

[Sh. P. Upendra]

This is a very important Bill, on which depends the coming elections also; and I had requested the hon. Leader of the Opposition to help us in getting this Bill passed today, so that this Bill may be sent to the State Assemblies, because half the State Assemblies have to ratify it before 26th January and President's consent has to be obtained before that, so that in the next Assembly elections there would be no difficulty.

Therefore, I would submit to you that today, even if we have to sit late, let us get this Bill passed; and I would also like to request the hon. Members, through you, kindly to cooperate, so that we can dispense with the lunch hour and continue this Bill and take the voting around 3 p.m.—so that before 3.30 p.m. when the Private Members' Business may be taken up, we can have the Bill passed. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BRAHMDUTT (Tehri Garhwal): A lot of people want to speak on it. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Brahmduttji you said that a lot of people want to speak on it. He has suggested, therefore, that Lunch may be dispensed with.

[*English*]

AN. HON. MEMBER: If it can be taken up on Tuesday, there will be no harm.

[*Translation*]

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: We have just began and such requests are being made every day. Is this the way to carry on the business of the House? We will support you if you announce that there will not be any lunch-hour in future. But dispensing with the lunch-hour now and then, upsets our schedule because we often forgo our lunch-break and use that time to attend to other urgent work. I use this time for offering 'namaz' also.

All such things are done during the lunch break.

MR. SPEAKER: All right, we will have the lunch hour. I hope there is no objection to that. The House will sit late.

[*English*]

SHRI P. UPENDRA: If the hon. Members want to have their Lunch Hour, in that case, we will have to sit late after 6 P.M. to pass the Constituent (Sixty-Second Amendment) Bill.

12.30 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (SIXTY-SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL, 1989

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that the President has recommended the consideration of the Constitution (Sixty-second Amendment) Bill, 1989 under article 117 (3) of the Constitution of India.

Now Shri Ram Vilas Paswan can move his Bill for consideration.

[*Translation*]

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND WELFARE (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN): Mr. Speaker Sir, I beg to move:*

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Speaker Sir, as you are aware, this Bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha yesterday. This is a very important Bill. This Bill deals with that section of society have been suppressed and victimised for centuries from the social, economic and educational point of view. I have briefly explained the Objects and Reasons of this Bill.

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

Section 334 of the Constitution says that in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies the provision related to reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and nomination of representatives of the Anglo-Indian community shall remain effective for a period of 40 years. People belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have made some progress in the last 40 years but the reasons for which reservation was provided to these people by the Constituent Assembly, are valid even today. Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and nomination of representatives from the Anglo-Indian community is proposed to be extended for a further period of 10 years. This Bill has been moved to fulfil the above objectives.

Mr. Speaker Sir, Section 330 of the Constitution relates to provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha.

Article 331 of the Constitution provides for representation of the Anglo-Indian Community in the Lok Sabha. There is provision for reservation of seats in the State Assemblies for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in article 332. Article 331 has a special provision for the reservation of seats for the representatives of the Anglo-India Community in the State Assemblies.

It is a matter of happiness that that first Resolution that our Government brought forward is to give justice to the people who belong to the weakest section of the society. It is not the last but a first step to start with. That is why I feel that when my hon. colleagues will speak, they will definitely draw the attention of the Government towards the problems relating to the atrocities being committed on the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the weaker sections of the society. They will ask as to why other things were not incorporated in the Bill. Why a Constitutional amendment consisting of two lines has been brought forward? But I am helpless because of shortage of time. Since reservation provisions are valid upto 26th January only and these provisions will

lapse on that date, it become very necessary to bring forward this Bill before that date. That is why without incorporating allied matters, we, as a first step in this direction, preferred to incorporate the subject of political reservation in this Bill. I am pained to note that an agitation is being launched all over the country against reservation which is definitely very unfortunate for the country. This is the question of reservation and not of any caste or party. Reservation in the Constitution has been provided on the basis of national consensus. It has been clearly provided in the Constitution that reservation will continue for that section of the society who are backward from social and educational point of view. So far as the question of providing reservation in Government jobs is concerned, there is no such time limit in articles 15 (4) and 16(4) of the constitution. But so far as the provision of political reservation in the legislatures is concerned, it is extended after every 10 years. This practice is in vogue for the last 40 years. Our Government has extended this facility for the next 10 years. It has nothing to do with the government service as is being made out. there is no time limit for reservation in Government service. I know that all hon. Members, irrespective of their party affiliations, feel concerned about the weaker sections and people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Earlier also I have been a member of this House and was sitting in the opposition. Whenever all these points used to be raised, it has always been our earnest endeavour to adopt humanitarians approach towards them irrespective of party politics, religious and communal feelings.

People belonging to all castes and all religions live in our country. All of them should be provided with an opportunity make progress in life. If a member in the family falls sick, we make arrangements for the ailing member. When the doctor prescribes medicines and asks to arrange fruits for the patient, we arrange all these things affecting cuts in ration expenditure. Similarly we have to do something for those who have remained backward for the last thousands of years, who though not backward, have been

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forced to remain backward, who have been confined to darkness from all around, whose right to speech, right to learning and right to property has been snatched away. They are still the oppressed lot in the society. Some special provisions have been made for them after independence. But I am of the view that these provisions are not adequate. It is not possible that the society will achieve all round progress if somebody became an M.P., a minister or joined Government service. It is thus indicative of the fact that we are also a part of the Government, we can also become an M.P., an M.L.A. and a Minister. We can also have a share in power. We have to think about the measures for raising their standard of living and removing the economic disparities. The Government is thinking seriously about it, that is why I said that the Bill that has been brought before the House is very important, though appears to be small one. It is important because it will instill confidence in the minds of people belonging to the weaker section of the society. At the same time, the Government as well as the whole country will assure these people that we are concerned for these weaker sections of the society.

I would like that the entire House should express its concern and condemn the anti-reservation agitation that is going on all over the country and not allow this tendency to rise. If his sort of tendency will rise, it will create a feeling of disappointment in the minds of weaker sections of the society. When people lose confidence and a feeling of disappointment gains ground in their minds, a very dangerous situation emerges in the country. The anti-reservation stir being launched today is not only deplorable but also a conspiracy to weaken the country. I want that people belonging to all sections, all factions, all parties, whether they are religious or non-religious should condemn this move in one voice. This issue should not be made a concern of the Government, instead this should be made a matter of concern for the nation as a whole. Further action to improve the lot of the people belonging to

weaker sections should be taken up in this direction. I was delighted to hear the points made by the hon. Prime Minister in his speech yesterday. It appeared to me that it is for the first time when the Prime Minister, the head of the state or the country truly thinks about affecting changes and want us to follow suit. I know that while expression their views on this Bill, some of our hon. Colleagues would like to know as to why this thing has not been incorporated in the Bill. In this connection, I would like to make it clear before this august House that this Bill could not be made comprehensive because dead line was approaching fast. There are several other issues also viz. land reforms, granting statutory status to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, setting up of special courts to deal with the cases of atrocities etc. We are fully conscious of our commitments and assure you that we will fulfill our commitments and bring a Bill to that effect before the House. I have been saying time and again that we will make all out efforts in this regard. There is no dearth of leaders in this country and that of policies, but the point which is lacking, is a sincere will to implement these policies. Laws have been enacted for the weaker sections, for the poor, for the labour class...

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: When Mr. Devi Lal is present, intentions are very clear.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Look, it is not a matter concerning any particular party. Even when your own colleagues would speak on this subject, their views may differ. Mr. Jaipal Singh may express one view and Shri Rawat another. This state of affairs is seen in every party. Every one has his own views.

SHRI JAGPAL SINGH (Haridwar): You have mentioned my name. So far our party is concerned, nobody will differ on policy matters as in your case as your Deputy Prime Minister and the Prime Minister differ on reservation policy.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: It hardly matters what have been the views of different Ministers in our Government. But now I

have come with the documents. It is our document. When other things will come up. You have a right to speak on that subject.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: You are a good man, we will hear you.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: That is why I say that the genesis of reservation which has hitherto been followed still continues to be there. Our Government is thinking on that line. There is no question of changing the basis of reservation. I have to say only this much that the Bill we have brought forward here, has been brought with a good intention. I am happy to note that the commitments made by the new Government were not vague at all. We had made clear commitments. Today we have a good leadership whose intentions are noble. I do not consider it a small incident to display the portrait of Dr. Ambedkar in the Central Hall. Our Government has initiated a proposal for this and the portrait of Dr. Ambedkar will be displayed. It is Ambedkar who drafted the constitution. If his portrait is not displayed in the Parliament after 42 years of independence, there can be no other sad thing like this for the country...

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: We opened a University at Lucknow after his name.

SHRIRAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Rawat, we have not been able to display his portrait here in the Parliament House.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: His status has been installed here. I thank you for your love for Dr. Ambedkar.

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karolbagh): Our love for Ambedkar is not new, it is very old.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Therefore, friends, the hon. Prime Minister has announced that the 'Land Reforms' will be included in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution and it is not an ordinary thing. The landless are dispossessed of their land holdings allotted to them by the Government because the landlords take the matter directly to the court. Under this provision, we

will be able to prevent these people from going to courts. That is why I submitted that we have a number of programmes and we shall bring them before this House one by one. All the hon. Members will get the opportunity of discussing them and not only opportunity but we shall also be happy on this account. In the capacity of a Minister, I would like to assure you that whatever suggestions are put forward regarding the welfare of these weaker sections, whether inside the House or outside it, in writing or orally, we will not only consider them in all seriousness but we will make all possible efforts to achieve that end. This Constitution (Amendment) Bill has been brought with a view to extend the provision for reservation by another 10 years. It will go a long way in fulfilment of our commitment to social, economic and political justice as laid down in the constitution. I would like that all the parties should unanimously and without any reservation should pass this bill. After the passage of this Bill, it will be our duty and outside the House as well to take all possible measures for the welfare of the weaker section. Efforts should also be made to fight these forces which are operating against their interests and ensure that they get justice. With this intention I move the Motion for consideration on this Constitution (Amendment) Bill.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration. Now, Shri Vasant Sathe.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to greet you because this is the first opportunity which I have got to make my submission in the House. It is a matter of great pride for us that today a person like you who is our old associate and who is committed to socialism is occupying this high office. We are confident that we shall establish a new ideal under

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your leadership in this House.

While speaking on this subject, I would first like to welcome our young Minister Shri Ram Vilas Paswan who has presented his views in his capacity as a Minister.... (*Interruptions*) I support it.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: We would like that the instead of Shri Devi Lal, he should be appointed as the Deputy Prime Minister...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MAHADEO RAO SHIWANKAR (Chimur): Mr. Sathe, you said at Wardha that it is on account of the special privileges granted to Harijans and Adivasis that the Congress party lost the recent elections because of protection given to the harijans and adivasis by the Congress Party... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Whatever I may say inside the House or outside, I am not in the habit of suppressing it. What my friend has referred to just now, I would speak about it during the course of my submission.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I would like to submit that so far as my party is concerned, out stand is clear that we will lend full support to this Constitution (Amendment) Bill which is aimed at extending the provision for reservation by another 10 years.

SHRI LALOO PRASAD (Chapra): You should also make efforts to stop the anti-reservation agitation going on these days.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if certain amount of restraint is exercised it will be observed that our views are quite similar to yours on several national issues. There is no difference of opinion in that regard but these are some matters which require sorting out. Therefore, I would like to request that our hon. friends should have a little patience. They should listen patiently and after that if they find some lacuna there

are free to make their comments. I have no objections in this regard. Moreover, this is how the democratic system works.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, while welcoming this Bill, I would like to submit that it is a laudable step. This was a part of our manifesto and we had mentioned it in all our speeches as well. I had also stated in my speech that the first step a Government would have to take would be to extend the Reservation provision from 40 to 50 years. You have brought this Bill and I would like to congratulate you for it.

As the matter is of great importance, it requires a detailed discussion. If the stand of the Government should be made clear in the beginning, it will provide a clear direction of the country.

This is an appropriate Bill. This provision should be incorporated in our Constitution. Baba Saheb Ambedkar who was the founding father of our Constitution and who is known as the modern 'Manu' had incorporated this provision in the Constitution. Initially, it was made for 30 years. Thereafter, it was extended for another 10 years and the current Bill is for extending it for another 10 years. But I would like to inform you that Baba Saheb was not happy while incorporating this provision. He wanted that these sections should get the required education and come at par with other sections of society so that they need not beg any favour from any quarter. He wanted that if the weaker sections were able to come at par with others there would be no need for them to request for any favours from others and instead others would approach them for assistance. These were the views of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. But Baba Saheb Ambedkar has made this provision because as my friend Shri Ram Vilas Paswan has just submitted that much injustice has been committed to these people for thousands of years and they have been subjects to extreme social and economic exploitation.

This question has received much emphasis in our social system. Right from Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru to Jai Prakash Narain

and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, it has been emphasised time and again that unless economic exploitation of these communities is checked, true economic justice cannot be provided to them. No doubt, this has not been done so far. We all will have to put our heads together to find an answer to this problem. We will have to rise above the party lines in this Matter. Therefore I would like to request that while considering this question the background of injustice meted out to these people in the past cannot be ignored. The practice of untouchability was such that these deprived people could not even come anywhere near the people belonging to upper castes. I have mentioned these kinds of oppression in my speeches. You may check the record.

I have reiterated this point time and again. My adversary at the election launched a massive propaganda war against me and that is why he could succeed in cornering 1.25 lakh votes which otherwise would have gone in my favour. I would like to tell you as to how and on which slogan they could manage this so that you are able to understand this matter in its proper perspective. What was the slogan of my opponent friend who was a joint candidate of the BJP and the Shiv Sena? He used to lament in his speeches.

"The Government have spoiled the people belonging to scheduled castes and minority communities by providing them all sort of facilities and appeasing them whereas we belonging to majority communities and other castes are facing injustice. The majority communities and other castes as also their children are being exploited," I am quoting this from his speeches.

Shri Paswan used to say that all facilities are being provided to or being grabbed by the children of those scheduled castes who have become rich, or have become Ministers or big licence holding contractors and are earning Rs. 2-3 thousand per month. The poor among them living below poverty

line, remain deprived of any facility. We are even poorer than them so why does not the Congress give us any facilities or reservations... (*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan): Sir, he is misguiding the House. There is economic restriction... (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: All right. Please be seated, you have got up without any reasons.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order, Sir (*Interruptions*) The statement of the hon. Member is not true... (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order, your turn will also come. Please be seated (*Interruptions*)....

SHRI RAM NAIK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to know as to who has said this. Please tell this.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Member, please take your seat... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAM NAIK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, please tell the name of the person who has said this. He is speaking sheer..**

MR. SPEAKER: "... is un-parliamentary. This should be expunged from the proceedings of the House. Please take your seat. Shri Sathe...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIVASANT SATHE: Truth is always bitter. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the thing is that both you and I have spent a substantial period here and are familiar with some conventions. My friend is using the word '...' which is un-parliamentary and no doubt it will be expunged from the proceedings. Secondly

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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he is asking me to tell he name. I am not doing so deliberately because as per one of our Rules a person who is not present here and cannot defend himself, should not be named here. Therefore, I am not telling his name. I have no problem in telling his name. I am only speaking about the persons who are campaigning this. What I submitted here just now, has relevance due to which I am saying it. They asked as to why we are going facilities to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and not to backward classes. In Vidharba region, which is considered to be the Citadel of Congress in 1977 sweep all the 11 members who were elected belonged to opposition and this time they have got five seats. They contribute this change to the fact that 80% of the electorate belong to backward classes who are with them. They said that they are poor and exploited and in spite of being educated they do not get jobs, reservation etc. and facilities are continued to be extended to the minorities and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in order to appease them as they are considered to be the vote bank.

13.00 hrs.

This was the charge they used to level and I submit that if whatever is taking place in the country is not taken seriously, all of us will have to repent. The children of our own Party Members, I remember told us in a meeting that if now when Mandal Commission report has been submitted you cannot take any steps, then Lord Rama along would be our saviour. I am telling your their views. Now they say Siyawar Ramchandra ki jai, Pawan Sut Hanuman ki jai. And now in Maharashtra, it has further been added...

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Sathe, you may continue after lunch.

[English]

We adjourn for Lunch to meet at 2.00 pm.

13.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha ten adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock

14.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[SHRI JASWANT SINGH *in the Chair*]

CONSTITUTION (SIXTY-SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL-*CONTD*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I call the hon. Members from Wardha, Shri Vasant Sathe to continue his speech.

[Translation]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much. As I was saying that this is a symbol of the way elections were conducted in Wardha and the wave which overcame the entire country. That is why my friend asked me to tell what I had said at Wardha. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Sir, in that context I was saying that while some of our friends from the Opposition were saying that no facilities have been provided to other backward sections who are also called O.B.C. and who constitute more than 80 per cent of the population in Vidarbha, though many years have passed since Mandal Commission submitted their report. The Congress was blamed for not paying any attention or providing any facilities to backward classes. They complained that only the children of the of the Scheduled Castes are getting benefit though their parents have become rich and are on high posts.

SHRI MANVENDRA SINGH (Mathura): This is absolutely incorrect.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: This is what they complained. They also said that if they

cannot be provided reservation, then they have no option but to go to the shelter of Lord Rama or become Shri Ramashrary Prasad or march to Ayodhya carrying bricks and singing hymns in praise of Lord Rama. Another new thing was added in Maharashtra since the B.J.P. and the Shivsena has joined hands there and the candidate there enjoyed only their support, so they said that in Maharashtra, it is specially the brave Shivaji, Bhawani Mata who are to be glorified and now they will try to take action against injustice being done to majority Communities by carrying of saffron flag to each village. They were talking about Bhaujan Samaj (majority communities) and not Bhaujan Samaj Party which is altogether different. Bhaujan Samraj Party also had a candidate there but I need not discuss him. These people who claimed the support of majority communities used to say that they are the true representatives and if they were not provided proper facilities then they will raise a revolution against reservation in the country. We will raise revolution against the minorities and for that the youth should joint us. Mr. Chairman, Sir, they allured the young generation of our partymen.

PROF. RAMGANESH KAPSE (Thana): He is speaking absolute..**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

SHRI MANVENDRA SINGH: This is even more incorrect. The members of youth Congress are inciting and the Congress has a hand in the agitation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, I request that the use of this word that is unparliamentary. Please do not use it.

[English]

SHRI DILEEP SINGH BHURIA (Jhabua): What is the Point of Order?

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

SHRI MAVNENDRA SINGH: He is misleading the House. He has said that the a saffron flag is being carried in the forefront of the march during the agitation. This is absolutely incorrect. The workers of the Congress and the Youth Congress are inciting this agitation and the members of Youth Congress burnt buses at various places, blocked the routes and have made the whole situation disorderly.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have listened to your point. This is not a point of order. If you want to express your views you may do so by participating in the debate.

PROF. RAM GANESH KAPSE: What was said in the Maharashtra Assembly that the people who get elected do so by inciting in the people, is incorrect. The elected Member represent the wish of the people. By making such statements here, we should...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have listened to your point, please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can express these views by participating in this discussion.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, my statement is in reference to the comments made by my opponent friends during my electioneering. It was in this context that I made my comments, as it was directly addressed to me,. I am not talking of on-going anti-reservation movement. Shakespeare has said in his drama "As you like it" that one could do nothing after shooting the arrow and hitting the target? (Interruptions) Please have patience. It is very serious question. What are you going to do?

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You are going to create conflict by misleading the unemployed youth belonging to backward & poor section of the society. If the youth of weaker sections and other backward communities are made to believe that reservation given to Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes is causing injustice to them, then they may be misguided. I was saying that this is not the right step and this is what I said in my election campaign. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and other such schemes were made to help the poor. Now we will welcome any efforts made by the new Government to solve this issue of national dimensions. Such issues are above party politics. With partisan outlook one cannot solve the problem. Today the youth of the country is a troubled lot. If you want to know the real reason.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are the real reason. (Interruptions).

AN. HON. MEMBER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the present generation in this country is suffering because these people could not do anything for them in the last 40 years.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please take your seat.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I would like to tell you that if he is pacified by saying this much that the present sorry state of affairs is attributed to our being in power for so many years, let him tell so and we do agree that it is because of us. Good or bad, we cannot deny it. That is why we are in this position today. You have come into power.

AN HON. MEMBER: This is *ibtida-e-ishk*".

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is for you to judge. I would like to humbly tell my hon. colleagues that they have just come into power riding on a wave. They should give serious thought to this aspect. Once casteism and caste hatred are allowed to spread in this country, the situation will become very

difficult to handle. We people are well-entrenched in our heritage. Religion deeply influences our minds and hearts. Therefore the responsibility lies on everyone. All saints and sages have given a message of humanity. Let us not be swept away by emotion. The youth of today has been misled because of unemployment. This applies to all issues. If we step out of our emotional cocoons, we shall know the real situation. Be it the Punjab problem or any other problems, at the root of them all is the dissatisfied and angry youth...

.... (Interruptions).....

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to caution you that there are 11 speakers from your party. I do not want to interrupt you. But please be mindful of the time.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I would like to set the trend. If I am not interrupted, I will conclude very early.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am also mindful of the interruptions. I will give you adequate time. But I want to caution you.

[Translation]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, why is communalism flaring up in this country? This is because some people have given a religious tint to the running of this country. Their strength in the House has increased from 2 to 88. I congratulate them and wish them many more such achievements. But think of the role played by religion in their achievement. (Interruptions) ...

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): How is he saying that our number has increased to 88 because of religion the electorates of this country have elected us. It is due to them that our number has risen to 88. Nobody can level baseless allegations against any political party. The members belonging to the B.J.P. have been successful because of the Party's manifesto and not on the basis of religious sentiment.

[English]

We have got our programmes and manifesto on which we fought the elections and people of the country have given us 88 seats. This is not because of you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member speaking has got a right to his views just as you have a right to your views. Let him say what he wishes to say.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, they wanted to play party politics, how can they solve national issues?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Let me forewarn the House that the concept of Hindu nation being reiterated by them will lead us towards narrow-mindedness. People who speak in this vein are themselves not aware that we have a vedic heritage, what we called 'Sanatan Dharma'. There is no place for narrow-mindedness here. This is what Adi Shankaracharya said. We have many learned persons among the hon. Members and they shall have much to say on Hindu culture. But I would like to say that there cannot be a greater authority on Hindu culture than Adi-Shankaracharya and I would like to quote him. He said(Interruptions)

[English]

You sit in the Chair and then tell me. Have you not attended any orientation course?

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, perhaps he does not know the meaning of Hindu nation. A Hindu nation means 'Sarvadharmā Sambhava'.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Adi Shankaracharya has said 'Na jatya brahmanotra kshatriya vaishya eva cha, na shudra nathwa mlechho bhedit guna karma bhi.' There cannot be a better description of our culture, or our Sanatan dharma than this. The situation we are seeing today arose ever since

birth: was taken as basis for determining castes. None of the Shankaracharyas of today or any other person knowledgeable about Hindu culture will say that we should have a caste-system based on birth. If all the four Shankaracharyas say this, there will be a revolution in the country. Are you prepared to say it? If this caste-system remains, then you will ask for caste-based reservations. The Mandal Commission will come into the picture. It will entail hour of discussion and numerous demands for reservation based on each and every caste. There will be no limit to this. They created false aspiration among the masses. They gave a call to the people during the election compaign to come under the saffron flag and carry a brick in the name of Lord Rama. This is against the ideal of Lord Rama even. It would be wrong to talk of casteism in the name of Lord Rama who had embraced 'Kevat' (Boatman) and who had eaten the plums tasted by the adivasis 'Sabri.'

The so called word 'Hindu' oft repeated by them is not found in any of our Vedas, Shastras, Manu Samriti, the Geeta or the Mahabharata or the Ramayana. The word 'Hindu' has not been mentioned anywhere in those scriptures. It is not a word of our origin. It is a derivative of word 'Sindu' as in Persian language the alphabet "S" is pronounced as "H". Thus this word 'Sindu' began to be pronounced as Hindu'. Does any character of Hindu scriptures claim his religion as Indian? Can any of you say so? If not, why this Hindu religion....

SHRI JANARDHAN TWARI (Siwan): From where did 'The Hindu' daily start publication? It was from Madras sixty years ago. What a great exponent of word Hindu'.

[English]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: He does not understand what I am saying.

[Translation]

I am saying that the Bill which has been brought today is not merely aimed at in-

[Sh. Vasant Sathe]

creasing the reservation provision from 40 to **50 years.....** (*Interruptions*) You will continue to do this and you will make the country men fight among themselves in the name of religion and caste. It will result in the situation the country is witnessing today. The youths of country are agitating. If you take pleasure in casting aspersion on each other, then it is all right, you are free to do it. If the ruling party gets satisfaction in passing the buck to others for this country wide violence, it is right, we will be the last person to grudge against you I thought that the way Shri Ram Vilas Paswan initiated the discussion with all its seriousness, the issue will be debated raising above partisan ends. I am coming to this point, if they do not like it, then it is a different matter, But you see provisions have been made for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the constitution. As I said in the very beginning that by providing reservation for 30 years 40 years, the atrocities on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people for the last 4000 years could not be removed with one stroke. People belonging to a section of our society were forced to live outside the village as even their shadows were considered to be untouchable. They were not allowed to take water from the village well. If one is subjected to such mal treatment to day, how he feel offended. You can well imagine it. They were subjected to such mal treatment not for a year or two, rather they have been subjected to such mattreatment for the last 4000 years. Now something has been given to them by way of reserving some seats in State Assemblies and Lok Sabha . Much hue and cry is being made on it. It is being said that injustice is being done to other communities. Do you know what our Government has done in this regard. It was our leader who had increased the reservation period from 30 to 40 years. It was we who first made this demand and we welcome the step taken by you. We thank your Government for this.. (*Interruptions*)... If need be, we will continue it for another 500 years and will not allow atrocities to be committed on them. This is our view point. For the atrocities committed on them for the last 5000

years, if we have to provide reservation for another 500 years, we will provide reservation for them. But your Government is saying something and doing something else. What is the result thereof ? Two leaders of your own party have been saying that reservation is a fraud. Only economic condition should be taken into account for providing reservation, they said. What do they mean by it? Mr. Chairman, Sir, they are talking of snatching of rights. There is a conspiracy behind it and a fraud is being committed. I welcome the step taken by the present Government to extend the period of reservation for another ten years. The Government should make its policy clear that the facilities provided to this hopeless section of our society will not be withdrawn in any circumstances. A number of facilities have been provided to them under Articles 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution which read like this.

Article 15 (4) of the Constitution says:

Nothing in this article or in the Clause II of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.'

This is the salutary provision for giving the first amendment. Article 16(4) the Constitution says:

'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.'

Now the period of reservation is being extended from 40 to 50 years. I do not understand why so much uproar is being made in the country on this issue. In article 46 of the Directive Principles it has been said:-

" The State shall promote with special

care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask as to whether we are taking measures to ensure that the provisions made in the constitution are neither diluted nor done away with. If not, the person, or the class of persons or the party, whosoever they may be, is working against the constitution and the unity and integrity of the country for which all of us have taken a pledge. We have to say this if one does not want to uplift the poor people, it has to be pointed out. To be a proudish is a bad thing. There is saying in Marathi that ‘Garva Che Ghar Khathi’. It means that pride will have a fall. Even then slogan is being raised that say with pride that we are so and so” (*Interruptions*).

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): I can name the persons who are spearheading this agitation. In Gujarat, leaders of youth Congress have launched this movement. They belong to ruling party. This anti-reservation agitation is being launched by the people belonging to Congress party. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now you please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA : On a point of order, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under what rule ?

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA: He has taken 50 minutes. Is there any restriction about time ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is it a point of order against me ?

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA : No, no, Sir. (*Interruptions*) You decide the time-limit. He has taken about 50 minutes.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude, Mr. Sathe.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: This country belong to all of us. I am saying this thing not only for the Members of this House but for all our countrymen. Yesterday, one of my friends from Goa recited a very good couplet from a Sant Gyaneshwari:-

“Vishv Svadharamsurya Paho.”

It is need of the hour that if at all, we have to say something with pride, we should say that we are human being. This is required today. We should not be narrow minded. Only a good human being can become a good Hindu or a good Christian or a good Muslim or a good Sikh. A bad or untruthfull man will always take others to narrow mindedness, thereby endangering the existence of the society and the country.

While speaking on this issue, I would like to request that our present Government should adopt a clear cut policy on this issue and should not compromise with the person or the group of the persons wanted to curtail the facilities which you wish to provide to the weaker sections of the society. Our party will strongly oppose any such action which curtails or snatches the facilities provided to the people belonging to minorities and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I hope all right thinking members of this august House will also strongly oppose such action.

With these words, I conclude and again thank you for providing me an opportunity to express my views.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call Mr. K.S. Chavda, I would request the Whip of the Congress (I) party to note that there are 11 speakers and the hon. Member from Wardha has taken up 50 minutes of the time allotted to you. Now, please allocate the time accordingly. There is a time limit. We are under a constraint.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: But the debate cannot be infinite in its time. There is time limit and there is a party time allotted.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: (Tripura West): Sir, the tradition of this House has been that we take four hours instead of the three hours allotted. We take some good things from the erstwhile Opposition (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly allow me to finish. The principal speaker from your party has been shown every consideration. There are 11 speakers from your party. I am just asking you to allocate the time between your 11 speakers. Will you kindly allocate the time for those speakers?

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Sir, since the tradition of this House has been pointed out, I may remind you that whenever any member from any party take more time than allotted, they always adjust the number of speakers so that the allotted time will not disturbed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want to suggest that. It is up to the Opposition.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been given the names here. Mr. K.S. Chavda may speak now.

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Constitution (Amendment) Bill

which is before this august House. While supporting this Bill, I would like to make some observations. Sir, no member belonging to Scheduled Castes had ever been elected on a seat other than the reserved seat in the Assembly and in the Lok Sabha. Look at the general election recently held. Two members belonging to the Scheduled Castes have been given the Janata Dal tickets for a general seat. They have been elected on the general seats by defeating two former rulers. I congratulate the two Members from Orissa Shri Bhakta Charan Das and Shri Bhaj Mohan Behera who contested on the Janata Dal tickets on the general seats and defeated the Congress rivals.

Regarding the reservation policy, the hon. Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh has made it amply clear during his first press conference and during the debate that took place yesterday in the House. If I mistake not, he said that the reservation policy would continue till the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people are brought to the level of, or at par with the rest of the people of our country economically and socially. The persons who do not belong to the category of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes say that the reservation policy cannot go on forever; it cannot continue for long. Another charge that has been levelled against the scheduled castes people who are advanced is that they also want to retain this reservation policy. Thirdly, it is said that the reservation policy should not be on caste lines, but economic criterion should be adopted. I will be dealing with these three points.

I am very eager that the Bill should be passed in this session and today itself, so that the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people can take advantage of this in the coming Assembly elections.

So far as the reservation policy is concerned, I am in favour of continuing this policy till discrimination arising out of the practice of untouchability is removed. Look at the picture in India today. In the villages, scheduled castes people live at the outskirts of the villages and in cities, they live in slums.

They are not allowed to live and mix with others in the inside localities of the villages and cities. Whereas Muslims can live, Christians can live, but these scheduled caste people who are Hindus are not allowed to live with others. That is the position. Look at the discrimination. In certain villages even today, scheduled castes people are not allowed to draw water from the common well. The barbers do not serve them. If this type of discrimination continues, I am not in favour of abolishing this reservation policy. If these people remain backward as they are today, and if reservation policy is discontinued, it would be disastrous for the country, and the country will go to dogs.

Majority of the Indian people belong to scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other backward classes. Look at the population census of 1981. Therefore, until and unless socially and economically these people are raised to the level of the rest of the people in our society, the reservation policy should be continued.

There are people who may say that the Scheduled Castes who have advanced economically want to retain reservation. I deny that. It is not in our hands. For example, if a member belonging to Scheduled Caste is a Collector or an M.P., will he be allowed to live in villages with the caste Hindus or in mixed localities? No. About 80 Members are there in this House who belong to Scheduled Caste category. Will their family members be allowed to fetch water from the same well? No. This discrimination is still continuing in our country.

I congratulate the National Front Party here. What they preached earlier, they have now started practising. Mr. Sathe, you show only lip-sympathies. Already forty years have passed since we got independence but still they remain as they were. Regarding my third point, according to the Judgement of the High Court or the Supreme Court, this reservation is not communal. Anybody can go through the judgement of the Supreme Court. They have mentioned each and every

instance. When I tried to interrupt Mr. Sathe—when he was speaking—I said, economic restriction is there for students who belong to Scheduled Caste category. If the annual income of the parent of a Scheduled Caste student exceeds Rs. 10,000, he is not entitled for scholarship. If any of his family members got this advantage, then he is not entitled to take this benefit. There are several other restrictions which people do not know. Even if they know, they deliberately say otherwise. Although I am a Member of parliamentary since 1960, I also belong to Scheduled Caste category and my income does exceed Rs. 10,000, but my daughters and sons did not avail of the concession, i.e. scholarship. The same thing applies to other persons also.

Now, I would like to bring to the notice of this hon. House the economic conditions of Scheduled Castes. If the economic condition of a Scheduled Caste is sound and if he owns a car, he will not get a caste Hindu driver. It is because if he want to have water he has to fetch water from the house of the Scheduled Caste only. So, he believes in untouchability. That is why I laid stress on this particular point. If they remain socially backward and also economically backward, then this reservation should continue. That is why I would request that at least for God's sake, do not bring any economic criteria for the Scheduled Castes. If you do so, it will ruin the country. You very well know as to what is happening inside and outside the country.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: Still untouchability is there.

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA: My hon. friend Shri Pathak is right. Still untouchability is there. There are not allowed to enter the Nathdwada Temple or for that matter even some other temples in our country. My hon. friend Shri Satheji also talked about Shankaracharya. A Conference which was held in Patna in 1969 was presided over by Dr. Karan Singh. At that time, Shankaracharya said, "I believe in untouchability." Still they continue to believe in untouchability. He said, "If you want to punish

[Sh. Khemchandbhai Somabhai Chavda]

me, you can do so, You can put me in the jail. Even if you cut me into pieces, I will stand by that." This is what he narrated. In support he said, "even women are considered untouchables during the four days of menstrual period". So, he believes in untouchability. I want to know from the hon. Members belonging to Congress (I), as to what is the stand of their party regarding reservation in educational institutions, in services or posts of the States and the Union. What is your party's stand? You are not clear, my friend. I know you are a good friend of mine. We have been together in several Committees, I know.

Sir, they are not clear in their minds. They only give sermons before the House. According to the rules, they have to be here. What to do? This is the position. I am sorry to say so; my friends should not feel ill, because it is a fact that they have given a lot of sermons, but not a practical thrust. Did his party give tickets during the last elections to any SC man for the General seat? No; that is why I say that what this Janata Dal preached, is being practised by it now. Give some time, and you will find good results from this side.

I would say something about Gujarat also. One ST candidate, belonging to BJP Mr. Chandubhai Deshmukh defeated your Gujarat Congress (I) president, Mr. Ahmed Patel, from a General seat. Look at the intention of this party, and then give some time.

I will not take more time, Sir. I am very eager that this Bill should be passed in this Session.

SHRI SHANTA KUMAR (Kangra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the 62nd Amendment Bill. I would like to make it clear that BJP fully supports this Amendment. I would like to submit that it has been accepted in the statement of objects and reasons attached to the Bill that the work has not been completed in the stipulated time-limit. I will emphasise that work has not been

completed even in forty years for which the Constituent Assembly took a resolution to complete within ten years. It is an utter failure of the Government and the society. Shri Sathe said that it would be continued even for five hundred years. What did it mean? Did he mean that they would not be brought at par with the other castes even in next five hundred years? This is not a question of any party alone, but is a fundamental question linked with the unity of the country as a whole. If this question is considered on party lines, it may result in disintegration of the country, as a lot of disruptive activities are taking place outside this House. So it is necessary to consider this question by rising above party politics. We all know the forty years have passed since the provision of reservation was made. By extending the period of reservation for another ten years, the House is only completing a formality. Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will come here again after ten years to perform this ritual of extending the period of reservation for another ten years. I would like to submit emphatically that the resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly forty years ago had not be implemented and the main reason behind it was that the earlier Governments of this country never tried to let the people belonging to these castes become self-dependent, but only tried to convert them into a vote bank. The situation would not have been as it prevailed today, even after forty years, had attempts been made to make these castes self-dependent. People of these castes would not have been such a neglected lot after these forty years.

I would like to submit another point. I fully share the views expressed by an hon'ble Member who spoke before me that all parties should field scheduled castes and scheduled tribes candidates on unreserved seats. Shri Sathe and others may say whatever they like about our party, but this time our party fielded a scheduled tribe candidate on an unreserved seat and got him elected to this House.

I would like to submit another point. In view of the population of these castes, an

amendment is very necessary. The number of voters cannot be increased. But there should be no hitch in rotating the reserved constituencies. At present certain constituencies are reserved for the last twenty years and only scheduled castes and scheduled tribes candidates can contest from there which meant that other castes are deprived representation from those constituencies. Likewise a scheduled caste or scheduled tribe candidate finds it difficult to contest from an unreserved seat. So there should be rotation of reserved constituencies. Even if the population of that area remains the same, there should be de-limitation. There should be rotation of reserved constituencies, so that the people belonging to other castes should also have the opportunity to represent and in other constituencies, the scheduled caste candidates could also have the opportunity of representation.

So far as this question is concerned, there cannot be two opinions in this regard. But the discussion carried out outside the House on this question is not a discussion at all. It is an agitation which poses great danger to country. I have been elected to this House for the first time and this is my maiden speech. While Shri Sathe was speaking, I was quite disappointed and the reason of my disappointment was that if we, the elected members indulge in making allegations and counter allegations on such fundamental questions due to party politics, which should be considered seriously and attempts should be made to reach consensus, then who will save this country.

We all should oppose the agitations going on in the country. All the parties should say that they support the reservation policy. BJP supports all the reservations made in the services. There should be no doubt about our stand in this regard. But attention should be paid to the agitators also. We should try to understand why this agitation is taking place. I find three reasons behind it.

The first reason is that there is poverty and unemployment. The youth of the country is suffering from the pangs of unemploy-

ment. In a country where there are crores of educated unemployed, something or the other will certainly happen. Sometimes it will be on the issue of reservation or sometime on any other issue. The main reasons are poverty and unemployment. What has been done in these 40 years to solve this problem?

15.00 hrs.

Only plans were formulated and poverty and disparity remained on the increase. On one hand, there are some people who have so much wealth that they do not know how to spend and on the other hand, there are cores of people in the country, who do not know how to bring up their children. Who is responsible for this disparity? Are the last Government and the Congress Party not responsible for this, who have continuously ruled the country for such a long time. I want that the new Government should bring some fundamental changes in this area, some new schemes should be made so that the poverty and unemployment and dissatisfaction among the youth can be removed.

The second reason is that there is poverty among the other castes also. The poorest among those castes are agitated. Some new attempts should be made in this regard. I would like to repeat again that the question does not arise to take back the facilities provided to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, but the Government should also pay attention towards the poor belonging to other castes.

15.01 hrs.

[SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE *in the Chair*]

I would, now, like to refer to Himachal Pradesh. In 1977-78, when Janata Government came in power, an experiment was made by starting Antyodaya scheme. This scheme was started in Himachal Pradesh. Antyodaya was a favourite word of Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress only took votes in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, but we tried to

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materialise the Antyodaya dream of Mahatma Gandhi in reality in Rajasthan and in Himachal Pradesh in 1977-78. Under the Antyodaya scheme in Himachal Pradesh the poorest families from every village were selected. 19 thousand families were selected in the first phase. Among those 19 thousand families, 68 per cent were from scheduled castes and 33 per cent from other castes. It was directed by the Government that the poorest among these identified families should be provided help through these schemes on top priority basis. Later, the scheme should move upward. The system of our society is such that whatever the schemes of development and social justice were made, they were all started from above and got stucked in the middle. There was no benefit to the lowest class of the society. I am not among those who say that no development has taken place in the last 40 years. There was progress and social development, but there was no social justice. Those who are at the lowest strata, got very less or nothing at all.

I would like to draw your attention on one more point. We adopted a selection method while selecting the 19 thousand poorest families from Himachal Pradesh. The revenue authority selected poorest five families from each village. It was arranged on behalf of the Government that it will not be the final decision. A meeting of Gram Sabha was called and all the villagers were invited. They were told that in the first phase, the poorest families of their village have to be helped and the selected people were approved by the Gram Sabha. The villagers also approved them unanimously. We had conducted a survey in which about 19,000 poorest of the poor families which did not receive even a single paisa during the last 30 years from these schemes were identified—a view which was endorsed by the people themselves. I would like to say that under the prevailing system the benefits of various schemes in the country reach the upper class and middle class people and not the lowest class. I, therefore, want that the

Government should launch such comprehensive schemes which will provide benefit to poor people. The Government should think about the poorest of the poor. I would like to appeal that comprehensive national schemes may be prepared for the downtrodden people. We had set up a Financial Corporation for various schemes in Himachal Pradesh. We tried a number of experiments. Unfortunately, after assuming office, the new Government scrapped all these schemes. At the time of planning these schemes, we had the poorest of the poor in our mind. We knew that the influential people can easily get their work done in the banks. But the poor people whose clothes were tattered cannot be go to banks. We had set up the *Antodaya Finance Corporation for the benefit of the poor*. Our objective was to provide the benefit of these schemes first to the poorest of the poor in the society. I would like this experiment to be made at the national level. I want that the Government should launch such a scheme for the uplift of the downtrodden people. As regards other families they should be identified on the basis of their economic condition. New provisions should be made and separate allocation of funds should be made for them. All such steps should be taken so as to pacify others who have landed on the path of agitation. If a Rajput or a Brahmin is poor, what remedy is available to them? The discontentment brewing in their minds could be dispelled with the making of separate provisions for them also. A lot of hue and cry is also noticed in Government services. This agitation is being spearheaded by those who are affected particularly in the matter of promotions. I do not plead for scrapping the provisions of reservations in promotion, but I want that their view point must be taken into consideration. Some way out could be found out for this. It is not necessary that benefits should be provided to other sections at the cost of facilities being made available to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. What I mean is that the Government should make some earnest efforts to remove the discontent among other sections of people.

I would like to make yet another submis-

sion. This is regarding facilities being made available to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It has been repeated time and again in the House as well as outside that those who have already availed of the benefits, should not be given the benefit for the second time. I, on my part, do not make such a demand. But one thing I must say that gradually two groups are emerging from among the scheduled castes. Let me cite an instance from Himachal Pradesh. In certain villages in the State, there are some people belonging to the reserved category who have become top I.A.S. officers and are prosperous. After getting various modern facilities they have shifted their residence from the parent locality. I am afraid to note that two groups might emerge from among them. I do not say that they prosperous group should be debarred of the benefits. But I would like to make a suggestion to the Government that priority should be accorded to provide benefits to those families first, who are comparatively poor. There are families who could avail benefits four times.... (Interruptions) What I want to say is that as compared to families who have availed maximum benefits, priority should be accorded to those families who have not yet availed any benefit during the past 40 years. This is my suggestion to the Government.

Finally, I would like to make a suggestion. A lot of things have been said by the hon. Members from both the sides. I would like to call upon my colleagues in the Congress to verify the fact as per a report published in a mid-day newspaper that in Delhi the activists of N.S.U.I. have made an announcement that their elected members in 14 colleges would convene a meeting in which they would decide to launch an anti-reservation campaign. God forbid, this news should be false. If it is true, I am apprehensive that politics is playing its dirty tricks in this agitation which is spreading everywhere. I am afraid because we have already tasted its bitterness. Madam Chairman, the orgy of violence did not break in Punjab, on its own rather it was created. There is a long history as to how it all happened in Punjab and who are the people behind it. I request the politi-

cal parties who are alleged to have engineered the uncalled for situation, to make a self-retrospection and check it. Mr. Sathe has charged our party with instigating religious feelings in the electorate and thereby winning 86 seats. In this connection, I would like to tell him that they have lost the polls and they should accept the defeat in a sportsman's spirit. They faced defeat for quite a few times only but we have ever been a vanquished lot. We win occasionally. But we have never taken the defeat in that spirit. We rose to 86 from 2 not by instigating any feelings, rather our number rose to 86 from 2 due to the blessings of Shri Sathe. Had their party not spread such rampant corruption, such a situation would have never arisen. Their image sagged due to their corruption and we rose to 86 from 2 on our own strength. It is due to the situation created by them in the country, that such a state of affairs has emerged. (Interruptions) Nobody can deny this thing. When Olympic Games are held in various parts of the world, our medal tally is negligible. On the other hand if an olympic is held for corruption, all the prizes will be won by our camp. I, therefore, say that it is not proper to make such petty points. I would like to submit further....

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi): Madam Chairman, I am on a point of order.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: I have to make a submission against the points he has made. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shanta Kumar ji, please continue.

SHRI SHANTA KUMAR: Madam, such petty things should not be said in the House. I had never expected that Shri Sathe, would ridicule the steps taken by crores of devotees of Lord Ram for the construction of His

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temple. I may remind him that he is one of the oldest members in this House and members like me have to learn a lot of things from him. I was highly disappointed to hear his speech. He should discuss the basic issues only. Let me know what they have done for the Harijans during the past 40 years? Why have they not been able to assuage the pains and sufferings of the poor and oppressed people? They only indulged in corruption and deposited money in Swiss Banks. Instead of replying to these points, he is dealing with these petty things. It does not behove him.

Madam Chairman, with these words, I support this Constitution amendment. I urge all the parties to come forward and clarify their stand on the agitation taking place in the country. I hope that they will take the basic points that have been raised by me into consideration. They should refrain the people from carrying out the agitation so that all things leading to the disintegration of the country could be resolved. This reservation is necessary. It is our duty as well as the duty of the nation to bring those people who have remained backward for centuries at par with others. Every effort should be made to bring all these people to the required level by paying due consideration to their problems. I am fully confident that the new Government would make all out efforts in this direction. With these words, I support this Constitution amendment.

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur):
Madam Chairman, on behalf of my party, the C.P.I. (M), I rise to extend my full support to the Constitution Amendment Bill that has been brought before the House.

As all of you are aware, the reasons for providing this reservation in our Constitution was exploitation and discrimination against those people in our country who had not been given even the human status in the country. Today when we are discussing the issue of extending the provision for reservation by another ten years and in order to take a decision in this matter it has to be consid-

ered whether the circumstances under which the said provision was made have changed and whether social exploitation and disparities have ended. In case it is otherwise, there shall be need of extending this provision.

However, we have to accept with much regret that it is not that atrocities are not being committed any more. Atrocities are still being committed on these unfortunate people. In fact the incidents of atrocities and social exploitation are constantly increasing. During the last 40 years, instead of atrocities being stopped, there has been an increase in the number of such incidents. Nothing can be more shameful than this for any country.

The report of the commission on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is before us. As per this report, there has been an increase in the number of FIRs between 1981 and 1986. 70 per cent of these incidents have taken place in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. It was immaterial to which political party was in power in these States. In 1981, the number of these incidents was 14,318 and in 1986, it increased to 15,416.

So far as the atrocities committed on adivasis are concerned, the number of incidents committed in 1981 was 3,425 and in 1986 this figure rose to 3,985. Out of these 3,985 incidents, 2,721 incidents occurred in the State of Madhya Pradesh. Keeping these facts in view we will have to consider the matter seriously.

It is not that these incidents taken place in the rural areas only. Of course, the number of incidents are more in the rural areas. This is because of poverty and backwardness prevailing in the rural areas. Mass rape, general massacre and their settlements being set on fire are the kind of atrocities which take place in the rural areas. But the attitude of the people in the urban areas is no better. In this connection, I would like to mention certain incidents. One such incident occurred in Bombay. In one of the schools of this city, harijan children were made to clean the toilet saying that it was their traditional occupa-

tion. In an incident which occurred in Delhi, two 12 year old caste Hindu children killed their harijan classmate because he had sat side by side with them to study Sanskrit. He is not allowed to study Sanskrit. The third incident concerns Shri Khilahand Jha who is sitting on 'dharna' even today. His fault was that he had married a harijan woman. That is why he is not allowed to stay in his house and he has been dismissed from his job. During the rule of the previous Government he had submitted an appeal and he was assured of being reinstated on his job and of being provided due security. He went back to Bihar. But atrocities were committed on his wife and his house was set on fire. Today he has come back to Delhi seeking justice. I request the present Government to order his reinstatement and make necessary arrangements for providing him security. Social injustice exists even today. Exploitation and disparities still plague our society. Under these circumstances, it is our duty to welcome this amendment. However, I would like to submit that reservation is not the only way out for ending oppression.

We will have to pay attention to other matters as well. It is a welcome move that our Hon. Prime Minister in his speech yesterday and the President in his Address referred to certain issues and assured that the Government will definitely take action regarding them. Harijans are the worst exploited lot in the society today. The main reason behind oppression is that the harijans and adivasis are landless. They have no other resources as well. The plight of the people, who neither own any piece of land nor have any other kind of resources, is well known. It is good that the new Government has resolved to introduce land reforms. It has resolved to make the tiller also owner of the land. But there are apprehensions in this connection because such resolves were made earlier also. The previous Government even celebrated one year as the year of the Land Reforms. But what are the facts? During the last 42 years 77 lakh acres of land was identified as surplus which could be distributed and out of it only 49 lakh acres of land was distributed. What were the reasons

behind it? The committees set up by the Government are of the opinion that land reforms are not being implemented properly because persons with vested interest are occupying positions in the Government who put obstacles in the process of distribution of land. But we have seen that where the Government is well-intentioned and committed land reforms are taking place.

West Bengal accounts for only 4 per cent of the total land available in the country. Still out of the total surplus land distributed in the country, 20 per cent has been distributed by the Left Front Government of the State. The Left Front Government of West Bengal has distributed 8.6 lakh acres of land and it has been distributed among the most backward sections of the rural poor. This matter should be given priority in the agenda of the new Government. Otherwise land reforms will not be implemented and the landless will remain without land and without resources and as Shri Sathe has stated we will continue to pass such resolutions for the next 500 years. But, we are trying to usher in fresh approach and establish new conventions so that the sins committed by the previous Government may be atoned.

The backward classes and the harijans are without any means of livelihood because they have neither the land nor any other source to earn their bread. They are tilling the land owned by the people. There are 5 1/2 crore of landless labourers in the country. But there are no laws for the protection of their rights. They do not even enjoy the right to life. Except some places where they are organised and there is mass upsurge to support their cause, the agricultural labourers are not able to raise their voice and in case they demand means of livelihood, atrocities are committed on them and their wives are raped, huts are set on fire and they are killed. There are 5.50 crore agricultural labourers in the country, safeguarding their interests should also be major responsibility of our new Government. There is another way out to ensuring social justice. In this connection efforts should be made to strengthen the Panchayat System. There

[Smt. Subhashini Ali]

are certain people who display eloquence in favour of Panchayati Raj but the fact is that Panchayat elections have not been held for the past 18 years in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The attempts were made in this way to destroy grass-root level democracy. Whenever Panchayats have been strengthened, improvements have been noticed. Efforts were made to strengthen the Panchayat system in Karnataka and West Bengal and in these States it has been observed that when a member of harijan and other deprived sections is elected as a Sarpanch, a sense of self-respect and enhanced social status is generated with the result that the oppressed people gain confidence and get encouragement to seek social justice. Therefore, strengthening of the Panchayat Raj System and making it realistic fruitful should get top priority under the new Government.

The fourth aspect is education. Education is a major instrument for ensuring social justice. The indifferent attitude of our previous Government towards education is evident from the fact that only 2 per cent of the total Budget allocation was provided for education and the result is that 80 per cent of the people of this country are illiterate. If the position is reviewed, it will be found that the majority of the illiterates are harijans and adivasis. However, State Government of Kerala spends 45 per cent of its budget outlay on education and Government of West Bengal allocates 23 per cent for this purpose. Education has been made free upto 12th class and there is no discrimination on the basis of caste etc. The new Government must also pay due attention in this direction. It is not necessary to impart the Doon School type of exclusive education. On the other hand, what we need is to concentrate on imparting education to the maximum number of deprived people. To make due provision in this regard should be a major priority of the new Government. So far as the adivasis are concerned, their pitiable condition is known to everybody. They are being assaulted from all sides. The corrupt officers, the moneylenders, the forest contractors

and forest officials do not consider them as human beings and ill-treat them. The rape of adivasi women has become an everyday affair. The adivasis, who are lords of the forests, are not allowed entry into the forests today and they are no longer able to draw sustenance from the forest produce. Adivasis are facing attacks from all sides. Attacks are being made not merely on their lives but a heinous conspiracy is being hatched to destroy their culture and life-style. Under such circumstance if an explosive situation is created, it will not be surprising. What is the proper solution in these circumstances? The Government will have to make them masters of their lives and ensure that their basic needs are satisfied. In Tripura, such an attempt was made in that direction and an autonomous council for the tribals was constituted there when the Leftist Government was there in power. The tribals of Tripura were given the power to frame their own laws for the preserving their culture. But the present autocratic Government of Tripura is dealing with the people of that State with highhandedness and continues to retain the reigns of power in its hands but the most inimical thing, which has been done by this Government against the tribals, is its attempt to dissolve the autonomous tribal council and harm the unity of the tribals and the non-tribals. An 80 year old woman was raped there. You would have never heard such a thing before. Tribal women are raped there by the Government officials and the police. Is this is way to make them progress? We will have to think over it. It is also essential that an autonomous council is constituted for the tribals in the predominantly tribal areas and its entire control is given in their hands. I am sure that the new Government will take steps in that direction.

In the end I would like to say that a new wind is blowing in the whole country on the issue of this amendment which has been introduced here in the House today. Here, as the members of this House, we are talking of reservation but outside this House, there are anti-reservation agitations taking place in various parts of the country. There are various factors underlying these agitation. One

reason may be misunderstanding and the other reason may be that people have been misled or misguided. It was only yesterday that we heard some people here claiming accolades for gracefully handing over the reigns of government. But this fact is that they have become impatient after having last power and now they are trying to stage a come back some has or the other.

Certain Members of this House referred to the speeches of some persons. But I would like to submit that the former member from my constituency, who was also General Secretary of the All India Congress (I), said it not in his speech but released a statement to the Press that now reservations on social basis were no more necessary. Any reservation in this country should be made not on the basis of caste but on economic basis.

If a senior leader of all India level makes such an irresponsible statement, we will all have to bear its consequences. But the most vital factor, which is mainly responsible for this anti-reservation movement, is the problem of terrible unemployment this country is facing today. Today there are 3 crore unemployed youths in our country who are registered with the Employment Exchanges. There are 13 crore other youths in the rural and urban areas who are without employment. However it is a welcome statement by the present Government that they are going to include the right to work in our Fundamental Rights. We welcome this step of the Government. This is a right step in the right direction but it needs to be made effective. The unemployed have to be provided employment. The employment opportunities should be increased to the optimum level so that anti-social elements may not take exploit the situation and get an opportunity to incite the youth.

Madam Chairman, with these words I conclude and once again welcome the introduction of this Bill.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, it is time for taking up Private Member's Business. The

Parliamentary Affairs Minister will make a suggestion.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): Madam Chairman, I would like to take the opinion of the House about this Bill. Originally we wanted to take the voting today itself, but after consultation with various Party Leaders, the suggestion is that we will have the voting at 2.00 p.m. on Tuesday. On that day we will have only one hour for discussion, that is, from twelve to one and one to two will be the Lunch hour. Some of that one hour time will be taken by the Minister for his reply and so very little time will be left on Tuesday for discussion as such. There are a large number of Members who want to speak. If the House agrees, after the Private Member's Business, we can continue the Government Business from 6.00 p.m. onwards for an hour or one-and-a-half hours to enable some more Members to speak. One or two Members can speak on Tuesday and after that the Minister will reply. The vote can be taken at 2.00 p.m. Madam, you can take the opinion of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I hope the House agrees to this proposal.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): The hon. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has made a proposal which, under the circumstances, I think, is more practicable than trying to finish the whole thing today. But, in that case, I would request that the next speaker—normally in the order of speakers it would be from my party, Shri Bhogendra Jha—may kindly be allowed to speak on Tuesday. It will not be possible for him to speak today after 6.00 p.m., because he has to go away for some other work. Earlier, we were told that the whole thing would be over by 3.30 p.m.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Those parties who have not spoken today, can be given turns on Tuesday. But those who are repeating, that is the second and the third speakers from the same party can be asked to speak after 6.00 p.m. That would be fair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So, we begin the Private Members' Business now and after it is finished at 6.00 p.m., we shall resume the discussion.

SHRISONTOSH MOHANDEV (Tripura West): No, no, we cannot agree to that. After 6.00 p.m. you can speak and you can continue the House with your Members, we have no objection.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: After all the Parties have finished, then one by one repetition will come. We follow the same procedure now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we have to take up Private Member's Business.

15.35 hrs.

RESOLUTION REGARDING CONVERSION OF NARROW GAUGE RAILWAY LINES INTO BROAD GAUGE IN VIDARBHA REGION OF MAHARASHTRA

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before we take up the Resolution of Shri Sudam Deshmukh, we have to fix the time for this resolution. Shall we fix 2 hours? I think all are agreeable to this.

I call upon Shri Sudam Deshmukh to move his resolution.

[Translation]

SHRI SUDAM DATTATRYA DESHMUKH (Amravati): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"This House takes serious note of the fact that about 250 kms. of narrow gauge railway track is still under private ownership in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and urges upon the Government to nationalise the same

and to take immediate steps for the conversion of all narrow gauge railway lines in the region into broad gauge for its rapid development."

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. Please be seated and please do not go on talking. This is also his maiden speech in the shape of speaking on his Resolution. I appeal to the Members to be quiet and let the business of the House proceed quietly.

[Translation]

SHRI SUDAM DATTATRYA DESHMUKH (Amravati): The resolution which I have moved in this House has been the issue on the basis of which the people have elected me. This issue has been a burning problem of my constituency. The railway line I am talking about, is in Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and connects Barar. This is the region of black soil, which is most suitable for growing cotton. This railway line was constructed to export cotton from this region to Lancashire in Britain as the Civil War broke out in America, resulting in stoppage of export of cotton to Britain. With a view to facilitate export of cotton the State of Barar was taken over by the Britishers. But later on no attention was paid to this railway line, rather its condition was made miserable. Instead of bringing about some improvements some of its wheels were dismantled and sent to Africa to help in the war operations there and the stations in the region were also closed down. Shri Antulay, who spoke yesterday, had declared in the Maharashtra state Assembly that he would be going to England to bring back to India the *Bhawani* sword of Shivaji Maharaj lying in a museum in England. I was also a Member of the State Assembly and I had requested to him to bring the wheels of the railway bogeys also alongwith the sword. Madam, this train covers a distance of 50 kilometres only but takes 6 hours to cover it. In this age of high speed vehicles, its speed is so slow that