना चाहिए, लेकिन इस को आप कैसे करेगे। खेतहार, मजदूरों के लिए मजदूरी के मापदंड का कानून ही अभी आपने नहीं बनाया है। ऐसी अवस्था में स्त्रियों के लिए फिम तरह का कानून बनेगा? मटर्नटी बनिफिट्स आपने उनको दिये हैं।

17 hrs.

ज्या तक दोजे प्रथा का सम्बन्ध है एक पुराना संस्कृत का श्लोक है ?

यद्यपि शूद्रान् लोकविक्रमं न करनीयम् न करनीयम्

कानून तब बनता है जब उसके पीछे जनमन हो और जनमत तब बनता है जब उसके पीछे सत्य हो। अब सत्य का अभाव समाज में कुछ व्यक्तियों विशेषों के ऊपर पहले होता है और वे व्यक्ति विशेष अपने विचारों का प्रचार करते हैं समाज में। तब समाज में जनमत बनता है। जब जनमत प्रबल हो जाता है तब कानून बनता है। तब अगर कानून पारित किया जाए तो वह पक्का कानून होता है। शारदा एक्ट बनाया गया, चाइल्ड मेरिटेज रेस्ट्रिक्ट एक्ट 1929 में पास हुआ। आज भी ये कानून बिल्कुल मूर्ख कानून है। उन कानूनों का कोई अन्तर नहीं हुआ है कारण यह है कि समाज में क्रान्ति नहीं हुई है, विचारों में क्रान्ति नहीं हुई है। अगर आप ने दहेज विषय का कानून बना दिया और लोगो ने चुप के जा कर दे दिया तो क्या होगा? हमारे देश में कितना भ्रष्टाचार है इसको आप देखें जिस चीज को कानून में ममानियत है, बिना के पीछे ही भाई की और सत्कंता विभाग

लगे रहते हैं उसको आप बन्द नहीं कर सके हैं। बलैक मार्किटिंग, चोर बाजारी एसशियस कमोडिटीज तक में तमाम कानून होने के बावजूद भी बन्द नहीं हो सकी है। दिन भर चोर बाजारी होती है। लेकिन ये जो समाजिक कुरीतियां हैं, समाजिक प्रथाएं हैं इनका उन्मूलन केवल कानून बना देने से नहीं हो सकता है। महिला वर्ष में हम को एक समाजिक क्रान्ति लाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। देश में महिनाभो का उत्थान होगा तो देश का उत्थान होगा।

मैं कहना चाहता हू कि निराश्रित विधवायें जो हमारे देश में लाखों करोड़ों की संख्या में उनको पेंशन अनिवार्य रूप से आपको देनी चाहिये। जिन का कोई नहीं है उनको आपको पेंशन देने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये आपका जो समाज कल्याण विभाग है उसके पास यज्ञ से रूपया जाता है लेकिन आप सब मानिये कि कई विधवायें लगड़ी, लूली भ्रष्टी कानी रोती हुई हमारे पास आती है और हम उनके लिए सिफारिशें करते करते थक जाते हैं, लड़ते लड़ते थक जाते हैं लेकिन कुछ नहीं होता है। जो निराश्रित है लेकिन जो विधवायें नहीं हैं, जिन का कोई सहारा नहीं है उनकी भी जितनी मदद हो सके करना चाहिये। यह मितव्ययता का जमाना है। सब जगह कठिनाइयां हैं। लेकिन फिर भी अगर आप यह काम करके दिखा दे तो आपकी भूरि भूरि प्रशंसा होगी और यह देश आपके भ्रष्टालय का तथा सरकार का अनुसूहीत होगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I now call upon the next Member who is in the waiting list to get married. Shri Jagannathrao Joshi.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) : अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष में इदजीत मुत्त जी ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखा है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और उसकी सराहना करता हूँ। विधवायों के लिए प्रचार कए

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जांशी]

की दृष्टि से एक वर्ष का आयोजन करना मैं समझता हूँ यह महिलाओं का अपमान करना है। अपना सारा समाज पुरुष प्रधान समाज है। इसके सारे विचारों में, व्यवहारों में, भाषा में पुरुष प्रधानता भरी हुई है। इस कारण उस में ग्रह का भाव भी पैदा हो गया है। मानसिक विकास के रास्ते में जो कारण बाधक हैं उनको जब तक हम निकालते नहीं हैं तब तक जितने भी कानून प्राप पान कर ले कुछ नहीं होगा। यह मांग क्यों की जाती है कि समान वेतन दिया जाए, समान दर्जा दिया जाए, स्थान उनको दिए जाए, यह दिया जाए, वह दिया जाए? सम्पूर्ण विकास जीवन का लक्ष्य है। शरीर, मन, बुद्धि, आत्मा इन सभी का चतुर्दिक विकास, सर्वांगीण विकास यह व्यक्ति का लक्ष्य है। जो भी कारण स्त्री हो या पुरुष उसके पूरे विकास में बाधक बनते हैं उनको निकाल बाहर करना होगा। सामाजिक या धार्मिक क्षेत्र में या व्यवहार में कुछ वैमन्य्य आता हो तो उस सब को निकाल बाहर करना होगा। जब हमने ऐसा किया तब पता चलेगा कि स्त्री और पुरुष में अन्तर नहीं है। पाश्चात्य विचार धारा है कि सृष्टि का जन्म एडम से हुआ और फिर ईव आई। मध्य युग में एक धारण यह भी बनी कि स्त्री की आत्मा ही नहीं है और इसके बारे में भी चर्चा चली थी। प्रधान मंत्री कांचीकामकोटी शंकराचार्य से मिलने गई थी। उन से मिलने के लिए हमारे इंडिजेंट जी-बुप्त की ही लाइन में चलने वाले श्री धार्वर क्वेसलर भी गए थे? शंकराचार्य ने उन से पूछा कि एडम कहां से आया ईव कहां से आई आपके विचार में। जब उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे मालूम नहीं है तब स्वामी जी ने कहा कि वह हिन्दुस्तान से गए थे। उपनिषदों में यह कथा आती है कि एक वृक्ष की शाखा पर आत्मा और जीव दो पक्षी बैठे हुए थे। आत्मा तो आदमी हुई और जीव ईव हुई। प्रायः तो जानते ही हैं कि पुरानी आदमी में पहले जो आता है तो उसका उच्चारण

नहीं होता था। अब इस में इस दृष्टि से संशोधन हो जाए तो मेरे विचार में दोनों समाज नजदीक आ जाए और अगर ऐसा होता है तो जो विषयता है, जो उसकी दीवारें हैं वे खत्म हो जाएंगी और मानवता की दृष्टि से ये दोनों बहुत ज्यादा नजदीक आते जाएंगे। अर्ध नारि नटेश्वर की जिन्होंने कल्पना की वह यह बताने के लिए की कि न नर श्रेष्ठ है और न नारी और दोनों एक दूसरे से युक्त हैं और इस बात को मान लिया जाए और पुरुष अपना अर्ध भाव छोड़ दे, वह उसका निकल जाए तो धीरे धीरे उसी हिसाब से समाज में परिवर्तन आता जाएगा और समाज बनता चला जाएगा। जब कोई किसी को मारता है तो कहा जाता है मैनहैंडल। अगर महिला कोई ऐसा करती है तो मैन हैंडल नहीं होता है। कारण यह है कि वह बहुत माफ्ट होती है, आत्मभाव-पूर्ण रहती है। किसी को गाली देनी होती है तो कहा जाता है कि क्या चूड़िया पहन रखी हैं इसका मतलब यह है कि चूड़िया पहनना कोई दुर्बल काम है। समझ में नहीं आता है कि ऐसा करके क्या मां, बहन, पत्नी आदि की बद्दख्ती नहीं होती है। अब प्रायः देखे कि चेयर पर आदमी ही बैठता था इस वास्ते यह चेयरमैन हो गया। प्रधान मंत्री भी कभी-कभी खड़ी होकर कहने के लिए मजबूर हो जाती हैं कि उनका कोई जैडर नहीं है क्योंकि पुरुष भी मंत्री और स्त्री भी मन्त्री। लोगों की जब बात की जाती है तो उस समय भी पहले पुल्लिंग आता है और बाद में स्त्रीलिंग। सारे विचार में अर्ध भाव भरा हुआ है। यही भरा हुआ है कि पुरुष श्रेष्ठ है। जब यह अर्ध भाव निकल जाएगा तब व्यक्ति सुसंस्कृत हो जाएगा, जब मानसिक विकास की चरम सीमा आ जाएगी तब वह अपने इस अर्ध भाव को भूल जाएगा। तब सारा जो अन्तर बीच का है यह सब खला जाएगा। हम एक समान भावना की बात कहते हैं, कहते हैं कि समान अधिकार इनको मिलने चाहिये। समानता के आकार पर न कह कर इन को एकता

के आधार पर करता चाहिये । समानता कहते हैं तो उस में तुम, फिर मैं, फिर हम दोनों बराबर, हैं, फिर कुछ कम और कुछ ज्यादा वे सब बीच आ जाती हैं । इस बास्ते एकता के आधार पर यह सब होना चाहिये । जिस तरह से एक बट बूझ के एक छेदे से बीच में समग्र बूझ का विकास छिपा रहता है, उसी तरह से हम को इस आधार पर आगे बढ़ना चाहिये कि दोनों का रूप एक है, न कोई छोटा है, न कोई बड़ा, न कोई ज्यादा है और न कोई कम तब समा जी ने जो यह कहा है कि धर्म और संस्कृति बीच में आती है वह नहीं आएगी । जो रूढ़ियां पैदा हो जाती हैं उनको समय समय पर और बीच बीच में हम को निकालना पड़ता है । वेदों ने जो भी कहा होगा लेकिन उसको सही मानने में प्रस्तुत करने के लिए स्मृतियां बनी हैं । अगर ऐसा न होता तः एकही वेद रहते और कोई स्मृतियां न बनती । परिस्थितियों का सामना करना है, जीवन को कैसे ढालना चाहिये, जीवन की रचना कैसे क नी चाहिये इस तरह की बातों को ले कर अलग अलग समय में स्मृतियां पैदा हुई हैं ।

इसलिये कोई यह न समझे कि धर्म या संस्कृति का इससे विरोध है । मैं इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ । कालिदास ने भी स्त्री के स्थान के बारे में कहा है — गृहिणी सखि सखी मिथ । सबसे पहले आता है गृहिणी, फिर आता है सखि अर्थात् एड-बाइजर, फिर आता है सखी अर्थात् मित्र और सबसे पीछे आता है मिथ । स्त्री का स्थान कोई कम है, मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : कार्येषु मंत्री
करणेश दासी,

भोजेषु माता, अयनेषु रम्भा,

वर्मानुकूला, क्षमया धरती ।

ये छः गुण होते हैं ।

श्री जयन्ताच राव जोशी : प्राप जैसे कुछ बीच बीच में जो पठित पैदा हो गये हैं, उन्हें ही यह सारी गड़बड़ी की है ।

स्त्री का स्थान है सह—धर्मचारिणी, और धर्म के साथ कर्म जुड़ा होता है । इसलिये वह कर्मकारिणी भी है । ये भाव बहुत सूक्ष्म हैं । प्रभू रामचन्द्रजी के साथ सीता बनवास में चली गई । लेकिन लक्ष्मण के साथ उनकी पत्नी उमिला नहीं गई । इसका मतलब यह नहीं था कि उमिला का लक्ष्मण पर प्यार नहीं था, या सीता का राम पर ज्यादा प्यार था । राम को बनवास जाने के लिये आज्ञा हुई थी । यह उसका कर्तव्य था । इसलिये सीता साथ गई । लक्ष्मण को कोई आज्ञा नहीं थी, लक्ष्मण राम के प्यार के कारण स थ गये थे । इसलिये उमिला को भी साथ जाना चाहिये था, ऐसी बात नहीं है । सीता सह—धर्म-चारणी होने की वजह से अपने पति के धर्म में हिस्सा बटाने के लिये गई ।

यह मैं इस लिये बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज कल जो लिव मूवमेंट, नारी मुक्ति आन्दोलन चला हुआ है, उसमें नारी अपने नारीत्व को ही मूल जाये, तो इसका कुछ मतलब ही नहीं है । बड़े ड्रामेटिस्ट जार्ज बर्नाडंश ने कहा है कि पुरुष जब सिगरेट पीता है तो आदत की वजह से पीता है, किन्तु जब महिला सिगरेट पीती है तो श्री स्मोक्स एज प्रोटेस्ट तुम पीने हो, तो मैं भी पीती हूँ । समानता का यह मतलब नहीं है, जैसे राम के साथ सीता गई, मगर लक्ष्मण के साथ उमिला नहीं गई । पति बीड़ी पीता हो तो उसकी नकल करना पत्नी का काम नहीं है । बीड़ी को उठाकर फेंकना, इतना उसका काम है, क्योंकि वह सखि है, वह सही रास्ते पर साने के लिये है, पति को धर्म बताने के लिये है । उसका काम यह नहीं है कि तुम्हारे बाद मैं भी दम लगाऊँ ।

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जीजी]

भगर हम सह-समन्वयिका की कल्पना ठीक तरह से समझ लें तो उसका अर्थ यही है कि जो मुझे अधिकार है, वे सारे अधिकार स्त्री को भी मिलने चाहिये, उसमें इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। श्री मुकल ने अभी कहा कि जब लड़की दूसरी जगह ब्याही जाती है तो भूमि में उसका हिस्सा कैसे होगा? वह भूल गये कि यह तर्क उस समय ठीक था, जब समाज एक जगह से दूसरी जगह हिलता नहीं था। एक ही गांव में एक ही स्थान पर समाज रहता था। आज ऐसा नहीं है। हम चार भाई हैं, एक भाई वही रहता है और मैं यहा हू। मेरी खेती का क्या होगा? आज नौकरी की वजह से भी भाई दूर दूर चले जाते हैं। जो बटाई होगी, तो वह भाई की भी होगी इसलिये यह कहना ठीक नहीं है कि बहिन या लड़की को कोई अधिकार दिया, इसलिये ऐसा हो गया। यदि अधिकार मिले तो उसका कवर्शन हो सकता है। अचल सम्पत्ति का चल सम्पत्ति में रूपांतर हो सकता है। अगर श्री राम सहाय पांडे की कोई भूमि है तो उसके बदले 10 हजार रुपये दिये जा सकते हैं। यह व्यवस्था कैसे करनी है, वह बाद में होगा। किन्तु क्या कानून में स्त्री का अधिकार नहीं रहना चाहिये? रहना चाहिये, इसमें दो राय नहीं है।

सांसाजिक प्रथा के रूप में दहेज सब आया जब लड़कियां दो परिवारों के मुखिया तय करने से, शादी करने वाले नहीं। अष्टवर्षी भवेत् कन्या। अर्थात् 8 वर्ष के बाद कन्या शादी के लायक समझी जाती थी और प्रायः तु षाड्धे वर्ष अर्थात् 16 वर्ष की आयु का लड़का ब्यस्क समझा जाता था। जब दोनों परिवारों के मुखिया शादी तय करते थे तो उस शादी में कन्या का दान होता था। शादी का मतलब ही है कन्या का दान आज भी विवाह के समय यही कहना पड़ता है—प्रभोत्यापाद्यार्थं इमाम कन्यां दत्तम। अर्थात् प्रजा उत्पादन के लिए मैं कन्या का

दान दे रहा हूँ। हर दान के बाद दक्षिणा दी जाती है, जैसे हमारी तनखाह के बाद एलाउन्स होता है। अगर आजकल की स्थिति में विवाह दान नहीं है और जब यह दान नहीं है तो दक्षिणा के लिए भी कोई स्थान नहीं है।

क्या कानून यह बन्द होगा? नहीं। कानून अपनी जगह है। दान विवाह के विरुद्ध कानून है, लेकिन दान-विवाह होते हैं। जब तक हम सामाजिक अभियान से जागरण पैदा नहीं करेंगे, तब तक यह नहीं होगा।

शादी का मतलब ही यह है कि समाज का क्रम चिरन्तन रूप से चलता रहे। अगर लोग मेरी तरह या श्री इन्द्रजीत मुन्ग की तरह ऐसे ही बैठे रहें तो समाज खत्म हो जायगा। हम अणुवाद के रूप में हैं। आयद श्री इन्द्रजीत मुन्ग इस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष में इस बारे में कुछ सोचेंगे। अगर समाज को चिरन्तन रूप में चयाना है तो अपनी कन्या को दूसरे को देना होता है। जब लैड मीनिंग का कानून आया तो कुछ लोग न कहा कि हम अपनी भूमि जोतने वाले किसान को क्यों दे? तो मैंने कहा कि आप दूध-दूध फर किसी घर के अपनी कन्या क्यों देता है? यदि वह नहीं देगा तो समाज नहीं चलेगा। मेरे पास जमीन है, उसका क्या प्रयोग है? मेरे हरम में दो-तीन या चार सौ स्त्रियां पत्नी के रूप में रहे। उसका क्या अर्थ है। जैसे समाज के क्रम को बनाये रखने के लिए अपनी खुद की कन्या में दूसरे का देता हू। वैसे ही समाज में यह अभियान चले कि जोतने वाले किसान को जमीन दी जाय ताकी पैदावार हो। यह संस्कार करने की बात है, वातावरण निर्माण करने की बात है। हमने समाज में यह बस बरण पैदा किया, इसीलिए हम स्वयं घर को दूध-दूध कर, दक्षिणा दे-देकर कन्या का दान देते हैं।

जब विनोबा भावे न भूमिदान का कार्यक्रम चलाया तो लोगों को बहुत अटपटा लगा कि भूमि कैसे दान दी जाती है। क्यों नहीं दी जाती है? हर चीज दान दी जाती है। समाज में जिस को जिन चीजों की जरूरत है, उसको वे चीजें मिलें, ऐसा वातावरण निर्माण करना बहुत आवश्यक है।

जहाँ तक अधिकार का प्रश्न है, अगर कर्ता पुरुष को यह अधिकार है कि वह 3 बार कहने से स्त्री को तलाक दे सकता है तो वही अधिकार स्त्री को क्यों नहीं मिलना चाहिए। बड़े-बड़े पंडित विधवा को अमंगल कहते हैं क्योंकि उसका पति मर गया है। पत्नी के मरने के बाद जो विधुर है, वह तो मंगल है, मगर पति के मरने के बाद पत्नी अमंगल है। यह पुरुष-प्रधान अहंकार, अभिमान और दप है, उसको निकालना पड़ेगा।

स्त्रियों द्वारा माताधिकार प्राप्त करने के लिए इंग्लैंड की तरह हमारे यहाँ कोई संघर्ष नहीं हुआ, क्योंकि हमारे समाज के अन्तर्गत नारी का स्थान बहुत ऊँचा रहा है, माता के रूप में, भगिनी के रूप में। मैं पढ़ी लिखी महिलाओं को बताता चाहता हूँ कि समाज को साथ लेने में व बहुत सहायक होती हैं। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि घर में भोजन परोसने के लिए तो पत्नी होती है लेकिन जूट पतल उठाने के लिए नौकरानी को लाया जाता है। महिला इसमें अन्याय महसूस करती है, वना परोसना पतल है और जूट पतल उठाना अपवित्र है। हमारे मन में यह जो भाव पैदा हुआ है इसको कौन निकालेगा? यह कार्य स्वयं महिलाओं को करना पड़ेगा। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जो अपनपड़ महिलायें हैं, उनके जीवन में बहुत समस्यायें हैं।

अभी यहाँ पर नारी निकेतन की बात भी कही गई है। पति अपनी पत्नी को मार-मार कर निकाल देता है तो उस महिला की क्या स्थिति होती है, यह हम नहीं जान

सकते हैं। पति कितना क्रूर हो सकता है, इतना हम देख सकते हैं।

इस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष में नारियों की समस्याओं की और ध्यान आकृष्ट करने के लिए यह जो प्रस्ताव लाया गया है, वह बहुत बढ़िया और अच्छा प्रस्ताव है। माननीय सदस्य ने इसमें मैटरनिटी बेंचिफिट और चाइल्ड बेंचिफर के बारे में भी कहा है। आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारी सरकार काम करने वालों तक को रहने के लिए मकान नहीं दे पाई है। गृहंतु गृहिणी हीन। सबसे पहले कालिदास ने स्त्री को गृहिणी कहा। जो महिलाएं काम करती हैं, उनके बच्चों की देखभाल कौन करेगा? एयर-लाइन्स के बारे में कहा गया है कि वहाँ स्त्रियों को उनके विवाह कर लेने के बाद नौकरी में नहीं रहने दिया जाता है। यह बिल्कुल अनुचित है। एक महिला के प्रमुख बनने के बाद भी महिला को इस अधिकार से वंचित किया गया है, यह खेद की बात है। इसमें परिवर्तन होना चाहिए।

जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में भारत की महिलायें आगे गई हैं, ऐसा यहाँ का इतिहास है। जब आध्यात्मिक दरवाजे खुले तो मीरा सामने आई। किसी ने विरोध नहीं किया। कर्नाटक में अकल महादेवां, सन्त सूख, और सन्त जन्-वड़ी हुई। ऐतिहासिक स्तर पर जब विधवा होने के बाद जिम्मेदारी आई तो झांसी की रानी सामने आई। इसी तरह कलदी चन्ममा, कितूर चन्ममा, अहिल्या बाई, जीजा बाई के बारे में हम सब जानते हैं। ऐसा कोई क्षेत्र नहीं है जिसमें भारत की महिलाएं आगे नहीं आईं। आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में गार्गी, मैत्रयी, सुलभा विख्यात हैं।

जब मंडन मिश्र का शंकराचार्य से वाद-विवाद चला तो उसकी अध्यक्षता मंडन मिश्र की पत्नी सरस्वती ने की। इन दोनों के विद्वानों के वाद-विवाद का अर्थ समझने के लिए मंडन मिश्र की पत्नी को उपयुक्त समझा गया। शंकराचार्य को

[श्री जयन्ताब राव जोशी]

यह तनिक भी शक नहीं हुई कि उसकी पत्नी होने की वजह से वह पार्थक्य होगी। मथन से जो भी नवनीत निकलता है, उसको स्वीकार करने की मुक्त पुनर्स्थापित जिस समाज में भी वह हमारा समाज था। ऐसे समाज को हम फिर भी पैदा कर सकते हैं।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जो प्रस्ताव लाय हैं, वह बहुत अच्छा और आवश्यक है। लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में स्वयं महिलाओं की भी जिम्मेदारी बहुत है। सब दरवाजे उनके लिए खुले हैं। केवल हमारे भागे जाने में काम नहीं चला। बल्कि जो हमसे पिछड़े हुए हैं, उन सब को लेकर हम भागे जायें और इस वर्ष को हम सार्थक करें। इस दृष्टि में मैं इस प्रस्ताव का पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पैन्यली : (टिहरी-गढवाल) . सभापति महोदय, माननीय जोशी जी के परस्पर विरोधी विचारों से युक्त प्राणण को मैं मंत्र-मुग्ध होकर सुनता रहा। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि महिलाओं की स्थिति हमारे लिए एक राष्ट्रीय चुनौती है, किन्तु दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि हमारे देश में परंपरा से ही हमारे चरित्र में कुछ दोगलापन जैसा रहा है। हम कहते कुछ रहे हैं और आचरण हमारा प्रायः उसके विपरीत रहा है। जोशी जी ने महिलाओं के सम्बन्ध में कुछ पुरानी बातें बताईं, मैं उनमें नहीं जाना चाहता।

आज भी कानूनों की कमी नहीं है, जिनमें महिलाओं को संरक्षण मिलता है, प्रशंसनीय स्तर पर भी ऐसी कई योजनाएँ बनाई गई हैं, जो महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार लाने में सहायता दे सकती हैं। किन्तु इसके बावजूद आज भी पुरुषों और स्त्रियों में असमानता पहले से कहीं अधिक बढ़ रही है।

अभी दहेज प्रथा की बात कही गई। 20 वर्ष पहले जब यह कानून बना था तो उस समय यह परिकल्पना थी कि दहेज

प्रथा इस कानून के माध्यम से समाप्त होगी। किन्तु कानून निर्माताओं की नियत चाहे जो रही हो, उसका पालन करने वाली और उसको व्यवहार में लाने वाली जिस सरकारी मशीनरी पर यह दयित्व सीपा गया, चूँकि उसकी नियत साफ नहीं थी, वह उसको कार्यान्वित नहीं देखना चाहती थी, इसलिए। आज स्थिति यह है कि हम पहले से कहीं अधिक दहेज प्रथा के शिकार हैं। इसी तरह हमारे देश में महिलाओं की निरक्षरता में पहले से कहीं अधिक वृद्धि हुई है। पिछले 20 वर्षों में चारगुनी वृद्धि इस बात का प्रमाण है कि शासन और समाज की तरफ से इस दिशा में पूरे प्रयत्न नहीं किए गए। यद्यपि हमारा दावा यह है कि हमारी पाचवर्षीय योजना में सफल हुई है, किन्तु उसके बावजूद महिलाओं की शिक्षा की स्थिति एक योजना के बाद दूसरी योजना में गिरती चली गई है।

यह बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि जिसको महिलाओं की प्रिविलेज्ड क्लाम कहते हैं, वह मूल्यों के उत्थान और उनके अधिकारों की बहुत दुहाई देती है। वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि वह वर्ग अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से, छद्म रूप से अपने अधिकारों की बात करना चाहता है। यदि वे महिलाएँ जो प्रायः शहरों में रहती हैं और जिनका जीवन प्रमोद-प्रमोद में व्यतीत होता है, गाँव की गरीब स्त्रियों, विशेषकर हरिजन अथवा शोषित वर्गों की महिलाओं और उनका रक्षा के बारे में अवज्ञा बोलना चाहती, तो जय द'अच्छा होना। आपको मसूम होगा कि हमने पाचवर्षीय योजना में जो नेशनल प्रोग्राम अफ मिनिमम नीड्स न्यूनतम आवश्यकताओं का राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम रखा था, उसमें पीने के पानी की भी एक योजना थी। मैं आपकी सूचना के लिए बताता चाहता हूँ कि आज पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में, चाहे वह काश्मीर का इलाका हो, हिमाचल का क्षेत्र हो, या उत्तर प्रदेश का पर्वतीय भाग हो, शहरों गाँव ऐसे हैं, जहाँ की स्त्रियों को 4, 5 मील दूर पानी

सेने के लिए जाना पड़ता है और चढ़ाई-उतराई पार करनी पड़ती है। उनको अपने जीवन का बहुत बड़ा भाग केवल इसी काम में खर्च करना पड़ता है। अब सुना है उस कार्यक्रम में भी कटौती की जा रही है।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि महिलाओं के इस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय वर्ष में कम से कम उस कार्यक्रम में कटौती नहीं की जायेगी। यदि हमें महिलाओं को उनके कष्टमय जीवन से कुछ राहत दिलानी है, तो इस प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों को कार्यान्वित करना आवश्यक है।

जहां तक महिलाओं के प्रतिनिधित्व का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूँ कि विधान-सभाओं और संसद् में गांव की महिलाओं का करीब न के बराबर प्रतिनिधित्व है। संसद् में जितनी भी महिला सदस्यायें हैं, वे सम्पन्न और संभ्रांत वर्ग से आती हैं। इसीलिए उनका सोचना, कहना, करना आदि सब कुछ उस वर्ग के हितों के लिए है, जिसका वे प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हम दुहाई देते हैं गरीब वर्ग और किसान वर्ग की, किन्तु किसान वर्ग को प्रतिनिधित्व दिलाने के लिए हमने अभी तक कोई चेष्टा नहीं की है।

बैसे भी हमारी संसद् में कुल जितने सदस्य हैं, उसका केवल 5 प्रतिशत महिलायों का है, जबकि आजादी से पहले 3.4 प्रतिशत महिलाएं उसमें थीं। पिछले 27 वर्षों में यहाँ महिलाओं के प्रतिनिधित्व में 1.6 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है, यह इस बात का सूचक है कि समाज महिलाओं को उचित प्रतिनिधित्व दिलाने के बारे में कितना उदासीन है, कितना बिरोधी है। अगर किसी महिला ने चाहे चेष्टा भी की, किन्तु यदि उसको किसी साक्ष्य सम्पन्न दल का समर्थन प्राप्त न हुआ, तो उसका जीतना शायद असंभव हो जाता है। यह साबित करता है कि हमारे सोचने और करने में कितना अंतर है।

हम मौलिक अधिकारों की बहुत ऊंची-ऊंची बातें करते हैं और डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स की भी बातें की जाती हैं। किन्तु जो स्त्रियाँ दिन भर मेहनत करने के बाद भी इतनी मजदूरी नहीं पाती हैं कि वह एक वनत का भोजन प्राप्त कर सकें तो उन मौलिक अधिकारों और डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स का उनके लिए कोई भ्रम नहीं रह जाता है, खामकर जब कि गांव में रहने वाली 80 प्रतिशत स्त्रियां आज न पढ़ी लिखी है और न वे जानती है कि उनके सम्बन्ध में क्या कानून बनाये गये हैं और किस प्रकार उन कानूनों का पालन होना है।

इतना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है कि हम महिलाओं के उत्थान के लिए अच्छे कानून बनायें, बल्कि इससे भी ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि जो प्रचलित कानून है, उनका हम किस प्रकार पालन करें। आज स्थिति यह है कि बहुत से कानून बने हुए हैं, किन्तु उनका ठीक तरह से पालन नहीं हो पाता है। मैं मिसाल के तौर पर आप की सूचना के लिए बताना चाहता हूँ कि सप्रेमन आफ इम्मार्शल ट्रेडिक इन वीमेन एंड गर्ल्स ऐक्ट, 1956 में बना था। उस कानून के बनने के बाद मैं जानना यह चाहना हूँ मंत्री जी से कि कितनी स्त्रियों को आप ने वेश्यावृत्ति के पेशे में पाया है और उन में कितनों को आप ने सजा दी है? वेश्यालयों को चलाने वाले लोगों को कितनों को आप ने दण्डित किया है? आप ने उस के बाद रेस्क्यू होम बनाए। उन में 1956 से लेकर आज तक यह बताइए कि एक भी स्त्री को जिस को आप ने रेस्क्यू होम में रखा क्या उस ट्रेड में आप ने पुनर्वास दिया है या प्रशिक्षण दिया है? मेरी जानकारी में अभी तक 1958 से उस को लागू किया गया था, एक का भी आप ने पुनर्वास नहीं किया है? इस काम के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि अर्बबल तो कानून भी दोषपूर्ण है, उस में संशोधन की आवश्यकता है और जो कुछ है भी उस को नेकनीयती से आप लागू नहीं करना चाहते हैं। मैं आप की जानकारी के लिए इन्टीचेन्ड

[श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पन्थूली]

ट्राइबल एरिया डेवलपमेंट प्रोजेक्ट फार जीनसार बाबर की रिपोर्ट का एक उद्धरण सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उस में एक स्थान पर लिखा है :

"According to one source, it was estimated that 31 villages of Jaunsar Bawar, 26 villages of Jaunpur and as many as 95 Rawain villages are affected by this immoral trade. A survey of immoral traffic in Puraula sub-division in Rawain was carried out by revenue staff which revealed that 127 families from 64 villages were involved in the trade of human flesh. A girl from each of family had been sent out Majority of them, that is, 77 out of 127 constituting 61 per cent of the total number, were reported to be carrying on the trade in Delhi or New Delhi alone"

कितनी लज्जा की बात है कि हमारे देश की राजधानी में वेश्यावृत्ति के झुंडे चलते हैं और हम चुपचाप देखते रहें। मैं यह बात आप की नोटिस में इसलिए लाया हूँ कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष की आप बड़ा चढ़ा कर चाहे जितनी बातें करे मानवत" से नीचे दबे हुए जिस वर्ग की यह दशा है, का उत्थान तो क्या उस को मानवीय जीवन दिलाने के लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठा मके हैं तो ये सारे भाषण सारी दोहाई और सारी बातें बर्ब हैं। आप के ही सोशल वेलफेयर विभाग ने इस में एक्सप्लायटेशन आफ शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट बीमेन का सर्वे किया था। उस की रिपोर्ट से पता चलेगा कि उत्तर काशी और मध्य प्रदेश के कुछ इलाकों में हरिजन और आदिवासी महिलाओं का किस प्रकार से शोषण होता है और किस प्रकार उन के लिए अपने सतीत्व की रक्षा करना मुश्किल हो गया है। यह उस रिपोर्ट में आप के पास आया है।

तो मैं आप की नोटिस में यह बात सुनाना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आप इन चीजों

में संशोधन नहीं लाते हैं और नेकनीयती से आप ने उस का परिपालन नहीं किया है तब तक इतनी ऊंची ऊंची बातें करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। मैं तो आप से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष की ऊंची ऊंची बातें करने के बजाय आप इस देश से वेश्यावृत्ति के कंकक को मिटा सक तो महिला समाज का बड़ा भारी उपकार आप करेंगे। मैं उस संघ से आता हूँ जहाँ कि कई गांव के गांव ऐसे हैं, भूतपूर्व राज्य गृह मंत्री मिर्जा साहब पिछले वर्ष उन गांवों को देखने के लिए गए थे, उत्तर काशी जिले के कई गांव के गांव वीरान हो गए हैं जिन लड़कियों में जिन को लाकर वेश्यालयों में रखा गया है और आप के नेता, पैसे वाले वर्ग के लोग तथा प्रशासन के के लोगों की मिली भगत से यह चीज चल रही है। इस के लिए सीरियसली कोई कदम आप उठाए। उस ऐक्ट में संशोधन करना ही काफी नहीं होगा बल्कि इस की रोकथाम के लिए जनमत इस के अनुकूल बनाना होगा।

एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। यह जो कमेटी हमारी थी कमेटी मान दि स्टेटस आफ बीमेन इन इंडिया, उस ने एक संशोधन किया था जो मुझे सारी रिपोर्ट के बाद बहुत पसंद आई। उस की हेडिंग है— नीड फार एजेसीब फार कोआर्डिनेशन ऐंड कम्प्युनिकेशन ऐंड इम्प्लीमेंटेशन आफ मेजर्स टु इम्पूवर् दि स्टेटस आफ बीमेन—आप ने कानून भी बना रखे हैं, उस के लिए सरकार ने कुछ योजनाएं भी बना रखी हैं, किन्तु उन में कहीं तालमेल नहीं है। स.सल वर्कर्स भी हैं जो चाहते हैं कि हम कुछ करें। तो कैसे उस को इम्प्लीमेंट किया जायगा। कानून की व्याख्या किस प्रकार होगी? उस के कार्यान्वयन में आप किस प्रकार का योगदान करेंगे, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण चीज है। दोनों के बीच में तालमेल होना जरूरी है और यह भी जरूरी है कि जिन कर्मचारियों तथा अधिकारियों को आप इस प्रकार के कार्यों में लगाना चाहते हैं

एक तो उन के विभाग में यह हो, उन को पता हो कि सरकार की यह योजना है। आप शराबबन्दी की योजना बनाते हैं और शराबबन्दी का काम उन लोगों को देते हैं जो कि पियक्कड़ हैं और चाहते हैं कि किस तरह से विदेशी शराब स्मगल हो कर आए और वह उस धन्धे को चलाएं। तो उन से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। इसी प्रकार से इस काम के लिए भी जो नेकनीयत लोग हैं उन्हीं को लगाना चाहिए। मैं समाज के उस वर्ग की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ जिन के लिए कि एक फंडेशन सा हो गया है और जो समाज में कुछ लोग एक नकली जिन्दगी बमर करना चाहते हैं, उन की बात मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ। गरीबी के कारण बाउन्डेड लेबर जो है, गरीबी के कारण जहाँ पति को अपनी स्त्री के साथ और बाप को अपनी बेटी के साथ वे यालयों में रहना पड़ रहा है, हमारे लिए वह डूब मरने की बात है। उस वर्ग के लिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस के लिए आप कुछ ठोस कदम उठाए।

इन शब्द के साथ मैं आप का बहुत आभारी हूँ। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि थोड़ी बात हम करें, उसी को कर लें। जो कहे उमी को कर ले। लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। रिपोर्ट भी मैं ने देखीं, भाषण भी अच्छे अच्छे मुने, मारल एंड सोशल हाइजिन भी आप क बना हुआ है लेकिन यह सब सिर्फ दिल्ली और दूसरे ऐसे शहरों के लिए है। बाकी गरीब आदमी जहाँ रहते हैं पहाड़ों में उन के लिए आदिवासियों, हरिजनों और पिछड़े हुए लोगों के लिए ऊंट के मुँह में जीरे के समान आप की सारी योजनाएँ हैं।

अन्तिम बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। बड़े बड़े प्लान्ट्स लगाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। समृद्ध का आप को उत्पादन करना पड़ेगा। इसलिए मैं श्रीकेसर नरसिंह राव से भी

बड़े प्रयत्न से धर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप बजट का एलोकेशन गरीब पिछड़े वर्ग और आदिवासी तथा हरिजनों के उत्थान के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़ाएँ, चाहे दूसरी जगह उस के लिए आप को कटौती करनी पड़े क्या कि यह वर्ग यदि नहीं बढ़ेगा तो बाकी सारी योजनाएँ आप की बेकार होंगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इन प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris): Mr. Chairman, Sir., In support of my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta's Resolution which states that in this International Women's Year that women of our country must be enabled to have equal status in all respects, with statutory support, with men, I wish to express my views.

Sir, Tamil Nadu occupies a pre-eminent place in the country in regard to espousing the cause of women's right. Many years ago, the father of Self-Respecting Movement, Thandhai Periar—the late-lamented leader Shri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker—was the beacon light for the people of Tamil Nadu. He fought valiantly and vigorously—incessantly too—for the upliftment of the oppressed women, who were just instruments of pleasure and progeny. In this, the religions of India, particularly the Hindu Religion, contributed greatly for perpetuating this oppression of women for centuries. You take any Hindu puranic literature and you will find that the Hindu Gods had any number of spouses. The Hindu Religion through its literature preached tolerance towards libidinous characters. It is unfortunate that even today the text-books in schools carry these stories. If the Government of India want to do something concrete for the liberation of women the first task of the hon. Minister of

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

Education should be that such stories depicting Hindu Gods with any number of wives must be taken out of the text books. These stories in the text-books, in fact, ensure the serfdom of women in future also. When the common people read about Hindu Gods having any number of spouses, they naturally get the inspiration to emulate the example of the Immortal Gods; if Gods are permitted to do this thing, why should not an ordinary mortal do the same is the question they ask of themselves. In such vicious environment, how are we going to give our helping hands for uplifting the oppressed women, more especially in this International Women's year? I would like to repeat that the school text-books should not contain such religious stories.

The next step is that the centuries old superstitions steeped in the women must be rooted out. How can the Government of India help in getting the women of India out of the thralldom of superstition? They can help the women of the country by organising adult literacy classes throughout the country.

If, today, the women of our country are in the vanguard of the fight against age-old oppression, it is because of the inspiration they inhaled from the life-time work of Thandhal Periyar in Tamil Nadu.

Many hon. Members who preceded me talked about adequate representation for the women in the elective bodies of the country. What do we find in this House, the pinnacle of Parliamentary Democracy? Out of 524 Members, there are only 25 lady-Members. This is not even 5 per cent. In the Central Council of Ministers comprising of 56 Ministers, there are only three lady-Ministers, including the Prime Minister. Why

should there not be another lady-Minister in the Cabinet rank? If this cannot be done during the tenure of Madam Prime Minister, especially during this International Women's, when are we going to give adequate representation to women? Does it in any way show that the Madam Prime Minister is reluctant to have a rival lady Cabinet Minister? For instance, Dr. Sarojini Mahishi, sitting opposite, deserves to be a Cabinet Minister. She is a competent Minister, alert and active in her parliamentary work. The ruling Congress Party with its massive majority should first set up healthy precedents in this regard. What is the use of addressing women as 'Mothers and Sisters' during election time to ensure them in exercising their franchise in favour of the ruling party, if after becoming a ruling party the genuine interests of the women are not protected?

As there is widening gap in the ruling party's socialist professions and practice, here also in the matter of ensuring equal status for women ruling Congress party does not implement what is preached on the public platform. I come from Nilgiris where there are many tea plantations, big and small. The women labour in the plantation industry do the same work as the men labour; yet they get less wage than the men labour. Their wage is Rs. 2 less than men's wage. For years and years I have been negotiating for increasing the wages of women plantation labour to the level of men's wages. The hon. Labour Minister, Shri Raghunatha Reddy is fortunately present here. Our Government have ratified the I.L.O.'s Resolution on Equal Wages for Equal Work. Yet this Resolution has not been implemented. My hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta also referred to this gap between profession and practice of the ruling Congress Party. He also pointed out that only 8 per cent of Indian Women have got some economic independence. He also

stated that the lot of rural women is worse than that of urban women. The Government of India, by ratifying the Resolution of I.L.O. on equal wages for equal work, have exhibited to the other countries that India has made progress in this field. But, the real situation that obtains in India is that the lot of women labour is woeful and this I.L.O. Resolution has not yet become a reality. With all the powers vested in the Government of India, they can compel the plantation owners to give to women labour equal wages for the same work they do with men labour.

Every day we come across in the newspapers the insults heaped on the women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Here I am reminded of an Article that appeared in the Illustrated Weekly some two, three years ago. The hon. Minister of Education must also have read that article. This article referred to the ill-treatment of tribal girls by big and small officers of the Bhilai Steel Plant, who were keeping them in their houses as pleasure pots. After the publication of this article, some Officers were suspended and some others were compelled to marry those innocent tribal girls. I would like to know whether the Education Ministry took some constructive steps for giving protection to the tribal girls from these repacious Government Officers. If the Government officials indulge in such nefarious deeds, what else can be said of anti-social elements in the country?

I would also like to refer to a Seminar conducted by the Delhi School of Social Studies some years ago in which the ruling party Member. Shri Basumatari also participated. This Seminar held discussions about the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. A photographic exhibition had also been arranged. It is regrettable that in this exhibition substantial space was occupied by the photographs of naked tribal girls. Shri

Basumatari was visibly upset on seeing these photographs and he conveyed his displeasure to the Director of the Delhi School of Social Studies. This kind of exhibition of naked photos of tribal girls is also resorted to by the Government of India's Tourist Department in their brochures for the purpose of attracting foreign tourists. The status of the Tribal girls is not enhanced by inviting them to Folk Dances during the Republic Day Celebrations, Sir, I hail from a tribal area and I know personally that nothing constructive has so far been done by the Central Government for the advancement of tribal women. I do not also appreciate the argument that the Government do not want to upset their social milieu. In this International Women's Year, special attention must be paid to the problems of women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

I am sorry to say that the Government of India have not so far announced any concrete plans and programmes for the welfare of women in this year. It is also regrettable that no exclusive Demand for Grant for the welfare of women has been placed before this House by the Education Ministry. The hon. Minister may reply that the Social Welfare Board will be given the money for this purpose. Here, I would like to suggest that the Government of India can at least change the name of the Social Welfare Board into Women's Welfare Board to commemorate the International Womens Year. Then there will be some consolation that the sums allotted to this Board will be spent on Women's Welfare Programmes. I wonder whether this Board can be entrusted with the task of implementing the recommendations that have been made by the Committee on the Status of Women.

All the hon. Members who participated in this discussion talked about the abolition of dowry system in the

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

country. I can boast myself of belonging to a community though it is a backward community, in which the bridegroom's family gives dowry to the bride's family. In the Gowder community of the Nilgiris, this is the age-old tradition. I am really sorry that so far the anti-dowry laws have proved useless. I feel strongly that the social consciousness of the conservative Hindu society must be aroused by quoting the example of what is prevailing in a backward community like that of Gowder Community of the Nilgiris.

I would like to point out that it is not enough to talk and do some little things here and there for the welfare of women in this International Women's Year and neglect them completely from 1976 onwards. The Central Government, fortunately led by a lady-Prime Minister, must formulate a perspective plan for the progress of women in the country. It must also ensure that this Plan is implemented with verve and vigour within a stipulated period.

This Resolution sponsored by the Opposition Party Member should have been introduced by the Government. Though the Government have not discharged their duty, they must show graciousness in accepting this Resolution without any reservation on the ground that it has been moved by an Opposition Member. This Resolution must be unanimously passed by this House on the Government's solemn assurance that this Resolution will be translated into an action-oriented programme during this International Women's Year. As I stated earlier, the Government must also bring forward suitable legislation and get it enacted during this year for ensuring women labour equal wages for equal work. The Government must also formulate and implement programmes for not only protecting the honour of women belonging

to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes but also for their redemption from the centuries-old oppression. This International Women's Year must be the bridge for the Central Government's professions and practice so far as the upliftment of the women of the country is concerned.

With these remarks, I support wholeheartedly Shri Indrajit Gupta's Resolution.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: Sir, as I remember, you have said that this resolution is going to be over by 3.30 P.M.

MR CHAIRMAN: Let us wait a moment.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Bara-mulla): Sir, I welcome the resolution of Shri Indrajit Gupta and support it. The time has come for Government to act without hesitation. The Government should know that illiteracy among women is far high as compared to men because primary schools are not adequate in number. I do not know why there should not be co-education in Government schools when this system is in vogue in private schools.

MR CHAIRMAN: Now, I have received notice of a motion from Shri Samar Guha. He has brought forward a motion for adjournment of the present debate and also suspension of Rules 29 and 30 to protect its discussion on the next day without ballot. Now, considering the importance of this resolution, as an exceptional case, I have decided to give consent for moving this motion. But I want to make it clear that this will not act as a precedent in future. Now, you can move the motion.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): I want to know whether you are suspending the rules and laying down that this will not be quoted as a precedent or whether you are going beyond the scope of the rules.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no bar to adjourning a debate on a Private Member's Resolution. But *prime facie* as it appeared to me, when reading the rules, if a debate is adjourned on a motion, it does not automatically come up for discussion on the next day. It is again ballotted. Now, there are two prayers in the motion. The first is for adjournment coupled with the prayer for suspension of those rules. Obviously it is within the competence of the House to suspend the rule and I have given my consent to it. Now, it is for the House to agree or not to agree. If the House agrees then, of course, the substantive part of the motion will come into operation and Shri Inderjit Gupta's Resolution will come up on the next day. I have given my consent to it only as an exceptional case.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: The House is anxious to discuss Shri Inderjit Gupta's Resolution. The House will also later like to discuss Shri Samar Guha's Resolution which is now likely to be made by him now. But the whole point is that in order to give priority to Shri Samar Guha's Resolution, we should not do something against the procedure which will in fact mean that we cannot discuss Shri Inderjit Gupta's resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The motion will make it clear.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Then, Sir, let Mr. Guha move his motion and let us thereafter take up the half-hour discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: How is it to be ensured that this shall not set a precedent?

MR. CHAIRMAN: If such occasions arise, this will not be quoted as a precedent and the House will take its own independent decision. There is a request that the time should be extended by two hours.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Then there will be no time left for me to speak on my resolution. You can extend the time by 1 hour, because after the next day for Private Members' Resolutions, the Parliament will be prorogued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will decide about the extension of time for Mr. Inderjit Gupta's resolution on that day. Now, Mr. Guha can move his motion.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I beg to move.

"That the discussion on the resolution regarding measures to remove economic and social injustice to women moved by Shri Inderjit Gupta on the 26th March, 1975 be adjourned to the next day allotted to the Private Members' Resolutions and the provisions of sub-rule (1) of Rule 30 and the proviso to Rule 29 be suspended in their application to this resolution to enable the resolution to be set down in the List of Business without ballot, as the first item therein."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the discussion on the resolution regarding measures to remove economic and social injustices to women moved by Shri Inderjit Gupta on the 26th March, 1975 be adjourned to the next day allotted to the Private Members' Resolutions and the provisions of sub-rule (1) of Rule 30 and the proviso to Rule 29 be suspended in their application to this resolution to enable the resolution to be set down in the List of Business without ballot as the first item therein."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now Mr Guha can move his resolution.