

Reports of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1953 and 1954

MOTIONS RE REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES FOR 1953 AND 1954.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion on the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1953 and 1954.

Out of 10 hours allotted for the discussion of both the Reports about 5 hours and 50 minutes have already been availed of. The discussion will continue today up till 2-30 P.M. when Private Members Business will be taken up.

In addition to the substitute motions moved yesterday, the following substitute motions have been intimated to be moved by Members subject to their otherwise being admissible:

Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): May I know how many Ministers will reply to the debate?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): The hon. Home Minister will speak today and I shall be winding up the debate. I have requested Dr. Katju, also to intervene only for a few minutes. Yesterday a complaint was made that there was no sufficient intake from these communities in the Army and Dr. Katju said that he would speak only for a few minutes.

Mr. Speaker: That means three Ministers will intervene.

An Hon. Member: The Deputy Home Minister will finally reply.

Mr. Speaker: The main point is in relation to the time that we have and the time to be left for the hon. Members for discussion. I think the hon. Home Minister will take at least one hour for reply.

Shri Datar: He will take about forty-five minutes.

Mr. Speaker: So, the three Ministers together will take about 1½ hours.

Shri Bogawat (Ahmednagar South): Yesterday a number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Members were given opportunities to speak. Naturally there are so many other persons also who want to speak. Therefore, it is necessary that some more time must be given, so that we may be able to take part in the discussion.

Mr. Speaker: As I said yesterday, we shall see; let us watch the proceedings. Other Members might certainly give their views. Personally, I would be giving preference to Members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is they who have to express their views.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore): May I submit one word? It is now known definitely that the present Home Minister and the ex-Home Minister as well as the Deputy Minister will be speaking on this and probably between them they will be able to consume nearly 2 hours. The time that is left today is less than 2½ hours and the time available on Monday might be less than 2 hours. Within this time it is not possible to give the satisfaction necessary to most of the Members of the House who are anxious to speak. This is no doubt a special matter on which the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Members should have ample opportunity to speak; but unless there is co-operation from Members of other communities and unless they also get opportunities of speaking on these Reports, there will not be a real discussion on the floor of this House. Therefore, I have got one suggestion for your consideration as well as for the consideration of the House. Today we have got non-official business in the afternoon and as far as I can see there is nothing urgent about these Bills. If the hon. Members who have given notice for the introduction of their

Bills are allowed to introduce their Bills and the rest of the time is taken up for discussion on these Reports, then probably we will have more time. This is also as good as non-official work.

Mr. Speaker: The suggestion comes to this, namely, instead of taking up the Private Members' Business entirely, only Bills to be introduced may be introduced and the time allotted to the other Private Members' Bills should be allowed for discussion on these Reports. The suggestion seems to me a very reasonable one, looking to the importance of this matter.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): I have got two Bills for consideration today; I do not want that these Bills should be taken up. That time may be given to the discussion on these Reports. The matter that we are discussing, is also of a non-official nature. I, therefore, think that the request made by Shri Reddi, may be accepted by the House.

Mr. Speaker: There is a possible catch or difficulty in this proposal. It is this. Once Private Members' time is allotted to Government Business of the other type, I am not quite sure whether such demands will not be repeated whenever there is shortness of time.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: This should not serve as a precedent.

श्री अलगू राव शास्त्री (जिला आबमगढ़—पूर्व व जिला बलिया—पश्चिम) : यह बालन्तरी कट है ।

Mr. Speaker: Let me know whether the House is willing to this proposal.

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Even if there is one dissentient voice, it is sufficient for me not to allow this procedure.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): It is a dangerous precedent. If we are sincere, why not sit longer hours? We have been sitting on some days. We fully agree that this a very important debate. But, if this surren-

der business goes on every time, it may be difficult.

Shri Gidwani (Thana): It is a question of voluntary surrender; not anybody taking away.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: You may be pleased to give a ruling that this will not be a precedent.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): My hon. friend Shri K. K. Basu, is not pressing his dissent. He has also withdrawn his dissent.

Mr. Speaker: The Chair is conversant with the whole thing that is passing on in the House. I assume that the whole House is unanimous.

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: There is no dissent?

Shri B. N. Misra (Bilaspur-Durg-Raipur): It has not been asked whether there is any dissent.

Mr. Speaker: That I am asking now. Is the House Unanimous on this decision?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Is there any dissentient?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Shri B. N. Misra raised his hand.

Mr. Speaker: There is one. He has to be appealed to by some hon. Member. Does he press his point very much?

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Speaker: With the unanimous decision of the House, we might now make use of the Private Members' Business time. At 2-30 or whenever it is convenient, we shall take up introduction of Bills and after the Bills are introduced, again, we will revert to this discussion. The scheduled time is 2-30. Bills may be introduced at 2-30.

Some Hon. Members: At the end of the day.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: We may make the matter simple. There are only

[Shri T. B. Vittal Rao]

two Bills to be introduced; one by Dr. N. B. Khare, and the other by me. I am prepared to introduce the Bill even now.

Mr. Speaker: The difficulty again is a technical one. It is not only for one occasion that we do things. Whatever we do acts as a precedent. It is better not to touch the time allotted to Private Members' business. We will take up the matter at 2-30. There is also the report about the allotment of time to the Private Members' business. That also may be taken up at that time. It is only formal business.

Shri S. C. Samanta (Tamluk): Private Members' Bills may be introduced.

Mr. Speaker: That is what I said.

Dr. Satyawadi (Karnal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954, recommends that—

(a) a Harijan Rehabilitation Finance Corporation be established to help the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people to build up their economic condition;

(b) a directive should be issued to the Ministers both in the Centre and in the States and other high officers to make it a point to stay in the Harijan Colonies when they are out on tour to make the anti-untouchability campaign a success and have an idea of their problems."

Shri Ajit Singh (Kapurthala—Bhatinda—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered

the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954, recommends that the Commissioner's Report for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should include the following information:

(a) Total posts of each category and class in Government service.

(b) No. of posts reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates.

(c) No. of posts actually intimated to the Regional Employment Exchanges.

(d) No. of total posts filled.

(e) No. of posts filled by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates."

Shri Naval Prabhakar (Outer Delhi—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954, recommends to the Government that a semi-official conference be called by the Central Government every year to discuss the problems relating to the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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

"This House having considered the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954, recommends that in case the social and economic problems of the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not solved, the reservation provided in the election for them should be ex-

tended beyond the period prescribed in the Constitution."

(2) That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954, recommends to Government to take steps to provide free compulsory education and legal aid to the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Mr. Speaker: Motions moved:

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Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): I must thank you for having extended the time for the discussion of this report which we had not the opportunity of discussing last year. I am also happy that there are some non-Harijan Members of this august House who

[Shri B. S. Murthy]

are anxious to contribute to the discussion of this very important national problem. It is also a very happy augury that Pandit G. B. Pant has taken over this portfolio. I happen to have personal knowledge of the sympathy of this great leader for not only the Harijans, but to all these that are in need of seccour. A proof of his dynamic personality has already been given to this House. The question of nominating a Harijan member to the Union Public Service Commission has been pending for more than 3 years.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

The previous Ministry could not take any bold decision about this. As soon as Pandit G. B. Pant took over this portfolio, he made a decision and a really deserving Harijan has been made a member of the U.P.S.C. I think a directive will soon be issued to all the State Governments that Public Service Commissions in the States should have a Harijan member. It is a question where not only has a thing got to be done, but you have also to make the people concerned believe that a certain thing is being done. That is very essential. The belief will come when their own representatives are there. This need has been there for long and assurances are there already. But, somehow or other the States Governments are not willing to nominate Harijan members on the Public Service Commissions of the States.

The Harijan question today has taken a different complex. My hon. friend Shri Velayudhan is anxious. Though he is short in stature, he is tall in his imagination.

Shri Velayudhan: (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Certainly.

Shri B. S. Murthy: But, sometimes his imagination runs riot. If he could wait for some time, he can understand what I mean.

I say that there is a different attitude to this problem taken both by the Harijans as well as caste Hindus. A caste Hindu thinks today that he is not responsible as far as Harijan amelioration is concerned.

Shri Velayudhan: Why?

Shri B. S. Murthy: You must ask him.

Shri Velayudhan: Whom?

Shri B. S. Murthy: A caste Hindu.

He thinks that he is not responsible as far as Harijan amelioration is concerned.....

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): Question.

Shri B. S. Murthy:.....whereas a Harijan thinks that what is being done is not enough. Therefore, there is a sort of a tension between caste Hindus and the Harijans today. The problem now before us is to see that a rapproachment is brought about between these two different sections who do not see with each other eye to eye.

An Hon. Member: Not all.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I am not saying all. There is a section of the caste Hindus. Especially some of the Ministries in the States do not see eye to eye with the Central Government as far as Harijan amelioration is concerned. A section of the caste Hindus thinks that there are poor people, there are illiterate people, there are unemployed people in all communities and all caste and why should the Harijans alone be given a special priority in regard to amelioration benefits. That seems to be very reasonable as far as that section is concerned. But, those persons who are trying to see this problem from that point of view are forgetting one thing that has happened in 1932. The whole of the Indian nation has pledged both in the Yerrawada jail and also in Bombay to see that as soon as Independence is achieved, all the diffi-

culties to which the Harijans are subjected will be removed, lock stock and barrel. This pledge has to be redeemed by all sections of the Hindus. If they fight shy of redeeming the pledge, they will be committing a national dishonesty. Therefore, the question today is, a caste Hindu who is opposed to Harijan amelioration work is committing a breach of national honesty and national honour. The pledge given to the Harijans must be redeemed. And therefore, all persons who are interested in Harijan welfare should look to the past when history was created both in Yerrawada as well as in Bombay.

Again, the second question is, the Harijan today is not satisfied. Every one is saying we are spending huge amounts, we are giving scholarships, we are giving employment. Then, why is he not satisfied? The reason is this! Previously the Harijan was not informed of his rights and privileges. Today he is conscious not only of his rights, but his privileges, and his position in the country. He thinks he is a free citizen, and the country must look after his welfare. Therefore, today he is fighting whereas in the olden days he was only asking for privileges. Formerly was only begging at the doors of the Ministries for certain privileges, but today he is asking, as free citizen of India, for his rights, to have full benefits of all the plans that the Government of India or the State Governments are trying to launch in order to rebuild India. Therefore, this tension must be understood both by the officers as well as the Ministers and Ministries and also our Commissioner who has to tour all over India, because once it is understood the remedy could be found out.

Again, there is one question which is agitating the minds of the younger generation of the Harijans as well as Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. The Government of India and the State Governments are spending lakhs of rupees every year towards scholarships and hundreds and thousands of engineering, medical and science graduates are coming out of

the portals of universities. It is a matter for regret that neither the State Governments nor the Central Government are maintaining any lists of these students, and whenever we put a question on the floor of the House as regards their employment, we are told that sufficient number of candidates are not coming forward. It is a wonder why the Government of India as well as the State Governments are not maintaining lists of candidates for whose education they are giving lakhs of rupees every year.

How many minutes more have I got, Sir?

Mr. Chairman: Usually ten minutes. The first bell is rung, but nobody sits down on the first bell. Two minutes more. The hon. Member started at 12-13, it is now 12-23. Ten minutes. But he is allowed two minutes more.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I thank you very much for the two minutes. It is a concession.

Mr. Chairman: There is no concession. If the hon. Member wants and the House agrees, I have no objection to give the entire time to the hon. Member, but other hon. Members who are anxious to speak will object. It is not I who am responsible for all this.

Shri B. S. Murthy: As I do not have time, I would like to make some suggestions, concrete, constructive suggestions for the Minister to consider.

The Government of India should see that the Harijan portfolio is given to such of those persons in the States who are known for constructive work, and then senior, sympathetic officers must be employed because only they can infuse confidence both into the Harijans as well as the caste Hindus. There must be a statistical unit in the Department of the Harijan Welfare, so that they can have a survey of physical targets and they can assess what work is being done. There must also be a group of persons for proper study and survey in all these departments, because so much money is being spent but no work is coming out.

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and everywhere there is a lot of complaint.

Again, there must be propaganda for anti-untouchability work, but more than this work I suggest that money be spent on educational and economic uplift, because unless the Harijan is made self-conscious and is given the spirit of assertion, any amount of work against untouchability will not bring any benefit.

Employment is also the crying need, but all the people may not be employed in Government offices. But, why not the *banjar* lands be distributed to them, and vocational training be given to them, and little loans for starting cottage industries be given to them?

Some time back, the Prime Minister said that there should be no slum in India, but today all the six or seven crores of Harijans are living in slums only and there is a slum atmosphere as far as rural India is concerned. The Government of India and the State Governments should see that opportunities are given to Harijans to come forward to live in the caste Hindu localities and have at least hovels to live in.

There must be cultural activity and community organisation which are very essential. Harijans live in communities, and therefore, each area must be given to a constructive worker and he must be in personal touch with these people.

The Central Social Welfare Board is thinking that the Harijan work is not within its purview. I think that at least the organisation of women and children's education may be taken up by this Board, and women organisers may be sent so that this Board may look after sanitation, cultural activities etc. of Harijans.

I do not want to take much time. I suggest that these things may be implemented so that by next year we may have better results, and the State

Governments may be able to give us better results of their work.

One other point. Many of the State Governments are not taking advantage of the grants of the Central Government because they think that they must contribute some percentage of the grants. Most of the State Governments, especially Andhra State, I know do not take advantage of the grants given by the Central Government, because one of the Ministers there says: "We do not have funds. Therefore we do not want to take the money and keep it here. Let it be left there." Therefore, this attitude must be again studied by the Central Government, and they should see that the grants given are taken and properly utilised for the emancipation of Harijans.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Perhaps the House is entitled to hope—though I am not sure what will come of it—that the new Home Minister will inject a new spirit into Government's work for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In any case, it is more than time that our attention is really and truly drawn to this first charge on the nation's resources and also on the nation's conscience.

It will bear repetition that the report of 1953, was rather desultorily put up for discussion at the fag end of 1954 and was naturally not concluded. In mid-September, we are discussing the report of the last year. I say it is not good enough. It is not good enough by a very long chalk, and I support Shri Jaipal Singh's suggestion that we should have a convention that we discuss this report every budget session.

The Commissioner in his report has repeated his annual complaint that the State Governments do not furnish him with data in time so that he can incorporate them in his report. I feel also that his staff is inadequate, and the Minister should see to it that for no fault of his own the Commissioner

*sioner for Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled
Tribes for 1953 and 1954*

is not disabled from discharging his onerous responsibilities.

I fear I must say that the Commissioner's reports and especially the description of his tours are somewhat uninspiring. I say this because I know that a report has got to be catalogic, it has got to be objective, but I miss in his reports that sense of urgency that must be in the work, and also, what is more important, that feeling of pride in our people and especially those sections of our people whom for generations we have considered lowly and have treated in dastardly fashion.

I say this because in this year of 1955, we have celebrated, if we care to celebrate it, the centenary of the Santal insurrection of 1855, where they showed tremendous courage in their fight against the British imperialists and their Indian subsidiaries. And we know how the members of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have taken part in our freedom movement. As far as my province is concerned, in the old days, in the tenth century, when the Pal dynasty came into the picture, it was those who come under the description of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes who created that revolution. In recent years, members from Midnapore district are aware, the members of the Scheduled Castes have taken the largest share in the national movement. We ought to have pride in these people, but I am sorry we do not have that pride. We do not have a consciousness that these people are the salt of our Indian earth.

I found many things in the speeches made by the former Home Minister and also by my hon. friend the Deputy Home Minister from time to time, and I have noted a kind of complacency. Dr. Katju, said many times, we have made substantial allocations for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. I have seen also that our friends from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have said, as Shri Barman said last time, that it was a

drop in the ocean. I remember, Shri B. S. Murthy said last year that it is a cauldron of agony through which these people pass every day of their lives. I have seen also a Member who is sitting on the other side, Shri P. L. Kureel, getting angry last time. I remember that occasion very vividly. On the 24th of December, last year, he said:

"I would submit that the Home Minister has always tried to give evasive replies."

And he asked:

"Do you want to see that the Scheduled Castes adopt the same attitude which the Muslims in this country adopted?"

Further, he went on to say:

"Every Scheduled Caste representative is not as domesticated, as humble, and as silent, as you see him here. Listen to them outside the House. They are as bitter as Dr. Ambedkar. They are as bitter as I am. The bitterness has been growing into anger."

This is the kind of way in which our representatives have expressed themselves. And why have they done so? The Commissioner has been good enough, and the Home Ministry has been good enough to supply us with notes showing action taken because of certain complaints made in Parliament. I shall pick out a few items. In regard to the complaint that the progress is unsatisfactory, Government have stated: "This is a vague statement" as if Government have to make a debating point against us. Are you going to score a debating point by saying 'You are making vague allegations'?"

We find further the statement:

"All the State Governments and the Central Government are doing their best to remove the disabilities."

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

Again, when the question of landless Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people comes up, it is stated:

"The State Governments are doing all they can to rehabilitate landless Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

This is ridiculous. The Commissioner himself says at page 39 of his report in regard to PEPUSU Scheduled Castes:

"It will be a very hard case for the Scheduled castes of PEPUSU, if they are to be evicted from the land on which their houses stand, or which they have been cultivating for a long time, because this land is evacuee property."

Then he goes on to say:

"Reclaimed land should be allotted to Harijan tenants and to agricultural labourers who will be thrown out of employment on account of some new legislation."

This is what he says, and yet you say that all that is possible is being done as far as Government are concerned.

There are so many other things that I could point out. There is item No. 8 here, where it was said that the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people of Bihar and Orissa were prosecuted by the Forest Department officials, and put in prison, when ever they went into the forest to collect certain things they needed for their living. The answer is:

"The matter has been brought to the attention of Government for necessary action."

We want to know what has been done. 'Necessary action' be belowed! We want to know what exactly Government have done in regard to this matter.

In item No. 13, we find:

"In the 1931 and 1941 census, a number of Scheduled Tribes were

enumerated as tribals but in the census for 1951 they have not been so enumerated."

I have read the report of the Commissioner's speech at Lohardaga or somewhere, in the course of which he had said:

"I am not going to rest till this anomaly is removed."

I have read also what the president of that assembly, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru had said. He said 'I am going to do something about it'. But I want to know what Government have done about it. Let us hear something about it. But we do not have the good fortune to hear what Government have to say about these things.

Then, there is item No. 18 which says:

"Powers given to the autonomous districts of Assam should not be subject to the overriding power of the Governor."

This was a suggestion made in Parliament. And the answer is that:

"The Governor, being the head of the State, exercises overriding authority not only with reference to the powers of the district councils but also with reference to the general administration of the State."

This is fantastic nonsense, as far as constitutional propriety is concerned. Here is a constitutional lawyer who would say that the Governor has no such overriding powers. And especially in regard to district councils, it is very important that the Governor knows how to behave. If he did so, we would not hear the kind of answers which the External Affairs Ministry gives in regard to the North East Frontier Agency.

There are so many other things. But I am sorry my time is limited. But I do hope you will give me a little more than the usual allocation. There are so many things which I wish to point out.

which show that Government's attention is not being directed to this matter in the way in which it ought to be done.

I would refer only to a few other points in these notes. There was one allegation made in Parliament last year, and it was said:

"Money allotted for welfare work should not be given to political bodies, and propaganda for the removal of untouchability should not be left to social workers who are only professionalists, and have no love for this work."

The answer is:

"It is made clear to non-official agencies at the time of allotment that if it is found that the money allotted for welfare work is utilised for political purposes, the grant will be discontinued."

I have heard charges—and I think Shri Jaipal Singh made a charge yesterday, if I remember aright—that for political purposes, these grants are utilised. I wish Government do more about it than merely giving some categorical denials, and they do something which would really and truly disabuse the minds of people who should be in the know in regard to this particular problem.

Also, I find that there was a complaint last time in Parliament about the bad administration of the hill tribes in Andhra. Here again we find the statement that attention had been directed. We do not know what action has so far been undertaken by Government.

I find also that there was question last year that there was a temple entry law in Travancore-Cochin but that the Home Ministry should investigate as to how many untouchables were allowed to enter the temples. To this, Government say, "We cannot do all that" Why cannot you do all that? Why cannot you find out how exactly this law is being operated? Do you not know that this kind of law remains

a dead letter, because of the obscurantist opposition in this country? If that is so, come forward with some statement, at least an admission of your weakness. Tell these people; you come and help us so that really and truly we can put into operation the Untouchability Offences Act or whatever other analogous legislation is there.

Now, the question of land is a crying problem. I have hardly and time to refer to it. But I find that in Andhra lands have been given as political rewards to those who are described very euphemistically as political sufferers, and the lands taken away from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been allocated in that fashion.

The economy of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is so dismal, and we know of the challenge of the North East Frontier Agency in particular. It is so excruciating to read that almost everywhere what the people need is drinking water. We talk so big about building this society and that society and so on and so forth; and our people need drinking water; even in the year of grace 1955 their representatives have to come and say, as they used to say to Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, "You are Kailas Nath, you are full of benevolence for the rest of humanity, for God's sake do something, and give us drinking water". We have come down to this kind of depth.

I find that agriculture-mindedness is something which it is necessary that we introduce as far as many of the tribes are concerned, as for instance, the Todas. But I am very sorry that it required the expostulations to the Prime Minister, of a Prince Peter of Greece or of Yugoslavia or of heaven knows where, to take steps for the continued existence of the Todas. I am afraid that these people are not congenitally anti-agriculture-minded. It is no good saying they don't know how to cultivate. That is why there is 'jhooming' in Assam. They do it because they cannot do any better. What steps

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are being taken to make these people agriculture-minded? There is no good in merely saying that certain forest laws have got to be put into operation, that the country must not be denuded of forests by these miserable Scheduled Tribes people. Teach them how agriculture should be practised by them. Give them all the facilities. I want to find out from Government what exactly is being done in those areas of Assam and the North-East Frontier Agency where 'jhooming' is in operation and where agriculture has got to be spread. I want to know how many mobile libraries have gone into those areas in order to teach people what should be done. I want to know how many films have been shown in those areas in regard to these things. On the contrary, I find in Tripura—an allegation has been made in this House—that lands have been taken away from Scheduled Caste people, schools they had started on their own initiative were being shut down because Government was not coming forward with the necessary assistance.

Now, in regard to the question of reservation of jobs, it is a dismal story. Except for Saurashtra, I am told, the record of almost every Government is bad. Saurashtra has supplied the ruling party with a President, and I hope that Saurashtra supplies the ruling administration with some desire at least to see to it that the directions in regard to reservation are really and truly followed. I have got references here which show how the reservation business is almost a fake, it is just not happening. I have got figures supplied by the Commissioner as regards the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the armed forces in 1953—and 1954—I cannot quote them because I have no time. But there is no change at all, no improvement at all. Why should this happen? How is it that in our Air Force there is no commissioned officer, no flight sergeant, no sergeant as far as the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned? Why should it happen? Some of these Scheduled Tribesmen are among the most wonderful automobile drivers in creation. Why in our Air Force are there not officers belong to these communities?

I have figures in regard to 'Unemployment' Exchanges—they are somehow called Employment Exchanges. The number of Scheduled Castes people on the register during last year was 1,58,224, and only 24,614 were placed in employment. As regards Scheduled Tribes, out of 17,806 who applied, only 3,277 were placed in employment. Why should this happen? I know of an instance where a Scheduled Tribe student from near Shri Jaipal Singh's area got a first class degree, and he went from pillar to post, and then he took a job as a teacher in a college. You all know—my hon. friend is nodding—he knows the treatment that is given by the Education Ministry; he knows what the position of a teacher of a college is. And this chap, this young fellow, with real equipment, real brilliance, real capacity, does not get the chance of his life, which he is certainly entitled to. All these cases are there. All these things happen because we do not have that quality of sympathy and understanding, not mere superior-minded benevolence towards the lowly, but real understanding, real sympathy, real fellow-feeling. We have not got that. If we had that real fellow-feeling—I know the Commissioner has done very good work with Thakkar Bapa; I know at the same time, that the headquarters of those who are operating these provisions for the tribal people are in places like Shillong or Visakhapatnam while hundreds of miles away are the tribal areas—why should this happen? I want to know from Government—I am very sorry that the Home Minister, Pandit Pant is not here; possibly there must be some plausible reason for his absence—about this. You know very well that specially in the tribal areas there are chauvinists who want to wean them

away from Indian loyalty; you know it very well. What are you going to do about it? What is your policy? You won't get the allegiance of the tribal people to the Indian Union merely by mouthing platitudes. You have to work, concretely work, and you have to really show objective recognition of their rights. Here is the States Reorganisation Commission going all over the place, possibly producing a mouse—I do not know, it may produce an elephant. But anyhow, what is the Government going to do about it? Why not think of some idea of autonomy? Why can't you carefully devise a system of autonomous regions for certain tribal belts. You may say 'this is a very tall order: I can't give you an answer', but tell me that you are going to consider this matter; tell me that in certain areas of our country where these tribals live in compact areas of regions, you are going to extend certain autonomous rights. Because otherwise, they are completely at the mercy of the majority who have been so long ruling the roost, who will continue to exploit them under the mask of honeyed words, sympathy and kindness and benevolence and all the rest. This is a policy on which I want Government to make up its mind. I know that it is a very tall order....

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

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I will try to finish in three minutes' time.

I know it is a tall order, because I remember a little over two years ago the late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee made a suggestion, which was commended last year by my friend, Shri N. C. Chatterjee—it was also highly appreciated by the Commissioner in his Report—which was this. Why not have an all-parties commission which will undertake a tour of all these areas for about two months? Why not make an all-out effort? I do not believe in do-goodery. I do not really think that that kind of going from place to place will do the trick

But it is a beginning; there is no doubt about it. It is a very good gesture. Government has done nothing about it so far. The Commissioner has expressed his regret that there is no enthusiasm as far as non-officials are concerned? How could there be enthusiasm? We do not even have a Standing Committee of Members of Parliament to look into this matter. We have no provision, as far as the tribal people are concerned, for a special cadre for the tribal tracts. Why don't we have the provision of a special allowance for those of our young people who learn the tribal languages and go and live there, if they are enthusiastic about it? Why don't we have a special University for the different tribes who inhabit our country, as they have in China? I have not been there. I am told there is a special University there for the different tribes who live there. On the contrary, we find the Home Ministry treating the movement in Manipur and the movement in Tripura with a kind of callousness which should be condemned in the strongest possible terms, particularly when we are discussing this matter.

The Commissioner has regretted that in the Gandhian days we had enthusiasm; now we have not got enthusiasm. How do you whip up enthusiasm? Nobody can do it merely by moral exhortation. Why are the Christian missionaries enthusiastic? Because they have an idea. And you have to have an idea; you have to have an idea that we are going to say good-bye to all that has been done so far in regard to looking down upon the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I say, Sir, that not even the ablest apologist, would succeed in explaining away the fatalism with which the law of karma has permeated our society, and the results of that we find in the treatment of this problem. All effort at social regeneration has been balked for centuries by the facile and pathetic hope of a life beyond death which will somehow compensate for the sorrows of this existence. And for centuries our sul-

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tural leaders have had the infernal effrontery to call a section of our fellow-human beings untouchable, some of them deemed so lowly that even their shadow would pollute the path of a bloated Brahmin. This has gone on for too many years. Now, our people have tried to compensate for it by finding a new name for them, 'Harijans'—the people of God. If you like that designation, I won't quarrel. It is for those who are directly concerned to say what they think about it. I do not know why we should call them Harijans and put them in a separate category, as if God has put them in a special enclosure so that God's comfortable votaries may exercise their philanthropy and perform their charity-mongering acrobatics by patronising these people. That is an idea which I resent, which I detest, and that is why I say that all our effort should be to treat these people as human beings with rights, with rights which they want to see achieved here and now. In a society where they have suffered, this is the perspective which has to be there. If we have that perspective, many of the problems will melt away like darkness dispelled by the morning sun. Therefore, all our difficulties would go, if you get that kind of perspective. And I plead with the Commissioner, the Home Ministry and the House to have that kind of perspective, to have real respect for human dignity, to remind ourselves that these people whom we have put in a special category by calling them Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, are the salt of the Indian earth. And if we cannot look after them properly, not in a philanthropic, condescending manner, if we cannot look after them properly, if we cannot raise them to the level which all of us want to reach, then good-bye to all our hopes regarding Indian reconstruction and the fruition of our aspirations for freedom.

Shri I. Eacharan (Ponnani-Reserved—Sch. Castes): I congratulate the Commissioner for his bold and earnest

efforts to place the real state of affairs of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes before the Parliament. The Commissioner has pointed out that the State Governments and the Central Ministries are not furnishing the required particulars regarding the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is rather pitiable. The Home Ministry should take necessary action in this respect to give all the particulars to the Commissioner. As the State Governments are the executive authorities for implementing the schemes formulated by the Centre as well as the States, the delay in the implementation is not pardonable. Moreover, the delay in the execution of the welfare schemes should be viewed seriously.

There are some improvements in the matter of education, but the other problems such as the economic problem, social injustice and other forms of exploitations are still there without any change. To raise the social status of these people, their economic conditions will have to be improved. This aspect of the problem requires immediate attention. To achieve this, provision should be made in the Second Five Year Plan.

So far as the removal of social disabilities are concerned, the executive authorities have to take a lot of interest. It is true that Harijans are not exercising their rights to get rid of the social injustices. This is due to their ignorance and poor financial circumstances. Whenever there are occasions for these people to approach the executive authorities for the redress of their grievances, the authorities should view them impartially and should encourage them to get their rights established and receive justice.

As regards the employment position, there is unemployment among the educated Harijans. This is not due to a higher percentage of education but due to the fact that the reserved quota of appointments is not given to them properly. As regards reservation in

the railways—the railways are the biggest employer in the country—they reserve a quota but while filling up the posts they are not taking proper interest or care. As regards the conditions in my part of the country, which is known as the Part of Southern Railway Division of Malabar District, continuously for three years they have not notified even a single vacancy to the Malabar Employment Exchange or any of the neighbouring Exchanges. I contacted the Regional Director of Employment Exchanges and enquired about this matter. He informed me that only 20 per cent. of the quota was intimated to the Employment Exchanges and 80 per cent. was recruited directly by the Ministry. Since three years not even a single Harijan candidate has been recruited from the Malabar District.

Coming to the other problems in Malabar District of Madras State, the most pressing one is about the provision of houses. In this connection I invite your attention to the remarks made by the Commissioner in his Report for 1951—page 19. He has stated that about 60,000 Scheduled Castes people in Malabar are doing agricultural labour under semi-slavish conditions in the fields of landlords to whom they are indebted and have no house sites of their own. Government should extend to them the scheme for allotting house sites sanctioned for the other districts." Actually, the scheme has been sanctioned, but it has not been executed so far. And the pretext given is that the officers in charge of this department were under the impression that the Malabar Tenancy Act, would give protection to the house site holders and safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. The Commissioner has quoted the relevant portions on page 133 of his Report for 1954.

The Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929, as amended, which applies to the District of Malabar and certain other portions of Nilgiris and South Kanara Districts, has a special feature of granting fixity of tenure to the tenants of *kudiyiruppu*—homesteads—with a right of purchase after ten years'

continuous occupation and in regard to huts known as *kudikidappu* and protected *ulkudies*—that is, *ulkudies* of one year's standing—occupied by agricultural and other workers, the vast majority of whom are drawn from Scheduled Castes. The State Government also propose utilising a portion of the Central grant for the removal of untouchability, for assisting the Harijans in constructing their houses. This Government have no other proposal to grant subsidies or loans to these people for the purpose.

Even now there are evictions, though the Tenancy Act is in force. The Revenue Board and the Advocate General of Madras have expressed their opinion that the *kudikidappu* holders have no claim if the hut is removed. Moreover, if the *jenmy* has filed an eviction suit, then the householder, that is the Harijan, should prove according to the Evidence Act that the house site is his own, for which there is no written record except the fact that he was possessing the house and the house site for a number of years. In the circumstances the Act does not give any protection to the house-holders. I, therefore, submit that the State Government may be advised to amend the Act suitably to protect the house-holders from eviction from their houses.

You know that there are provisions for giving loans for constructing houses in the community project areas. But in my constituency, that is Palghat in Malabar District, this benefit has not come to the Harijans on account of the following grounds. First of all, the Harijans have no houses sites of their own. Another difficulty is that there is no rich man or any person to stand surety for the amount applied for. All the rich people are only for extracting work from the Harijans and for exploiting them. And then, due to their low income, their repaying capacity is very poor. Due to all these things the authorities are not granting any loans to them. This being the position, I request the Central Government to make provision for housing schemes whereby the Harijan

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house-holders may be given grants to construct houses. And the Government should see that the amounts are spent for this purpose alone.

Another point I want to bring to the notice of the House is that the majority of agricultural labourers are Harijans. Their income and facilities are very low when compared with factory workers. The Minimum Wages Act has not been passed in the Madras State on the ground that they are not organised and that the provisions of the Act cannot be enforced. Now there are demands from the agricultural workers for fair wages, and in this connection some troubles are taking place. In my part of the country cultivation is being done by hired labour. The tenant is only a middleman to exploit the benefits. In the State, legislation has been passed to reduce the rent, allowing the increased cultivation expenses and marginal profits. But the benefit has not been passed to the agricultural labourers who are actually the workers who are producing the wealth for the middlemen. This cannot be allowed to continue any longer. I therefore, request the Government to take necessary steps to pass the Agricultural Minimum Wages Act as early as possible.

The Commissioner in his report has stated that government lands have been leased out to Harijans wherever land is available. But the allotment of lands leased out to Harijans in my part of the country is very meagre. There are large areas of land available under the Hindu religious and charitable endowments. These endowments are managed by the Government, and all these lands are leased out only to the other community people. Not even a single Harijan has benefited by this. So the Central Government can direct the state Government to make the necessary provision in the Act to lease out at least 50 per cent of these lands to the Scheduled Caste people.

Another point that I want to submit before the House is that the Com-

missioner has stated that the Madras Government could not spend the amount allotted, on the ground that fifty per cent. has to be spent by the Madras Government and fifty per cent. by the Central Government. I, therefore, submit that the Central Government may grant 75 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. as at present to the State Government, so that they might be able to utilise it and spend for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes.

1 P.M.

Another point. The note circulated to us, in item 60 states that 'in Palghat Taluk, there are about 25 Brahman gramas (villages) through which no Pariah or Pulaya or Ishivas is allowed to pass. This matter has been brought to the notice of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for necessary action'. I should like to know what effective steps have been taken towards this.

श्री श्री० एन० राजभोज : यह बड़ा सन्तोष का विषय है कि हमारे स्टेट्यूल कास्ट कमिश्नर साहब ने काफी कष्ट उठा कर सन् ५२ और ५४ की रिपोर्ट्स तैयार कीं और आज सदन में उन पर बहस चल रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन रिपोर्टों में कई उपयोगी सुझाव उन्होंने सरकार को दिये हैं और मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि अगर सरकार द्वारा वह मंजूर कर लिये जाते हैं तो हम अच्छे भाइयों का इस देश में काफी कल्याण हो जायगा और हमारी गिनी हुई अवस्था सुधर जायगी।

मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि हमारे द्वारा साहब और पंत जी अच्छाई के उद्धार के लिये आवश्यक आदेश जारी करेंगे और मैं जानता हूँ कि उनके मंत्रालय ने इस विषय में राज्य सरकारों को आदेश भेजे भी हैं लेकिन कीठनाई यह है कि वे आदेश सिर्फ लिखा पढ़ी तक ही सीमित रह जाते हैं और उन पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है। मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाऊंगा और चाहूंगा कि वह ऐसी व्यवस्था करें ताकि जो वे आदेश यहां

गन्टर से जारी करें, उन पर विभिन्न राज्यों में अमल हो। इसके लिए मैं राज्य सरकारों या केन्द्र की सरकारों को कसूरवार नहीं ठहराता क्योंकि उनका काम तो आदेश जारी करना होता है जो कि वे कर रही हैं लेकिन दोष अधिकारियों का है जिनके कि उत्तर इस काम की जिम्मेदारी होती है और वे अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करते।

जहां तक सर्विस के ताल्लुक है मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि हरिजनों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा उनमें भरना चाहिए और इसके लिए सर्विस सम्बन्धी नियमों में भी छद्दीली करने की आवश्यकता है। केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारों को अपने अधिकारियों को इसके लिए हिदायत कर देनी चाहिए कि हरिजनों को नौकरियों में भरती करते समय जो भी भरती के नियम और पाबंदियां हों उनको नर्म कर देना चाहिए ताकि वे अधिक से अधिक संख्या में नौकरियां पा सकें। हरिजनों के लिए उत्तम स्ट्रिक्ट कानून सर्विस के नहीं होने चाहिये जितने कि सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के लिए होते हैं। अब जहां तक एफिशियेंसी का सम्बन्ध है मैं इसकी आवश्यकता महसूस करता हूं और मैं भी चाहता हूं कि हमारे सरकारी कार्यालयों में एफिशियेंसी रहे और काम योग्यतापूर्वक हो और मुझे पूरा भरोसा है कि मौका मिलने पर हमारे हरिजन भाई वैसे ही योग्यता दिखाएंगे जैसी कि सवर्ण लोग दिखाताते हैं लेकिन उसके लिए हमारे दलित भाइयों को चांस तो मिलना चाहिए। मेरा सुझाव है कि हरिजन उम्मीदवारों से मिनिमम क्वालिफिकेशन मांगी जाय। नौकरियों के विज्ञापनों में हम अक्सर देखते हैं कि उनके लिए ५ वर्ष, ६ वर्ष या दस वर्ष का तजुर्बा डिमांड किया जाता है, अब आप समझ सकते हैं कि हमारे दलित हरिजन भाई जो वहाँ से गिरी हुई अवस्था में रहते आये हैं, उनसे आप कैसे उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि उनके पास यह तजुर्बा होगा। हमारे जो नौजवान शिक्षित लोग हैं और बी० ए०, और एम० ए०

पास कर चुके हैं, उनको सरकार को जल्द से जल्द नौकरियां देनी चाहिये।

फारन स्कालरशिप्स के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि इनको बंद न किया जाय और हमारे भाइयों को उसमें चांस मिलना चाहिए। आपको यह बात ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए कि हमारी जातियों के लिये नया नेतृत्व होना आवश्यक है और यह नेतृत्व आखिर हमारे नौजवानों में से ही तैयार होगा, इसलिए यह और भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि हमारे नौजवानों को चांस दिया जाय। हमारे नौजवानों को उत्तम शिक्षण और टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग देने की सरकार को व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए और अगर आप यह सब करेंगे तो मुझे पूर्ण आशा और विश्वास है कि हमारे नौजवान आपको निराश नहीं करेंगे और योग्य साबित होंगे और देश और समाज का सिर ऊंचा करेंगे।

इनके अलावा जो हमारे अनपढ़ और गरीब किसान मजदूर लोग हैं उनके लिए सरकार को विशेष तौर पर सहायता देना चाहिए। जो खेती बाड़ी का काम करते हैं, उनको सरकार की तरफ से कुछ ज्यादा सहायता मिलने की आवश्यकता है। पहला सवाल ज़मीन का है। जो खेती करता है, जमीन उसकी होना चाहिये, यह सिद्धान्त आपने मान लिया है। बहुत सारे हमारे ऐसे लोग हैं जिन के कि पास जमीन नहीं है, उनको जमीन देना चाहिए। हरिजनों का अगर आप उद्धार करना चाहते हैं तो जमीन का सवाल आपको पहले हल करना होगा। हमारे भाई बहुत मेहनती और जफाकश हैं और कष्ट उठाने में कोई उनकी बराबरी नहीं कर सकता है। उनको जमीन मिल जायेगी तो वह ऐसी मेहनत से खेतीबाड़ी करेंगे कि आज की अपेक्षा दुगना उत्पादन होने लगेगा। यह सवाल सारे राष्ट्र का है, अकेले राष्ट्रीय सवाल नहीं है, इसका राष्ट्रीय महत्व है तभी तो इस ओर महात्मा गांधी, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, महात्मा भूतल कर्मवीर श्री शिन्द, शाहू कृष्णराव और महाराज गायकवाड़ आदि लोगों ने हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिए प्रचार और प्रयत्न किया लेकिन वह

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

काम अभी भी अधूरा है और पूरा नहीं हुआ है। अछूतों के प्रति प्रश्न किसी पार्टी विशेष का नहीं है बल्कि यह तो समस्त राष्ट्र का प्रश्न है। हम आधे दिन भारतवर्ष की अनेक पार्टियों को अछूतों के सम्बन्ध में बात करते सुनते हैं लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि खाली बात करने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है बल्कि जरूरत है उसको अमली जामा पहनाने की और लोगों में घुस कर रचनात्मक कार्य करने की। राजनीतिक पार्टियों को वास्तविक कार्यक्षेत्र में उतर कर काम करना चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे सवर्ण भाइयों का कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि अछूत जो कि उनके भाई हैं और उनके धर्म के एक अंग हैं, उनको गिरी हुई अवस्था से ऊपर उठाये और इस लायक बनाये कि वे भी समर्थ होकर अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें और देश का काम कर सकें।

हमारे कुछ भाइयों ने यह सुझाव दिया है कि हरिजनों को जो रिजर्वेशन मिल रहा है वह खत्म कर देना चाहिए, मैं उस से सहमत नहीं हूँ, क्योंकि जब तक अछूत गिरी हुई अवस्था में रहते हैं और उनका उद्धार नहीं हो जाता तब तक उनको रिजर्वेशन मिलना बहुत आवश्यक है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह जो हमारे कुछ भाइयों की तरफ से मांग की जा रही है कि अस्पृश्यों के लिए अलग बीस्तियां होनी चाहियें, वह गलत मांग है और यह स्वयं हरिजनों के हक में अनिष्टकर होगी धर्मान्तर और अलग बीस्तियों की बात करना निसर्वाकार का घातक है। अछूत हिन्दू जाति के एक अंग हैं और हिन्दू जाति से अलग होना मैं उचित नहीं समझता। हमें हिन्दू समाज में ही रहना है। शहरों और गांवों में सवर्ण हिन्दुओं की सहानुभूति प्राप्त करके हमें उनके बीच में रहना है। मैंने अपने संसोधनों में एक में शेड्यूल कास्ट वालों के लिए एक सेप्रेट मंत्रालय बनाने की मांग की है और दूसरे में यह मांग की है कि शेड्यूल

कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल ट्राइब्स के लोगों को सेंट्रल और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स की नौकरियों में समुचित प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाय। अपने ७ नम्बर के अमेंडमेंट में मैंने सर्विसिज में रिप्रिजेंटेशन के बारे में कहा है और ८ नम्बर के अमेंडमेंट में एक सेप्रेट मिनिस्ट्री के बनाने के लिए कहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से सरकार ने रणायजीज की प्रब्लम हल करने के लिये एक सेप्रेट मिनिस्ट्री बनाई उसी तरह से यदि हरिजनों के वास्तविक एक अलग मंत्रालय बनाया जायगा तो यह मामला ठीक तरह से हल हो सकेगा।

शेड्यूल कास्ट्स के लिए सर्विसिज में रिजर्वेशन होना चाहिए और स्कालरशिप्स और अधिक उनको दिये जाने चाहियें। साथ ही गांवों में हमारे बच्चों को अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा प्रदान करनी चाहिए क्योंकि जब तक हमारे बीच से अविद्या का नाश नहीं होता तब तक हमारा उद्धार नहीं हो सकता है। दहातों में जो हमारे खेतों पर लोग हैं और जो खेतों में मजदूरी करते हैं उनको धंधा रोजगार देना चाहिए और इसका प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए कि वे बेकार न रहें। हमारे अछूत भाइयों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा जमीन देनी चाहिए। सरकार को इस ओर अपने सेक्रेट फाईव ईयर प्लान में विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिए।

एक बात हमें सदैव स्मरण रखनी है कि धर्मान्तर से हमारी समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। अभाग्यवश जो हमारे बहुत से भाई ईसाई बन गये या मुसलमान बन गये तो क्या उससे हमारा उद्धार हो गया? मैं मानता हूँ कि ईसाई लोगों ने हरिजनों को बहुत सहायता पहुंचाई है और हम उससे लिए उनके शुक्रांजलि हैं लेकिन यह जो हमारे लोगों को ईसाई बनाने की कोशिश हो रही है, वह निन्दनीय है और उसको बंद करना चाहिए। उनके बारे में एक किताब 'भारत में भयंकर ईसाई बहयंत्र' भी छपी हुई है जिस

कहा गया है कि इसाई हरिजनों में से कितने इसाई हो गये हैं। क्या क्या काम किया है और क्या क्या बढ़यंत्र हो रहा है, यह तो सब ठीक है लेकिन हमारे भाइयों को धर्म बदलने के लिए बहकाना ठीक काम नहीं है और सरकार को इस पर कोई अंकुश लगाना चाहिए। हमारे एक बड़े नेता जिनसे आज मेरे विचार मेल नहीं खाते, वे बुद्ध मजहब अंगीकार करना चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि हरिजन लोग बुद्ध मजहब में आ जायें, मैं इसको मानता हूँ कि बुद्ध मजहब बहुत अच्छा मजहब है और उसके सिद्धान्त बहुत अच्छे हैं, इसी तरह सिक्ख धर्म भी काफी अच्छा धर्म है लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि हरिजनों के बुद्ध या सिक्ख मजहब में दाखिल हो जाने से उनका उद्धार हो जायगा हमारा सवाल आर्थिक और सामाजिक है और मैं उन लोगों की धर्मान्तर की नीति से सहमत नहीं हूँ और मैं उसको गलत नीति समझता हूँ। हमारी कोशिश है कि अपने हिन्दू धर्म को आदर्श धर्म बनाने की कोशिश करें और सनातन धर्म में रहते हुए हरिजनों में रचनात्मक कार्य करते हुए उनकी अवस्था में सुधार लाने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

मैं हिन्दू समाज और दलित वर्ग के कार्यकर्ताओं से अपील करूंगा कि वह हरिजनों के लिये अलग से बस्तियां बनाने की बात न करें। इस तरह से जो हमारे प्रश्न हैं वे हल नहीं हो सकते, इससे तो कटुता ही बढ़ेगी। मैं आपको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम हिन्दू समाज से अलग होना नहीं चाहते हैं हम हिन्दू समाज में ही रहना चाहते हैं। हम हिन्दू समाज का एक अंग हैं और एक अंग रहेंगे। हम ने और आपने दोनों ने ही मिल कर अछूतों का उद्धार करना है। इस काम में अछूत भाइयों को भी हाथ बटाना है और हिन्दू समाज को भी चाहिये कि वह हमें ऊंचा उठाने के लिए कार्य करें। धर्मान्तर और अलग बस्तियां बसाने की बात करना एक प्रकार से निराशा-

वाद की बात करना है। धर्मान्तर से हमारा प्रश्न हल होने वाला नहीं है। हम हिन्दू समाज के एक घटक हैं और हिन्दू समाज में ही हम को रहना है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा प्रश्न एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है। कई सालों की गुलामी के बाद हम को आजादी मिल गई है और यह आजादी तभी कायम रह सकती है अगर हम सब मिल जुलकर कार्य करें। इसके लिए हम सब को रचनात्मक कार्य करना है और अगर हम न इस कार्य को तन, मन धन से किया तो देश का बहुत जल्दी उद्धार हो सकता है। बगैर रचनात्मक कार्य किए हमारे देश का उत्थान नहीं हो सकता है। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि रचनात्मक कार्य करने वाली जो संस्थायें हैं उन को बहुत कम सहायता मिल रही है। जो पंच वषीय योजनाएँ हमारे देश में बन रही हैं यदि हमें उनको सफल बनाना है तो हम सब को मिल कर काम करना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम कोई काम गाली देने से, गन्दा बोलने से या बुरी दृष्टि से देखने से नहीं कर सकते हैं। उद्दरै वात्सनात्मानम्। अगर हमें कोई कार्य करना है तो हम को चाहिये कि हम सब मिल जुल कर उसको करें, तभी हम कामयाब हो सकते हैं। हरिजनों को भी चाहिये कि वह अपने उत्थान के लिए हाथ बटायें और हिन्दुओं को भी उनसे घृणा नहीं करनी चाहिये और उनको हिन्दू समाज से अलग नहीं समझना चाहिये। इस लिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जो एमंडमैंट मैं ने दिए हैं उनको मान लिया जाए।

अन्त में मैं एक बात कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ। अब्राहम लिंकोलन ने कहा है :

"You can fool all men for some time and some men for all time, but cannot fool all men for all time."

इस लिए मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

हमें इन लोगों को हमेशा दबाते नहीं रहना चाहिये और इन को ऊपर उठाना चाहिये और हरिजनों को भी ऊपर उठाना चाहिये अपनी कोशिशों से। जो लोग हंसते हैं और हेयर हेयर जिन्होंने ने कहा है, मेरे खयाल में वह इस बात को समझ नहीं हैं। मेरी शिकायत सरकार के विरुद्ध नहीं है लेकिन हमारे सामान्य को जो गलत रास्ता बताते हैं उनके विरुद्ध है।

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am very happy that you have been pleased to call on me when the hon. Home Minister is here. I share the feeling of regret expressed by so many Scheduled Caste friends, brothers and sisters, that we have been discussing in the year 1955, the Reports which were submitted in respect of the years 1953 and 1954. I can assure all Harijan brothers and sisters of this House that the Business Advisory Committee never obstructed the earliest possible discussion of these Reports. On the other hand, I can assure the House that both the hon. Speaker and the Members of the Business Advisory Committee all along wanted to give it priority. You know, as a Member of the Committee, that this is not in our province; the Government fixes the sequence and priorities. We simply allocate the time limit. I hope the hon. Home Minister will ask the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, who generally attends the Business Advisory Committee, to see that these Committee Reports are not shelved but they are brought before the House at the earliest possible date for discussion. This kind of a *post mortem* discussion after two years lends a certain amount of unreality and it is not desirable as it deepens the sense of disappointment of the Scheduled Caste friends.

I am very sorry that one of the hon. Members yesterday said that Shri Shrikant's Report lacked courage and boldness and it was very weak and very timid. That is not a fair charge. I have gone through the Report carefully and I must pay a tribute to the

manner in which he has dealt with a very colossal and gigantic problem. He has made a thoroughly good job of it. I find one of my hon. friends, **Shri Veeraswamy**, has said that the Commissioner has more than once pointed out that there should be some kind of a Ministry or something done for the special charge of Harijan welfare. When Shri Rajabhoj last year made that suggestion, I supported it and I still support it and if the Harijan brothers and sisters want a Harijan Ministry, we should not obstruct but we should support it. But I would appeal to Shri Rajabhoj and friends of his way of thinking that by itself would not solve the problem. There is a proverb in Bengal that he who goes to Lanka becomes a Ravana, and whenever anyone goes to the Treasury Benches, he gets petrified and looks after some other interests. But if the Harijan Members think that that would lead to the redress of their grievances to some extent, I would certainly support it and I think every Member of this House will support that demand.

I was rather perturbed by one fact to which the attention of the House was drawn by Shri Barman. He comes from my State and he is a distinguished member of the Scheduled Castes in North Bengal. He is a respected member. He has done very good work for the uplift of the Harijan brothers and sisters. In the National Cabinet which was appointed after the collapse of the Muslim League Ministry, to which the late Shri Syama Prasad Mookerjee was a party, he was a very distinguished member. Shri Barman points out that in 1954 and 1955, 171 Harijan candidates appeared for the I.A.S. but none was selected. He also points out that 82 came up for the I.P.S. but none of them was selected. It appears that some of them did very well in the written examination, but something happened in the *viva voce*. I do not know, but I would ask the hon. Home Minister to give an assurance to this House that he would himself look into it. He has not made any allegation of

partiality or bias or discrimination as such against the Harijans, but the real difficulty is the lack of educational facilities. The real trouble is that unless you educate them properly, they cannot possibly come up in this competition which is more or less on an all-India basis, and you cannot possibly ask the Union Public Service Commission to discriminate between different categories. But this is a matter which is rather serious and it has got to be looked into.

In last year's Report, the Commissioner pointed out that "Information collected from State Governments shows that there has been no appreciable improvement with regard to the practice of untouchability." That is a very distressing fact and I was sorry to read it. I am afraid the Commissioner is right in his observation: he has given data, facts and figures and has pointed out that while Parliament is talking very loudly for the weeding out of these inequities and communal disabilities imposed for centuries upon our Scheduled Caste brothers and sisters, in the Resident Magistrates court on Parliament Street just by the side of the Police Stations, Harijans were not allowed to drink water for the place where everybody was allowed to drink water. As a matter of fact, one day they did it and the police constables came and compelled them to pay a fine towards the cost of the utensils, etc., polluted by the touch of the Harijans who drank water. It is darkest under the lamp. Practically, untouchability is being practised with police connivance or police abetment in the capital of India. So, what is the good of enacting on the 26th January, 1950, that untouchability is abolished? It is not abolished until it is abolished in the heart and until it is weeded out from the mind. It is a gigantic and colossal effort. I belong to an organisation which accepted as its cardinal creed the eradication of untouchability. This was done by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Swami Shradhanand. That was long before the fast of Mahatmaji in Yerawada prison. In

spite of all that we talk, in spite of the solemn declaration made in the Constitution it still lingers. It still lingers due to Governmental apathy and the connivance of the officers who do not do their duty and also due to the lack of our sense of fraternity. Hindus must do atonement because for generations, for decades and centuries we have treated Harijan brothers and sisters unfairly. They should make a public confession and public atonement. Unless one approaches this colossal and formidable national task in that spirit, there is no hope for Hinduism and Hindu society. This should be completely wiped out. I do not know whether in my lifetime this shall be killed.

I was asked to broadcast in the London BBC when I was there a couple of months back. A question was put to me by one of the biggest Englishmen who was questioning me on the London BBC. I told him that I hope that untouchability will really be eradicated before I die. If it is not done, I would pray to God so that I may be born again in this land of Hindustan, but not as a Brahmin, not as a Chatterjee, not as a Bengali, but as a Harijan, Scheduled Caste member, so that I can feel and do something for the uplift of my depressed brothers and sisters. That is the way I look at it. I am very happy that the Commissioner has pointed in his report the real state of affairs. I honestly believe that the Scheduled Castes cannot have a better friend than Pandit G. B. Pant. A lot has been said against Dr. Katju. I do not think he was unfriendly. I ask our Harijan brothers and sisters to have faith in him. I hope that with his personality and great position, Pandit Pant will take some dynamic action to translate into practice the constructive suggestions which the Commissioner has embodied in the report.

What can Government do? What can police officers do? What can any governmental organisation do unless the whole country takes it up and there is a momentum? That is why, the late Syama Prasad Mookerjee stand

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

ing here said: "Let all parties take it up in a serious manner and let all parties be asked by the Government to form a united front for the purpose of galvanising the whole community to take up this eradication of untouchability on a national basis."

I may point out that four years after the Constitution was enacted and promulgated, in the year 1954, we passed the Untouchability (Offences) Bill. That was long overdue. I am not happy by simply passing it. I want to know from the hon. Home Minister: Is it being really implemented? You know when we passed it we abolished 21 States' laws because those States had laws which had more or less similar provisions and the Commissioner in his report was saying that most of them was dead letter. We do not want that parliamentary legislation should be a dead letter. I am, therefore, suggesting that free legal aid should be provided to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes brothers and sisters to help them in dealing with cases arising *inter alia* out of practising untouchability. I also want that the State Governments should maintain lists of villages and Government-aided institutes where untouchability is still practised and Scheduled Castes are discriminated against. I do not know why the Government says that it is not feasible or possible. I think that it is feasible. Where they are really practised, they can prepare a list. The Bombay Government have said that they cannot do it. I cannot understand why they could not give a list of places where they have got these terrible habits still. I also want efforts to be made by all agencies and people of all parties—religious, social and political—for a country-wide propaganda, of course aided by the Government, for the removal of this evil.

When I came back from Europe, I was told that Dr. Ambedkar had made a suggestion. I am sorry to say that that suggestion has come as a great shock and surprise to me. Seriously that great leader is suggesting that the

reservation in the Constitution for Scheduled Castes should be completely eliminated. I do not know why he is saying that.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : उनको कुछ मिलता नहीं है, इस लिए।

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I do not know why he had given this suggestion at a time when Shri Rajabhoj changed his party label and his black cap for the white cap. (Interruptions). But I am sure a leader of his position should not suffer from personal frustration and from a sense of disappointment and put forward a recommendation like that. He is the architect of the Constitution and he was the most vaciferous and loudest champion for this kind of reservation. Really something has been done but the entire leeway has not been made up. It will not be in the interest of the Scheduled Castes to accept Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion. I am very happy that Shri Rajabhoj had also turned down the suggestion which has been put forward for communal segregation of the Scheduled Castes. We are thundering against Dr. Malan and his policy of *apartheid* and whenever there is a Commonwealth Conference we always say that South Africa has no right to do this and that, she is misbehaving by sticking to this racial segregation. We will go down in history as an eighth rate nation if we impose any kind of racial or communal segregation. That will never lead to a solution of the problem.

We know what has happened as a result of the tragic partition of India. There were some people who were unwise to think that the division of the country on communal lines or religious lines would lead to the dissolution of all communal or inter-religious problems. It has not done that. I think it has aggravated the problem if you look at the millions of people on both sides. I am sorry that it has not given us a correct lead. I do maintain that the future lies; not in cleavage but in co-operation and

co-ordination. I would ask my friends not to plead for having Harijan Ministers. We have Harijan Ministers who are doing good work in the national cabinet and we are proud of them. If you simply say that you want a Harijan Minister to look after Harijan interests, then you make his position somewhat difficult and narrow. But anyhow, do not think of Harijanstan or take any such stand. It will be deplorable.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोग : कोई नहीं चाहता है।

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: If Shri Rajabhoj speaks for all the Scheduled Castes it is all right. But if he does not and if his ex-leader thinks otherwise, then what? A time has come to make a protest against that and I hope that it will never be tolerated. As for reservation in the service, that should be looked into. There is a continuous complaint made that it is not implemented. I hope the hon. Minister will look into it and he will give us an assurance to that effect. The other day Shri Kamath put a question asking for facts and figures as to how many prosecutions were made and how many cases police had taken cognizance of. We have made it a cognizable offence. We have practically done something contrary to the fundamental principles of jurisprudence fixing the onus of proof not on the prosecutor but of proving the innocence on the defendant. Does it simply lie there or is it being implemented? Is it remaining a dead letter or is it really an active piece of jurisdic thing which is being implemented? Rabindranath Tagore, the great poet who wrote *Jana Gana Mana*—the poem which is today our National Anthem, wrote:

*"He more durbhaga desh, Jader
Karecha apaman, apamane hate
hobe tader sabar sama."*

The great poet said: "Oh, my luckless country. I tell you, you have trampled under feet the basic human rights of millions of your countrymen; your own kith and kin. Therefore, I say you shall have to go down to that

depth of degradation." We have gone down to that depth of degradation. It is now for us to make a national effort, an all party effort, a conscious effort, and the whole of Hindu nation should organise and see that this blot is completely wiped out and this curse is completely eliminated from our body politic.

श्री पी० आर० बर्मा (जिला हरदोई—उत्तर
पश्चिम व जिला फर्रुखाबाद—पूर्व व जिला
शाहजहांपुर—दक्षिण—रचित अनुसूचित जातियां):
मैं सिद्धांत कास्ट कमिशनर, श्री एल० एम०
श्रीकान्त को धन्यवाद दिये बगैरे नहीं रह सकता,
जिन्होंने अथक परिश्रम करके, और दश के
कोने कोने का दौरा करके सिद्धांत कास्ट
के सम्बन्ध में अपनी रिपोर्ट दी है। लेकिन
मुझे अफसोस है कि हमारे श्रीकान्त साहब
ने हरिजनों की एक सबसे गिरी हुई जाति,
एक सबसे गिरा हुआ समाज की अवहेलना की
है, जिसे हम धोबी कहते हैं। उन्होंने इस
समाज की उपेक्षा की है। हम यह समझते
थे कि इस रिपोर्ट में इस गिरा हुआ समाज
की भी समस्याओं का जिक्र होगा, लेकिन
जब हम यह मांटी रिपोर्ट देखते हैं तो
उसमें इस गिरा हुआ धोबी समाज के बारे
में कुछ नहीं पाते हैं। आप जानते हैं और
समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में धोबियों की
हालत दूसरे हरिजनों के मुकाबले में ज्यादा
गिरी हुई है। वे इकानिमकली निर्धन
हैं। एम्प्लोयमेंटली अपढ़ हैं, और उनकी
सामाजिक हालत यह है कि वे अछूत और
अनटचीबल हैं। फिर भी उनकी समस्याओं
पर कोई प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया है। आज
इस हिन्द की राजधानी दिल्ली में धोबियों
की आबादी लगभग २५,००० के होगी, लेकिन
गरीबी के कारण दिल्ली में पच्चीस भी धोबी
ऐसे नहीं हैं जिसके अपने निजी मकान हों।
ऐसा क्यों है। यह उनकी गिरी हुई आर्थिक
दृष्टि के कारण है कि वे अपने रहने के
लिए कच्चे पक्के, टूटे फूटे मकान भी नहीं
बना सकते। न उनको इस दिशा में किसी
तरह का प्रोत्साहन ही दिया जाता है। आज

[श्री बी० आर० वर्मा]

हम देखते हैं कि तमाम गरीब धोबी यमुना के किनारे भोंपीड़ियां डाले, पाल डाले या टेंट डाले पड़े हुए हैं। उनका कोई पुरसा हाल नहीं है। बहुत से सड़कों के किनारे और धोबी घाटों पर पाल और टेंट डाले पड़े हैं। जाड़े की सर्दी में और गर्मी की लू में इनके अच्छे यहीं रहते हैं। आज तक उनके रहने का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है। एक ओर हम यह देखते हैं, दूसरी ओर हम सुनते हैं कि फलां जगह पर भोंगियों की कालोनी बनी है। फलां जगह पर महार बस्ती बनी है। फलां जगह पर मोची कालोनी है, तो हमको अफसोस होता है कि हरिजननों में इतने गिरे हुए धोबी समाज के रहने के लिए कोई इन्तजाम नहीं हो रहा है।

कुछ धोबी लोग सरकारी बंगलों के सरबैंट्स क्वार्टर्स में रहते हैं। उनकी दशा बहुत भित्री हुई है। वहां रहते हुए भी उनको विश्वास नहीं होता कि वे वहां रहते हैं। क्योंकि जिस वक्त अफसर ने चाहा कान पकड़ कर निकाल दिया, उनका सामान फेंक दिया। इसके अलावा हर एक सरबैंट क्वार्टर में रहने वाले धोबी को बीस रुपये से लेकर २० रुपये माहवार तक किराया देना पड़ता है और अधिकतर भालिकाओं के कपड़े भी मुफ्त में धोने पड़ते हैं। यहां के धोबियों ने बड़ा शोरगुल मचाया और शान्ति के साथ प्रदर्शन भी किया लेकिन नकारखाने में तृती की आबाब कौन सुनता है। यह है उनके रहने सहने की हालत। इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि आगामी पंचवर्षीय योजना में उनके रहने का समुचित प्रबन्ध किया जाये। जिस तरह से भोंगी कालोनीज बनायी गयी है, महार कालोनीज बनायी गयी है, मोची कालोनीज बनायी गयी है, उसी तरह से धोबियों के लिए भी धोबी कालोनी बनाई जाये और अगर ऐसा करना सम्भव न हो तो मेरा सरकार को दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि दिल्ली जैसे बड़े बड़े शहरों में जितनी भी कालोनीज बनी है उनमें कम से कम ५ पर सेंट क्वार्टर हमारे धोबियों के

लिए रिजर्व कर दिये जायें। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो उनकी हालत खानाबदोशों की तरह होती चली जायेगी।

आप जानते हैं सभापति महोदय, कि दिल्ली के अन्दर कम से कम ५० या ६० बड़ी बड़ी लांडीज या कपड़ा धोने के कन्सर्न गैर धोबियों ने खोल रखे हैं। इन लोगों ने जो कि पैसे वाले हैं, लाखों रुपये लगाकर ये कन्सर्न खोल रखे हैं जिसके कारण धोबियों का पेशा छिनता जाता है और बहुत कुछ छिन गया है। आज से कुछ साल पहले जब हमारे देश में अंग्रेजों की हुकूमत थी उस समय मिलिटरी और बड़े बड़े दफ्तरों में धुलाई के तमाम ठके केवल धोबियों को दिये जाते थे। आज हम देखते हैं कि ये तमाम ठके गैर धोबियों को दिये जाते हैं। उनके यहां हमारे धोबी काम करते हैं लेकिन उसका फायदा बड़े आदमियों के घर में जाता है। इस तरह से गरीब धोबी और गरीब होते चले जाते हैं और बड़े आदमी और बढ़ते जाते हैं। आज हम हिन्द में समाजवादी व्यवस्था कायम करना चाहते हैं क्या इसी प्रकार हम समाजवादी समाज की रचना करेंगे जिसमें गरीब और पिछते जायें और मालदार और मालदार बनते जायें। सरकार भारत में हरिजननों के लिए करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करती है, लेकिन दूसरी ओर हरिजन और शिखरू कास्ट बड़े जाने वाले धोबियों का पेशा तक छीन लिया गया है और रोज छीना जाता है। जिस तरह से ब्रिटिश शासन काल में मिलिटरी और दफ्तरों में तमाम धुलाई के ठके केवल धोबियों को दिये जाते थे, क्या हमारी लोक प्रिय सरकार के शासन काल में ये ठके धोबियों को नहीं दिये जा सकते? क्या इन ठकों के लिये केवल धोबियों से ही टेंडर नहीं मांगे जा सकते? आज तो हम देखते हैं कि केवल मालदार गैर आदमी फायदा उठाते हैं और धोबी लोग उनके यहां गुलामों की तरह काम करते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि मिलिटरी के और सार सरकारी

दफ्तरों के धुलाई के ठके केवल धोबियों को ही दिये जायें क्योंकि यह उनका जातीय पेशा है। पैतृक धन्धा है। और इसी पर अब की जीविका आधारित है।

आज सरकार द्वारा हरिजनों के अपीलपट के लिए तरह तरह के उद्योग धन्धे खोले जाते हैं—जैसे बड़ई का रोजगार सिखाया जाता है, रंगाई का रोजगार सिखाया जाता है, छपाई का रोजगार सिखाया जाता है, चमड़ा बनाने का रोजगार सिखाया जाता है। क्या इसी तरह से धोबी का काम किस तरह से आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक ढंग से किया जाय इसके लिए शिक्षण शिविर नहीं खोले जा सकते। शायद इनकी ओर इसीलिए ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता कि ये लोग औरों की तरह सरकार को अधिक परेशान नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि जिस तरह से अन्य पेशों को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता है उसी तरह से धोबी के पेशे को भी प्रोत्साहन और संरक्षण दिया जाय और इस काम को वैज्ञानिक ढंग से करना सिखाने के लिए शिक्षण शिविर खोले जायें ताकि धोबी लोग इस पेशे को अच्छी तरह आधुनिक और वैज्ञानिक ढंग से कर सकें। इस के अतिरिक्त जिस तरह से सरकार ने हाथकरघा उद्योग को जीवित रखने के लिए मिलों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया है कि मिलें केवल एक अमूक मन्थ्या में धीतियां और साड़ियां बनावेंगी बाकी हाथ करघा से बनेंगी। इसी तरह मैं मैं सरकार के आगे यह सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं कि दहली तथा अन्य बड़े बड़े शहरों में एक या दो से ज्यादा बड़ी बड़ी लांडीज या कम्पनियों गैर धोबियों को न खोलने दी जायें। इस तरह से हमारे धोबियों का पेशा बचा रहेगा और वे अपना पैतृक धन्धा करके अपने बच्चों को पाल सकेंगे।

मैं एक प्वाइंट और सभा के सामने रखना चाहता हूं, और वह यह है कि धोबी इतने गरीब होने पर भी, इतनी माली हालत उन की खराब होने पर भी, म्युनिसिपैल्टियों

द्वारा उनके ऊपर भट्टी टैक्स, लाइसेंस फीस और दूसरे तरह तरह के टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या और भी किसी दूसरे पेशे वालों पर भी इस तरह के टैक्स म्युनिसिपैल्टियों द्वारा या सरकारों द्वारा लगाये गये हैं? हम जानते हैं कि सन् ४८ के पहले किसी तरह का टैक्स धोबियों के ऊपर नहीं लगाया जाता था लेकिन आज हमारी लोक प्रिय सरकार के राज्य में लाइसेंस की फीस और भट्टी टैक्स लिया जाता है। वाटर टैक्स लिया जाता है, मीटर टैक्स फीस ली जाती है, सिक्योरिटी, सफाई टैक्स लिया जाता है और टॉल टैक्स लिया जाता है। इतने सारे टैक्स दकर भी धोबी काम चिन्दा हैं, यह बड़ा आश्चर्य की बात है। मैं सरकार से बड़प्पा के साथ बड़प्पा कि इस तरह के पेशा करने वालों पर यह सारे टैक्स लगाना अनुचित है। उन पर भट्टी टैक्स लगाना, लाइसेंस फीस लेना ठीक नहीं है। अतः मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह म्युनिसिपैल्टियों को इस तरह के टैक्स धोबियों से न लेने के लिए बाध्य करे।

मैंने आंध्र में दौरा किया तो देखा कि वहां पर धोबियों की हालत और भी अधिक शोचनीय है। वहां पर उनका कपड़ा धोने के लिए टैक नहीं दिये जाते और कई गांवों के धोबियों के लिए केवल एक तालाब दे दिया जाता है जहां कि सारे धोबी कपड़ा धोते हैं और जो कि बिलकुल नाकाफी होता है। मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि आंध्र प्रदेश में धोबियों की इस कठिनाई को हल करने का प्रयत्न किया जाय और ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जाय ताकि हर एक गांव में धोबियों के लिए अलग अलग तालाब हो। शहरों में भी धोबियों की आवश्यकतानुसार दो दो तीन तीन तालाब एलाट किये जाने चाहियें, साथ ही तालाबों के चारों तरफ कपड़े सूखाने के लिए जमीन एलाट की जानी चाहिए। जितने तालाब धोबियों को एलाट हों उनकी गच्छानियां भी उन्हीं को ही दी जायें। आज हमारे पास वहां से दरखास्तें आती हैं

[श्री बी० आर० वर्मा]

कि हमारे पास तालाब नहीं हैं और हम को जमीन कपड़ें सुखाने के लिए नहीं दी जाती हैं, जिसकी कि वजह से हमको बड़ी मरशानी अनुभव होती हैं। इसी तरह से पश्चिमी बंगाल में हम देखते हैं कि वहां पर भी धोबियों से लाइसेंस फीस ली जाती है और लाइसेंस का पैसा लेकर उनको धोबी का पेशा करने दिया जाता है। मैं पूछता हूं कि क्या यह अन्याय नहीं है? हम कोई रोजगार तो कर नहीं रहे हैं। हम तो अपना जो एक पैतृक धंधा है उसको करते हैं और उसके ऊपर यह लाइसेंस लगाना, मेरी राय में हमारे धोबियों के साथ अन्याय करना है। मैं अपने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिशनर साहब से दरखास्त करूंगा कि जब अगली मर्तबा वह अपनी सालाना रिपोर्ट पेश करें तो धोबियों की भी समस्याओं पर सरकार का विशेष तौर पर ध्यान खींचें। जहां तक धोबियों के बच्चों की शिक्षा, दीक्षा आदि का ताल्लूक है, हमारा धोबी समाज इतना अपढ़ है कि मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे में शायद एक फीसदी आदमी भी पढ़ लिखे आपको नहीं मिलेंगे और जब हमारे बीच में इतनी अशिक्षा है तो सरकारी नौकरियों में हमारा प्रतिनिधित्व हो ही क्या सकता है। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि समस्त धोबी जाति के लड़कों को निःशुल्क शिक्षा दी जाय, और अनिवार्य रूप से दी जाय। उनको आगे पढ़ने के लिये अनिवार्य रूप से छात्रवृत्तियां भी दी जायें।

मैं सरकार से यह भी अनुरोध करूंगा कि यह धोबी समाज एक पंचायती समाज है और इसलिए हर शहर में उनको अपने पंचायतघर बनाने के लिये थोड़ी सी जमीन और कुछ आर्थिक सहायता भी दी जाय जहां वे अपना पंचायतघर बना कर अपने सामाजिक तथा पंचायती कार्य कर सकें। मुझे आशा है कि भारत सरकार प्रत्येक राज्य को इस सम्बन्ध में यथोचित आज्ञा यथा शीघ्र जारी करने की कृपा करेगी।

जब तक धोबियों के मकानों का कोई इन्तजाम न हो सके और उनकी कालोनीज न बन सकें। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब और दातार साहब से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि तब तक के लिए उनके बास्ते कोई दूसरा इंतजाम करें। मैं ने सुना है कि दिल्ली की जेल यहां से दूर जगह पर जा रही है, इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि तब तक के लिए दिल्ली जेल धोबियों के लिए एलाट कर दी जाय क्योंकि वहां पर इतनी जगह है कि मैं समझता हूं कि करीब ५०० परिवार भली प्रकार वहां रह सकेंगे। बस इतना कह कर मैं अपनी स्पीच को खत्म करता हूं।

डा० सत्यबादी :

अहले दिल का नहीं इस दौर में पुरसां कोई,
लिये फिरता है मताये गये पिन्हा कोई।

मैं बहुत थोड़े समय में सिर्फ दो, चार बातें अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। रिपोर्ट के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है और यह भी अक्सर शिकायत की गई है कि दूर से इस पर बहस हो रही है। इस विषय में मैं एक बात सुझाव की तौर पर अर्ज करूंगा। इस दूर की वजह से यह खयाल पैदा हो गया है कि जो हरिजनों की समस्या है उसको उतना महत्व नहीं दिया जा रहा है जितना कि उसे मिलना चाहिए। हरिजनों की समस्या इससे कोई दोस्त इंकार नहीं करेगा कि एक नेशनल प्राब्लम है और उसे एक नेशनल प्राब्लम की तौर पर ही लिया जाना चाहिए। आपको मालूम है कि पिछले दिनों मुल्क में अनाज की कमी हुई। हमने उस को टॉप प्राएरटी दी और उसको हल करने के लिए अपने तमाम जराये और अपनी तमाम तज्जजह लगा दी और उसको आलिसर-कार हमने हल कर लिया। इसी तरह से अगर इस समस्या को भी एक नेशनल प्राब्लम की तौर पर लेकर हम चलें और टॉप प्राएरटी के साथ उसके लिए हर बात पर जोर

एँ, उसको महत्व दें तो कोई कारण नहीं है कि इतना जोर लगाने पर भी हम अपने मकसद में कामयाब न हों। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिए यही काफी नहीं है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट साल में एक बार पेश हो जाय और उसके ऊपर हम दो, चार घंटे यहां बहस कर लें। हम देखते हैं कि इस समस्या के हल होने में बहुत बड़ी सुस्ती सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तरफ से होती है और जब सरकारी कर्मचारी यह जानते हैं कि आप साल में दो, चार घंटे पार्लियामेंट में एक बार खड़े होकर नुकताचीनी कर देंगे और फिर तो साल भर हमें मिलता है इस बात के लिए कि हम उस नुकताचीनी के जवाब में इन हरिजनों को सजा देते रहें। तो वह बात बनती नहीं। इसलिए अगर इस चीज को आप हल किया चाहते हैं और आप पूरी तरह से इसको अहमियत देते हैं तो जिस तरह हर इजलास में हम विदेशी मामलात, आर्थिक स्थिति इत्यादि पर बहस करने के लिए वक्त रखते हैं, उसी तरह इस सवाल के लिए भी अगर आप हर इजलास में समय दें तो फिर वह गाड़ी कुछ जरा तेज रफ्तारी के साथ चल सकेगी।

यह छुआछूत की बीमारी हमारे समाज के अन्दर घर कर गयी है और इसकी जड़ काफी गहरी चली गई है। यह बहुत प्राणी बीमारी है और दिलों के बदलने में देर लगती है। यद्यपि सारी बातें हैं लेकिन आप जाकर दंडात में देखें और उन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में देखें कि जहां अभी तक आपकी आवाज नहीं पहुंच सकी है, जनता को तो छोड़ दीजिये, मैं अपना तर्जुबा बतलाता हूँ कि अभी चार रोज हुए मैं अपनी कांस्टीट्यूंसी में अम्बाला जिले के नंगल पुलिस स्टेशन पर गया और वहां जाकर मुझे यह जान कर बड़ी हैरत हुई कि उस इलाके में जो पुलिस के दारोगा लगे हैं उन्हें सोमवार की सुबह तक इस चीज

का इल्म नहीं था कि हमारी पार्लियामेंट एक कानून पास कर चुकी है जिसकी रूढ़ छुआछूत बर्तने वाले मामलों में पुलिस को दस्तअंदाजी का हक भी दिया गया है और इसका जिक्र तब आया जब मैं गांव में कूए में पानी भरने के एक मामले में उनके पास गया था। उन्होंने सन् ४८ के एक सुबोर्ड कानून का हवाला दिया और कहा कि हम उसमें कोई दखल नहीं दे सकते। जब मैं ने उनको यह बात बताई तो वह कहने लगे कि भाई हमें तो इस कानून का पता ही नहीं है। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि उस कानून के मुताबिक जानकारी आम पब्लिक को कि अनगढ़ है, उसकी बात छोड़ दीजिये, अभी तो हमारे सरकारी अफसरान को जिनका कि इससे तात्लुक है उन्हें भी यह पता नहीं कि हमारी सेंटर की हुक्मत क्या कर रही है और क्या कर चुकी है।

एक बात छुआछूत के बारे में मुझे आपके सामने रखनी है और वह यह है कि पहले यह एक सामाजिक और धार्मिक चीज थी, कुछ धार्मिक रूप इसको दे दिया गया था लेकिन पिछले, कुछ सालों से इस सवाल ने एक इक्तासादी और सियासी रूप अखिलचार कर लिया है। अब दंडातों में जो छुआछूत होती है वह उस किस्म की छुआछूत नहीं है। अब सब जानते हैं कि छुआछूत के क्या माने हैं। अब सवाल यह पैदा हो गया है कि आज तक गांवों में जो जमींदार बगैर किसी के अपाब किए हुक्मत कर रहे थे, रूल कर रहे थे, आज वह देखते हैं कि एक नई ताकत उनके मकबले में उभर रही है। अब जमीन की बात नहीं कहते हैं। अब वह एक नए स्टाफ को तबीयत में लेकर उस छुआछूत के मामले को ज्यादा सख्त किए जा रहे हैं। इस लिए अगर आप यह कहते हैं कि यह दिलों को बदलने की बात है, दिमागों को बदलने की बात है और यह दिल और दिमाग आहिस्ता आहिस्ता बदलेंगे यह गलत बात है। मैं कहता हूँ कि दिल और दिमाग तो बदल चुके हैं

[डा० सत्यपादी]

और लोग इस चीज को समझ चुके हैं। अब जो बात है वह यह है कि एक नया संघर्ष पैदा हो गया है। इस लिए जब तक आप उनकी मदद नहीं करते हैं, कानून को सख्ती से इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं उस वक्त तक यह मसले इसी तरह से लटकते चले जाएंगे। ताज्जुब की बात यह है कि हमारे पंजाब के मुताल्लिक एक जगह यह बताया गया है कि छुआछूत को दूर करने के लिए क्या कदम उठाए जाएं, किस तरह से प्रापंगंडा किया जाए पर पंजाब सरकार गौर कर रही है, इस पर वह सोच विचार कर रही है। यह सवाल अभी तक अंडर कंसीडरेशन है और अभी तक इस बात में कोई फॉसला नहीं हो पाया है। मुझे हैरानी होती है कि जब हम ने कई साल पहले अपने विधान में यह बात मान ली है और इस को बुनियादी तौर पर तसलीम कर लिया गया है कि छुआछूत एक जुर्म है तो आठ साल से इस पर सोच विचार ही चल रहा है। यह भी पता नहीं है कि कितनी दूर तक इस पर सोच विचार होता रहेगा और कब इस चीज का फॉसला होगा। यही एक बात नहीं है और भी बहुत सी बातें हैं। सैक्यूलर कास्ट कीमशनर साहब ने हमें यह भी इतिहास दी है कि यह बात भी जेर गौर है और वह बात भी जेर गौर है और फलां फलां बातों के लिए सक्च्युलर जारी किए जा चुके हैं। इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ने के बाद एक बात का अंदाजा लगता है और वह यह कि कुछ कागजी घोड़े दौड़ रहे हैं और वह भी हवा में जमीन पर नहीं। कुछ सक्च्युलर जारी हो रहे हैं, कुछ हिदायतें भेजी जा रही हैं और काफी कागज खराब हो रहा है लेकिन कुछ कनक्रीट नतीजा हमारे सामने नहीं आ रहा है और अगर कुछ ठोस काम होता है तो मैं इस सदन में यह बात साफ तौर पर कहूंगा कि कितनी इतिहास इस में स्टेट गवर्नमेंटस की तरफ से आई है उनमें से ५० फीसदी भूठी है, और गूम-

राहकुन है। यह बात मैं ऐसे ही नहीं कह रहा हूं इसका मेरे पास सबूत मौजूद है।

दो साल की बात है पंजाब में शामलात दह जमीनों में हरिजनों को बराबर के हक्क देने का कानून बना था। जब वह कानून पास हुआ तो उसे सेंटर में भेजा गया मंजूरी के लिए। यहां से मंजूरी देने में आठ दस महीने लगा दिए गए। इस दौरान में क्या हुआ। मैं गेह तक गया। वहां पर एक जेल के अफसर से जो कि मेरे दोस्त थे मैं मिलने के लिए चला गया। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि अभी मैं पिछले दिनों आया था आप उस वक्त कहां थे। उन्होंने कहा आप को नहीं मालूम, पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने एक कानून पास किया है जिस में शामलात आराजी में हरिजनों को बराबर का हक्क देने की बात कही गई है और उस में उनको भी मलिक्यत का हक्क दिया गया है। तो मैं एक महीने की छुट्टी लेकर गांव गया था और वहां पर मैंने जमींदारों को बताया कि भाई जब तक उस पर अमल शुरू हो इस जमीन को बांट लो। अब मैंने देखा है कि कानून पर अमल होने से पहले सारी की सारी जमीन उन्होंने आपस में बांट ली है। अब हुआ क्या। छुआछूत के मुताल्लिक पहले सिर्फ इतनी बात थी कि किसी के घर नहीं जा सकते थे, बर्तन को नहीं छू सकते थे, चाँके चूल्हे पर नहीं जा सकते थे और अब मामला और हो गया है। अब बात इससे आगे बढ़ गई है। हम जमींदारों के खेत में नहीं जा सकते हैं, शामलात जमीन में जाकर अपने पशुओं को घास नहीं खिला सकते, वहां से घास नहीं काट सकते और तरह तरह की दूसरी बीमारियाँ हम पर लगा दी गई हैं। अब छुआछूत चाँके से निकल कर खेत में आ गई है। अभी जब मैं दूर पर गया था तीन चार दिन हुए तो पैंप्स के एक सज्जन मेरे पास आए और उन्होंने मुझे बताया

कि इश्तमाल आराजी जो हुआ, जो कांसासिलडेशन आफ होल्डिंग हुआ उससे हरिजनों को सब से ज्यादा नुकसान हुआ है। अब देखा जा रहा है कि पहले तो उन को मुर्दा जलाने के लिए जगह तो मिल जाती थी लेकिन अब मुर्दा जलाने के लिए उनके पास कोई जगह नहीं है। मुझे बताया गया कि उनके यहाँ एक बच्चा मर गया और वह लोग बच्चे को दफनाने के लिए जगह जगह फिरते रहे लेकिन उनको कोई जगह न मिली। बड़ी मेहरबानी से एक जमींदार ने उनको आफर की कि भाई मेरे खेत के इस कोने में दबा दो और उसने यह वायदा किया कि एक साल तक इस पोर्शन पर मैं हल नहीं चलाऊंगा। यही नहीं मैं पंजाब में कांसासिलडेशन अपरेशंस के सिलसिले में गया और मैं ने उनको कई बार इसके बारे में लिखा भी है कि फलां गांव में मरघट में मुर्दा जलाने नहीं दिया जाता है और कुछ किया जाए। वे लोग इन मुर्दों को लेकर कहां जाएं। ऐसे कई बाकायात मुझे मालूम हैं। फरीदकोट के करीब एक गांव की बात है कि वहां एक मौत हो गई। मौत होने के बाद जब वे लोग मुर्दों को जलाने के लिए ले गए तो उनको कोई नजदीक जगह नहीं मिली और दो मील जा कर सड़क के किनारे उन्होंने मुर्दों को जलाया।

क्योंकि टाइम खत्म हो गया है मैं दो एक बातें संबंधित के तौर पर आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं और जो मोशन मैं ने दिए हैं मैं आशा करता हूं सरकार उन पर भी विचार करेगी। पहली बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि हरिजनों की हालत में थोड़ी सी तबदीली की आवश्यकता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि कुछ हिदायतें इस किस्म की जारी कर दी जाएं कि हमारे जिले के अफसर, हमारे पुलिस के अफसर और हमारे मंत्री लोग जब दूर पर जाएं वे कम से कम एक दिन के लिए हरिजन बस्तियों में जरूर ठहरें। इस तरह से उनके

हालात में एक बहुत बड़ी तबदीली आ सकती है आपके वहां जाकर ठहरने से। जमींदार लोग वहां पर आएंगे, थानेदार वहां पर आएंगे, तहसीलदार वहां पर आएंगे और जिले के अधिकारी वहां पर आएंगे। मेरा तजुर्बा तो यह है कि इससे बहुत ज्यादा फायदा होता है। मैं आपको अपना एक तजुर्बा बताता हूं। मैं जब भी कभी दूर पर जाता हूं तो मैं वहीं पर जाकर ठहरता हूं और मुझे ठहरना भी वहां चाहिये। जब आप वहां जा कर ठहरेंगे तो जब दूसरे लोगों को पता लगेगा तो वह सोचेंगे कि न जाने कौन कौन सी शिकायतें उनके खिलाफ की जाएं तो वे भी वहां पर आयेंगे और जो ज्यादातियां उन्होंने की होंगी उनको ठीक करने की कोशिश करेंगे या आगे से वे वह ज्यादातियां नहीं करेंगे। मैं आप को एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूं। एक साल हुआ, लांड़ी के मौके पर मैं अपनी कंस्टिट्यूएन्सी में टस्करीमीराजी गया। वहां पर सरदार लोग हरिजनों की चार बकरीयां उठा कर ले गए थे और उन्होंने मारकर खा पी लीं और मौत उड़ा ली लेकिन उन बकरीयां की कोई कीमत उन हरिजनों को नहीं दी गई। जब मैं वहां पर जा कर ठहरा तो वहां पर थानेदार साहब भी आए और लोग भी मेरे पास आए। जब उन सरदारों को पता लगा कि एक पार्लियामेंट का मੈम्बर वहां पर आकर ठहरा है और कहीं कोई आफत खड़ी न कर दे और थानेदार भी वहीं हैं तो वे उन हरिजनों के पास आए और कहने लगे कि भाई लांड़ी के मौके पर जो हम चार बकरीयां ले गए थे उनकी कीमत तुम ने नहीं ली, उनकी कीमत तो ले लो और वह 50 रुपये दे देंगे। हरिजनों ने कहा कि यह कम है लेकिन उन्होंने कहा यह तो ले लो बाकी फिर देखा जाएगा। तो इतना असर पड़ता है अगर हम लोग वहां पर जा ठहरते हैं। इस लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहिबान अगर वहां पर एक रात के लिए जा कर ठहर जाएं तो लोकल अफसर भी उनको मिलने के लिए वहीं आएंगे और थानेदार भी वहीं आएगा, तहसीलदार भी वहीं आएगा

[डा० सत्यवादी]

और इससे और लोगों पर भी अच्छा असर पड़ेगा। आजकल क्या होता है। हमारे ऑफिसर साहिबान बड़े बड़े जमींदारों के यहां जा कर रहते हैं, बड़िया रोटी खाते हैं, उनकी हां में हां मिलाते हैं।

मैं आपको एक और बात बताता हूं। एक शख्स को इस बिना पर कि उसने ज्यादा मजदूरी मांगी एक जमींदार ने उसको चोरी के इल्जाम में फांस लिया। वह कई रोज तक फिरता रहा। वह किस्सा मैं हाल ही का बता रहा हूं, कोई बहुत पुराना नहीं है। जब मैं वहां गया तो उस आदमी को हवालात में बन्द कर दिया गया। मैं ने जब पता लगाया तो पता लगा कि क्योंकि एक पार्लियामेंट के मेंबर आ रहे हैं इस लिए यही बेहतर समझा गया कि उसको हवालात में बन्द कर दिया जाए। अब उस पर केस चल रहा है। तो इस किस्म की बातें हो रही हैं।

अब मैं आप के सामने एक दो बात रखकर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं। इक्तासाद। मामलों के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हम ने बहुत सा रुपया लगाकर रिहैबिलिटेशन फाइनैस एडिमीनस्ट्रेशन बनाई है। हम ने इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए एक कारपोरेशन बनाया है। मेरे खयाल में हरिजनों की सब से बड़ी मुसीबत पैसा है। उसको जमींदार से पैसा लेना पड़ता है। अगर एक हरिजन फाइनैस कारपोरेशन बना दी जाए तो इससे उन की बहुत सी समस्याएँ हल हो सकती हैं। उसको अगर यहां से पैसा मिल जाए तो वह जमींदार की बहुत सी पाबंदियों से मुक्त हो जाएगा। जो आज वह जमींदार पर डिपेंड करता है तो वह उस पर डिपेंड नहीं करेगा।

2 P.M.

हमने छत्तछात निबंध कानून पास किया है, जिसमें ऐसे केसब में पुलिस का

दस्त-अंदाजी का अख्तियार दिया गया है। मुझे मालूम है कि हर एक थाने के इन्सपेक्टर की एक रिपोर्ट मांगी जाती है कि १०६ के कितने चालान किए गए हैं और दूसरे कितने चालान किए गए हैं, वगैरह। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर एक रिपोर्ट यह भी मंगवाई जाय कि छत्ता-छत्ता के मामले में कितने चालान हुए हैं और कितना काम किया गया है, तो इसका भी काफी फायदा हो सकता है। १०६ में तो वे लोग काफी झूठे चालान कर लेते हैं। इस किस्म की रिपोर्ट से काफी फर्क पड़ेगा।

इतनी बात कह कर मैं अपना स्थान लेता हूं। मामलात बहुत ज्यादा हैं, क्या क्या कहें ?

एक चाक हो सी लू अपना गरीबां या रब, जालिम ने फाड़ डाला है तार तार कर के।

बातें तो बहुत हैं। कोई पहलू नहीं है जिस पर कुछ कहा न जा सके। इसी सिलसिले में मुझे एक बात याद आई है। मेरे एक भाई बता भी रहे थे। हरिजनों का मामला तो लगभग हर एक मिनिस्ट्री से ताल्लुक रखता है—हाउसिंग, होम, हेल्थ और लेबर, सब से उसका कुछ न कुछ ताल्लुक है। अगर ये हजरात यहां पर तशरीफ रखें और अपने अपने महकमे की तरफ से हम को बतला दिया करें कि इस बारे में क्या काम किया गया है, तो वह भी बहुत मुफीद हो सकता है।

Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik Central): We have stepped into the 9th year of our freedom. If we will look back a little behind, we will find that some progress definitely has been made so far as the conditions of Harijans and Adivasis are concerned. Even if one will carefully go through the reports, he will admit—everybody will have to admit—that from year to year some progress has been made. At the same time, nobody can deny that the problem remains unsolved as yet. It has not been solved. Now the time

*sioner for Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled
Tribes for 1953 and 1954*

has come, when 8 years have passed, to have some intensive drive with more vigour and speed with a view to achieve the object.

The State Governments and the Central Government have their plans every year. But, we find that the implementation is not very satisfactory. There are many cases wherein we find, at the end of the year, we are told that so much money was sanctioned on this item or that item, but it could not be spent. This is not a satisfactory position. This factor ought to be taken into consideration. I think now the time has come when we should try some radical methods. The present administrative machinery has also improved to some extent. But, as it is today, it is not capable of solving this problem with greater vigour and speed. I for one would like to suggest that wherever it is possible, a public worker should be placed in charge of the implementation of this special item. I come from a State which has done, in a comparative sense, much better work in this matter. But, even then, my experience is that the machinery through which we are required to get the implementation of these things is far from satisfactory. I do think that a social worker who has some fervour will be a better instrument for the implementation of these things. There must be some special machinery at his hand also. What is done today? For the Adivasis, it is said that so many wells will be dug, and so many communication facilities will be provided. At the end of the year, we are told that due to this reason or that reason nothing was done. There are some State Governments that do not press for grants from the Centre. If they press for grants and get allotment, there are many States in which these grants are not properly utilised. I do not mean to say that they are improperly utilised; but they are not utilised. With a view to improve this, I would urge upon the hon. Home Minister that a trial should be given in a number of districts wherever it is possible to

place a senior public worker, who has fervour for the special cause, in charge of the implementation work.

It was said yesterday by one hon. Member from the communist benches that to say that it is not an economic problem is not true. Nobody has said that it is not an economic problem. Untouchability is not the only economic problem. Poverty in India is the common problem of the masses. But, the Adivasis and Harijans have got two disabilities: poverty is there; untouchability is there. This inferiority by birth under which they are made to suffer is there. The problem of the Adivasis has got to be tackled on somewhat different lines also. They live in scattered villages. At least, so far as my State is concerned, what I find is that it is impossible practically for the present to supply them with minimum amenities of life because they live in places wherein there are 10 huts or 25 huts. There are no communications; there is no water supply; there is no medical aid. Now the time has come when we must have a plan. We must reorganise our villages. We must see that in a particular village there will be a definite number of minimum population. They should be asked to come and settle at a particular place where minimum facilities will be provided and provided with a target in a minimum definite settled time. That sort of reorganisation of villages so far as the Adivasis are concerned, must be taken up. That would give them at least the minimum necessities of life which they have been denied for centuries together.

We are thinking of village industries. Much can be done in the Adivasi areas. They are hard workers. They must be provided with all facilities and whatever plans we are going to implement in that direction, the Adivasis should be in the forefront so far as this matter is concerned. With the untouchables, no doubt, all the economic factors are there. But, untouchability is still there. In spite of all that we have done during the last 8 years, in

[Shri G. H. Deshpande]

a number of villages untouchability persists. I do not mean to say that we have eradicated it even in the cities. But, comparatively, in the cities the condition is better. In the villages, even as the previous speaker said, if an M. P. or an official goes there for a day, it is all right; they say, it does not matter if Harijans take water from the well. In some places, the Harijans hesitate to take water from the well. When we put the question, why do you hesitate, they say, it is all right in your presence, nobody will say anything, but we have to live here. The Harijans are in a minority in every village. They are poor and they are at the mercy of the caste Hindus there. In the villages, still the caste Hindus have social prejudice in their mind. For that, the only remedy is, we must have a special drive.

Many Members have referred to the fact that we have passed a law for the removal of untouchability. No body knows about that. I would make a suggestion. The main provisions of that law should be written on a wall in some public place in every village, in the vernacular language, so that everybody can read and know that this is the law that Parliament has passed on such and such a day. We are told that even in Delhi, among government servants, in the police stations, the Harijans are told that they cannot take water from the common pot. A thing like this should not be tolerated. Throughout India, we must see that any government servant who indulges in the practice of untouchability is removed from service immediately. There should be no mercy about that. I say that even if 100 instances of that nature are given wide publicity, this evil will be checked. I know there are progressive government servants also. But, most of the government servants are of the orthodox view. It is very difficult to implement our laws through them. We find there are several States even today where in public schools untouchability is being observed. There are several localities in several States

even today where the Harijan women cannot wear a new saree. These conditions are intolerable and we must see that the Act removing untouchability is implemented. If it is found that it is neglected or that some one was harassed but no notice of it was taken by the village officer, strict action should be taken against him.

I have to suggest another thing. We should now have a special drive for this, and see that all the States make it obligatory on municipalities and gram panchayats to see that certain definite things are done. It is no use saying: "If you come forward, we will give you funds. If you think proper you build these Houses." We must make it obligatory that every municipality provides housing facilities to a certain extent within two or three years, and that certain minimum facilities are extended by it. Otherwise, the municipality should not be allowed to function. No gram panchayat should be allowed to function if it does not discharge certain minimum obligations towards the Harijans. It should be obligatory on the part of every officer who goes to the village to go to the Harijan locality. He must have a diary in which he should record: "I paid a visit to the Harijan locality, and I heard their grievances. These are the things they said." Every social worker, every government servant, every influential man who goes to the village should resort to this common practice always. There should be mixed parties to which Harijans should be invited, and they should be allowed to take water from the well. If these things are repeated fifty or sixty times in a year, it will become the common practice. If we have a drive of that type, I have no doubt that very soon we will find that this age-old evil which has taken root in our society disappears. The roots are already shaken now by the great work that Gandhiji has done. If we have a special drive for five or seven years more, I have no doubt that this will be a matter of history. I request the hon. Home Minister to launch such a special drive throughout India.

Much work, as I have said, has been done, but luckily today we have a man in charge of this department who has a very big social status in the country. He is one of our foremost political leaders and if he takes all the States into confidence and launches a special drive, there is no doubt that he can create enthusiasm in the people who are in charge of the administration, and also in the public at large. If this is done, I have no doubt that within five or ten years to come, this will be a matter of history.

गृह कार्य मंत्री (पंडित जी० पी० वन्त): जो व्याख्यान इस रिपोर्ट की विवेचना के सम्बन्ध में दिये गये हैं उन्हें सुन कर मुझे सन्तोष हुआ। यह जान कर कि इस सदन के सभी वर्गों और सभी विचारों के माननीय सदस्य हरिजनों और गिरिजनों के कष्टों को दूर करना चाहते हैं, मुझे यह भरोसा हुआ कि इस सदन में हरिजनों और गिरिजनों के लिये जो भी योजना बनायी जाय उसकी हर तरह से....

Shri Veeraswamy (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): May I request the hon. Home Minister to speak in English so that we may also understand?

Some Hon. Members: Yes, Sir.

An Hon. Member: Many of us could not follow.

Pandit G. B. Pant: Most of the speeches over this debate have been delivered in Hindi, and I thought that it would be appropriate for me to speak in Hindi.

An Hon. Member: Give us a little concession.

Pandit G. B. Pant: But I am in the hands of the House.

Shri Veeraswamy: In the interests of several Members.

Shri Gidwani: Several Members of the South would like to understand.

Shri Lakshmayya (Anantapur): After your speech, for five minutes

you may give us a gist of it, so that we will follow your speech today itself and express our views on it.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I was gratified and to some extent reassured when I listened to the speeches of the hon. Members of his House which have been made during the last two days.

The condition of Harijans deserves the sympathy not only of every citizen of this land but also of every person who is interested in the maintenance of the dignity of man as such. In the circumstances, I am not surprised that all sections of this House, regardless of their own views in matters political, social or economic, are of one opinion so far as these problems concerning Harijans, Girijans or backward classes are concerned. We have to give our attention to matters pertaining to these classes not only because it is our privilege to serve them, we who had the advantage of enjoying the benefit of their services for a considerable time, but also because in the interests of the solidarity of our nation and of its consolidation into a very powerful State, it is absolutely necessary that there should be no weak link in our national chain. So, this question has to be looked at from a wider point of view. All of us have to consider it in a spirit which will acknowledge no defeat and which will go forward in spite of all handicaps and hurdles that may come in our way.

The Report of the Commissioner has been subjected to some criticism. The criticism was, I am afraid, somewhat ungenerous and uncharitable. He has tried to do his best in the circumstances in which we all happen to be situated today, and I for one venture to say that he has also succeeded in achieving certain results. The care which he has bestowed on the problems, manifold and varied as they are, from year to year has maintained the continuity of the progress which started on the day when Gandhiji

[Pandit G. B. Pant]

took up this problem and made it his own. In the interests of our nation we have to see that not a single citizen in this land remains weak whether morally, spiritually, economically or socially. Besides, we have now decided to develop our society on a socialistic pattern. That makes it all the more necessary that no gulf exists between any two sections of our large family of India. That requires that all those ups and downs are so adjusted that we may all stand not only on sound ground but on a common level. I would appeal to all Members to deal with this question in an earnest spirit with a determination to solve it as quickly as we can.

Some of us do feel the anguish of it that there should be still discrimination, that there should still be harassment and that there should be still some remnants of tyranny in villages and elsewhere. But we cannot let ourselves be depressed. We will go ahead and see that all these become things of the past very soon, and all of us move together as equals, as fellow-members of this vast, great, ancient India which is now a Republic. A republic cannot grow any sort of invidious treatment of a section. It demands equality among all citizens, equality in all other respects also, so far as circumstances admit of such equality.

The question of Harijans has received attention not only of the Centre but also of the States. In fact, all activities have directly and primarily to be conducted by the States. We can help them, we can assist them, we can sometimes perhaps stimulate and stir them, but for the most part, the burden falls on them. There has been occasionally some little delay in dealing with routine matters on the part of some of the States. Even with regard to this report, I had to request the States, personally some of them, to let us have the necessary information and figures. But that does not in any way indicate that the States are lacking in enthusiasm for the cause to which we all are wedded. Their

desire to work for the welfare and uplift of the Harijans is as keen as ours. I have come from a State, and I know that all Members of the Legislature there vied with each other in rendering the service which they owed to the Harijan community. So, we should not make any sort of deprecatory allegations against any State. Apart from other things, that does not help the purpose, which we want to achieve and to ensure, we can only gain by securing their co-operation and by enlisting their support in an active, quick and vigorous manner.

There has been some complaint about the delay that has occurred in the presentation of the report. I may submit that so far as the report of 1954 is concerned, it was placed before the House as soon as could be possible. After the year 1954 had elapsed, some time was inevitably taken in collecting information. The report was sent to the press in February, it came in May, from the press, and it was laid on the Table of the House in May. So, I think, from this, hon. Members will be satisfied that an effort has been made to expedite matters to the maximum extent possible. If further endeavours in this regard are feasible, they will be made. But I do not feel very confident about securing the desired results.

The question of Harijans is considered from many angles. I for one look at it more from the social or, if you will allow me to say so, the spiritual angle. Harijans need food; Harijans need clothes; Harijans need houses; they need land; they stand in need of medical advice, of education, of employment and all these things. We must provide all these, and make a way for these purposes. But above all, I want the Harijan to stand on his legs as a dignified citizen of this land, who does not look to others for his succour and relief, but who comes forward as the stalwart citizen who depends on himself and is determined not only to satisfy his own elementary

needs but also to contribute towards the welfare of the entire community. I want him above all to be a self-respecting individual, to be a citizen who is determined to do the best for himself, but who above all trusts that if one sticks to the right course, one will gain the end. If he follows the means that are of the proper type, he will not be left behind. Harijans may be well fed, may be well clothed, but if they have been deprived of the rights that a citizen of India should have, I would not be satisfied. I want to work for that day when a Harijan may even be seen as the President of India. That will be the greatest day in the history of our country. We will rise in the estimation of the world, and they will say that while America has failed to satisfy its problem of Negroes, Indians, soon after the achievement of independence, have been able to wipe out an indelible blot of centuries under the inspiration, guidance and leadership of that great Mahatma who continues to live in our midst even if his physical body be not before us. That is the objective towards which we have to direct our energies. In order that we may achieve that, it is necessary that there should be right atmosphere, and the Harijans should look upon the country as the one towards which they have to devote all that they have, not for themselves but for others. That has been their tradition, and let them not lose that tradition now.

We on the other hand have to work for our own atonement in a way. We have to see that we do not fail in the sacred duty that we owe to them. It is not a matter of politics. It is not a matter of even nationalism, but it is something higher than both. And there is an irresistible demand for the fulfilment of that call from the spirit of man which hankers after real equality, and genuine manhood. It is this which we want to ensure, and towards this we have to apply all feasible and suitable methods.

There was reference to the establishment of a new Ministry. If that serves the purpose of Harijans, I for one would have no objection. But it is not, I believe, the means for the achievement of our objective. There may be an occasion for it, and we may have a Ministry as soon as it may be necessary. But whether we have a separate Ministry or whether we have a combined Ministry, what is essential is this, that all of us should combine together to carry out this programme of the real welfare and uplift of the Harijans and the tribal people. If our programme is well laid out.....

Mr. Chairman: It is now 2-30 P.M. We have to take up Private Members' Business.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

THIRTY-SEVENTH REPORT

Shri Raghunath Singh (Banaras Distt.-Central): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Thirty-seventh Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th September 1955."

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Thirty-seventh Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th September 1955."

The motion was adopted.

MOTOR VEHICLES (AMENDMENT) BILL

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.

Mr. Chairman: The question is: