

article 338 of the Constitution, but on some other matters also. I am glad that Mr. Kamble, who is, I think, an advocate, saw through this and said that at least that portion of it which relates to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which comes under article 338, ought to be placed on the Table or made available to the House.

I, therefore, give the privilege to the hon. Minister to score out or withhold that portion which I have seen, which does not relate to the cause of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes here, but entirely and absolutely relating to some cases of loot or arson on the part of X, Y or Z, against whom cases may be pending. Therefore, the hon. Minister will make this report available to the Members of Parliament, as early as possible. In the meanwhile the discussion may go on. The report may be despatched to the hon. Members today evening so that they may go through it before the discussion starts tomorrow.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I want clarification on a particular point. My hon. friend has brought a new picture into this argument. As far as the reporting is concerned, it has to be at such intervals as the President may direct. There is no dispute about that. Because of the technical language of the Constitution, some screening may be necessary. But I want to know whether the convention is going to be given a go by. When the report has been submitted to Parliament, is he running away from that practice?

Mr. Speaker: No.

Shri Jaipal Singh: The hon. Minister said that it is not necessary to present it every year. It is there in the Hansard. Because of the Ramanathapuram incident, which is really something ancillary to this debate, because some questions were asked yesterday, on the debate on this particular issue he hinted—I only wanted to be sure in my mind—he said that

“at such intervals” may be even every five years or every ten years.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat. He is unnecessarily complicating the issue. Hon. Members ought not to invite the decision of the Chair on matters which do not arise immediately, whatever may be the observations of the hon. Minister. Now, he has placed the annual reports in this House. Both the annual reports are before the House. Whatever his remarks might be, if he refuses to place the annual report next time, we will address ourselves to it. It is not as if he can put it off merely because it is said at such intervals and present them not annually but every two years or three years. That matter does not arise. We need not unnecessarily complicate.

Shri Datar: We are following the practice of presenting the report every year. Let the hon. Member have no fear.

Mr. Speaker: In addition to the Ramanathapuram report.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shrimati Alva): Sir, I move:

“That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1955 and 1956-57, be taken into consideration.”

The two Reports are before this House. In a way, it is a good thing to have both the reports discussed together. Might be, some hon. friends here do not agree with me. But, a close study of the two reports gives you more information and it serves our purpose, as to what we have been able to do and what we have been able to achieve.

This subject of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is basically a socio-economic subject and it becomes

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so more and more in the present day context. For, if the socio-economic condition of these people improves as fast as we want it to improve, there would no longer be Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. It is because of this, shall we say, slow process that it becomes magnified than ever before. We have to view of this problem of centuries past. It is not a problem of yesterday. We have inherited it in this land. Centuries have passed and it has remained with us. And, as all hon. Members here are aware, superstition orthodox and fanaticism die hard. I am one with those who will say on this subject that it is very true. That is why it becomes not only socio-economic, but it becomes a problem that has to be tackled with purity of heart. You have to employ both your head and your heart and I think it is more of the heart and the purity of approach that can solve this problem.

I shall, during my speech now, show how much the Government is spending, allotting and utilising money for this one particular object of removal of untouchability and the amelioration of the tribal people. Still, I am one with the others on the other side who are impatient, I do not want to say that they are wrong. They are right and we are right. We are doing everything possible. But, it is a subject in which you need the co-operation of the public. You cannot sit in this august House and say that we have not done well or that we are not prepared to do well. We are doing our best. What we want is co-operation from the public. What we want and what we are trying to do in the Second Five Year Plan is greater co-ordination with the States.

You must remember that this is not an unitary government in this country. This subject of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is primarily the concern of the States. We step in, we provide funds, we appoint officers, we

try to co-ordinate and we try to get progress reports. But, basically all these projects remain within the various States and therefore, it becomes the duty of the States to carry on the schemes that are laid down under the Five Year Plan.

I do not want to blame the States, especially under the First Five Year Plan. We were not able to achieve much. Progress reports were not received in time. At the beginning of this year, with the S.R.C. and the general elections, things became a little slack, because the country and the Governments were concerned with more important things that were happening and taking place in the country. Now with the States reorganisation we have new States another problem arises and that is of the merged territories in most of the States that come out, with the result that we have to put our heads together and it becomes the duty even of every Member here to see that the schemes laid down are carried out. It is for us, who sit here in the capital of the country, when you go back to your constituencies, to bring pressure and see that the tempo increases and something is achieved every year.

At the head of this Ministry, the hon. Home Minister is ever watchful and vigilant. I do not think any one will disagree with me when I say that for ever he is seeking the co-operation and finding ways and means of co-ordinating the different schemes, to bring us nearer to the goal that we have laid down. What is this goal? This goal, this dream was laid down by the Father of the Nation. It was he who brought up this problem before the nation, before the people and it was he who strived to remove untouchability in a very practical manner, perhaps with much less funds. In a sense it is that dream that we want to see fulfilled, we want to see realised. Because of that, we have laid down these guarantees for these

people in the Constitution. It is from these guarantees that we derive our sanction to allocate funds, to appoint officers and to plan in detail so that in the Second Five Year Plan, we should be able to see with our eyes much more than what we have been able to see in the past.

We have appointed Advisory Boards at the Centre and the States have their own Advisory Boards. May be that some hon. Members here may doubt their work. But, there is something good in every institution that we make and there is something bad. There is something good and bad in every man and woman. So, we strive through the Boards, through our officers to fulfil this Plan.

I am happy this afternoon to stand here because, I am aware that all sections of this House agree and sympathise with the task that we have laid before ourselves. The magnitude of the task demands magnanimity from every one in the country. No amount of crores of rupees are going to solve this problem. We are going to spend under the Second Five Year Plan Rs. 91 crores. Under the First Plan we had only Rs. 39 crores. According to our Constitution, article 17, untouchability stands abolished. We make laws, but how are they observed? We are the lawmakers, but we must also strive our utmost to put into practice what we here make from day to day.

Members will criticise, Members will support, this motion. I do know that there is an amount of impatience in this House, especially on the part of some Members who feel that the tempo is not gathering. But how is it to gather? I have said that practical difficulties stand in the way. If you and I could step out and do what we could, I think we could hasten and reach the goal much earlier than what we do by just speaking here. We have to practice in daily life and see that there shall be no untouchability. Mere inter-dining does not remove untouchability, but actual practice of

the pure heart, a belief deep down in your soul. You have to believe that this is smudging the fair name of India, independent India, that the country cannot rise to its full stature if we still proclaim untouchability publicly or secretly. Where does the country go? We are not honest to the country if we do not by thought, word and act believe in the removal of untouchability.

Just before I moved this motion, we discussed a very sad incident that happened in the country. It is deplorable, there is no secret about it. It is distressing and we hang our heads down, but what does it bring to us? It brings to us one fact, that we have to approach these problems of the untouchables and the tribals and the *vimukth jati* people from a different angle. Let us not carry our narrow, parochialism into their midst. Nothing that smacks of political colour will improve their lot, and here and now we must resolve that such incidents, deplorable and distressing, should not happen, and that can stop when all of us decide, and all of us wholeheartedly believe that this is a thing of the past.

How are you going to wash away the sins of centuries in the sunshine of tomorrow, and how far is the morrow to you? We have been speaking for the last 40 years on the removal of untouchability, but we have not washed away those sins from our hands. The sunshine does not beat either on our face or on those humbler folks who live near us and yet far away.

The whole problem looks like a tangled skein from which we want to weave a pattern. We want to weave a pattern of a perfect society, for the simple reason that it will bring greater glory to the country, that we shall proudly boast that this was a thing of the past, that there is no such thing as untouchability in India, that there is a complete amelioration of the tribal people, that those who live

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far away, remote from society, or in the slums in our cities do not carry a stigma on them.

Over the hills and down the dales the tribals live. They harken you with their music and sing. You go to the cities, you go to the slums, you feel that poverty is a crime, and that is indeed truly a picture that stands before us.

We want to fight this, and we shall fight it with a singleness of purpose and with a depth of believe that was laid down by the Father of the Nation. At least on this side of the House we should be very pure, we should believe what we say, and we should work for it as quickly as possible, and bring in a measure of relief so that we can meet even those who are not with us but who believe with us. Members that side do believe with us as to what we are planning. They may not be with us in the sense that they may not give us very practical suggestions, for when it comes to the debate in this House, we shall value your suggestions; we shall value your practical suggestions, we shall examine them thoughtfully, honestly. With the barring of the practical difficulties that stand in our way, we welcome suggestions from all quarters in the country on this measure. Even when a small petition or an application comes to us, or when any one draws our attention to something going wrong, believe me it is examined very thoroughly, it is gone into very carefully.

There may be difficulties in our way, as I have said. There remain difficulties, and they are solved at a human level. Those difficulties can be solved at a human level. We all work within a Constitution, and within the framework of a democracy built on law. That is why the human approach has to be magnified more and more along with the other

approaches that we shall make and are making in the Second Plan.

How do we remove these socio-economic difficulties from the way of these people. The two reports are before you. Members will ask for more recruitment, more scholarships, more houses, more clothes, more land. We are conscious of every one of these facts that you will be laying before us. We are doing our utmost, for, as I have said, in the Second Plan, Rs. 91 crores are going to go out....

An Hon. Member: Out of?

Shrimati Alva: ... out of the Government's treasury—Rs. 59 crores the States will be responsible for; Rs. 32 crores will be for the Centrally-sponsored schemes; Rs. 47 crores will be for the Scheduled Tribes; Rs. 27.5 crores for the Scheduled Castes and the rest for the other backward classes. Under the Centrally-sponsored programme, we have special features in the Second Plan. The hon Members who will partake in this debate must have read the reports, and I do not think that I should dilate by giving the details about the Centrally sponsored schemes.

The Centre, however, has undertaken a new burden of meeting the programmes fifty-fifty with the States. We are going to do it fifty-fifty with the States, but for that also, it is not the fifty-fifty that counts, it is the cent per cent human approach that helps the fifty-fifty. Whether it is fifty-fifty or cent per cent in rupees, annas and pies, if your approach is wrong, you will not make headway, and that has been the trouble in our land.

We have started 43 projects, multi-purpose projects, for which Rs. 642 lakhs will be spent in the Second Plan. Each project will cost Rs. 27 lakhs. Rs. 15 lakhs for each project will be met from the Home Ministry, and Rs. 12 lakhs will come from the

community development projects. When one speaks here about another Ministry, one must admit the fact that sometimes the work gets divided and spread out so much that it becomes difficult to collect the progress reports in time. However, we are vigilant about it. We have issued instructions that the progress reports must come in time, that the collection of those reports should be started in time, and they should come in time for sanctions and grants, so that the work is not held up. In any case, we are also examining the position that the projects undertaken under the Second Plan should not stop because moneys have to be surrendered or moneys lapse or because the budget has not sanctioned anything. Certain committed projects have to be carried on, and I think they will go a long way to help us.

16 hrs.

Now, we come to the question as to who will work at these projects. There is an uneasiness, and rightly so, about the workers, the right type of workers. We felt that difficulty in the First Five Year Plan. We are trying to get over the difficulty by putting up training centres and by giving grants to the Tata School of Social Sciences Every year—I speak subject to correction—about sixty students go there either for refresher courses or for the full length courses. I have seen that school myself.

Mr. Speaker: Are there any course specially devoted to informing them of the conditions among the tribes?

Shrimati Alva: Yes. We have research institutes and we have training centres. I saw in this Tata School of Social Sciences six young men and women from Assam, who were being trained up and who were to go back. Even the free movement of the workers in and about the country helps the psychology and improves the quality of work.

As regards technical training institutes, under the Second Plan, Rs. 15 lakhs will be spent to put up five institutions. Imphal has already an institution of this sort.

Almost every week, the question comes up in this House about housing of these people. The lack of housing, and the lack of allocation of lands comes up and up. But you forget the basic fact how vast this land is and how vast the problem is. If we have not been able to change the heart of our fellowmen, and their approach, then you must take the physical size of the country into consideration, and it certainly will take us some time before we shall be able to stand here and say that we are well on our way in solving this problem.

For housing, in the Second Plan, Rs. 550 lakhs are earmarked under the State sector. This again is on a 50:50 basis between the Centre and the States. Of course, when a house has to be built, the beneficiary has to come forward and give his voluntary labour in the form of manual labour.

Shri Goray (Poona): How many houses were built in the First Five Year Plan period?

Shrimati Alva: I shall be giving those figures when I reply to this debate.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Kakmad—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Till then, patience.

Shrimati Alva: There is also the Centrally sponsored housing allocation which runs to Rs. 406 lakhs.

Now, what will these people do, and how they be employed? We have started all kinds of institutes and training centres. As far as the tribals go, cottage industries have a good planning. We have so much of handicrafts and hand-craft with our tribes, that we can very usefully use them and train them up to produce

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manufactured goods under the cottage industries department.

Agriculture, of course, is the main thing for most of these people. But as far as the tribals who live on the hills go, they have a shifting cultivation. Rs. 4.03 crores are set aside for the purpose of developing agriculture for them, and the tribals are trained to wean away from their old habits of shifting cultivation, where they leave every plot of ground after every harvest.

But, however much one may do on a governmental level, we still have to leave a lot to the non-governmental agencies, and we have to assist these non-governmental agencies, for they are doing good work in this direction. As for the non-official organisations, Government gives 80 per cent., and the private agency has to contribute 20 per cent. Sometimes, the private agencies find it difficult even to contribute this 20 per cent. and then get 80 per cent. or the bulk of the amount from Government, for it is the conditions of the grant. But from day to day we are examining these issues to see whether the agencies are good enough. I personally feel that voluntary workers do a great deal because they come out with a missionary zeal. I have seen it in some parts of the country, how voluntary organisations are doing splendid work, because for them there is no such thing as hours of duty, there is no such thing as a salary packet at the end of the month, and there is no such thing as doing it for some purpose. They put their heart and soul into the work, and they live in the wilds and they carry on their work. It is very pleasing to note that such agencies are coming forward in increasing numbers, going into remote corners, building up institutions such as schools, hospitals etc. and carrying on good work, which, I think, is manifold in comparison with some of our other institutions which do not work well. I do not want here to hide anything from this House. I do

admit that some schemes are working very well and some others are not working very well. Those schemes that are not working very well will not work very well unless you and I take it in hand, wherever it is near us, and put some sort of incentive into the work.

If you want to raise the level of these people, the basic thing to do for any set of human beings is education. If you want them to conform to certain social patterns, the basic thing is education. We shall have to emphasise in the future the education of girls even more than the education of the boys. Hon. Members may not agree with me but I do feel, and I do want to convince them that 'If you educate a woman, you educate a family; if you educate a man, you educate an individual.' Therefore, we shall have to strive every nerve and sinew to educate the tribal girls and the Harijan girls. I have seen both the tribal schools and the Harijan hostels where little girls are studying today. They are bright little girls. What opportunity will they have?

Some hon. Members who harp day in and day out that Government must give employment, must consider whether it is fair for the Government to give employment all the time. What is the private sector doing? What are the individuals doing. Employment will have to be offered on a larger scale for these people. The girls especially will have to be given more opportunities to come out in our civilised society so that when they go back to their own people, they know what social pattern means. I may sound very foolish because I am a woman.....

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shrimati Alva: But it is only a woman who can see it in the correct perspective. It is only a woman who can feel for the downtrodden. If men

felt so, there should have been no untouchability nor the tribal people in the medieval stage today.

Shri B. S. Murthy: She is correct.

Shrimati Alva: Now, we come to scholarships. We have to pay every boy and girl who wants to study and go ahead. I think we must also persuade the private sector and men and women of means to undertake to educate bright young people, both from the tribal people and from the Scheduled Castes.

As regards scholarships, you will be surprised to see how much we are giving them. The Ministry of Education gives exemptions to pre-matric (now SSLC) and post-SSLC students who are children of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Over and above that, there is an *ad hoc* method of payments; *ad hoc* payments are made to the institutions because we had complaints that students were not receiving their scholarships in time and they were handicapped in getting admitted to schools and colleges. We have found a way out by these *ad hoc* payments so that the children need not suffer, whether they are at the college level or at any other level.

We have tried to abolish the means test to give scholarship. We want to give a fair chance to all the youngsters who come along from these people. We want them to go ahead so that very soon they will say, 'We shall stand on our merits and no reservation for us'. However, we have reservation today—20 per cent of seats in technical institutes for boys and girls coming from these families.

An Hon. Member: What about backward classes?

Shrimati Alva: The Report of the Backward Classes Commission is not being discussed today. But backward class students are not forgotten. They are there. The Education Ministry has a list. Their cases are considered and all attention is given. They do also enjoy the benefits that others get.

Now, I come to the most important point, legal assistance, since all kinds of demands will be made in this House. We have on our Statute-book the Removal of Untouchability Offences Act of 1955. Offences under this Act are cognizable. Nevertheless, in other cases where legal assistance is necessary, again it is shared on a 50:50 basis, and in the Union territories, on a cent per cent. basis, by the Government of India.

The unduly long time taken for progress reports to come to us from the States is one reason why we are not able to go full measure with our plans. But we hope that in future with better methods and ways planned out, these reports will come in time and grants will go in time and work shall not suffer.

Now we come to the services. I think most of the hon. Members know that 12-1/2 per cent. of vacancies are filled by open competition and 18-2/3 of the vacancies are filled otherwise than through open competition. Percentages have been fixed for recruitment on a regional basis taking into account the population of these classes in the region, subject to a minimum reservation of 5 per cent. for Scheduled Tribes. I do not think there should be any grievance on these grounds (*Interruptions*).

An Hon. Member: It should be doubled.

Shrimati Alva: I sympathise with the view that it should be doubled....

Shri Thimmajah (Kolar—Reserv- ed—Sch. Castes): We should see to implementation of these.

Shrimati Alva: I think the time has come when the efficient and well-trained men from these people should get a fair chance and should be able to stand firm and say, 'I come on my merit'. I know they will need reservation for many a day. I do admit that they will need reservation for, may be, even a generation more. But let not such cases be hidden under this protection.

Shri Thimmataiah: How can it be? Our position is an open secret.

Shrimati Alva: For once education is given and ability is shown, I do not think anyone can keep anyone else back. I know what is in the mind of the hon. friend when he makes a whispering statement.

I do not think I shall give you the figures as regards those who appeared for the I.A.S. and I.P.S. and recruitment thereafter.

One hon. Member mentioned the backward classes. I shall only refer to the backward classes and wind up my speech. Hon. Members are aware—it was answered in this House the other day—that the Report of the Backward Classes Commission will be examined after an *ad hoc* survey is made in a few States to find out what is backwardness and who is backward. If you consider who belong to backward classes, then I think three-fourths of India will be backward (*Interruptions*). So we have to bear in mind what is backwardness. I may be backward, my neighbour may be backward, for so many factors come in. What kind of backwardness does one suffer from? To clear this up, we shall have an *ad hoc* survey. I hope we shall satisfy hon. Members here and the public at large that the backward classes which are not neglected now shall stand on firmer ground after the survey.

I have nothing more to say. I shall welcome criticism, if you call it criticism, but I shall call it suggestions, though you may mean criticism very genuinely. But when you give us your valued suggestions, please bear in mind that whether we work in Parliament or outside, whether we work to understand the working of a private firm or the working of government, we must know that to every practical suggestion there should be an incentive and we must always bear in mind that however much we may try to avoid, practical difficulties also arise

that stand in the way for some time but not all time.

With these few words, I now welcome the discussion.

Shri B. S. Murthy: The motion must be moved, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: The motion has already been moved. I am placing the motion formally before the House. Motion moved:

“That the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, be taken into consideration.”

There are a number of amendments that have been tabled. I will call one after the other the hon. Members who are here, and ascertain whether they want to move the amendments.

Shri Sanganna (Koraput—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

(i) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that more emphasis should be placed on the minor irrigation projects in the tribal and the scheduled areas of the country.”

(ii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that projects should be taken up in the tribal and scheduled areas of the country for providing more employment for labour.”

(iii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that the landless agricultural Adivasi and Harijan labourers be settled on the reclaimed and gramdan lands."

(iv) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that permanent schemes should be made for the proper marketing of the agricultural produce of the Adivasis."

(v) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that adequate medical facilities should be provided in the Tribal and the Scheduled Areas of the country."

Shri B. S. Murthy: I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, appreciates the progress made so far and recommends that efforts be accelerated to help backward sections of the people to become full and equal members of

the Socialist Society at an early date."

Shri K. C. Jena (Balasore—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

(1) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, recommends to the Government that sufficient funds be provided for helping the Scheduled Castes and Adivasis to build their houses particularly those who live mainly on daily wages."

(ii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that economic holdings of land be allotted to the landless Scheduled Castes and Adivasis of India."

Shri Siddiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that—

(i) a Commission be appointed to assess the progress made so far and to suggest effective measures for eradicating untouchability in the country; and

(ii) more educational facilities be provided to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Shri B. C. Mallik (Kandrapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

(i) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that sizeable holding of land be provided to each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe family in order to improve its economic condition.”

(ii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that a Parliamentary Committee be set up with necessary powers to enquire into the progress made so far in removal of untouchability in different States in the country and to submit its Report within six months suggesting measures for expediting the removal of untouchability.”

Shri Kiyaperumal (Chidambaram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that suitable steps be taken,—

(a) to check the employment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes children below the age of fourteen;

(b) to protect the Scheduled Castes from being compelled to do indecent jobs against their volition; and

(c) to eradicate untouchability in India.”

Shri R. C. Majhi (Mayurbhanj—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

(i) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that education should be imparted to the Adivasi children in their mother tongue at the primary and the secondary stages.”

(ii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that all development works in the tribal areas and the Scheduled areas of the country should be done by the Government through the co-operative organizations.”

(iii) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that the agricultural produce of the Adivasis should be marketed through the multi-purpose co-operative societies.”

(iv) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that the officers posted to the scheduled areas of the country should be trained properly to serve the Adivasis to their best interests.”

(v) That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House having considered the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1955 and 1956-57, is of the opinion that medical facilities should be made available to the Adivasis by creating mobile dispensaries in large numbers.”

Mr. Speaker: These substitute motions are before the House. Discussion may start now. There are a number of hon. Members who want to take part in the debate. Will each hon. Member be satisfied with 10 minutes?

An Hon. Member: Fifteen minutes.

Mr. Speaker: Yes. I shall give opportunity first to the States—to all the 14 States; there are 3 other small ones also. Then I will call parties. I won't ignore the parties or the States. Before a party or a State gets a second turn I shall see that all the States and the parties are exhausted. It does not mean that I am going to call all the Congress Members—375 of them. I will call the spokesmen of parties. We have got two days. Each party will try to put up one or two Members. Even though the party is small in number I shall give at least one spokesman of that party an opportunity.

Now, I call a Member from the Communist Party.

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura): Mr. Speaker, Sir, after a long interval today we are discussing the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1955-56 and 1956-57. Sir, the earlier report for the year 1955 could not be discussed in this House before because Government would not make any time available for discussion.

Just now the hon. Minister said that the Home Ministry of the Government have been trying their utmost to develop the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, to bring them to the level of other people. But the fact remains that for the last 2 years we could not discuss the report here. That shows how the Government is dealing with the matter. This is not a question of time factor. It is a question of approach; it is a question of how the Government have tried to deal with the matter. That must be understood.

I want to deal with some problems. Our Constitution has provided certain guarantees for the safeguard of the interests of Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. There are the Directive Principles of the Constitution. They require that the children of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes should be given ample opportunities for education; they should be given security of land tenure and facilities for housing and so on. In short, they should be given all political, social and economic facilities. It is the moral and the constitutional duty of Government to look after the interests of these sections of the people.

Let us examine how our Government have fulfilled that task and whether they are treating the matter in right earnest. The hon. Minister has said that 20 per cent of the seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There may be some seats reserved; but that does not mean that all these people can avail themselves of these chances. Unless you touch the basic

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problem and give them ample opportunities to give them education and to bring them up to the level of others, reservation of seats alone will not solve the problem.

Here I can mention one fact. There was a starred question, question No. 25. The question was asked as to the number of gazetted officers working in the Railway Department at present, both technical and non-technical and how many of them belonged to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The answer was that there were 3,460 officers and out of them only 9 persons of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

If you go further, in the Planning Commission, there are 216 gazetted officers; out of them 153 are technical and 63 non-technical. I think only one Technical Officer belongs to the Scheduled Castes and not even a single person belonging to the Scheduled Tribes.

This shows how our Government is working in this matter. Very often it is said that the Government have reserved certain seats and suitable candidates with the requisite qualifications are not available. If that is a fact, am I to believe that all these people are quite unfit and all these people cannot come to the level of others even in spite of the opportunities that have been provided to them? The main thing is that though much has been said in the Constitution, we should not forget that real opportunities were not given to them.

Take, for instance, the land problem which essentially concerns the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the backward classes and communities. Nobody can ignore or deny the thousands of tribal people engaged in shifting cultivation. Thousands of agricultural, plantation and forest labourers are landless. This population forms a major portion of the peasantry. Land problem has not been properly attend-

ed to. All these people are not given settlement in the land and the land problem has not been dealt with properly. If the Government did not undertake to solve this problem, even the fraction of the problem cannot be touched.

Mere allocation of some money and some services here and there does not solve the problem. There should be a correct approach to the whole problem; otherwise, this problem cannot be solved. What does Mahatma Gandhi say about giving opportunity to the people of this community who have been exploited for generations? In his article in *Harijan*, June 1947, he says:

"Jawaharlal cannot be replaced today whilst the charge is being taken from the Englishmen. He, a Harrow boy, a Cambridge graduate and a barrister, is wanted to carry, on negotiations with Englishmen. But the time is fast coming when India will have to elect its first President of the Republic that is coming. I would rejoice to think that we had a mehtar girl of stout heart, incorruptible and of crystal-like purity to become the first President. It is no vain dream and there are such Harijan girls, if we would but set our hearts on having rustic Presidents ... Our President of the future would not be required to know English. They would have as their counsellors wise patriots, knowing the necessary foreign languages and the art of true statesmanship."

That was the approach of Mahatma Gandhi. But even after ten years of Independence we say that people of the requisite qualification are not available and so on. That is not correct. Sufficient care and opportunity had not been provided. We should touch that problem.

The entire nation has been suffering from the political unrest in the

Naga Hills. This is not a new thing. The trouble originated during the British period. Yet, we cannot solve that problem. If the matter was rightly tackled, the situation in that area might not have taken such an unhappy turn. But the hill people of Assam, though backward in many respects, are very brave and freedom loving, as is generally the case with regard to all the tribal people. Their elemental self-respect and the right to freedom often expressed in a rather exclusive form, are very keen and any sudden intervention in their traditional ways of life, generally evokes strong resistance. From the British rulers down to our Congress rulers—they did not realise the reality of the situation and did not give proper and deep thought to that problem. They chose to remain satisfied with saying that they were unruly and criminal people, breakers of law and order, disloyal separatists and so on and all kinds of motives were attributed to these people. They have chosen to solve this problem using Tommy guns, bullets and so on by using the Preventive Detention Act. But you cannot solve the real problem by crushing people who are discontent. The problem requires proper understanding and special attempts must be made.

There is a strong feeling—rightly too—about some unhappy incidents in Ramanathapuram District of Madras. The entire nation should be ashamed of that. One should not forget that this is the outcome of the long-drawn and accumulated discontent of the people of that particular community. Social justice has been denied to the people there by those in the upper strata. It should not be looked as a mere law-breaking or an undesirable element. You must try to realise the genuine grievance of those people. They may have very genuine grievances which must be studied and redressed. Otherwise, the flames of accumulated discontent of those people might flare up which will be disastrous to the entire nation. So, I

request the Government to look into this matter.

Now, coming to the question....

Mr. Speaker: There is no more question. He has taken 15 minutes.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I require at least 20 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: I will not allow.

Shri B. C. Mallick: Both the reports cover a period of 27 months; at least 27 minutes may be allowed.

Shri Sonavane (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch Castes): If the time limit is 15 minutes, it should be strictly adhered to.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. There is no good coming to the point now. He must have come to the point earlier. I cannot go on extending the time. Two days—ten hours—have been allotted. I want to give an opportunity to all groups and all States.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: What about the time allotted to our Party, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: There is no question of any party in this matter. All of you belong to the same party.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): All of us do not belong to the same party; that is clear.

Mr. Speaker: So far as Scheduled Castes are concerned, they belong to one party, the Scheduled Castes. There is no question of bargaining like this. I will call another hon. Member. Shri Siva Raj.

Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon): Sir, I rise to a point of order. In article 75(3) it is said that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. And, if you read articles 74 and 75, Sir, you will find that none of the Members present here on the Treasury

[Shri V. P. Nayar]

Benches can be considered to be a member of the Council of Ministers. There is nobody representing the Government responsible to the House now.

Mr. Speaker: The Deputy Minister, Shrimati Violet Alva, came to me and said that she has got some committee meeting and that she had asked Shri Hazarika to take note of the various points.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Not even a Deputy Minister is present here, what to say of a Minister from the Council of Ministers

Mr. Speaker: They are responsible.

Shri V. P. Nayar: That is undoubtedly so. We can understand if it is a Minister of the Cabinet. But here it is expressly stated "Council of Ministers which is responsible to the House". At this important discussion there is nobody responsible.

Mr. Speaker: I agree. In this Ministry three Ministers are there and, therefore, I hope that whoever is the Whip of this Party will kindly convey the desire of the House that at least one Minister must be present here.

Shri V. P. Nayar: If they are not responsible to the House now, then what will we discuss?

Mr. Speaker: Now let us go on. I would request hon. Members kindly to strictly confine themselves to 15 minutes. I will try not to ignore any particular party; party, group and everything will be taken into consideration.

Shri Siva Raj (Chingleput—Reserv-
ed—Sch. Castes): Sir, I listened with interest to the speech of the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, and I wish that the other members of the Government, particularly the Ministers, emulate her example in the matter of stating their case before this House. Sir, she put the case for the Govern-

ment with as much sympathy as a woman could command and with a sympathetic and generous heart. She had to plead a very weak case. Nevertheless, by the softness of her heart she has been able to put the case very well.

She is obviously new to this problem of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. The fact remains that this problem is not new, or is due to circumstances which are to be found in other countries of the world. This is a problem which arises from a structure of society which has been fashioned in this country to suit the purposes and objectives of a certain section of the people.

I dare say you remember, Sir, that 15 years ago within the precincts of this chamber, and when you, Sir, were sitting in the Opposition, I said, referring to the problem of Scheduled Castes and the other people who were similarly situated like the Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, that there was a conspiracy between the Britisher, the brahman and the bania to keep down the masses of this country in superstition, poverty and illiteracy. Nothing has happened since for me to change my view, except that the Britisher has gone and with him the sense of justice and fair play has also gone (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Nobody can prevent the hon. Member from saying what he wants. Let him go on. If he thinks the Britisher must rule this country once again, let him say so.

Shri Siva Raj: I say nothing has happened since to change my view. On the other hand, I feel that we are being handicapped by the fact that very often we have to go with banded knees and bated breath to people asking favours, the very people who have been responsible for our oppression and our condition in the country.

That is the position we are in at the present moment. Nevertheless, I trace all these troubles to the structure of society. That structure of society, I believe, has been so framed that the core of that society, namely, the brahmin and the bania are being surrounded by the rest of the vast masses of this country—call them Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes—as shock-absorbers of the society, to bear the brunt of famine, of pestilence, of flood and of epidemics. Not merely that, they have also to bear the brunt of the onslaught of foreign religions like Christianity and Mohammedanism. Further, as has happened during the war time they have also become fodder for cannons during war time, and as has happened during British days they also happen to be coolies of the British Empire introducing further problems like “Indian nationals” in various countries like Burma, Ceylon, Singapore and South Africa

Therefore, the society which is called the ‘Indian Society’ is really speaking a Hindu society and that society is naturally reflected in this Government also. And, if I say that this Government represents that society I am quite sincere in feeling that I cannot expect from this Government a treatment which will help the Scheduled Castes, because they have not got the right type of mind, they have been trained for years to keep down the vast masses of people under illiteracy and superstition for their own security and benefit. It is these classes that constitute the Government both at the Centre and in the States. It is very difficult for us to expect from them the treatment that we really want to have

No doubt the Deputy Minister was good enough to suggest that she worked the department in such a way as to bring to bear upon the department all human kindness, magnanimity and sound heart.

Shrimati Alva: I beg of them to show magnanimity.

Shri Siva Raj: I think it is due to the fact that she belongs to the Christian faith which has inculcated in her these principles, but I do not expect it from the others. And, if I am right, we, who are now called Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, have been kept on in this condition because we started to protest against this caste system from the very outset.

Those of us who did not like the caste system and ran away to the hills became Scheduled Tribes. Those of us who protested against it and would not come under the caste system were treated as outcasts and put into the residential areas of Scheduled Castes, which are called *cheris* in our parts. Such of those who submitted to caste system and could have no understanding of its effect, formed the Backward Classes. Taking all these into consideration, they form the majority, and with adult franchise one would expect that they would run this country. On the other hand, we find that classes like the brahmins and the banias constitute the Government in this country, and I do not expect any benefit accruing from the Government.

No doubt, Shrimati Alva talked of so many measures that have been taken by this Government and other State Governments for the amelioration of the condition of these people. They are mere palliatives, but they are not curatives of the disease. We believe that we must go to the fundamental problem and solve that problem, and that is, the removal of casteism, and casteism has been brought into existence by the Brahmins. I purposely use the word Brahmins, not to insult or to wound the feelings of any Brahmin friend of mine, for, I have got many Brahmin friends. But the system which they have introduced is harmful not merely to the people of this country but also to the freedom of this country and the happiness of this country.

It is from that position that all these troubles arise. I have read the

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report, and I think the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also quotes the name of that person—Dr. Srinivas—who said that we cannot remove the castes unless some agencies are utilised for the purpose, and that untouchability cannot be removed. He went further and said in some of his essays—I believe he is an anthropologist—that the gradual Brahminisation of society or, to use another word of his, the Sanskritisation of society has resulted in the growth of the caste system. Unless Brahminism is removed—the caste system itself is based on that—we cannot go further. On that system we have been doing all these things.

I may humbly say that during the 40 to 50 years of my public life in this country we have tried ever so many methods, both with the Britishers and with others, as to the best method of elevating the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes and also to improve their condition. I desire to state in this House that all those attempts of ours have failed. So, we on our part have decided that we should not depend for the solution of our problems upon anybody—neither God nor man, neither the Central Government nor the State Governments.

In order to improve our conditions, we sought a new plan which was pointed out to us—the path was laid for us—by the late Baba Sahab Ambedkar, to whom we all owe for ever our gratitude for showing us this new path. He suggested that the Scheduled Castes, in order to have their rightful place in this country, must leave off Hinduism and take to the path of Buddhism. I see that our Prime Minister, everytime that he finds himself helpless, mentions Buddhism. For instance, yesterday, he was helpless in not being able to influence the foreign nations in the matter of his foreign policy. He says and he holds that the only course that he can fall back upon is the path that was pointed out by the Buddha.

I am glad that the Prime Minister of this country is a person who believes in that path, who I am sure will follow the path, but for the fact that he is surrounded by people who believe the other way. Even if he is prepared to march forward his path is clogged. I have every faith that the Prime Minister will do it. If I may say so, I would advise the Government on these lines. Instead of spending crores and crores of rupees all of which go down the drain now, in the shape of giving so much of encouragement, so many schemes, etc., which really have no effect at all, whether in the Community Project schemes or in the National Extension Service schemes, it is much better that all that money is utilised for the influence, growth and spread of this way of life in which our Prime Minister has got great faith.

If as I believe he is sincere, if he does this, I am sure he, occupying the position that does today, will ever earn the gratitude not merely of these unfortunate classes but also the gratitude of the country, if he takes to this path, as indeed another person, occupying a similar position thousands of years ago, namely, Emperor, Asoka. If there is any person in India today who can emulate the example of Emperor Asoka, it is the Prime Minister. But, if he does not do it I am afraid he will have to write himself down in history as a person who has a warm heart but a weak will. He will have to write himself down as a person with a hot head and cold feet.

So I believe that if only the Prime Minister will put in as much enthusiasm and as much energy as he puts into the affairs of our external relations and other matters like the atomic energy, to this problem of the removal of untouchability and the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, we will be in sight of some solution. But I must tell the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs what—Bishop Wilson

once said: "Things are what they are; and the consequences will be what they will be. Why then should men like to be deceived"?

If there is untouchability, there is all the suffering on the part of the vast masses of the people. It is due to the structure of the society in which most of the people believed. I believe that system ought to be thoroughly changed and in order to change it, there is only one path. There also, people will not believe if I cite an impartial person who does not belong to this country, who is not a Scheduled Caste man, who is not a Justice Party man, who is not a non-Brahmin, but who is a scholar and who is the author of a book on Buddhism, Mr. Christmas Humphreys. He has made this observation:

"If the Buddha in his zeal to make available to all men the wisdom which the Brahmins held exclusively for their own emolument, revealed too much, he paid dearly for the excess of his compassion. The Brahmins were immediately hostile, and although thousands and tens of thousands supported his reforms and innovations, the hard core of the ravished priestcraft won in the end."

That is the fate of Buddhism and that is also the fate of this India.

Yesterday, when the Prime Minister spoke, there was an element of pathos running through his speech.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Siva Raj: I have got one more idea. I shall finish with that.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has got one minute more.

Shri Siva Raj: Three minutes. I was interrupted in the middle.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member invites interruption.

Shri Siva Raj: I believe that the reason is that people have been kept outside of society to absorb all kinds of shock and the condition in which

they live is a vulnerable condition. Any riot for instance or anything that the caste-Hindu loses his temper upon may be taken for instance. If they want to take revenge, they set fire to houses because the houses are thatched ones. They break their vessels because they happen to be mud pots; they carry away the cattle, goats, dogs and so on. In this way, they harm them.

17 hrs.

What is worse, after Independence and the Constitution was framed, we also unfortunately were saddled with this adult franchise. The result is, incidents like the Ramanathapuram riot. We cannot vote as we like. We have been compelled one way or the other, by reason of the caste system and also by reason of these political parties which are otherwise formed. If I have got to cast a vote for the Congress, and only if I cast my vote for the Congress, the Congress Party will give me a few assignments of land or promise some scholarship and things like that. If you do not vote for the Congress Party, they at once withdraw all these concessions indirectly. Or, it is the other way. If we do vote for the Congress, and not vote for the party which is opposed to the Congress, these put pressure on us and cause a lot of harm as it happened in the Ramanathapuram riot. Our condition has since then become worse. To my surprise the Central Government has been indifferent, as we saw just a few minutes before, there was not a member of the Council of Ministers present to hear this debate. Such as the interest that the Centre takes so far as Scheduled Castes are concerned, in Ramanathapuram, thousands of houses were burnt, a number of people were killed, lot of cattle were taken away from the poor people and the harvest which they gathered had been removed. But the Centre said, "This is entirely a State responsibility" and would not look at the question. But once Ramaswamy Naicker,

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called Periyar in our area, merely suggested the idea that the thread of the Brahmins must be cut; he is an old man and in a hurry he gave expression to his reform in a violent way. But immediately, up goes the temperature, up goes the thermometer at the Centre. At once, not merely the Home Minister, but the Prime Minister steps in and says that whether there is legal responsibility or not, there is a moral responsibility on the part of the Centre to protect Brahmins.

That is why I say that this society is so bad that we cannot expect anything real or substantial at their hands. As the poet said, "It is difficult to minister upto a mind deceased". The mind ceases to function. It can never function as long as it is ridden with casteism.

Shri E. S. Murthy: Mr. Speaker, I agree with the previous speaker as far as the welfare of the Scheduled Castes is concerned, but I totally disagree with the arguments that he has put forward. He is a veteran leader who commands respect from all communities and it is the good fortune of the Harijans not only of the South, but all over India, that Mr. Siva Raj has come here to give his experience to the nation, so that the question which has defied solution for centuries would be solved at least in his time. But unfortunately, things have changed and Mr. Siva Raj has taken a view that is not practical and practicable.

If we look into history, from the date of Rama, Viswamitra, Buddha and several other agencies came into existence who helped the Harijans to get out of this sin of untouchability. In historic times, Buddha has done his best, but he did not succeed. Christianity has come; it tried its level best, but it did not succeed. Later on, Islam has come and it was not successful. Still later, in recent times...

An Hon. Member: Congress cannot be a success.

Shri E. S. Murthy: Rajaram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswathi and several others have tried their level best to see that this sin of untouchability, this blackest spot, must be removed, from the fair face of India. All these attempts have failed, because it is not merely a religious problem. It is a complicated problem which has got its roots in economics, politics and several other factors.

Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi stepped into the field and he wanted to selve this. Though he called this a religious or social move, still he has tried his level best to make it a semi-political problem as well, so much so that he interlinked all these factors into one another, with the result that the Harijans must be given certain rights. I am very sorry a man like Mr. Siva Raj should have said that adult franchise has done injustice to the Harijan community. But for this adult franchise, Harijans would not have been treated as men in India.

Even in Ramanathapuram—I do not know whether Mr. Siva Raj has visited that place or not—but I was the first man to visit that place and I have said a few lines:

"The ghastly scene at the St. Paul's Church of Verambal in Mukkulathur Taluk is the limit to human cruelty. With shattered windows, burnt doors and bullet marks on the walls, the church stands as a symbol of callous cruelty against Harijan men, women and children, about 400 of whom ran into the church for protection at the altar. The tragedy of the 'Blackhole of Calcutta' and the ghastly scenes of Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar pale into insignificance as we see

the lonely church and its helpless inhabitants subjected to arson and firings. The heart-rending weeping of women and children when the Madras Ministers approached them yesterday recalls to my mind the woeful plight of the victims of Noakhali in West Bengal. Whoever might have been the perpetrators of such gruesome atrocities, the fact remains that this will be a standing shame to South India, rearing the worst type of communalism existing in this area."

From Ramayana to Ramanathapuram, the Harijan has been the victim.

I am asking, why should a man like Mr. Siva Raj think that adult franchise has done injustice?

Shri Siva Raj: I did not say that adult franchise was responsible for the communal riots. I said, we have unfortunately been saddled with the responsibility on account of there being two parties. If we vote for the Congress, some one else comes and worries us. If we vote for the other party, the Congress withdraws the concessions given to us.

Shri E. S. Murthy: I may also tell Mr. Siva Raj that Ramanathapuram stands as an instance where Harijans have retaliated in spite of their not having guns and fire-arms. It is an instance to show that they will fight, if necessary, without shedding their blood.

An Hon. Member: Fight the Brahmins.

Shri E. S. Murthy: There is a cry "fight the Brahmins." Yes; I am one of those who will certainly fight the Brahmins, not by cutting the tuft or by removing the thread, but by learning the Lord and trying to compete with him and defeat him in his own field of learning, culture, saga-

city and other things, not trying to cut him like a weakling and to put the knife in his throat or in his belly. I will not do it and it is not India's policy to do it. I will certainly fight the Brahmins; I have been fighting the Brahmins since 25 years and I have always been first in my fight with Brahmins.... I think the Speaker will bear me out in this.

Mr. Speaker: If it would please the hon. Member, I accept defeat.

Shri E. S. Murthy: I think there is none in India today who can equal our Speaker as far as learning.....

Mr. Speaker: Not necessarily.

Shri E. S. Murthy: ... wisdom and sagacity are concerned. Therefore, I shall never come before him.

In Gita, it is said:

विद्या विनय तन्मन्त्रे ब्राह्मणे नवि हस्तिनि,
शुनि चैव इवापके च वदितः समदक्षिनः ॥

This is the ruling principle.

An Hon. Member: What is the meaning?

Shri E. S. Murthy: I shall translate it for the benefit of my friends who do not understand it.

Shri Nath Pal: Why not ask the Chair to translate it?

Shri E. S. Murthy: It says that a learned man is he who is able to respect a learned Brahmin and a harijan. इवापके च I need not translate it. I think my hon. friend knows इवापके च शूनि हस्तिनि means elephant and cow.

That is the principle on which our religion exists. I do not understand why our friends should bring in Brahminism here. He also brought in Panditji's name. He said something about Panditji. I have my own difficulty to understand Panditji. It is

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very difficult to understand Panditji. But still he is a man of destiny and I have faith in him that he will try to see that the sin of untouchability is removed lock, stock and barrel before he lays down the office of Prime Ministership.

Again, converting the harijans into Buddhism would not solve the problem. It is impossible. Many have tried it. I don't think that Mr. Siva Raj and his friends shall be able to convert all the harijans into Buddhism. It is against historical facts. They cannot do it. What Christianity could not do, what Buddha did not do, I don't think our friends can do. Saying that shows a defeatist mentality.

I am telling my friends not to run away from the fight. Let us see what the Brahmin says and what the baniya says. As Mr. Siva Raj says, we have to be prepared. Let us fight the baniyas and let us fight Brahminism, if necessary. But let us not run away. Therefore, for God's sake, don't try to instil fear in the hearts of the harijans. We must not run away because this religion is ours, country is ours and the whole people is ours.

Now, coming to the point of the Ramanathapuram incidents, it is a lesson both for harijans as well as caste Hindus, both for the Government as well as for the non-governmental people. Ramanathapuram will remain a lesson for all those people who have to learn lessons.

I was saying that everyone must try to get progress as he goes along the path of life. It is no use saying that it is defeatism or obstructionism. As Ruskin has said: "He only progresses in life, whose heart is softer, whose brain is quicker and blood is warmer". I would ask the harijans of this country to have a softer heart to forgive those that have perpetrated injustice on them, and a quicker brain so that they can plan immediately to rehabilitate them and give them warm blood so that we

shall not run away, neither from the religion, nor from the country.

Then I have got a few suggestions to make. I shall not make a speech. I shall give certain suggestions.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member must finish within two minutes.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I will only take 1½ minutes. I know that the Government have been trying to do much. But, as the Deputy Minister has stated, it is not merely a problem of doling out certain quantities of scholarships or money. That will not solve the problem. Only a change of heart in people like Mr. Siva Raj will solve the problem. Let him come forward to serve the harijans. I shall be his first follower. Let us both leave Parliament, if necessary. That is the way how we must tackle the problem.

I would suggest that there should be a committee to go into the progress made so far in this direction. This report is being presented to us annually. Next year also another report will be presented. Some people say that untouchability has been removed and some say it has not been removed. We do not know which is correct. So, there must be an evaluation of the work so far carried on and the progress made in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Then, harijans can be easily divided into three categories—agricultural labourer, scavenging labourer and cobbler. So, there must be separate scheme for the three categories. As far as agricultural labour is concerned, there is much of cultivable waste land of the Government in all the States. The Central Government, with the help of the State Governments, can see that these lands are being distributed to the landless agricultural labour.

So far as scavengers are concerned, my friend Mr. Valmiki will speak volumes about their difficulties. Nobody is taking care of them. The municipality says: we have no funds.

The panchayat board says that they are not able to do anything. Government also says that there is no fund. Therefore, I would suggest that the Central Government must take over this problem. Three separate committees should be appointed and they should be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing certain schemes for their amelioration.

Then another bottleneck is the State Governments. The Deputy Minister also stated that the State Government are not sometimes giving full co-operation. I would venture to say that they are not giving any co-operation at all. Every time when we come to Parliament and put a question, they say that the State Governments are not co-operating. So I want the subject to be taken away from the State Governments and let it be administered by the Centre.

I know that several State Governments are not able to give even matching grants and because they are not able to give matching grants, the Central grant also lapses. Therefore, it is better that the whole thing is taken over by the Centre. If it is not possible, let them entrust this portfolio to the Chief Minister or the Finance Minister or the Home Minister, as the report has suggested.

But I would still prefer the Central Government doing it, in the same way as rehabilitation. I say that the harijans must be rehabilitated first because they are having a number of difficulties. All these difficulties are due to the inhumanity of man. The harijans are suffering both in the south as well as in the north. Let not the harijans be the victims for the sins of others.

Therefore, I request the Home Ministry to appoint a Committee and then see what amount of progress has been achieved. Then they have to plan further. With these remarks I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker: I now call on Mr. Jangde. I will call Mr. Mullick. after Mr. Jangde.

श्री जंगड़े (बिलासपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय समय कम है और इस कम समय में यदि हम सिद्धान्तों पर जाते हैं और भाषणात्मक वाक्यों पर जाते हैं तो हम बहुत सी चीजों का हल यहां पर नहीं कर सकेंगे। इस लिये मैं आप के सामने कुछ तथ्यों को रखना चाहता हूँ।

संवैधानिक संरक्षण का सातवां वर्ष गुजर रहा है। केवल तीन वर्ष बाकी हैं। हमने देखा कि प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने केवल २८३ लाख रुपया चिकित्सा पर खर्च किया, २१६ लाख रुपया गृह निर्माण पर खर्च किया, ४१२ लाख पया यातायात पर खर्च किया, ७४ लाख रुपया गृह उद्योग पर खर्च किया, ५३ लाख सहकारिता पर खर्च किया। इसी प्रकार से प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में केवल ८,८६५ मकान बनवाये गये, ३१ कालोनी, २० छायादान, और सात सामुदायिक विकास योजनाओं के मकान बनाये। इसी प्रकार से प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में और झरी तक जो भूमिहीन हरिजन हैं उनकी संख्या ३४ परसेंट है, आदिवासियों की संख्या ७ परसेंट है और सासकर दक्षिण हिन्दुस्तान में भूमिहीन हरिजनों की बहुत ज्यादा संख्या है।

यह ठीक है कि दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में हम ३२ करोड़ से बढ़ाकर ६० करोड़ खर्च करने वाले हैं। लेकिन साथ ही साथ हमको यह भी देखना चाहिये कि प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने कुल २,२०० करोड़ खर्च किये थे जब कि दूसरी योजना में हम ४,००० करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। हमको देखना चाहिये कि इस की तुलना में हम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिये ठीक रकम खर्च कर रहे हैं या नहीं। इस के अलावा हमको यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि अनुसूचित जातियों के क्षेत्र में हम सड़कों के लिये, अस्पतालों के लिये, मचरलों के लिये, कोभापरेटिव सोसाइटीज के लिये,

[श्री बांगड़े]

फारेस्ट सेक्टर के लिये जो खर्च करते हैं वह उस से कितना ज्यादा है जितना कि हम किसी सामान्य क्षेत्र में खर्च करते क्योंकि सामान्य क्षेत्र में भी हम सड़कों, अस्पतालों, स्कूलों आदि के लिये कुछ खर्च करते हैं। उसके मुकाबले में आप देखिये कि इन क्षेत्रों में आप कितना ज्यादा खर्च करते हैं। जब आप इस क्षेत्र में सामान्य क्षेत्र से अधिक खर्च करेंगे तब ही यह कहा जा सकेगा कि आप इन लोगों की विशेष सुविधा के लिये खर्च कर रहे हैं।

इस के बाद आप यह देखें कि अब संरक्षण के तीन वर्ष ही रह गये हैं। हमको यह देखना चाहिये कि इन सात वर्षों में हम हरिजनों के और आदिवासियों के जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने के लिये कितना कर चुके हैं और इन तीन वर्षों में हम उनके आर्थिक शोषण को दूर करने के लिये कितना कर सकेंगे।

17.23 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

आप रिज़र्वेशन दें या न दें इसकी मुझे परवाह नहीं और न मैं इसके संबंध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन यह देखिये कि तीन बरस बाद हरिजनों की और आदिवासियों की क्या हालत होगी। आप दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में उनकी शिक्षा को बढ़ाने वाले हैं, उनके लिये तीन लाख से ऊपर मकान बना रहे हैं उसके लिये ७ करोड़ रुपया रखा है, चिकित्सा पर आठ करोड़ खर्च करने वाले हैं। पर यहां केवल रुपये का खर्च नहीं है। खर्च यह है कि उनकी आर्थिक अवस्था सुधरती है या नहीं। आज के बस्तुवादी संसार में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का क्या स्थान रहने वाला है। उनका धारों और से शोषण हो रहा है। हरिजन नीचरी शोषण से मारे जा रहे हैं और आदिवासी बाहरी शोषण से। बाहर से आदमी

घाते हैं वे आदिवासियों का शोषण करते हैं। आदिवासी उनके कुलियों का काम करते करते बक जाते हैं। हरिजनों का शोषण इस तरह होता है कि बड़े बड़े हमारे विधायक मैन घाते हैं, बड़े बड़े व्यापारी घाते हैं, बड़े बड़े कारखाने दार घाते हैं और हमारे बच्चों को हम से छीन लेते हैं हरिजनों का हजारों साल का बच्चा छीना जा चुका है। आप इस बुनियादी पीछ को देखिये कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को इस शोषण से किस प्रकार बचाया जा सकता है। आप जो रपमा उन के लिये खर्च कर रहे हैं उससे उनका क्या कल्याण होने वाला है। उनकी शिक्षा और चिकित्सा पर जो आप खर्च करते हैं वह तो कल्याणकारी राज्य में करना ही होगा। आप यह देखिये कि इन सालों के बाद हरिजनों की हालत क्या होगी।

अब मे छुप्राछत के संबंध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। हमने इसको दूर करने के लिये कानून बनाया हुआ है और हमारी सरकार उसको दूर करने का प्रयत्न कर रही है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस पांच सात सालों में न तो कांग्रेस ने, न प्रजा समाजवादी ने और न किसी और संस्था के सर्वर्ष हिन्दुओं ने हरिजनों के उद्धार करने की कोशिश की और जिस ने ऐसा करने की कोशिश की है उसका बायकाट किया गया है। उनकी दुर्दशा की है। यह आज हालत है। आज देहात में अगर कोई हरिजन छुप्राछत के विच्छ पुलिस के पास शिकायत करने जाता है तो उसका बालान दका १०७, १४७, आस्ता फौजदारी और दका ३७६, ३२४, ३२४ साजीरत हिन्द में किया जाता है। उसको इन जुर्मानों में कांसा जाता है। सार्वजनिक बरागाह तक में हरिजनों को अभी भी प्रवेश नहीं मिलता। बिहूल्ल कस्ट कबिन्डर के पास शिकमर्ष आती है उनको वे स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के पास भेजते हैं परन्तु कुछ होता नहीं। मैं खुद युक्त बोधी हूँ। सन् १९५५ में हमने एडर पांच केस बायर किये लेकिन सरकारी आकिबर

ने उसमें ऐसी रिपोर्ट दी कि मुझे प्रिबेंटिव डिपार्टमेंट के मातहत बन्द किया जा सकता है। जब आप के सरकारी अफसरों की यह हालत है तो हरिजनों की यह छमाछून कैसे दूर हो सकती है। यह आपको सोचना होगा कि इस चीज को कैसे दूर किया जा सकता है हम जब इस विषय में यहां प्रश्न करते हैं तो यह उत्तर दिया जाता है कि यह प्रश्न राज्यों का है और उसमें हम क्या कर सकते हैं। हमको यह देखना होगा कि हम हरिजनों को इस तकलीफ को कैसे दूर कर सकते हैं। इसीलिये ४ वर्षों से कह रहा हूँ कि हरिजनों के विषय को कानफरेंट लिस्ट में लिया जाये ताकि हम यहां पर चर्चा छेड़ सकें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य की तकलीफ तो हम समझ सकते हैं कि वह बहुत सा मसाला इन १५ मिनटों में देना चाहते हैं लेकिन जिस तरह से वह बोल रहे हैं उस तरह से वह ठीक से रिकार्ड नहीं हो सकता।

श्री जांगड़े : इसलिये तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि चूकि मुझे बहुत से विषयों पर बोलना है इसलिये मुझे कुछ अधिक समय दिया जाये।

अभी सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर ने यह शिकायत की है कि राज्य सरकारों ने यह बताया है कि हमने ४२ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है पर वास्तव में उन्होंने २५ करोड़ ही खर्च किया है। इन सात वर्षों में हमें यह पता नहीं लग सका है कि राज्य सरकारों में और केन्द्रीय सरकार में हरिजनों का सरकारी नौकरियों में क्या अनुपात है। हमें यह जान कर दुःख होता है कि ग्यारह राज्यों में हरिजन कल्याण बोर्ड भी नहीं बने। इसके अलावा हरिजनों का जो कार्य है उसे एक डिपार्टमेंट में नहीं रखा गया है बल्कि कई डिपार्टमेंटों में रखा गया है। इसलिये हरिजनों को बड़ी तकलीफ होती है क्योंकि उनको यह नहीं मालूम होता कि वे अपनी

शिकायत से कर किस डिपार्टमेंट के किस अधिकारी के पास जायें।

मैंने यह सुझाव दिया था कि जिस तरह से यहां आदिवासियों की सरकारी और प्रद-सरकारी कानफरेंस होती हैं। उसी को हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की सम्मिलित कानफरेंस होनी चाहिये। उस कानफरेंस में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रतिनिधि हों और केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों के भी प्रतिनिधि हों और सब मिल कर हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की समस्याओं पर विचार प्रकट करे लेकिन मेरे उस सुझाव को नहीं माना गया।

मे कई सालों से चिन्ताता आ रहा हूँ कि हरिजनों की बालिकाओं की शिक्षा के सवाल पर ध्यान दिया जाये लेकिन उस पर अभी तक ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। वह सवाल हमारी स्त्रियों, हमारी बहनों और हमारी लड़कियों की शिक्षा का सवाल है। राज्य सरकारों ने इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं किया है। जब तक केन्द्रीय सरकार इस विषय में राज्य सरकारों का भरोसा नहीं करेगी और स्वयं इस ओर ध्यान नहीं देनी तब तक यह सवाल हल नहीं होगा, चाहे बीस बरस भी बीत जायें। हरिजन बहनों की शिक्षा ५ प्रतिशत भी आगे नहीं बढ़ेगी। इस चीज पर ध्यान देना बहुत जरूरी है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर आप जरा धीरे बोलेंगे और रिकार्ड ठीक तरह से रखा जायेगा, तब ही तो आपकी बातों पर ध्यान दिया जा सकेगा।

श्री जांगड़े : जहां तक हरिजनों की जन-संख्या का सम्बन्ध है, सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर में कहा है कि १९५६ के कांस्टी-यूशन आर्डर के अनुसार हरिजनों की जन-संख्या बढ़ा दी गई। मुझे इसका बड़ा दुःख अनुभव है कि होम मिनिस्ट्री ने सिफरिज

[श्री जांगड़े]

की, डिप्टी रजिस्ट्रार जैनरल आफ सैन्सस ने सिफारिश की कि प्रमुक्त क्षेत्र में हरिजनों की संख्या बढ़ गई है, लेकिन डीलिटिमिशन कमीशन ने उसको नहीं माना। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने भी इसका कोई उपचार नहीं किया है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की संख्या बढ़नी चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में १९११ से १९५६ तक के आंकड़े दिये जा सकते हैं। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इस बात को नहीं माना और कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की, जिसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि केन्द्र में और राज्यों में हरिजनों की सीटें घटा दी गई हैं। इस विषय में मैंने एक प्रश्न किया था, परन्तु उसका उत्तर टालमटोल में दे दिया गया।

इसके उपरान्त मैं नौकरियों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि १९५३ में हरिजन केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों की नौकरियों में शामिल हुये थे। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इन बारह वर्षों में जो हरिजन और आदिवासी सरकारी नौकरियों में शामिल हुये हैं, वे प्रथम या द्वितीय श्रेणी की नौकरियों में पहुँच सकते हैं। सिड्पूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर इस बारे में बार बार शिकायत करते हैं और सिफारिश करते हैं, लेकिन उस पर भ्रमल नहीं किया जाता है—न केन्द्रीय सरकार उस पर भ्रमल करती है और न राज्य सरकारें। पुलिस आफिसरज को छोड़ दीजिये, जूडिशियल सर्विसिज को छोड़ दीजिये, आर्मी की सर्विसिज को छोड़ दीजिये, साधारण छोटी सर्विसिज के विषय में भी सिड्पूल्ड फास्ट कमिश्नर की सिफारिशों पर भ्रमल नहीं किया जाता है। न इस सम्बन्ध में आंकड़े दिये जाते हैं और न कम्प्यूनल रोस्टर (साम्प्रदायिक चक्र) मेनटेन किया जाता है और न रिपोर्ट पेश की जाती है, जिसका परिणाम यह है कि हमको बस्तु-स्थिति का पता नहीं चलता है। इस हालत में हम किस प्रकार सरकार की करेंगे ?

मैं आपके सामने केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों की नौकरियों में हरिजनों के भाग के सम्बन्ध में कुछ आंकड़े प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। केन्द्रीय सरकार के अधीन प्रथम श्रेणी की २,२५० नौकरियों में हरिजनों की संख्या केवल १० है, द्वितीय श्रेणी के ६,२०० नौकरियों में से उनकी संख्या ६५ है, तृतीय श्रेणी में १,७९,००० नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या १०,००० है और चतुर्थ श्रेणी की ६३,००० नौकरियों में से केवल ८,३०० हरिजन हैं। उसी प्रकार वे राज्य सरकारों में प्रथम श्रेणी की २,८१२ नौकरियों में हरिजनों की संख्या केवल ३७ है, द्वितीय श्रेणी की १,०६,४३६ नौकरियों में हरिजनों की संख्या ५,३९८ है, तृतीय श्रेणी की १,९५,३७८ नौकरियों में हरिजनों की संख्या ९,५२७ है और चतुर्थ श्रेणी की ३२,६६५ नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या ३,२९९ है। इसका अर्थ यह है कि प्रथम श्रेणी में उनका अनुपात १ प्रतिशत, द्वितीय श्रेणी में ५ प्रतिशत, तृतीय श्रेणी में ५ प्रतिशत और चतुर्थ श्रेणी में १० प्रतिशत है।

मेरे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब सात वर्षों के बाद नौकरियों में हरिजनों की यह संख्या है, तो इन तीन वर्षों में कोई जाड़ का डंडा तो घूमने वाला नहीं है।

मैं यहाँ पर ब्राह्मण जाति, मुसलमान जाति, हिन्दू जाति या बौद्ध जाति को खराब नहीं बताना चाहता हूँ और न कोई दोषारोपण करना चाहता हूँ। मैं केवल यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जीवन का लगभग ७५ प्रतिशत भाग—उसके अधिकतर क्षेत्र-सरकार के द्वारा अनुशासित हैं, इसलिये जब तक सरकार और उसके कर्मचारी अपने दिलों में परिवर्तन नहीं करते, अपनी भावनाओं को नहीं बदलते और उनके अनुसार कार्य नहीं करते, तब तक हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है।

उनकी अवस्था नहीं सुधर सकती है। उनकी जीवन स्तर ऊँचा नहीं उठ सकता है—फिर चाहे हिन्दू, बौद्ध या अन्य वर्ग छुआछूत माने या न मानें, उससे कोई विशेष अन्तर पड़ने वाला नहीं है।

आज हरिजनों की हीन अवस्था के लिये ब्राह्मणों और सवर्ण हिन्दुओं को उत्तरदायी ठहराया जाता है और उनको दोष दिया जाता है, किन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि आज न ब्राह्मणों में ब्राह्मणत्व रहा है और न क्षत्रियों में क्षत्रियत्व रहा है और न शूद्रों में उनकी पुरानी भावना रही है। आज सबाल तो आर्थिक शोषण का है। जब तक उसको दूर नहीं किया जाता है, तब तक हरिजनों का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है।

कुछ शब्द में भंगी भाइयों के सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। उनकी हालत सबसे खराब है। आज उनके धंधे को कोई लेने को तैयार नहीं है, वे लोग भी उससे चिपटे हुए हैं और उसको छोड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। उनकी आर्थिक हालत बहुत गिरी हुई है। आज वे स्लमज में रह रहे हैं उन की दशा में सुधार करना बहुत आवश्यक है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान दे।

कुछ भाइयों का कहना है कि हरिजन लोग आपस में ही जाति-भेद करते हैं, इसलिये सवर्ण हिन्दू उसको क्यों नहीं मानेंगे। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर एक गिलास में पानी है और उसमें कुछ मल जम जाता है, कुछ कीचड़ जम जाता है, तो अगर हम उसकी निचली सतह को फोड़ते हैं, तो सारा पानी बरबाद हो जाता है। इसी प्रकार यदि हमको हिन्दू समाज में सुधार करना है, तो वह ऊपर से करना चाहिये, न कि नीचे से। अगर नीचे से सुधार किया जा सके, तो अच्छा है, लेकिन यह तथ्य है कि जब तक ऊपर से सुधार नहीं होता है, तब तक हरिजनों का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है।

केन्द्रीय सरकार और इस देश के लोगों के प्रतिनिधि इस बात पर विचार करे कि यदि हम इसी गति से चलते रहे, तो इन तीन बर्षों में हम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का कल्याण नहीं कर सकते हैं। उनको यह देखना है कि क्या इस अवधि में वे उनकी कल्याण कर सकते हैं या नहीं, उनको शोषण से बचा सकते हैं या नहीं। अगर वे ऐसा नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो फिर १९६० के बाद हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की ओर इस देश की क्या हालत होगी? तब उनकी क्या दुर्दशा होगी? आप यह न सोचिये कि हमने हरिजनों को एक प्रिविलेज्ड क्लास बना रखा है और उनको कई प्रकार के अधिकार दे रखे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप न तो उनको कोई विशेष अधिकार दे रहे हैं और न उन पर कोई छपा ही कर रहे हैं—आप तो हजारों सालों तक उनके उपर किये गये भ्रत्याचार का पश्चात्ताप कर रहे हैं, उनको थोड़ा सा— एक प्रतिशत— कायदा पहुँचा रहे हैं। आप यह सोचिये और सोचने के बाद इस बात की व्यवस्था कीजिये कि हरिजनों के स्थायी लाभ के लिये, सदा के लिये उनके हितों की रक्षा के लिये और उनको दूसरों के बराबर स्तर पर लाने के लिये कार्यवाही की जाय। मैं अन्त में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह करोड़ों या लाखों रुपयों का सवाल नहीं है—यह तो दिल का सवाल है।

Shri B. C. Mulla: We have now two reports before us for discussion. The first report was placed on the Table of the House one year back to be discussed in that very session, but I am sorry to say that it has come up for discussion only today along with the second report for 1956-57. It not only shows the negligence of the Government, but also shows that the Government do not have sincere and honest interest to improve the lot of the Harijans and Adivasis.

I have heard the speech of the hon. Deputy Minister. Her speech was very sweet and also utopian in nature.

[Shri B. C. Mullick]

The Commissioner has given a volley of recommendations in his two reports, but I am sorry to say that most of the recommendations have not been implemented so far. I do not understand the meaning of appointing the Commissioner and spending a lot of money for his administration when his recommendations are not implemented in time.

Harijans and Adivasis play an important role in society. They are builders of the nation. They work day and night for the benefit of the rich and the landlord people, but in spite of their services, the rich landlords not forget to take undue advantage of them.

In this regard I want to say that I could not find any reference in the report to the Tenancy Protection Act which has plighted the conditions of the Harijans and Adivasis in some of the States. In Orissa due to the introduction of the said Act, the Harijans have been deprived of cultivable lands. Besides, they have been dragged to courts and harassed like anything there.

The land problem is a great problem and should be solved immediately. The remedy is that Government should adopt a fullfledged scheme immediately. There are people who are in possession of lands more than 5000 to 10,000 acres. One must not be allowed to possess land more than three times the size of an economic holding. I want to suggest that there must be legislation for enforcement of the ceiling, so that we will get enough land to distribute among the Harijans. They should be provided with independent means of livelihood. For this purpose, rural industries should be set up in villages. This will serve a two-fold purpose. The Harijans and non-Harijans in the villages will work together in the industries and so their mixing will certainly help to eradicate untouchability from society.

Even in these days after ten years of independence, and in the second year of the Second Plan, it has been reported by the Commissioner that the Harijan women and children are not allowed to wear gold and silver ornaments. It is more a pity to say that the Harijans and Adivasis are not permitted to use sugar. I do not understand why Government are so callous and lethargic to remove even these petty and small disabilities from society.

I do not understand the idea why one particular community is bound to perform one type of work, namely scavenging. It always creates segregation problems, and it also creates an idea of high and low in Hindu society. This should be abolished. There should not be separate class as sweepers. I am very much ashamed to say that Government have not been able to stop the system of carrying night soil on their heads by the Harijan women. Up-to-date methods should immediately be adopted.

The Constitution has provided safeguards for the protection of the interests of the Scheduled Castes. But I find that the poor people are being exploited everywhere. It is not only a matter of Ramanathapuram, but I have seen that in many parts of India, the same exploitation of the Harijans is going on. I am sorry that I could not find any reference in the report to the happenings that occurred in Orissa seven months back. I have before me here a report to show how the Harijans were exploited by some dominant class of people. It is not my report, but it is the report of the Government of Orissa. I should like to inform the House of how the Harijan people were tortured.

Shri Lingaraj Panigrahi, the Home Minister of Orissa, in the statement that he made on the floor of the Orissa Legislative Assembly on 17th June, 1957 said as follows. For the information of the House, I might say that the background of this is that some

houses were set on fire in certain places in Cuttack district. Shri Lingaraj Panigrahi said:

"...the police received the earliest information regarding the house-burning in Tirtol area some time about the 19th of May. It was alleged that certain mischievous persons used to give notice of thefts to be committed in the village Tentulipada and the house of one Shri Basanta Kumar Parija, was actually burgled and his house was set on fire...."

So far as assaults are concerned the earliest information received by the S.P., Cuttack was on the 2nd and on the evening of 3rd June when it was reported that some Harijans in village Jasobantapur were being surrounded and about to be assaulted. Immediately the DSP with a section of the armed reserve with lathis was deputed to the spot.

It was also reported to the District Officers that on the evening of the 3rd June in Kulasahi village a large mob of about a thousand persons surrounded three Chaukidars and one local Pan and the Sarpanch of Balarampur.....A Harijan girl was raped in village Purushottampur on 3rd June, 1957 in the absence of the members of her family.

...on the afternoon of the same day about 300 persons of Gajarajpur and the neighbouring villages formed an unlawful assembly and entered into the houses of the Harijans, and assaulted them and their family members on suspicion that they were responsible for the arson cases in the area and were harbouring criminals for the purpose....

Similarly in a number of other villages such as Medhi, Mahakaleswar, Jasobantapur assaults took place on the Harijans by the Caste Hindus and arrests have been made....

This party of Magistrates found that the beating of Harijans—Pans and Dombs—was very widespread extending from Sanra in Tirtol P.S., to Gajarajpur and Salijanga in Balikuda P.S. and Jasobantapur to Santarapur.

"Santarapur in Jagatsingpur P.S. covering an area of 100 to 150 sq. miles round about Jagatsingpur. On the same day at Sanra a People's Court was constituted by some leading people of the locality and messages were sent out to neighbouring villages to attend the Court. At the meeting, it was resolved that Pans and Dombs should be beaten up and accordingly, a number of local Pans were kept confined for being tried by the People's Court."

"At 1.00 a.m. on the 6th June, the DSP sent a letter to the SP stating that the situation was rather tense and that three members of a Domb family in village Santarapur had been murdered and the fourth member's condition was precarious and that a number of Harijans had been assaulted in different villages on the same day about the same time".

There is a complete failure to protect us according to the Constitution. I appeal to the Government to take suitable steps to protect us from exploitation.

I want to say a few words regarding untouchability. Untouchability is a blot on the Hindu social system. I therefore appeal to all the Members of the House to resolve with determination that the poison smelting of untouchability be abolished at the earliest possible date.

Shri Thakurmalah: I must thank the Commissioner for the pains that he has taken to go into this problem of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes and to make certain realistic recommendations which can easily be implemented by Government.

[Shri Thimmaiah]

I do not believe in intellectual jugglery or in criticising other communities for the plight of the Scheduled Castes and for the prevalence of untouchability in this country. We cannot blame the Brahmins alone for this ban of untouchability. There are so many causes for the prevalence of untouchability; it may be that the people who are not Scheduled Caste people, who are called caste Hindus may be responsible for the existence of untouchability. You cannot view or approach this question in an idealistic way; you have to approach it in a realistic way.

Today, we have got the Untouchability Offences Act. The Constitution has also abolished untouchability. But still it is prevalent in the rural parts of the country. A large majority of the people of this country observe untouchability. I do not say that it is not waning. It is diminishing; there is no doubt about it. But it may be diminishing in a small measure. Still, whatever approach the Government have made, whatever efforts Governments have made have not resulted in bringing about tangible results as far as the eradication of untouchability is concerned.

I only want to make certain suggestions for eradication of this evil. I am glad the Commissioner also has made certain suggestions. I wish Government would accept those recommendations. We have passed the Untouchability Offences Act. But the Act is not properly implemented by the police officers in the rural parts, because they never take cognisance of offences committed, as they are under the influence of the local people in the villages. Another thing is that police officers themselves observe untouchability and do not care for the Scheduled Caste people. Therefore, the evil prevails in the villages.

Sir, Government have spent lots of money on non-official agencies which are carrying on propaganda for the eradication of untouchability. I do not say that all non-official agencies are not working well; there are certain non-official agencies which are working well. In addition to all these, I propose that the Government should see that an effective propaganda machinery is set up by the Central Government for the eradication of untouchability. They must train certain men of status; these men should tour the whole country and propagate for the removal of untouchability and that people should not observe untouchability. Unless this effective machinery is set up and this countrywide propaganda is carried out systematically, you can never think of eradication this evil from this country.

There are village panchayats and there are municipalities. Government gives grants to these municipalities and panchayats. They can withhold these grants unless the municipalities and panchayats assure them that they will work for the removal of untouchability in their areas.

The Commissioner has suggested mixed colonies and that is a very good suggestion. I do not think that Harijan colonies should be built separately. The practice of the States is to build Harijan colonies separately. But they should be mixed colonies of Scheduled castes and caste Hindus. There is a lacuna in the Untouchability Removal Act and Government should look into it and an amendment should be brought as early as possible and that lacuna should be removed.

Coming to the economic condition of the Scheduled Caste people, I have several times said in this House that unless the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes are improved they cannot assert themselves; they cannot be independent; they cannot

develop an independent spirit and cannot rather withstand the exploitation or trouble made or given by caste Hindus in the villages.

Therefore, whatever Government has done for the improvement of the economic condition of the Scheduled Caste people is not enough. They must bring about land reforms as early as possible and see that cultivable waste land in each State is systematically distributed to the Scheduled Caste people in whatever manner they may deem suitable.

I have seen some of the States never giving land free of cost to the Scheduled Caste people. Some, one or two, of course give. Mysore has distributed land freely to the Scheduled Caste people since about 20 years. I do not know about other States. The Commissioner in his Report states that some States are not giving land free of cost, not even for the construction of houses; and this should be taken into consideration. Unless you give cultivable waste land to these people they cannot improve their economic condition. They will have to become rather serfs of the landlords.

Therefore, I submit that land should be distributed to the Scheduled Caste people and Government should allocate at least some matching grant to give land to these people for the development of agriculture. In the first Five Year Plan and in the Second Five Year Plan, Government have allotted a lot of money for the agricultural development. Will the Government tell us how far this general grant has been useful to the Scheduled Castes? Of course, in the Centrally sponsored schemes the State Governments spent something for the development of agriculture. Here and there some people are given lands for the development of agriculture. But I want to know how far the grant in the First and Second Five Year Plans has been useful for the development of agriculture among the Scheduled Castes.

The Planners themselves say that in addition to the special schemes meant for the Scheduled Caste people, they will also enjoy the benefits of the general schemes. I want to know how far it has helped the Scheduled Castes directly.

Similarly, they have allotted a lot of money for the development of cottage industries and others. How far has this general amount helped the Scheduled Castes people other than the amount that has been specially earmarked for the development of cottage industries of the Scheduled Caste people under the Centrally sponsored schemes?

Government also should realise that there are difficulties in allotting land to these people. Here again comes the question of untouchability because the Hindus surely never allow it to be distributed. Even if it is the Government land, however kind the Government may be, if it tries to give land to the Scheduled Caste people, the caste Hindus will come and say: "Do not give that; this is grazing ground or this is burial ground. It will not be enough for the village. Do not give it to them." They put all sorts of obstacles to the Scheduled Caste people. This is the mentality on the part of the caste Hindus—a mentality of preventing the Scheduled Caste people from getting economic facility. This difficulty could be overcome by the officers with the co-operation of the local leaders and with the co-operation of certain social workers in that particular area. Unless that is done our Scheduled Caste people will not get land even though the Government is prepared for it. This mentality should vanish and the Government should take steps to see, particularly in the NES blocks and the Community Development areas, that the Harijans get some land and their economic condition improves.

The Community Development areas and the NES blocks form a compact area of some thousand villages and the propaganda about untouchability can easily be carried out. They can

[Shri Thimmaiah]

see that the outlook of the people changes and people do not observe untouchability. But, unfortunately, the machinery that is there in the Community Development areas never bothers about the propagation of untouchability. They deliver some speeches here and there and call some people and say: "You do not observe untouchability; you behave well and so on." If we go to the same area, however civilised a Scheduled Caste person may be, he will not get a cup of water. If he goes to a mofussil place, he will never be allowed to enter a hotel.

How does it happen in these areas? There is a machinery there and we are spending a lot of money on them. There are so many village level workers and officers and others. It will be sufficient if untouchability is removed in at least Community Development areas and NES blocks. Land alone cannot solve the economic problem.

They have got their hereditary industries. They know tanning and shoe-making and many other things. They are experts in making leather goods. In the Community Development areas, these village level workers can collect statistics about these people who are cobblers and know the work of shoe-making and collect them and bring them under co-operative societies and give them some aid and give some raw materials and advance so that they can earn more money through the improvement of their cottage industries. That is not being done today. I say that whatever facilities are there in the Community Development areas, they are meant for the caste Hindus and not for the Scheduled Caste people. I dare say that it has not directly helped these people in any way. That is, apart from any scheme that is strictly meant for these people, it has not helped them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is he trying to finish within another minute?

Shri Thimmaiah: I will finish it. (Interruptions.) I shall resume my seat.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He promised to finish within a minute but he has suddenly sat down. All right.

An Hon. Member: That was before he saw the time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is a paper to be laid on the Table of the House.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES ON HIS VISIT TO RIOT AFFECTED AREAS OF RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT OF MADRAS

Shri Datar: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on his visit to the riot affected areas of Ramanathapuram District of Madras, as directed by the Speaker. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-454/57.]

Shri Senavane: Is it corrected?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That will be studied and then it will be known. We go to the next business.

EDUCATION MINISTERS CONFERENCE

श्री स० ज० इनर्जी (कानपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, थापको याद होगा कि २१ नवम्बर, १९५७ को एक सवाल माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी के सामने थाया था और उस सवाल में जन्म एक चीजें पूछी गई थीं । हमारे दिल्ली बाहर में १९ और २० सितम्बर को स्टेट मिनिस्टर्स आफ एजुकेशन की जी कान्फ्रेंस हुई थी, उसके बारे में कुछ गया था