

lightly, as the hon. Members seem to suppose, but I do not think that Government...

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Sir, may I submit a word with your permission? The Business Advisory Committee disposed of all the Bills placed before it on the 7th of this month. The programme was, as you know, drawn up under your distinguished Chairmanship. On the 15th, this Bill was introduced. There are still four more days for this session. This Bill could have been included.

Mr. Speaker: Had it been included, the Members would have been able to judge—they would have been in a position to judge—of the necessity for priorities, and it would have been placed first. Of course, I do not think anybody can challenge the constitutional position that the Government have got the right to issue an ordinance whenever they like.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: In an emergency.

Mr. Speaker: The word is not 'emergency'. It is 'urgency'. There is no question of 'emergency'. I think, if I remember aright, the article speaks of 'urgency,' and not 'emergency.' I believe 'emergency' was the expression used in the old Government of India Act. But, however, though there is a right, naturally one would not like to have an ordinance whenever there is a possibility of legislation being enacted. That is the whole point.

Dr. Katju: One word. The business is so congested that there are Bills now outstanding, which are of great importance, before this House and which were introduced in February last. We are doing—I am not blaming anybody—everything in an orderly manner and time is fixed. There is, for instance, the Ajmer Durga Khwaja Bill, and many others. What can be done now? Let my hon. friends forego the discussion on preventive detention and let the discussion on the Press Bill be taken up. I have no objection to

that. That will probably be finished in a day.

Mr. Speaker: Let us close the discussion on this.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Article 123 is perfectly clear.

"If at any time the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action....."

Where is the immediacy in regard to this Bill?

Mr. Speaker: Let us not go into a discussion of that. It is a matter in the discretion of the President and cannot be controlled by this House.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the discussion on the motion moved by the hon. the Home Minister:

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period ending the 31st December, 1952, be taken into consideration."

Now we have got for this motion, according to the time allotted, one hour and forty minutes. I have calculated the time taken up and we have to finish this within one hour and forty minutes.

What time will the hon. Minister take?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): Many points have been raised. I should like anything between twenty to thirty minutes to meet them.

Mr. Speaker: So that leaves the House about one hour and ten minutes. A request was made yesterday that the time-limit be ten minutes. I think that was agreed to. I find that a large number of members naturally desire to participate in the debate. It

[Mr. Speaker]

is the desire of the Chair to accommodate as many members as possible, but obviously I cannot satisfy the desire of forty-seven members whose names have been given to me. It is also impossible to make a selection. So, we will have to proceed at random.

Shri Jangde (Bilaspur—Reserved—Sch.—Castes): May I suggest that the time allotted be two hours today, instead of one hour and forty minutes?

Mr. Speaker: We will see to that. Let us not take any more time now.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर—रक्षित—प्रनुसूचित जातियाँ) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी प्रार्थना है कि टाइम थोड़ा और बढ़ा दिया जाय।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : देखिये, आप टाइम बढ़ाने के बजाय कटौल करते हैं। बीच में इन्टरफिअरेंस कर के टाइम कटौल होता है।

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkenal—West Cuttack): Sir, I was saying yesterday that the approach that the Government has made to the problem of the advancement of tribal people is all wrong. It is wrong for this reason that the education of these people must be of an entirely different sort from the education that we have been imparting. Their good qualities, such as spirit of independence, truthfulness, straightforwardness, self-reliance, their love of play, dances, etc., must be preserved. In order to preserve these a different syllabus has to be prepared and it can be prepared only by people who have knowledge of anthropology and who have studied the life of the tribal people, because there are hundreds of tribes, not only one tribe. Instead of that what are we doing in the schools for tribal people? I know that in these schools in Orissa instruction in Hindu scriptures, Hindu shastras, about Ramayana and Mahabharata is imparted, which will not benefit them to the extent that it does us. Besides that I know that in certain boarding schools where tribal boys and

girls study, men teachers are in charge of the hostels as Superintendents. This is highly undesirable. I have in mind just now an institution in Manipur and I hope the Home Minister will enquire thoroughly into its affairs, because what I have heard is not to the credit of the Government.

Then again in regard to the Scheduled Castes there are very few schools in the Harijan bastis: there are no dispensaries; nor is any instruction imparted in hygiene. That is why I said yesterday that these are the things that are needed for making a beginning towards the advancement of these people, not the institution of a few stipends or building of schools. To prepare these people to be leaders of their community these schools have been established in the form of a replica of the public schools of England, where particular boys are trained to be leaders and not the average people. That is why I agree with my hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee who said yesterday that primary education should be stopped for some time for caste people in the villages. I do not exactly mean that it should be stopped, but building of few schools in the villages should be stopped for some years, so that all the money could be diverted to building schools for Harijans and tribal peoples.

Sir, this is a tremendous work—to advance these people who are so backward in comparison with the other people in India.—and it needs hundreds of crores of rupees. Having five crores for a year or Rs. forty crores for the whole Five Year period, I believe, is not sufficient, but I do think that even this money that is made available for this purpose is something. Prior to 1947 no attempt had been made to advance these people, except by a few Christian missionaries in the tribal areas. This money, though it is a very small amount, is a good beginning. But it has also to be seen that this money is properly spent. I am more interested in that, because I know most of this money goes to waste. For instance I know of one school in my constituency where tiled sheds have

been put up in a jungle place and about a lakh of rupees has been spent for the education of 40 or 50 tribal children. In two years' time, I have noticed lately, this shed is crumbling down. I know the contractor who had got the contract is a man who had gathered votes for a particular party.

Similarly the workers that are being employed in the campaign for removal of untouchability and tribal work are mostly Congress workers and Congress sympathisers. I am sorry to mention this because my conclusion is that these people are being posted in villages to do work at the village level in order to consolidate the Congress in those areas and be prepared for the next general election.

I also wish to mention here that lately when the Untouchability Removal Committee was formed in Orissa, it consisted of public workers in which there is only one opposition group represented by two people and all the rest are Congressmen.

It seems to me that the Governments in the States are taking it for granted that they are the 'only people, that their party is the only party that can serve the people who are backward, that they alone can do work for the upliftment of the country. That is absolutely wrong. There are people outside that party who have as much interest in the advancement of the tribal people and the scheduled castes as there are in the ruling party.

Sir, I have only these two points to mention, that the tribal people's education should be done on a different level altogether and that things like amenities in the villages, the ordinary rudiments of health, water, teaching of health measures, giving medicine and so forth in a dispensary, these are very necessary things, and attention should be given more to these things than to having a few stipends and a few scholarships to go to foreign countries.

श्री एम० बी० वैश्य (अहमदाबाद-रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, दो दिन से यह कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट पर हमारे

भाइयों ने खर्च की। मैं इस के सब अमेंड-मेंट्स को देख गया। इनमें कोई भी ऐसा भाई नहीं होगा जिस ने न बताया हो कि हमारे लिये एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री की जाय। हमारे श्रीकान्तजी, जो स्वर्गीय पूज्य बापा के शिष्य हैं, उन के हाथ में आगे के वास्ते यह काम आ गया है, लेकिन उन के अकेले के हाथ से यह सारा काम निबट नहीं सकता। यह तो सात करोड़ हरिजनों और आदिवासियों और अलग से जितने बैकवर्ड क्लास के लोग हैं, करीब १२ करोड़ की, जनता पिछड़ी हुई गिनी जाती है, उन का प्रश्न है। यह भारत की एक तिहाई मानव जाति का प्रश्न है। उस के लिये हमारी सरकार अगर रुपये आने और पाई के हिसाब से करेगी तो यह काम कैसे चल सकता है। इस देश की इन जातियों को उठाने के लिये तो जितना उपादा से उपादा खर्च हो सके करना चाहिये, क्योंकि जैसे एक लोहे की जंजीर टूट जाय तो उसे मजबूत करनी पड़ती है, उसी तरह इन एक तिहाई भारतवासियों को ऊपर उठाने के लिये, उन को शिक्षा देने के लिये, उन का जीवन सुधारने के लिये, हमारी गवर्नमेंट को बहुत कुछ खर्च करना चाहिये। मैं आप को बताऊं कि सन् १९१७ से पूज्य महात्मा गांधी के साथ हम को रहना पड़ा है। सन् १९१८ में वह एक अस्पृश्य परिषद् के अध्यक्ष थे, वहां से उन्होंने जो फरमाया था वह आप को सुनाता हूं। वहां हम लोगों ने उन को जो हमारी दशा थी वह बताई थी और उन्होंने ने भी देश भर में घूम कर अछूतों की क्या दशा है वह भली भांति समझ ली थी। उन्होंने ने अध्यक्षता के मंच से फरमाया कि अगर मेरे मरने से पहले इस अस्पृश्यता का काम खत्म नहीं हुआ तो मैं भगवान से यह प्रार्थना नहीं करूंगा कि मुझे स्वर्ग मिले, किन्तु भगवान से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि भंगी के यहां जन्म ले कर मैं अपना अबूरा काम फिर पूरा कर

[श्री एम० बी० वैश्य]

सकू। यह हमारे राष्ट्रपिता पूज्य गांधी जी के विचार थे, जिन को हम राष्ट्रपिता के नाम से पुकारते हैं। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर उन के राज्यकीय वारिस बने हुए हैं और हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार महात्मा गांधी जी के आदर्शों पर चलने वाली है, उन्हीं राष्ट्रपिता के आदर्शों व जिन के प्रयत्नों से यह सारा भारत अर्ध स्वतन्त्र हुआ। वही अश्रुतों और वनवासियों के लिये अब जो भाई इस समय यहां पार्लामेंट में हैं वह हमारी सरकार से और सरकार से ही नहीं सब मंत्रियों से यह अपना हक मांग रहे हैं कि आप को चाहिये कि आप उन की सब तरह से सहायता करें।

हमारे लिये मन्दिरों की क्या दशा है, हमारे सन्त भावे जी पर वहां वैद्यनाथ के मन्दिर में क्या हुआ, यह अब आप को क्या सुनाऊं। कुंभों पर पानी भरने के लिये हमारे ही बड़ोदा स्टेट में मेहसाना डिस्ट्रिक्ट में माथासूल गांव में गत चौथी तारीख को हरिजनों द्वारा सरकार को इत्तिला देने पर और पुलिस के बन्दोबस्त के साथ वे हरिजन सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के कुम्भों पर पानी भरने के लिये गये। तो वह उस वक्त तो चले गये। पर जब रात अंधेरी हुई तो उस गांव के पाटीदार ही नहीं बल्कि इंदं गिदं के भी पाटीदारों ने सब ने मिल कर अछतों की बस्ती पर हमला किया और बड़ी भयंकर मार पीट की। उन के घरों को नुकसान पहुंचाया, उन की साल और रेंटिया तोड़ दिये। यह कारोबार तो पानी भरने पर हुआ है। यह खबर हमारे श्री मिनिस्टर साहब को मिलने पर वह अब इस को देख रहे हैं और सब कुछ ठीक कर रहे हैं। तो भी उस गांव के हरिजन काफ़ी खतरे में हैं और इस तरह की हालत पानी भरने के लिये है।

अब आप देखेंगे कि जो ६०० राजा महाराजा थे उन को आप ने समझा कर यहां

रैयत बना दिया है। लेकिन हमारे लिये जहां बस्तियां हैं, वह कई जगह जमींदारों की जमीन पर हैं। आज भी उन हरिजनों को बेगार करने पड़ती है, आज भी उन को मुफ्त काम करना पड़ता है। क्रायदे में तो बेगार द्वाड़ दी गयी है, लेकिन वह क्या करें क्योंकि उन जमींदारों की जमीन पर वह रहते हैं। अगर वे थोड़ा सा भी सिर ऊंचा करें, यह हरिजन, चमार और भंगी जरा भी अकड़ते हैं तो घर से उनको बाहर निकाल दिया जाता है। इसलिये मेरी तो सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि जमींदारी आप ने खत्म की तो कम से कम जिस जमीन पर ये हरिजन रहते हैं वह तो सरकार को इन जमींदारों से छड़ा देनी चाहिये, या एकबारगी कर के हरिजनों को दे देनी चाहिये। एक दफा में ने हमारे पूज्य खेर साहब को कहा था कि अगर आप को हरिजन मोहल्ला देखना हो तो आप को कोई किसी से पूछने की जरूरत नहीं है। वह तो गांव के बाहर गन्दी से गन्दी जगह होगा, जहां कूड़ा करकट गांव का इकट्टा होता होगा। वहीं हमारे हरिजनों का मोहल्ला होगा, जहां म्यूनिसिपैलिटी कूड़ा डलवाती है वहां हरिजनों की बस्ती होगी उसी जगह पर जाजरू होते हैं। आप देखेंगे कि हरिजनों की बस्ती के पास में ही म्यूनिसिपैलिटी की तरफ से सार्वजनिक जाजरू बनाये जाते हैं। यही दशा आज भी बनी हुई है। हम तो आशा रखते थे कि जब पूज्य महात्मा जी की तरफ से हमारा राज्य होगा तो इन १२ कोटि से अधिक जनता के साथ अच्छा बरताव होगा।

अब अभी काम तो जरूर कुछ चल रहा है, लेकिन वह मन्द गति से चलता है और इस तरह से काशी कैसे पहुंचा जायगा। दस वर्ष में तो सारा काम करने की आप ने संविधान में अवधि रखी है कि इन हरिजनों को ऊंची जातियों के लोगों के साथ मिला देना है। लेकिन

इस तरह से काम चलेगा तो हम को काशी पहुंचना बहुत मुश्किल है। मैं तो यह विनती करता हूँ कि कम से कम इन लोगों की ऐजुकेशन के लिये, विद्या के लिये, बहुत कुछ करना चाहिये। मैं ने रिपोर्ट में देखा कि केवल ११ महीने में हमारे ४१ हजार कैंडिडेट ने एम्प्लायमेंट ब्यूरो में अर्जियां दी हैं। इतनी बेकारी हमारे अन्दर बढ़ गयी है। हम इसलिये आप से कहते हैं कि कोई भी अफिस ऐसा नहीं हो, कोई भी मिनिस्ट्री ऐसी न हो कि जहां कम से कम १२ परसेंट हमारे लोग न हों। वहां होने पर और लोग भी पढ़ेंगे। अगर हमारे भाई वहां नौकर हो जाते हैं तो और माता पिता जो हरिजन होते हैं, वह अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाने के लिये उत्सुक बन जाते हैं। लेकिन जब जो पढ़े लिखे हैं उन को ही नौकरी नहीं मिलती तो वह कहते हैं कि हमें पढ़ाने की क्या जरूरत है, पढ़ाने के बाद इन को हमारी गवर्नमेंट में जल्द नौकरी तो मिलती नहीं है। हम देखते हैं कि कई डबल प्रोजेक्ट हैं, उन को भी बैठे रहना पड़ता है। इस तरह जो हमारे पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं उन को नौकरी जल्द नहीं मिलती, यह दशा है। कम से कम इस को तो सुधारना चाहिये। यह मानव जाति का प्रश्न है। मैं खास तौर से हमारे सदस्यगणों से भी विनती करता हूँ कि सरकार तो केवल क्रायदा बना देगी, केवल इस से काम नहीं चलेगा। सरकार के क्रायदे से तो हमें थोड़ा लकड़ी अटकाने का सहारा मिल जाता है, लेकिन जब तक जनता सहायता नहीं करेगी तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। इसलिये जनता की सहायता की जरूरत है।

ए. भाई ने कल कहा था कि मिनिस्ट्रों को हर एक को प्राइवेट नौकरी में हरिजनों को रखना चाहिए। हम लोग यह नहीं चाहते कि हमारे लोग केवल प्योन और कुक ही बने रहें। लेकिन वह इसलिये

भादमियों के संसर्ग में धायेंगे और महसूस करेंगे कि हम भी मनुष्य हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने तो हमें मनुष्य बना दिया लेकिन अब वही हिन्दू धर्म के फोलोअर्स इन को नीचे गिरा रहे हैं। उन को चाहिये कि वह हमारी मदद करें। एक बहन ने कहा था कि अंग्रेज मिशनरियों ने वहां आसाम में आ कर कितना अच्छा काम किया। उन्होंने क्या किया? जो कोई भी क्रिश्चियन थे उन को जरा सहायता दी है तो वह उन का बन जाता है।

2 P.M.

मैं गये साल जब पटियाला गया था तो वहां अपने हरिजन भाइयों को देख कर दंग हो गया कि वह सारे के सारे सिक्ख हो गये थे। वहां पर उन हरिजन भाइयों की सिक्खों ने मदद की होगी, इसलिये वह सिक्ख हो गये और आज भी आप देखते हैं कि देश भर में जो हमारे क्रिश्चियन भाई लोग हैं, वह ज्यादातर ऐसे गरीब, निर्धन और दबी हुई जातियों के हैं और उन पददलित लोगों का जब आप हाथ नहीं पकड़ते, तो विवश हो कर दूसरा जब उन को हाथ से पकड़ कर ऊपर उठाता है, तो वे उस के साथ हो जाते हैं। इसलिए यह हमारा सब का धर्म और कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि इस अछूतोंदार के काम में उन की उन्नति करने के काम में सब जाति के लोगों को बिना धर्म का भेदभाव किये और बिना पार्टी का रुयाल किये सब को इस काम में लग जाना चाहिये, यह अकेले कांग्रेस वालों का ही काम नहीं है, बल्कि यह तो एक नेशनल प्राबलम है, और सब को इस काम में जुट जाना चाहिये। आप के सिर्फ यहां एक कानून बना देने से कि हम ने तो यह कानून बना दिया है कि जो कोई तुम को अछूत मानेगा, तो हम उन को जेल भेज देंगे, यह कहना पर्याप्त नहीं होगा, आप के एक भाई

[श्री एम० बी० वैश्य]

का हल नहीं होने वाला है, यह देशव्यापी समस्या है और इस के लिए गाँवगाँव में जाकर प्रचार करना चाहिये और सर्वत्र हिन्दुओं में जो यह छू-प्राछूत की भावना भरी हुई है, उसको खत्म करना है। जहाँ तक सरकार द्वारा आवश्यक कानून बनाने का सवाल है, हम उसका स्वागत करते हैं और हमारा पूरा सहयोग और समर्थन सरकार के साथ है, पर इतने ही से काम बनने वाला नहीं है, इसके लिए तो पूरे हिन्दू समाज में आमूल परिवर्तन करना है, उन के हृदयों को पलटना है, जब तक यह नहीं होगा, तब तक हमारा बेड़ा पार होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मैं तो अपने श्री कैलाश नाथ भगवान् से यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप रुपये, आना और पाई में इस विषय में हिसाब माँ कीजिये। मैं तो आप से कहना हूँ कि हमें कोई नयी मिनिस्ट्री अथवा मिनिस्टर की जरूरत नहीं है, आप ही इसके लिए काफी हैं, आप ही इस के मिनिस्टर बने रहिये और आप अगर चौबीसों घंटे मनसा, बाचा और कर्मना केवल हरिजन जाति का काम करें तो हमें कोई एक अलग मिनिस्टर की जरूरत नहीं है।

मैं गुजरात, सौराष्ट्र और कच्छ की ओर से अकेला मेम्बर यहाँ पर आया हूँ, अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने इस विषय पर मुझे जो बोलने का मौका दिया, उसके लिए मैं आपको बहुत ही धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Thimmaiah.

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada): May I point out, Sir, that no speaker from the Communist Benches has been called.

Mr. Speaker: I am trying to distribute the time as far as I can. Obviously, it is impossible to accommodate all the Members.

Shri N. Rachiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): For the last three days, I have been asking for a chance.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to express my views on this subject. In the last report Shri Shrikant had suggested that central legislation is necessary to abolish untouchability. The hon. Home Minister is going to introduce central legislation making the practice of untouchability a cognisable offence. I thank the Government for that legislation. But, I will have to tell the Government that I am not satisfied with mere legislation itself. There are so many legislations for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They are only in the books. I submit to the hon. Minister that when they make the legislation, they should see that the legislation is properly and effectively implemented. People should know that there is this legislation and then untouchability will vanish. Merely making a legislation and keeping it in the books is not at all good. It will only be a show, and the Scheduled Caste people may continue to suffer this tyranny.

I want to point out to the hon. Minister that untouchability is the only root cause for the economic exploitation and backwardness of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes people. So long as untouchability remains in the country, it has its repercussions on the minds of the Scheduled Caste people and they will have a sort of a mind which will not be conducive for the unity of the country. Government should always bear this in mind and see that active steps are taken to eradicate untouchability as early as possible.

Regarding the economic problems of these people, last time when the report was discussed, Shri Datar, the hon. Deputy Minister of Home Affairs said that the Scheduled Caste people cannot be treated separately in the matter of economic amelioration. I

should like to tell the hon. Minister that if the Government does not give special consideration to the Scheduled castes and take special measures, we can never improve their economic condition and they will remain backward for several centuries. Only the upper classes that are just above the Harijans will be benefited by the various plans and projects that are going on under the Five Year Plan. I want to make this very clear. Unless the Government takes steps to give them lands under their control and also give them some encouragement to become agriculturists, their economic conditions can never improve.

So far as development of cottage industries is concerned, I have seen in the States that the Government gives loans only to those who are rich enough to give security. The Scheduled Caste people being poor, are not in a position to furnish security and so they are not getting loans. They are unable to develop their small scale industries. The Government should make it a point to see that as far as possible, some loans are given to the Scheduled Caste people to develop their industries. The Bhoodan movement is going on and a lot of land is under the control of the Government. The State Governments may distribute the lands to the Scheduled Caste people and help them to settle on land and form an agricultural colony. I do not want the Government to form agricultural colonies for the Harijans separately. There are so many landless people in the country. You may pick up some caste Hindus who are landless and take some of the Harijans who are landless and settle them in a place where the land is available and help them to form an agricultural colony. That would, to some extent, solve their economic problem.

There are so many Government factories and private factories. They are all monopolised by the other people. Harijan youngsters and Tribal youngsters are not getting any appointments in these factories. I request the Government to see that at least in the Government factories Harijan

youngsters are taken up, trained, and given a stipend so that they may be absorbed in the same factory. This will give jobs at least to some people. I know the Government cannot provide land for all the Harijans because the extent of land is not also growing along with the growth of population. But, in the private factories and in the Government factories, the Harijan young men and women could be easily absorbed. I have seen many factories. Take, for example, the Telephone factory. Our youngsters do not get any chance there. Take the Machine tool factory which has been opened. One or two Harijans are taken. If you ask the authorities there, they say; we have taken two or three; your representation is there; that is enough. Our people are left without any lands, without any jobs, without any means of living.

What should they do and how should they live? I want to know what the Government's answer is to this question.

Coming to Government service, the Home Ministry has issued an order that 16 2/3 per cent. of the non-gazetted posts should be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and 12 per cent. of the gazetted posts for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am sorry to note that this is not at all implemented. It has become a mere show. I can say that another thing we come to notice is that the Public Service Commission generally advertises that such and such vacancies are reserved for Scheduled Castes, and then they put in a clause that if no suitable candidate is available the vacancy will be treated as unreserved. This word suitable that is used is vague. It is not definite. I cannot understand what is meant by "suitable". Does it mean that when qualified candidates do not apply for the post it will be treated as unreserved, or that even when qualified candidates apply but are not considered to be suitable at the interview by the Public Service Commission, then the post will be treated as unreserved. This has to be made clear by the hon. Minister. If you want to

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observe strictly this reservation of 16½ per cent., do it; otherwise say that Government does not want to observe it. Next I request the hon. Minister that at least for the period of ten years for which you have given protection and constitutional safeguards to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes there should be Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe representatives on the Central Public Service Commission and on all the Public Service Commissions of the States. This is very essential because the educated men and women of the Scheduled Castes today are helpless and the Government also does not care whether that rule is observed strictly or not. I put a question to the hon. Deputy Minister of Communications whether this Home Ministry order is observed strictly in case of appointments. He said it would not be possible for him to implement it. I can understand that when there are no technically qualified Harijans available in special cases, then the posts can be treated as unreserved and they can appoint qualified candidates, but if candidates are not selected when they are available and they appear for interview, and if the reservation order is not observed, then we cannot have full representation in Government service.

Another point that the Government should note is that the Scheduled Caste people have since immemorial times suffered social tyranny and they are landless, and even today they are doing many things which no human being would do. If they want some appointment, and if you do not give them, what about their fate, and how can they prosper? You can easily think of that. In the interests of the nation itself adequate representation should be given to them in Government service.

Lastly, I bring to the notice of this House one point. In every State Legislature you can see there are many representatives of the Scheduled Castes. In every Legislature, there are a good number of Members represent-

ing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but you will find no adequate representation for them in the Treasury benches. This has become a common thing throughout the States, and in the Centre also. I need not point this out. The Home Minister knows it better than I. We, the Scheduled Caste people, for the first time in the history of India, have got elected in the General Elections and by the grace of Mahatma Gandhi we are here, and when we have come for the first time in the Legislature in adequate numbers, when a constitutional Government is functioning, naturally, Sir, we expect that adequate representation for the Scheduled Caste people should be given in the Treasury Benches. It is very essential.

I hope the Home Minister will consider all this, and also consider our feelings. I request him also to put himself in the position of the Scheduled Caste people and think over the problem and do the needful.

*Shri Giridhari Bhoi (Kalahandi—Bolangir—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me permission to speak in my mother-tongue, Oriya. I am an adibasi of the Kandh tribe. From primeval times we led our independent existence in the free atmosphere of the jungle and the mountain. But, it is a sorry fact, that after India attained independence our independence has been whittled down in a large measure. We had cleared the lands of trees and strumps and practised shifting cultivation. We had taken the responsibilities of Government and created our own rulers. During the rule of those royal courts (darbars) the original settlers of the soils, belonging to the hilly regions, used to get timbers and forest produce gratis. They used to cut down jungles for making plots of land, without restriction, for cultivation. For digging implements we had to pay a rupee only as tax. To the tribesmen of the plains forest produce and timber were available at half royalty from the authorities. But on India's attainment

* English translation of the speech in Oriya.

of freedom, soon after the Indian States (Garhjats) had merged with the province, all these facilities enjoyed by us were forcibly taken away from us. On the other hand, just because I had claimed the return of all our old rights and advantages, or alternatively the restoration of the old rule in which we used to enjoy them, in a public meeting, I had to suffer imprisonment for long eight months. In any case, I am not the least sorry or repentant for this, because it is for this sacrifice that I have come here elected to the House of the People with the largest number of votes amongst the elected members to this Parliament from Orissa. And the rival candidate, set up by the Congress, with much difficulty with the bait of a contract for constructing an Ashram School, was unsuccessful.

There are certain provisions made in the Constitution for protecting the interests of the tribal peoples and the scheduled castes. The Centre and some States are also spending money for our social and economic uplift. Separate Commissioners have also been appointed for this purpose. But from the reports of the Commissioner for 1952, it is known that all these State Governments are not even giving adequate replies to the Circulars of the Commissioner. The Commissioner has made several proposals in his report for the improvement of 'Sevashrams' and 'Ashram Schools' in Orissa. But I can mention here from my own experience that thousands of rupees are being wasted on building houses for these Ashram and Seva Ashram Schools and nepotism and favouritism are rampant in granting contracts. Houses worth two thousand or three thousand rupees are being constructed for contracts of twenty thousand and thirty thousand. This waste should be immediately stopped and there should be strict watch over expenditures of this kind. The condition of Sevashram Schools is also precarious. In many places the walls of the buildings have tumbled down. The sun and the moon can

be seen through the roofs. There is no facilities for medicines, washermen and barbers or for suitable food for the students, not to speak of the satisfaction of other elementary needs and the removal of other basic difficulties. Congress election propagandists are being appointed as teachers and village level workers in these organisations on the well-established corrupt principles of favouritism and nepotism now rampant in the Congress. Far from imparting education to students, these unfortunate learners are being employed to perform more degrading jobs than of menials. In a word, the purpose for which the Centre is spending money is going unheeded while funds are just being thrown into water. Work is only advancing on the basis of party politics. Poor scholars are undergoing great hardships by not receiving their stipends in time. It is to remedy this kind of mismanagement and hardship that the Government should deposit with the headmaster six months' stipends at least in advance, according to the recommendation of the Commissioner.

The Government has suddenly stopped the tribal people from practising their old type of shifting cultivation in the hilly tracts of our State, on the ground of the loss caused to forests by this practice. This is causing untold hardship to the aboriginal peoples. Of the thousands of tribesmen who are roaming about hungry and unemployed because of the stoppage of "Dangar Chas" or shifting cultivation, only one hundred and seventy-five "Bhuiyan" families in Dhenkanal and eighty-three "Kandh" families in Sundargarh districts have received the benefits of rehabilitation. For the rest nothing has been done upto date. The previous Governments realising that much injury would be caused by the sudden stoppage of this "Dangar Chas" or shifting cultivation in the hills never inflicted this hardship on the tribal folk. They had demarcated some hills for shifting cultivation in rotation. But the present Government have not acted justly by suddenly stopping all that we had been accustomed

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to. If they have done this, they should make arrangements for suitable rehabilitation and free provision of land, cattle, ploughs, seed and other essentials of agriculture. Along with this, I would like to mention here that a number of cunning individuals have cheated the simple Adibasis and Harijans of their lands. The Commissioner has expressed satisfaction that a Community Project has been started in my constituency in "Junagarh." But in that area today, thousands of acres of land, which now lie within the grasp of handful of Brahman families, have changed hands fraudulently. No benefit can accrue to us and no uplift is possible through any community project etc. until the re-distribution of this fraudulently taken land, to the landless tribal people and the members of the Scheduled castes, to whom it rightly and originally belonged. In this connection, I would like to say that the Central Government should prohibit transfer of such land, belonging to Adibasis and Harijans, to members of other castes in future, even with the permission of the State Governments. To-day, those very Brahmans who have cheated the Adibasis and Harijans of their birth-right, have disguised themselves as Congress leaders, to protect and save those thousands and thousands of acres of ill-gotten land. In the working of the Community Project also, the policy of nepotism, corrupt practices and favouritism has already made its appearance. Although it is provided that Matriculates should be appointed as village level workers, persons who have read upto the third class in Vernacular, have been recruited as Gram-sevaks, merely on the merit of their qualification of being workers of the Congress Party Organisation.

In the Bolangir District of my constituency, attempts to remove untouchability had been current for many years past. The Harijans had received rights to enter temples; and equal rights to enter the services of the State, receive treatment in hospitals, get admission to schools and all other

facilities of this kind, with all other members of the community had been fully recognised and given effect to. In the present dispensation of the Constitution although the removal of untouchability has been recognised, it is sad to observe that this has not been made fully effective up-to-date. It is a happy event, of course, that a greater consciousness of their own rights has become apparent amongst the inhabitants of the previous "Garhjats" or "Indian States". Because of this, the Harijah brethren of my constituency are seeking relief through law courts of the land for the enforcement of their rights. But, it is a matter of great shame that though a member of my Party, the Ganatantra Parishad, moved a Bill to make offences against the social Disabilities Removal Act a cognizable offence, in the Orissa Assembly, this could not be passed due to the opposition of Congress members, who call themselves the pupils of Mahatma Gandhi. Even though such offences are cognizable in some other States, they have not been so in Orissa yet. Even more surprising is the fact that the Orissa Government has not even replied on this point to the circular letter of the Commissioner.

The Commissioner has praised the recommendation of the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, who was the leader of our Parliamentary Group, last year, in Parliament. I fully support and commend the recommendations of the Commissioner regarding propaganda and education for the removal of narrowminded attitudes like the inequitable custom of untouchability. When our brethren of the Scheduled castes seek the protection of the Courts for the vindication of their lawful and constitutional rights, it is appropriate that the Government should give them free legal aid, as it is impossible for them to spend from their own pockets for such work, because of dire poverty and misfortune.

Therefore the Government should speedily make effective, the proposals

submitted by the Commissioner, for the advantage and betterment of the tribal peoples and the scheduled castes.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo—Indians): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Part XVI of the Commissioner's Report deals with his investigation into the operation of the safeguards provided for the Anglo-Indian community. Last year, I was severely and even bitterly critical of that part of the Commissioner's Report which related to my community. This year I do not propose to be so critical.

The Report is a little more full this year, but may I say this to the Commissioner that I think it would have been even fuller, if he maintained closer liaison with the All India Anglo-Indian Association. This body is the only organisation representative of my community throughout the country, and if he maintains that liaison with this Association, he will be able to secure data and information which he cannot possibly get from any other source. May I say this that I had an opportunity recently of having a discussion with the Commissioner? And as a result of that discussion, I am glad to say some of my doubts have been allayed.

I shall deal first with the question of employment. Article 336 of the Constitution provides certain reservations for the Anglo-Indian community in certain services. May I say here that my community is facing a fiercely acute unemployment problem? My own estimate is that at least 30 per cent. of the able-bodied men of my community are today without work. Perhaps it is an affliction which they suffer in common with the other communities in the country at large. The Commissioner has rightly observed that the reservations in certain services for my community are not being filled. But I join issue with him when he says that the reasons are that suitably qualified Anglo-Indians are not forthcoming for these jobs, and that is why these vacancies are not being

filled. May I tell him that while these vacancies certain services are not being filled on the one hand, on the other hand, there are hundreds, not only suitably qualified, but perhaps thousands of more than suitably qualified Anglo-Indians who are either kicking their heels in emptiness or working on mere pittance? There are several reasons for the same, and the most important ones for these vacancies not being filled are in my opinion the following.

These vacancies are not properly advertised. I do not mean that they are not advertised at all, but what I mean is that the papers chosen are not suitable media so far as my community is concerned. For instance, the 'Hindustan Times' may be a very reputable paper, which may be widely circulated, but for whatever the reasons may be, it is the paper which is not read by my community. There is no point in advertising vacancies reserved for my community in a paper like the 'Hindustan Times'.

Another reason is that the notices of these vacancies are sent out very often extremely late. Sometimes, we receive the copies of these notices only a week before the last date of application for these jobs.

Another very powerful reason is the indifference and unconcern shown by certain departments of Government. The Commissioner has observed that copies of notices of vacancies should be sent, as a matter of course, to my association. The Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs Department do send them, but I have a feeling that not all notices are sent. But may I illustrate the incompetence and the ineptitude of certain departments? I wrote in July this year, to the Central Board of Revenue asking them that in keeping with Government practice, notice should be sent to the head office of the All India Anglo-Indian Association. What happened to that letter of mine—if I were disposed to use school-boy parlance. I could perhaps say somewhat crudely—I do not know. It took more than several months for

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the Central Board of Revenue to state that the matter is receiving their active consideration. In an ordinary routine matter, with regard to notices, even after three years after these safeguards are supposed to have become operative,—these safeguards came into operation towards the beginning of 1950, and we are now at the end of 1953—the Central Board of Revenue is still giving active consideration to a routine matter such as sending notices of vacancies to my community. This is the reaction of an important bright intelligent official who is displaying Government's usual alacrity of energy, in honouring these professions to the minorities.

Then there is a complaint I have received—and that is a very serious complaint—from suitably qualified people who have told me that they have applied under registered cover, acknowledgment due, applied not once, but applied several times, but they have not been called. For instance, I had to intervene personally with the Railway Service Commission operating from Bombay, and the Railway Service Commission operating in Seal-dah. It was only after I intervened personally that suitably qualified people, who had applied repeatedly, and who for some inscrutable reason were not called, were called.

So, that is one feature which I wish particularly to emphasize, which is nothing short of a scandalous disgrace. But I asked the Commissioner as to why although certain small reservations are supposed to exist for my community, the Central Excise Directorate gave me a reply which was utterly amazing. The fault was not his, and he told me this. I have made repeated inquiries from the Central Excise Directorate at Delhi, asking for figures, but unfortunately they have not given me, but when I volunteered to send down one of my own men, they had the inefficient effrontery to say, we will not allow your man to investigate. Can one conceive of anything more chaotic, anything more disgrace-

ful, anything more inefficient than this. Here is a Commissioner appointed by the President categorically in order to investigate safeguards for certain minorities including mine. Three years after these safeguards are presumed to have come into operation, he is not only not supplied with figures from the Central Excise Directorate, but he is denied the opportunity of getting these figures.

Sir, I would ask the Home Minister to pay particular attention to this matter. The Commissioner has drawn pointed attention to it. In the last paragraph of his report at page 142, he says specifically that three years after these safeguards are supposed to have become operative, he cannot get the figures because certain departments and certain Ministries do not just bother about them. It is a dull, bovine machinery working sometimes—I do not say always, but sometimes—in a typically bureaucratic and stultifying fashion.

Sir, in the next few minutes, I am going to make an appeal to Dr. Kailas Nath Katju. He has been compared to the Himalayas on the one side; he has been compared to a demi-God on the other. But I would ask him, so far as I am concerned, to show, if not Himalayan qualities or divine qualities, ordinary qualities of humanity. Sir, under article 337 of the Constitution, certain specific guarantees have been accorded to my community with regard to education. The terms of that article, to my mind, are not susceptible of any evasion, not susceptible of any equivocation. Under article 337, there is mandatory provision that for the first three years after the Constitution comes into operation, that is, for the triennium 1950-53, same grants shall be made as were made during the financial year 1947-48. That is a mandatory, inescapable provision, Sir. And what has happened? The Commissioner has made no reference to it. Perhaps he was not aware of it. But—I regret to say this—Madras and Uttar Pradesh have

been guilty of deliberate, open, illegal contravention of this constitutional guarantee. In the year 1947-48 the Madras Government made to the Anglo-Indian schools a grant of Rs. 13,46,700. Under this imperative guarantee that grant of Rs. 13,46,700 had to be continued for the triennium 1950-53. But in fact, what has happened? In 1950-51, the grant was illegally, unconstitutionally, reduced to Rs. 12,53,000, i.e. there was an unconstitutional cut of almost a lakh of rupees. In 1951-52, it was still further reduced to Rs. 12,27,000, another cut of almost a lakh and half—an unconstitutional cut. And in the year 1952-53, there was a drastic reduction to Rs. 11,10,000, i.e. an unconstitutional cut of over 2 lakhs of rupees. A total accumulated, illegal cut, a cut obviously in violation of this constitutional guarantee amounting to some 6 lakhs of rupees. I regret to say that the same process has been followed in Uttar Pradesh. In the year 1947-48, the grant made was Rs. 9,64,000. That grant was bound to be continued for the triennium 1950-53. But instead of that, what has happened? In 1950-51, it was reduced by 2 lakhs of rupees. In 1951-52, there was another cut of Rs. 2 lakhs. And in 1952-53, there was a further cut of 2 lakhs of rupees—a total unconstitutional cut of 6 lakhs of rupees. Apart from the constitutional aspect, I am making an appeal to the Government; what possible—apart from this clear violation of the Constitution—what possible justification can there be for attacking educational institutions? As I have repeatedly pointed out, these schools today are rendering a service, yeoman, invaluable service, to the whole cause of Indian education. Here I want to correct an error which has been committed by the Commissioner. He has said that there is a statutory minimum of 40 per cent. seats for non-Anglo-Indian children and that in some institutions, the non-Anglo-Indians are not availing themselves of these seats. This is not correct. Today an increasing number of non-Anglo-Indians

are clamouring at the gates of these schools, because these schools represent an oasis of educational stability in the desert of education chaos in the country. We cannot cope with the number of non-Anglo-Indian children. In Bombay, the percentage of non-Anglo-Indians is between 60 and 65 and in Madras, it is 60. Non-Anglo-Indian children are the beneficiaries of these grants. What possible reason can there be for striking at these schools, apart from the question of a constitutional guarantee being involved? I am particularly concerned because it is the orphan and indigent children who have been affected by this unconstitutional cut. What have you done? A large part of these grants is for the benefit of orphan indigent children. By making this illegal cut, you have only succeeded in striking at the indigent and orphan children's education. I am making an earnest appeal. It is not a large sum of money. But by this cut these schools have been adversely affected, their efficiency has been inevitably undermined.

I want to refer to the position of two schools in Thangessary and Anjango in Travancore-Cochin. These come within the purview of this educational guarantee. They were formerly in Madras. The Travancore-Cochin State said: 'We will continue the grant which they were in receipt of when they fell within Madras'. But that has remained a paper promise. Since 1951, in spite of this promise, they have received no grants. Sir, I am making an appeal to the Government. I am making an appeal to the Commissioner to take urgent, decisive action. I am going to appeal to Dr. Kailas Nath Katju. Sometimes he is inclined to dismiss the complaints of minorities in a rather cavalier manner; but the complaint has been endorsed by his Commissioner. His own departments have been categorically indicated. I would ask him at any rate to show a greater awareness of the need for implementing this guarantee.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Ajit Singh.

श्री गणपति राम (ज़िला जीतपुर—पूर्व-रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : मैं एक बात कहूंगा। मेहतर समाज के एक मात्र प्रतिनिधि श्री बाल्मीक को बोलने का मौक़ा दिया जाय।

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I am calling Shri Ajit Singh.

Shri N. Rachiah: I have been asking for a chance for three days, Sir. You have not given us a chance to speak.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will see that I have received about 40 or 45 chits. (*Interruption*). Order, order. Obviously every Member who is anxious to speak cannot be given a chance. I am trying to give a representative chance.

Shri Balmiki (Bulandshahr Distt.—Reserved—Sch. Castes): The Scheduled Castes Members, particularly these representing Sweepers, must be given a chance, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: The only course for me now.....

श्री उइके (मंडला-जबलपुर दक्षिण—रक्षित अनुसूचित आदिम जातियां) : आप आगे वालों को मौक़ा दे रहे हैं, हम जो पीछे बैठे हैं, हमारी तरफ़ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

Shri Balmiki: The whole burden of untouchability lies upon the head of sweepers.

Mr. Speaker: I think that those who interfere in this manner should never be called upon. That is the only way of trying to see that the debate goes on properly and the maximum number of speakers are given a chance. As I have been saying, there are nearly 40—I have not counted them—chits and I am going to make a selection from these. I am trying to select according to communities, according to States. I have given chance to one Anglo-Indian person because there is some reference in the Report to that community, and I am trying to have a Sikh gentleman to

say something. It is not possible for me to give a chance to all. Let Members understand it. Now that the point has arisen, I think when such a debate comes in, it is desirable—necessary—that people who wish to speak on their community should gather together informally outside and settle the number of speakers and give the Speaker a list.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Malvelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): You would have done it better, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: That is the only way of carrying it on and giving the best satisfaction to all and the House will have the best of it. If anybody at random wants to speak, it is not possible for the Chair to discriminate one against the other. The only thing that I am now doing is that out of this list I am just putting in my finger, something like casting a lot, and calling upon the Member to speak. Shri Ajit Singh.

श्री अजित सिंह (कपूरथला-भटिंडा—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : सभापति जी, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट को न तो हम बिल्कुल ठीक कह सकते हैं और न बिल्कुल खराब ही कह सकते हैं। हम मानते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट ने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट प्राबलम को हल करन के लिए इस कमिश्नर को नियुक्त किया है और वह तथा उन का विभाग इस दिशा में काफ़ी कुछ काम कर रहा है। यहां जो हम लोग सुझाव देते हैं और बतलाते हैं कि अग्रमूक अग्रमूक काम गवर्नमेंट को हमारी उन्नति के वास्ते करने चाहियें, वह इस वास्ते करते हैं ताकि कमिश्नर साहब उन सुझावों और सिफ़ारिशों को भी अपनी रिपोर्ट में शामिल कर लें।

[**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.**]

सबसे ज़रूरी बात जो इस दफ़ा मेरे नोटिस में आई है वह यह है कि १९५१ की सेंसस

रिपोर्ट में शङ्खुलड कास्ट वालों के साथ बहुत ज्यादा डिस्क्रिमिनेशन हुआ है।

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): There is so much noise here, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order please. There is too much of talk in the House.

If hon. Members cut short their speeches to 5 minutes, touching only on points, I can call other hon. Members.

श्री अजित सिंह: भ्रानरेबल मेम्बर साहब यह सुनें और इस प्वाइन्ट को नोट कर लें तो अच्छा है।

मैं कह रहा था, सभापति जी, कि सेन्सस रिपोर्ट में शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स के लोगों के साथ बहुत डिस्क्रिमिनेशन हुआ है।

दूसरी बात रिजर्वेशन के बारे में है। रिजर्वेशन के बारे में हमारे दोस्त काफी कुछ कहते हैं, मैं भी उन को सपोर्ट करता हूँ। जहाँ हम सविसेज में रिजर्वेशन रखते हैं या वजीफे और मिनिस्ट्रियों में रखते हैं वहाँ जो हमारे एकानमिक सोर्सज हैं, मसलन् पमिदस दिये जाते हैं और ठेके वगैरह हैं, जमीन है, इन सोर्सज में अगर हमारे लिये रिजर्वेशन कायम किया जाय तो काफी अच्छा रहेगा। वह लोग आप को दुआयें देंगे।

पेप्सू में जो लैंड पालिसी चल रही है गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से उस का मैं पहले भी जिक्र कर चुका हूँ और सजेसन दिये हैं कि वहाँ की लैंड पालिसी अच्छी नहीं है। बहुत कम जमीन है जो कि शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स के लोगों को दी जाती है इतनी कम है कि वह बेचारे अपने घर का सामान बेच कर भी इस काबिल नहीं हों पीते कि उस जमीन पर काश्त कर के अपनी जिन्दगी

बिता सकें। मैं गवर्नमेंट से अपील करूँगा आप कोई तकाबी वगैरह मुकर्रर कर दें और वह तकाबी इतनी हो कि वह लोग अपना काम अच्छी तरह से और खुगुसलूबी से कर सकें।

फाइव ईअर प्लान में १७ करोड़ रुपया रक्खा गया है बैंकवर्ड क्लासेज, शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स और शङ्खुलड क्लासेज की बेहरी के लिये। उस में से सिर्फ चार करोड़ ऐसा है जो शङ्खुलड क्लास के वास्ते है। शङ्खुलड क्लासेज की आबादी औरों से कहीं ज्यादा है। तो मेरा सुझाव यह है कि अगर आप इसे बढ़ा कर ज्यादा कर दें तो अच्छा है।

“डिस्क्रिमिनेशन एमंग दि सिख शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स” के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कई बार रिप्रेजेन्ट किया गया गवर्नमेंट के पास कि सिख शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स के साथ जो मजहबी इन्त्याज किया जाता है वह नहीं होना चाहिये। हमारे होम मंत्री जी ने कोई खास यकीन नहीं दिलाया है कि उन के साथ अब इन्त्याज नहीं होगा। उन को अभी कहना चाहिये कि वह जल्दी ही इस हाउस में बिल ला रहे हैं जि स से कि सिखों के साथ, जो सिखों की दलित जातियां हैं, शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स हैं, उन के साथ दूसरे हिन्दू हरिजनों जैसा मुलूक होगा।

पुलिस के बारे में भी मैं एक खास बात कहना चाहता हूँ। इस प्वाइन्ट को भी आप नोट कर लें। पेप्सू में पुलिस ऐसा करती है कि कुछ शङ्खुलड कास्ट्स के लोगों को पकड़ लिया और तीन तीन महीने, दो दो महीने वगैर कोई मुकदमा चलाये उन को अपने पास रखा और उन से काम लेते रहे। मैं ऐसी बहुत सी मिसालें दे सकता हूँ कि उन को तंग किया जाता है। यह बहुत बुरी बात है। अगर आप नैसेसरी स्टैप्स लें तो आप इस चीज को बन्द

[श्री अजित सिंह]

कर सकते हैं और उन लोगों को इन्स्ट्रक्शन दे सकते हैं।

अभी कहा गया कि जो रिजर्वेशन है वह दस साल के लिये दिया गया है। यह रिजर्वेशन कोई खास नहीं है। मैं इस रिजर्वेशन का भांडा फोड़ने वाला हूँ। आप सुन कर हरात होंगे कि जब पेप्सू एसेम्बली बनी, बेशक यह कांग्रेस की एसेम्बली नहीं थी, नेशनल फ्रंट की थी। उस में ग्राब्जेशन किया गया। जब मैं ने उन के लीडर से कहा कि, भाई, कोई शंडयूल्ड कास्ट का भी मिनिस्टर होना चाहिये तो वहां यह कहा गया कि स्टेट्स मिनिस्ट्री जो है वह ग्राब्जेशन करती है कि "हेयर इज नो एफिशिएंट मैन इन दि बैकवर्ड क्लासेज अर दि शंडयूल्ड क्लासेज टु एड-मिनिस्टर दि मिनिस्ट्री"। यह बात कही गई। जब मैं ने स्टेट मिनिस्ट्री को लिखा तो उस का जबाब मुझे मिला और वह मेरे पास है। उस में लिखा गया कि यह सब तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर जानें। मुझे पता नहीं कि यह रिजर्वेशन किस नाम के हक में चलता है। मुझे तो यही मालूम है कि जो स्टेट्स मिनिस्ट्री हिदायतें देती है उस पर काम चलता है। कल मैं ने श्री बर्मन की स्पीच को सुन कर ताज्जुब नहीं किया कि "सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट इज डूइंग इट्स इपूटी बॉल"। अब अगर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट यह नहीं कर रही है तो दूसरी जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हैं उन को कोई हिदायत दे। इस के लिये भी आप हिदायत कर दें तो आप के लिये अच्छा है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The burden has fallen on my shoulders. I am going to call the hon. Minister at 3 o'clock. Some suggestion was made that the time should be extended. It has already been extended by 20 minutes. The Minister was also expected to finish his speech

within 3 but I am going to call him only at 3 o'clock. There are 15 minutes; I will give 5 minutes to each and thus 3 Members can take part. I have not called one from the Communist Party; I will call him now. Then I will call others. Shri Dasaratha Deb. The hon. Member may finish his speech in 5 minutes.

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East): Sir, this report of the Commissioner is superficial; it bears very little on the actual conditions of the tribal people and the scheduled castes. You are talking too much about the removal of untouchability from the country but it is all merely on paper. It must be borne in mind that the first important thing to be done is to improve their economic condition. If you do not improve their economic condition, by merely saying that untouchability should be removed and all this, you cannot do anything. You will find that the landless agricultural labour the poor peasants, the lowest paid employees and the poor people all come from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. You should give them special facilities and training. We regard that man is not born backward but it is the society that oppresses him and it is the environment, lack of opportunity and other things that make him backward. We must remember these things. If you give them adequate facilities and proper training, land and employment then these people can also come to the level of others. This is the fact.

Now, I want to say something about the tribal people of Tripura also. In my state of Tripura, one-third of the people are tribal and among them there are one lakh people still engaged in jhuming cultivation because there is no scope for them to establish themselves in a settled method of cultivation and these people are suffering very much. They are most backward and there is no educational facility in the tribal areas there. The tribal people had organised themselves and

started about a thousand primary schools but they did not get proper help from the Government. The Government now tries to suppress all these people and liquidate all the schools. We the tribal people organised 2 High School Boarding Houses one in Agartala and one in Khowai division with our own money. In 1949 they were transferred to the Hindu Boarding Houses and the tribal people were restricted to get their seats there: You are giving education only on paper; we want real action. We do not want crocodile tears like this to be shed.

Another thing is that in our areas most of the tribal people have no land. Formerly, certain portions were reserved for the tribal people, and other people were not allowed to acquire land there, but now you have abolished all these reservations and thus made open for other people go there and take up all the lands. I must inform the House that very recently, even during this year, 500 tribal families in Kanchandpur area in Tripura and 100 families in Teliamura have been evicted from their land, because you wanted to give that land to a big company, namely, the Swastisangaa and you did so. I represented these cases to the hon. Home Minister and wrote to our Prime Minister also, but the reply I received was that the matter was being enquired into. Before you complete your enquiry, these tribal people will certainly be extinguished and so I want to say that this should not be done. Look at the Naga people. There are certain demands of the Naga people. The demand of independence by the Naga people is the direct result of this suppression and segregation policy of the Government. I say that if you want to solve the problem sincerely, you must send a team of men to study their situation and deal with their problems sympathetically and also allow them to have an autonomous region. Then only, you will become a friend of the tribal people. Otherwise, you will be the first and the biggest enemy of the tribal people. Therefore, if you want to be their

friend, rouse their initiative and help them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Velayudhan.

Shri Elayaperumal (Cuddalore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): May I know, Sir, why no chance is being given for people from Madras State?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has spoken already.

Shri Elayaperumal: No, no, Sir.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: These two words are enough.

Shri Velayudhan: Within the few minutes at my disposal, I would like to say a few words on this question. Of course, I was very carefully listening to the debate during these two days on this very important problem, and I must tell you, Sir, frankly that a very important point, which should have been made, has been omitted completely by all the speakers. Sir, this problem of the scheduled castes is not a new one. Our thanks are due to Gandhiji, as he had dealt with it in a different but new plane, I mean the moral plane, and he had given a remedy also. He once said that caste should go and then only untouchability would go. This important point was not mentioned by any speaker in this Parliament during the discussion and I am very glad that I got this opportunity to put forth this view. It is not only my confirmed view, but is the view of most of the intellectuals not only in India but outside, and unless and until caste is abolished, you are not going to remove untouchability. I am not particularly concerned with the safeguards, nor am I concerned with the concessions you are given now, because it is only an atom in an ocean or a bubble in an ocean. but more than that, I want that the outlook of the Hindus should change. Then only the question can be approached in a fair manner. I must say that after independence, there was a consolidation of caste and communalism in India. That is why today in every State, if you look at the

[Shri Velayudhan]

condition of the scheduled castes, it has not improved even an inch from what it was at the time of Gandhiji. Why has this been so? Because during the time the Indian National Congress fought for National independence, there was a reaction from other quarters. When this question came before the public then, it was a burning question; it was a challenge to the Congress and it was a challenge to Gandhiji too. It was Dr. Ambedkar who said "throw out the caste Hindus". At least, Gandhiji took it seriously—not like our present Government, not like our Home Minister—and it was as dear as life to Gandhiji. But, today, what are we seeing? Mr. Murthy was telling us yesterday that this is a national question. I say it is an international question. Unless the entire caste system is removed, we are not going to drive out untouchability. We are not going to die as untouchables in this country—that we have decided. I warn the Government that this question must be taken very seriously. We are talking about South Africa and colour bar. We are talking about the Koreans. But are we solving the same question prevailing in our own home?

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: In every village.

Shri Velayudhan: How can I tell my child that "you belong to a Particular untouchable caste"? My daughter asked me the other day to what community we belong. I was ashamed of telling her the community to which we belong. I was glad to hear my friend Mr. Chatterjee speaking in the same spirit as Gandhiji did regarding the problem of the untouchables. But a great man from the same seat spoke last year in the same way though his voice was stilled for ever now. He, Dr. Mookerjee, had given very sound suggestions in regard to the improvement of the scheduled castes, but that was not heeded by the Government.

A word about reservations. I may tell you, Sir, that the Government has failed to give a fair share of employ-

ment to the scheduled castes; since 1946, how many posts were filled? If you could have given us a list of all appointments made since 1946, we could have gone through it. They cannot produce a list as they did not accept the principle of the Constitution. They have gone back on their word. The Constitution has given us reservation in services. How many gazetted posts have been filled for the last four years? Are there any new scheduled caste Under Secretaries appointed in the last four years; any Deputy Secretaries; any Assistant Secretaries? How many Assistants have been appointed from us. Let me ask this question to the Central Government. About the State Governments, I have nothing much to say. About the Report itself—which is a very important document—there is one full sheet of errata alone and this is how this Report has been prepared. I see more than 3 or 4 mistakes in every page of this Report. This is prepared by the officers here and things like this are happening in the Government. I do not worry, or bother much about it. Other big things are happening. The Home Minister has no time to look into these things. I have not got the belief that he is sincere about this question when he says that he is much concerned with the Harijans. I am sorry to say the Home Minister is not looking into this question seriously. I used to bring so many problems before the former Home Minister. Sardar Patel used to take seriously many matters relating to the scheduled castes. I had no doubt that even if it were a minute detail, he used to bestow great attention. Of course, the next Home Minister also was obliging. I may say that the present Home Minister—I do not accuse him—was not very careful in this matter because he was indifferent. Therefore, I may tell you, Sir, that these reservations are cast to the winds. If you are giving reservations, there must be an honest attempt to see that they are fulfilled. I want that an honest attempt must be made by the Government to follow the

policy laid down in the Constitution, namely, reservations for the scheduled castes.

3 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will try to adjust the time. Now, there are two supplementary demands for grants. The Appropriation Bills may not take time. Regarding supplementary demands, there, the general demands, and then the demands in respect of PEPUSU. I would like the hon. Members to consider what time may be allotted. So far as the general demands are concerned, we must finish them today. How long does the hon. Minister propose to take for the reply to the discussion of this report?

Dr. Katju: 20 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: So, say, in one hour we could finish the general demands, and take one hour for PEPUSU demands.

Dr. Katju: Half-an-hour for PEPUSU will be all right.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: PEPUSU has been discussed threadbare.

Shri K. K. Basu: We must extend it by another ten minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The general sense will be: let us close this discussion at 4 O'clock, including the reply of the hon. Minister. At 20 minutes to 4 o'clock, I will call upon the hon. Minister. So, we will have forty minutes more for this discussion. I will give five minutes each—to Madras, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Assam—to Members representing these States. If they could stick to five minutes each. I can call upon eight Members, representative, as far as possible, of those sections which have not been called upon. Then, at 3-40, I will call upon the hon. Minister. We will close this debate at 4 o'clock. Then 4 to 6-30 for supplementary demands, and half-an-hour or so for the supplementary demands in respect of PEPUSU.

Dr. Katju: PEPUSU may not require all the half-an-hour.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The maximum is 7 o'clock. We may disperse at 6-30.

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): I have got the Salt Cess Bill to be taken into consideration.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No chance. Mr. Jaipal Singh.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I do not know whether I should condemn you for asking a tribal Member from a State which has the largest concentration of Adivasis in this country to speak at this stage for such a short space of time. It seems as though you were doing me a great honour in squeezing me into five minutes so that I could represent the case of the tribal people after a series of speakers had already spoken in this House, and as though we tribal M.Ps. have nothing whatever to do with tribals. Sir, I make a serious grievance of this. As I have said again and again on the floor of this Parliament, I am not here as a beggar. I stand for the rights of my people, the rights of the Indian community of tribals who form the most important and most ancient part of India. They are the first citizens of this country. But, what is the kind of treatment we get in this House? We have to wait to speak for five minutes and perhaps no more. The State of Bihar has only one Member to speak on this tribal people's question, and he the one who is speaking now.

Sir, I would like to move a vote of censure on the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs for arranging things in such a poor manner. Things ought to be better arranged. The problem that has to be dealt with is one that concerns a third of the whole Indian community—a third of the population, and the debate ought to be better arranged, whereby the people, who have been duly elected by the electorate, have a better chance to express themselves. We got an assurance here that there would be a representative selection in the matter of calling Members of Parliament to speak, but that has not happened. It did not happen yesterday, it did not happen the day

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

before, and it does not happen today. Sir, I do not want to exceed the five-minute limit. Let my Congress friends on that side stand up and give platitudes to the hon. Home Minister. I hope next year, Sir, there will be better respect given to this problem of a third of the population of this country.

An Hon. Member: Three days.

Shri Jaipal Singh: As I remember I said last year also, the problem of the backward classes of our Indian community should not be a matter of party politics. That has been repeated and emphasized this year, fortunately, by my friends like Mr. Chatterjee. Let us make it a national problem, with the result that we have to raise this discussion, like the external affairs question—a matter outside party politics. This is where exactly my criticism begins.

This report is definitely an improvement on the Dak Bungalow report of last year, but it still has that Dak Bungalow character. It is still an inventory of facts collated together from other reports given to the Special Officer. There is nothing direct, original or personal about it. The Special Officer has been quite honest in confessing that people have not co-operated with him. He has been very honest about it. Last year, he was worrying about his status. Now, his status has somehow been defined as equal to that of the Election Commissioner, Members of the Union Public Service Commission, and so forth. I have an amendment, which I need not move, whereby we can make the Special Officer of the President effective in the discharge of his duty there should be a specific Ministry to look into the question of the backward classes in this country. There is no other solution. I have no faith in the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. This Special Officer is imbecile because he happens to be one of the many in Departments of the Home Ministry. He forms only one section. As a matter of fact, Dr. Katju is fatigued as he has to sit here for three days to listen

to the debate and he has to answer to the problems that have been raised here. What I say is: there must be a specific Ministry of Social Services in this country.

An Hon. Member: Scheduled Castes?

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am not worried about the scheduled castes as such. By creating Ministries only, we are not going to solve the great problem. The Special Officer of the President imagines the tribals have gone up to the 'heavens' because there was one particular Member from Assam State who had been returned from some unreserved constituency, and that, therefore, the tribal problem had been solved! That is the type of approach that is damnable in this country. It does not face the realities. You are not facing facts by saying how many people have got jobs or have become Ministers. That is not the problem. You have to think of the problems that millions of people, more than 12 crores of the backward people, are confronted with. It is not a question of how many people got jobs or become Ministers. That is not the problem.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के नाम से क्रिश्चियन मिशनरी लोगों का बहुत प्रोपेगेंडा होता है। मैं हाउस को यह बताना चाहता हूँ और उस के लिए कोई न कोई चेक प्रवश्य होना चाहिये। इस को रोकने के लिये जरूरी है कि जो शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब के लोग ईसाई हो जायें उन को शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब के बर्जीफ़े और नौकरियों में रिजर्वेशन नहीं मिलना चाहिये।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is no point of order.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Sir, I would like to stress that the Government do seriously consider the creation of a specific Ministry that will give its whole time to this particular problem. I am not only talking of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I am thinking of other backward classes, a lot of Brahmin friends of Dr. Katju who may be backward. The entire

backward section of the Indian Community has to be ameliorated. I would urge upon my colleagues in this House not to use the word 'uplift'. It may be all right from the point of view of Harijans, because you have to drag up them from the ditch, but that is not true in the case of the tribal people. They are already at the top of the hills—peaks like Everest and so forth—and therefore you cannot 'drag' them up to the earth. It is a very important aspect. I do feel that a separate Ministry is the only way of strengthening the hands of the Special Officer. Nobody bothers about the Special Officer today. He admits that in his report of last year, and he has said so explicitly in his report this year. The only way of strengthening his hands is to see that a separate Ministry is established and the Special Officer should get the co-operation of the people. It is no good my accusing him of having been an imbecile in his work, of having been ineffective in respect of his duties. It is because of the set-up obtaining in this country today, that he is unable to get, or force, the co-operation of the people throughout India. That has been his difficulty and he has been quite honest in trying to bring into bold relief some of the difficulties facing the backward community.

Sir, whenever we judge, we come to consider the report to be supplied to us next year by the Special Officer, hon. members should keep in mind that there is only one way of criticising or appraising its value. It is by looking into the particular articles of the Constitution—article 19, article 29, article 46, article 338, article 339 and the various schedules, and comparing to what extent the various Governments of the States have honoured the Constitution. That is the only test of the utility or the futility of this particular report. I do maintain, Sir, it is very unfortunate that the leader of this House, again and again, goes on talking of the right approach. There is only one approach. At the Tribal Conference last year the Prime Minister and the President himself only last month at Lohardaga, in my own province stressed this point. But if

you read this report of the Special Officer, you will find that he has made a wrong approach. All along it has been a party approach. Whatever State he has gone to, he has gone to the Congress workers. I come from a State which has the largest number of Adivasis and my party has elected the largest number of Adivasi legislators in this country, larger than even the Congress. I have a right to be heard even by the Special Officer. But what happens? When he comes to my province my colleagues have no place. He must be running round after his own party colleagues. I say that is not the way to handle this particular problem. We should keep it at a national level; it must be kept about party politics, as in the case of the community projects. There is a community project in my area. It is not going well. Why? Because people are not behind it. It is no good asking why they are not behind it. What you have to see is to ensure that the entire people are behind a particular project. So is the case with the Harijans or Adivasis. These helpless people who have been neglected for centuries should be enabled to stand on their own legs. We do not want to look for any favours from the Special Officer, or Dr. Katju or his minions or satellites. We can look after ourselves; but enable us to stand on our feet.

We are a people with self-respect; we are not beggars. We do not go about begging. We work hard. I would very much urge upon the Government to give further powers to the Special Officer and also better staff so that in the next report he will be able to render a better account of himself, unless in between there is a special Ministry that is formed. To my mind the only other alternative to forming a separate Ministry is to relieve Dr. Katju of this burden and also abolish the Special Officer.

श्री जङ्गल : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स कमिश्नर ने जो रिपोर्ट इस भवन के सामने पेश की है वह संविधान की धारा ३३८ के अनुसार है। इस संविधान को जिन

[श्री उद्देश्ये]

महाशयों ने बनाया उन्हें और सास कर ठककर बापा को मैं कोटि कोटि धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आज उन्होंने ने हम दीन, दुःखी, पीड़ित, भोले और दिन रात लूटे जाने वाले आदिवासियों को यहां आ कर अपनी बात बताने का मौका दिया है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस विधान की शुरुआत २६ जनवरी, १९५० को हुई थी। आदिवासियों को इतनी खुशी हुई कि मध्य प्रदेश में अपना सब काम काज छोड़ कर एक सभा में एकत्र हो कर काका कालेलकर के सभापतित्व में तीन दिन तक हम लोगों ने उत्सव मनाया, दीवाली मनाई। किन्तु गरीबों की शादी में बहुत से विघ्न हुआ करते हैं। दो महीने के बाद ३० मार्च, १९५० को राष्ट्रपति जी का एक फर्मान निकला, उस फर्मान से हम लोगों को घोर निराशा हुई। हमारी आदिम जातियों की संख्या १९४१ की मर्दमशुमारी में २५४ लाख थी। राष्ट्रपति जी के आदेश से १९ लाख दक्षिण के चार प्रान्तों में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स में मिला दी गई और ६७ लाख आदिवासी हम में से निकाल दिये गये। वह ६७ लाख लोग जो आदिवासी थे और हैं, लेकिन आज वह आदिवासी होते हुए भी आदिवासी नहीं रह पाये। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह ६७ लाख आदिवासियों के साथ जो कुछ हुआ उस को मैं थोड़ी देर के लिये छोड़े देता हूँ। बाकी आदिवासियों के साथ क्या हुआ है? उन के साथ भी घोर अन्याय हुआ जो कि १७८ लाख बच गये; और वह भी राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश में अधिक हुआ। मध्य प्रदेश में ६० फीसदी आदिवासियों को आदिवासी नहीं माना गया। राजस्थान में ७५ फीसदी आदिवासियों को आदिवासी नहीं माना गया। १२ लाख आदिवासियों को राजस्थान में छोड़ दिया गया, सिर्फ ३ लाख

आदिवासियों को वहां पर आदिवासी माना गया। मध्य प्रदेश में २४ लाख आदिवासियों को आदिवासी नहीं माना गया। मध्य भारत में १० लाख आदिवासियों को आदिवासी नहीं माना गया।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे प्रान्त में ९६ ताल्लुक हैं। उन में से ६१ ताल्लुकों में रहने वाले आदिवासी नहीं माने गये। केवल ३५ ताल्लुकों के रहने वाले लोगों को आदिवासी माना गया। ३५ ताल्लुकों में से २६ ताल्लुकों की घोषित जनसंख्या लगभग १६ लाख आदिवासियों की है। उन के लिये यह कहा गया कि उन को रिजर्वेशन के हिसाब से नौकरियां मिलगी, तथा पार्लियामेंट में या एसेम्बली में सदस्य हो सकेंगे और उन को स्कालरशिप और फीशिप मिलेगी। और जो इस रिपोर्ट के अन्दर लगभग १५ करोड़ रुपया बताया गया है आदिवासियों के उत्थान के लिये उस में से मध्य प्रदेश में लगभग ६० लाख रुपया खर्च होगा। लेकिन वह किन आदिवासियों पर खर्च होगा? जितनी अनुसूचित ट्राइब्स हैं उन सब पर नहीं। यह केवल जो बाकी ९ तहसीलें हैं और जिन की जनसंख्या ८ लाख है उन पर ही खर्च होगा। इस तरह से जितनी आबादी ५० लाख आदिवासियों की है उस में से सिर्फ ८ लाख आदिवासियों पर यह ६० लाख रुपया खर्च होगा जिन के लिये इस वर्ष सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट न १७ लाख रुपये की ग्रान्ट दी थी। अब इस ६० लाख रुपये का सदुपयोग होता है या दुरुपयोग यह देखने की बात है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो हमारे साथ राष्ट्रपति जी के फर्मान से घोर अन्याय हुआ है और लगभग ३०-३२ लाख जो हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं, हमारे भाई होते हुए भी

आज वह आदिवासी नहीं हैं, हम लोगों की जो एकता थी, वह टूट फूट कर नष्ट भ्रष्ट हो गई है। अगर हम अपने भाई के पास जाते हैं तो वह कहता है कि तुम आदिवासी हो, मैं आदिवासी नहीं हूँ। इस का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि आदिवासी जो वर्षों से, सदियों से, हजारों सालों से पिछड़े हुए रहे हैं, लेकिन फिर भी भाई भाई की तरह रहते थे, उन के अन्दर एक दरार हो गई है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे साथ आप न्याय करें अन्याय नहीं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के लिये जनता भी रिप्रेजेंटेशन करती है, यह बात कमिश्नर साहब ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में भी दी है। अभी अभी हमारे कुंजरू साहब ने भी इस के वास्ते लोहारडगा में आवाज उठाई थी, लेकिन इस का नतीजा कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। इस के लिये मैं गृह मंत्री जी से और खास कर इस हाउस से अपील करूंगा कि यह जो हमारे आदिवासियों के साथ अन्याय हो गया है, घोर अन्याय हुआ है, जो सदियों से महान कष्ट में है उन के लिये कुछ जरूर होना चाहिये।

यह आदिवासी नहीं हैं ? यह और ही कोई दूसरे हैं ? जिन को आप ने गैर-आदिवासी समझ लिया है ? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहता हूँ कि आज यह आदिवासी नहीं रहे, क्योंकि यह मैदान में हो गये। पहले यह हमारा पूरा प्रदेश पूरा का पूरा गोंडवाना था जहां गोंडों का राज्य था। गोंड आदिवासी २४ लाख मध्य प्रदेश में हैं। गोंड आदिवासियों ने उन पहाड़ों के अन्दर जंगल काट कर साफ किया और उस को मैदान कर दिया। वह मैदान में छोटे-छोटे खेत करके खेती करने लगे। परन्तु उस जमीन को उन से होशियार, शिक्षित लोगों ने ले लिया और आदिवासी फिर जंगल में भाग गये, कुछ लोग ही रह गये। आज वह आदिवासी क्या कर रहे हैं ? आज वह मजदूरी कर रहे हैं। वा जंगलों में जो चले

गये वह जंगल काट कर खेती कर रहे हैं। लेकिन जो चतुर लोग हैं वे उन की वह जमीन भी खरीद लेंगे। इस तरह अब वहां पर मैदान में आदिवासी नहीं हैं। यह थोड़े से ही वहां पर आदिवासी हैं जो कि मजदूरी कर रहे हैं। इस तरह हमारे आदिवासियों के साथ, खास कर मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान में, बड़ा अन्याय हुआ है। आज वहां मैदान में जो खेती कर रहे हैं वह आदिवासी नहीं हैं, जो आदिवासी हैं वह तो मजदूरी का काम करते हैं। अगर उन का ख्याल नहीं किया गया तो वह फिर वापस पूरी तरह से लौट जायेंगे। आप को मालूम है कि उस का क्या नतीजा होने वाला है ? उस का नतीजा बहुत बुरा होने वाला है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे आप थोड़ा ज्यादा समय दें। आज आप का करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, ३४ करोड़ रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, १५ करोड़ रुपया सैंटर से और १९ करोड़ रुपया स्टेटों से। यह जनता का पैसा है। परन्तु इस जनता के पैसे का सदुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है, दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। हाउस को इस बात की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये कि इस पैसे का सदुपयोग किया जाय। हम चाहते हैं कि आदिवासियों के नाम से जो जनता का पैसा खर्च किया जाय उस का सदुपयोग हो। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को बताऊँ कि आदिवासी कभी भी ख नहीं मांगेंगे, वह अपने घर में भूखा मर जायगा लेकिन मीख नहीं मांगेगा। हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारे नाम से देश का यह ३४ करोड़ रुपया अनुचित कामों में खर्च किया जाय और इस का अनचित लाभ उठाया जाय। इस समय यह जो ३४ करोड़ रुपया है यह धन तीन तरह से खर्च किया जाता है। कुछ पैसा मिशनरियों की तरफ दिया जाता है, कुछ सोशियल वर्कर्स की तरफ दिया जाता है और कुछ पैसा

[श्री उडके]

सुधार विभाग की तरफ दिया जाता है। मिशनरियों को जो पैसा दिया जाता है उस के लिये सरकार को बड़ी सावधानी से उन को पैसा देना चाहिये। मिशनरियों के खिलाफ मेरा सख्त आरोप है कि मिशनरी अपने धर्म का प्रचार करते हैं। तो उन को करने दीजिये पर उन को यह हक नहीं होना चाहिये कि हमारे जो आदिवासी क्रिश्चियन हो गये हैं वे जो उन के साथ रहने वाले जो लोग हैं उन के धर्म में हस्तक्षेप करें। ये लोग आदिवासियों के देवताओं को उखाड़कर फेंक देते हैं और इसी तरह के अनैक उपद्रव करते हैं। उन का यह हस्तक्षेप करना उचित नहीं है। मेरे पास इस की रिपोर्ट है, वह मैं ने गवर्नमेंट के पास भेजी है और उस की जांच हो रही है। हमारे आदिवासी बच्चे पढ़ा करते हैं, वह अपने धर्म से रहते हैं। यह आदिवासी को फसाते हैं और वहां से भगा भी देते हैं। इस तरह से हम लोगों का रहना मुश्किल हो गया है। आप को इन बातों को रोकना चाहिये। मैं तो कहूंगा कि इन कनवर्टेड क्रिश्चियन्स की जो मिशनरीज हैं उन को ही पैसा देना है तो हमारे आदिवासियों को आप एक पैसा भी मत दीजिये, हम को आप का पैसा नहीं लेना, हम ने अपना धर्म बचाने के लिये मैदान को छोड़ दिया, वहां से जंगलों में चले गये। मुझे अपने मध्य प्रदेश के वास्ते यह गुमान की बात है कि मुसलमानों के राज्य में उस प्रान्त में मुसलमानों की तरफ से बहुत कोशिश हुई लेकिन हम ने मुसलमानों को वहां आ कर धर्म परिवर्तन नहीं करने दिया। हर प्रदेश में मुसलमानों ही की फीसदी अधिक हैं। हमारे प्रदेश में ४.४ हैं। हम अपने धर्म को बचाने के लिये पहाड़ों की ओर चले गये, हम ने कह दिया कि हम को आप की सभ्यता नहीं लेनी। हमें इस सभ्यता से कोई मतलब

नहीं। हमारे आचार-विचार में आज मिशनरी बड़ी गड़बड़ कर रहे हैं, आप का सुधार विभाग भी हमारे आचार-विचार में बड़ी बड़बड़ी कर रहा है।

आप को मालूम होगा कि आप के यहां सैंटर से स्कालरशिप दी जाती है। आप इस बात की तरफ ध्यान दें कि जिन प्रान्तों के अन्दर मिशनरियों की सभ्यता आई है, उस के लिये जो हमारे कनवर्टेड सदस्य हैं वह भले ही तारीफ करें और मैं भी तारीफ करता हूँ कि उन्हीं की ज्यादा स्कालरशिप दी जाती है। इस का नतीजा हमारे ऊपर बहुत बुरा हुआ। गवर्नमेंट को इस बात का ख्याल करना चाहिये। हर एक प्रदेश का जो कोटा जन संख्या के हिसाब से होना चाहिये, उस कोटे से इन प्रान्तों को स्कालरशिप ज्यादा दी गयी है जहां इन मिशनरियों की सभ्यता गयी है। आसाम में आदिवासियों की जन संख्या १७ लाख है, पर ४६५ लड़कों को स्कालरशिप दी गयी है। बिहार में जन संख्या ४० लाख है पर २२३ लड़कों को स्कालरशिप दी गयी है। बम्बई में ३३ लाख है, वहां ६५ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। मध्य प्रदेश में २४ लाख है, वहां कोटा १५४ का होता है लेकिन २३ लड़कों को ही स्कालरशिप दी गयी। मद्रास में ६ लाख जन संख्या है, ८३ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। उड़ीसा में जन संख्या २६ लाख है, २४ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। पंजाब में जन संख्या २ हजार है, वहां ७ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। वैंस्ट बंगाल में जन संख्या ११ लाख है, वहां ४४ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। हैदराबाद में ३ लाख जन संख्या है, १ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी। मध्य भारत में जन संख्या १० लाख है और २ को स्कालरशिप दी गयी।

इस के देखने से आप को यह पता लगेगा कि जिन जिन प्रान्तों में कनवर्शन हुए हैं उन्हीं

प्रान्तों से दरखास्तें ज्यादा आईं और जिस प्रान्त के अन्दर कनवर्शन नहीं हुए वहां कम रूपया दिया गया। इस तरह जो आदिवासी अनकनवर्टेड हैं और जहां शिक्षा की बहुत कमी है वहां हमें स्कालरशिप कम मिली और हमारे कनवर्टेड भाइयों को ज्यादा स्कालरशिप दी गयी। यह पैसा हमारे नाम से निकला हुआ है, आदिवासियों के नाम से निकला है और यह पैसा दिया गया है ईसाइयों को, उन को स्कालरशिप देने के लिये, जिन में पहले ही शिक्षा हम लोगों से ज्यादा है। जहां शिक्षा की कमी है वहां कोटे के हिसाब से मदद नहीं होती है। अजूकेशन के बारे में यह हालत है, जहां कनवर्शन हुआ है वहां ही ज्यादा रूपया खर्च किया जाता है और कोटे के हिसाब से उन को नहीं दिया गया।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : जो कनवर्शन हुआ है उस को नहीं मिलना चाहिये।

श्री उइके : वह तो हमारा दुर्भाग्य था कि जो कनवर्टेड हैं उन को आदिवासी माना गया। यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य ही है। हमारे जो हिन्दू धर्म मानने वाले भाई हैं, जो कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली में थे, उन्होंने ने यह माना, लेकिन मैं उन को दोष नहीं दे सकता, मैं तो पहले जो उन्होंने ने कुछ किया है उस को कोटिशः धन्यवाद दे चुका हूँ, इन थोड़ी सी बातों के लिये वे दोषी नहीं हैं। मैं तो कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप जहां भी हो कोटे के हिसाब से मदद दीजिये। जहां धर्म परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है वहां आप प्राइमरी शिक्षा के लिये ही स्कालरशिप दीजिये।

अब, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो सरकारी महकमे हैं उन के अन्दर क्या बात होती उस की तरफ भी आप का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ। सरकारी महकमे के अन्दर पैसा मनमागे खर्च हो रहा है। एक तहसील के अन्दर आप

जायें और देखें कि काम कितना होता है और पैसा कितना खर्च हो रहा है तो आप को पता चल जायगा कि पैसे का कैसा दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। हम नहीं चाहते कि सरकारी महकमे से हमारे ऊपर इतना पैसा खर्च हो। हम काम करने वाले आदमी हैं, हम पैसे की बड़ी कीमत समझते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has exceeded his time very much.

श्री उइके : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे २० कांग्रेस के ट्राइबल एम० पीज जो हैं उन्होंने ने मुझे अकेले को ही बोलने का समय दे दिया है।

मैं कह रहा था कि आप जरा देखिये कि काम वहां कैसे होता है। हमारे प्रदेश में दस जोन बनाये गये हैं। अब उन दस जोन में काम कैसे होता है। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में यह जोन बनाए गये हैं। यह जो जोन बने तो एक-एक जोन के अन्दर सरकारी स्टाफ इतना रखा गया है कि इस ३४ करोड़ रुपये में से लाखों रूपया उस स्टाफ पर ही खर्च हो जाता है। एक जोन के लिये जो स्टाफ रखा गया है उस में एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गनाइजर है, दो क्लर्क, एक प्योन, एक सिनेमा वैन, एक ड्राइवर, एक अपरेटर, एक कंडक्टर है। फिर दो सिकल आर्गनाइजर, दो क्लर्क और दो प्योन, इस तरह का स्टाफ एक जोन के लिये रखा गया है। इतने स्टाफ ने मिल कर अब आप देखें कि सन् १९४७ से काम शुरू किया है तो वहां पर सिर्फ आठ मदरसे खोले गये हैं। एक जोन जिस के अन्दर यह इतना स्टाफ है उन सब मुलाजिमों ने यह काम किया है कि सन् १९४७ से लेकर आज सन् १९५३ तक, सात साल में आठ "मदरसे" खोले हैं। एक मिडिल स्कूल खोला है, ६ मल्टीपरपज कोअपरेटिव सोसाइटियां बनायी हैं, तीन कुएं बनाये हैं और एक-एक मील लम्बी दो सड़कें बनायी हैं यह काम बैहर तहसील का है।

[श्री उइके]

हिसाब कीजिये कि सात साल में कितना पैसा खर्च हो गया। एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गोनाइज़र, दो क्लर्क, एक पियन, एक सिनेमा वॉन, एक ड्राइवर, एक अपरेटर, एक कंडक्टर, दो सर्किल आर्गोनाइज़र इतना स्टाफ़ रखा गया और उन्होंने ने आठ साल में एक मिडिल स्कूल खोला, और छः मल्टी परपज़ कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटियां खोलीं और दो सड़कें और तीन कुएँ बनवाये। मैं आप से बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि किस तरह स्टाफ़ वगैरह पर हमारे लिए जो ग़्रान्ट रखी जाती है, उस में से काफ़ी रक़म स्टाफ़ वगैरह पर खर्च हो जाती है और स्टाफ़ के देखते हुए काम कुछ भी नहीं हो पाता है और रुपया बर्बाद होता है। लेकिन ये हम आदिवासियों का जो अपने भाइयों के वास्ते खून-पसीना बहाने वाले हैं, हम पर वह विश्वास नहीं करते और सरकारी मुहकमों में अगर आदिवासी मुलाज़िम होते भी हैं, तो उन को डिस्चार्ज कर के अलग कर दिया जाता है। मैं अपना अनुभव आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं कुल चौथी कक्षा मराठी और चौथी क्लास अंग्रेज़ी तक पढ़ा हुआ हूँ और डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गोनाइज़र की क्वालीफिकेशन बी० ए० की रक़बी भयी थी, मगर हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में गृह मंत्री ने बस्तर ज़िले में मुझे डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गोनाइज़र नियुक्त कर दिया कि आप उन की हालत से भलीभांति परिचित हो और आप उन में रह कर ठीक तरह काम कर सकोगे सरकार हमारे नागा भाइयों पर आसाम के आदिवासी लोगों पर तो मनमाना खर्च करती है। हमारे लोगों के लिए एक करोड़ और कुछ लाख की ग़्रान्ट मिलती है जिस में से लगभग एक करोड़ तो आसाम को दे देते हैं, और बाक़ी पौन करोड़ बाक़ी २१ प्रान्तों पर खर्च के लिये दिया जाता है। इस तरह का पक्षपात आसाम के साथ बरता जाता है।

खैर, तो मैं आप को बतला रहा था कि मुझे बस्तर का डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गोनाइज़र बना कर भेजा गया, बस्तर के समान कोई पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका नहीं होगा, वहां लोग नंगे रहते हैं और आप उस के पिछड़ेपन का इसी से अन्दाज़ा लगा सकते हैं कि पांच सौ मेम्बरों में अकेले बस्तर प्रापर का जो एम० पी० है, वह अशिक्षित है और वह हमारा भाई दिल्ली शहर में लूटा गया। मैं ऐसे पिछड़े इलाके का डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गोनाइज़र बना कर भेजा गया और जब मैं वहां गया, तो मुहकमे के लोगों को यह अच्छा नहीं मालूम हुआ कि एक कामेन प्रोग्राम के ऊपर उन्होंने मुझे बस्तर में काम करने के लिये भेजा और उन्होंने ने सोचा कि अगर यह ज्यादा काम कर के दिखायेगा तो हम लोगों की नौकरियां फिर कहां रहेंगी और उन्होंने ने मुझे वहां से बुला लिया।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude. He can go on taking for 2 hours. I cannot allow that.

Shri Uikey: Five minutes. Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, no. Shri Rishang Keishing.

श्री उइके : बस मेरी एक छोटी सी प्रार्थना है, एक मिनट में ख़तम किये देता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I am not going to allow him to speak. He must have a sense of proportion. I cannot give all the time to him.

An. Hon. Member: Sir, Madhya Bharat.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Madhya Bharat will take care of itself. Now Shri Rishang Keishing.

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I must say at the outset that Shri Shrikant has submitted a better report this year. He has been able to make a few concrete suggestions to be carried out by the Government. But, I am sorry that the Home Minister has for over ten months kept this report in the book shelf and only after the lapse of ten months has brought out this report for discussion. This shows that he is not interested in the welfare of the Tribal and other backward people. My only suggestion is that Shri Shrikant should resign if the Government is not taking any action on his report as a protest. That alone will make the people understand that he really loves the tribal people, the Scheduled caste people and the backward classes and the Government will be made conscious of their mistakes.

Dr. Katju has been very kind to us. Whenever we go to him, he receives us with open arms. But, whatever representation we submit, I am sorry to say, he will immediately put into the waste paper basket. That is an insult to us. We know there are in India about 12 crores of backward people, like the Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and other backward classes, who form nearly 1/3rd of the total population of this country. For generations we have been subjugated, we have been dominated and we have been exploited by the higher classes, and the privileged people. The present Government is not only heavily influenced by them but they are more or less ruling the country. I am definitely of opinion that this country will not go forward so long this country is ruled or influenced in any way by these privileged classes of people. Our Ministers, if they really want to serve the people, as their real servants should eliminate the influence of these people. They should themselves keep absolutely clear of these enemies of the society. I am of opinion that today the Government is dominated by this section of the people.

I have got a few suggestions to make. So big is our problem that by appointing a Commissioner, you cannot solve it. My hon. friend Shri Jaipal Singh has suggested for constitution of a separate Ministry to tackle with problems of Scheduled Castes and tribes. I also support the suggestion that a separate Ministry should be constituted immediately. I know Shri Srikant is a good man. I also realise his shortcomings, his drawbacks. Small as he is in position he cannot go against his Ministers. There are bosses over him like the Finance Minister, the Planning Commission and Dr. Katju. The only way is to have a separate Ministry to effectively deal with the Sch. castes and tribal problems.

It is often said that our country is pledged to be a welfare State. What do you mean by a Welfare State, when you have not abolished untouchability? Today we see many cases and are also reading in the papers about schools and public institutions being deserted because one or two Harijans were appointed as teachers. These things are occurring daily. We have in this country laws to punish persons who commit simple crimes like theft, robbery, etc. But, you have no law to punish those people who are upholding this heinous crime of untouchability. This is a disgrace to the country. Immediately, the Centre should introduce in this House a legislation to punish those people who uphold untouchability.

This country once belonged to the Scheduled caste people, and the Scheduled Tribe people. Today, they have been driven to the outskirts of the towns where rats and other animals infest and the tribal people have been driven to the hills. You are occupying the rich plains of the country which were theirs once upon a time. You are now refusing to share a little bit of this land with them. Today, we have been seeing in places like Pardi where those people who demanded that the Adivasis should be given sufficient land, have been punished and sent to jail, and yet you dare talk of a welfare State where every citizen, Irrespective

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

of caste, etc., will be treated alike. Immediately, land should be made available for the Scheduled castes and tribes.

A large portion of the report of Shri Shrikant is covered by details of his tour. As my hon. friend Shri Jaipal Singh said, the officers go and meet the Congress leaders only, and also Government officers. They never meet the people. The Government officers draw up a programme, they are taken here and there and then let off. They would come back and submit a report. The non-Congress people and tribal leaders are never invited to meet them. We do not expect them to go to every corner of the hill areas. At least they should inform the people about their movements.

An Hon. Member: He has.

Shri Rishang Keishing: So that they might come and meet you and submit their viewpoint to you. You have failed in that respect also.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to say that the tribal people, as my hon. friend Mr. Jaipal Singh said, are not beggars. We are not looking for the mercy of these Ministers. We are far away from it. We value the tribal dignity and independence. We do not want to be treated as beggars. Pandit Nehru's mercy, Dr. Katju's mercy and some other Minister's mercy would not help us. Today we want that there should be a concrete policy and programme with which you will solve the problems. So, I have suggested already that redistribution of land and economic rehabilitation etc., etc. of these tribal people and Scheduled Castes should be immediately taken into consideration. Please do not think that we are looking to you always to have your mercy and favour. It is only the opportunists and some of the self-interested people who will come and beg you, but others will never do that. We stand for our rights, we fight for our rights. If you do not take proper action, you will not be sitting here after ten years.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister, Dr. Katju.

Dr. Rama Rao: May I submit that for my entire Party you have given only five minutes? There must be equitable distribution of time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry. I was not entirely in charge of the whole thing.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): Nobody has spoken from Hyderabad. There is a land movement in Hyderabad. I want to speak.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: India is one and indivisible.

Dr. Katju: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, some of the speeches that were delivered this morning with so much eloquence and so much vehemence, it occurred to me, were really speeches made for the amendment of the Constitution, because my hon. friends who spoke were far away from the matter in hand as it is governed today by the Constitution.

I must say that I was rather sorry to hear not a word of appreciation of what the State Governments are doing and have done in the past in this field of welfare of the Scheduled Castes and tribal people. Please remember one thing: it is not only in this Parliament that we have reservation of seats, we have friends here coming from Scheduled Castes and tribal people. In every State Legislature they are strongly represented. I come here to this Parliament from Madhya Bharat. There, we have a State Legislature with a membership of 99, and out of them 17 are reserved for Scheduled Castes and 12 for tribal people. So, in a House of 99 you have 29 Members from Scheduled Castes and tribal people. Are they all sleeping over it? Do they not exercise moral pressure daily on the Ministers to see that something should be done. Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh, out of a House of 429, I believe, there are no less than 81 Members coming from the Scheduled Castes. As I said, everybody represents. I do not complain at all about it. But in this

very report there are sections indicating to you what has been done and what the Governments are doing for the economic welfare, for the social welfare, for the moral welfare of these people. My hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee spoke very warmly about educational progress, compulsory education, free education etc. Now, you read the Chapter which deals with what is being done in the educational sphere in many States, and you will find that in many States—Bihar, Bengal, U.P.—education for boys of the Scheduled Castes is completely free...

An Hon. Member: But not compulsory education.

Dr. Katju: ... from the elementary stage right up to the University. I am not saying this by way of jealousy or anything like that. I am not a born Scheduled Caste man, but I have served with Gandhiji for the last 30 or 31 years. Some Hon. Member over there said: "Well, how many servants do you keep of the Harijans?" and that rather pricked me. I am not thinking in terms of the domestic service of Harijans, but I think, like many others here, hundreds of thousands, when we have servants we do not think of them in terms of servants or castes, but regard them as members of the family. I have got several who are like my younger brothers. They live there. We who have served and sat at the feet of Gandhiji have forgotten all that.

Therefore, I do say that you read this report. Please say whatever you want to say about me either by name or innuendo, but for God's sake be fair to the people who are doing some work in the States themselves. From the report itself you will find that every State is occupied with promoting the social welfare, the educational welfare, awarding scholarships etc. For instance, I have got here: In Bihar there are no fees. In Bombay they have spent Rs. 24,71,000 on the Scheduled Castes, on the backward classes Rs. 35,25,000 and all that. Several crores. I do not want to tire

the House, but I do ask you, in fairness to your brethren in the States who are Members there, who are serving there and who are trying there, to be fair to them.

Now, so far as the Constitution is concerned, what has this officer to do? It is part of the Constitution. It is all in the sphere of the State work. He is appointed under Article 338..

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): Nothing is put there.

Dr. Katju: ... "to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct..."

It is all in the sphere of State activity. Amend the Constitution. Take all this away from the State Governments. Say that the Central Government should run all these social welfare schemes, run all these schemes for Harijans—colleges, vocational centres, technical institutions, untouchability and every blessed thing—and then, of course, I quite agree that there should be room for a Ministry of Social Services or Social Welfare. But now the work is going on in the States. Every State is doing something,—may be a little slow, may be a little fast. In Bihar they are doing wonderful work. In Bombay they are doing very well. In Uttar Pradesh they are doing very well. For the next two or three years Rs. 40 crores is going to be spent.

My hon. friend over there raised the point that it is rather extravagant. I shall get this matter investigated. Government machinery is always a little extravagant. You better have non-official machinery and this thing will be done on the right path.

I only want to take another ten minutes or so, but I do want to take a proper view of these matters. Regarding untouchability, I ventured to inform the House that a Bill will be introduced. In order to save time, so

[Dr. Katju]

that immediately public opinion may be available to us, it will be published in the Gazette probably in a day or two, say Monday next. Hon. Members may read that. We will do the utmost that we can. But I would like to venture to appeal to my hon. friends from the Scheduled Castes that this untouchability is not merely between a high caste and a low caste, but it is there graded even amongst the Scheduled Castes themselves.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: It is only on account of you.

Dr. Katju: You better get rid of me, and if you think that by getting rid of me, you can get rid of this untouchability, I am perfectly at your disposal, you can cut my throat. You are talking here sitting in Delhi, you do not go to the villages and see what is happening.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : आप से मैंने
ज्यादा दूर किया है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. These are some of the facts, of which the hon. Member must be aware.

Dr. Katju: My hon. friends cannot restrain themselves.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I have a right to speak, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: When the hon. Minister says something wrong, it is our duty to correct him. There are no caste differences among the Scheduled Castes.

Shri Veeraswamy (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): These differences are there only among the Brahmins; amongst the Scheduled Castes, there is no untouchability at all. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. These age-long differences are there. The hon. Minister is trying to develop his argument now. Hon. Members had their own opportunities to speak. There is no good interrupting the hon. Minister like this. The hon. Minister

need not look at them, he may look at me, and speak

Dr. Katju: They have such magnetic influences on me, that I cannot help looking at them. Anyhow, now I shall look at you and speak.

As I said earlier, I am a devotee of Gandhiji, and so my personality is of no account. Apart from what Government may do in the administrative sphere, there is a good deal more to be done in the persuasive sphere, and I wish that all my hon. friends and everybody else outside would join together to eradicate this curse of untouchability throughout the land.

Great stress was laid upon appointments. So far as I am personally concerned, though they have wanted only two Ministers, I am prepared to give them four Ministers, four Deputy Ministers, and 8 Parliamentary Secretaries. You may have them as much as you like but please remember....

Shri Nanadas (Ongole—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What about a separate Minister for Scheduled Castes? (*Interruptions*).

Dr. Katju: But my friends forget one thing very much. (*Interruptions*.)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Members may keep silent.

Dr. Katju: If you appoint two Ministers, and three Deputy Ministers, the result will be that out of 12 crores of people, only five will be better provided. What I have always been thinking of has been for the purpose of improving the lot of all these 12 crores of people, and not five or six people.

Let me tell you one thing. Here is my hon. colleague sitting in the House. Somebody mentioned the name of a former colleague of mine, holding charge of the Law Ministry, the illustrious Dr. Ambedkar. When we had two Scheduled Caste Ministers in the Central Government, was the condition of the Scheduled Castes materially improved? Let us get a

clear answer to that. (*Interruptions.*) The point is this. As my hon. friend Shri Jaipal Singh was saying—I seldom agree with him, but on this occasion I agree with him—it is really not a question of having two Ministers or no Ministers. I am longing for the day when the number of high officers, members of the UPSC, the State Public Service Commissions, officers in the army, navy and everywhere else, will increase to such an extent, that the services would be genuinely representative of every section of the community, including the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. That is my innermost desire, and I hope that I may live to see it. But the way you are putting it, I tell you as an advocate, is not a persuasive one....

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: Our way is quite correct. A time will come when we will rule this country.

Dr. Katju: ...because you forget the country, and you think that if you get a Scheduled Castes Minister, he will be your representative. It is just like saying, if I get a Brahmin Minister, that Brahmin Minister will not look to India, will not look to the interests of the Anglo-Indians, or the Sikhs or the Parsis, but he will only look to the interests of Brahmins, and he will protect me. (*Interruptions.*)

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: Brahmins are everywhere, throughout India. Our heart is burning like anything when we see that they always keep us away from our rights.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. That is not the proper way of looking at it.

Shri B. S. Murthy: My hon. friend stated that his heart is burning. So, let us wait for a minute. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let there be greater seriousness in the House.

Dr. Katju: This debate sometimes degenerates on that side, due to lack of, shall I say, sincerity and seriousness P.S.D.

ness, and therefore it creates no influence anywhere. I wanted it to be influential and weighty. A weighty speech was made by my hon. friend from the tribal areas, from Madhya Pradesh. There was another weighty speech, if you will allow me to say so, by my esteemed hon. friend representing the Anglo-Indians. He drew pointed attention to some facts about the grants. I was to some extent aware of them in Bengal. Probably it was due to the number of children or something like that, I do not know. But I shall have all that carefully examined and investigated. If necessary, I shall write to the State Governments, and draw their attention to it. These things can be done. But if you say, as my hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee in a fit of generosity says, oh, minimum qualifications are not required for the post of a Governor, therefore appoint a Governor from amongst these people. What is it? The Governor is a head of the State...

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: Appoint Mussalmans everywhere.

Dr. Katju: Just consider what he says. There is a Governor in his own State, belonging to the Christian community. He wants to lower the status of a Governor by saying, you can appoint any one, he may not have even the minimum qualification. To try to lower and degrade the office of the Governor....(*Interruptions.*)

Shri B. S. Murthy: On a point of order, Sir...

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): It is entirely wrong and improper to attribute that statement to me. I do not think that that point...(*Interruptions.*)

Shri B. S. Murthy: On a point of order. The hon. Minister stated that by appointing Harijans, the standards will be lowered. Is it not an insult to the community?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Nothing of that kind. The hon. Member Shri B. S. Murthy has evidently not understood or followed the line of reasoning of the hon. Minister. He has stated that such a great man is

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

in charge of the governorship of West Bengal, and how can we afford to reduce the dignity of the office. Merely because hon. Members say that no qualifications are necessary for the post of Governor, therefore, anybody can be appointed, can we appoint persons with no qualifications and thereby lower the dignity of the post to which persons of extremely high qualifications are appointed? That is the line of argument that has been adopted by the hon. Minister, so far as I have been able to see.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: The hon. Minister is orthodox-minded. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member Shri P. N. Rajabhoj has a habit of getting up almost every time. I will not name him, but I am really sorry he should again and again get up thinking that it is a big privilege to get up and interrupt.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I am also very sorry.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member interrupts again, I shall have to take more serious notice of it.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I can walk out.

Dr. Gangadhara Siva (Chittoor—Reserved—Sch. Castes): It is only on a point of information that he rose, and not on a point of order.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He did not say so.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : मेरी काम्यु-
निटी पर जब अनाय होता है और
जब गलत बात होती है तो कहना पड़ता है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is not the only representative of that community. There are other hon. Members sitting all round the House, representing that community. Again and again, he wants the impression to be created that he is the sole accredited leader of his community, and goes on interrupting the proceedings in the House. I would not allow this any more.

Dr. Gangadhara Siva: It was only a question of information, and not a point of order. Am I to understand that there are no qualified personalities for that post, in our community?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are many qualified people. There is no question of that.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): But none is selected.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I thought the hon. Minister was only answering some general remarks that no qualifications are necessary. I do not think the hon. Minister wanted to say that there are no qualified people available from among Scheduled Castes. On the other hand, from the report I find that there are students who have taken to law, who have studied up to M.A., and so on, 80 per cent. of the scholarship applications from Scheduled Castes candidates have been granted, 75 per cent. of scholarship applications from the tribal people have been granted, and so on. (*Interruptions.*)

4 P.M.

Dr. Katju: I was rather hurt...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister may say clearly, so that there need not be any misunderstanding. The difficulty is that sometimes.....

Shri S. S. More: On a point of order, Sir. Can the Deputy-Speaker give some guidance to the Minister regarding his responsibility.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Sometimes humour can be carried too far. I am very sorry about it. This is a very serious matter. There are a number of hon. Members who feel very much that sufficient things have not been done. Each one has come forward with his own grievances. They are being considered. The hon. Minister is trying to give an explanation to the best of his ability. Now, when I make a suggestion, let there be no remark of this kind. I do not think it right at all that we should

indulge in remarks which will be laughing-stock for the rest and for ourselves also.

Dr. Katju: Sir, I did not want to say anything, but I was rather hurt by a comment made by my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee, in his speech yesterday when he said: 'You have said somewhere in this report that there should be a minimum qualification for appointments to certain jobs'. Then he said: 'Why don't you appoint them Governors for which no minimum qualifications are required?' I thought this was a very unfortunate remark. It tended to lower the status, the dignity, the rank and the office of Governor, because that high office requires first-class qualifications. That was what I intended to say. That was the only thing. So far as qualifications are concerned, so far as education is concerned, in the Scheduled Castes, in the tribal areas, I know that there are advocates, doctors and physicians, and we can trust that the State Public Service Commission will do the needful when appointments are made. In this very report, you will find—I think in appendix III or IV—in different States how many people have been appointed in the reserved posts. The number may be small in some States, great in some; but everything is being done to carry out this thing.

For instance, I read yesterday in a paper from Allahabad—I do not know anything about the facts, but this is a sort of jacket news:

"Jobs go abegging in Banaras and the district authorities are having a novel experience of getting no applications good, bad or indifferent, for filling vacancies in the Revenue department. The posts are, of course, meant only for Harijans."

May be true. I do not know. There are no applications made. Therefore, we do not know the history of it.

What I have been saying to the utmost of my ability was that instead of diverting the debate and the attention upon the number of services, cur attention should be devoted here,

elsewhere in the States, for raising the educational, social and economic level of the total people. And as soon as that level is raised, I am perfectly certain that in every sphere of our national life, ministerial, political, military—every sphere—you will find first class men coming from every part of the country. I have full admiration, great admiration, I tell you how much I admire my friend over there (*referring to Shri Uikey*), because if there is one community here in India which has stood firm to the rock of independence and suffered all sorts of privations during the last two thousand years, it is the Adibasi community, the men who retired into the forests and jungles but would not allow themselves to be subjected by any ruler—may be foreign or may be from India. They are a fine people. You have only to look at them. We are doing our best.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: Not for Scheduled Castes.

Dr. Katju: We want them to come up. Therefore, our attention and our most vigorous efforts should be directed to them by providing money, by providing every sort of relief for raising their level as a whole. By appointing people to one or two offices—I am not saying that they should not be appointed; if competent men are available, you appoint as many as you like—but if you think that by appointing one officer or two you will get something which you will not get otherwise, it may be we are misdirecting ourselves. That was all that I intended to say. I do not want to sound a discordant note...

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muza-farpur Central): ...and detain the House any longer.

Dr. Katju: I have already said about the Anglo-Indian community that I shall have the points raised examined.

Secondly, my hon. friend from Madhya Pradesh said—I know it—that in several areas—Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat—the tribals have not been properly enumerated, properly entered in the census. Now, we might get the President's order connected, but it is a matter of not very urgent

[Dr. Katju:]

importance. So I thought to myself that I had better wait till the submission of the Backward Classes Commission's report. They will go into it; they have been directed to go into this matter, and this we can then do it all at once.

Lastly, Sir, here is this report. This was submitted to us sometime early in the year and some hon. friends told me that it does not contain a sufficient narrative of what action has been taken upon the suggestions made by the Special officer. The next report will be due early in the year—just like this—and if I can manage it and if the hon. the Speaker will agree to it, we may have an earlier debate upon the report so that it may not become out of time. This is for the year 1952-53 and we are now at the end of the year 1953. We will get the next report for 1953 in February or March and we might have an earlier debate, in the month of April or May if time is available.

Let me assure the House before I sit down that I cordially welcome this debate. I look forward to constructive suggestions. You may condemn me personally as much as you like. That does not hurt me because I try to do my duty. You may rest assured that, like the heart of all of you, my heart is in this work. I want to see these people rising because India cannot prosper, India cannot remain free and independent unless we have these 12 crores of people with us. Do you mean to say that without these 12 crores of people, we can shine in this world? They are part of us; they are as much the rulers of this country as I am. They have got the vote. They can do anything they like. But we want to proceed as quickly as we can, vigorously. Therefore, I welcome constructive suggestions. I shall get every speech examined. I do not know what the result will be of that examination, because very few suggestions made have been constructive—excepting those of Mr. Anthony and my hon. friend over there. Otherwise, it has been a cry—appoint a Lieuten-

ant Governor, appoint a Counsellor, appoint this or that. (Interruptions.)

I shall get that also examined, and we shall consider all aspects.

Shri Ganapati Ram: On a point of information, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: So much has been said.

श्री गणपति राम : अभी जैसा कि मंत्री महोदय ने बताया कि बनारस से प्राप्त रिपोर्टों के अनुसार वहाँ नौकरियों के लिए गैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के उम्मीदवार नहीं मिलते, मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उन को पचासों मैट्रीकुलेट, बी.ए. और इंटर पास आदमी दे सकता हूँ ।

डा० काटजू : मैं आप को नाम व पता भेज दूंगा, आप दे दीजियेगा ।

Shri Kelappan (Ponnani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I did not want to interrupt the Home Minister when he was speaking. Now, he was speaking about the dignity and the status of the Governor and all that. I should like to remind him that Gandhiji once said something to the effect that he would be happy to see a Harijan girl raised to the position of the President.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But Gandhiji did not say that the Harijan girl need not know ABC.

Shri Velayudhan: Nobody said that an illiterate man should be appointed as Governor.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is all right. We are now going off the track. The only point was that some minimum qualifications were placed. He said those minimum qualifications must be satisfied. Then the hon. Minister understood that it was said that there were no minimum qualifications laid down for Governorships and therefore appointments should be made to that post. Then he said that the post of Governor requires high qualifications.

Dr. Katju: Exactly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is what the hon. Minister wanted to mean.

Now, there are a number of amendments that have been moved.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order please. The hon. Member does not know, even after he has been here for a year and a half that he ought not to get up when I am standing.

Out of these various amendments, if any hon. Member wants to have his amendment put to the House I will put it.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Only one, No. 20, Sir; you may kindly put it to the vote.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In the name of?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Mr. Rajabhoj, Sir.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Sir, my amendment, No. 8, may also be put to the vote.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member was absent when he was called. Therefore it has not been moved.

श्री गजपति राम : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा जो अमेन्डमेन्ट है उस पर मैं दो मिनट बोल कर खतम कर दूंगा, यह बहुत इम्पोर्टेंट है और खास दिल्ली का मामला है, यहां के शैड्यूलड कास्ट्स का ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Many things are important; I will put No. 20 to the vote of the House.

Shri B. S. MURTHY: Sir, my amendment, No. 6, may be put; it is a very innocuous amendment and I think the Government can accept it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes, No. 6 also.

Shri Nanadas: Nos. 44 and 45 also, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes, 44 and 45.

Now, I will put amendment No. 6, the amendment of Mr. Murthy to vote.

The question is:

That in the motion, the following be added at the end, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government should take more constructive steps in order to remove all the disabilities to which these Communities are subjected to at present."

The motion was negatived.

An Hon. Member: No. 8, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He did not press it.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Sir, you said that I did not press it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member was not present here at that time.

The question is:

That in the motion, the following be added at the end, namely:—

"(a) and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in order to raise the social level of the Scheduled castes, all reserved posts in Government services should be filled with Scheduled Caste candidates by relaxing some of the conditions such as minimum qualification etc. which may not be fulfilled by Scheduled Caste candidates;

(b) the Government should grant special scholarships to deserving Scheduled Caste students for going to foreign countries for higher academic and technical education;

(c) the landless Scheduled Caste people should be provided with land and other implements so that unemployment among those people would be minimised, and that special Taqavi Loans should be given to them in the initial stage;

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

- (d) a separate Ministry on the same lines as that of Rehabilitation Ministry should be formed with a view to safeguarding the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to bring them to the level of other advanced classes in India in economic, educational and social matters; and
- (e) immediate steps should be taken to provide Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with compulsory primary education all over India."

The Noes have it.

An Hon. Member: The Ayes have it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find only 35 for, and a very large number against. The amendment is lost.

The motion was negatived.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Sir, many are in the lobbies.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Any hon. Member or the whip of a party must keep his Members ready here.

Shri Nambiar: The bell may be rung. What is the use of the bell, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not going to ring the bell. It is not for bringing in lazy Members. The hon. Members have come here leaving their homes. What are they here for? What is the attraction in the lobby? They not only do not discharge their duties but impose additional responsibility upon the Chair.

The question is:

That in the motion, the following be added at the end, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the cultivable waste lands in the country and the waste lands reclaimed by the

Government organisations both of the States and of the Centre, should be distributed to persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes without any delay."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

That in the motion, the following be added at the end, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that—

- (a) members of the Scheduled Tribes, who have been adversely affected by the prohibition of *jhuming* or shifting cultivation should be rehabilitated;
- (b) the Scheduled Tribes of Tripura should not be ousted from the land belonging to them due to the requisitioning of such land by the Government for settling others there;
- (c) free land, implements and seeds should be given to landless persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All the other amendments are lost.

There is no more to be done regarding this motion. It has already been taken into consideration.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR 1953-54

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will now proceed to the consideration of the supplementary demands for 1953-54.

If any of the hon. Members who have given notice of cut motions want any of the motions to be moved, they may stand in their places.