

fair. I treat you as an hon. Member of this House, nothing else.

(Interruptions)

13.55 hrs.

MOTION RE. ATROCITIES ON THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES AND OTHER WEAKER SECTIONS

[Translations]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera):  
I beg to move:-

"That this House do express concern over the atrocities being committed on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society in the country and urge upon the Government to take early necessary steps to prevent their recurrence."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing an important issue. With the consent of the leaders of all the parties you have allowed a discussion on this issue. Reports about atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and other parts of the country have been pouring in for the last few days. I want that this issue should be seriously debated in this House, and we should rise above the party politics while expressing our views on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you glance through the constitution you will find that the approach of the framers of the constitution was that in free India, there should not be any exploitation in the name of caste and creed, but unfortunately such incidents are constantly increasing.

14.00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you glance through the Constitution, you will come to know that everywhere in all the articles of the Constitution, under the chapter 'Fundamental Rights'

emphasis has been laid on the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society. In article 15(2) of the Constitution, it has been stated that "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any other of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to public places." Similarly, in article 16(4) it has been stated that "Nothing, in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State." Likewise, in article 17 provision for civil rights protection has been made and untouchability has been made a punishable offence and acts have also been made for it. Similarly forced labour is prohibited in article 23. We find in the Article 25 that anyone can convert his religion and adopt any religion. In article 29 (11) it has been stated that "No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution on grounds of religion, race, caste, language. In articles 46, it has been stated that Government would endeavour to promote the economic and social interests of these people. Likewise, articles 334, makes a provision for reservations of seats in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies and article 335 provides for reservation in Government services. In article 338 provision for the appointment of Special officer and in Article 244 constitution of a S.T./S.C. Commission is made. The previous Lok Sabha provided it not only the Constitutional and statutory powers but also all the powers under ordinance regarding the commission of Enquiry.

Prevention of Atrocities Act was formulated in 1989, notified it which is in force today. We constituted the Special Courts which are functioning today. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if we look at the act and fact, we notice a great difference between the two. There is clearly a great difference between the Constitutional decorum, constitutional provisions and the reality.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a few days ago on 29-

7-91 in this house through a question an information regarding the number of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes killed in the States and the Union Territories in the years 1988, 1989 and 1990 was sought. The answer given by the Minister concerned was like this. The Minister informed that in Andhra Pradesh the 26 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes were killed in 1988, 41 in 1989 and 56 in 1990. Thus, while 26 persons were killed in 1988, this number increased to 56 in 1990. It means that number of incidents of atrocities are increasing. Similarly, in the case of Bihar, 69 persons were killed in 1988, 56 in 1989 and 27 in 1990. Although, this too is a matter of great shame yet we may have some satisfaction that while 69 persons belonging to the Scheduled Caste were killed in 1988, this number came down to 27 in 1990. In Madhya Pradesh this number was 78 in 1988, 74 in 1989 and 81 in 1990. In Maharashtra it was 15 in 1990. In Rajasthan it was 27 in 1988, 34 in 1989 and 25 in 1990. In Uttar Pradesh it was 267 in 1988, 270 in 1989 and 265 in 1990, thus we have the statewise figures. These figures pertain to Scheduled castes.

When you look at the figures relating to the Scheduled Tribes, you will find that in Andhra Pradesh 6 persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes were killed in 1988, 7 in 1989 and 13 in 1990. In Bihar it was 8 in 1988, 7 in 1989 and 3 in 1990. In Madhya Pradesh the number of such people killed was 58 in 1988, 38 in 1989 and 62 in 1990. In Maharashtra it was 12 in 1988, 9 in 1989 and 8 in 1990. Thus we can see that except few states, the number of killings has increased in each and every State. In an answer to the Parliament question dated 5 August it was informed that the during the period between January to June, 1991, 7 persons were killed in Andhra Pradesh, 44 in Madhya Pradesh, 10 in Rajasthan, 15 in Bihar and 20 in Uttar Pradesh. After independence, with the passing of time, instead of protecting the poor, the incidents of atrocities, oppression and excesses on the down-trodden and poor are increasing. As a result of that administration is losing its credibility

among the people. We are happy that there are at least some persons who rise above the party politics and condemn such incidents.

We visited Andhra Pradesh. A great deal of anger and resentment has been shown in the House about the incident which took place there. We are happy that the M.L.A.s belonging to Congress Party have also condemned this incident. We went there. Three colleagues of the Telugu Desam and some colleagues belonging to CPM also accompanied us. We saw that a heart rending incident had taken place. The hands, legs and neck of a person were cut in a very cruel manner and wrapped in a sack and thrown into a river. When we reached the village there, women started weeping. We could hardly face them. We asked as to what was the reason behind the incident? They told us very politely that there was no reason of this incident. A young boy belonging to Scheduled Caste went to see cinema on July 5. Since the caste - system is prevailing there his boot got touched by chance to another chap's leg belonging to a particular caste, perhaps Reddy. Although Mr. B.N. Reddy accompanied us, he too condemned the incident in a public meeting. There are people in Reddy caste who are condemning it. On it the boy said, how did you dare to hit me. This was the cause of quarrel. Later on the boy was caught. This issue was settled somehow. But tension continued even after a month. On August 5 a dealer belonging to the Scheduled Caste was called. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the incident we saw is different from those of Belchi or Pipra which occurred away from the town. But this is the first incident which took place in the city where block headquarters is situated. M.R.O. calls the dealer and asks him "what is this incident all about? He stated that he knew nothing about this. When he comes out from there he is stabbed and there spreads a sensation thereafter. The police reaches there on the sixth. The police was not small in number but was in hundreds. It instead of protecting the villagers asks the men folk belonging to the Scheduled Castes to come out of their houses. People enquired as to why should

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they do so? But the police told them to come out immediately. They were forced to leave their houses and taken to place away from the village. The police followed them. When the people reached near a drain, they found that people of 5 or 6 villages have assembled there. They were cornered from three sides and then massacre started. Two-three boys from a family, who were students were apprehended and after cutting their hands legs and necks, their bodies were wrapped up in sacks and thrown into the drain.

You can't expect a more glaring collusion of police, administration and landlord than this. The distance of district headquarter Guntur from this place is only 30kms. The District Magistrate says that he received information in this regard after 24 hours. It is an irony that the distance between the two places is barely 30 kms and the District Magistrate is apprised of the same after 24 hours. Everyone is sailing on the same boat. The District Magistrate comes to know about the incident after 24 hours and the Chief Minister is not aware of it even after 96 hours of it happening.

The incident took place on 6th and we came to know about it on the 7th. Shri Arjun Singh is not present here at the moment. We met him and submitted a memorandum to him in this regard. We got the information that twenty people belonging to Scheduled Caste were killed. We did not readily believe it because it was not covered by the press. We pointed out that if it was a fact we would raise it otherwise how could we? Shri Arjun Singh said that he would collect more details. The business of the House could not be transacted for two days due to B.J.P. When this matter was raised on 9th, the Home Minister pointed out that he had talked to the Chief Minister in this connection and that he knew about this incident and as such he would go there and probe into it. The incident took place on 6th but the Chief Minister is not informed about it till 9th. It has been seen that whenever a train accident takes place, the Minister of Railways pays a visit to the acci-

dent site on the very next day. In 1977 when I was a member of the ruling party, I had moved a motion under Rule 184. Shri Ramlal Rahi was also a Member of the ruling party. At that time, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was also present from the other side. At that time, Members belonging to the Congress Party had asked whether Shri Morarji Desai had paid a visit to Belchhi, the place of the incident. Today we would like to ask whether the Prime Minister has paid a visit to the place of this major incident which is also his home town. I would also like to know whether the Home Minister has gone there or not. I would like to know the reasons therefor. There is an Article in the constitution for their protection (*Interruptions*)

A similar incident took place on the 6th April, 90 at Fatehpur. The house of the culprits was attached on the 11th and the person involved in that incident surrendered on 12th and on the 12th itself a charge sheet was filed under section 302. I don't think that in any other case more prompt action than this was taken in the country. Despite this the Members raised this matter and Shri V.P. Singh visited that place. When the Prime Minister went to Andhra Pradesh on tour why did he not go there? Why the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of State in the Minister of Home Affairs did not go there? The Chief Minister went there after 4 days. I had myself visited Guntur. There was a 28-29 years old doctor named Ravi Chandra Kumar. He went mad while performing post mortems. He told his mother that he could not live in a country where this sort of an incident takes place. Thereafter at night that doctor hung himself to death. I have seen that there is a drain in Guntur and no sea or river is there. In one day's time one can find the number of dead bodies by dropping a fisherman's net. We went to that site on 10th to find that two dead bodies were recovered, whereas as per the local residents of that area, twenty seven people were reported missing. So many people were killed. Many kinds of people have reached that place. Of them, some were naxalites, extremists, social workers, people belonging to backward classes, minority welfare, SC/ST and a whole

lot of others from various political parties. Fourteen districts of Andhra Pradesh are terrorist infested. When the hopes of the people are shattered, they adopt violent means. In other words, we do not clean the drains but make every effort to kill the mosquitos. Unless we take into consideration the reason behind mosquito breeding we cannot break this Chain. Today the poor people are losing faith in administration.

I shall take a minute's time to narrate my personal experience. I was imprisoned in 1970. I was put behind bars in Bhagalpur jail on the charge that I belonged to a Naxalite group. At that time, I was a legislator. When I went to jail I met a boy. When I asked what his name was he replied that he was Hitler. When asked what he was doing, he replied that he was cleaning the toilets for the last fourteen years. In reply to my question as to what this fault was, he said that he had committed no crime. Fourteen years back he was behind bars for 4 years. When they caught him the first time, at that time too he had committed no guilt. When I asked the Jailer, he said that there was no one to clean the toilets. It was for this reason that he was brought to jail. His only fault was that he belonged to the community of sweepers. As such this innocent boy was kept in the jail because they required a person to clean the toilet. Just imagine what will be his reaction when he is released from the jail. As such excesses are being committed in the society on the basis of caste. In this august House we should endeavour to find ways and means to unify the society. Our friends were raising the Pipal issue. I was a Legislator from that reserved constituency. Belchhi Vidhan Sabha constituency falls in Badaun which was the Parliamentary constituency of Shri Sharad Yadav. That person contested the election and this contest became a cure for him. He was killed in broad daylight five days before the election. We are unable to comprehend this. Shri Kalpanath is here and we were together in Samajwadi Yuva Dal and Socialist Party. We embarked on solving the basic issues of the people. If a person fights for the basic issues and for the rights of the poor, is it right

that conspiracy should be hatched to kill him? I feel that if such conspiracies are hatched, it will have serious consequences. People like me do not bring politics or party politics while fighting against the atrocities committee in SC/ST, the poor and the people belonging to minority communities.

Rajivji was assassinated. Anadi Charan Dasji is here and he was the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of our party. His house was gutted and I and Jatiyaji also met the same fate. Our only fault was that all of us belong to a Scheduled Caste. I do not know whether the Congress or B.J.P. or for that matter some other party was involved in it. We suspect foul play only when the Government does not take any concrete step or action. Government must give them protection. At the same time it should also be made public as to whether the person arrested for such acts belong to a political party, is an anti-social element or a criminal. In 1984, my house was set ablaze I was given assurance that compensation would be given. I gave application but till date I have revived nothing. This time also my house was burnt, my belongings are in the police station and I am buying new things. When a member of Lok Sabha tries to champion the cause of the Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and the down trodden their houses are burnt and conspiracies are hatched to kill them. Is this democracy or are we heading towards a world where there would be no other means besides violence to sort out matters. A few days back a bridegroom belonging to Scheduled Caste was heading towards bride's place on the horseback in a marriage procession. He was killed. Even after 43 years of independence such tendencies are increasing unabated. Although this issue has been discussed in this august House several times, yet it has not helped in finding any solution. I would urge upon the Minister of Home Affairs to take a concrete decision in this regard. Despite being in power for barely eleven months we made efforts to take steps in this direction. There may or may not be any incident of atrocity, we decided to set up special courts in each and every district. The

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day on which we were bowed out of power, in November, 1990, we had identified 425 districts out of total 450 districts in the country for the purpose of setting up of special courts. We would like to know that number of districts in which special courts have been set up so far. The Government should make a declaration to this effect that wherever in the country the incidents of such crimes, atrocities or massacre take place these cases will be dealt with by special courts and not by ordinary courts. I urge upon the Government to set up not only special courts but exclusive courts to deal with the incident of Andhra Pradesh and similar incidents at other places. A retired judge has been appointed there. What will a retired judge do? It was said that Government will conduct judicial enquiry. The judicial enquiry will last for six months or one year. Then, the matter will come to regular court. I urge upon the Government to set up exclusive courts and appoint a judge of High Court. The High Court judge should go to Guntur district and hear the case one week, two week, one month or whatever the period he may consider necessary. The appointed judge should take the evidence and give judgement so that no one gets the opportunity to destroy the evidence.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to point out that as per the report of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission most of the incidents take place because of land disputes. We introduced a Constitution amendment to include the land reforms in the ninth schedule of the constitution but despite that no land tribunals have been set up anywhere. You go to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. You will find that poor do not have any land. There is a law but who cares for that? A person is in possession of 5 thousands acres of land in their possession. Why? When land reforms Act is in force, how can a Member possess five thousand acres of land when he is not allowed to keep more than 18-20 acres of land. Perhaps they may have land in the names of their pets or someone else. This land reform act needs to be strictly implemented and I understand

that this is the most important thing. In villages wherever incidents of crimes and atrocities take place, the cause of 90% of such incidents is always disputes over land. I urge upon the Government to summon all the Chief Ministers. Every possible assistance should be given by the Centre and the Parliament. I assure the Government of the full support of the opposition, and National Front for the amendment to be made in the Constitution and for the steps to be taken for the effective implementation of Land Reform Act. If a land owner possesses land in excess, to the prescribed ceiling and if a person has concealed the land possessed by him, then he should immediately be put behind the bars and an declaration should also be made to the effect that nobody will be allowed to possess land in excess to the ceiling. This menace is increasing rapidly.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, D.D.T. is effective only in killing mosquitos but cannot check mosquito breeding. Unless the filthy drains are cleaned mosquito will continue, to breed. As such the drains should be cleaned first. Even after 44 years of independence, the Land Reform Act has not been implemented, it clearly shows the intentions of the Government. We want to suggest that Land Reform Act should be included in the ninth schedule of the Constitution. Try to find some way to stop the land owners from going to the court. There is a wide gap between Act and fact. A poor man is allotted land but when goes to collect the relevant papers, he finds that at that place there is no house but is a field. An officer will do justice to you if you suit to his whims. Even if a poor person wins the case, he will not be given its title. The case starts under 144 and the result is that the poor never gets title of the land whether it is allotted under Bhodan Act or any other Act.

They talk of economic upliftment. Kesari Sahib is present here. We ask who are bonded labourers even after 43 years of independence? Ninety nine percent of bonded labourers are S.Cs/S.Ts. We had a proposal to set up a commission for bonded labourers. Bonded Labour Commission. You give the same powers to the bonded labour

commission as you have given to District Magistrates and S.Ps. The bonded labourers have been got freed. They have not been freed by any Government officer. The voluntary organisations have got them freed. If the Commission is entrusted with that right the blot of bonded labourers will certainly be removed. On main carries night soil on his head. The reason behind to is that he belongs to a low caste. What can be more disgraceful than that the night soil is carried by a man on his head even after 43 years of independence. We had pointed out that there were 3900 cities in which a man had to carry night soil. In order to stop this practice, we had formulated a three years scheme on which Rs. 500 crores were to be spent. Cut down all other expenditures and spent money on it and get the persons rid of this practice. They cannot be relieved of this work unless you give them some alternative job. The people doing the job of carrying night soil can be emancipated only by giving them alternative jobs, and in future, a decision to this effect should be taken that carrying of night soil will be stopped in all the newly constructed houses.

While we were in power we decided in principal that a certain portion of the budget will be kept separate for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population. If there is a budget of rupees 3000 or 4000 crores, one thousand crore should be earmarked for the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is not true that with the construction of a national Highway in the adivasi dominated area will improve the lot of adivasis. You allocate funds in proportion to their population. You allocate funds for them under each head. For instance, you allot one fourth of the total allocation of Ministry of Education for opening schools in Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes areas. If you are spending funds in irrigational work, then you should also spend amount on the irrigation of land owned by them. All hospitals proposed to be opened should be opened in their areas. We visited tribal area, *Singhbhoom* area. Suraj Mandalji is not present here. In those areas, people tie a plank to cure their fractured legs.

Sitaram Kesriji is aware of all this. This is the position after 43 years of independence. As such, I urge you to earmark funds in proportion to their population. We are aware of the fact that Planning Commission will put hurdles in its way but we have accepted it in principal.

THE MINISTER OF WELFARE (SHRI SITARAM KESRI): This will be done.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: For everything you make commitments but nothing is done.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Please note that we have contemplated in this direction and issued directions to our Department to write to the Planning Commission for providing more funds in commonsurate with the increase in their population.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: We would like to point out one more things. We had started this when we were in power. Now it is a question related to population. Their population has increased. The population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have increased by 26 percent but they are getting 22% reservation. We have also added some new castes to the list of Scheduled Castes. We had included the neo-Buddhists also. Now a Bill has been brought forward that Butt and Gujar would also be included in the Bill. We support this move but would like to submit that there are 200 more Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country which have been approved by RGI and recommended by the State Governments. The Tharu tribe in Rajasthan is one such example and there are similar other 200 castes which have not been included in the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for one reason or other. The law in this regard is that the State Government recommends and the Registrar General of India approves it. Both these things had been done and we were about to introduce it but we could not. We want that the work which had remained incomplete during the tenure of our Government should be completed by the present Government.

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Mr. Speaker Sir, so far as Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils are concerned.

**SHRI SITARAM KESRI:** He said that the Registrar General of India and the State Governments approved these tribes and there was a consensus on it. I would like to know about those States which have given the approval.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** All right; I will give you this information. I have got the list of those States and I will sent the same to you. We get an opportunity to discuss this matter in the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies but in the Rajya Sabha where nominations are made by the Parties, the number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is negligible. I can guarantee full support from National Front and Left Front and the entire opposition if both the Houses bring forward a Constitution Amendment Bill with a consensus seeking to reserve seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils proportionate to the population of States. There is a need for reservation in both the bodies. Reservation should also be provided in posts in which nominations are made by the Government. It should take concrete steps in this direction. Only then the problems could be resolved. The same is the case with judiciary also. The matter has become very complicated. It has become a vicious circle. It calls for a tremendous effort to find a solution to this problem. Kesriji, you will have to make a tremendous effort. Who knows you will be successful or not but you will have to make a sincere effort for this and find a solution. Judiciary is the source of justice. Time and again allegations have been made that more often than not judges are appointed on political considerations. I would not like to raise the matter of Mandal Commission here. I shall raise it at the opportune time. I, therefore, demand, that, the Government should make efforts and search people from among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who meet the minimum qualifications and appoint them as judges.

Now, take the example of Police department. We have evolved a novel idea in Bihar where atrocities are committed. Kesriji knows it well. If there are four officers in a police station one must belong to the upper class, the other to backward class, third to minorities and fourth to Scheduled Tribes. Even if somebody wanted to play mischief he will not be able to do so. There is a force in Uttar Pradesh and whenever there are riots the Muslims do not fear the Hindus as much as they are afraid of this force, because majority of the force constitutes of people of a particular community. A policy should be formulated that persons belonging to all communities should be posted on key posts in the district headquarters. This would help in preventing situations like the one which took place in Andhra Pradesh where administration seems to be all powerful. They exploit these people. Recently, we had taken a decision during Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar's Birth Centenary Celebrations that we would bring forward a legislation to fill the backlog of reservation for these castes. The present Government had also assured that they were going to bring such a legislation during this session but why are they silent. They should say that they are bringing it soon.

**SHRI SITARAM KESRI:** We agree with you but you must be aware that it is a time consuming process. We agree in principle that this backlog issue is unfortunate.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** I was submitting that legislation for reservation Bill is already ready. The hon. Speaker had just to allow it for introduction. Shri Rabi Ray had given permission for introducing it in the earlier session. I do not think that it calls for any more exercise. All of us want it. The main reason for not completing the backlog is that everything is to be done according to the Government order. You can get candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes for IAS, IPS, IFS and other services but such candidates are not available for the post of peon. The Government had stated in reply to a question that the backlog of Scheduled Cases in class IV posts is 6 per cent whereas actually it is 8

per cent. Why is it 6 per cent in these posts. Why candidates are not available in these lower posts? Remember that this backlog cannot be filled unless we make a law in this regard. We had drafted such a legislation and it had a number of provisions. We had made a provision that if a person is found guilty of not recruiting a candidate belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes who fulfills requirements, he would be punished. I feel that if the 22 percent quota of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 25 per cent quota of backwards and minorities is filled the day is not far when the one-sided incidents and other incidents of atrocities on these castes would come to an end and people would also resist themselves from committing such acts. The hon. Minister said that a time bound programme is being formulated. We have been hearing such things since 1952. We would like an assurance from the Government that this work would be done by 14th April, 1992 or 14th April 1993. There should be a definite date. Unless this is done no purpose would be served. When we were in power we used to take it up in the Cabinet meetings and monitor the progress. We used to monitor it in every category whether it was minorities, or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and tried to find the reasons of not filling the quota. We used to advertise the vacancies in National Newspapers besides giving it wide publicity in tribal areas. We used to find out how many persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, minorities and backward classes were holding key posts in district headquarters. If there were no such persons, we used to ensure that such a person is found and made incharge of things. It was only then that our efforts had started bearing fruit, Ganga is clean and pure in Gangotri and that is why its water is clean. Had it been dirty it would have been dirty all along its course. Unless we go to the root cause of the disease, we cannot cure it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, therefore, I would urge that legislation for reservation is a sort of panacea. If you could implement it, the backlog would be cleared within a year. I would request that provision of reservation

should be made in judiciary also, because it is the fountain head from where justice flows down the stream. Do not lower the standard for reservation. Maintain the standards, but keep the qualifications at the minimum level. Any person holding the degree of MBBS is a doctor, but since there are limited posts of doctors in the country, you add M.S. and M.D. with MBBS as qualification. This is so despite the fact that minimum qualification for a doctor is MBBS.

SHRI SITA RAM KESRI: Provision for reservation should be made in the newspapers also.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Yes, In newspapers and journalism too. The recommendation of Mandal Commission should be implemented in all fields. We are ready for that.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, similarly, during our rule, we had taken a decision with regard to recruitment in the police force. It was decided that in addition to inserting advertisements in national newspapers, special efforts would be made to ensure that advertisements for recruitment reach the Adivasi areas and areas inhabited predominantly by the people belonging to the scheduled castes. Let training centres be set up in these areas, especially at Chaibasa, Bastar and in tribal belt of Maharashtra. Let a matriculate boy with a height of 5'-6" be selected and given training for four to six months in racing, long jump and high jump, and whenever posts in C.R.P.F. fall vacant, they should be recruited rightway. During our rule, we had set up a typewriting training centre in the Staff Selection Commission for this purpose. One thousand boys were given training in typewriting for six months. The result is that if a candidate belonging to the reserved categories gets the post of a typist through his own efforts, it is all right, otherwise he is given training in typewriting in the training centre set up for this purpose. If you do it, I do not see any reason why this backlog is not cleared. To fulfil this objective, a five year or a three year plan is enough. The task which is not accomplished in five years cannot be



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completed even in a plan of 50 years. All that required is that intention should be good. Whatever be the trade, whether it is electronics, computers or police force, the Government should set up training centres in the respective fields to impart training to the prospective candidates. Even if it is the recruitment in the CRPF or other police force, training centres are a must. If appointments to the posts of engineer are to be made, let the candidates be given training. Then only we can get efficient candidates from these categories. Every advertisement to a job invariably carries the following remarks:

[English]

"If a candidate belonging to Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes is not available, the seat will be treated dereserved."

[Translation]

What does it mean? Will this sentence continue to be written indefinitely and will the post of even a peon continue to be got dereserved? Demand for a separate Jharkhand is being made in the tribal dominated areas. Similar demands are being raised in other States too. You go to the sites of all big projects and you will find that only the tribal land has been acquired. The other day, I was reading an article by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wherein he had written that heavy industries set up by Tata at Dhanbad, Bokaro and Steel City were going to prove as boon to the Scheduled Tribes. You can see their condition now. Instead of a boon, it is proving to be a curse. Their lands were acquired on the promise that they would be offered jobs in the projects, but none was given. Likewise, promise for monetary compensation also proved to be hollow. The result is that the Adivasis who were land owners previously are working as miners now as their lands have been acquired for or the projects. There used to be a Tribe known as Babri Tribe in Bokaro, but nobody now knows as to where did it disappear. In view of this, we had decided that no such project should be

executed until the displaced people or those likely to be displaced during the curse of execution of that project are rehabilitated and all facilities like schools, roads etc. are provided to them. If such facilities were not available at the places of their rehabilitation, they would not be displaced before all such facilities are provided. This is true in the case of Narmada Project also. What was happening hitherto was that they were displaced in the national interest only to wander like nomads. Their frustration ultimately gives birth to extremism which leads to instability in the country.

We have two regions in Bihar State - North Bihar and South Bihar. North Bihar is frequently hit by drought as well as floods. South Bihar is full of mines. But the land owners on whose lands these mines are located have nothing to do with them. They are wandering bare-bodied even today as they have no place to live. Therefore, the schemes formulated for the benefit of Adivasis, whether it is N.R.E.P. or any other scheme, have not yielded the desired result simply because they have remained on paper only. We have a Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes Financial Corporation. When I was the Minister, I got a survey conducted as to how many people belonging to Scheduled Tribes took loan from this corporation. It was gathered that 78 per cent people belonging to Scheduled Tribes took loan from private money lenders and only 22 per cent availed of the benefit of this corporation. Private money lender gets and thumb impression and gives rupees 100 and recovers rupees 200 the next month. But when a tribal goes to the corporation to take loan, he is asked to shuttle between a number of clerks. Thus, harassed, he prefers to go to the private money lender to avoid this cumbersome procedure and likely botheration. Therefore, you must simplify the procedure. We were ready to come forward with a scheme for this purpose also, but the scheme could not be put through as we did not have the funds. We were going to waive their loans in the same way we did in the case of farmers. Under the scheme, we had envisaged that all loans of upto Rs.10,000 of Adivasis, whether they

took loan from private sources or Government sources would be waived by taking 1990 as the cut-off year. Loan from private money lender is sheer exploitation as he makes Rs.10,000 out of Rs. 10. Will the Government take courage and make announcement to this effect? Otherwise, how are you going to liberate that bonded labour. If Rs. 10,000 is not possible to be waived, let it be Rs. 5,000. Let the Government announce that all loans of Adivasis upto Rs. 5,000 would be written off. Do not hesitate even if some amount is to be paid from the Government exchequer.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, due to time constraint, I do not want to take much of your time. But I must say that caste system is such a blot that it does not wash off till death. We passed the Prevention of Untouchability Act. Originally it was Untouchability Act, but later on it was amended to become Civil Right Protection Act. Every body is aware that the practice of Untouchability is still prevalent in 90 per cent of villages in most of the States. But if you happen to go through the Report, you will find that no a single person has so far been convicted under the Civil Rights Protection Act. The poor man is not convinced that he would get justice from the court. Mrs. Chandra Shekhar is not present here. The issue of religious conversions cropped up in the House the other day. Whenever any religious conversion takes place in the country, some hon. friends think that foreign money is working behind such conversions. As Members of a committee of parliament we visited Meenakshipuram to examine and report upon the cases of religious conversions there. The committee comprised Shri Suraj Bhan of the BJP, Madam Chandrashekhar of the Congress and the representatives of the CPI and CPI(M). We interviewed a doctor. When asked about his name, he told that his name was Yunus. Then we asked him as to what was his earlier name. Subaiah, he replied. When asked as to why he took recourse to religious conversion, he told us that if we wanted to know the reason, take that man-a-Harijan to that tea shop and get him a cup of tea. We went along to the tea shop and Madam Chandrashekhar

told the tea shop owner in Tamil to serve us a cup of tea each as also to that man who was a Harijan. He served us tea, but not to the Harijan. When Madam Chandrashekhar asked as to why did not he serve tea to him, he asked whether he had come with his pot. When the Harijan replied in the negative, the shop owner told that he could not serve tea to him because if he did and the people knew that we had served tea to a person belonging to scheduled caste, our shop would be set on fire.

Now he wondered how the tea would be taken. The response was that once the tea became cold, it could be gulped down like water. When we returned from there, the boy Yunus told me when those people were not prepared give a cup of tea to a scheduled caste person what right had they got to ask about his religion? Today, if we convert from Hinduism to Islam, nobody would ask us about our caste, if we convert into Christianity and change our name to Paul, nobody will ask us about our caste and if tomorrow, we change our religion and name to Sardar Avtar Singh, nobody will dare to ask us about our caste. We are asked this question, because we were born in the Hindu society which is based on caste system. Mr. Speaker, Sir, today our struggle is not only for bread, clothing and shelter but for respect and honour also. There is a basis difference between the pre-independence generation and the post-independence one. The former silently suffered the atrocities, while the latter wants to lead a respectful and honourable life. We have in our midst Shri Mukul Wasnik. Can anyone judge from his appearance or way of speaking that he belongs to a Scheduled Caste? What I want to say is that these people are in no way inferior to any one so far as Merit is concerned, but the moment, it becomes clear that a person belongs to a Scheduled Caste his merit is given a back seat. That's why, today's younger generation wants to lead a respectable and honourable life. It is prepared to break, but not bend. The society will have to come to terms with this reality. People in this country are discriminated against on the basis of their castes and religions. If we don't

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endeavour to change this, our country can never go forward.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I don't consider the issue of caste system as a party issue or a political issue. It is a national malady, a national problem and should be dealt in that manner. Agreed, black sheeps are there in all the parties, who have been involved in such cases and we should all endeavour to deal with them. If the Home Minister goes to Andhra Pradesh, he will find for himself what the people have to say about the local M.L.A., the Deputy Speaker. They want these people to be hanged. I know you will remove the unparliamentary words from the records, but I am only echoing the sentiments of the local people. They directly level charges against these people. Why is it so? When Ram Vilas Paswan goes there, he is taken on the shoulders, welcomed and taken around, but the State Chief Minister is prevented from entering the area. Why are they so enraged? We should try to find out the reasons.

Everyday, disputes are raised in the name of Mandir and Masjid and it is the Scheduled Castes, who are made the sacrificial goats. If they are courageous enough, why don't B.J.P. and Congress people come forward? I don't believe in Ram, nor in going to temples. I am an atheist. If any person can become a 'Gyani' in Gurudwara, everybody should be enticed to become temple priests also. The Government should open religious institutions, where training should be imparted in Vedas, Kuran, Bible etc., and those successfully completing the course should be appointed as Priests and Shankaracharyas, a teachers are appointed in schools. If something like this is done, then the people will continue to have faith in their religion. *(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE  
(Panskura): People should be educated.

SHRIRAM VILAS PASWAN: Yes, that's why I said earlier that we should break the barriers of caste and religion. We have a

caste system, where Shudras are at the bottom, the Vaishyas a little above and Kshatriyas and Brahmins further above. The need of the hour is to either eliminate this system or to make everyone equal enjoying equal respect and honour in the society. No one should be allowed to exploit the other *(Interruptions)* Shri Balram Jakhar is present in the House. You may ask him. There was a time when in Rajasthan and in Haryana no one was allowed to have 'Singh' as Surname. Now they have all kinds of Surnames. Devilal, Bansi Lal, Bhajan Lal, Nathu Ram Mirdha, Daulat Ram Saran etc. Now Balram Jakhar may say that he is Balram, the brother of Krishna, but after all 'Ram' is there is his name *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE  
(SHRI BAL RAM JAKHAR): I am a brother of humanity *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDER JIT: You want to say that none should be allowed to use one's caste as Surname.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: It won't be fair. As long as the surname benefited them, they used it and when it would create problems, they will drop it. This game won't work.

SHRI INDER JIT: You yourself are saying that we have to abolish caste system. Are you prepared to drop 'Paswan' from your name?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Yes, certainly I have no objection to it. Even Jagannath Mishra had done it once, but later on he started using his 'Surname' again. When you write your name 'Inder Jit' and go, these people won't be satisfied. They are shrewd enough to find out about your caste, whether you are a scheduled caste or you belong to the Backward caste and if so, what's your subcaste? Therefore dropping surnames is not a solution to this deep-rooted problem. The solution lies in bringing about fundamental changes and for that one should be prepared to listen to abuses and what not. In this country, Gandhiji was killed and so was

Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Incidentally, Dayanand Saraswati was a brahmin and the person who poisoned him too was brahmin. Here you see the difference between two people belonging to the same caste. Vivekananda had once called upon the people belonging to higher castes to give the due rights to the Shudras or else the latter will rise and with one blow finish the very existence of the upper castes.

Similarly, Buddha, who opposed idol worship and brought about social changes, today has no place in this country. Buddhism is a vibrant force in many other country but in the land of its birth, it has become extinct. That is why my stress is on the need to bring about fundamental changes.

So far as this incident is concerned, I have earlier also said that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs should cancel all his engagements and visit the state. The Prime Minister hails from that state, he should have gone there first, but he didn't and that's why from now onwards we may start suspecting the sincerity of the Prime Minister and that he is anti-Dalit. Such a less major incident has taken place in his state and he did not consider it necessary to pay a visit to the state. You are the Home Minister. All these things come under the purview of your Ministry. The hon. Speaker can give a ruling in this regard, but he cannot force you to go there. What is needed is your willingness to visit that place. You should immediately visit the incident site and if necessary you can talk alongwith your Shri Ram Lal Rahi, Shri Jacob and also an all-party team. Your visit won't be of much help, but it would certainly instil a confidence in the minds of the people that the Union Government is there to protect them.

Today, the Andhra Pradesh Government has become a party to the incident. The people look at the Government as belonging to the other camp. When you go to them, it would act as a sootherier to their wounds. You should constitute a special court to look into the incident. Now a days, it has become a fashion to give a compensa-

tion of one lakh rupees to the kins of those killed. This means that the poor man's life has no value. You can kill him any time and pay Rupees one lakh to his dependents. What is one lakh Rupees? If at all, you sincerely want to provide them with some relief, give them five acres of land or give them five lakh rupees. Go and tell them that one person belonging to each bereaved family would be provided employment. It should not be like the Pipra incident, where the dependents are yet to get any employment.

As I said earlier, if we go ahead with both the immediate and long-term plans, I am certain that we would be able to check the atrocities, if not completely root them out.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to assure the hon. Minister that we will always be two steps ahead of you, so far as programmes meant for the upliftment of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, weaker sections, backward classes and minorities are concerned. We shall extend all support to you, whether it be regarding formulation of any law in this regard or any constitutional Amendment. You should be courageous enough to punish the culprits, the perpetrators of such atrocities and protect the poor and underprivileged, otherwise, let me warn you that the day is not far when this Parliament and all of us would become irrelevant.

[English]

14.55 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK (Buldana): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise with a deep sense of anguish and sorrow to participate in this discussion on the atrocities committed against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even after 44 years of independence, it is a matter of shame that still today, in different parts of the country, atrocities are committed frequently.

Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, initiating the

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discussion had pointed out that we should not make this issue of atrocitly a political issue. I fully agree with him. This is of course not a political issue and this is also not a party issue. The basic cause is the social discrimination. I would like to appeal that no political party should try to make statements in the manner to gain political mileage out of it. I condemn the incident in Tsunder Village of Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. It is a shameful act. This act has again demonstrated that whenever the down-trodden sections of the society, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes try to raise their heads in self-respect, simultaneously, the upper caste people try to see that such efforts do not succeed.

But, Sir, when we discuss about the incident in Guntur district, we should see how incident had actually taken place. The Reports which are before us are very clear that the incident started from 7th July. It is more than a month back that the incident started. As Shri Paswan pointed out, it started from a small quarrel in a theater. The police imposed Section 144 of Cr. P.C. on 8th July in that village to see that no untoward incident takes place. But even after imposition of Section 144 on 5th August though the police officials, the Government officials were there in that village to see that no untoward incident takes place-still people were killed. The Scheduled Castes were killed and their bodies were found after a search that was carried out 48 hours after the incident.

Today also, we are not aware whether all the bodies of the victims who were killed in that incident have been found by the Government or not. It is a very serious incident and I condemn this act.

At this point of time, though I welcome the decisions of the Andhra Pradesh Government announcing certain measures but at the same time, I would like to say that I am not fully satisfied by the measures taken. Because unless and until we take action and unless and until we sack the Government

officials, the police officials who were there in that village, who were responsible for this incident, I think nobody, who is really concerned for the cause of weaker sections - the harijans and the adivasis, will be satisfied.

Shri Paswan had rightly pointed out that we should not politicise the issue. It is not a party issue. But while speaking on the atrocities on the Scheduled Castes, he had only limited himself to the atrocities committed in Andhra Pradesh. There have been several incidents. Just two days back, in Farukhabad, six harijans were killed. I would like to know what action has been taken against the culprits? In Unnao District, on the 30th of last month, two harijans were killed. What happened about that incident? What action has been taken?

Shri Paswan comes from Bihar. In Devehanda and Sahiara Villages in Bhojpur District, 15 harijans were killed. What action has the Government taken? What measures the State Government had taken after that incident?

15.00 hrs.

Just before the Parliament elections, in Madhepura, 22 Harijans were killed, 600 houses of Harijans were burnt, 1000 cattle belonging to the Harijans were taken away by the people from the upper caste. What action has the Bihar Government taken?

Everybody is aware that last year in Salaiya-Damron Village in Madhya Pradesh, an Adivasi woman was stripped naked and she was forced to dance in front of upper caste people. What action has been taken there? It is O.K. that Mr. V.P. Singh visited Fatehpur. But it was his constituency; and in the constituency of the then Prime Minister, Harijan woman was raped. Merely visiting the place is not sufficient; visiting that place is not a solution.

There are several instances but I would not like to go into all the instances. Such instances are being committed in Orissa, in

Gujarat, in Madhya Pradesh, in Bihar, everywhere in the country. It is not that where the Congress Government is in power, they are committed there. Yes it is in Maharashtra also. But I would like to add that when we are talking about the atrocities against SC&ST, we should not limit ourselves to the States where the Congress rule is there.

There have been reports. Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan has read out the figures about the killings of SC&ST people in the year 1990. Madhya Pradesh tops as far as the killing of Adivasis is concerned, followed by Rajasthan. Sixty-two Adivasis were killed in Madhya Pradesh in 1990 followed by 14 deaths of Adivasis in Rajasthan. Two hundred forty-eight Harijans were killed in Uttar Pradesh in the year 1990. These are the Government's figures. I do not fully agree with the Government's figures. If it is 100, it will come down to 50, when the Government has to make an announcement about the killings in such instances. There is a Press report of 24th December, 1990, which says, 380 Harijan murders take place on an average every month in Bihar. I do not know what is the fact; whether the figure which has been quoted in the *Indian Express* dated 24th December, 1990 is correct or not. But I am aware of the situation in Bihar because I had been to Jahanabad where two years back several Harijans were killed. This is not an issue where we should limit that O.K. in Andhra Pradesh the Congress Government is in power and therefore we should take up; the issue of Chundur District and elsewhere in the country we keep mum. Just about eight days back in Bolaingir two Harijans were killed; and similarly, in Khargon, four days back two adivasis were killed. We are mum on those issues. Why should we not raise these issues?

If you are demanding the resignation of Andhra Pradesh Government, should we start demanding the resignation of Bihar Government; should we start demanding the resignation of Madhya Pradesh Government, Rajasthan Government and Uttar Pradesh Government; should we start demanding the resignation of Gujarat Government and the

Orissa Government? If we start demanding the resignation of the Government, because atrocities have been committed there, the Government will come and go, but the problem will not be solved; solution cannot be arrived at by sacking a government and bringing in a new government. Therefore, I condemn the Andhra incident and all the incidents which have taken place in various parts of the country.

Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan has pointed out that we have to take stringent measures to see that the life of the down-trodden section is uplifted and uplifted fast.

In 1947, we got Independence. Constitutionally, we have abolished untouchability; but untouchability still continues. What is this and why is this. If untouchability even constitutionally and by an Act is abolished, and if it still continues, is it not a matter of shame?

In 1952 we promised to provide compulsory and free education to children up to the primary level. Yet, today we are still to provide compulsory and free education to all.

If we have to raise the standard of living of the weaker sections, if we have to raise the level of living of all sections of society, then I would like to say that an action plan will have to be drawn and it will have to be ensured that in a time-bound manner we should be able to provide free and compulsory education where priority will have to be given to those sections which have been neglected for a long time.

Sir, the issue regarding special courts has also been raised. I fully agree about the constitution of special courts and I would request the Government to make an announcement that whenever atrocities are committed, whichever place where atrocities are likely to be committed, which are hot places as far as atrocities are concerned, the Government should depute an officer with full authority and responsibility to see that such incidents do not take place.

I have demanded that the Government

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and Police officials in Andhra who were posted there and who could not check the incidents, should be sacked. At the same time, I would like to say that wherever the Government and the Police officials had succeeded in preventing the occurrence of atrocities, those officials, should be rewarded properly at whatever level they may have to be rewarded.

The National Commission on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been constituted. But I do not think that the functioning of the Commission is going on satisfactorily. In the Congress manifesto as well as in the President's address to both Houses of Parliament, it was announced that the Government will come out with measures to strengthen the National Commission.

I think that the time has come rather we are late in doing so that we will have to give sufficient powers and teeth to the National Commission to see that it is a powerful organisation and can function effectively.

Most of the incidents of atrocities relate to wages and to land disputes where land has been formally allotted to the Adivasis and Harijans but actually it is not in possession of the Harijans and Adivasis. There are several instances like this. I would like to remind the Hon. Minister that this issue was also taken up in the Congress manifesto, that the Congress Government will constitute special courts to expedite the settlement of land disputes regarding transfer of land to Harijans and Adivasis. We should not be late in doing so. We are already very late.

I would also like to mention that about a week back the Minister of State for Personnel announced in the House that we have backlog of one lakh, eleven thousand and more vacancies as far as the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are concerned in the Ministries and Departments of the Central Government. Is it not a big figure? Is it not that time and again we have been extending the reservation for ten years more in the

Constitution, but still this figure is not decreasing? Today, because of the reservation facility, all the upper classes are asking as to how long the reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes would continue.

If we have to ask ourselves, we have to ask as to how long social discrimination is going to continue. Till the time social discrimination is going to continue, till that time inequality in the society is going to continue, and till that time, reservation will also continue and nobody will be able to stop that. The Government has given a commitment that in a time bound manner, they will complete and they will fill in the backlog. When the other day we asked as to what is the time bound programme, we did not get the time bound programme; whether it is a year, 2 years, 3 years, 10 years, 15 years, 20 years or 50 years, no time bound programme had been mentioned. There has to be a time bound programme. A mere statement that there will be a time bound programme cannot fill in the backlog. And if this continues, then the depressed and the suppressed will not be depressed and suppressed for all time to come; they will raise their heads and they will try to settle their problems, they will try to settle their grievances in whatever manner and in whatever method they wish to settle.

We raise issues in the House; we raise issues through demonstrations; we raise issues through public meetings. But if these type of issues are not going to be settled through such forums, then I fear that the depressed and the oppressed classes will not continue to be oppressed for all time to come. And therefore the Government should view this very seriously and come out with a specific time bound programme in filling up the backlog in the services. At the same time, backlog in educational institutions which has been neglected for long will have to be taken care of. What is the backlog in educational institutions? How many Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backward classes, minorities, and weaker sections have been admitted in educational institutions?

Has anybody checked the figures? I think, these figures will have to be checked and we will have to give specific directives, directives mentioning clearly that if the particular quota of reservation is not fulfilled, then those educational institutions will be derecognised by the Government, the University and others.

In the public sector also, there is a huge backlog and there is an urgent need that we should pay attention towards this.

Sir, for quite a long time there has been a discussion that the weaker sections, the backward classes, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be given proper representation in the power structure. What are we doing about that? Have we thought about this? Do we have any action plan regarding this? Attention should be paid on this matter and immediate steps should be taken to see that proper representation is given in the power structure.

As Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan has pointed out, mere cosmetic measure is not going to help. Raising such issues for political mileage is not going to help. Just an Act or a law is not going to solve this problem. This problem cannot be solved through legislation. If atrocities have to be curbed and checked, then we will have to bring in reforms in the social system. Are we capable enough to bring in reforms in the social system? A number of reforms in the social system had taken place in the past. Are we prepared and capable to bring in social reforms today?

In 1936 Dr. Ambedkar was invited to Lahore to speak and to preside over an annual conference of Jat Pat Todat Mandal Conference organised by the upper caste Hindus. They asked him to preside over the Conference. Dr. Ambedkar accepted the invitation. He was asked to prepare his speech clarifying various points raised by the conservative Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar was preparing his speech. He was asked from Lahore that he should send a copy of his speech from Bombay to Lahore so that it

could be printed there. But Dr. Ambedkar said: "It will be printed in Bombay itself. Do not worry." A man was sent from Lahore to Bombay. He went through Dr. Ambedkar's draft speech and congratulated him for his good speech. He went back to Lahore and told the organisers the contents of his speech. The organisers wrote a letter to Dr. Ambedkar saying that there are certain controversial remarks in his speech and asked him to drop those controversial remarks. The organisers, said that those remarks cannot be said in the Conference which they are organising. Dr. Ambedkar refused to amend his speech saying that it was the first time in the history that a President, a Chairman of a Programme, was being asked what to speak and what not to speak. He later published that undelivered speech as "Annihilation of Caste. In 1936 Dr. Ambedkar gave a thought and an Action Plan that how the caste system should be annihilated. Earlier than that Mahatma Jyotiba Phule launched a movement to demolish the caste system. Today in the Preamble we have promised that equality, social, economic and political will be given to all citizens of India and still today there is inequality, still today there is discrimination, still today astrology is continuing. If we want to pay our homage to Dr. Ambedkar, the champion of the weaker sections, the man the nation respects, then the corner stone of Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy should be taken care of and steps should be worked out to see that they are implemented in a given time.

Today, I would like to ask what is the relevance of the caste system? If the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are getting the benefit, the other sections are feeling something else. We talk about casteism that casteism should be removed. But, is it not a fact that in 1947 whatever casteism was there, today casteism has increased manifold. What are the reasons? We have brought in laws, Bills, and Acts. But why does casteism still continue and still grow? What is the reason? We have been speaking to remove casteism but still casteism is increasing and because of this casteism atrocities are committed, inequalities are there,



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discrimination is there. How come this casteism is not going out from our system? This is a question which everybody should ask oneself. Casteism cannot be removed by bringing in legislation. Casteism can be removed only if we attack the root cause of casteism. And the root cause of casteism is the caste system unless and until we demolish the caste system, we cannot remove casteism. If we cannot demolish the caste system, we cannot remove inequality, we cannot remove social discrimination and we cannot curb and check atrocities on the weaker sections, the Harijans and Adivasis. I think, there is no Member in this House who feels that casteism should continue. But, still today the system continues the system. I would like to appeal that to demolish the caste system though the Government is not the right institution to demolish the caste system, still initiatives will have to be taken, where social organizations, voluntary organisations, people who have a say in the social and religious affairs will have to be brought together and a serious discussion on this issue will have to begin.

Lastly I would like to say that this issue should not be discussed on party lines. It is not a Congress issue, a Janata Dal or a BJP issue. It should be considered from a human mind and a human heart. Unless and until we are not going to do that, and we only try to talk about the Harijans, Adivasis, minorities and backward classes just to get some votes and get some office, I think, we will be committing the biggest atrocity on these sections.

With these words, I request the hon. Home Minister that he should also pay an immediate visit to the various parts of the country wherever atrocities have been committed. He should call a meeting of the Chief Ministers specially to discuss this particular issue of atrocities and we will have to give from the Government side the importance and urgency to this issue, the way it demands from all of us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ramashray Prasad Singh.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indian): Mr. Chairman, Sir (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have called Shri Ramashray Prasad Singh.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I wanted to speak in direct answer to what my friend has just said.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will call your name. I will give you a chance to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, power has always been misused and it will continue to be misused. Right now, the hon. Speaker has misused his power. My name was second in the list and he should have called me, but he chose to call another Member. Today, we are discussing about the misuse of power and that very thing is happening in this House. We talk about villages, about the interests of Harijans and Adivasis etc, but these are not going to be of any help. Almost everyday we come to know of incidents of atrocities of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but the House has never gone deep to find out the reasons behind the occurrence of such incidents. The House should think over this issue. Since the Eighth Lok Sabha, I have been witnessing that this issue is discussed again and again, but along with it, the atrocities are also being committed again and again. Shri Paswan quoted some quotations and presented some figure about the number of incidents took place during the year, but presenting figures is not going to solve the problem, neither stop the atrocities. It would have been more appropriate, had we taken up the reasons, the causes for discussion. We finish our duty by having a discussion and then close the chapter. Such debates are of no use, unless and until we discuss ways and means to check the recurrence of such incidents in future. We have to find out the people responsible for such incidents.

In every country, the elected Government caters to the interests of certain sections. So, is the case with our country. Thus, it would be an exercise in the futility if one person expresses concern over the atrocities on Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Nothing concrete, would happen, unless the Government becomes serious about it. You have seen this here itself. Here we see people arguing that the Ram temple should be constructed, but no one is aware of the people killed in the name of building a temple. Atrocities are committed only on those who are socially, economically and educationally backward. Atrocities are not committed on those Harijans who are educationally forward and economically well-off. Such incidents don't happen to people like Mr. Paswan. It is perpetrated on those who are poor. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated, so many Sikhs were killed throughout the country. There is a section of the people, which doesn't want to see Shri Narasimha Rao at the helm of affairs.

Now, I want to say why all this is happening. The reason is that in paper the Zamindari system is no more there in the villages, but even now the lands are under the possession of the feudal lords. Who are these people? They are the members of Janata Party, Congress, B.J.P. etc. Who will dare to harm them? If you harm them, they won't let you remain in office for another day. You are in power due to them. In fact, it is the land lords who are Members of Parliament, Ministers and Chief Ministers. Then, how can you implement land reforms? We want land reforms to be implemented on a war footing.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, hon. Members raised the demand that laws should be formulated to check atrocities and that the officers should strictly enforce them. Now, I will tell you about the administrative set up, about which, I am sure, everyone knows. Who are in control of the administration? Who is the collector, the Police Superintendent? Let a survey be conducted to find the people who constitute the Provincial Armed Constabulary (P.A.C.) of U.P. and the Bihar Military

Police of Bihar. Let the House be informed of the number of Harijans, Adivasis and people belonging to backward classes working in these law enforcement agencies? But the question is why the ruling class should be interested in the number of Harijans in these forces? When a Harijan girl is raped, the police and the Doctors join hands to distort the picture and to save the culprit. There is a rule that in such cases, a medical examination should be conducted, but who conducts the medical examination? This social malady cannot be eliminated that easily. In fact, your intentions are not sincere. Now, if special courts are constituted, who will be the judge? Shri Narasimha Rao or Shri Ram Vilas Paswan? No, your appointees, your sidekicks will be appointed.

People who disintegrate the country will sit there. Had the recommendations of the Mandal Commission been implemented today, the poor would have gradually started participating in the administration and with that the atrocities on Harijans, Tribals and backward classes would have reduced. After all, there should be a force to check all such atrocities. But it has to be seen as to who enjoys that power? That power is exercised by people who indulge in such activities.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the villages, if a boy belonging to an elite classes, teases a Harijan girl or a girl belonging to weaker sections and the father of the girl complains to the boy's father, the latter gives a lame reply that he would prevent his son from doing so. But, if a Harijan boy or a boy belonging to weaker sections teases a girl belonging to a rich family, her father would not wait for the law to take its course he, with all his henchmen, would attack the boy's house, outrage the modesty of their daughters and daughters-in-law and inflict heavy injuries on the entire family. He knows that even if he does such things, the Police Inspector or the Collector who belong to his caste would save him. Therefore, I would like to submit that the poor should be involved in the Government. After these 44 years of independence, only 8 percent reservation

[*Sh. Ramashray Prasad Singh*]

has been given to these people. We may not get candidates for the I.A.S., Engineering Service or for the post of professors from among them, but matric qualified candidates are available. The Government can get class IV employees from among them. Let me know as to how much reservation has been given to these people. I had once suggested in this Lok Sabha that if the Government believes in justice, let it fill up the backlog of reservation in class III and class IV posts. Only then we will know that reservation provisions have been implemented in their true sense. But the Government is not doing that, it has no courage to do so. It says that candidates are not available for these posts, and as such these posts are filled by candidates from the general category. Holding mere discussions on this issue will serve no purpose. The hon. Member who was speaking just now, made this submissions about Jehanabad. During the Congress regime, hundreds of Harijans were killed there and it was a slur on the face of their Chief Minister, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad. Everybody is aware of it and the hon. Home Minister also knows about it. Shri Buta Singh had also gone there. Whose Government was there? It was the Government of the Congress party. The Chief Minister, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad also belonged to their party. Today, Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav's Government is there in Bihar. The communal riots which takes place every year on the Ramnavmi day in Ranchi, could not take place this time during Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav's Government. There are same officers and same policemen, but their were no riots. Had the intentions of the Government really good, riots could have never taken place. The Government benefits from these riots. Actually, due to this they continue to be in power. The present Government is giving protection to a particular community. It has scant regard for our views. The other party boasts that one of its hon. Members has been elected as Deputy Speaker and it supports the Government. The question is that had their intentions been good, this incident would not have taken place. Therefore, un-

less the distribution of land is done properly, there can be no check to these incidents.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in my constituency, Government land has been distributed among the Harijans but they have not been given actual possession as yet. These people are running from pillar to post with sanction orders in their hands. They go to the block officer, to the collector, but no one listens to them. Since no one is going to make any enquiry, figures were furnished just to meet the requirement of paper work. The Communist Party of India took away all the land belonging to two big landlords who are called Mahants in Jahanabad and distributed the same among the poor. That land is still under the possession the poor and the Mahants are in a very miserable condition. The Harijans are ploughing the land and are becoming prosperous. An investigation should be made in this regard. Now nobody can suppress them. Actually, land gives rise to feudalism. The Government claims that it would implement the Land Ceiling Act. It is the Central Government. If any State Government does not implement the Land Ceiling Act, the Central Government has every right to dismiss it. What are the reasons of non-implementation of this Act? When the session starts, please have issue discussed in the House.

Secondly, the image of the administration should be improved I have raised this matter a number of times with a loud voice. As you are aware, how much ill famed have been the P.A.C. in Uttar Pradesh and the B.M.P. in Bihar in this respect. You have seen all these scenes. The former Home Minister had assured this House that a Battalion would be raised, which would consist of people from every religion and every caste and wherever such a communal riot and killings of Harijans take place, this Battalion would be pressed into service there. But what has the Government done up till now? It remained as a mere assurance only. Had its intentions been good, it would have passed the Act here and would have seen how much successful it has been in its objective. Even today, one can go and see what is happen-

ing. In Bihar, a number of armies, such as Bhoomi sena, sunlight sena, Kunwar sena, Pravasi sena, Lorik sena and Brahmarsahi sena etc. have been raised to suppress the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Why these armies are being raised? Mr. Chairman, Sir, when the hon. Minister will reply to the debate, he should say as to why these armies are being raised. Is it an effort to strengthen the unity of the country or to disintegrate it or to preserve its independence? Actually, these armies are being raised to wipe out the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to suppress the weaker sections. I hope the hon. Minister will give a reply to this effect.

Thirdly, I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Welfare as to how much land was in possession of the Tribals before independence and how much has been left with them now after so many years of independence. The entire land has been usurped by the money lenders. Has anybody ever tried to know the reasons behind this? The Congress Party was ruling this country for the last several years. Was it a blind Government that it could not check such activities? From the very outset, the Government will have to accept these submissions. I will also tell my friends about it. At present two types of thinkings are going on in our country and people are divided into these two camps. The forces which are engaged in suppressing the poor are very strong. They should be checked. If the Government really wants to give back their land to the tribals which has been encroached upon by the money lenders, it has to bring forward a legislation in this House. It should not be so that after enacting the law, its implementation is left to State Governments. In fact, it is the Central Government, which should take back all the land and re-distribute the same among the Tribals. Besides this, compensation should also be paid to the Tribals. for the time the land remained under the possession of the money lenders. Then only the Tribals would get back their property and make progress educationally and economically. When they will make progress, there will be no need to discuss all these things here. Then, there will

be no need to suppress them. Some of the Tribals had converted themselves into Christianity and their children got some education and are working in good posts, but nothing has been done for those Tribals, who did not change their religion. I want that the Government should immediately abandon its dual policy and follow a uniform policy.

Let me know as to who has encouraged casteism in this country. Just now, an hon. Member was saying that if anyone has the guts, let him remove the word "Paswan." In the matter of casteism, I would like to praise the Nehru family. It is this family in the country which abolished casteism in its true sense. It is a folly to-day to claim that one belongs to Nehru family, or to any other family or to a particular. There are Sikhs, Christians, Persians in the Nehru family. It is its speciality. But what the others have done? They have only encouraged casteism, strengthened the castes and took advantage of it. Today, the situation has become so critical that it is hanging like a sword over the Government and it is very perturbed due to that. When it started playing with fire, it has to bear its consequences. Today, their party is in power in the country. I would again request that it should change its policy and ideologies. It should make fresh distribution of land. Immediate arrangements should be made. Where there are no arrangements for education of Tribals and the poor. There are hundreds of villages in my constituency, where there are no primary schools, even though the population of those villages is near about 500 to 1000. I have furnished the full picture of my constituency to the Hon. Prime Minister in writing. Let the Government think that it has not even made the basic arrangements for providing education. Then what else has it done for them till date? There is no proper arrangement for drinking water for these people. They are drinking contaminated water of Kutchha wells. Handpumps have been installed in front of their M.L.A.'s Houses and two-two handpumps have been installed at the houses of goondas belonging to their castes. But nothing has been done for these poor people.

[Sh. Ramashray Prasad Singh]

Then how can we expect that the situation would improve.

By starting a discussion and participating in it, Shri Paswan thinks that he has fulfilled his duty. This would not do.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with this, I conclude and I hope that my suggestions would be accepted by the Government and in future also it would work in accordance with these suggestions and help the poor.

[English]

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indian): Mr. Chairman, I was shocked and taken aback when I heard some of the details given by that gentleman who spoke from Maharashtra.

Actually, I have spent part of my legal and political life for the abolition of caste. Dr. Ambedkar was an able lawyer, so am I. We were living along side with each other in the Western Court. He even used to come and have dinner with my wife and myself. He used to say, Jawaharlal treated him like an absolute equal. But the caste Hindu Ministers who were his colleagues, would go out and wash their had and mouth whenever they had dinner with Dr. Ambedkar, he used to say.

Therefore, until you abolish castes, caste system, you will never have a sense of social equality. That is what I have fought for. I have opposed the Mandal Commission. Why? It is because this will take the country into backwardisation and creating more and more castes. The Mandal Commission would divide the country on caste basis. I had spoken in Parliament against it. I had also argued cases on behalf of one of the largest unions in the country that after a particular level, all the employees should be treated as equals. Today we are making more and more Indians into backward classes and the country is being splintered on caste basis. There are Sudras and millions of other backward classes. I have criticised the Chief Minister bitterly. I have told him, "You had the Mandal

Commission. It consisted only of backward class people. What do you expect them to do? Their findings were largely irrelevant, not on the basis of any scientific study. They have included 3775 castes into the backward class list". The Chief Minister has then raised it to 4,000 castes to build his vote banks by multiplying the castes. I took it up with Shri Rajiv Gandhi, about the backwardisation.

I have come from Karnataka after finding out the position there. Some of my greatest friends were Vokkaligan. One friend has told me, "I am a member of the backward classes, namely Vokkaligas". In Karnataka, Vokkaligas and Lingayats are backward class. So, I said, "You are among the most wealthy community, politically, economically and numerically powerful. You have made yourself backward class." There is the whole upper strata of backward class; then comes the intermediary strata. Then comes the *Sudras*. Under the *Sudras* you have millions and millions of backward classes who are getting nothing.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi offered me Governorship of Punjab. I declined to go because I was preoccupied with looking after my community of which I was recognized as the accredited leader and some of the so-called members of my community wanted my community to be classified as a backward class community. I led the delegation to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I said "Madam, you can do this only over my dead body. Here is a community which has its people right at the top and right at the bottom also. There are weaklings also in my community. But because of that, you cannot brand the whole community with that label that it is an expression of self-degradation, namely, backward. To give you an example of the gallantry of my community, when the tribals were a few miles from Srinagar, they were stopped by the Indian Air Force and more than half the awards for gallantry were given to Anglo-Indian fighter pilots. How can you brand the whole community as backward? There are people of my community right at the top and there are people of my commu-

nity right in the middle. How can you suddenly impose on them a label which will mean an expression of self-degradation?" I argued this matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The subject is not Mandal Commission but "Atrocities on Harijans."

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I am sorry. I may say here that the young Member of Parliament here has said that unless you do away with casteism, you will always have this kind of social degradation. This is what is happening in this country. This is what I am trying to say.

I had appeared in the Supreme Court for one of the largest unions. I have got the name here, Sir Sang Chelak.

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY (Jagatsinghpur): The subject is "Atrocities on Harijans."

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: There again the whole thing has resulted in special guarantees both to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Angl-Indians.

I was an elected Member of the Constituency. I was fighting to give the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes a separate chapter of protection along with my community.

Sardar Patel was the Chairman of the Minorities Committee. I was a Member. He helped me to get special guarantees to the Anglo-Indians. He made it very clear that "We are guaranteeing this to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes time-bound ten years at a time." So far as Angl-Indians were concerned, they were also time-bound. The main thing was in the matter of promotion. In his Resolution of 9th September, 1950 it was stated that when the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the Angl-Indians got into Government positions, they could only be promoted on the basis of merit and not on the basis of caste of community. Then they will be treated as equals

with any other castes. Anglo-Indians and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes will not get promotion on the basis of caste or community. They will get it on the basis of merit.

You cannot degrade or undermine a whole community by branding it as backward.

I argued the case and Justice Wanchoo supported my argument.

I argued for one of the largest unions, Sir Sang Chelak. Then they said "Look at what is happening in some States. They are making reservations of 70 per cent to 78 per cent."

The Supreme Court Judge has said that you cannot make reservations beyond 50 per cent.

In Karnataka, the Vakkalingas and the Lingaites are numerically the largest, politically the stronger and economically the wealthiest people. They made themselves backward class. They are monopolising all the jobs.

Then there are intermediate classes.

Then there are people right at the bottom who are getting nothing at all. Today they are getting nothing at all because we have splinter parties that are making vote banks on the basis of caste. They are backwardising this country. I was there in the Supreme Court. There are the two decisions of the Supreme Court and as far as Fundamental Rights are concerned, Article 16(1) says that in the matter of employment there shall be absolute equality and Article 16 (2) says that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of caste, sex, religion, race etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: Let me just finish this matter because I have spent a lot of time on that score. I argued the matter with four or five Judges of the Supreme Court.

[Sh. Frank Anthony]

Justice Wanchoo handed down the verdict and said that when a particular person enters into a particular line—whatever be his caste, creed etc. he gets it on the basis of merit and you cannot promote him on the basis of his caste or community. This is what he said. What I am also trying to say is this.

My next point is that the Supreme Court has said that you cannot have reservation more than 50 per cent for the weaker people. But some States have already got the provision of reservation for the so called weaker sections more than 50 per cent, 60 per cent and 70 per cent.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: May I take just another five more minutes? This is what is happening. They are aggravating the whole social system. They are backwardising this country. Who are the people who are getting the worst of this deal? It is really the backward people, people belonging to the *Sudra* class who are getting nothing. How do you know such and such a person a Harijan? I have employed certain servants in my house. I do not know whether my cook is a *Sudra* or a *brahmin* or whatever it is. How do you know that? When my Hindu friends come to my house, they ask me to what caste my cook and my servants belong. How do I know what caste they belong to? I do not know what caste they belong to. I have got 5 Public Schools named after me. In the matter of admission, nobody is allowed to put his caste. We have the children of *Sudras*, the *Chowkidars* etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Many other Members want to speak. Please conclude.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I will now conclude. What I am trying to say is that, as the young gentleman says, unless you abolish caste, you will always have this element of increasing social degradation. Unless you abolish the caste, you will always have this increasing number of socially degraded

people. They may run into millions and millions. That is what I want to put before you. As Dr. Ambedkar said, unless you abolish caste, you will always go on increasing the millions of *sudras* and poor backwardclass people. They will always remain as degraded people for ever.

With this, I conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Mr. Chairman, Sir I would like to express my thanks to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion in the House on the issue of atrocities on the Dalits in the entire country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, incidence of atrocities on the Dalits is very old. It is happening since the time we had monarchy in the country. When independence was achieved, it was thought that now the time has come when these atrocities would end because they would elect their own representatives and participate in the Government. But everything remains as it was beforehand. A number of laws were enacted and rules were framed. A guarantee was given in the Constitution to safeguard their interests, but there was no decrease in the atrocities on them in the entire country whosoever was the Prime Minister of this country. It did not matter much whether it was Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri V.P. Singh or the present Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao. There has been no let up in atrocities.

THE MINISTER OF WELFARE (SHRI SITARAM KESRI) You have left one out. Shri Chandrashekhar's Government was also there.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Atrocities were committed during the Chandrashekhar regime also.

I would like to submit that this is the story of atrocities on Harijans. Until this psyche of the society is changed and the intention of

the Government is made true, these atrocities will continue.

Even after these 44 years, the country is in a very dangerous situation. Everyday, There are two-three incidents of atrocities on the Dalits, in newspapers. Whenever, this 1/4 population of the country, out of which 95 percent of the people are living below the poverty line and who look like skeletons due to malnutrition, tried to raise their voices, the other classes of the society did not lose a chance to suppress them.

The extent of poverty is clear from the fact that in Orissa, a certain Shrimati Fanas sold her 12 year old daughter for Rs. 30 only. The people are not even able to provide nutritious food to their children and their situation is deteriorating day by day.

A number of laws were enacted to safeguard their interests, but it served little purpose. While unveiling the statue of Baba Saheb Ambedkar in the Parliament House the Hon. President had rightly said that number of laws were enacted and various provisions were made in the Constitution but by the Government to safeguard the rights of this class but these laws could not safeguard their rights, he admitted. The Poona pact was signed between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar and on the basis of this pact a system of reservation was evolved. Mahatma Gandhi had assured the country at that time that the reservation formula would operate only for 10 years during which period the concerned class would be provided all the facilities when the country becomes independent, so that they join national mainstream and are brought at par with other sections of the society. Unfortunately, the reservations formula is very much in vogue even after 44 years of independence and its period is extended after every 10 years.

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

The condition of this persons of this

category continued to worsen. Just now, a friend was saying that the system of reservation will remain in existence for ever. This shows that there is no intention and policy of the Government, which could enable this category of people to come at par with other sections of the society within a fixed time limit. There seems to be no such policy which could pave way for the emergence of classless and casteless society wherein every one would have equal opportunities and nobody would be discriminated against on the basis of castes. Perhaps there will never be situation when a person will not be identified by his own caste. I am saying this, because one member from the ruling party was saying that the concept of reservation will go on indefinitely. I would like to say here that this system of reservation is not going to benefit them, as it pins down a particular label on them in the society. They will be benefited only when their quota of reservation is enforced fully. This is not going to be achieved by simply making provision in our constitution and enactment of laws only. As a matter of fact, we will have to change mentality in our society. We will have to change the mentality of the people that the 22.5 per cent of reservation quota in jobs and services needs to be increased. By saying that no suitable candidate from the reserved category is available, the seat is given to a general candidate. Even today the situation remains the same. The number of persons appointed against the reserved quota is totally inadequate. The persons appointed against class III posts are only 12 per cent and persons appointed against class IV posts are only 14 per cent which consists of mainly sweepers and for which there is no need of higher education. We are talking of 22.5 per cent of reservation for them, but 14 per cent of vacancies have been filled up from among the persons of these categories. This shows our goal is yet far off. This shows that the Government does not intend to do it. We had once met Mr. V.P. Singh when he was the Prime Minister. We had referred to the policy formulated during the regime of Morarji Desai, which provided that if quota of reservation is not filled up in a particular department, an explanation should be asked from the Head



[Sh. Kalka Das]

of the Department for non-fulfilment of quota. A legislation should be enacted to keep a reserved seat vacant until a suitable candidate from the reserved seat category is available. A delegation of BJP MPs had met Mr. V.P. Singh and apprised him of atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We had told him that if atrocities could not be checked despite the powers, SP and DM should be held responsible for the atrocities in their jurisdiction. An explanation should be asked from them. But the situation is reverse. And now policemen themselves are involved in the atrocities. Recently, a case from Pratapgarh in U.P. has come to light. Policemen had killed 13 people belonging to Scheduled Castes. These persons had been called to the police station to identify a criminal. They went to the Police station Castes. along with their guests. They were tied to a tree just on their way to Police Station and were shot dead (*Interruptions*) I am talking of the downtrodden. The atrocities on Scheduled Castes are increasing. It was expected that as the government had taken certain steps, the government machinery would provide protection to the members of Scheduled Castes. The machinery which was evolved for their protection as also the protection of their rights, is now itself depriving them of their rights. Recently the downtrodden had been massacred in Bihar also. It has been reported in the Press. That it had happened at the behest of the Chief Minister of the state.

AN HON. MEMBER: Where has it happened. Tell the name of the place.

SHRI KALKA DAS: I will tell you the name of the place just now. This happened at the instance of the Chief Minister of Bihar. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ramashray Prasadji. Please sit down you should speak only when your turn comes.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, as have already said that the problem of untouchability and atrocities is the problem of entire country. That is why the people of the entire country must come together to solve it.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): We are listening to you very carefully. You said that a certain incident has taken place at the instance of the Chief Minister of Bihar. Please give further details of the incident

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: I tell you just now. A discussion is being held about the incident in Tsundur village. The incident of atrocities committed there is neither the beginning, nor an end in itself. Unless a nation wide discussion is held and nation wide strategy is adopted, unless the intention and policy are rectified, the atrocities will continue.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are holding a discussion on the subject today. Perhaps there might not be even a single session when atrocities on Harijans have not been discussed.

This type of discussions are always held and we shed our crocodile tears on it, but there has been no change in the intensity of these atrocities.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I told now that the incidence of atrocities is a serious problem. I would like to relate you the atrocities committed in the recent past. You may refer to articles 15 (4), 16 (4), 46 of the Constitution which provide that there should be no atrocities of any kind at all and the down trodden would be protected.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. The hon. member has categorically stated now that people belonging to oppressed

classes in Bihar were massacred at the behest of the Bihar Chief Minister. Neither, the hon. Member has any proof against him nor the Chief Minister is a member of this House. Levelling allegations against him without any proof is not a good Parliamentary convention. As such we must keep the dignity of the House in mind. The hon. member is a member of this House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: I urge you to go through the newspaper of February 26. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV: He must withdraw this word or you must have it expunged.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order in it, but if he refers to anybody's name, he must substantiate the charges.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: You give me an opportunity to present the facts. I would like to request that newspaper reports of February 26, say that the massacre of Harijans in the village Teeskhora near Patna was committed at the behest of .....\* :..... this news has been published in all newspapers. (*Interruptions*) I am giving you its date and the location where it took place. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nobody should make a reference to name of a Chief Minister or any other person who is not a member of this House. You can say so in general. This has been the convention of this House.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, he did not level any charge by anybody's name. He only spelt out the designation. If you decide that neither the designation nor the name of a person should be referred to, you must apply it uniformly. We will have no objection to it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There should be no reference to somebody's name. This is my ruling and this is also the convention of this House. A reference could be made to designation at the most.

SHRI KALKA DAS: First I made a reference to designation and said Chief Minister of Bihar.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But now you made a reference to name.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Now I made a reference to name when other hon. members also referred to names.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Name should not be recorded in the proceedings.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Whatever I have said, has been published in newspapers. I have already stated that this is not a matter of any particular party or any individual, but it is a question of social psyche. These atrocities do not take place due to any particular person or any particular section. No particular individual is doing all this all over the country. I told you all this because it has been published in newspapers. The newspapers are available here. I have already mentioned the date thereof I have also told the name of the place.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I was saying that the Tsundur incident is not the first nor the last incident of its kind. In a short time, I drew the attention of the House towards the recent incidents that took place during last 8-9 months. The moment we refer to these incidents, we are greatly perturbed. The atrocities that took place in last 8-9 months are very horrible indeed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to point out that this is not a first incident of its kind in Andhra Pradesh. Earlier also, 6 people of the oppressed class were massacred in the village Karmachud on the question of drinking water. If this will the psyche of people, what

[Sh. Kalka Das]

will happen? Similarly, 15 Harijans were injured on April 2, 1991 in Fatehpur, the constituency which is being represented by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. On June 3 in Ambala the Rajputs in collusion with officials beat the down-trodden and humiliated them. On April 4, it was published in the newspapers that the clothes of a Harijan woman were torn and she was raped. On April 27, it was published that in Bihar 400 Harijan huts were burnt many people were killed in it. On April 14, it was published in newspapers that the clothes of a Harijan woman in Shivpuri were torn and she was molested. On February 19, 15 Harijans in Masouri area of Bihar were massacred. Under a Government which claims to be providing protection and doing welfare of Harijans and the down-trodden, and after 44 years of independence, people of oppressed class cannot take out their wedding party with the bridegroom riding a mare. In one of the villages of Haryana, while the bridegroom, was taken on a mare, the wedding party was humiliated and beaten. Recently, in an incident in Delhi when a wedding party went from Nabi Karim area of Delhi to Haryana, adjoining Delhi, it was beaten up and the jewellery which was being carried for the bridegroom, was snatched away. This incident that I am narrating now has taken place after 44 years of independence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, on June 19, the quarry owners shot dead labourers in Lal Kuan area of Badarpur in Delhi. But the Government remained a mute spectator to this incident. On 21st of August, 1990 a Harijan girl in Mathura was raped and murdered. On 4th of December, 1990, four members of a Harijan family in Patna were burnt alive. On 13th of January, 1991, a Sarpanch in Jhalawar undressed a Harijan, tied him to his motorcycle and dragged him. I have already related you the incident of 25th January. 13 Harijans were killed in Pratapgarh in Uttar Pradesh on 14th of February. On 18th of March, in the Baktal village in Dhar district, 11 Harijans were burnt alive in their huts. On

19th of March, 3 Harijans were hanged on the Panchayat order in a village in Mathura District.

Such incidents are taking place continuously. I am not saying that this happens only in Bihar but such incidents are happening in Delhi as well as in the entire country. These killings will not stop only by discussing them here. For this, psyche of the people will have to be changed. Justice should be meted out to them, who have been tortured for centuries.

Whenever the issue of reservation is raised, anti-reservation agitations start. It is instigated by these people only, who are sitting here. They have a large number of followers. During the V.P. Singh Government, the provision of reservation had to be increased for a further period of 10 years, but a number of anti-reservation agitations started in the entire country at that time. Different parties try to woo and use the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for their votes only. They are illiterate and poor, therefore, they come into their grips. These parties make their work easy through them.

The Mandal Commission issue was also discussed. We are not against the Mandal Commission, rather we are its supporters. But the Mandal Commission was set up for backward classes only and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were investigated in its name. Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Ram Vilas Paswan are sitting here. I don't think the Dalits are going to get anything out of it. Will the 22 1/2 per cent reservation increase to 23 1/2 per cent? Or will it go down to 15 per cent? What relation the Dalits have with the reservation recommended by the Mandal Commission? But they are being instigated and misled and brought on the roads. They are being put behind the bars. This reservation is meant for backward classes only.

During the V.P. Singh Government, the provisions of reservation had to be extended for a further period of 10 years but there were agitations everywhere against it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Member, please conclude.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will conclude within a minute. I would like to submit that their rights will have to be safeguarded and their psyche will have to be changed. This is a national problem and all have to work together. They should not be misled. They have to be shown the right way and have to be granted their rights. Shri Paswan made a mention of the temple and the mosque and also said that he is an atheist. He does not know what a person feels when he visits a temple or a mosque. What Shri Buta Singh will feel, when he visits a Gurudwara or a Christian will feel, when he visits a Church. He is already atheist. These people do not know the importance of the places of worship. The temples, mosques, churches and gurudwaras have no importance for them. They do not have faith in anything. They believe in misguiding the people. You should ask an atheist what he gets from a place of worship. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this subject.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: As he referred to me by name, I would like to say a few words. I have initiated this discussion. I have tried to submit two things. This does not concern any party. All the three Home Ministers are sitting here. They will justify. I have not tried to bring any party matter here. When the discussion is on SC and ST, I do not like that any other issue, even the Mandal Commission should be dragged into it. I want that the debate should strictly be confined to the question of atrocities on SC and ST and what effective steps the government should take. The issue of theist or atheist is a totally different issue. May be someone is having no faith on Ram, Rahim or on anyone. There is no question of bringing Mandal Commission into it. We can discuss it separately.

SHRI KALKA DAS: I only said how people were being misled. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: We want

to put double lock through Mandal Commission Report. Whenever one of its locks will be opened, the lock of Scheduled Castes will also open automatically. When one lock will be opened, the people belonging to Scheduled Castes will also come to know that their lock is also about to open (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH (Rajgarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a matter of great regret that today such incidents are taking place in our country, which are symbol of century old exploitation and atrocities. No one can support these incidents. While we may sympathise with the victims, it is all the more necessary to consider how this social malady can be removed. How that psyche can be removed, due to which the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in our country are being subjected to these tortures today. Whenever any such incident takes place, the politicians irrespective of their party affiliations, don't leave the opportunity to make political mileage out of it. I don't think it is in conformity with any political ideal. What are the reasons behind these incidents? Who is behind them? What psyche is behind such incidents? Until we give serious thought to it and only put blames on others, we will not be able to work for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the real sense. The incident which took place in Andhra Pradesh, should be strongly condemned. We should also condemn the psyche behind it. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh immediately visited the site and gave a compensation of Rs. 1 lakh each to the next of the kin of the deceased and promised to give employment to one member from each of the families. Judicial enquiry has also been ordered. He has done a thing immediately which should have been done. I congratulate him for this. But action should be taken against those police and administrative officials also, who were not able to stop the incident, even though they knew about it beforehand.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Paswan speaks about abolishing casteism. We are happy that he is against it. But let him think about Mandal Commission, which is fully based on

[Sh. Digvijaya Singh]

casteism. We are not against the backward classes, but there is no justifiability of providing reservation to the backward classes without any economic support. The poor has no caste. We should sympathize with poverty irrespective of its kind. A poor can belong to an upper caste also. There is no dearth of laws in this country. There are Acts viz. 'Protection of Civil Rights Act' 'Prevention of Atrocities Act' etc., but these Acts lack proper implementation. People doubt our intents, because we are not able to provide them justice under the existing laws. Our law is deterrent, but because of their flexibility we are not able to stop such incidents. The Prevention of Atrocities Act was passed by the Lok Sabha. The prosecuting authority was entrusted with the responsibility to implement the Act. We should welcome such a move. If a member of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes happens to be the prosecution authority and he does not fulfill his duties during prosecution, there is no need to show any leniency with him. He is equally punishable with others.

We made plans. In the 1st Five Year Plan, there was a provision of Rs. 19 crores only, It was increased to Rs. 6000 crores during the Seventh Five Year Plan. There were a lot of changes after independence. There was increase in literacy rate and economic progress also took place. But even then, there are families today, who are not able to earn two square meals a day. We are not able to stop the atrocities being committed on them. I would like to quote Dr. Ambedkar: "We feel that rights cannot be protected through law, rather that can be done through social and moral awareness in the society".

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the need of the hour is to arouse that awareness. Today, the country needs people like Mahatma Phule, Pt. Sunder Lal Sharma, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar, who can bring awareness among the downtrodden. They can also persuade the people of upper classes that unless we change our attitude towards

the Harijans and Tribals and behave with them with love and good will and stop their oppression, we can not bring improvement in the social set up of this country. Century old oppressions cannot come to an end just in a few years. No one can deny that excesses are being committed against men and women of poor and downtrodden families for thousands of years. We were not able to provide them legal or social justice. It has become necessary that such incidents should be stopped now. It will take time to change that social set up and besides law, members of every party have to check how devoted they are towards this cause?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the economic and social thinking is main reason behind the oppression of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in this country. We witness a number of such instances. Land-dispute is the main cause behind most of the incidents. A lot has been done, but still a lot remains to be done. Laws have been enacted in this regard, but our legal system is such that cases of land-dispute remain pending in the courts for many years and this is the only cause behind oppression of Harijans and Tribals.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am distressed to say that I come from the State where torture on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is maximum. My State is a tribal dominated area and they are being continuously exploited. They are still being economically exploited. There is a provision for Tribal Advisory Council in the Constitution, so that all the matters related to the tribals can be solved through it and every State Government should obey it. But the Madhya Pradesh Government never placed their issues before the Tribal Advisory Council. It took decisions on its own, which increased the exploitation of the Tribals. A particular person, a particular group which came to power today continued to exploit the Tribals.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the life of the tribals in our State is inseparably linked to the forests. In fact, he is so closely linked that unless the Adivasi is provided with his due

rights, his economic exploitation will continue unabated. The previous Government in the State had formulated a policy to produce and sell 'Tendu' leaves through co-operatives and to distribute the profit among the Adivasis, Harijans and poor labourers. The big beedi manufacturers of that area opposed this move tooth and nail, but despite productions that Madhya Pradesh would fall in a debt trap, the then Chief Minister stood his ground and executed the plan. The result was a profit of Rupees 275 crore, of which about Rupees 150 crore were to be given to the Harijans and Adivasis, but then there was a change of Government and those very people who opposed the move, came to power. With the result even after two years, the Adivasis and poor labourers are yet to receive a sum of Rupees 150 crore as bonus. 'Tendu' leaf production is an important activity of the Adivasis. Similarly, 'Sal' seeds is an important produce of the Adivasis.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have come to know that the Madhya Pradesh Government has sold it to big mill owners at a throw-away price of Rs.450/- per quintal, even though the Market rate is Rs. 4500/- per quintal. We should oppose this approach of the Government. If the Adivasis get the profit, it will improve their financial condition, therefore it is necessary that the State Government changes its approach and attitude towards this issue. We have in our midst Atal Bihariji who was elected from Madhya Pradesh, although he later on resigned from that seat. He is very well aware of the harassment faced by the Adivasis and Harijans. The biggest merchant of 'Tendu' leaf in this country is the President of the Bharatiya Janata Party. Earlier, liquor contracts were not given in Adivasis areas, but the present Government changed the rules and now it is issuing contracts and who gets the contracts? All the liquor contracts have been given to those people who are in power. I have openly levelled this charge, we are opposing it as Adivasis in all tribal areas are being exploited by these contractors and the Adivasis are being put behind the bars for no fault of theirs.

Similar is the case with the minerals exploited in the State, especially granite, which is mined on a large scale in the Bastar District. Several Members of the Bharatiya Janata Party too demanded lease for it. I would like to congratulate the Commissioner for formulating a clear cut policy in this regard and asking the Government to give the lease to an Adivasi co-operative society, so that the Adivasis get gainful employment and also benefit from a source, that originally belongs to them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as long as we are Members of this House, irrespective of our party affiliations, we are all agreed on one thing that the Harijans and Adivasis should not be harassed, that their economic conditions should be a meliorated and that their centuries-old exploitation should come to an end, but if we ourselves become active participants in that exploitation, neither the exploitation nor the atrocities will come to an end. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my humble submission that we should all unanimously support this resolution, rising above party lines to fulfil our primary duty to fight those forces, which cannot be identified with any single party or individual and which have been exploiting, and perpetrating atrocities on the people of this country for centuries.

SHRI RAM NIHOR RAI (Robertsganj): I am not talking about any particular person, but the hon. Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes, who have been a neglected lot in this country, too should be given an opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: They will also get an opportunity.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Sir, for a long time now the hon. Members (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI M. V. V. S. MURTHY (Visakhapatnam): Is he intervening?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is intervening.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: I have been keenly listening to the observations made by hon. Members regarding the atrocities on Harijans and I was thinking, whether we could consider ourselves members of a civilized society, as long as the blood of Harijans, Minorities, under-privileged and weaker sections and backward classes continues to be shed? With utmost regret, I have to say that I have been a witness to all this, for the last 61 years. That day is still fresh in my memory, when in 1932, I was going through the newspapers and Mahatma Gandhi, who was on a fast in sympathy with Harijan, was discussing this issue with Dr. Ambedkar who was expressing his sentiments fraught with bitterness, dejection, and humiliation in life. They were discussing the conditions of the Harijans and the untouchables. Today that poignant scene appears before my eyes. I have to say, with deep regret that even after 58 years, their condition remains the same and no tears are shed and none has any remorse. Politics has no consideration for the masses. Rather it has reduced to mere power politics.

Today, I realised one more thing I was very patiently listening to the speech of Shri Kalka Das. He was speaking on reservation issue. Earlier I had a doubt whether anti-reservationists owe their allegiance to those who raised the issue of Rama but today it has been proved that they really owe such allegiance. In a country of 85 crore people when the feelings of 8 crore minorities are very shadowed and the issues like Rama reign supreme and there is no torment in any quarter, we will have to think as to what is going to happen in future. Every day, we read about such atrocities in newspapers. This continues to happen, irrespective of the Government in power. After all, who are these perpetrators of atrocities? Who have been committing these crimes? Even the Government today finds itself helpless. Those very people who are perpetrating these atrocities are in the police, in the administration. Those who do such injustice are part and parcel of our own society.

Irrespective of the party in power, those very forces continue to commit such crimes. We are listening to you and we are prepared to tell you about our programmes but History cannot close its eyes to this stigma, which has been there for over 3,000 years.

SHRI RAJNATTH SONKAR SHASTRI: Not three thousand years, but eight thousand years.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: You can say eight thousand years, but I am talking about the three thousand years of history since the days of Buddha. After the 8th century, another chapter was opened in history. As Shri Ram Vilas Paswan correctly observed that the Government has all plans at its disposal but the question is, how to implement them. We are always at loggerheads with each other but we have never thought about the society, about the perpetrators of atrocities and the reasons for their doing so.

Recently I went to Bihar. I had not even reached my office, when I heard the news that 15 Harijans had been killed. I felt very sad, not because of the fact that it had taken place in North Bihar under the present Government, for such incidents had taken place earlier also, but because I came to know that in that very village 19 Harijans were killed and their houses burnt during the incident that took place on November 24, 1989. I thought I should visit that village, Bihta. Ram Vilasji, you may be surprised to know that the Collector of that area too is a Harijan. I asked him as well as the S.P., about the spots where the Harijans were killed. With utmost regret, I have to say that they clearly told me that they were unaware of those houses where the Harijans were killed. Even the S.P. expressed his ignorance about it. Even then I insisted on going there and when I reached there in the scorching sun, I found the houses charred and came to know that the Harijans have left that village.

Therefore, I want to tell you that unless the society gets enlightened, unless the stronger classes, the powerful ones, whether

they belong to upper castes, backward castes or Harijans, do not take up the cudgels on their behalf, it is not possible to protect them. It cannot be done by the police or by the administration. This injustice in the name of religion has been going on and will continue, whatever you say, irrespective of the steps taken by the Government. Now, when we see that we do not feel disturbed even after seeing the blood of the innocents, we sometimes doubt the very sensitiveness of our people.

As I said, whatever the Government may say, whatever we may say, we cannot protect them, but let me tell you why it is so. Recently, I went to attend a meeting organised by a Christian Association. There, they put forward a proposal that the Harijans, who have got converted into Christianity, too should be given protection but I told them that there are no social divisions in Christianity as is the case with Hindu religion. Well, Hinduism is not a religion. It is a culture, a way of life. It has many prophets unlike other faiths which have one. Christianity has only one prophet and he is Christ, Jainism has Mahavira, Buddhism has Buddha, Islam has one prophet, but in our Hindu religion, we have many - Lord Krishna, Lord Rama, Lord Shiva, Lord Vishnu, we have so many gods that we have brought about a discrimination between man and man and when people from our side cross over to other religions, questions are raised as to why does the Government not stop them? They are crossing the fence because you have dubbed them as untouchables. Why did Mahatma Gandhi call such people 'Harijans'? He wanted to provide them with some kind of respectability. In his opinion, those who are termed untouchables are the real children of God. I don't want to say much, but only this much that the so-called defenders, protectors and leaders of the Hindu religion did not treat them properly.

I have seen the working of the Arya Samaj. I was with them for quite some time and even today, I agree with the teachings of

Maharshi Dayanand. The Arya Samaj stands for upliftment of the untouchables and other progressive measures but the tradition of untouchability in the Sanatana Dharma or the ancient Hindu religion is to be blamed for the large scale conversion of depressed and oppressed Hindus into Christianity, into Islam and into Sikhism. When we go for giving recognition you will oppose it. Why shouldn't we give? Why could you not protect your religion? By riding on a chariot of Lord Ram you managed to collect votes. It is a question related to Lord Ram and his devotees. When the entry of harijans to the temples is prohibited, such a thing will certainly happen. Such was the system in Travancore that no harijan was allowed to go even within 200 yards of any temple. Not only this (*Interruptions*) you will have to listen. It is not a matter of shame to take revenge from the children of those who had committed atrocities on Harijans 400 years back. Can you say that it is a sorrowful act if we are avenging atrocities committed 400-500 years ago. The pages of history will have to be turned. We will have to create a feeling of sensitivity and humanity in ourselves. Without creating these feelings in our hearts the country cannot flourish. (*Interruptions*) Today, Kalka Prasad has proved that anti-reservationists only were riding on Ram's chariot.

I did not know about it earlier, pardon me (*Interruptions*) I am going to tell you a thing which is not very easy to follow. Sentiments can never over-ride duty in politics, duty is a must in politics. You cannot keep the countrymen in the dark for long in your bid to remain in power. The second thing that I wish to point out is that you believe in Hindu Nation and there are 54 crores and 88 lakhs Hindus in this Hindu Nation i.e. the country. Out of these you keep aside the votes of minority communities (*Interruptions*) Set aside the nine crore votes of Muslims and Christians. Now 44-45 crore votes are left. Out of the 22 crore votes, they got 3 crores and 80 lakh votes only whereas 19 crore votes were cast against the Hindu Nation (*Interruptions*) I would like to point out one more thing as to why the Harijans and Adiva-



[Sh. Sitaramkesri]

sis are feeling insecure. Please give a serious thought to it. You can use them in dark but not in Parliament.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. Through you, I would like to raise this point of order whether the Minister who is the Spokesman of the Government is trying to unite things or it is a bid to disintegrate things.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order in this

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: People cannot be kept in dark. You open the doors of the temple and invite people for offering prayers but take care that unholy men do not occupy the temple. This country cannot be kept in dark. Every drop of Harijan and Adivasi blood will assume dangerous shapes. You are a Member of Lok Sabha and we are in the Government. You can make allegations against us but both of us are equally responsible. But it is a fact that social revolution is taking place and the society is changing.

You must have seen the happening in Guntur. The first day he was beaten but on the second day he mustered courage and reacted. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU (Secunderabad): Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order? Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU: Mr. Chairman, Sir, my point of order is that just

now the hon. Minister pointed out that the Harijans took revenge but I want to tell you that Shri Shyam Lal Kamal and myself visited that place on the 10th. I was present there when the dead bodies were being buried. At that time the Harijans did not attack on them. This was the handiwork of the extremists.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not a point of order. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: You have disintegrated the country for 40 long years. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: Sir, in Morarji Desai's Government both Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Advani were Ministers. The Belchi incident took place during two and a half years of their rule and as such do not refer to forty years. I remember every bit of incidents. We can quote the political scene of the last 58 years and everything that was said by Bhai Parmanand and Golwalkar but do not want to reiterate these things. I only wish to point out that the atmosphere of violence will prevail till social, political, and economic disparities are there, since political disparities crop up as a result of economic and social disparities. As such in case you want that in our society *(Interruptions)* You will not understand it, you are born out of lotus flower *(Interruptions)* Remember one thing *(Interruptions)* he is talking of Jahanabad. When the Jahanabad incident took place I walked to that place on foot. I visited every house in person. I refused police security and escort. I found that they were not naxalities as photographs of Jawahar Lalji and Gandhiji were there in their houses. Taking them to be naxalities atrocities were committed on them. *(Interruptions)* They did not belong to I.P.F. What is the reason behind this bloodshed and violence? The primary cause behind it is social and economic disillusionment and this needs to be removed. Affluence on one side and poverty on the other cannot exist together. Unless the land is distributed, this

problem cannot be resolved. We are all to be blamed for this. You cannot escape from this and so is the case with us but the distribution of land is a must. Whatever law is required to be enacted in this regard will be enacted. The Government will take strict steps in that direction but remember that the press makes counter productive publicity of this scheme. As such Ram Vilasji try to introduce reservation in this field too and only then we can succeed. With these words, I would like to ask the specific reason behind the outbreak of this violence. The root cause behind this violence is economic disparity and since the last 3000 years why this community is changing its names from *Chandal* to *Achut* and then *Harijan* to *Scheduled Castes* and so on. The People of vested interests who have enjoyed freely, who have been landlords and feudals talk of casteism whether they were in power or not. When the capital of these capitalists will be divided, the violence is bound to take place. They cannot part away with it and as such keeping in view all these aspects, the people who share positive views should unitedly fight against it. This is my earnest desire.

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17.01 hrs.

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER ON TRADE POLICY

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): On 4th July, 1991. I announced major changes in the Trade Policy. Subsequently, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, several decisions have been taken. It is considered appropriate to put together all these decisions in the form of a Statement on Trade Policy. The Statement on Trade Policy is annexed herewith. [Placed in Library. See No LT-366/91]

Hon'ble Members will be pleased to know that the Statement on Trade Policy

contains major reforms in the Eximscript system and Advance Licensing. It also contains a new package for 100% Export Oriented Units and Units in the Export Processing Zone. The Statement also deals with other matters such as the policy towards canalisation and the role of the public sector state trading organisations.

The functions of Chief Controller of Imports and Exports are being reoriented. The office itself is being redesignated as Directorate General of International Trade.

The Statement on Trade Policy recognises the major role that State Governments have to play in export promotion.

The Board of Trade has been reconstituted and it will meet shortly.

The Government attaches high priority to trade policy reform as an essential element in restructuring our economy to increase productivity and competitiveness and to achieve a strong export performance in the years ahead.

#### STATEMENT ON TRADE POLICY

International trade today, more than ever before, is the driving force of economic activity. It not only enables the exchange of goods and services among countries, but in today's world, it serves as the bedrock for the increasingly inter-dependent global network of technology, investment and production. No country can ignore these developments which pose both opportunities and challenges. India's trade policy must respond to these challenges.

2. The new Government took office at a time when the Balance of Payments position facing the country had become critical and foreign exchange reserves had been depleted to dangerously low levels. The export momentum built up during the period 1986-87 to 1989-90, when India's exports grew at an average annual rate of 17% in terms of US dollars, was lost in 1990-91 when export growth decelerated to only 9% in US dollars.