

Relevance of Parliamentary Debates in the context of  
Social Justice, Empowerment, and Development

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Rajya Sabha  
(1955-59 and 2003-2007)

Exploring the Politics of Presence in the context of Rajya Sabha

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Submitted by

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## Preface

Does representation really matter?

This archaic sounding question is still significant in the context of India's Upper House, the Rajya Sabha. This research paper explores the nature of representation in the Rajya Sabha by an interrogation of parliamentary Questions and Debates on marginalized communities, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs and STs) within its precincts. Generally too, the issue of representation is significant as is evident from the long term scare left in the wake of the Poona Pact of 1932.

The makers of the Indian constitution adopted certain enabling provisions for representation of the marginalized population segments such as the SCs and STs in the parliamentary democracy. Given their social and economic condition, it was assumed, it would be difficult for an SC or ST to get elected on their own if no special reservation is given. However, the constitutional provision for representation of the marginalized in the Parliament is limited to the Lower House alone. The Rajya Sabha has no such provisions.

How far, in qualitative and quantitative terms, this systemic limitation has informed the parliamentary debates within the Rajya Sabha, is the subject of this research work. In the absence of constitutionally assured representation of the marginalized in the Upper House, I explore if there has been any neglect of the issues concerning the marginalized in its deliberations and discussions? In other words, does the absence of members from the marginalized sections sent through the constitutionally provisioned process of reservations lead to their erasure from the debating concerns of the members present? Does some anomaly, some distortion creeps in, in the views of the Members about the SC/ST? Such questions become imperative, as while profile of the lower house has undergone metamorphosis due to infusion of members from lower and backward castes, the Rajya Sabha membership has remained somewhat socially conservative and elitist.

Why is this so is perfectly comprehensible, although theoretically perplexing as the electoral college comprising of popularly elected state legislatures that elect Rajya Sabha members itself has undergone marked change due to the 'silent social revolution' springing forth backward caste political leaders in hordes. One reason is, increasingly, richer candidates of various caste denominations are making their way to the elected legislatures. For instance, a study found out that in the current fifteenth Lok Sabha alone there are some 300 members from a total strength of 543 who are crorepatis.<sup>1</sup> Although, such studies on the State Assemblies are yet to ascertain their own crorepati members, given the cost of electioneering involved, they might not be lagging behind too far. It fetches to have richer candidates.

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<sup>1</sup> According to available data, 315 of the 543 MPs in the current Lok Sabha are crorepatis. They include 275 male MPs and 40 women, as per data compiled by the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR) and National Election Watch (NEW). There were 156 crorepatis in the 2004 Lok Sabha and the number increased by 102 percent in the present Lok Sabha. The average asset of an MP in the previous Lok Sabha was Rs.0.86 crore, which shot up to Rs.5.33 crore in the present house. 'MPs: Crorepatis or underpaid public servants?' [http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/mps-crorepatis-or-underpaid-public-servants\\_100420190.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/mps-crorepatis-or-underpaid-public-servants_100420190.html)

If that is the scenario in the Lok Sabha, then for the Rajya Sabha it is less said the better. Here members are elected from fake domiciled states of ordinary residences on account of their influences or monetary worth, political parties nominating candidates issue restraining whips to make the Electoral College fall for party-sponsored candidates, rich, business-people break all norms, buy votes and win by standing independently. Among the 183 Rajya Sabha MPs whose asset details were analysed by the ADR-NEW in April 2010, 54 percent were found to be millionaires. Most parties preferred nominating candidates with high assets during the June 2010 Rajya Sabha biennial elections, according to an analysis of the affidavits of 49 of 55 candidates. Out of 54 contesting candidates, 43 (79.6 percent) were millionaires. Of the winners, 38 out of 49 (77.6 percent) had assets in millions of rupees. The average asset for the candidates was Rs.24.45 crore, and for the winners it was Rs.25.24 crore.

So, in some such sense Indian parliamentary system constituting of twin legislative houses is increasingly becoming an abode of rich irrespective of their social profile. How much of it might get reflected in the tone and tenor of debates remains a cause of concern? In this paper, I consciously disregard the limitation imposed by the entry of rich members and explore whether members' socio-ethnic profile affects the nature of parliamentary debates in the Upper House. Or, are the concerns as expressed in debates go beyond the narrow boundaries of caste, class, creed, gender or ethnicity? This study seeks to intensively explore how questions and debates in Rajya Sabha have focused on SCs and STs. How relevant has been the debates and discussions in the Rajya Sabha in the context of empowering India's marginalized and vulnerable sections? The study had twin hypothesis as markers of departure. They were:

- (i) The quality and balanced representation of the various social segments in the political system helps in the establishment of inclusive policy, and its absence in exclusion
- (ii) The nature and concerns of parliamentary debates reflect the interest and social composition of parliamentarians

My research proposal that concerned itself with the Rajya Sabha debates during the two five year periods of 1955-60 and 2003-2008 entailed following research areas:

1. Questions pertaining to SC/ST asked by members in RS during given periods
2. Various Debates on issues related directly as well as indirectly with SC/ST during given two periods
3. Scanning through members' profile as published by the RS to know their socio-economic backgrounds and political ideologies

The idea was to explore if it is necessary to have a physical presence of the representatives from marginalized communities to enable their concerns being deliberated in the august body. In short, I intended to explore the 'politics of presence' by interrogating *questions, debates* and *political consciousness* of the members. In doing so, I kept in my mind, the greatest gift to the human mind, the power of imagination, and asked, while reading Members' Parliamentary interventions, if there were Members who could overcome the primordial as well as modern boundaries and could imagine pain of the other and produce empathy and empowerment.

In exploring my research hypothesis, I focus on a gamut of forums available to members to voice their concern. We are focusing on Oral and Written Questions, Government Bills, Private Members' Bills, Short Duration Discussion, half-an-hour discussion, resolutions, motions etc to comprehend the political mind of this country that functions within the

precincts of the Rajya Sabha. Questions and Answers Sessions is one main way of eliciting information on various subjects from the government sources. Questions asked in parliament show an important change that has occurred over the years. Parliamentarians enjoyed a statutory right over the supply of information. The government had to supply with the authentic information on issues raised by Members. Today, the same privilege, with some exceptions, has been extended to the general public under the Right to Information Act. This is a momentous change as right to information has been truly democratized.

The study collated and classified questions raised by the members, debates held across the party lines and responses given by the treasury benches. In this regard, our point of reference is two parliamentary quinquennials of 1955-60 and 2003-2008. Imbued with a comparative methodology, the study interrogates location of focus and concerns of debates with reference to vulnerable sections both in India's idealistic and immediate post-independence years (1955-60) as well as during the recent regimes (2003-2008) of the two mainstream political formations. It covers various regimes as well as periods of both idealism and cynicism. The study primarily depends on sources drawn from actual debates that took place within the precincts of the Rajya Sabha. The study has used recorded Rajya Sabha debates and discussion for classification and analysis of questions raised, ministerial responses, and debates held during the given time periods.

An analysis of questions asked in Rajya Sabha throws up following possibilities:

- Tables/graphs showing categories of SC/ST issues.

Nature of questions shall help in building a typology/classification of questions under certain marked categories; that is, questions can be categorized under heads such as education, reservations (employment, education, legislature), scholarships, atrocities, dalit women, untouchability, welfare schemes, land distribution, housing etc.

- Background of members who intervene

Socio-economic profile and caste background of members who asked questions on SC/ST issues shall tell us whether questions related to SC/ST affair is being asked mostly if not primarily by SC/ST members or it is the non-ST/SC members who articulate their concerns, too

- Political Parties and Parliamentary Debates

A political profiling of the engaged members shall tell us about their political ideologies as well as position of their affiliated parties vis-à-vis SC/ST

- Frequency of engagement

Frequency of interventions made by a particular member over a period of time tells us long term ideological positions of the member or the political party he belongs to

- Thematic Priority

Frequency of a specific question can reflect priority of a member/party; a recurring theme can reflect priorities and preferences of members as well as long term sustainability of the issue

Similarly, an analysis of debates in the Rajya Sabha shall throw up the following possibilities:

- Impact of debates on evolving government policies, commitments and institutions and their functioning; change and continuity in a particular theme
- Impact of debates on different party policies, opinion building at the popular level,

- Social history of certain issues such as revealing conditions in working places (mines, domestic works, factories, landless labourers), contemporary policy and programmatic interventions vis-à-vis SC/ST amelioration
- A peep into political minds, political biases, policy frameworks, programmatic loopholes, contemporary constraints
- Participating members and their engaging interventions could reflect their socio-economic profiles

The study is divided into the following five chapters:

**First Chapter** is on the Rajya Sabha. It is an introductory chapter that presents the case of Rajya Sabha, its constitutionally sanctioned design and purpose and expected outcome from its deliberations. This introductory chapter constitutes a necessary background to analyze the discussion and debates within the deliberative space of the Rajya Sabha.

**Second Chapter** is on India's affirmative policies for socially and economically disadvantaged communities as laid down in the Indian Constitution; the section briefly and succinctly presents an overview of existing constitutional provisions for those socially excluded such as the SCs, STs, and Muslims.

**Third Chapter** is on debates in the Rajya Sabha in the period between 1955 and 1960; the chapter attempts to put afore the relevant discussions and questions that were raised in Rajya Sabha during sessions held in the duration of 1955-60. The attempt here is to empirically collate and classify subjects of debates and questions to build a typology of discussions, debates, and questions with respect to disadvantaged and socially excluded communities. Further, a qualitative analysis is made to gauge the content and character of the deliberations; it is my endeavour to build a social history of certain relevant issues such as displacement from given exchanges in the Rajya Sabha.

**Fourth Chapter** is on debates in Rajya Sabha in the period between 2003 and 2008; the exercise undertaken for the period of 1955-60 is repeated here with respect to 2003-2008. The prime idea behind choosing two such differentiated and distanced periods is to locate the idealism born in the immediate aftermath of independence and maturity of a young nation concerned about its disadvantaged communities. Only a nation imbued with idealism, maturity and confidence can look downward at its 'last man', Gandhi's phrase. How much of idealism prevailed in those early days? How much of maturity India gained in dealing with its internal but vastly core issues some sixty years after those heady days in the immediate aftermath of independence?

**Fifth Chapter** concludes by bringing out the character of Rajya Sabha from all above discussions and explores its institutional validity. The final chapter is largely analytical in the sense that it compares and concludes from the deliberations that ensued in the constitutional precincts of Rajya Sabha in the twin quinquennials of 1955-60 and 2003-2008.

I sincerely express my deep appreciation and gratitude to the Rajya Sabha Secretariat for giving me the first ever instituted Rajya Sabha Fellowship that enabled me to look into the issue of parliamentary questions. The relevant data required for the classification and analysis of the questions and debates were collected from the Parliament Library. I enlist my deep appreciation to the support and facilitation from the library staff. I deeply regret the delay in the completion of the Fellowship and in submission of the final report. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my heartfelt gratitude to Jamia Millia Islamia that enabled undertaking of this research fellowship. Thanks are also due to some of my students who helped in research.

# 1 ● THE RAJYA SABHA

*'I am certainly not enamoured of and I do not swear by two Houses of Legislature. I have no fear of a popular Legislature running away with itself and hastily passing some laws of which afterwards it will have to repent. I would not like to give a bad name to, and then hang, the popular Legislature. I think that a popular Legislature can take care of itself; and since, I am now thinking of the poorest country in the world, the less expenses we have to bear the better it is for us...Make it as perfect as human ingenuity can, by all means, but be satisfied with only one Chamber.'*

M. K. Gandhi, 1931<sup>2</sup>

The Constituent Assembly that deliberated over three years (from 9<sup>th</sup> December 1946 to 24<sup>th</sup> January 1950) drafting of a Constitution resolved, despite some sensible misgivings, that India would not 'be satisfied with only one Chamber' of parliamentary legislature.<sup>3</sup> The Constitution promulgated on 26 January 1950 envisaged a bicameral system of Parliament.<sup>4</sup> The provision for, and the existence of, a Second Chamber once upon a time was one of the most controversial political issue in the country.

Very early on, in early fifties, Ram Manohar Lohia's Socialist Party's one of the electoral agenda was abrogation of Rajya Sabha as a parliamentary forum due to its 'non-elective' form.<sup>5</sup> Further, the Socialist Party derided those who had been defeated in Lok Sabha polls but later choose the Rajya Sabha to enter into parliamentary arena. They did not encourage their own members to choose such a route and it was on this issue a lot of mud-slinging

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<sup>2</sup> S. S. Bhalerao (ed), 1977, *The Second Chamber: Its Role in Modern Legislatures*, New Delhi: National c17; Despite a ritual obeisance paid at the massive Mahatama statue installed within the premises of Parliament, very early on Gandhi's caution was set aside and India preferred to have a bicameral legislative system with one Lower House being the House of Representatives, the Lok Sabha, and the other Upper House being the House of States, the Rajya Sabha.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Council of States', known also as Rajya Sabha, a nomenclature that was announced by the chair in the House on the 23rd August, 1954, has its own distinctive features. The origin of the second Chamber can be traced to the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1918. The Government of India Act, 1919 provided for the creation of a 'Council of State' as a second chamber of the then legislature with a restricted franchise which actually came into existence in 1921. The Governor-General was the ex-officio President of the then Council of State. The Government of India Act, 1935, hardly made any changes in its composition.

<sup>4</sup> Article 79: There shall be a Parliament for the Union which shall consist of the President and two Houses to be known respectively as the Council of States and the House of the People.

Article 80: The Council of States shall consist of (a) twelve members to be nominated by the President

<sup>5</sup> In March 1953, Jayaprakash Narayan on behalf of his Party, the Praja Socialist Party, met the Congress President and the Prime Minister Jawharlal Nehru to discuss the possible cooperation between both their parties. Jayaprakash submitted a "Draft Programme for Cooperation between Congress and PSP" to Nehru for consideration. In the category of "Constitutional Amendments", Jayaprakash demanded that "second chambers" be abolished. Of course, the talks between the leaders failed and no cooperation was put on anvil. (in Bimal Prasad (Ed), 2001, *Jayaprakash Narayan, Selected Works, Volume Six (1950-54)*, New Delhi: Manohar; Pp319-20)

happened when one of their party man Raj Narayan choose Rajya Sabha route to enter the Parliament when defeated in Lok Sabha polls; this step of Raj Narayan eventually led to his expulsion from the Party. In October, 1969, Raj Narayan, then a Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) member, marched menacingly towards Congress member Arjun Arora, brandishing one of his shoes in Rajya Sabha, bringing some comic-relief and shock to the elders.

In April 1975, L K Advani, the then Jan Sangh President, attended a seminar on constitution. He called for restructuring of the Rajya Sabha. 'The present system of representation in the upper house', Advani said eloquently and as his wont, intellectually, 'should be replaced by representation of specialized interests like doctors, lawyers, educationists, scientists, and the armed forces to ensure the benefits of the experienced and the expertise in the process of legislation for the country.'<sup>6</sup> It was an idea that was soon buried and never again exhumed. Soon after the emergency when Janata Party was formed and came to rule after the stupendous electoral victory both at first at the Centre and then in states, Advani however had no qualms in accepting the position of leader of the House in Rajya Sabha; and, while being at its helm, introduced no changes in its system of representation.

The most potent argument in favour of the bicameral system was distrust; the distrust of the elite of the proletariat. Can India's rural riffraff, part rags, part ruffians, be trusted with the safekeeping of India's democratic aspirations? The unwashed rural rags, illiterate, illiberal and ill-behaved, if they by popular exercise of the newly fangled universal adult franchise take over India's ruling reigns, wouldn't her ancient culture and her future destiny be threatened with the ignominy of unsung extinction, her governance be reduced to anarchy, and her famed social order turned topsy-turvy?

Bicameralism is now a parliamentary norm world-over as the system stands adopted by most nations of the first world although it was generally considered as bastion of conservatism. 'The earliest example of the bicameral system is to be found in England, where it had roots in a desire on the part of the King's vassals, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to preserve a form of representation distinct from that of the common folk.'<sup>7</sup> Some of the large Indian states have bicameral legislatures.

If the elite's 'distrust' of the proletariat was the driving force behind the obdurate establishment of the Council of States as a second chamber of the Indian parliament, building a nation by amalgamating and integrating disparate linguistic, religious and parochial groups under a 'federal' government was its 'nationalistic' core. The members of the Rajya Sabha are the representatives of the States. 'The federal units represent themselves in the Rajya Sabha through their own Legislatures by means of proportional representation and so take part in the governmental process at the national level.'<sup>8</sup> It is stipulated that not more than 238 representatives from States should constitute the Rajya Sabha, excluding the twelve to be nominated by the President.

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<sup>6</sup> Times of India, Mumbai, 23 April 1975

<sup>7</sup> Most of the modern legislatures of the world today have two chambers. In Britain, Canada, France and Italy, the popularly elected Houses are called the 'first' chambers and the other Houses called the 'second' chambers. In the United States and Australia, where both the Houses are popularly elected, the House of Representatives, constituted in proportion to the population, is called the 'first' chamber and the Senate, wherein each State has equal representation regardless of its population, is called the 'second' chamber. But in some countries like the Netherlands and Sweden, the popularly elected Houses are called the 'second' chambers, whereas the indirectly elected Houses are called the 'first' chambers. S. S. Bhalerao (ed), 1977, The Second Chamber: Its Role in Modern Legislatures, New Delhi: National (p143)

<sup>8</sup> S. S. Bhalerao (ed), 1977, The Second Chamber: Its Role in Modern Legislatures, P127



In the year 1977, the Rajya Sabha completed 25 years of its parliamentary existence. On the Silver Jubilee occasion, Rajya Sabha Secretariat published a commemorative volume that invited contributions from parliamentarians from across the world. It was edited by its then Secretary-General, S. S. Bhalerao. The commemorative volume published a number of articles that attempted, after 25 years of its existence, to set aside any doubts about its role. The bicameral system was justified as an application of checks and balances; Rajya Sabha had a supervisory function, some claimed. Others said that due to the federal polity of India, it is desirable to have a 'second chamber at the national level to afford protection to the weaker constituents in the country and also to provide a representative character to all the regions constituting the federation.' There were those who emphasized 'apolitical' nature of Rajya Sabha. 'Our constitution provides for representation in the Upper House for certain special interests which would not normally find expression in the chamber filled by representatives directly elected on popular franchise. ...how could any enlightened citizen, with self respect, enter into the fray of elections? The Rajya Sabha would have a role to play only if the political element or content is kept at the minimum, such a minimum as would not expose it to condemnation as a replica or rubber stamp of the other House. ...those elected should endeavour to play down their political bias to an extent as would justify their being euphemistically called as 'House of Elders'.<sup>9</sup>

One contributor said that the debates within Rajya Sabha could be more enriching than in the Lok Sabha as 'the elders' are less interested in making a 'debating point'. There might not be any party and partisan considerations to influence their parliamentary contributions. 'Every bit of legislation generates far-reaching consequences. The members of the Rajya Sabha are relatively free from such considerations. They have more time at their disposal. They can bring more amount of objectivity to their task.'<sup>10</sup> The members are expected to remain unmoved by party passions or party spirit. The RS is considered as bastion of experience, wisdom and caution.

In the Constituent Assembly, initially it was thought that the members of the upper House in the states that shall have bicameral legislature should be debarred from participating in the election of the President of the Union. It was only after much deliberations that the state upper houses were made part of the Electoral College that elected the President of the Union. Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya (Bihar., General) moved an amendment saying, 'if members of the second Chambers are considered unsuitable for taking part even in the election of the President of the Indian Federation, why have second Chambers at all?... There appears to be a fear, I suppose, in the minds of those who desire to debar the members of the Upper House from taking part in the election of the President. That fear emanates from the fact that the representatives in the second chambers generally belong to the propertied classes.'<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> S. S. Bhalerao (ed), P131 some suggestions for changing the composition of RS is given; let elders be directly elected; let political parties have some unwritten law as to send un-represented communities or sectors

<sup>10</sup> Theoretically, this dualism in the bicameral system is justified as an application of checks and balances, to exercise a supervisory function. On the other hand some authors have suggest that Second Chambers are inefficient, redundant, expensive or unnecessary and they point out that many successful democracies do not have Upper Houses. S. S. Bhalerao (ed), 1977, The Second Chamber: Its Role in Modern Legislatures, P114-16

<sup>11</sup> 23 July 1947, The Constituent Assembly Debates

## 2 • The Affirmative Action

*'On 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life we shall by reason of our social and economic structure continue to deny the principle of one man value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has laboriously built.'*

B R Ambedkar, November 25, 1949

Hierarchical inequality in India, as exemplified by a social order based on caste system, has been a cause of public policy concern. The constitution taking cognizance of the entrenched reality of caste system that breeds ritual inferiority, social disability, political marginalization and material poverty envisaged certain measures calculated to bring in an egalitarian society and inclusive polity. The result has not been so unpalatable but surely been paradoxical. On the one hand, one of the very first constitutional measures in independent India outlawed practice of untouchability from the social intercourse<sup>12</sup>; on the other hand, the pervasiveness of untouchability became the basis for India's core affirmative social policy of reservations. The Scheduled Castes, solely based on the practice of untouchability, are entitled to reserved representations in legislatures in proportion to their population and reservations in public employment and state-funded educational institutions. 'The concept of SCs', said India's Home Minister in 1976, 'is one of backwardness stemming from untouchability'.

Untouchability is primarily held to be a Hindu social phenomenon. SC reservations are meant to redress the wrongs of the Hindu caste system. But if those who having been discriminated against in their Hindu religious fold and social order convert, say, to Islam, are they in their adopted religious fold entitled to constitutional safeguards of reservations as are given to SCs? In other words, 'can a Dalit Muslim or Dalit Christian be a Scheduled Caste?' While ST reservations are religion-neutral, the SC reservations are not. They can primarily be availed by those still in Hindu fold. Once you change God, you forsake rights over advantages accruing from SC reservations. Is a SC reservation therefore inducement to untouchables to remain in Hindu fold, and withdrawal of reservations upon the change of Gods a deterrence to conversion? Zoya Hasan's *Politics of Inclusion* is one exhaustive study of India's

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<sup>12</sup> Article 17 of the constitution lays down that the untouchability has been abolished and if untouchability in any form is practised or will be practised then the violation of this law will be met by punishment by a law which is to be made by Parliament. Article 35 points out that the law that has to be made in respect of making the various forms or aspects of untouchability to be offences has to be passed only by Parliament.

affirmative policy, and contrasts the state's approach towards caste with that to minorities.<sup>13</sup> Hasan analyses India's reservation experiment since its inception in 1935 Government of India Act, and concludes that after independence, while minorities were entitled to religious freedom, caste-based reservation policy failed to take cognizance of their economic and social backwardness.

Before affirmative policies for SCs and STs crystallized, a sufficiently laden discussion took place in India's constituent assembly. In the immediate aftermath of independence and partition, the constituent assembly debates on the affirmative policy for the historically oppressed people, owing to the discriminatory and hierarchical Hindu social order, did not cover the disadvantaged Muslim question. The Muslim's fundamental right to freedom of religion and other cultural rights were granted but no special provisions were made to tackle their socio-economic backwardness.

India's post-independence regime of affirmative policy was established by erasing the 'separate electorates' system that was seen as having laid the foundation of partition and by bridging the 'severe social separation' that marked the lives of those who were disadvantaged by their untouchability. The constitution while acknowledging the historical disadvantage suffered by the 'untouchables' desired the state to devise measures for reparation. The Scheduled Castes were deemed to be persons professing Hinduism and no other religion. However, the constitutional provision regarding SCs has been amended twice; once to include Sikhs in 1956 and again in 1990 to include neo-Buddhists. The same favour was not shown towards Islamic and Christian converts on the pretext that both religions are basically egalitarian and 'acceptance of a non-Hindu religion operates as a loss of caste'. It was only in 1980 report of the Mandal Commission that a number of Muslim castes, including those working in occupations similar to Hindu SCs, were included in the OBC list that required reservations in government employment and educational institutions to offset their social and educational backwardness.

It was not that the government was not aware of the existing discrimination within the religious adherents of Islam or Christianity. The deputy minister for Home Affairs B N Datar while moving "The Untouchability (Offences) Bill, 1955" in the Rajya Sabha, on 2 May 1955, confined the limits of the law to Hindus alone. He specifically named some groups such as 'Swaminarayan Sampraday', 'the Jains', 'the Lingayats' who had at various times contended that they were not Hindus but were brought under the Act as always Courts had ruled that they were denominations falling under Hindu religion. In the course of his speech the Minister said, 'In certain parts, especially in the South it was said that even within a Church there were different portions assigned to SC Christians. In one case, proceedings under section under 144 had to be started. So, Harijans even after they embraced Christianity, continued to see this untouchability practiced against them. So that also is proceeded against here so far as the general provisions are concerned.' R U Agnibhoj a member from Madhya Pradesh in Rajya Sabha argued that untouchability is found among Christians, among Sikhs and also among Muslims and not just among Hindus. And yet, while government was eager to institute penal measure against the practice of untouchability in any religion, it was not keen to grant the SC status to the converts to Islam or Christianity.

Minorities as a whole constitute 19 percent of the Indian population. Among the minorities, Muslims constitute a significant segment—13.4 percent—of Indians. Hasan's concern is continued backwardness and low representation of Indian Muslims, a fact recently reiterated

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13 Zoya Hasan, 2009, *Politics of Inclusion: Castes, Minorities, and Affirmative Action*, OUP (Hardback), Delhi

evocatively by Sachar Committee Report. Hasan takes on from the point where Sachar Committee concluded by reiterating the need for affirmative policy for Muslims. She points out that the structures erected for the implementation and monitoring of the SC/ST reservations in various foras are now reluctant to concede inclusion of Dalit Muslims in the existing SC list as they would create more competitions. The inclusion of some Muslim castes in the OBC list fail to make any substantive difference to their condition as more enabled groups take up the loin share of the cake. The only solution therefore is to grant a separate quota to Muslims as a whole. This shall require constitutional amendment as constitution prohibits use of religious denomination for provisioning reservations. Further, guaranteeing reservations to the Minorities is difficult as Supreme Court has ruled out reservations above 50 percent.

Zoya Hasan has covered an important aspect of India's developmental experience. She blames the state policy for the identity and security centric Muslim politics in total disregard of the axes of equity and justice. In contrast, she points out, the concerns for lower castes are located in the context of justice, equality and democracy. This is evident from abysmal representation of Muslims in the administration and legislatures. The Prime Minister's 2006 High Level Committee for gauging the Muslim backwardness, popularly known as Sachar Committee, made substantive observations for building policies to remove endemic poverty and abysmal representation of the Muslims. Zoya Hasan begins from the point where Sachar Committee left and builds a case for affirmative reservation policy to be implemented for the Muslims. A reservation for Muslims in public sector employment and in educational institutions is currently a contentious issue.

But the problem is not inherent in the character of the Indian state alone. The absence of a Kancha Illiah in Muslim community who could write a polemic like 'Why I am not a Muslim?' shows also the insularity and imperviousness of the Muslim community. If the internal fragmentation does exist, if discrimination and exclusion does get practiced, how could a state then ensure erasure of social and educational backwardness without intervening in the exercise of cultural rights? Muslim elite and intelligentsia have a definite share in the blame. Take for instance, the Madarsa education system. Why in all these years since independence, the Muslim elite did not think of benefiting from the traditional system of madarsa education by changing its curriculum to fit the employment needs of a rising population? Why the traditional structure and curriculum were allowed to persist even in the face of its doubtful employability? There is nothing wrong in the religious basis of madarsa education. What is wrong is the failure to engineer the structure, curriculum, and purpose of madarsa education to suit the contextual needs of the community. Even the poorest send their children to the madarsas. Of course, state has a role to play. But when a community led by its elite can fight a protracted struggle against the tempering of its Personal Law or organize in dispute over the Babri mosque, why that same elite could not mobilize the community to change the educational pattern at madarsa that could have brought in material benefit which is being sought out by making a sectional demand of reservation.

Hasan's book argues for the reservations for Muslims, an aggregated community. It unleashes an academic's argumentative power, it mobilizes a researcher's arsenal of sources, it also has an activist's conviction and yet, as it trains its guns on demanding reservations for the Muslim community per se, its own arguments, its own arsenal of sources, its own conviction fails it. Had it confined itself in demanding reservations for the disadvantaged sections of Muslims, who constitute 75 percent of its total population, it could have better served its purpose. What reservations does is to create an elite that could then raise and represent the larger community in the battle for resources or protection of identity. Nobody would object to

the fact that Muslims already have had an elite and it has over the years miserably failed in representing their cause in its substantive form. It is in this context, how fair is the idea to demand reservation for the whole community. Wouldn't the community as a whole suffer again, as its elite shall make a scramble for the benefits of reservations depriving the really needy?

In his pioneering work, *Masawat Ki Jung*,<sup>14</sup> Ali Anwar, much before the much feted work of French scholar Jaffrelot patented the methodology<sup>15</sup>, listed out the caste character of those who hitherto represented Muslims in secular state institutions as well as communal social and religious bodies vested with the power to manage community affairs. More than ninety-nine percent of those sent by the community to secular and sectarian socio-religious institutions to represent their cause belonged to the upper castes in the Muslim, the ashrafs. Still, why there was no one like Ambedkar who could say only the end of Islam could deliver his people from the clutches of poverty, deprivation and humiliation? Of course, one reason was as a religion Islam is perceived to be egalitarian. The Muslims have remained backward not because of their religion but due to the social, political and religious leaders who have exploited the peculiar context of Indian Islam for their sectarian advantages and have kept the glue of religion's egalitarian ethos to keep the masses backward, ignorant, and in ghettos. 'Masawat ki Jung' is a book that interrogates intra-stratification in the Muslim society and questions share of common resources among its various constituents.

Muslim masses of India have suffered not just because of the burden of 1857 and 1947, but also due to its creation into a monolith that is used as vote-bank by the elites existing within. The Muslim elite exploited as well as provoked the fear of the community to build a vote bank and reaped benefits to the exclusion of the masses. In the name of Islam and its unifying qaum, it was forgotten that the Indian Islam was tainted by the caste and a rampant internal fragmentation exists within the community.

Another truth about the affirmative policies in India is worth scrutinizing, that is to explore the parliamentary representation reserved for the under-represented SCs and STs. The Lok Sabha has 15 percent of its seats reserved for SCs and 7.5 percent for the STs. The proportion of reserved seats is meant to be in proportion to the SC and ST population within each state. Although there are no clear criteria for the choice of particular constituencies for reservation, the basic idea is that reserved constituencies would have a relatively high proportion of either SCs or STs in order that the MPs or MLAs elected from reserved seats can be seen as representing these groups.<sup>16</sup> How many of those elected from reserved constituencies were ever given a position of responsibility in the power corridors by the political parties with whom they have political affiliations? How many of such elected members from reserved constituencies have been active in parliamentary debates or have been asking uncomfortable questions in the zero hours to represent the voices of their electorates/constituents?

The question is not of representation, but having given reservation in representation since independence to certain groups largely considered to be socially disadvantaged, it now dovetails to what is made out of the representation?

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<sup>14</sup> Ali Anwar, 2005, *Masawat Ki Jung* (Struggle for Equality; English translation by Mohammad Imran Ali & Zakia Jowher), Delhi: Indian Social Institute,

<sup>15</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot, 2003, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low castes in North Indian Politics*, Delhi: Permanent Black

<sup>16</sup> Zoya, fn 56, p35

# 3 • The Harijan Saheb, 1955-1959

*“In the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha, you will find that it is only the Members belonging to the Harijan community and the Scheduled Tribes who have been putting questions in regard to the welfare of these communities. The others have been putting questions regarding television, ship-building etc. Questions relating to the weaker sections of the community have always been put by Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, whether it is in the State Legislatures or here in the Central Legislature.”*

**T Bodra**, intervening in the Rajya Sabha debate  
on Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill, 1959;  
**7 December, 1959**

The Rajya Sabha is a constitutionally sanctioned apex deliberative body whose discussion and deliberation within leads to expression of concern and framing of regulatory laws. It could deliberate over policy matters, make laws, and evaluate constitutionally autonomous bodies' functions and reports. All the Rajya Sabha members are elected by the state legislators except 12 members who are nominated by the President of India. Detailed profiles of the members are hard to find. One would like to know the economic and social profiles of the past and present members but they are scarcely available. The present method of publishing *who's who* of parliamentary members is a limited exercise. It at most gives skeletal information about their engagements or enumerates blandly positions they had occupied before they took up the membership of the Rajya Sabha. It is insufficient data to draw conclusions on their background or throw light on their ideological leanings; it simply tells what political party they are affiliated to. While members in Lok Sabha are identified by their constituencies they represent, giving also by the way whether they represent a reserved constituency or hail from a general one, in the Rajya Sabha, members are identified solely by their States they have been elected from. The Rajya Sabha does not have direct election and therefore detailed information about the successful candidates become more of an imperative as only by these profiles public would know about their ideological tilts, commercial or professional interests and personal biases that might creep into their policy statement. The Election Commission's requirement that members contesting elections provide detail of their wealth is vital addition in the knowledge about our parliamentarians.

## **Section I: Members: A Profile**

This chapter focuses on questions and debates in the Rajya Sabha in the period between 1955 and 1960. A total of 18 Rajya Sabha sessions of various durations were held in the years between 1955 and 1959. We try to build an educational and professional profile of the Upper House from the data provided for members present in the year 1955.

### Educational Qualifications of Rajya Sabha members in 1955

High School	Intermediate	Graduate	Post Graduate + PhDs	Others	Total
19	5	117	39 + 10	Primary Education 3; Private Education 7; Sahitya Pracharak 1; Diploma Holder 2; Junior Cambridge 1; Scholar in Islamic Studies 2; Not mentioned 8;	214

The 1955 batch of Rajya Sabha members were a highly educated lot. More than half of the total members (214) in the year 1955 whose educational qualifications could be ascertained were graduates (117). A quarter was post-graduate or doctorates. A minor fraction was of those whose educational achievements were not formal.

### Professional / Occupational Engagements of members in 1955

Lawyers /Advocates	Professional (Doctors, 8, Educationists, 26, Journalists, 13)	Political & Social Worker	Zamindar, Landholder, Landlord, Landowner	Agriculturist / business man	Civil Servants	Industrialist / business man	Artists	Princes	Trade Union	Total
60	47	40	10	20	2	23	1	3	9	215

The category of ‘Social and Political Worker’ is not mentioned but members with no clear-cut professional associations were brought under this category. The conservative and wealthy elements such as princes, Zamindars, agriculturists and industrialists put together constituted a large block in the Rajya Sabha in 1955. As professional pleaders, lawyers had a dominating presence, constituting the single largest group. Other professionals such as doctors, journalists or teachers together came in second at their strength of 47. From the data on professions of members acquired for 215 members, it can safely be inferred that there were two kinds of members: first, those who could be classed as Conservatives, comprising of princes, landlords, industrialists and/or large agriculturists, both also in the mould of businessmen; second, were from Professional classes such as legal-practitioners, medical-doctors, educationists and teachers, journalists and retired civil servants. Presence of less number of civil servants, just two, obviously the retired ones, point to the fact that politician – bureaucrat quid pro quo was still not a norm in the political culture of the country. Trade Union leaders also had fair presence though they were all from recognized and formal bodies. There is a disproportionate urban tilt in the nature of membership. A member could have a multiple garb: for instance, Mr. Beni Prasad Aggarwal, who was President of the three organizations one serving each to business, caste and social progress; they were: Marwari Chamber of Commerce, All India Aggarwal Mahasabha, and Rajputana Shiksha Mandal.

### Activity Profile

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Session of the Rajya Sabha held between 10 February 1958 and 14 March 1958, according to the index of Debates of the Rajya Sabha, some 126 members asked questions

related to various issues. That means of the 250 members, only half of them were active on the floor of the Parliament in that particular session. Moreover, their activities were not of the same order and had various degrees of engagements. Only 15 members were found to have asked more than 20 questions in the whole session. 10 members were found to have asked more than 10 but less than 20 questions. A big proportion of members, around 70, half of those active members asked less than 5 questions. So, what we see in the Rajya Sabha in this particular 20<sup>th</sup> session in the year 1958, are the following: first, only about half of the total members on roll were active; second, a half of those active asked five or less than five questions; third, only a handful of members, about a dozen were the most active members asking twenty or more question in a session. As these inferences are drawn from the index of just one session, there is some danger in drawing general conclusions about the members' participation in the debates and questions in the Rajya Sabha. But as we would see below, there might be variations in individual member's participation in various sessions but core conclusions might not undergo any major changes.

In the years between 1955 and 1960, the Rajya Sabha sessions that have been the base of present analysis is given in the **Table 1**. Table I contains session nos., duration, and years under interrogation. These sessions are looked at to explore the question whether the absence of SC and ST members affect the quality and quantity of debates about or around the SCs and STs. Each session and questions and debates therein is looked solely from the perspective of the SC and ST categories of people. An attempt (as would be evident in annexure to the chapter) was made initially to divide questions and debates into twin categories of one, directly and second, indirectly pertaining to the SC and ST. Such categorization was later found to be methodologically unviable and so for later years such a categorization was abandoned. For instance, for the year 1955, the questions and debates, selected for its relevance to the SC and ST, were divided for the convenience of analysis into two demarcated tables. First table comprises of questions and debates that directly pertained to the SC and ST. Second table comprises of questions and debates that indirectly bring SC and ST categories within its ambit.

Table I enumerates Rajya Sabha sessions and their durations in the years 1955 - 1959.

Session No.	Duration	Year
IX	21 February – 4 May	1955
X	16 August – 2 October	1955
XI	21 November – 24 December	1955
XII	15 February – 16 March	1956
XIII	23 April – 31 May	1956
XIV	30 July – 13 September	1956
XV	19 November – 22 December	1956
XVI	18 March – 29 March	1957
XVII	13 May – 1 June	1957
XVIII	12 August – 14 September	1957
XIX	18 November – 24 December	1957
XX	10 February – 14 March	1958
XXI	22 April – 10 May	1958
XXII	18 August – 27 September	1958
XXIII	24 November – 24 December	1958
XXIV	9 February – 13 March	1959
XXV	20 April – 8 May	1959
XXVI	10 August – 11 September	1959
XXVII	23 November – 22 December	1959



## Section II: Questions: Oral and Written

The questions and debates that directly or indirectly pertained to the SC and ST category of people in the given years (1955-59) were categorized under the following twenty-eight recognizable heads:

1. Andaman & Nicobar
2. Child Development
3. Commissions/Report
4. Education & Reservation
5. Education
6. Employment
7. Housing
8. Welfare Measures
9. Reservation/Employment
10. Health
11. Post-Partition Population Transfer
12. Labour
13. Labour (Mines)
14. Labour (Plantations)
15. Labour (Agriculture)
16. Labour (Industries)
17. Trade Union
18. Work/employment
19. Land Distribution (Zamindari Abolition)
20. Land Reform
21. Manipur
22. Missionaries
23. Naga Hostiles
24. Representation/Reservation
25. Tribal Development
26. Scholarship
27. Untouchability
28. Displacement

These twenty-eight heads were further organized under broad nine heads which are the following:

1. **Andaman & Nicobar**
2. **Labour** (includes: Mines, Plantations, Agriculture, Industries, Trade Union, Work/employment)
3. **Post-Partition Population Transfer**
4. **Naga Hostiles** (includes: Manipur, Missionaries, Tribal development)
5. **Displacement**
6. **Untouchability**
7. **Scholarship**
8. **Health**
9. **Welfare Measures** (includes): Reservation/Employment, Housing, Education & Reservation, Education, Employment, Child Development, Commissions/Report

A note on subject heads under which relevant questions are categorized is required. **Andaman and Nicobar Island** is considered an area inhabited by aboriginals and therefore from the point of view of Scheduled Tribes, the area becomes important for analysis. It is understood that **labour** in mining, plantation, agriculture, or industries were generally and predominantly drawn from the SC and ST category of people, and therefore as an analytical category it could throw some light on issues. Assumption here is that most of the lowest grade workers on whom whole of the mining sector rests are primarily drawn from SC and ST categories of people. **Diseases (Health)** such as TB, leprosy, filaria or malaria are seen as something that affects mostly the poor, who mostly is seen as belonging to the SC and ST categories. Displaced persons from the East Pakistan, who were to be settled down under a project called Dandakarnaya Rehabilitation Project, are considered as they were mostly Hindus of Namasudras caste, a Scheduled Caste. In the **post-partition population transfer**, I am only focusing on Hindu migrants from East Pakistan who were mostly from Namsudras caste. I am omitting questions or references about migrants to and from West Pakistan.

The questions occurring during the years 1955-1959 were sorted under the above mentioned broad subject heads as given above. In the table given below, in the **first column**, are the subject heads under which questions in the given period were organized. The figures in the parenthesis indicate number of questions that were asked during the five year period on that specific subject head. The middle column has name of the member who asked most number of questions on a given subject head, the figure in the parenthesis indicate number of questions asked by that specific member on that specific subject head. Similarly, the column three has names of members who asked second most number of the questions on the given subject in the given number of years.

	Category of Questions	Most questions asked by (1)	Most questions asked by (2)
1	<b>Andman and Nicobar Islands</b> (47)	Savitry Devi Nigam (31)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (8)
2.	<b>Labour</b>		
	Labour (Mines: 1) (50)	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya (5)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (4) Bhupesh Gupta (4)
	Labour (Plantations: 2) (14)	T Bodra: 10	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 1
	Labour (Agriculture: 3) (9)	T D Pustake (1)	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 1
	Labour (Industries: 4) (27)	M Faruqui (3) M Valiulla (3);	Seeta Permanand (2), Savitry Devi Nigam (2), Nawab Singh Chauhan (2)
3	<b>Post-partition Population Transfer</b> (138)		
	Concerning East Pakistan (67)	M Valiulla (9)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (8)
	Concerning West Pakistan (30)	M Valiulla (5)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (5)
	Common to West and East Pakistan (41)		
4	<b>Naga Hostiles</b>		
	Naga Hostiles (34)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (6)	M Valiulla (6) S C Deb (6)
	Manipur (1)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (1)	
	Tribal Development (3)	T Bodra (2)	Maheswar Naik (1)
	Missionaries (4)	T Bodra (2)	M Valiulla (1)
	Reservation of SC/ST in legislature (1 D)		
5	<b>Displacement</b> (34)	T Bodra (19)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (3)
6	<b>Untouchability</b> (4)	V C Kesava (2)	P N Rajabhoj (1)
7	<b>Scholarships</b> (17)	M Valiulla (4)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (2)
8	<b>Health</b> (33)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (7)	Savitry Devi Nigam (4) M Valiulla (3)
9	<b>Welfare Measures</b>		
	Reservation/Employment (26)	T Bodra (8)	P N Rajabhoj (6)
	Welfare (59)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (12)	T Bodra (7)
	Housing (15)	Amolakh Chand (3)	Savitry Devi Nigam (2)
	Child Development (1)	M Valiullah (1)	
	Education (16)	D Narayan (4)	M Faruqui (3)
	Employment (6)	M Faruqui (2)	T Bodra (1)
	Commissions/Report (13)	Nawab Singh Chauhan (2)	Ram Sahai (2)

Some members ask questions on much varied subjects that defies inferences of a pattern. Such MPs can most charitably be considered as 'generalist'. The generalist MP ask questions that do not emerge from concerns emanating from his primordial affiliations such as belonging to a category determined by caste, creed or class; neither does their focal point lay in modern affiliations such as being a member of a professional or vocational group or espousal of a common group interest. A generalist MP is one whose interest goes beyond a

defined boundary, his roving eyes could settle on anything and everything; for instance, a member can ask questions on subjects ranging from a shuttle launch in the space to Naga insurgency in the north-east to population transfer to the islands of Andaman and Nicobar; such a member refuses to be categorised. These members are the ones most active on the floor of the Rajya Sabha, they intervene, they interject, and they could be in short, the sort of news-makers. A generalist MP also opens himself to the accusation of being prone to the malady of 'cash-for-queries'; as he is the one who can ask questions irrespective of whether it directly affects his interest or not; those interested in unravelling certain uncomfortable truths or expose a scam or berate a rival approach him with a set of pre-fabricated questions; the volume of questions on various unrelated subjects makes it difficult for the generalist MP to scrutinise its purpose or agenda. As there would only be a few MPs willing to lend themselves to ask questions quite indiscriminately on any subjects, competition for his attention or his time on the floor of the Rajya Sabha becomes intense, and that is the sole crevice from which can creep in elements of corruption.

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan, a Congressman from Uttar Pradesh, for instance, in the session held between 12 August -14 September, 1957, according to the index to debates – vol. XVIII of Rajya Sabha, asked close to 900 questions. In the same session, another member Shri M Valiulla from Mysore asked close to 500 questions. No other member was so prolific in the same session.

One need to see what kind of question is being asked by a particular member. For instance most questions that are asked by Savitry Devi Nigam are related with aspects of Andaman and Nicobar islands. Or Bhupesh Gupta, he is either asking on issues relevant to trade union activities or on Dandakarnaya project, both of which fall within his realm. He is not an East Bengal refugee himself but his politics informs him to take on the issue of East Bengal refugees and their settlement in Dandakarnaya region. Or, T Bodra, whose all questions revolve around tribal issues.

Now, who are these three people? From the sketchy data available in Rajya Sabha's *Who's who?*, published once in two years, taking into account that every second year one-third of Rajya Sabha's members retire and new members are elected, some telling inferences can be drawn about members' social, economic and political background or their institutional linkages. A Congress-woman from Uttar Pradesh, Savitry Devi Nigam's politics has been in the region of Allahabad, and yet she is the one who has asked most number of questions on the Andaman and Nicobar islands. Similarly, Nawab Singh Chauhan is a Congressman from Uttar Pradesh but his interest makes him ask questions under almost every enumerated subject-heads. T Bodra on the other hand is a representative of the Jharkhand Party in Bihar and Bhupesh Gupta a Communist Party of India nominee and a militant freedom fighter who was arrested many a time for his so called subversive and terrorist activities during the freedom struggle.

Just as T Bodra's most questions relates to tribal life, livelihood and longing for rapidly depleting home-land under the onslaught of development, Bhupesh Gupta's questions on Dandakarnaya project reflects his local politics that he as a member of Communist Party is engaged with the local unit of the Congress Party whose political hegemony they are trying to replace with their kind of hegemony. In the debate around Dandakarnaya project, political undertones have stark reflection. Whereas Congress at the West Bengal and at the Centre, in the form of Treasury Benches and the Congress members tend to support resettlement initiative of the government, Gupta is deeply opposed. Both mobilize their arguments which clearly reflect their party-line and party interest.

In Bodra's questions and interventions, two motives are reflected: one, his concern mostly centers around the areas what can be called as Chhotanagpore and Santhal Pargana; second, most questions and interventions have tribals as their central focus, so he is asking on tribals displaced by Rourkela steel factory and lack of their proper rehabilitation, or tribals displaced due to Dandakarnaya project, or lack of proper amenities or non-delivery of bonus to tea garden workers who again are mostly Santhal migrants to Assam; T Bodra is one member who is consistently raising questions on the SC/ST and their main occupation bases such as mining or plantation. He is also consistently raising issues of displacement caused by establishment of industrial units or infrastructure development projects and their most adverse impact on the tribal population of the country.

The question of A N Bose asked on 24 September 1958 about 'Indians and Nagas killed, wounded and taken prisoners during the operations against the hostile Nagas' implied that it was battle between Naga rebels and Indians when the conflict was merely between Indian army personnel and Naga militia, although from the rebel group Nagas' perspective they were fighting the Indian state and for independence. But to see the rebellion of the Nagas as a fight against 'Indians' must have brought an attitudinal change in the fighting army men or in the mandarins in South Block. The fighting army men perhaps did not see Nagas as their 'own' people whose protection was as much their duty as protecting India's national boundary from outside attack. In questions on the Nagas, the members irrespective of their party affiliations dubbed and referred the ethnic group as 'the hostile Nagas'. The members' intervention on Naga issue would not have adopted the kind of tenor that got generally reflected in the questions or debates around the subject if there was some sprinkling of members belonging to Naga community or there had been equal representation from Nagaland as are there, say, for instance, from Uttar Pradesh.

There are also members who are speaking about people and issues that do not have large constituency to cater, but they are human issues, raised for its intrinsic human value rather than due to some political one-up-man ship. For instance, questions related to leprosy got substantial attention from Rajya Sabha members without really having any meaning as a political constituency. They however show the concerns of the members, their humanness, their capability to rise above the mundane political duel.

The 'politics of presence' could only be explored by studying the nature and content of interventions of those present on the parliamentary platform. One could disembodify one's words and unravel its meanings. In case of questions, there are members who ask relevant questions by virtue of their membership of a particular professional body, i.e., a member who is an office-bearer of a trade union catering to mining workers is presumed to have interest in the subject related to mining and labour engaged with it. There would be others who due to their personal background, caste, creed and class affiliation is expected to ask questions pertaining to the group-interest, i.e., a member who heads a Christian Social body might ask questions on troubles of a Christian body.

Our endeavour is to examine the motive beneath the question and background of the member who asked it, and also the contemporary socio-economic and political conditions that impelled the member to ask a specific question. The idea is not to explore why certain issues are absent from the consciousness of the House but it is to explore why certain issues are raised or brought forth and what conditions (social, political, economic or party or individual rivalries) facilitated the raising of that specific topic. Embedded in each question is the contemporary context which needs as much attention in analysis as the question itself. The importance of each parliamentary intervention cannot be negated. Given its importance,

therefore, what conditions made it possible for an issue to mark its presence in the parliament needs proper understanding. Commercial interest, lobby influence, political partisanship, approachability of the member, party agenda, there can be any number of motives behind a question.

### **Section III: Debates:**

In this section our primary aim is to undertake a close reading of the debates on issues or measures concerning the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Rajya Sabha. My focus is on the SCs and STs, and debates on the issues directly about them. But there are other issues under discussion that might not be directly about the SCs and STs though relates to them indirectly. For instance, bills/resolutions/discussions on subjects like Mines Safety or conditions of domestic servants or even resettling of the displaced persons from the East Pakistan are subjects that indirectly concern the SC and ST. Moreover, while my focus is solely on various debates in Rajya Sabha, I also bring in the debate that took place in the Lok Sabha on the Untouchability (Offences) Bill, 1955, to make a comparative study.

#### **Untouchability**

On 26 January 1950, when a fledgling government adopted a republican constitution for India, intrinsic to it was a clause (Article 17) that abolished the practice of untouchability from social intercourse. The word ‘untouchable’ though was left undefined.

For the last many decades, since perhaps Jyoti Ba Phule’s *Gulamgiri* (1840), the colonial government had been engaging itself with the issue of untouchability. But it did not dare to go against the abhorrent Hindu practice; in some of its legal rulings the British courts had in fact upheld the traditional division and ruled against the blurring of caste boundaries; ‘there have been certain films produced earlier when the Britishers were here, which were banned in this country because they tried to preach against untouchability’<sup>17</sup>. Most social reformers of the nineteenth century recognised untouchability as socially regressive but were too engaged with the issues directly pertaining to their own survival and identity that they rarely raised cudgel against the practice. It was however Gandhi who from the very beginning of his Indian political journey made the issue of untouchability a talking point in his public speeches and performances.

Some five years after having constitutionally proscribed the practice of untouchability, the government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru’s Congress took measures to prescribe penal measures for those who enforced disability in the name of untouchability. In March 1954, an Untouchability (Offences) Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha and the same was moved for adoption by the Rajya Sabha in May 1955. It was a Bill to prescribe punishment for the practice of ‘untouchability’ and directly pertained to the one-fifth of the Indian population.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> M R Krishna, in Lok Sabha, p 6625-26

<sup>18</sup> The Bill was introduced after considerable care. Before giving it a final shape, a draft Bill was published, and after that draft Bill had been scrutinized, the Bill in its original form was introduced in Lok Sabha on 15 March 1954. The motion for reference to Joint Committee was discussed for four days, and it was committed to a Joint Committee of 49 members, 33 of whom belonged to Lok Sabha. The motion for reference to Joint Committee was moved by Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, then Home Minister, on the 26<sup>th</sup> August 1954; in April 1955, the Joint Committee returned the Bill for the clause by clause consideration and passing of the bill; by this time however, the minister had changed from Katju to G B Pant.

In the Lok Sabha, the Bill was introduced by the then Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, who was later replaced by Pt G B Pant. In the Rajya Sabha, the introductory speech was delivered by B N Datar, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs. Most states already had their version of Acts in statutory books that prescribed varying punishment for the practice of untouchability.

### ***Nature of the Untouchability (Offences) Bill***

What was the nature of the Bill on the anvil? 'The real character of the Bill', the Minister B N Datar explained in the Rajya Sabha, 'is that it is a penal measure'. The government admitted that the untouchability prevailed despite its constitutional abrogation. Speaking for it, Datar disapproved demands for harsher punishments to those who practiced untouchability. It would be socially counter-productive, he opined. The untouchables were in a minority in every village, their 'number is confined only to a few families in the rural areas'. Harsher punishments to a dominant caste offender might lead to a social boycott and other forms of social tyranny against the untouchable people. What after all does an untouchable want? 'Do Harijans want equality or they want a particular right?' asked Dr. Kailash Nath Katju speaking in Lok Sabha in a similar vein. And, answered sagely, 'I think what they want is that everybody should go to that well and use it just as I use a third class compartment in a railway carriage.' One who was victim of extreme social ostracism was expected to be the harbinger of social harmony.

What happens, if once, in a fit of agitation, Harijans are allowed to draw water from a particular well, to worship in a particular temple, and then the upper-caste users of that well, of that temple begin to shun them as they have been defiled? Does it augur well for Harijans? Won't they like that such institutions be used by all castes? This was being said by the Minister Katju who had introduced the Bill in Lok Sabha, cautioning extra enthusiasm over the Harijan rights on the use of public institutions. Wait for a change of the heart, minister was advising, let equality to creep in, don't get agitated over rights given by the Constitution, they are there, work for the change of heart, or still better, allow the upper-caste people to atone! So, according to the Minister, law shall not work if there is no public opinion backing it. 'You pass a law of this description and supposing public opinion is not behind it, then what is the result? Riots take place. There is assault, disturbances.' Or laws would be infringed with impunity. 'Look at the Sarda Act!' People marry their underage daughters despite there being legal prohibition on such marriages. 'You may pass a law, but you cannot enforce it unless you have public opinion behind it'. Punishments do not engender affection. 'If you get somebody punished and sent to jail for six months, please do not be under false notion that by having that man punished, you have brought the two communities together; you have really estranged them... I can say the result will be even increase in crime, increase in disabilities, social boycott and what not...' A Minister was calling the whole process of legislation making and its purpose void and doubting the preparedness of his own law-enforcing machinery, and all this was being spoken on the hallowed floor of the legislature.

And, therefore, the Bill, Datar said, provided openings to parties to compromise with the permission of the Court. 'If for example, the man came to the conclusion that what he did was wrong, and then if he is prepared to make some reparation to the aggrieved party...there must always be a scope for repentance', Datar said, arguing for the compounding clause. It left members unconvinced. 'Does it apply to cases of robbery and theft?' a sceptical Bhupesh Gupta asked Datar. It left Datar speechless but he tactfully refused to bite the bait. It was a bill that played a tight-rope walk between the aroused instinct of humanity among the untouchables and power and influences of the Swarnas; the Bill was not so much a balancing

act but attempted to satisfy all stake-holders without giving much to the untouchables to reclaim their lost humanity. K S Rao, an SC member, said in his rejoinder to the debate in Lok Sabha, 'There is nothing radical in the Bill. It appears to me as a calculated eye-wash just to hoodwink the Harijan population.'

### ***Timing of the Bill: The Non – Absence of Ambedkar***

If most members were sceptical about its effectiveness, they were also critical about its delayed coming. The Untouchability Bill was seen as being long overdue. 'I do not know how it took seven years for the Government to bring in a Bill at least of this kind', was a common refrain of the participant-members. 'It is because there was no pressing and urgent necessity that the social disabilities of these communities should be redressed, that this Bill was not brought forward earlier', said A K Gopalan in Lok Sabha, without mincing words. The government explained that the delay was caused due to its eagerness to collect all relevant information from various states. But significantly the Bill came accompanied by the din of conversion announcement made by Ambedkar.

Generally, whereas Gandhi came in for much praise from members for his role in fight against untouchability, Ambedkar was present throughout the debate in the consciousness of both Houses and came to be critically referred for his declaration that he would die a non-Hindu. Although, some members took up arguments that were known to be Ambedkar's, they stopped short of going whole hog for his position. Some members did insist that the government enact laws to eradicate the caste system, as it was from here that untouchability sprang forth, they didn't take up their cudgels against Hinduism itself, as Ambedkar had done, his dictum being destruction of untouchability must entail destruction of Hinduism.

On October 14, 1956, Ambedkar converted to Buddhism during a big ceremony at Nagpur, where thousands of Untouchables followed his example. Ambedkar had announced his intention of converting much before. In 1955, when the Untouchability (Offence) Bill came up for discussion, the members were aware of his announcement. In the Lok Sabha, Rajabhoj proposed Ambedkar's name as the Chairman of the proposed Joint Select Committee to deliberate on the bill but there was no consensus. Ambedkar was a member of the Rajya Sabha. His most critical opponents were found in the Upper House. Surendra Ram, a member from Madras, an 'untouchable' himself, keeping in the mind more of Ambedkar's public announcement regarding his impending religious conversion than the content of the Bill under discussion, said, 'I totally disagree with those persons who advocate change of religion as a solution for all our ills. To cut away from our moorings and drift into unknown religions will be a dangerous adventure. We shall be losing all the privileges and rights that have been guaranteed by the constitution. After centuries of hardship, endurance and fighting, our day of liberation is dawning and the horizon is clearing. To run away now from Hinduism will be an act of cowardice and confession of our failure. Those who advise us to change religion are certainly not our well-wishers.' The elders spoke generally not as someone with independent thinking, as was expected from them, but as their patron's voice and in that process they lost their individuality.

Seeta Parmanand (Madhya Pradesh), after registering that the Bill of this nature came a little late in the day, gave away the real push-factor of the Bill by attacking Ambedkar. 'If any movement to change religion is sponsored by anybody, it will have only one meaning and that is to create again a separatist bloc in the country more or less for personal reasons and which is not calculated to be in the interests of the country'. Proclaiming that the modern welfare state has replaced the religious leaders of yore when it came to delivering social justice, Seeta Parmanand argued that 'It is no longer necessary for any sect to embrace



another religion in order to have these inequalities removed.’ Permanand’s speech acknowledged the backdrop in which the Bill was being introduced by the government; it was Ambedkar’s recent declaration on his resolve to change his religion and embrace Buddhism. According to her the function of religion was no longer to facilitate building social order; it now lay mostly in personal realm for spiritual benefit. That aspect of ordering society and its structure was now taken over by the welfare state and its institutions.

The Untouchability Offence Bill was on a subject on which the country had willy-nilly reached a consensus on its abolition, at least legally if not from actual social intercourse. It was a blot on its international image as witnessed by those ambassadors and foreign affairs men who took a moral position on the prevalence of apartheid in the South Africa but were themselves silenced into embarrassment when reminded of untouchability in their own society. It was also an agenda born of India’s freedom struggle and a major show-down between warring Hindu factions was just averted by Poona Pact in 1932. Thirdly, the issue of reproachful behaviour towards untouchables was gaining political significance with Ambedkar’s call for religious conversion, tempered only by the fact that he had called his followers to change their God, not from that of a Hindu to one of those from competing major Semitic religions like Christianity or Islam but to one that generically belonged to Hinduism itself or was one of its offshoot. Fourthly, the Constitution had declared that untouchability stood abolished the moment the country turned into a republic by adopting it; this also brought in its wake constitutional safeguards such as provision of reserved constituencies for the untouchables, now statutorily called the Scheduled Castes, to elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha. That had brought a specific number of people belonging to the SC, some 16% of the total parliamentary strength, as legitimate representatives of the SCs. This was a significant number that often put pressure, however feebly, as a bloc on the Government to expedite removal of social disabilities imposed on the untouchables. Fifthly, the measure such as prescribing penal punishments against the practitioners of the untouchability did not greatly involve private capital, which would have caused some hindrances.

In the joint parliamentary select committee, where the proposed Bill was thoroughly discussed, from the Lok Sabha there were 33 members of whom 20 were those elected from the reserved constituencies; a member elected from the reserved constituency, Shri Barman (North Bengal, Reserved, SC) was its Chairman. So, clearly, the government was aware of the need to rope in members from the reserved constituencies in making of a law that pertained to the removal of social disabilities of communities regarded as belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The Bill, the treasury benches knew, would only be a lip-service if suggestions from the representatives of the community was not ascertained or endorsed.

### ***What a SC wants?***

In Lok Sabha an overwhelming number of members who spoke on the Bill were those elected from the reserved constituencies. In both Houses, there was considerable knick-pick on who should be getting more opportunity to express their sentiments. What was at stake was their right to speak. The non-SC members asked for greater opportunities as they needed to atone for the sin of untouchability; such sentiments instead of being a tribute to Gandhi, in reality mocked at him. Below is given a snippet of debate that conveys the farcical way Gandhi was acknowledged:

**Gadgil:** ‘...more preference (for speeches) should be given to caste Hindus, because they have to do the penance.’

**Chairman:** ‘so, far as preference is concerned, I would also like that as many members from the SCs as possible be able to speak, because this is a Bill which concerns them...’

**Damodara Menon :** ‘...whether making a speech is an act of penance...’

Then again, :

**S S More:** We have had debates and discussions about untouchables ...it has become the practice, almost the unwritten law of this House, that persons belonging to the untouchable community or the SCs are given preference. I would like to submit that it is not only their concern. It is more our concern. As far as implementing this measure is concerned, it will be our concern.

**Deputy-Speaker:** Whether an hon. Member belongs to the SCs or not, whether he is an untouchable or not, it is the concern of all the members of the House. Every members’ vote is necessary. Further, there is the other point. It is for people who have practised untouchability to say we will no longer do it and appeal to the rest of the community. Those that have suffered will also have an opportunity to say how this measure may not be adequate and how the suffering has to be relived by some other measures also.

**Veeraswamy (SC):** Only the Members from the SC could give suggestions as to the way in which untouchability could be abolished. So, I would request the Chair to give more chances to members belonging to the SCs so that they may express their views and give their suggestions to the House.

The right to represent and voice demands pertaining to the disadvantaged communities constitutionally earmarked as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was not without contention. While those who originally belonged to such communities claimed greater knowledge by virtue of they being one of them, there were others who thought their ‘otherness’ does not make them less sympathetic or eager. But the general members who spoke on the Bills almost always held a view point that differed from those who came from reserved constituencies. At the very beginning of debate in the Lok Sabha, one SC member objected to the word ‘Harijan’ being used to call them.

**P N Rajabhoj:** (SC, Sholapur): We don’t like the word Harijan. We are untouchables, please call us untouchables. Harijan is a dirty word, it should not be used to call us. Call us Dalit, call us untouchable, but please do not call us Harijan.

**Velayudhan (SC, Quilon):** I welcome that word. It is commonly used.

**Naval Prabhakar (SC, Outer Delhi):** Rajabhoj used Untouchables to call Harijans. I take strong objection over it. We are neither untouchables, nor would like to become one.

**Rajabhoj :** They are Congress Harijans. The Home Minister must be told not to use this word to call us.

**Chairman:** Other members from the SC say that they do not like the word ‘Achhut’. Let the Hon. Minister use whatever words he pleases. After all the word ‘Harijan’ is not one to which all members take exception. If all the members begin to take exception to one word or the other, I think it will be difficult to find any word which will properly describe the SCs.

Despite this early protest, Harijan continued to be referred quite unabashedly throughout the debate on the bill, even Rajabhoj found it convenient to refer the community by calling them Harijans. However, he was also to bring into the usage a new coinage of Dalit. Similarly, when Datar referred to aboriginal population of India as Hindus, T Bodra in Rajya Sabha took exception and said, 'Advasis are not Hindus. Had they been Hindus in the past, they would have become untouchables by now.'

Such differences in view points were more starkly revealed in the Rajya Sabha. In the Upper House, there were only a few members belonging to the SC. R U Agnibhoj vented, 'I may inform you that in the whole House there are only four or five people from the depressed classes.' As one belonging to the SC and being their representative, Agnibhoj asked for more speaking time. There was a degree of well-founded scepticism about the effectiveness of the Bill among the members across the caste barrier. But there was a significant difference in approaches between the SC and the non-SC member. A non-SC member could say: 'This is a legislation of the kind which would not be much in force because I feel that prosecutions under this Act will be very rare and even where offences are committed, prosecutions will be filed with great reluctance.'<sup>19</sup> They even enumerated numerous factors because of which the Act would be ineffectual: the witnesses would not be forthcoming, victims would themselves not approach temples fearing the wrath of the deity or of the dominant caste groups over whom they were dependent for their livelihood, the collaborationist nature of official machinery, and then the doubt: 'Is there a guarantee that the provisions of this Bill will be implemented?'. While agreeing with the argument, an SC member would not hesitate in outlining its utility. V M Surendra Ram, an 'untouchable' Congressman from Madras, said, 'Though I am fully conscious of the fact that change of heart is essential for the removal of untouchability, yet this legislation will serve as a correcting rod who refuse to recognise the sign of the times'.<sup>20</sup> The SC members demanded pre-empting action on part of the government and stricter enforcement through official accountability. N Rachiah (SC) in the Lok Sabha said, 'I should say that if any officer disobeys or does not give effect to the enacted laws even after it is passed, there must be a provision in the Bill that that officer should be summarily dismissed, 99 percent of the officers are against the harijans and they are in the hands of the so-called people who are prejudiced against the Harijans, who are cause for this untouchability.' There was a promise in the Bill but, as Ram Das (SC member) said in the Lok Sabha, 'machinery with the will to eradicate the social ill has to be built'.

The SC members were not fatalistic or escapist but demanded enacting laws and their stricter enforcement. They pointed out duality in the approaches: '....Some people say time is such that untouchability by itself is vanishing away, so why enact a law? And, when the practice is part of an entrenched belief system of the society, same people say, do whatever you can, enact as many laws, it's no use as time for change hasn't yet arrived. Such people do not make an effort to bring about the desired change.'<sup>21</sup> They also demanded greater recruitment of the SCs in the official administrative machinery to enforce proper implementation. As M B Vaisya ( SC) said, only enhanced employment opportunities with help from policies of positive discrimination and reservations can help bring not just economic independence but also their representations in the government services. K S Rao (SC) pleaded 'Give us an

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<sup>19</sup> N Somana, Lok Sabha

<sup>20</sup> V M Surendra Ram, Rajya Sabha; Surendra Ram's point was repeated earlier by many members in Lok Sabha, for example, Jangre who said, 'Some people say, what can a law do, what we need is transformation of heart? I agree with them but I also believe that a law is needed along with the transformation of heart. We need a law to control the delinquent tendency as well as elements'

<sup>21</sup> Jangre (SC) Lok Sabha

opportunity to live, provide us with land, give our children free education up to college level, allow us to live as citizens and then I am sure this social evil will go.' There was greater emphasis on the secular elements in their lives than the spiritual ones.

P N Rajabhoj pointed out the abysmal presence of untouchables in the higher echelons of the government and demanded, 'We need a Minimum Wages Act for the landless and labour class and proper implementation of the reservation in jobs provision. Before us is not the issue of conversion as that do not solve problems – people who have converted into Christianity or Islam have not brought any change in their economic or social position. Make a new ministry for Harijans, give Harijans with minimum qualifications jobs in higher services, implement reservation policy effectively'. These were demands whose fulfilment would have brought into being the missing middle class among the untouchables.

The SC members were less prone to vouch for temple entry but questioned those who thought untouchables lack faith. 'When somebody says about Dalit going to a temple that he lacks faith or devotion it is not true.'<sup>22</sup> They demanded all those work by doing which untouchables have become so, should be carried by everyone. 'Till the time occupations regarded as defiling are not taken up by others considered of superior castes, untouchability cannot be rooted out.'<sup>23</sup> They also accused the upper castes for existence of the internal social division within: 'Even if there is untouchability among the SCs, it has been created by the Brahmins.'<sup>24</sup>

They doubted the government's willingness to tackle the problem. M R Krishna (SC) said, '...Sometimes, when questions pertaining to the welfare of the SCs are asked in this House, in answering those questions, some of these Ministers forget that their answers, instead of doing any good to the Harijans in this country, are definitely going to harm them. They give all sort of funny and frivolous answers. In the first place, until the Ministers make up their mind to treat the questions relating to the welfare of the SCs in a proper manner, I do not think any legislation, however, strongly it may be worded and however best are the intentions with which it may be framed, will do any good to this community.' Discounting the factor of political rivalries and party positions, the fact that a sitting member on the floor of the House can accuse the Treasury Benches of being cavalier in answering the concerns of the SCs is remarkable reflection on the power wielded or insensitivity shown by the non-SC members.

As there were only a few SC members in the Rajya Sabha, the conservatism of the House was most visible in discussions on areas of concern for the SC. The issue of internal division within the Untouchable community were brought forth repeatedly. Also on offer were a plenty of advises for untouchables to behave.

Members were unanimous in their support for the Bill although they also had apprehensions regarding its implementation citing low conviction rates under a plethora of state legislations that existed on the same subject. Some of those who took most vociferous stands in favour of stricter legal measure and adoption of other economic and social norms were apparently upper caste members. Members were in some kind of bind. They knew that draconian punishments cannot by itself eradicate a social evil even though they had an example of eradication of sati when the practice was outlawed by the Governor-General Bentick. But they also knew that as the reality of unequal social relations and extreme economic dependency existed, one can not allow the compromise between the parties to take place after

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<sup>22</sup> Naval Prabhakar (SC):

<sup>23</sup> Jatavveer (SC)

<sup>24</sup> M R Krishna (SC)

the crime has been committed as the victim can also be influenced or forced to accede to conditions set by the oppressive party. But there were also members from among the upper castes who did support the Bill but also brought in caveats against such Bills.

Seeta Permanand who had argued in Rajya Sabha how modern welfare state had replaced the religious institutions and thereby had invalidated the change of religion to gain social respectability was also the one who asked for no dilution in 'administrative standard' while making appointments. The SC members were of the opinion that government should give appointments to any deserving candidates belonging to the SC within in the SC quota. Permanand was of the opinion that there should not be any relaxation in qualifications or standards in order to bring in more SC/ST candidates in government service to give them economic security and social dignity – the twin demands of all the SC members – as it would affect 'principles of administration'. Other non-SC members brought up the issue of political expediency in not going totally against the practice of untouchability<sup>25</sup>; of how temples have never been debarred in Hindu scriptures but person entering the temple must have faith in the deities installed there<sup>26</sup>; of how 'there are distinctions between Harijans and Harijans'<sup>27</sup>: 'First let them clean their own house and then expect the differences of millennia to be resolved between them and the upper castes. We must do something for Harijans but they should also reform themselves'<sup>28</sup>.

D Narayan found it a right occasion to complain that 'Educated among the untouchables must see its eradication as their social responsibility and act accordingly, campaign against it, but alas, they are not living upto their social role that is demanded from them'. Similar complaints were commonly heard during the debate; all such complainants were the non-SC members. Jaspal Rai Kapoor said, 'now that the Act is going to be enacted, may I turn towards our untouchable brothers and ask them to observe some restraint and not go overboard in provoking the upper castes. I request them to be restraint in their action and show contentment and behave decently.' Kapoor was against the Act as it made the offence of untouchability cognizable that gave powers to the police to arrest anyone without warrant. For Chandrawati Lakhnapal (Brahmin), untouchability practice was nothing exceptional as it could be found even among the Brahmins; there was only a variation in degree. Savitri Nigam took the opportunity to 'plead a little with harijan brothers, they should drop humiliating works or accepting gifts that demean their humanity, let harijans not accept even for a day the practice of carrying night soil on their head; they should launch a satyagraha and force municipalities to give them cart'. This was a strange request being made by an upper caste representative to untouchables, made in the guise of their own welfare; social conditions however were such that in Maharashtra the practice of Vatan was entrenched, as anthologies of Marathi Dalit literature show, Mahars only had humiliating bread or work, to request Mahars to leave such work or refuse stale or left-over food, was cruel as any other work or food was unavailable; even today, Doms in north India continued to have food left by party-goers in rural India.

J P Agarwal not only covertly opposed the Bill on the pretext that it would discourage the Upper Caste workers to bring about the social change, he also mocked at the untouchables in the most insensitive manner. Agrawal by referring to 'one Harijan Saheb' seemed to be either talking of a creature long gone extinct or was self-righteously mocking at a community that

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<sup>25</sup> SS More (Brahmin)

<sup>26</sup> Nand Lal Sharma,

<sup>27</sup> Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju

<sup>28</sup> Kamlendu Mati Shah

largely was a victim of the deadly social ill. 'There was a Harijan Saheb', he said as if telling a fictitious story. 'He came to our region as a police station in-charge. Once he went to investigate a complaint and beat up a Harijan. When he came to me and I said what have you done, there are complaints against you. He accepted that he did beat up the Harijan. I said how can you, a Harijan do such an atrocious act against another Harijan? If I had thrashed an upper caste person, he replied, I would have felt contended but I had no such powers. So, these Harijan brothers when they come to occupy positions of power, when they reach legislature, they should become doubly responsible and give their lives to ameliorate the conditions of Harijans. ...I am witnessing an increasing trend towards casteism among the SCs....' Whatever happened to the idea of penance?

Almost all the members irrespective of their caste background made a plea that only an abolition of caste system can really root out untouchability from society. Most non-SC members brought up the question of temple entry or about its prohibition or position in religious texts. They tried to show their liberal face by recommending their entry into temples. But concerns of the SC members were entirely different and as Ambedkar had said, the issue was not alone of temple-entry. They brought up the issue of landlessness, joblessness, houselessness (houses were small and on land owned by landlords), lack of representation in services and forums or education or access to government sanctioned amenities such as a well, coalition of officials with the propertied classes etc. Constant motifs found in the speeches of the non-SC Members was this twin moral claims of opposites, first, the idea of having committed some kind of sin by observing the practice of untouchability in the social intercourse with others and, second, therefore, need to lend themselves to do penance by helping in its eradication. But as R U Agnibhoj noted 'Sir, it is said that everyone would like from the bottom of his heart that the condition of Adivasis and Harijans should improve, but just ascertain whether your bottom of heart is not broken.'<sup>29</sup>

Even a cursory glance of the debates could reflect upon the character and background of the speakers. One could make out from the kind of words used, concern shown or issues raised or solutions offered the speakers' caste, creed or class background. A person of the 'upper caste' origin, smug in his caste superiority, would talk of being a penitent due to centuries of oppression of 'untouchables' but at the same time would also throw certain counsel for the reformation of 'untouchables' – 'you must stop drinking, eating carrions, carrying head-load of human excreta, get rid of the internal division within your community', as if no internal social-divisions prevailed within the so called upper castes. The 'upper-caste' speakers brought up the issue of purity of intent in the religion, saying a religion that accords highest position to the indivisibleness of the atman, 'a doctrine of the one atman, ...cannot tolerate any segregation on the ground of touchability or untouchability' whereas the 'victims', those for whom penance was to be done - 'that is one atonement which the caste Hindus must discharge, must undertake in order to wash away the sins which they have committed for so many ages' – it was not about religion and its purity of intent but the actual practice that could only be ended by bringing in land re-distribution, preferential treatment in employment, providing reservations.

Untouchability (Offence) Bill, as noted above, was on an issue whose abolition from the social practice was now a national consensus. Even if the Members had some reservations,

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<sup>29</sup> R U Agnibhoj, Rajya Sabha, Discussion on Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1955, on 22-26 August 1957

they did not express their positions forthrightly. But on the Bills and proposals that entailed some provisions for the amelioration of economic or political positions of untouchables, the biases of the members, their porous heart, as Agnibhoj had indicted, became starkly evident.

On 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1955, Satyapriya Banerjee, taking note of a spate of fatal accidents in coal mines, moved a **resolution regarding safety measures for workers in the mining sector**. His resolution was opposed as the basic demand the resolution made was nationalization of mines as private firms were unable to provide conditions for safe working. Banerjee, who belonged to the trade union federation AITUC, held ‘callous attitude of the government’, ‘greed’ of the private mine-owners, and antiquated safety regulations as responsible for making the coal mines ‘death pits’. Seeta Parmanand, who had earlier opposed relaxation of qualifications for SC/ST and one who ironically was President of the Congress led trade-union front INTUC, opposed Banerjee’s resolution making a claim that ‘the miners, being human beings and being naturally lazy’ are themselves responsible for their deaths in accidents at their work-place.

H P Saksena went a step further and said, ‘Mr Banerjee forgot that these so-called death-traps and death-pits were the bread-suppliers and *Bhojanalayas* of the poor. ... The mines will have to be worked. The workers will be men of flesh and blood and the poorer the person the stronger the temptation and the stronger the need for working in coal-mine. It is always attended with all manner of risks that go with working in a coal mine pit.’ It was however left to T Bodra to bring out the rampant insensitivity of the member and their total disregard for the enforcement of safety measures. He said, ‘The poor who go into the well of death with minimum of safety measures and bare minimum working tools go there to satisfy their hunger, go there in search of work. It is none of Mr. Saksena’s concern if thousands of those workers die there due to the absence of safety measures. For Mr. Saksena, it is not a great event. People take birth to die, he would say, which is unfortunate.’

Similarly when on 4 December 1959, P N Rajabhoj introduced a private member bill the **Domestic Workers (Conditions of Employment) Bill, 1959** for consideration of the Upper House, most members opposed it on the ground that the conditions were deterrent to poor people’s appointment. The bill had merely envisaged better working conditions as they worked for long hours at low wages without any job securities or leaves. There was not a single law in existence that protected domestic workers or regulated their works and yet Rajabhoj’s Private Member was negated by the Treasury Benches.

In September 1956, the Rajya Sabha discussed a **SC and ST Orders (Amendment) Bill** to provide for the inclusion of and the exclusion from the list of SC and ST of certain castes and tribes. After pointing out delay in adopting anything pertaining to the disadvantaged, R U Agnibhoj, said while State Reorganization dealt with more ticklish issue in such a short time, the Backward Classes Commission, appointed in January 1953, took two years and eight months to submit its report in March 1955, which was only presented in Parliament in September 1956. He was also critical of Commission’s Chairman, Kaka Kalelkar. ‘What was the Commission doing so long? Was it sleeping? Was the Commission’s report in the dustbin of the Home Ministry?’ Agnibhoj was trying to say that the Ministry assumed alacrity when other issues came up but when it came to the disadvantage communities it became sluggish, a slow-moving behemoth. It could only be speeded up with a greater presence of bureaucrats belonging to the SCs/STs in the ministry. ‘The problem of Harijans cannot be solved by Brahmanism, but it will be solved by the Harijans and Tribals themselves. Brahmanism is anti-national because it has divided and broken the country into two pieces.’ How correct was

Agnibhoj was evident in D Narayan's intervention on a discussion on the **Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes**, on 1 May 1958. D Narayan while also maintaining that municipalities should be told that the practice of employing people for carrying head-loads of the night-soil was outlawed, said, '...After their conversion into Buddhism, the Mahars in Maharashtra, whose traditional role was to take away the dead domestic animals in the village and flay its skin and sell, have left this work. The Chamars who were normally the end-users of those skin flayed by Mahars should be given training in scientific flaying and tanning so as to increase their employment avenues.' Kishori Ram retorted: 'Can this work not be done by Brahmins and Khatriyas?' D Narayan preferred to skirt the issue and said Chamars have employment problems and hence the proposal. The presence of members belonging to the affected communities at least helped confronting misconceptions or misplaced arguments reeking in casteism.

Members' divergent viewpoints were evident when the Rajya Sabha took to discuss **Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes**. These annual reports were on the performances of different states in tackling the issue of disadvantage and discrimination against five crores of SCs, 2 crores of STs, and 47 lakh of de-notified tribes. It is true that the government showed as if they had more pressing issues at hand than solving the backwardness of the SC and ST. As H N Kanzru pointed out they were really discussing a stale report of 1955 in 1957. The report was received from the Commissioner by the government on 26 February 1956 and was discussed in House in August 1957, a year and half after the receipt of the report. The Commissioner made a point about the unavailability of the relevant data given that the state governments do not send them or maintain proper records. Schemes lacked detailed exposition while being earmarked for financial support in Plan reports. R U Agnibhoj, once again brought out a contradictory situation when he said, 'There is an article in the Constitution that Harijans would be given reservation of seats in the services, but to my great disappointment and frustration, I find that this word 'efficiency' has developed a new meaning. The word 'efficiency' for the Harijans, has the other name of 'untouchability'. This word 'efficiency' is denoted where Harijan candidates are before the selection committees and commissions.'

When D A Mirza provoked Agnibhoj by saying how could job be given when there were no efficient Harijans, R U Agnibhoj retorted, 'I can bet on the floor of the House and say that the Harijans are more efficient than many of your people. But the mental perversity, the dishonesty and the insincerity that exist in you are coming in the way...I may boldly say on the floor of the House that it is not the in-competency or the inefficiency of the Harijans, but it is the in-competency and inefficiency of the Governments.' Agnibhoj was one SC member who repeatedly made a point that 'a barren does not know the pangs of a delivery', meaning he, being a SC, shall have rights to express concerns regarding the SCs.<sup>30</sup> This was his way of demanding a proportionate representation in the parliamentary forums.

In February 1958, P N Rajabhoj moved a resolution asking for the reservation of seats in Parliament and in the State Assemblies provided for the members of SC/ST in the

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<sup>30</sup> I am tempted to quote some more of his words from his remarkably free and forceful speech: 'A Brahmin or a Muslim cannot understand the feelings of the SCs. ( a comparison with other communities ensued naturally: how come Muslims despite partition have more presence in the government than the SCs or STs) ... We have been depressed, suppressed and oppressed for centuries together. And even in this independent Republic of India we are again suppressed and oppressed and other castes and communities go ahead. I must compare ourselves with all the castes and communities. I have got a perfect right as a member of Parliament and representing the sentiments of the Adivasis and Harijans in the country. .... Despite having passed prohibitory orders on the practice of untouchability, Courts pass order that Harijans cannot enter the Vishwanath Temple.'



constitution be extended from ten to twenty years. Under article 334 it was laid that there would be reservations for ten years. It was opposed by members who said, benefits of reservations have only been cornered by a few families, how the policy has 'turned untouchables into a privileged class so much so that even upper caste individuals want to become Harijans to partake the largesse offered by the State', how the policy would fuel separatist tendencies ('If Harijans are given preferential treatment and are given reserved representations, what will stop other backward communities to take to separatist path if they are not given reservations of seats'), how religious groups with no theological support for untouchability such as Islam or Christianity are asking for reservations. But the SC members were forthright and emphatic in their demand for reservations. R U Agnibhoj charged the government in strongest possible words: 'I tell you why we want constitutional protection and reservation. In the Lok Sabha there are so many Harijans and Adivasis, because there is reservation, but in this House there are five or six of whom one is Agnibhoj. If your intentions are honest, if you are really sincere why don't you bring 40 Harijans in this House? If you are sincere, here is a test of your sincerity and honesty.' He charged political parties and the government with harbouring dishonest intentions. 'It is the higher caste caucus who do not want us to live with self-respect and dignity is responsible for reservations.' Agnibhoj said let all the posts that were there for providing water to officers or positions of mess-workers in offices where mess were running be reserved for some years only for untouchable persons. This should help in eradicating feelings of mutual discrimination. There was a high degree of scepticism about the potential or will of the political parties to nominate SC/ST members on their own volition. Forceful SC speakers although a few in numbers could repeatedly bring the government on mat on the issues concerning the SCs; the same was not evident in case of STs; barring T Bodra, no tribal leader spoke with the same authority or conviction.

### **T Bodra : An Adivasi representative in the Rajya Sabha**

If T Bodra could say that it was wrong to call an Adivasi a Hindu, he was also learned enough to point out how SCs and STs differed. 'I would like to tell the Minister that there is a distinction between SC and ST. SC/ST members do suffer from poverty, backwardness, illiteracy and other handicaps but so far as the tenancy acts are concerned the STs are governed under their well-established customs.'<sup>31</sup> In May 1958, Bodra brought up the issue of 'aboriginal refugees'. A major section of the Commissioner's report focused on displacement of the SC/ST caused by the infrastructure and development projects. Bodra's speech mainly concerned what he called 'aboriginal refugees', the people who were victims of development because they lived in regions that were resource-rich. He pointed out that the Commissioner failed to elicit information on resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced due to development projects; a negligible number of those being displaced were actually rehabilitated. 'Formerly human sacrifice was done for the illness of a ruler, but now we have been murdering so many thousands of Adivasis and the SCs and the BCs for the success of our industrial plan.' Bodra's was the most vocal position on the tribal issues.

T Bodra was so closely identified with the issues raised around Chota Nagpur and Adivasis that while inviting him to speak in a debate on **Public Employment (Requirements as to Residence) Bill, 1957**, (25 November 1957) the Deputy Chairman warned, 'Mr. Bodra, Do you want to speak? Nothing about Bihar here. Nothing about Chota Nagpur. Please speak only about the Bill, otherwise I will rule it out.' While speaking on the Bill that seek to do away with all residential qualifications or domicile rules, Bodra opposed the Bill as it was

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<sup>31</sup> T Bodra: 13 September 1956; SC and ST Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1956

detrimental to the weaker section of a State as opportunities would be taken over by better qualified from the states rich with resources and educational institutions. Bodra's argument was this Bill would discourage state authorities in the under-developed states to develop educational institutions to train its own people. Bodra repeatedly asked oral questions (for instance, on 29 April 1958) on governments plan to open technical institutions in Chota Nagpur. 'In view of the fact that there are vast mine and mineral deposits in South Bihar, what are the reasons for not starting any new institutions for imparting training in Mining and other technological subjects?' Government resorted to vague, evasive answers. Bodra took up cudgel not just for his region but for the SC/ST from all over the country. He spoke on Nagas, on Santhal migrants to tea gardens in Assam, on discrimination in Employment Exchanges in forwarding the SC/ST applications to employing authorities.

T Bodra's contribution to the Railway Budget debate was from the perspective of those affected by the expansion of the Railway network.<sup>32</sup> In his speech on Budget (Railways), 1957-58, Bodra did not dwell upon the budgetary provisions or development plans but forcible displacement of Adivasi groups caused by Railway's development plans in Bihar. Bodra also pointed out in his speech that when he enquired about the matter he was faced with the official apathy and misrepresentation of facts. Moreover, 'when new lines are laid, work is started before acquisition proceedings' for land belonging to Adivasis were completed. 'Compensation ought to have been paid before work was done.' Work is begun even before land-acquisition proceedings is finalized or compensation paid, valuable trees are mowed down to clear the land and again without any compensation to the owners, people are forcibly displaced and their houses occupied by the construction workers. Reading a letter from a correspondent he alleged that there was discrimination against Adivasi candidates in the railway employment.

Bodra pointed out how starvation deaths due to lack of food is being called by officials as deaths due to dysentery or diarrhoea or indigestion. 'In the scheduled areas of Ranchi, a family does not get anything to eat for 4-5 days. Whenever they come across some jungle vegetables or leaves or rotten cereals, they take about three or two seers and boil them. Because the people have had nothing to eat for 3-4 days, they pounce upon this thing and you can easily imagine that when a man who has been hungry and starving for 3-4 days, consumes 2-3 seers of this, there will naturally be indigestion and he will naturally die.'<sup>33</sup>

At the same time, Bodra found Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Bill, 1957<sup>34</sup> a right step by the Government of India in dealing with the tribal. He was the one who did not mince words in castigating the government while taking up cudgels for the Naga tribal people. While questions on 'Naga Hostiles' abounded, he said, 'From the very beginning, to me it appeared that the Nagas never wanted an independent State inasmuch as they wanted that their customs, religion, their republic and their special land system should be kept intact and that they should not be wedded to the ideals of people like the Assamese living in plains. The State Ministers and their officers have never treated the tribal people in a way that they should treat them. They are treated just like Africans and slaves. It is fuelling separatist tendencies.'

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<sup>32</sup> 28 May, 1957; Budget (Railways), 1957-58

<sup>33</sup> 1 June 1957; Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1957

<sup>34</sup> 27 November 1957, Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Bill, 1957

Speaking on another occasion, on a Report of University Grants Commission<sup>35</sup>, Bodra spoke of his effort to bring a university to his South-Bihar constituent. He was advocating for a university at Ranchi. 'It is only the educated people who can be the most effective people in this world – people who have education of the university standard. Unless the universities are within the easy reach of the citizens, it is rather difficult for the underdeveloped areas like Chota Nagpur to come on a par in a short time with other people. ....The lands of the people, specially in these areas which are dominated by SC/ST/BC are being acquired for the new factories, and these people are being turned into landless labourers. The only alternative for these people is to die of starvation or to work in the factories and mines as unskilled labourers. All the engineering staff and the technical staff must come from outside where there are technical schools and universities.' While commending the missionaries for having spent their money and labour for educating the ST/SC/BC of the area, Bodra openly lamented that neither the first nor the second plan earmarked any financial allocation for opening new educational institutions in the area. He alleged discrimination. The missionary colleges in the area were receiving step-motherly treatment although it is they alone who were offering quality education to the disadvantaged in the area. So, private missionary institutions were discriminated against, and the government itself was reluctant to open new institutions, what would happen to the disadvantaged? he asked.

Bodra was one person coming from a region that was going through a massive industrialization and infrastructure development, a region in which massive amount of land was being acquired for the public sector factories and their residential colonies and for mining of natural ores and coal, and for dams and reservoirs, a region that was witnessing a brutal voiceless displacement of its indigenous population who would constantly raise the hackles of the Treasury Benches and point out injustice of it all. Speaking on **The Finance Bill**<sup>36</sup>, Bodra gave vent to his angst, 'these lands were not desert lands; these lands were full of forests and forest villages ...which are now submerged or on which steel plants have come up. Sir, one heard many a time about the East Pakistan refugee and the West Pakistan refugees. And here are we have already turned more than 15 thousand families into refugees. Nowhere, Sir, neither in the DVC report, nor in the reports of the Irrigation and Power Ministry, do we come across any single line as to what happened to these people, whether these families which had been uprooted have been resettled or whether they have died.' Bodra spoke how the members of the SC/ST/BC are used to paying high taxes to the rulers; the native states prior to independence used to extract any amount of taxes on a number of pretexts. Now, in what way the members of these three communities are concerned with the Finance Bill. On the face of it, it might look as these people don't have anything to pay taxes but they are taxed most exorbitantly.

He would personally visit the contentious zones where new factories and dams were being built, causing displacement and loss of livelihood to the indigenous people. He would question the disproportionate sacrifice that the weaker sections of the society were asked to make. 'I have seen all these Santhals, aboriginals, Harijans and the backward classes communities living under the trees exposed to rains and the Government has not come to their rescue.... It is very unfortunate that the upper class people think that the members of the SC and the ST and OBC have to perform the duties of donkeys. Sir, these people are not animals. And yet one wonders why a Harijan or an Adivasi or a backward class community member is called upon to make sacrifices for the progress of Mother India. ...The whole

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<sup>35</sup> 23 April, 1958, Report of University Grants Commission,

<sup>36</sup> 26 April 1958, The Finance Bill

future of these communities depends on their lands. The moment you acquire their lands, they die like the fish out of water.’ In his 1961 book *The wretched of the Earth* Frantz Fanon argued: ‘For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity.’

Bodra in his rejoinder in a debate on **Appropriation (No.2) Bill, 1958**<sup>37</sup> made a plea of land for land rehabilitation scheme: ‘When you have acquired our lands, instead of giving us compensation, give us land for land and house for house. That is what we want because Santhalis and Adibasis can hardly count the rupees, even if you give them Rs. 1000 or 2000 as compensation, they will lose it in their liquor shops.’ For those who were displaced due to development projects and whose lands were acquired, Bodra said they should be resettled on another piece of land. He even said if partition refugees were unwilling to go to the designated site for their rehabilitation, the displaced adivasis should be settled there. ‘If the West Bengal refugees are not very much willing to have Dandakaranya it is we, the aboriginals who love the forests we will readily go there. If you can transport us, if you give us the railway fares, we don’t want your money as compensation. All that we want is, you lift us in the railway compartments and take us to Dandakaranya and thus rehabilitate the people who are being uprooted because of the land acquisition.’<sup>38</sup>

## Post-Partition Population Transfer in Eastern India

### Dandakaranya Rehabilitation Project

Unlike the refugees from the West Pakistan, which came into India in a few big waves immediately after the partition, on the East Pakistan side, the exodus of population continued till over a decade after the country was politically bifurcated. This exodus therefore kept accumulating into a great human tragedy. Its main brunt was bore by the West Bengal as refugees’ immediate relief and long-term rehabilitation was its shared responsibility along with that of the Centre. A million people were living in refugee camps. ‘The problem is tremendous, heart-rending, and looks like never-ending’, noted the Chief Minister B C Roy in his budget speech in 1955.

Post-partition population transfer in Eastern India had a peculiar character attached to it; the Hindu population that moved out of East Pakistan in the wake of partition were landless and low –caste, mostly untouchables; they were attractive rootless possible support group for the newly strength-acquiring Communist Party of India; the Congress on the other hand were not so enamoured with them and wanted them out of boundaries of the West Bengal; this divergent political aims created a contradictory and confrontationst atmosphere in Bengal.

The West Bengal government claimed that there was no vacant land to settle refugees; their resettlement must happen outside the state. The Communist argument was to counter the paucity of land theory put forward by the Congress government. The government was bundling off people who had migrated from East Bengal to places as far as Andaman and Nicobar for resettlement. Government’s own reports were sceptical about efforts at rehabilitation: ‘The rehabilitation of East Bengal displaced persons in States outside West Bengal has presented several difficulties.’ The Centre however was keen to settle them in other neighbouring states.

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<sup>37</sup> 29 April 1958, Appropriation (No.2) Bill, 1958

<sup>38</sup> 29 April 1958, Appropriation (No.2) Bill, 1958

Communist Party members in the Rajya Sabha led by Bhupesh Gupta and Satyapriya Banerjee not only brought up issues concerning the refugee's rehabilitation for discussion in Rajya Sabha but also were organizing and mobilizing refugees in the West Bengal. On 24 Feb 1956, Satyapriya Banerjee's resolution requested the government to constitute a committee of members of the parliament to enquire into the conditions of refugees from East Pakistan. The members who opposed the resolution wondered why East Pakistan refugees be not asked to settle in other states. The refugees from the West Pakistan had gone all over the country in order to rebuild their lives. Why the same cannot be followed by those from the East Pakistan? Most members supporting the resolution argued for the maintenance of cultural integrity of the Bengali refugees. There was an important distinction, adding to the absence of a political party to espouse the cause of refugees from the West Pakistan – Akalis were there but there were Hindu migrants, too – Hindu Migrants from the East Pakistan were mostly low-caste, poor people; rich had already got their mansions in Calcutta, the rich East Bengal Zamindars always held a house in Calcutta while also being a resident of Dacca. Further, whereas the exodus of Hindus continued to add to the population of the West Bengal, no such reciprocal migration happened from Bengali Muslims to the East Pakistan, there were not enough evacuee properties to take possession of and refugees were already poor back home: they got a political party to support their cause and mobilize them into a protesting interest group; the West Pakistan refugees were already a vocal pressure group due to their resources and Sikhs had a bargaining tool in the shape of a separatist demand.

On 14 March 1958, Bhupesh Gupta moved a resolution for a Half-an-hour discussion on 'Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons in Dandakaranya. The resolution on Dandakaranya Project was moved by Bhupesh Gupta who in his speech said that refugees were opposed to be sent to Dandakarnaya for resettlement. In the beginning of the year 1957, the Ministry of Rehabilitation had mooted the idea of Dandakaranaya Project wherein it was proposed that as the West Bengal has reached its saturation level, the refugees from the East Pakistan would be rehabilitated in the Dandakaranaya region comprising of parts of hilly and forested border areas of MP, Orissa and AP. It was said this combined area would be of some 80,000 sq miles which would be reclaimed and developed for the settlement. Gupta said the designated area is malaria-infested jungle with no means of communication, and yet it is proposed that the refugees from the East Pakistan would be rehabilitated there. No refugee organizations or opposition parties in the West Bengal supported the move. 'It is not merely a question of parochial resistance to going there.' Bhupesh Gupta rejected the Government's contention that the West Bengal had reached the saturation point as far as rehabilitating the refugees were concerned. The government's contention was that there was no vacant land, an intense competition for employment existed, and therefore the refugees have to be settled in other parts of the country.

On 1 September, 1959, Bhupesh Gupta again moved a resolution to discuss the unfolding Dandakaranaya Project that involved rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees and expenditure of around rupees hundred crore in long term settlement and development in the region. A blue-print of the project was prepared in 1957. It was alleged that instead of 32000 families only 201 families had been settled in the much hyped project. It was a two-hour discussion. On 27 November 1959, the Minister of Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs, Mehr Chand Khanna, gave a statement in the Rajya Sabha regarding Dandakaranya Project. Bhupesh Gupta and others were again on the forefront in confronting the Minister who gave a clarification on the intra-body rivalries between officers in the newly constituted Dandakaranaya Development Authority. On 15 December 1959, again a statement was

released by the Minister and a discussion took place; similar points were repeated by the both sides.

The instance of T Bodra and discussion around Dandakaranaya Project in Rajya Sabha showed that an issue can gain prominence if it was pursued doggedly by a member or a Party. Presence therefore does matter. But it must be qualified with other factors, too. The dogged pursuit of the refugee issue in the West Bengal was a political cause espoused by the Communist Party, which was reflected in the debates in the Rajya Sabha where repeatedly the issue was raised.

# 4 ● Coalition Casualty, 2003-2008

*As the political discourse veers towards the need to send positive signals to tribals amid growing influence of naxalism against electoral politics, there is resentment among Scheduled Tribes in Congress that the party did not nominate anyone from the community to Rajya Sabha in recent elections. Congress did not consider the community for the 16 seats it was assured after 18 of its MPs retired from the Upper House. To many in the party, the debate over naxalism should result in political parties sending more tribals to legislatures to win their confidence.*

‘Congress draws ST ire for not giving RS tickets’,

Times of India, 25 June, 2010

In the above-cited report from the Times of India, there is no mention of names of those dissenting and demanding greater representation of the Scheduled Tribes in the Upper House of the Parliament. The reporter quotes sources without identifying their names or their affiliations. And, this is ironical. How could anonymous individuals decry non-presence of specific ‘communal’ representation at a Parliamentary Forum? What the post-independence provision of reservation in representations in Parliament has done is to make the representatives invisible and voiceless. The value of representation has got mired in the mirth of just being present. The politics of coalition has taken a toll on the politics of presence.

This chapter is on debates in the Rajya Sabha in the period between 2003 and 2008; the organization of the chapter is similar to what has been achieved in the last one for the duration of 1955-59. The prime idea behind choosing two such differentiated and distanced periods (1955-59 & 2003-2008) was to locate the idealism borne in the immediate aftermath of independence and maturity of a young nation concerned about its disadvantaged communities. Only a nation imbued with idealism, maturity and confidence could give an empowering look to ‘the last man’, Gandhi’s phrase. How much of idealism prevailed in those early days? How much of maturity India gained in dealing with its internal but vastly core issues some sixty years after those heady days of the post-independence?

In this chapter, instead of focusing on full five years to interrogate questions asked and debates engaged in, I focus on just two years, 2004 and 2007, for detailed analysis. The annexure to the Chapter 4, attached below, will show a catalogue of questions asked for the years 2004 and 2007. I avoid references to questions, although they are referred selectively to buttress unfolding arguments and inform our discussion of debates on the SC and ST in the Rajya Sabha in the year 2004.

This chapter focuses on the year 2004. It was a crucial year in which the general election for the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha was held and results were worthy of shock. A cocky NDA was given an electoral defeat and a grateful UPA was the beneficiary of windfall. So, the year was witness to the governance model of the both main political coalitions. The NDA in its last days faced

a barrel of criticism on its ‘feel good’ slogan. The members raised issues of rising unemployment. The UPA on the other hand began with an itinerary of Common Minimum Programme (CMP). The then President in his Address to the joint Parliamentary Session of the newly elected members gave a list of promises that the coalition would undertake to achieve. Referring to the SC and ST, the President vouched for an entirely new subject of Reservation in employment for SCs and STs in private sector. ‘My government will initiate a dialogue with political parties, industry and other bodies on how best the private sector can fulfil the aspirations of SC and ST.’ This while indicating the pro-poor resolve of the new government also indicated the changed socio-economic scenario in the country: first, winds of globalization had increased the importance of the private sector with it attracting most investment, and consequently, having the potential of greater employment opportunities; the Public Sector, it was said, had taken a back seat as far as its responsibility towards country’s unemployment problem was concerned; second, the past many decades of reservation policy by the governments and however skewed implementation of it, had brought a strong and vocal number of the SCs and STs who could build a pressure on the government and cast doubts over its honesty in dealing with the weaker sections of society. But a look at the debates and questions discussed and asked in the year 2004, a year in which governance models of both major political coalitions was on evidence, show that generally, within the Rajya Sabha’s scheme of things, the SC and ST had declined not just in ‘presence’ but also in ‘politics of decibels’ heard in the august House. But before we go on to delineate the nature of discussion in this one year, my attempt is to bring a few general inferences to light:

- By the year 2004, the Rajya Sabha had become a greater bastion of conservatism and of vested interest;
- The Rajya Sabha was increasingly becoming an abode of political rejects who in political perception retained their heavy-weight status.
- The Rajya Sabha due to the above two trends had scarcely been performing the role due to it as a Council of States.

## Section I: Members in 2004: A Profile

The educational profile of 239 members as ascertained from the *Who’s Who* published by the Rajya Sabha is tabulated below. The information is tabulated without being cross-checked and is what is given by the members themselves.

### Educational Qualifications of Rajya Sabha members in 2004

High School	Intermediate	Graduate	Post Graduate	Others	Total
21	12	114	88	No formal Education 1; Under matriculation 1; Self Educated 1; No detail 1;	239

Compared to the year 1955, the number of members in 2004 with no formal education was down to a negligible numerical strength. In 1955, the members in the ‘other’ category, the members whose educational achievements were not of High School standard or beyond or had no formal degrees, were proportionately high (of 214, 24 were those whose educational attainment were not from formal institutions); in the year 2004, such members were only 3 (of the total of 239). In percentage terms, in 1955, 11 percent of members fell in the ‘other’ category; they were those whose education was either informally done or were from



traditional institutions or whose educational achievements were not mentioned. In 2004, just one percent of the total members fell in the ‘other’ category. On the other hand, number of members with a graduate degree only increased between two periods. In 1955, 77 percent members were either graduates or more, whereas in 2004, 88 percent members were graduates and more.

So Rajya Sabha in 2004 was better endowed with formally trained intellect; an overwhelming number of members were trained or received their education in modern and formal educational institutions. Rajya Sabha was always a House whose inhabitants were better educated. But the educational attainment of its members has been increasing each successive year.

### **Professional / Occupational Engagements of members in 2004**

Trader & Industrialist	Professional (Doctors, Teachers, Engineers, Economists, Professors, Journalists)	Political & Social Worker	Agriculturist	Civil Servants	Lawyers	Artists	Trade Union	Total
19	37	90	34	10	35	9	8	242

An analysis of occupational engagements as given by members throws some interesting insights. In 1955, some 28 percent members were lawyers by profession, in 2004, the same had got reduced to just half i.e., 14 percent, which was a remarkable decline in their dominance. The presence of professionals too had undergone a marked decline; in 1955, the percentage of professionals such as teachers, doctors, engineers, economists, journalists etc was around 21% but in 2004 their percentage had declined to 15%, which was contrary to the expectation as the Rajya Sabha was thought to be the Elder’s Body and a body that was to bring greater variety in representation.

But most remarkable rise was in the category of ‘Social and Political Worker’: in 1955, they were a small group, just at 18 percent of the total members whose professional engagements could be ascertained; in 2004, their presence had more than doubled at 37 percent. One inference that can be drawn from such a remarkable rise in the presence of people calling themselves ‘Social and Political workers’ is that political parties were more and more nominating their leaders who were defeated in Lok Sabha elections or those leaders who were thought to be closer to the Party Bosses but themselves wielded no popular bases. Rajya Sabha was increasingly becoming an abode of those rejected by the popular votes. It was a back-door entry into the parliamentary forum for those who had lost in popular count but could still influence the party nomination.

Similarly, the presence of retired bureaucrats too had palpably risen: in 1955, they were less than one percent but in 2004, they had fattened themselves to be at 4 percent. The rise in numbers of the ex-civil servants only showed the strengthening of the politician-bureaucrat nexus. It did not augur well for the health of the representative democracy as such nominations were tainted by the allegations of quid-pro-quo: civil servants nomination in Rajya Sabha could be construed as part of a deal or in return for being what during Indira Gandhi’s term had come to be known as ‘Committed Bureaucracy’.

Some classes such as land-owners, zamindars, or princes had understandably vanished completely from the scene in 2004. But the percentage of presence of trade unionists had remained constant although it could be argued that there was a slight decline in their presence in 2004 as compared to that in 1955. From almost negligible presence in 1955 (at mere 1), the category of Artists too had gained by 2004 (now at a healthy 9). Trader-Industrialists and Trader-Agriculturists taken together had fattened themselves in the republican India; their presence had improved marginally to 21% in 2004 from that of 20 % in 1955. It is therefore wrong to say that the rich have become lords of the Rajya Sabha just now; in reality, the rich always flaunted their bejewelled presence in Rajya Sabha.

Another point that emerged out of a study of profile of members and states they represented is that the political parties do not shy away from nominating those who originally did not hail from the state they represented in the Rajya Sabha; as monopoly of the Congress was demolished by the rise of regional parties as well as of the BJP, different states were ruled by the different parties, different parties only wielded a legislative dominance in certain states from where they could send or rehabilitate their political bosses or their nominees by electing them. It was because of this one could find names of members being nominated from states with which they had only notional association as their Parties ruled those states; they originally did not hail from the state they represented, thus again jeopardising the idea of Rajya Sabha being a Federal body. For instance, following members, only a few known ones from a motley crowd, represented states they had no formal association with:

Tariq Anwar (originally from Bihar) was a member from Maharashtra

Mohsina Kidwai (originally from UP) was a member from Chattisgarh

Sushma Swaraj (originally from Haryana) was a member from Uttaranchal

Arun Jaitley (originally from Delhi) was a member from Gujarat

Manmohan Singh (he owns a House in Chandigarh, Punjab) was a member from Assam

Increasingly, a trend towards placing into Rajya Sabha the seemingly indispensable politicians for Party, although dispensed off by the electorates in the Lok Sabha elections, was being unabashedly followed. However, a 2003 amendment to the Representation of the People Act, 1951, did away with the requirement of being a resident of the state or union territory from which a person seeks to contest election to Rajya Sabha. Now, a person aspiring for a seat in Rajya Sabha need just be a registered voter in a parliamentary constituency anywhere in India.

## Section II

Below is the list of sessions and their durations held in the year 2004:

Session No.	Duration	Year
200	30 January – 5 February	2004
201	4 June – 10 June	2004
202	5-9 July; 16-18 August	2004
203	1 -3, 9-13, 14-23 December	2004

Questions asked in the year 2004 and 2007 are organized under following categories.

### 1. Atrocities

2. National Commissions
3. Reservation in Services
4. Revision in SC/ST
5. Welfare/Tribal Development/Scholarship
6. Peace and Conflict
7. Land acquisition and development led displacement

	<b>Category of questions</b>	<b>Most Questions asked (1)</b>	<b>Most questions asked (2)</b>
1.	Atrocities (6)	P K Maheshwari (2)	Nandi Yellaiah (1)
2.	National Commissions (4)	Ram Nath Kovind (1) Gandhi Azad (1)	
3	Reservation in Services (13)	Penumalli Madhu (2) Praveen Rashtraoal (2)	PRAMILA BOHIDAR (1); T.R. BAALU (1); NIRMALA DESHPANDE (1)
4	Revision in SC/ST (3)	Kum Kum Rai (1)	Kripal Parmar (1)
5	Welfare/Tribal Development/Scholarship (16)		
6	Peace and Conflict (4)	Uday Pratap Singh, Motilal Vora, S P M Syed Khan, maya Singh (1)	
7	Land acquisition and development led displacement (1)	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA (1)	

Few inferences can be drawn. Questions related to the SC/ST were few and far between in the year 2004. Most members in 2004 who asked questions related to SC/ST did not ask more than 2 questions. 'Atrocities' and 'Peace and Conflict' were the two categories that attracted members' relatively more attention: 'Atrocities' was about the SCs; 'Peace and Conflict' was about the STs and the 'Naxal menace'. It was interesting to see how nomenclature had remained largely unchanged when it came to National Parliament's response to disturbances in the tribal areas of the country: in fifties, it were the 'Naga Hostiles', in the new millennium the focus had shifted to the 'Naxal Menace', though the content and form had remained largely same; it reflects upon the sensitivity of the Indian Parliament that whereas in fifties 'Naga Hostile' was largely limited to the periphery, some fifty years later the periphery has moved to centre-stage and acquired the form of 'Naxal Menace', and yet the Parliament has not changed either in the way it has understood the problem or prescribed solutions. Generally though there is a decline in the national interest on the issues of SC/ST except when it comes to fissiparous conflict burgeoning in India's tribal mainland.<sup>39</sup>

### Section III: Debates

<sup>39</sup> Take for instance 2-3 December 2004; most questions asked on tribals revolved around the 'Naxal menace' conception:

Social-economic development in Naxal-affected areas by Rama Muni Reddy Sirigireddy and Datta Meghe  
National Policy to tackle Naxal Menace by Prema carippa  
Effect of Maoist's activities on school-going children by Motilal Vora  
Special Task Force to Deal with Naxalite Organizations by Pyare lal Khandelwal

The crucial transformation in the nature of intervention in Rajya Sabha is that in 2004 it seemed most members content themselves to merely ‘associate’ themselves with the special mention moved by a member rather than contribute into enlarging the knowledge based on which special mention is made. Most members had newspaper reports as the basis of their Special Mention.<sup>40</sup> Many members found it convenient to attach themselves with the motion being moved by one member. It is concluded that not much has changed in the way parliamentarians in the Rajya Sabha perceived tribal areas and disturbances there in between 1955-59 and 2003-2007.

### **Manipur’s agitation over the Armed Forces Special (powers) Act<sup>41</sup>**

In 2004, Armed Forces Special (powers) Act became the centre of agitation for the people of Manipur who demanded abrogation of the Act from Manipur. The different kind of agitation had also started around the killing and discovery of the Manorama Devi’s body. The people accused the personals of the Assam Rifle to be responsible for the brutal crime and asked for its removal.

On 17 August 2004, the Home Minister Shivraj Patil delivered a statement in Rajya Sabha regarding the law and order situation in Manipur. Manipur for long had been declared as a disturbed area by the government owing to insurgency and militancy in the state. The Armed Forces Special (Powers) Act had been clamped throughout the state. A popular resistance movement in Manipur had been calling for its abrogation. An activist Sharmila was on a protest-fast demanding its repeal. In July 2004, a woman Manorama Devi was found dead; it was also alleged that she was raped; needle of suspicion was directed towards Assam Rifles, a para-military unit based in Manipur to take on insurgency. A spontaneous protest movement ensued; women in nude protested before the military headquarters and chided the army-personals to rape them. Photographs and news about such protests rocked the conscience of the whole country. A chastened State government gave orders to withdraw the hated AFSPA from Imphal while leaving it intact for the rest of the state. The protest and demonstrations did not whittle down but aggressively demanded Act’s repeal from all over the state. The Home Ministry at the Centre did not look approvingly to the agitation or to demands of withdrawal. After the Minister gave the statement, the House was asked to seek clarifications, if any. Members from across the Parties and regions sought clarifications while also presenting their view-points.

Jaswant Singh, speaking as the leader of the Opposition in Rajya Sabha, considered North-East India as ‘one of the most highly sensitive parts of India’. He considered the insurgency in Manipur as ‘not only a challenge to the unity of our country, but is also a challenge to Constitution.’ He accused the government of dealing with terrorism in ‘a manner of traffic lights that we turn the red against terrorism and every now and then we turn the amber and

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<sup>40</sup> Some of the special mentions on SC/ST were of the following nature:  
Concern over Naxalite menace in some parts of UP, Special Mention, Kalraj Mishra  
Demand for granting of 6<sup>th</sup> Scheduled Status to Mising, Tiwa and Rabha Tribes of Assam;  
Need for legislation for reservation in employment in private sector for SC/ST/OBC and women  
Demand for probe into custodial deaths of tribals and dalits in Chattisgarh

<sup>41</sup> 17 August, 2004, Statement by Minister: Regarding the Law and Order Situation in Manipur Vol 202, No. 17, Rajya Sabha Debates

sometimes green'. He claimed what was happening in Manipur was 'layered and twin blackmailing'. 'The Unity of India was at stake.' In his view, the government was placing the armed forces under strain: 'you cannot have armed forces being asked to lay down their lives, and then told, 'you would now go back to the barracks''.

Matilal Sarkar representing the neighbouring state of Tripura pointed out why should the entire North-East be taken as a unit whereas the insurgency is going on in limited areas? He also blamed the neighbouring countries for the insurgency in North –East.

Jairam Ramesh's main concern was: 'What steps has the government taken to provide adequate protection and adequate safety to the police and the Armed Force personnel and their families who are in the frontline of this movement to combat insurgency, militancy and terrorism. Ramesh also wanted to know 'whether there is evidence available with the Government to draw any form of link between the growth of insurgency and terrorist activities and narco-terrorism.'

Sushma Swaraj taking the lead from Jaswant Singh accused the government of having lost the moral authority and observed that the government has stopped dispensing justice to the people. She suggested that the government initiate a political dialogue in Manipur and undertake a review of the AFSPA. Swaraj however mercifully refrained from taking a line that eulogized the army to the negation of the people's problems in the border state.

General (Ret) Shankar Roy Chowdhury did not see people's agitation as their own although he admitted he was solely speaking on the basis of newspaper reports. Continuing in a tone set by Jairam Ramesh, Roy Chowdhury asked, 'Is there any evidence of these some people being connected with the drug, extortion or timber mafia?' He said that the Manorama Devi was a member of a militia, People's Liberation Army, was trained in Bangladesh and had been responsible for many explosions in the state. He spoke not a word on her extra-judicial killing and rape. According to him, Manorama Devi was arrested on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2004, at 3.30 am by a Assam Rifle posse, who even requested the Assam Police to send a woman constable but was not sent. He asked: 'Is it correct that when Manorama Devi was released to answer the call of nature, she made an effort to escape, and the escort shot her down?'

The counter-point though was provided by Manipur's Rishang Keishing and that restored some sanity in the pronouncements on the Manipur and Manorama's killing. Keishing in a restrained voice pointed out frequent occurrence of the custodial deaths in Manipur which he said was causing lots of anxiety among the people. While emphasising the fact that Manorama was picked up alive and killed and her body thrown somewhere in jungle, he wondered if the 'persons have actually been identified, apprehended and brought to book. It is too long.' He also pointed out the stone-walling of the enquiry committee by the Assam Rifles. He also called upon the government to invite the insurgents for a dialogue.

# 5 • Conclusion

Parliament is a significant platform to vocalise ideas and identities; a cursory glance of the news-papers in fifties and sixties will show how prominently and in detail happenings in the Parliament were reported in its pages; the contours of the debate filled the pages of the newspaper, they were news by themselves. The situation however has changed today: no longer it is exposes within Parliament that is news, it is not Parliament that is providing gist to the news-reels but it's media-expose of the government's wrong-doing or societal fault-lines or even the Members' misdemeanours that is providing gist to the Parliamentary debates. The debates lack lusture, there is too much toeing of party line, arguments are more about winning political brownie points than about adding substance to the legislative process, which itself is hurried through; the problem of absenteeism is so endemic that sometimes the government face embarrassment not at the hands of the opposition onslaught but due to incomplete quorum. But there was one privilege that was for long enjoyed by the Parliamentarians and that was the right to ask questions or demand information from the government; a right that has recently been also bestowed on the general public by the Right to Information Act.

Commenting upon the nature of the legislative body at the Centre, Ambedkar, the man who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee for the Constitution, in his speech on States Reorganization Bill, 1956<sup>42</sup> spoke in support of further breaking the states: 'In the United States, the population of the various States differs. In some States it is small, and in some States it is big. But the Americans do not mind it, on account of the fact that the States have equal powers. The Lower House has the same power as the Upper House, and all the States have equal representation in the Upper House without reference to population. In the Senate they have equal representation. Under our Constitution, there is no such equality at all. Every State has not the same power, and the Upper Chamber has no powers at all, so far as finance is concerned.'

The founding aim of the Rajya Sabha was to have it as a federal body, a Council of States. It was supposed to provide representation to the interests and states that might not get due representation in the Lower House due to the exigencies of the electoral politics. It was also thought it would give due representation to the concerns that might not pay electoral dividend. Speaking on the Untouchability Offence Bill, one member in Lok Sabha, Mr. Bogawat, put in an amendment when it was proposed that a Joint Select Committee be constituted to look into the Bill. Bogawat proposed that only the members of the Lok Sabha be the members of the Select Committee. 'The reason for this is that we are representatives of the people, directly returned to this House by the voters whose wishes and interest we know well. So, it is quite essential that the Committee should consist only of members of Lok Sabha. It is of no use having a joint Select Committee of both houses, especially in Bills of this nature. The Rajya Sabha is a House of Elders and if they have any valuable contributions to make to the measure, they have ample opportunity to do so, when the measure as passed by us goes to them.'

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<sup>42</sup> 1May, 56, States Reorganization Bill, 1956:

But then when the Untouchability Offence Bill was brought to the Rajya Sabha for deliberation, the government was too much in hurry to accept any amendment proposed by the members. The Deputy Home Minister, Datar, more importantly and in a reflection upon the role and importance of the Rajya Sabha in the legislative scheme of the Indian Parliamentary system, refused to accommodate any amendments proposed by members. His plea was double-pronged: on the one hand he said, the Bill having gone through scrutiny from Select Committee and the Lok Sabha, did not necessarily require any other improvement. Second: urgency that the Bill becomes a law at the earliest, the processes of inclusion of amendments proposed by the Rajya Sabha members would delay its enactment into a law i.e., Ambedkar had already announced his intention to convert into Buddhism, and Bill was a way to show honesty of governmental intention to stymie the outflow of SCs from Hinduism at the behest of Ambedkar. On insistence of Datar, the Rajya Sabha passed the Bill, just as it was introduced, and all amendments were either withdrawn or defeated by voice-votes.

Any amendment proposed to a Bill by the R S members need once again go to Lower House for ratification. Sometimes, the government wants to hurry through a Bill and therefore discourages members to suggest or press for amendments as that would require the Bill's going to the Lower House and consequently delay its enactment into a law. While discussing the Untouchability (Offence) Bill in 1955, the minister did not allow any amendments to be pressed as he was anxious that Bill should soon be enacted into a law. Why was this seeming hurry? When the government took five long years since India became republic to bring this Bill before the Parliament, what could have really happened if it's enactment was further delayed by few more weeks? The shadow of Ambedkar, who himself, despite being the member of the house, did not take part in the debate over the Bill, and affect of his declaration that in October 1956 he would convert to Buddhism, lingered long over the consciousness of the House. The government was acutely aware of the Ambedkar's effect, as evidenced by the speeches of members, who either regretted that the government took five long years to come up with this penal measure for a practice that stood constitutionally abolished or spoke conciliatory words decrying attempts to cross-over religious boundaries and embrace new religion. The minister himself said, 'I am anxious that this becomes law as early as possible. Now in case we accept any amendment, the matter has to go to the other House and the other House is overpressed for time.' Such attitude by the government also casts doubt over the Rajya Sabha's utility in the larger scheme of things. Further even innocuous amendments such as insertion of a few lines detailing further the concerns of the Bill can be negated under the government command. During the discussion on Untouchability Bill, one Mr Kapoor wanted to insert 'the riding on any conveyance or animal' in a clause that pertained to disability enforced on the ground of practice of untouchability as according to him when a 'Harijan ride on even their own palanquin or horse or camel very often are assaulted'. Minister in his hurry did not think it fit to be included in the act as that would disturb his plans for hurried enactment.

In 2003-2008 period, a clear effect of coalition politics on the parliamentary debates become evident. Most members prefer reading a paragraph or two on the issues of relevance, mostly culled out from newspapers, as what is called Special Mention. Other members prefer attaching themselves attaching with the Special Mention being read. The denominational parties, although they don't claim so, but for the purpose of analysis we might understand them so, such as the Bahujan Samaj Party or Jharkhand Mukti Morcha even when they have strength, prefer non SC/ST members to be sent as their representatives in the Rajya Sabha.

This is not a general rule but it is observed more than in a breach. The mainstream parties who are expected to send the representatives of the SC/ST in the Rajya Sabha are too engrossed with their discarded leaders in a popular election to bother. And even those representatives who come in as SC/ST are economically so well off or professionally so distanced that their interventions, if any at all, ring hollow because of their motivated push factor or inherent superficiality.

The Rajya Sabha in short has changed in the given scenario of coalitional politics. Members of the nature found in 1955-60 are scarcely present in 2003-2008.

It is humanly impossible to frame 900 questions in one session by anyone. But as shown in chapter 3, one member did place some 900 questions to be answered by the various ministers. One can draw certain conclusions from such insane interventions. One, the member is forwarding questions that might be framed by various private agencies with some axes to grind. It is very much clear that questions related to specific trade or activities or even region cannot be asked by a generalist. A question on trade union activities or on such obscure region such as Andaman and Nicobar islands and government policies regarding exploration of its resources can only be asked by an specialist or someone who has a long-term interest in the subject. Members of the Parliament need to have a dedicated secretariat for researching into issues that pertains to society, polity or economy.

The fifties, the immediate years of the post-independence, was a decade of socio-economic and demographical churning. In this decade, while India was coping with the after-effects of a massive population transfer that the subcontinent underwent in the wake of freedom and partition, she was also undertaking to build itself into a modern democratic state.

This paper is primarily about the SC and ST and the responses of members on the issues relevant to them in the Rajya Sabha. The immediate years of independence were fresh with partition memories: Muslims either were tactfully subdued or were not in enough numbers to raise issues relevant to them. But a look at the parliamentary interventions around the issue of Muslims during the period 2003-2008 show a clear rise in the Muslim consciousness and their engagement with the 'politics of citizenship'. Many a members in the Rajya Sabha repeatedly brought up the issue related to Dalit Muslims and castigated the government for its failure to recognise the SC character of certain Muslim castes. They also repeatedly brought up the issues related to equity and justice for Muslims.

The parliamentary debates and questions provide researchers with opportunities to explore if one could build a social history of certain issues. We think there is ample scope for such endeavours. Take for instance the coal mining that initially were in private hands prior to its nationalization. Coal was the energy-base of an emerging nation, it was on the verge of getting nationalized, and it employed a great number of labour, mostly from SC and ST background, in a risky occupation. One could also try to unravel intended interest in a question or reciprocal sensitivity shown in providing answers by the Ministers to see if there is policy or human concern or serves some untold purpose or is just a nibble to embarrass a colleague or a Minister. Some members do have certain specialized concerns. For instance, one Dr. R P Dubey's questions mostly focus on finance, companies or government expenditure.





# Annexure to Chapter 3

## 1. Questions pertaining to Andman and Nicobar Islands

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956</b>		
<b><i>Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</i></b>		
A & N	Usury in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands ; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Displaced persons settled in the Andamans; q;	H. C. Dasappa on behalf of M. Valiulla
A & N	Licensed traders in Nicobar Islands	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Scheme for providing water for irrigation in the Andamans	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Introduction of prohibition in Andamans	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>		
S. No.	Questions	Comments
A & N	Protection and assistance to tribal people in Andamans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Sale of Timber by the forest department of Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Colonisation scheme for the Andamans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Development of Forests in Andamans; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Delegation consisting of members of parliament to Andamans; q	M P Bhargava
A & N	Assistance to inhabitants of Andaman and Nicobar Islands who suffered during Japanese occupation; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Passenger Bus Service in the Andamans; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Examination of the drinking water of the Andaman and Nicobar islands; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Number of schools in the Andaman Islands; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Import and distribution of cattle in Andamans; q	
A & N	Black Marketing of passage to Andamans; q	M Valiulla
A & N	Families from Kerala sent to	B C Nanjundaiya; <b>28 Aug</b>

	Andamans for settlement ; q	
A & N	Survey of Andaman and Nicobar island to explore the possibilities of coffee cultivation; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Road and Transport facilities provided in colonies for displaced persons in middle and north Andamans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
A & N	Clearance of land for colonization in the Andamans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Shortage of water in the Andamans and Nicobar Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
A & N	Setting up of seeds farm in Andaman Islands	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Christen Missionaries in Andaman Islands	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Selection of police officers in Andamans	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Linguistic and Genetic survey among Car-Nicobarese	Nawab Singh Chauhan
A & N	Separation of transport department from marine department in the Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Implementation of the recommendation of agricultural prices enquiry committee in Andamans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Grant of shell-fishing licenses in Andaman and Nicobar islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Arrangement for Embarkation and disembarkation by M V 'Andamans' at Car-Nicobar; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Communication facilities between Andamans and India; q	N M Lingam
A & N	Quantity and value of Timber Exported to India and Foreign countries from Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Royalty of Timber extracted by Lesse of North Andaman forest; q	Savitry Devi Nigam; <b>24 Nov</b>
A & N	Timber reported lost or missing by lesse of North Andaman forests; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Revenue and Expenditure of forest department,	Savitry Devi

	Andaman Islands; q	Nigam
A & N	Timber Extraction in Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Rate of supply of rejected and under-girth logs to private saw mill owners at Port Blair; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
A & N	Accumulation of timber stock in Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	<b>The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
A & N	Loss to Andman Forest Department on account of departmental extraction and sales; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Contract for Extraction and Export of Timber; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Royalty charged on Lessee of North Andman Forests; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Supply of Rejected and under-girth logs by Andaman Forest Department; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Jungle Clearance in Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Rubber Production in the Andmans; q	Ram Sahai	
A & N	Timber lost or missing by Lessee of North Andman Forests; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
	<b>The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
A & N	Industrial Employees in the Forest Department, Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
A & N	Pay scales of Adivasi Mazdoor working in Forest Department, Andaman Islands; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
	<b>The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
A & N	Settlement of Displaced persons from East Pakistan in the Andman Islands; q	Jugal Kishore	

## 2. Questions pertaining to labour

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Labour (Mines)	Coal mines accident ; q	
Labour (Plantations)	Labour in Cinchona Plantations ;q	
Labour (Agri)	Cost of living index for agricultural labour ; q	T D Pustake
Labour (Mines)	Production of Coal in Government Collieries; q	
Labour (Agri)	Cost of living Index for Agricultural Labour; q	
Labour (Mines)	Survey of Coal deposits; q	
Trade Union	The Indian trade unions ( Amendment) Bill, 1954; d	
	The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954/55; d	Continued; Available; 19 <sup>th</sup> March, 1955 pp. 2437-2520
Labour (Mines)	Resolution re Safety measures in coal mines; d	Continued 15 <sup>th</sup> April, 1955, pp.4836-4876

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Labour (Mines)	Workers thrown out of employment at Kolar gold mines ; q;	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Industries)	Representation from Labour employed in building, leather and carpentry industries ; q;	S.N. Mazumdar
Work/employment	Railway porters ; q;	M. Valiulla
Labours (Mines)	Workers employed in coal mines; q;	M. Valiulla
Labour (Agri)	Resettlement of landless agricultural peasants ; q;	N C. Sekhar
Labour (Mines)	Central Hospital of mica mines labour welfare organization at Karma; q	R G Agarwala
Labour	Gorukhpur Labour; q	Seeta Parmanand
Labour	Recruitment of Gorukhpur labour; q	Seeta Parmanand
Labour (Mines)	Investigation in the mining work of salt at Mandi; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Mines)	Refusal to accept payment of wages by coal workers; q	Ratanlal Kishorlal Malviya
Labour (Plantation)	Payment of bonus to tea garden labourers in Tripura	S N Mazumdar
Labour	Improvement of conditions of labour	Maulana Faruqi
Labour (Industries)	Temporary labourers working in factories	T Bodra
Labour (Plantation)	Tea estate declared as 'low producing areas'	M Valiulla
Labour (Mines)	Housing scheme for colliery workers	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour	Khadi liveries for Class IV employees; q	M Valiulla
Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	3 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee; 524-560;
Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	31 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee;

		2894-2899;

**Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957**

S. No.	Questions	Comments
Labour (Mines)	Amounts allocated for housing of workers in colliery areas	M Valiulla; 26 March
Labour (Industry)	Lock-outs and strike in cotton and jute mills; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Mines)	Tin Mines in Bihar; q	Kishori Ram
Labour (Mines)	Assistance rendered to coal miners for sand stowing; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Mines)	Nationalization of mines in Andhra Pradesh; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Agri)	Abolition of forced labour; q	M Valiulla; 20 Aug
Labour (Mines)	Acquisition of coal-bearing areas; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Industry)	Workers participation in management; q	M Faruqi; 23 Aug
Labour (Mines)	Withdrawal of appeal by colliery owners from the Supreme Court; q	P C Bhanj Deo
Labour (Industry)	Printing and sale of Kamgar; q	D Narayan
Labour (Mines)	Minor girl killed in a coal mine in Busra Field; q	Tajamul Husain
Labour (Mines)	Strike at Sendra Bansjora Colliery; q	Tajamul Husain
Labour (Plantation)	Adibasi Labour Emigrants working in tea gardens of Assam and WB; q	T Bodra
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam; q	T Bodra
Labour (Industry)	Evening classes for the training of industrial workers ; q	Raghubir Singh
Health (Mines)	Workers suffering from leprosy in the Jharia and Raniganj coalfields ; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Work/Employment	Subjects discussed at the meeting of the minimum wages advisory committee; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Industry)	Abolition of contract labour in cement industry; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus paid to labourers of Haldinari Tea Estate, Jalpaiguri; q	T Bodra

**Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha**

Questions and Answers		
Mines	Amalgamation of collieries; q	Maheswar Naik
Labour(Ind)	Labour participation in management; q	Amolakh Chand
Labour (Ind)	Strike by Bokaro Thermal Power Station workers; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

**Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha**

Questions and Answers		
Labour (Mines)	Inquiry into Chinakuri Colliery accident (q)	
Labour (Agri)	Minimum wages for agricultural labour (q)	

Labour (Mines)	Cases pending in courts for payment of rest days wages in Mica industries (q)
Labour (Mines)	Estimated cost of the setting up of a mica grinding factory (sq)
Labour (Agri)	Agricultural indebtedness (q)
Labour (Mines)	Meeting of experts in Geneva on prevention of accidents in mines (q)
Work/Employment	Facilities to loom weavers (q)
Labour (Ind)	Workers employed for loading and unloading cargo at Kandla port (q)
Labour (Mines)	Representation from the Mosabani mines mazdoor union (q)

**Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha**

Questions and Answers		
Labour (Mines)	Inspections under the coal mines labour welfare fund	Seeta Permanand
Labour (TU)	Labour strike and increase in emoluments	P N Rajabhoj
Labour (Mine)	Chinakuri Mine Disaster	Bhupesh Gupta
Labour (Mine)	Inspectors under the coal mines labour welfare fund; q	Seeta Parmanand
Labour	Gorakhpur labour organization; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour	Recruitment of Gorakhpur labour by the Chirimiri colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour	Assistance given to leather cooperative societies in Delhi; q	P N Rajabhoj
Labour (Plantation)	Labourers employed in Monohari Tea Estate; q	T Bodra
Labour (Mines)	Housing under the coal mines and mica mines labour welfare fund; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Mines)	Lease of plots to mine-owners at the Barajamda Railway station on the south eastern railway; q	T Bodra
Labour (Mines)	Co-operative societies of small mine owners; q	N C Sekhar
Labour (Mines)	Development of Korba and Bistrampur Coalfields; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Mines)	Wagons for Collieries; q	Babubhai M Chinai
Labour (Mines)	Accidents in coal mines during 1956 and 1957; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Sardars and Munshi of Deopara Tea Estate; q	T Bodra
Labour	Gorakhpur Labour Organization; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Labour (Mines)	Workers employed in Kurasia Colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Industry)	Employees of the Durgapur Steel Project; q	R B Gour
Labour (Mines)	Closure of Palana Colliery; q	R B Gour
Labour (Mines)	Report on Chinakuri Coal Mines Explosion; q	R B Gour
Labour (Industry)	Location of New Industries in Backward Regions; q	Perath Narayanan Nair
Labour (Mine)	Incentive to workers for greater coal production in Jharia coalfields; q	Amolakh Chand
Trade Union	Protest week observed by MES workers union; q	Amolakh Chand
Labour (Agri)	Rehabilitation of landless labourers in States; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

**Table XI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha**

	Resolution regarding discouraging and checking the evil of casteism and communalism in the country; d	<b>14 Feb 58</b> ; Session XX; moved by Jaspat Rai Kapoor on behalf of Kishori Ram; available from 496 – 532;
Labour (Mines)	Statement by Minister regarding disasters in Chinakuri mine and central Bhowrah mine; d	<b>20 Feb 58</b> ; XX Session;
Labour (Mines)	Statement by Minister regarding disasters in Chinakuri mine and central Bhowrah mine; d	25 Feb 58; XX Session;
	Reference to Railway Union in Budget discussion; d	25 Feb 58; XX Session;
Labour (Mines)	Request for discussion regarding mine disasters; d	21 Feb 58; XX Session; moved by Bhupesh Gupta
Labour (Mines)	Resolution re creation of a labour welfare fund for the workers in the manganese industry; d	5 Sept, 58; 2233-2236; 2245-2252;

**Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959**

	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Agri)	Minimum Wages for Agricultural Labour; q	Seeta Yudhvir; <b>24 Feb 59</b>	
Labour (mines)	Safety Mines Conference at Dhanbad; q	Bhupesh Gupta	
Labour (Mines)	Giridih Collieries	R G Agarwal; <b>12 March</b>	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Mines)	Accident in Giridih Collieries, Hazaribagh; q	M Basavapunnaiiah	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in North Bengal;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers of Majuli Tea Co. Ltd., Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Mines)	Working hours of Miners	Bhupesh Gupta	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Mines)	Assault on workers in Chirimiri Colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya	
Labour (Plantation)	Threatened closure of tea estates of the Cachar areas; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan; <b>9 Dec</b>	
Labour (mines)	Fire in colliery near Jharia; q	S Panigrahi	
Labour (Mines)	Accidents in Raniganj Coalfields; q	Harihar Patel; <b>15 Dec</b>	

	<b>Table XIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in XXIV ( Feb – 13 March), XXV (20 April-8</b>		



	<b>May), XXVI (10 August – 11 Sep), XXVII (23 November - 22 December, 1959) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha Debates</b>	
Labour (mines)	Nationalization of Coal Mines; D	27 Nov 59; Available: 639-644

**Labour (Mines: 1) Total Questions: 50**

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Labour (Mines)	Coal mines accident ; q	S N Mazumdar
Labour (Mines)	Production of Coal in Government Collieries; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Mines)	Survey of Coal deposits; q	A S Raju
Labour (Mines)	Resolution re Safety measures in coal mines; d	Continued 15 <sup>th</sup> April, 1955, pp.4836-4876

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Labour (Mines)	Workers thrown out of employment at Kolar gold mines ; q;	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Mines)	Workers employed in coal mines; q;	M. Valiulla
Labour (Mines)	Central Hospital of mica mines labour welfare organization at Karma; q	R G Agarwala
Labour (Mines)	Investigation in the mining work of salt at Mandi; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Labour (Mines)	Refusal to accept payment of wages by coal workers; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Mines)	Housing scheme for colliery workers	Nawab Singh Chauhan

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions	Comments	
Labour (Mines)	Amounts allocated for housing of workers in colliery areas	M Valiulla; 26 March	
Labour (Mines)	Tin Mines in Bihar; q	Kishori Ram	
Labour (Mines)	Assistance rendered to coal miners for sand stowing; q	M Valiulla	
Labour (Mines)	Nationalization of mines in Andhra Pradesh; q	M Valiulla	
Labour (Mines)	Acquisition of coal-bearing areas; q	M Valiulla	
Labour (Mines)	Withdrawal of appeal by colliery owners from the Supreme Court; q	P C Bhanj Deo	
Labour (Mines)	Minor girl killed in a coal mine in Busra Field; q	Tajamul Husain	

Labour (Mines)	Strike at Sendra Bansjora Colliery; q	Tajamul Husain	
Labour Health (Mines)	Workers suffering from leprosy in the Jharia and Raniganj coalfields ; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	

	<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Labour (Mines)	Amalgamation of collieries; q	Maheswar Naik	

	<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Labour (Mines)	Inquiry into Chinakuri Colliery accident (q) Ram Sahai		
Labour (Mines)	Cases pending in courts for payment of rest days wages in Mica industries (q); R G Aggarwala		
Labour (Mines)	Estimated cost of the setting up of a mica grinding factory (sq); Statement by Minister		
Labour (Mines)	Meeting of experts in Geneva on prevention of accidents in mines (q); Ram sahai		
Labour (Mines)	Representation from the Mosabani mines mazdoor union (q); T Bodra		

	<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Labour (Mines)	Inspections under the coal mines labour welfare fund	Seeta Permanand	
Labour (Mine)	Chinakuri Mine Disaster	Bhupesh Gupta	
Labour (Mine)	Inspectors under the coal mines labour welfare fund; q	Seeta Parmanand	
Labour (Mines)	Housing under the coal mines and mica mines labour welfare fund; q	M Valiulla	
Labour (Mines)	Lease of plots to mine-owners at the Barajamda Railway station on the south eastern railway; q	T Bodra	
Labour (Mines)	Co-operative societies of small mine owners; q	N C Sekhar	
Labour (Mines)	Development of Korba and Birsampur Coalfields; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya	
Labour (Mines)	Wagons for Collieries; q	Babubhai M Chinai	
Labour (Mines)	Accidents in coal mines during 1956 and 1957; q	Moulana M Faruqi	
Labour (Mines)	Workers employed in Kurasia Colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya	
Labour (Mines)	Closure of Palana Colliery; q	R B Gour	
Labour (Mines)	Report on Chinakuri Coal Mines Explosion; q	R B Gour	
Labour (Mine)	Incentive to workers for greater coal production in Jharia coalfields; q	Amolakh Chand	

	<b>Table XI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
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Labour (Mines)	Statement by Minister regarding disasters in Chinakuri mine and central Bhowrah mine; d	20 Feb 58; XX Session;
Labour (Mines)	Statement by Minister regarding disasters in Chinakuri mine and central Bhowrah mine; d	25 Feb 58; XX Session;
Labour (Mines)	Request for discussion regarding mine disasters; d	21 Feb 58; XX Session; moved by Bhupesh Gupta
Labour (Mines)	Resolution re creation of a labour welfare fund for the workers in the manganese industry; d	5 Sept, 58; 2233-2236; 2245-2252;

**Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959**

	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (mines)	Safety Mines Conference at Dhanbad; q	Bhupesh Gupta	
Labour (Mines)	Giridih Collieries	R G Agarwal; <b>12 March</b>	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Mines)	Accident in Giridih Collieries, Hazaribagh; q	M Basavapurnaiah	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Mines)	Working hours of Miners	Bhupesh Gupta	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Mines)	Assault on workers in Chirimiri Colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya	
Labour (mines)	Fire in colliery near Jharia; q	S Panigrahi	
Labour (Mines)	Accidents in Raniganj Coalfields; q	Harihar Patel; <b>15 Dec</b>	

	Question	Answer	
	<b>Table XIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in XXIV ( Feb – 13 March), XXV (20 April-8 May), XXVI (10 August – 11 Sep), XXVII (23 November - 22 December, 1959) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha Debates</b>		
Labour (mines)	Nationalization of Coal Mines; D	27 Nov 59; Available: 639-644	

**Labour (Mines: 1) Total Questions: 50**

Nawab Singh Chauhan; 4

Bhupesh Gupta; 4

Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya; 5

R B Gour; 2

M Valiulla; 6

Seeta Permanand; 2

Moulana M Faruqi; 1

T Bodra: 2

Questions pertaining to labour (plantations: 2)

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Labour (Plantations)	Labour in Cinchona Plantations ;q	N C Sekhar

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Labour (Plantation)	Payment of bonus to tea garden labourers in Tripura	S N Mazumdar
Labour (Plantation)	Tea estate declared as 'low producing areas'	M Valiulla

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Labour (Plantation)	Adibasi Labour Emigrants working in tea gardens of Assam and WB; q	T Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam; q	T Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus paid to labourers of Haldinari Tea Estate, Jalpaiguri; q	T Bodra	

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Labour (Plantation)	Labourers employed in Monohari Tea Estate; q	T Bodra
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Sardars and Munshi of Deopara Tea Estate; q	T Bodra

<b>The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959) of the Rajya Sabha</b>			
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in North Bengal;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers of Majuli Tea Co. Ltd., Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
Labour (Plantation)	Bonus to Tea Garden Labourers in Assam;q	T. Bodra	
<b>The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959) of the Rajya Sabha</b>			
Labour (Plantation)	Threatened closure of tea estates of the Cachar areas; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 9 Dec	

T Bodra: 10  
Nawab Singh Chauhan; 1

Questions pertaining to labour

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Labour (Agri)	Cost of living index for agricultural labour ; q	T D Pustake
Labour (Agri)	Cost of living Index for Agricultural Labour; q	Nawab S Chauhan
Labour (Ind)/ TU	The Indian trade unions ( Amendment) Bill, 1954; d	T V Kamlaswamy
Labour (Agri)	The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954/55; d	Continued; Available; 19 <sup>th</sup> March, 1955 pp. 2437-2520

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Labour (Industries)	Representation from Labour employed in building, leather and carpentry industries ; q;	S.N. Mazumdar
Labour (Agri)	Resettlement of landless agricultural peasants ; q;	N C. Sekhar
Labour (Ind)	Gorukhpur Labour; q	Seeta Parmanand
Labour (Ind)	Recruitment of Gorukhpur labour; q	Seeta Parmanand
Labour (Ind)	Improvement of conditions of labour	Maulana Faruqi
Labour (Industries)	Temporary labourers working in factories	T Bodra
Labour (Ind)	Khadi liveries for Class IV employees; q	M Valiulla
Labour (Ind) Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	3 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee; 524-560;
Labour (Ind) Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	31 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee; 2894-2899;

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Labour (Industry)	Lock-outs and strike in cotton and jute mills; q	M Valiulla	
Labour (Agri)	Abolition of forced labour; q	M Valiulla; 20 Aug	
Labour (Industry)	Workers participation in management; q	M Faruqi; 23 Aug	
Labour (Industry)	Printing and sale of Kamgar; q	D Narayan	
Labour (Industry)	Evening classes for the training of industrial workers ; q	Raghubir Singh	
Labour (Industry) Work/Employment	Subjects discussed at the meeting of the minimum wages advisory committee; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Labour (Industry)	Abolition of contract labour in cement industry; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	

<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Labour(Ind)	Labour participation in management; q	Amolakh Chand
Labour (Ind)	Strike by Bokaro Thermal Power Station workers; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10</b>		
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	<b>May 1958</b> ) of the Rajya Sabha
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>
Labour (Agri)	Minimum wages for agricultural labour (q) V C Kesava Rao
Labour (Agri)	Agricultural indebtedness (q) Maheswar Naik
Work/Employment	Facilities to loom weavers (q) D Narayan
Labour (Ind)	Workers employed for loading and unloading cargo at Kandla port (q) N R Malkani

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>	
Labour (TU)	Labour strike and increase in emoluments	P N Rajabhoj
Labour (Ind)	Gorakhpur labour organization; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Ind)	Recruitment of Gorakhpur labour by the Chirimiri colliery; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya
Labour (Ind)	Assistance given to leather cooperative societies in Delhi; q	P N Rajabhoj
Labour (Ind)	Gorakhpur Labour Organization; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Labour (Industry)	Employees of the Durgapur Steel Project; q	R B Gour
Labour (Industry)	Location of New Industries in Backward Regions; q	Perath Narayanan Nair
Labour (Ind)TU	Protest week observed by MES workers union; q	Amolakh Chand
Labour (Agri)	Rehabilitation of landless labourers in States; q	Savitry Devi Nigam

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Labour (Agri)	Minimum Wages for Agricultural Labour; q	Seeta Yudhvir; <b>24 Feb 59</b>	

Labour (Ind): 27; M Faruqui (3); M Valiulla (3); Seeta Permanand (2); Savitry Devi Nigam (2); Nawab Singh Chauhan (2)

Labour (Agri): 9; T D Pustake (1); Nawab S Chauhan (1)

3. Questions and debates pertaining to **Post-Partition-Population Transfer**

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Post-Partition Population Transfer	Abducted persons recovered in India and Pakistan; q	Krishnakant Vyas
PPPT	The Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): 36 children of abducted women are being looked after at Government expense. Of these 27 are in children's National Institute, Allahabad, and 9 in the Infants' Home, Amritsar; q	Question to be found out
PPPT	Claims of the displaced persons ; q	M Valiulla
		<b>14<sup>th</sup> April -4<sup>th</sup> May 1955</b>

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
PPPT	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes persons who came to India; q;	M. Valiulla
PPPT	Entry of Nomads from Pakistan into India ; q;	M. Valiulla

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
PPPT	Resolution re appointment of a committee to enquire into conditions of refugees from East Pakistan ; Resolution ;	Satyapriya Banarjee
PPPT	Resolution re appointment of a committee to enquire into conditions of refugees from East Pakistan ; Resolution ;	C. P. Parikh Continued Dated 24. 2. 1956
PPPT	Problems of displaced persons from East Pakistan ; q;	Moulana M. Faruqi
PPPT	Smuggling of fire arms from Pakistan by Leaders of Bhuswamis ; q ;	H C. Mathur
PPPT	Rehabilitation of displaced persons in the Eastern regions ; q;	Moulana M. Faruqi
PPPT	Irrigated land offered by states for the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan ; q;	Moulana M. Faruqi
PPPT	Influx of Hindus and Sikhs to India from Pakistan ; q;	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Meos ; q;	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Employment of displaced persons in government undertaking ; q;	Moulana M. Faruqi
PPPT	Employment of displaced persons in the state owned undertakings; Statement laid on the table;	Mehr Chand Khanna
PPPT	Houses constructed by government for displaced persons ;q	Krishna Kant Vyas
PPPT	Stoppage of doles to refugees in West Bengal ; q	S.N. Mazumdar
PPPT	Migration from West Bengal to East Bengal; q	M. Valiulla
PPPT	Rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan ; q;	Purna Chandra

		Sharma
PPPT	Migration of displaced persons from east Bengal; q	B C Ghose
PPPT	Entry of Muslims from East Bengal into Assam; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Municipal corporation set up in townships for displaced persons	M Valiulla
PPPT	Migration of displaced persons from East Pakistan	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	The Faridabad Development Corporation Bill, 1956	13 Dec 56; p2453-;

**Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957**

S. No.	Questions		Comments
PPPT	Payment of provident funds to displaced persons; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Meeting of Indo-Pakistan Senior police officers to discuss anti-dacoit operations on Rajasthan border; q	Tajamul Husain	
PPPT	Camps set up by the Khaksars near Indian border; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Desertion of displaced persons in transit camps and rehabilitation centres outside West Bengal; q	Maheswar Naik	
PPPT	Colonisation scheme for displaced persons; q	Maheswar Naik	
PPPT	Recovery of Abducted women; q	Ram Sahai	
PPPT	Wedding gifts to refugee brides from East Pakistan; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Location of Central Emergency Relief Training Institute; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
PPPT	Recovery of Abducted persons; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan; <b>28 May</b>	
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	Purna Chandra Sharma	
PPPT	Technical school for displaced persons; q	S C Deb	
PPPT	Report of Abducted women; q	Deokinandan Narayan	
PPPT	Allotment of agricultural land to displaced persons; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Illegal entry of Muslims and Namsudras in India from East Pakistan; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Attack by Pakistani Nationals in Dhara Gaon-West Bengal; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Atrocities committed on Hindus in East Pakistan; q	<b>12 August;</b> Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Development of the Forest Area for the settlement of Displaced persons; q	J H Joshi	
PPPT	Colonies for the displaced persons, Delhi; q	Mahabir Prasad	
PPPT	Recovery of rent from displaced persons residing in Purana Quila; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Fixation of rents of markets built for displaced persons; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Construction of cheap tenements for displaced persons; q	M Faruqi	
PPPT	Exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan; q	M Faruqi	
PPPT	Work cum training centres established for	S C Deb; 23 Aug	



	Displaced persons in Assam; q		
PPPT	House set up for displaced boys at Abhoynagar (Tripura); q	M Faruqi	
PPPT	Migration of displaced persons from East Pakistan to India; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Land claims of displaced persons from Sind and Bahawalpur; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Validation of Evacuee property in India and Pakistan; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Construction of permanent building for existing homes and displaced persons; q	M Faruqi	
PPPT	Exodus of displaced persons from Pakistan held areas of Kashmir; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	National Development Council's decisions regarding the settlement of displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Reclamation of land in Assam for the rehabilitation of displaced persons; q	M Faruqi	
PPPT	Colonies for displaced persons in Delhi; q	Jai Narain Vyas	
PPPT	Houses built for displaced persons; q	Valiulla	
PPPT	Complaints from Sindhi displaced persons against high rents charged at Bhavnagar; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Dandakarnaya scheme for the rehabilitation of displaced persons from east Pakistan; q	Maheswar Naik	
PPPT	Displaced Persons in Nilokheri; q	Mahabir Prasad	
PPPT	Displaced Persons in Tripura; q	Abdul Latif	
PPPT	Faridabad Colony; q	Raghu Vira	
PPPT	Broadcasting of Nepali Programme on the Guwahati Radio Station; q	Maya Devi Chettry	
PPPT	Displaced persons from East Pakistan in Manipur; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Displaced persons in Tripura camps; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Expert on cottage Industry to help displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Amber Charkhas given to displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Houses constructed for displaced persons in Delhi; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Amount of money written off as bad debt against the displaced persons from West Pakistan; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Outstanding central loans against the displaced persons; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Adjustment of loans against the compensation paid to displaced persons; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Organization for the recovery of abducted women; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Expenditure incurred by the Indian High Commission in UK on relief and repatriation of destitute Indians ; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Payment of compensation to displaced claimants of priority categories; q	M Valiulla	
PPPT	Setting up of a home at Banaras for displaced women; q	Moulana M Faruqi	
PPPT	Displaced persons in homes at Kutiyana	Moulana M Faruqi	

	and Junagadh; q	
PPPT	Displaced persons from east Pakistan—their settlement outside West Bengal; q	Mahabir Prasad; <b>9 Sept</b>
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	M Valiulla
PPPT	Payment of compensation to displaced banks in respect of mortgaged properties; q	M Valiulla
PPPT	Migration certificates issued to Hindus and SCs; q	V K Dhage; <b>4 Dec</b>
PPPT	Amenities provided for displaced persons in Delhi; q;	Mahabir Prasad

	<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>	
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>	
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons in Dandakarnaya; q	J H Joshi
PPPT	Arrest of Businessmen belonging to the minority community by the government of Pakistan; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Influx of Displaced persons from east Pakistan; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Settlement of Displaced families in Delhi; q	Maheswar Naik
PPPT	Desertion of displaced persons from Hastinapur Ganga Khadar Colony ; q	Amolakh Chand
PPPT	Pakistan PM's statement on Evacuee Property; q	Amolakh Chand

	<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>	
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>	
PPPT	Firing by Pakistani border force across Khasi and Jaintia hills (q) Yashoda Reddy	
PPPT	Payment of compensation to displaced persons (q) N R Malkani	
PPPT	Camps for displaced person from East- Pakistan (q) M P Bhargava	
PPPT	Shops built by government for displaced persons (q) N R Malkani	
PPPT	Displaced persons sent to other than West Bengal (q) Ram Sahai	
PPPT	Transfer of evacuee properties to displaced persons (q ) Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Division and allotment of evacuee property in Delhi (q); Ram Sahahi <b>8 May</b>	

	<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>	
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>	
PPPT	Infiltration of East Pakistan Muslims into Tripura and Cachar	J C Chatterjee
PPPT	Illegal occupation of evacuee property in Hissar	Jugal Kishore; <b>11 Sept</b>
PPPT	Development authority set up to implement Dandakarnaya scheme	V Prasad Rao
PPPT	Displaced persons settlement in Dandakarnaya	M Valiulla
PPPT	Tenements for displaced persons	Moulana M Faruqi
PPPT	Starvation of displaced persons in Bettiah camp	T Bodra
PPPT	Supply of drinking water in colonies for displaced persons in Delhi; q	M P Bhargava

PPPT	Houses built for displaced persons in Delhi	Seeta Permanand
PPPT	Demands of displaced persons of Kingsway Camp colony; q	R B Gour
PPPT	Survey of land in states for the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan; q	T Bodra
PPPT	Arrest of Indians under the Residential Permit Rules by the Pakistan Authorities; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Displaced Persons from East Bengal; q	Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Infiltration of East Pakistani Muslims into Tripura and Cachar; q	J C Chatterji
PPPT	Repair of Evacuee Property in Dangerous condition in Delhi; q	R B Gour
PPPT	Settlement of Displaced persons in West Bengal; q	R B Gour
PPPT	Pending Applications of Displaced Persons for Rehabilitation Assistance; q	Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers for the rehabilitation of displaced persons in West Bengal; q	Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Transfer of Permanent Rights in land to displaced persons; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Land purchase loan for an agriculturist refugee family; q	Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Press statement issued by the General Secretary, SGPC, to Pakistan Press condemning the GOI; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
PPPT	Age relaxation in favour of displaced persons for the posts of telegraphists; q	A N Bose
PPPT	Reemployment of government sufferers under the Government of India; q	P N Rajabhoj
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons from East Pakistan in Industrial undertakings; q	Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Training programme for Displaced persons; q	Seeta Parmanand
PPPT	Settlement of Non-displaced persons in Dandakarnaya project	Maheswar Naik; <b>24 Dec</b>

<p><b>Table XI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b></p>
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PPPT	<i>Half an hour discussion on</i> Rehabilitation of Displaced persons in Dandakarnaya; d	<b>14 March, 58;</b> XX Session; 3134-3152; half-an-hour discussion; moved by Bhupesh Gupta
PPPT	Statement re incidents on Indo-Pakistan Border ( Khasi-Jaintia Hills Border)	<b>18 August, 58;</b> XXII, p79-80
PPPT	<i>Half-an-hour discussion on</i> settlement of displaced persons in West Bengal; d	Bhupesh Gupta; <b>12 December, 58;</b> XXIII

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
	Resettlement of displaced persons from West Pakistan; q	V K Dhage	

PPPT			
PPPT	Recommendation of the Rehabilitation 'Ministers' conference held at Srinagar; q	P. N. Rajabhoj	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons from West Pakistan; q	Faridul Haq Ansari	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
PPPT	Rethinking on Dandakaranya Project; q	M Basavapunaiah; <b>10 Aug</b>	
PPPT	Dalai Lama's Press Conference; q	Z A Ahmad	
PPPT	Tibetan Refugees in India; q	Ram Sahai/Maheshwar Naik	
PPPT	Expenditure incurred on Dandakaranya Project	Seeta Yudhvir	
PPPT	Employment provided to displaced persons under Danadakarnya Project; q	Maheswar Naik	
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons from east Pakistan; q	S C Deb;	
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons at Dandakarnya; q	Z A Ahmad	
PPPT	Crisis in Dandakarnaya project;q	Bhupesh Gupta	
PPPT	Rubber factory and power-loom factory in Dandakarnaya;q	A N Bose	
PPPT	Officers employed in Dandakarnaya project	J C Chatterji	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
PPPT	Interrogation of Minorities in East Pakistan; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
PPPT	Rehabilitation of Displaced persons residing at Sealdah Station; q	Maheswar Naik	
PPPT	Eviction of Displaced persons from Purana Quila; q	S Panigrahi; <b>23 Nov</b>	
PPPT	Displaced persons settled in Dandakarnaya; q	S Panigrahi	
PPPT	Petition submitted to CC Tripura by DPs from East Pakistan; q	Perath Narayanan Nair	

	<b>Table XIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in XXIV ( Feb – 13 March), XXV (20 April-8 May), XXVI (10 August – 11 Sep), XXVII (23 November - 22 December, 1959) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha Debates</b>		
PPPT	Statement re Dandakarnya Project, D	M.C.Khanna 27 Nov	
PPPT	Statement on Dandakarnya Project; D	15 Dec, 59; Available from 2623-2664;	
PPPT	Motion regarding the Dandakaranya Project (D)	1 Sep, 1959; motion moved by Bhupesh Gupta; Know the party affiliations of contributing speakers, to understand what they are speaking and why	

#### 4. Questions pertaining to Naga Hostiles (Manipur, Missionaries, Tribal Development)

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Missionaries	Foreign Missionaries working in Assam and North-East frontiers agency ; q	M Valiulla

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Naga Hostiles	Policemen killed by tribal in NEFA; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Naga Hostiles	Loss of Life and Property due to Naga hostilities	Savitry Devi Nigam
Manipur	Manipur State Hill Peoples (Administration) Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1954; D	30 May 56; 4085; Bill, insertion of amendments proposed by RS and approved by LS
Manipur	The Manipur (Village Authorities in Hill Areas) Bill, 1956	B N Datar; 22 Nov. 56; 353-411;

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Missionaries	Statement regarding foreign missionaries ; Statement;	B.N. Datar

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Naga Hostiles	Naga's attack on Mao Police Station of Manipur; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Naga Hostiles	Head-hunting or inter-village clashes in the north-east frontier agency; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Loans and grants to NEFA for Handloom Industry; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Loans and Grants to NEFA for handloom industry; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Arrest of persons belonging to hostile groups in NEFA; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Self-sufficiency of food grains in Naga Hills Area; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Armed attacks by Naga hostiles on police stations and hospitals; q	M Valiulla	
Naga Hostiles	Surrender of children of the Naga leader, Phizo; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Naga Hostiles	Situation in Naga Hills; q	Purna Chandra Sharma	
Manipur	Hindi teachers training institute, Manipur; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Missionaries	Rent payable in respect of the lands of GEL Church, Ranchi; q	T Bodra	

Naga Hostiles	Future set up of Naga Hills; q;	Amolakh Chand; <b>18 Nov</b>
Naga Hostiles	Joint Inspection Team for Naga Hills to determine the Boundary between India and Burma; q;	Amolakh Chand

**Table VII:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the **XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec)** of the Rajya Sabha, **1957**

S. No.	Debate	Comments
Naga Hostiles	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Bill, 1957 (D)	(27 Nov, 57, XIX Session) (Available from 1049 – 1056)

**Table VIII:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the **XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958)** of the Rajya Sabha

Questions and Answers		
Naga Hostiles	Arrest of associates of Phizo by Burmese authorities; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan

**Table IX:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the **XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958)** of the Rajya Sabha

Questions and Answers		
Missionaries	Rents payable in respect of the lands of the GEL church Ranchi (q)	
Naga Hostiles	Infiltration of Naga rebels into the North Cachar hills sub-division (q)	

**Table X:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the **XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958** in Rajya Sabha

Questions and Answers		
Naga Hostiles	Assessment of the success of conciliatory measures taken after Kohima conference on Naga problem; q / statement	Maheswar Naik; <b>8 Sept</b>
Naga Hostiles	Amount of money for Naga Hills (Tuensang Area)	Ram Sahai
Naga Hostiles	Indians and Nagas killed, wounded and taken prisoners during the operations against the hostile Nagas; q	A N Bose
Naga Hostiles	Offer of Amnesty to Naga Rebels; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Naga Hostiles	Offer of Amnesty to Naga Hills Residents; q	Ram Sahai
Manipur	Declaration of disturbed areas under the armed forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958; q	Maheswar Naik
Naga Hostiles	Naga Hostile Activities in the Manipur Hills; q	P C Bhanj Deo/Jugal Kishore

**Table XI:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the **XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958** in Rajya Sabha

Reservation	Reservation of seats for SC/ST in legislatures; d	<b>28 Feb 58; XX Session;</b> Available from 1797-1840;
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**Table XII:** The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha **1959**

Question	Comment/member
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	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the RS		
Naga Hostiles	Naga Hostilities in Manipur; q	Maheswar Naik	
Missionaries	Foreign Exchange for use of Missionaries in India; q	Amolakh Chand	
Naga Hostiles	Encounter of nagas with Assam Rifles in Manipur; q	S C Deb; <b>9 March</b>	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Naga Hostiles	Attack on Railway Station on Nort-East Frontier Railway by Naga Hostiles; q	S C Deb 4	
	Redefinition of the term 'Backward Classes'; q	Seeta Yudhvir	
Naga Hostiles	Surrender of Naga Hostiles; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Naga Hostiles	Expenditure incurred on providing communications in NEFA; q	Maheswar Naik; <b>19 Aug</b>	
Tribal Dev	Meeting of Tribes Advisory Council in different States;q	T Bodra; <b>2 Sept</b>	
Naga Hostiles'	Naga Hostiles' attack on army men	S C Deb; <b>25 Aug</b>	
Tribal Dev	Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh	T Bodra	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Naga Hostiles'	Naga Hostiles at Chakasang of Kohima District, Naga Hills; q	S C Deb; <b>8 Dec</b>	
Naga Hostiles'	Naga Rebels attack on Azuram Thana in Manipur; q	S Panigrahi 1	
Tribal Development	Committee appointed to enquire into the working of multi-purpose tribal blocks; q	Maheswar Naik 1	
Naga Hostiles'	Naga People's Convention, q	Bhupesh Gupta 1	
Naga Hostiles'	Naga Hostilities in Manipur; q	S C Deb	

## 5. Questions pertaining to Displacement

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956</b> <i>Directly concerning SCs and STs</i>		
Displacement	Resettlement of Santal Adivasis displaced from Maithon ; q;	T. Bodra
Displacement	Rehabilitation of Todas of Nilgiri Hills; q;	M. Valiulla
Displacement	Rehabilitation of Santal Adivasis displaced by Maithon project	T Bodra
Displacement	Displacement of Adibasis on account of the construction of water reservoir for Rourkela steel plant	T Bodra
Displacement	Rehabilitation of SC and ST at Rourkela	T Bodra

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956</b> <i>Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</i>		
Displacement	Irrigation project in South Bihar ; q;	T. Bodra
Displacement	Applications received from displaced persons for compensation ; q;	Moulana M. Faruqi
Displacement	Ministry of rehabilitation notification publishing amendments to displaced persons ( compensation and rehabilitations) rules, 1956 ; pt;	Mehr Chand Khanna
Displacement	Payment of compensation to displaced persons	Purna Chandra Sharma
Displacement	Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Amendment Bill;	13 Dec 56; p2427-2451;

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Displacement	Rehabilitation of Adibasis displaced because of the Rourkela Steel Plant; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Acquisition of lands by Damodar Valley Corporation; q	M Valiulla	
Displacement	Payment of compensation to Adivasis for the acquisition of their lands for the construction of Noamundi-Banspani Railway line; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Payment of compensation to Adivasis for the acquisition of their lands for the construction of a Railway line; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Arrangements for teaching Oriya at Rourkela; q	Maheswar Naik	
Displacement	Major Irrigation proposals doe Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Major Irrigation schemes in Orissa; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Santal Adivasis displaced by construction of DVC projects; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Permanent establishment of military camps in Bihar; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Compensation to Adibasi villagers for	T Bodra	



	land requisitioned for steel plant at Rourkela; q		
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	<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Displacement	Employment of Adibasis at the Rourkela Steel Plant; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 13 March	

	<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Displacement	Employment of persons displaced by land acquisition at Durgapur steel project (q); 23 April Bhupesh Gupta and NC Sekhar		
Displacement	Acquisition of land for Rourkela Steel Project (q) Maheswar Naik		
Displacement	Land acquisition of South Eastern railway in Singhbhum (q) T Bodra		

	<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
	<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Displacement	Assessment of major irrigation schemes in Chotanagpur division and Santal Pargana in Bihar; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Development of iron ore mines in Rourkela; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Acquisition of lands for military farm in Namkum; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Recruitment of workers at the Bhilai Steel plant; q	Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya	
Displacement	Employment of persons at the Rourkela steel project; q	Bibudhendra Misra	
Displacement	Acquisition of Land; q	Amolakh Chand	
Displacement	Acquisition of land for the construction of Bhilai-Dhalli Rajhara New Branch Line; q	T Bodra	
Displacement	Acquisition of lands from Military Farm, Namkurn; q	T Bodra; 4 Sept	
PPPT	Training programme for Displaced persons; q	Seeta Parmanand	

	<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>		
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959) of the Rajya Sabha		
Displacement	Allotment of Land to Displaced Persons; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Displacement	Displacement of people caused by construction of Rajasthan canal; q	V K Dhage	
Displacement	Verification of Claims of Displaced Persons; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	

## 6. Questions pertaining to Untouchability

<b>Table II: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
Untouchability	The Untouchability (offences) Bill 1955; d	Starting Debate on 2 <sup>nd</sup> May, 1955; pp.6490-6630

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Untouchability	Grants for removing untouchability under the first five year plan; q	V C Kesava Rao
Untouchability	Anti-untouchability schemes; q	Moulana M Faruqi

<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Untouchability	Grants to all India organisation for removal of untouchability (q) V C Kesava	

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Untouchability	Relay of programmes over AIR regarding removal of untouchability	P N Rajabhoj

<b>Table XI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
Casteism	Resolution regarding discouraging and checking the evil of casteism and communalism in the country; d	14 Feb 58; Session XX; moved by Jaspat Rai Kapoor on behalf of Kishori Ram; available from 496 – 532;

## 7. Questions pertaining to Scholarship to SC/ST

<b>Table II: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
Scholarship	Scholarship to SC/STs Students; q	
Scholarship	Scholarship to SC/STs Students; q ;	M Valiulla
Scholarship	Scholarship to SC/STs Students; q;	Nawab S Chauhan

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Scholarship	Overseas scholarships to SC, ST, and OBCs	V C Kesava Rao

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Scholarship	SC, ST and OBCs Scholarship Scheme; q	Maheswar Naik	
Scholarships	Award of scholarships to SC/ST/OBCs; q		
Scholarships	Award of scholarship to Other Backward Classes; q	M Valiulla	
Scholarships	Statement: Award of scholarships to SC, ST and OBCs; q	D Narayan	
Scholarships	Overseas scholarships for SC etc. ; q	M Valiulla	
Scholarships	SC etc. students under training in metallurgy in foreign countries; q	M Valiulla	
Scholarships	Scholarships for students belonging to SCs; q	P N Rajabhoj	
Scholarships	Scholarships awarded to the SC/ST/OBC; q	S C Deb; 27 Nov	

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
	Questions and Answers	
Scholarship	Special scholarships to students belonging to ST in Assam	J B Hagjer
Scholarships	Application for scholarships for SC/ST students; q	T Bodra
Scholarships	Scholarships to children of political sufferers; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
scholarships	Fire destroying files regarding grant of scholarships to SC and ST students; q	V K Dhage

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>		
	Question	Comment/member
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959) of the Rajya Sabha	
Scholarships	Award of scholarships to students of Backward Classes; q	Purna Chandra Sharma

## 8. Questions pertaining to Health

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Health	Schemes for control of communicable disease; q;	M. Valiulla
Health	Tuberculosis sanatoria for government employees ; q;	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 23 April 1956
Health	Rehabilitation of tuberculosis and leprosy patents ; q;	Savitry Devi Nigam
Health	Anti-Filaria schemes under the first five year plan; q;	M. Valiulla
Health	Aid to institutions for leprosy control; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
Health	Filaria Control	Savitry Devi Nigam
Health	Tuberculosis patients in the former state of Travncore-Coachin	Govindan Nair
Health	Leprosy treatment in the former state of Travncore-Cochin	Govindan Nair

<b>Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>			
S. No.	Questions		Comments
Health	Examination of liquors used by Aborigines; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan; 30 May	
Health	T B patients ward in Tripura; q	M Faruqi	
Health	Construction of wards for TB Patients; q	M Faruqi	
Health	Construction of T B hospital at Pandabeshwar (WB) ; q	M Faruqi	
Health	Setting up of a centre for the domiciliary treatment of T B patient ; q	Moulana M Faruqi	
Health (Mines)	Workers suffering from leprosy in the Jharia and Raniganj coalfields ; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Health	Influenza Epidemics ; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Health	Attachment of doctors with detention camps ; q	Mahabir Prasad	

<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Health	Anti-tuberculosis programme; q	P N Rajabhoj
Health	Conversion of TB Control programme into a full-fledged national scheme; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Health	TB Research Centre; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
Health	Leprosy in India; q	P N Rajabhoj
Health	Artificial insemination of Human Beings; q	P N Rajabhoj

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Health	Survey of the incidence of leprosy, small-pox, venereal diseases and cholera	V C Kesava Rao

Health	Outbreak of Cholera in Delhi	M Valiulla
Health	Hospitals for the treatment of leprosy and tuberculosis	Jugal Kishore
Health	Treatment of tuberculosis with rudanti	S C Deb
Health	Hospital for mental diseases, Ranchi; q	T Bodra
Health	Malaria Eradication Programme; q	Maheswar Naik
Health	Colony for persons suffering from Leprosy at Shahdara; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Health	National Training Institute for T. B control in Bangalore; q	Amolakh Chand	
Health	T B Clinics under the second five year plan; q	V K Dhage	
Health	Leprosy Colony at Shahdara; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan Incomplete question; <b>25 Feb 59;</b>	
Health	Training of Medical Officers in the control of Leprosy	M P Bhargava	
Health	Treatment of Leprosy in Delhi	M P Bhargava	

**9. Questions pertaining to Welfare Measures** (including: Reservation/Employment, Housing, Education & Reservation, Education, Employment, Child Development, and Commissions/Report)

<b>Table II: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Reservation/Employment	Backward class persons in government service; q	M Faruqi
Housing	Low income group housing schemes; q	Nawab S Chauhan

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Child Development	Smoking by children ; q	M Valiulla
Welfare Measures	The orphanages and widows' homes bill,1955; private member bill	Moved by Kailash Bihari lal
		<b>14<sup>th</sup> April -4<sup>th</sup> May 1955</b>

<b>Table IV: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Directly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Edu & Res	Tribal Research Institute ; q ;	S. N. Mazumdar
Welfare Measures	Schemes for the women, scheduled castes and backward classes ; q;	M. Govinda Reddy
Reservation/Employment	Reservation of vacancies for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; q;	M. Valiulla
Reservation/Employment	Recruitment of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Backward classes candidates as Junior Law Inspectors ; q;	T. Bodra
Reservation/Employment	Recruitment of Anglo- Indians, Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes candidates ; q	T. Bodra
Commissions/Report	Report of the Backward Classes Commission; q	D Narayan
Welfare	Abolition of the Department for the advancement of backward communities in the former state of Travancore-Cochin	Parvathi Krishnan
Reservation/Employment	Revision of rules governing the Recruitment of backward classes and SC candidates in Kerala state	Perath Narayanan Nair
Welfare	Planning in villages covering community projects and NES Blocks	D Narayan
Commissions/Report	SC and ST Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1956	13 Sep. 56; p4533-4544; incomplete

<b>Table V: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XII (15 February – 16 March), XIII (23 April-31 May), XIV (30 July-13 Sept), XV (19 Nov – 22 Dec) Sessions of the Rajya Sabha in 1956 Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
Education	Rural higher education ; q ;	Moulana M. Faruqi
Welfare	Begging in the railway ; q ;	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Education	Education of the handicapped ; q ;	Moulana M. Faruqi

Work/employment	Amber Charkha ; q ;	M. Govinda Reddy
Work/employment	Railway porters ; q;	M. Valiulla
Employment	Dearness allowance for employees of hospital for mental diseases ; q;	T. Bodra
Work/Employment	Under payment to coolies by a railway contractor ; q;	T. Bodra
Work/Employment	Per capita income from Charkha ; q;	Savitri Devi Nigam
Education	Amount spent on expansion of basic education during the first five year period ; q;	Dr. Raghbir Singh on behalf of Moulana M. Faruqi
Work/Employment	Installed capacity of handlooms and requirements of handloom productions ; q;	Maheswar Naik
Work/Employment	Total number of handlooms and their productions during 1955; Statement ;	N. Kanungo
Work/Employment	Problems of unemployment solved during the first five year plan period ; q;	Maheswar Naik
Housing	Decision taken on slum clearance schemes for Delhi ; Statement; q	
Education	Setting up of Model colleges in Rural areas; q	N R Malkani
Work/Employment	Recommendations of the minimum wages central advisory board	Perath Narayanan Nair
Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	3 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee; 524-560;
Work/Employment	Resolution re Appointment of a wage commission (D)	31 Aug. 56; Satapriya Banerjee; 2894-2899;
Welfare	Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill, 1956; D	Kailash Bihari; 30 Nov 56; 1162-incomplete; 1195-1202;
Welfare	The Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Bill 1956	17 dec 56; B N Datar; 2765-2797;
Welfare	The Suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls Bill, 1956	17 Dec 1956; B N Datar; 2798-2829;
Welfare	The Suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls Bill, 1956; cont.	18 Dec. 56; cont. 2899-2928

**Table VI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957**

S. No.	Questions	Comments
Education	Survey of primary and secondary education in India; q	Deokinandan Narayan
Housing	Rural Housing; q	N R Malkani
Work/Employment	Number of registered handlooms; q	Deokinandan Narayan
Housing	Number of Housing colonies for handloom weavers; q	Kishori Ram
Reservations/Employment	Reservation of posts for SC/ST in Railways	M Valiulla
Welfare	Villages and rural population to be covered by community development and national extension service blocks in 1957-58; q	M Valiulla
Work/Employment	Bidi making machines; q	M Valiulla
Reservation/Employment	Recruitment of Adibasi candidates on the south-eastern railway	T Bodra
Welfare	Beggar Problem in India; q	P N Rajabhoj
Work/Employment	State-wise number of registered handlooms; q	D Narayan

Commission / Report	Proposal to strengthen community development campaign before UN social commission; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Welfare	Care and after-care programmes; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Housing	Financial allocation for construction of houses for SCs; q	B C Nanjundaiya	
Education	Report of the committee appointed to examine the question of medium of instruction at the university stage; q	D Narayan	
Education	Multi-purpose schools; q	M Valiulla	
Education	Development of Institutes for rural higher education; q	M Valiulla	
Housing	Low Income group housing scheme; q	Maheswar Naik	
Commission/Report	Revision of the List of Other Backward Classes; q	Ram Sahai	<b>3 Sept</b>
Welfare	Financial Allocation for Tribal Welfare in MP; q	Seeta Parmanand	
Commission/Report	Report of the Sanskrit Commission; q	B C Nanjundaiya	
Welfare	Expenditure on Welfare of STs; q	M Valiulla	
Work/Employment	Relief to Educated Unemployed; q	M Valiulla	
Housing	Housing colonies for handloom weavers in Bihar and Utter Pradesh; q	M Valiulla	
Employment	Compulsory Notification of vacancies to Employment Exchange; q	Moulana M Faruqi	
Reservations/Employment	SC members on Railway service commissions and the railway board; q	P N Rajabhoj	
Reservations/Employment	Reservation of vacancies in the Ministries for SC/ST; q	P N Rajabhoj	
Employment	Scheme to relieve educated unemployment; q	Mahewar Naik	
Reservations/Employment	Appointment to Indian Administrative and other central services; q	P N Rajabhoj	
Work/Employment	Subjects discussed at the meeting of the minimum wages advisory committee; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Welfare	Extension training centrals etc in blocks in Chotanagpur division and Santal Parganas in Bihar; q	T Bodra	
Welfare	Intensive Development and NES blocks in Chotanagpur division and Santal Parganas; q	T Bodra; <b>18 dec</b>	
Welfare	Construction of motor able roads and reservoirs in the tribal areas of the state of Bihar ; q	T Bodra	
Welfare	Invention of smokeless coal; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Welfare	Starvation death in villages of Bihar state; q	T Bodra	
Education	Refusal of admission to SC/ST into the Railway High School at Chakadarpore; q	T Bodra; <b>24 Dec</b>	

**Table VII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957**

S. No.	Debate	Comments
Employment	Public Employment (Requirements as to Residence Bill, 1957) (D)	(25 Nov, 57, XIX Session) (Available



		from 777 – 792)
Report/Commission	Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, 1955	22 August 1957; page 1221-1254
Report/Commission	Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, 1955	26 August 1957; p 1583-1730

<b>Table VIII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Edu	Survey of Education facilities in villages; q	Amolakh Chand; <b>11 Feb</b>
Welfare	Coordination in the activities of the Gramdan, Bhoodan and Community project; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Welfare	Employment of the Deaf and Dumb; q	Savitry Devi Nigam
Res/Emp	Ban on recruitment of class III employees; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Edu	Setting up of open air and cheaply constructed schools	Nawab Singh Chauhan; <b>27 Feb</b>
Welfare	Sale of Handloom and Village Industries products on railway stations; q	Deokinandan Nayayan
Misc/Welfare	Plan allocations left unspent during the second plan period; q	Amolakh Chand
Work/Emp	Registration of Handlooms; q	Deokinandan Nayayan

<b>Table IX: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958) of the Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Res/Emp	Recruitment of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes in Railway administration; q); Jugal Kishore	
Report/Commission	Conference for the development of Tribal areas at Aurangabad(q); P N Rajabhoj	
Res/Emp	Adivasis, Harijans and persons of backward classes employed as class I and class IV officers under the central government (q); Ram sahai	
Education	Elementary education (q); Ram Sahai	
Commissions/Reports	Conference of Gujjar tribes at Pathankot (q); Ram Sahai	
Work/Employment	Facilities to loom weavers (q); D Narayan	
Reservation/Emp	Recruitment of persons belonging to SC and STs in the South Eastern railway (q); T Bodra	
Welfare	Amenities provided for prisoners in the new jail built in Delhi (q); Amolakh Chand	

<b>Table X: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>		
<b>Questions and Answers</b>		
Housing	Implementation of slum clearance scheme sanctioned in 1957-58	Amolakh Chand
Welfare	Multi purpose blocks set up in Scheduled areas in Bihar	T Bodra
Education	Free and compulsory primary education in development blocks	D Narayan
Welfare	Expenditure on community development blocks	Jugal Kishore
Reservation/Emp	Prohibition on smoking by class IV employees in office corridors	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Welfare	Enforcement of the suppression of immoral traffic in	Nawab Singh

	women and girls act	Chauhan
Welfare	Provision for the mid-day meals for school children	D Narayan
Report/Commission	Survey of shelter less people in Delhi by a sub-committee of public relations committee	Maya Devi Chetty
Housing	Eviction of tenants in the slum areas of Delhi	Savitry Devi Nigam
Employment	Scheme to relieve educated unemployment	Moulana M Faruqi
Reservation/Emp	Recruitment of persons belonging to the SC and ST in the Indian Embassies abroad	P N Rajabhoj
Work/Emp	Development of sericulture in Orissa	Maheswar Naik
Reservation/Emp	Seats reserved for SC/ST students in Delhi polytechnic	R B Gour
Welfare	Central jail at Tihar	Moulana M Faruqi
Welfare	Women's branch of the training centre for the adult blind, Dehra Dun	Maya Devi Chetty
Education	Grant for pre-primary education	D Narayan
Welfare	Rounding up of children for vagrancy in Delhi	M Valiulla
Welfare	Establishment of homes for rehabilitation of girls recovered under suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls act	Seeta Permanand
Reservation/Emp	ST Postal peons in Chhotanagpur division and Santal Pargana	T Bodra
Welfare	Juvenile vagrants in Delhi	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Education	National Committee on Women's education	Seeta Parmanand
Housing	House construction for workers; q	Seeta Parmanand
Reservation/Emp	Recruitment of SC etc to class III and class IV vacancies on the South Eastern Railway; q	T Bodra
Welfare	Central assistance to Bihar for overcoming famine conditions	T Bodra
Work/Emp	Production and Development of Lac; q	Maheswar Naik
Welfare	Production units for the education and employment of the blind and deaf; q	Ram Sahai
Welfare	Government's grant to Delhi poor house for the care of the destitute; q	V K Dhage
Welfare	Representation from dancing and singing girls of Delhi; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Welfare	Legal aid to the poor and litigants belonging to SC and ST; q	Maheswar Naik
Employment	Scheme to relieve unemployment of the educated; q	D Narayan
Welfare	Beggar etc at the Delhi railway Station; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Welfare	Opening of new post offices etc., in the district of Santal Pargana; q	T Bodra
Welfare	Setting up of Development Block in Adivasi area in Madhya Pradesh; q	Ram Sahai; <b>18 August</b>
Welfare	Agricultural Demonstration under the Community Development Programme; q	Harihar Patel
Housing	Non-utilization of amount sanctioned for the construction of Houses for Harijans; q	Kishori Ram
Reservation/Emp	Selection of candidates on the basis of IAS (Special Recruitment) Examination; q	P N Rajabhoj
Welfare	Tour of Abhooja Marh by an Officer of the Ministry of Home Affairs; q	Ram Sahai
Report/Commission	Report of the Sanskrit Commission; q	Moulana M Faruqi
Report/Commissions	Faunistic Survey; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Housing	Huts for the construction labour; q	Amolakh Chand

Welfare	Food deficit in CD and NES Blocks; q	D Narayan
Work/Emp	Extension of Training facilities in poultry development during the second five year plan period; q	T Bodra
Welfare	Financial Assistance to Farmers' Forum; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Welfare	Removal of Beggars from Delhi; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Welfare	Apprehension of Beggars by New Delhi Municipal Committee; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan
Housing	House construction for workers; q	Seeta Parmanand

	<b>Table XI: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XX Session (10 Feb – 14 March, 1958), XXI Session (22 April – 10 May 1958), XXII Session (18 August – 27 September 1958) and XXIII (24 Nov – 24 Dec) 1958 in Rajya Sabha</b>	
Report/Commissioner	Report of the Commissioner for the SC and STs (d); <b>1 May 58</b> ; vol. XXI; available from 1181-1192; 1209-1220; 1229-1236; 1253-1260; 1265-1272;	
Welfare Penal/Miscellaneous	Resolution regarding abolition of capital punishment (d); <b>25 April 58</b> ; vol. XXI; available from 501-520;	
Education/UGC	Report of University Grant Commission (d); <b>23 April 58</b> ; vol. XXI; available from 229-236;	

Reservation/Representation	Reservation of seats for SC/ST in legislatures; d	<b>28 Feb 58</b> ; XX Session; Available from 1797-1840;
Welfare/ Penal/ Miscellaneous	Punishment for Molestation of women Bill, 1958; d	<b>7 March 58</b> ; XX Session; available from 2257-2268
Work/Emp	Statement by Minister on Number of registered handlooms in Assam;	20 August, 58; XXII, p431.
Welfare	Motion re food situation; D	<b>16 Sept. 58</b> ; 3549-3552
Welfare	Motion re report of the committee for the prevention of cruelty to animals; D	18 Sep. 58; 3844-3846; 3880;

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Reservation/Emp	Communal Representation to the SC and ST in Government Services; q	Ram Sahai; <b>10 Feb 59</b>	
Reservation/Emp	Confirmation of candidates belonging to the SC and the ST in the Central Secretariat Clerical Service; q	Ram Sahai	
Welfare	After-Care Homes for Rehabilitation of Criminal Tribes; q	P C Bhanj Deo	
Welfare	Poor House; q	Amolakh Chand; <b>19 Feb 59</b> On house for beggars	
Welfare	Setting up of Advisory Boards for Harijan/Tribal welfare; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
Education	Education of the Handicapped; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
Reservation/Emp	Appointment of Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes to railway Service; q	Ansaruddin Ahmad	
Welfare	Committee to Enquire into the Activities of the Central Social Welfare Board; q	P. N. Rajabhoj	
Res/Emp	Graduate Clerks in Central Government belonging to SC/ ST; q	P. N. Rajabhoj; <b>4 March</b>	

	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXV Session (20 April – 8 May 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Welfare	Poor House,; q	M P Bhargava	
Housing	Training in slum clearance by Bharat Sewak Samaj	Amolakh Chand	
Welfare	Suppression of Immoral Traffic in women and Girls Act, 1956		
Welfare	Question on Nomadic tribes	<b>28 April, 59</b> ; incomplete question; p 939; in 2008, perhaps a similar question on nomadic tribes is asked in RS	
Housing	Low and Middle Income Group Housing Schemes; q	S C Deb; <b>29 April</b>	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVI Session (10 August – 11 September, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Reservation/ Emp	Registration of Scheduled Castes by the Employment Exchange, Delhi; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
Education	Central Board of Workers' Education; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
Employment	Educated Unemployed; q	Babubhai Chinai	
Reservation/ Emp	Registration of SC with the Employment exchange, Delhi;q	Purna Chandra Sharma	
Housing	Acquisition of land for low income group housing societies;q	Maheswar Naik	
Housing	Housing grants to Harijans; q	Savitry Devi Nigam	
Reservation/ Emp	Clerks belonging to SC/ST working in Accountant General's office, Bihar; q	T Bodra; <b>10 Sep</b>	
Welfare	Demands of Domestic Servants	Nawab Singh Chauhan; <b>31 Aug</b>	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXVII Session (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Reservation/ Emp	Discrimination against SC candidates in the pre-examination training centre for IAS etc.;q	M Basavapunnaiiah	
Welfare	Relief to children of political sufferers in Delhi; q	Nawab Singh Chauhan	
Welfare	Beggar Nuisance on Railway Stations; q	S C Karayalar; <b>1 Dec</b>	

	<b>Table XIII:</b> The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in <b>XXIV ( Feb – 13 March), XXV (20 April-8 May), XXVI (10 August – 11 Sep), XXVII (23 November - 22 December, 1959)</b> Sessions of the Rajya Sabha <b>Debates</b>		
Commissions/Reports	Resolution regarding Appointment of a Committee of Members of Parliament to examine Rules, Regulations and Executive Orders with a view to Eliminating Discrimination in Government services; D	Bhupesh Gupta; Discrimination due to political affiliation	
Welfare	The Domestic Workers (Conditions of Employment) Bill, 1959; D	Private Member Bill introduced by P N Rajabhoj	
Welfare	The Domestic Workers (Conditions of Employment) Bill, 1959; D	18 December, 59; Available from 3003; 3029-3032; 3051-3054; 3063-3064; 3073-3074; 3079-3081;	

Reservation/Employment  
Welfare Measures  
Housing,  
Education & Reservation,  
Education, Employment, Child Development, Commissions/Report

## 10. Questions pertaining to Land Reform

<b>Table III: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the IX Session of the Rajya Sabha 21 February – 4 May 1955; Indirectly concerning SCs and STs</b>		
	Question, Debate and Paper Laid on the Table (q, d, pt)	Comments
		<b>21<sup>st</sup> February- 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1955</b>
Land Distribution (Zamindari Abolition)	The Constitution ( 4 <sup>th</sup> Amendment) Bill 1955; d	Continued Available 20 <sup>th</sup> April, 1955 pp. 5298- ( to be found out)

<b>Table VII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the XVI (18 March-29 March), XVII (13 May – 1 June), XVIII (12 August-14 Sept), XIX Session (18 Nov – 24 Dec) of the Rajya Sabha, 1957</b>		
S. No.	Debate	Comments
Land Reform	Implementation of Land Reforms Programme (D)	(22 Nov, 57, XIX Session) (Available from 587-594)

<b>Table XII: The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the of the Rajya Sabha 1959</b>			
	Question	Comment/member	
	The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the <b>XXIV Session (9 Feb– 13 March, 1959)</b> of the Rajya Sabha		
Land	Money given for improvement of lands under Bhoodan Scheme; q	Maulana M Faruqi	

# Annexure to Chapter 4

## 1. Atrocities

### 2004: questions asked on **atrocities**

Atrocities	Trial of cases under Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	NANDI YELLAIAH	13-Dec-2004
Atrocities	Incidents of atrocities against SCs/STs	MANGANI LAL MANDAL	20-Dec-2004
Atrocities	Atrocities on SCs/STs in Madhya Pradesh	P.K. MAHESHWAR I	23-Aug-2004
Atrocities	Crimes Against SCs/STs	K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	02-Dec-2004
Atrocities	SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) (Karnataka Amendment) Bill, 2002	K.B. KRISHNA MURTHY	21-Jul-2004
Atrocities	Oppression of downtrodden	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; MOOLCHAND MEENA; SARLA MAHESHWAR I; FAROOQ ABDULLAH; VANGA GEETHA; P.K. MAHESHWAR I	20-Dec-2004

### 2007: questions asked on **atrocities**

Atrocities	Atrocities on Scheduled Castes/Tribes	22-Aug-2007	VIJAY MALLYA
Atrocities	Exploitation of dalits	03-May-2007	JAI PRAKASH AGGARWAL
Atrocity	Entry of dalits in Temples	19-Mar-2007	NANDI YELLAIAH
Atrocity	Schemes for eradication of untouchability	19-Mar-2007	RUDRA NARAYAN PANY
Atrocities	Cases registered for protection of Civil Rights Act and SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	07-Mar-2007	SANTOSH BAGRODIA; GIREESH KUMAR SANGHI
Atrocities	Cases Registered Under SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989	21-Mar-2007	SANTOSH BAGRODIA; HARISH RAWAT

## 2. National Commissions

2004: questions asked on **National Commissions for SC/ST**

Commissions	National Commission for SCs/STs	RAM NATH KOVIND	20-Dec-2004
Commissions	Directions by National Commission for SC/ST	GANDHI AZAD	20-Dec-2004
Commissions	National Commission for welfare of backward section	KARNENDU BHATTACHA RJEE	20-Dec-2004
Commissions	Reconstitution of Commissions	CHAIRMAN; SHARAD YADAV; AMAR SINGH; GHULAM NABI AZAD; YASHWANT SINHA; UDAY PRATAP SINGH	19-Jul-2004

### 3. Reservation in Services

#### 2004: questions asked on job reservations

Job Reservation	SC/ST/OBC in Government services	ISAM SINGH	22-Jul-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for SC/ST/OBCs in private sector	RAMA MUNI REDDY SIRIGIREDDY; K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	13-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Exchange of vacancies between SC/ST of Orissa	RADHAKANT NAYAK	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Vacant posts of SCs/STs	SHARAD PAWAR	22-Jul-2004
Job Reservation	Job reservations in private sector	B.K. HARIPRASAD	06-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Amendment in Constitution to change procedure for appointment of Judges	E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN; R. SHUNMUGAS UNDARAM	23-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	Participation of STs in Army, Navy and Air Force	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	08-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for Women Judges	C. PERUMAL	19-Jul-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation of jobs in Private Sector	UDAY PRATAP SINGH; C. PERUMAL	19-Jul-2004
Job Reservation	Job reservation in private sector	HEMA MALINI	13-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for SCs/STs and OBCs	MATILAL SARKAR	23-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation to SCs/STs and Physically Handicapped	GANDHI AZAD	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for economically backward	DATTA MEGHE	19-Jul-2004



2007: questions asked on **job reservations**

Job Reservations	Dropping of caste from profile of officers	3-May-2007	N.P. DURGA
Job Reservations	Committee to assess benefits of reservations	3-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Job Reservations	Banning of recruitment	15-Mar-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
Job Reservations	Status of SCs and STs in AIIMS	09-Mar-2007	NIRMALA DESHPANDE
Job Reservations	Economic and educational development of SC/ST/OBC	03-May-2007	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA
Job Reservations	Enactment of Reservation Act	15-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Job Reservations	Attempts to limit reservations	07-May-2007	A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN
Job Reservations	Reservation in the private sector	21-Mar-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
Job Reservations	OBC candidates in General List	08-Mar-2007	PRAMILA BOHIDAR; T.R. BAALU; ABU ASIM AZMI
Job Reservations	Reservation for OBC students	19-Mar-2007	MATILAL SARKAR
Job Reservations	Implementation of reservation for SC/ST/OBCs	10-May-2007	S.P.M. SYED KHAN
Job Reservations	Promotion of SCs in Customs Department, Patna	08-May-2007	CHAIRMAN; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL; BRINDA KARAT; RUDRA NARAYAN PANY; K. MALAISAMY; RAM DEO BHANDARY

**4. Revision in SC/ST**

2004: questions asked on **Revision in SC/ST**

SC/ST Revision	Castes included in the list of SC/ST	KUM KUM RAI	19-Jul-2004
Census	Census on caste basis	KRIPAL PARMAR	22-Dec-2004
SC/ST Revision	Scheduled Castes status to migrants In Uttaranchal	SHARAD PAWAR	16-Aug-2004

2007: questions asked on **Revision in SC/ST**

SC/ST Revision	Inclusion of Rayee and Gurund castes in the list of ST	7-May-2007	SAMAN PATHAK
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## 5. Welfare/Tribal Development/Scholarship

### 2004: questions asked on **welfare/Tribal Development/Scholarship**

Welfare	Utilizations of funds meant for STs and weaker sections	M.M. AGARWAL	06-Dec-2004
Tribal Policy	Formulation of National Tribal Policy	K. CHANDRAN PILLAI; A. VIJAYARAGHAV AN	20-Dec-2004
Tribal Policy	Policy for tribal welfare	K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	13-Dec-2004
Scholarship	Scholarship to SC/ST students of Kerala	N.K. PREMACHANDR AN	20-Dec-2004
Welfare	Elimination of manual scavenging of human wastes'	B.K. HARIPRASAD	06-Dec-2004
Welfare	Special arrangement for SC Community under National Health Policy	MANOJ BHATTACHARY A; KARAN SINGH; NANDI YELLAIAH; RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD; CHAIRMAN; JESUDASU SEELAM; NARAYAN SINGH KESARI	20-Aug-2004
Welfare	Assistance to pig farming scheme of Chhattisgarh	MOTILAL VORA	03-Dec-2004
Scholarships	Scholarships for SCs/STs	RAJ MOHRAO INDERJIT SINGH; RAM JETHMALANI	23-Aug-2004
Tribal Development	Legal aid scheme for poor tribals	T.R. ZELIANG	19-Jul-2004
Scholarships	Scholarships and Bank Loans for Higher Studies	DWIJENDRA NATH SHARMAH	16-Aug-2004
Welfare	Financial assistance for coaching to SC/ST persons	T.T.V. DHINAKARAN	20-Dec-2004
Welfare	Allotment of petrol pumps in Special Category	DHARAM PAL SABHARWAL	21-Dec-2004
Welfare	Financial and Development Corporations for SCs/STs	NARAYAN SINGH MANAKLAO	23-Aug-2004
Welfare	Development of S&T in Nagaland	T.R. ZELIANG	19-Aug-2004
Welfare	Steps to remove shelterlessness	S.P.M. SYED KHAN	21-Jul-2004
Welfare	Welfare Schemes of IOC for SCs/STs/OBCs	K.B. KRISHNA MURTHY	24-Aug-2004

2007: questions asked **welfare/Tribal Development/Scholarship**

Welfare	Facilities for Saheria Tribal Community	12-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Tribal Development	Relief policy for tribals in Andhra Pradesh	07-May-2007	S.M. LALJAN BASHA
Scholarships	Fellowship for SCs and STs	12-Mar-2007	BALAVANT ALIAS BAL APTE; SHREEGOPAL VYAS
Tribal Development	Tribal Population in Uttar Pradesh	12-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Tribal Development	Tribals in the country	26-Feb-2007	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA
Tribal Development/ Forest Act	Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act, 2006	19-Mar-2007	S.G. INDIRA
welfare	Programmes for welfare of SCs/STs	03-May-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
welfare	Allocation benefits to Scs and Sts	17-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
welfare	Implementation of welfare schemes	26-Feb-2007	SUPRIYA SULE
welfare	Programmes for welfare of SC/ST	07-May-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Welfare	Incentive for inter-caste marriages	19-Mar-2007	K.P.K. KUMARAN
Welfare/Muslims	Loans for muslims in negative and red zones	15-May-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
Welfare	Survey regarding social and educational status of backward class	19-Mar-2007	VIJAYKUMAR RUPANI
Welfare	Loans given by banks to SCs/STs	15-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Houses for rural poor	16-May-2007	B.J. PANDA; PRAMILA BOHIDAR
Welfare	Utilization of rural development allocations for SCs/STs	16-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Houses under Rural Housing Scheme for SCs and STs	16-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Utilization of funds for SCs and STs	17-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Information on SC/ST specific programme	08-Mar-2007	SITARAM YECHURY
Welfare	Programmes of higher education for SCs and STs	14-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Programes for SCs and STs	14-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Fund to SC and ST families under IAY Scheme	16-May-2007	SITARAM YECHURY
Welfare	Number of SC/ST officers	10-May-2007	BHAGIRATHI MAJHI
Welfare	Projects implemented for welfare of SC/ST/OBC and weaker sections	06-Mar-2006	M.M. AGARWAL
Scholarship	Implementation of Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship scheme	07-May-2007	RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY

## 6. Peace and Conflict

### 2004: questions asked on **Peace and Conflict**

Peace and Conflict	Strategy to bring peace in J & K and in North-East States	UDAY PRATAP SINGH	22-Dec-2004
Peace and Conflict	Effect of Maoists Activities on School going children	MOTILAL VORA	02-Dec-2004
Peace and Conflict	New strategy to tackle Naxalite menace	S.P.M. SYED KHAN	25-Aug-2004
Peace and Conflict	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act,1980 in Manipur	MAYA SINGH	02-Dec-2004

### 2007: questions asked on **Peace and Conflict**

Peace and Conflict	Naxal violence	08-Mar-2006	RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD
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## 7. Land acquisition and development led displacement

### 2004: questions asked on **land acquisition and development led displacement**

land Acquisition/ Displacement	Acquisition of land from tribal people	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	19-Jul-2004
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### 2007: questions asked on **land acquisition and development led displacement**

Rehabilitation	Schemes for Rehabilitation	12-Mar-2007	SITARAM YECHURY

**2004: questions asked in Rajya Sabha**

Commissions	National Commission for SCs/STs	RAM NATH KOVIND	20-Dec-2004
SC/ST Revision	Castes included in the list of SC/ST	KUM KUM RAI	19-Jul-2004
Commissions	Directions by National Commission for SC/ST	GANDHI AZAD	20-Dec-2004
Census	Census on caste basis	KRIPAL PARMAR	22-Dec-2004
land Acquisition/ Displacement	Acquisition of land from tribal people	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	19-Jul-2004
SC/ST Revision	Scheduled Castes status to migrants In Uttaranchal	Harish Rawat	16-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	SC/ST/OBC in Government services	ISAM SINGH	22-Jul-2004
Education	Construction of ashrams and hostels	RAMADHAR KASHYAP	16-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for SC/ST/OBCs in private sector	RAMA MUNI REDDY SIRIGIREDDY; K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	13-Dec-2004
Atrocities	Trial of cases under Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	NANDI YELLAIAH	13-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Exchange of vacancies between SC/ST of Orissa	RADHAKANT NAYAK	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Vacant posts of SCs/STs	SHARAD PAWAR	22-Jul-2004
Atrocities	Incidents of atrocities against SCs/STs	MANGANI LAL MANDAL	20-Dec-2004
Atrocities	Atrocities on SCs/STs in Madhya Pradesh	P.K. MAHESHWARI	23-Aug-2004
Welfare	Utilizations of funds meant for STs and weaker sections	M.M. AGARWAL	06-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Job reservations in private sector	B.K. HARIPRASAD	06-Dec-2004
Commissions	National Commission for welfare of backward section	KARNENDU BHATTACHARJ EE	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Amendment in Constitution to change procedure for appointment of Judges	E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN ; R. SHUNMUGASU NDARAM	23-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	Participation of STs in Army, Navy and Air Force	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	08-Dec-2004
Tribal Policy	Formulation of National Tribal Policy	K. CHANDRAN PILLAI; A. VIJAYARAGHA VAN	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for Women Judges	C. PERUMAL	19-Jul-2004
Peace and Conflict	Strategy to bring peace in J & K and in North-East States	UDAY PRATAP SINGH	22-Dec-2004
Tribal Policy	Policy for tribal welfare	K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	13-Dec-2004
Atrocities	Crimes Against SCs/STs	K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	02-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation of jobs in Private Sector	UDAY PRATAP SINGH; C.	19-Jul-2004

		PERUMAL	
Atrocities	SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) (Karnataka Amendment) Bill, 2002	K.B. KRISHNA MURTHY	21-Jul-2004
Peace and Conflict	Effect of Maoists Activities on School going children	MOTILAL VORA	02-Dec-2004
Scholarship	Scholarship to SC/ST students of Kerala	N.K. PREMACHANDRAN	20-Dec-2004
PRI	Strengthening of Panchayati Raj Institutions	KARNENDU BHATTACHARJEE	17-Aug-2004
Welfare	Elimination of manual scavenging of human wastes'	B.K. HARIPRASAD	06-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Job reservation in private sector	HEMA MALINI	13-Dec-2004
Peace and Conflict	New strategy to tackle Naxalite menace	S.P.M. SYED KHAN	25-Aug-2004
Welfare	Special arrangement for SC Community under National Health Policy	MANOJ BHATTACHARYA; KARAN SINGH; NANDI YELLAIAH; RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD; CHAIRMAN; JESUDASU SEELAM; NARAYAN SINGH KESARI	20-Aug-2004
Atrocities	Oppression of downtrodden	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; MOOLCHAND MEENA; SARLA MAHESHWARI; FAROOQ ABDULLAH; VANGA GEETHA; P.K. MAHESHWARI	20-Dec-2004
Welfare	Assistance to pig farming scheme of Chhattisgarh	MOTILAL VORA	03-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for SCs/STs and OBCs	MATILAL SARKAR	23-Aug-2004
Scholarships	Scholarships for SCs/STs	RAJ MOHRAO INDERJIT SINGH; RAM JETHMALANI	23-Aug-2004
Tribal Development	Legal aid scheme for poor tribals	T.R. ZELIANG	19-Jul-2004
Scholarships	Scholarships and Bank Loans for Higher Studies	DWIJENDRA NATH SHARMAH	16-Aug-2004
Peace and Conflict	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act,1980 in Manipur	MAYA SINGH	02-Dec-2004
Welfare	Financial assistance for coaching to SC/ST persons	T.T.V. DHINAKARAN	20-Dec-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation to SCs/STs and Physically Handicapped	GANDHI AZAD	20-Dec-2004

Welfare	Allotment of petrol pumps in Special Category	DHARAM PAL SABHARWAL	21-Dec-2004
Welfare	Financial and Development Corporations for SCs/STs	NARAYAN SINGH MANAKLAO	23-Aug-2004
Job Reservation	Reservation for economically backward	DATTA MEGHE	19-Jul-2004
Welfare	Development of S&T in Nagaland	T.R. ZELIANG	19-Aug-2004
Welfare	Steps to remove shelterlessness	S.P.M. SYED KHAN	21-Jul-2004
Welfare	Welfare Schemes of IOC for SCs/STs/OBCs	K.B. KRISHNA MURTHY	24-Aug-2004
Commissions	Reconstitution of Commissions	CHAIRMAN; SHARAD YADAV; AMAR SINGH; GHULAM NABI AZAD; YASHWANT SINHA; UDAY PRATAP SINGH	19-Jul-2004

## 2007: questions asked in Rajya Sabha

Job Reservations	Dropping of caste from profile of officers	3-May-2007	N.P. DURGA
Atrocities	Atrocities on Scheduled Castes/Tribes	22-Aug-2007	VIJAY MALLYA
Job Reservations	Committee to assess benefits of reservations	3-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Job Reservations	Banning of recruitment	15-Mar-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
SC/ST Revision	Inclusion of Rayee and Gurund castes in the list of ST	7-May-2007	SAMAN PATHAK
Welfare	Facilities for Saheria Tribal Community	12-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Rehabilitation	Schemes for Rehabilitation	12-Mar-2007	SITARAM YECHURY
Tribal Development	Relief policy for tribals in Andhra Pradesh	07-May-2007	S.M. LALJAN BASHA
Scholarships	Fellowship for SCs and STs	12-Mar-2007	BALAVANT ALIAS BAL APTE; SHREEGOPAL VYAS
Job Reservations	Status of SCs and STs in AIIMS	09-Mar-2007	NIRMALA DESHPANDE
Tribal Development	Tribal Population in Uttar Pradesh	12-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Job Reservations	Economic and educational development of SC/ST/OBC	03-May-2007	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA
Job Reservations	Enactment of Reservation Act	15-Mar-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Atrocities	Exploitation of dalits	03-May-2007	JAI PRAKASH AGGARWAL
Tribal Development	Tribals in the country	26-Feb-2007	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA
Tribal Development/ Forest Act	Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act, 2006	19-Mar-2007	S.G. INDIRA
welfare	Programmes for welfare of SCs/STs	03-May-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
welfare	Allocation benefits to Scs and Sts	17-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
welfare	Implementation of welfare schemes	26-Feb-2007	SUPRIYA SULE
Education	Literacy rate of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh	12-Mar-2007	NANDI YELLAIAH
welfare	Programmes for welfare of SC/ST	07-May-2007	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL
Untouchability	Entry of dalits in Temples	19-Mar-2007	NANDI YELLAIAH
Job Reservations	Attempts to limit reservations	07-May-2007	A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN
Job Reservations	Reservation in the private sector	21-Mar-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
Welfare	Incentive for inter-caste marriages	19-Mar-2007	K.P.K. KUMARAN
untouchability	Schemes for eradication of untouchability	19-Mar-2007	RUDRA NARAYAN PANY
Tribal	Rural houses constructed in	21-Mar-2007	MABEL REBELLO



Development	Jharkhand		
Tribal Development	PESA Act 1996 in Chhattisgarh	03-May-2007	NANDI YELLAIAH
Welfare/Muslims	Loans for muslims in negative and red zones	15-May-2007	PENUMALLI MADHU
Welfare	Survey regarding social and educational status of backward class	19-Mar-2007	VIJAYKUMAR RUPANI
Peace and Conflict	Naxal violence	08-Mar-2006	RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD
Tribal Development	Tribal literacy in Orissa	03-May-2007	BHAGIRATHI MAJHI
Job Reservations	OBC candidates in General List	08-Mar-2007	PRAMILA BOHIDAR; T.R. BAALU; ABU ASIM AZMI
Welfare	Loans given by banks to SCs/STs	15-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Job Reservations	Reservation for OBC students	19-Mar-2007	MATILAL SARKAR
Atrocities	Cases registered for protection of Civil Rights Act and SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	07-Mar-2007	SANTOSH BAGRODIA; GIREESH KUMAR SANGHI
Welfare	Houses for rural poor	16-May-2007	B.J. PANDA; PRAMILA BOHIDAR
Welfare	Utilization of rural development allocations for SCs/STs	16-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Houses under Rural Housing Scheme for SCs and STs	16-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Utilization of funds for SCs and STs	17-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Atrocities	Cases Registered Under SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989	21-Mar-2007	SANTOSH BAGRODIA; HARISH RAWAT
Fellowship	Implementation of Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship scheme	07-May-2007	RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY
Welfare	Information on SC/ST specific programme	08-Mar-2007	SITARAM YECHURY
Job Reservations	Implementation of reservation for SC/ST/OBCs	10-May-2007	S.P.M. SYED KHAN
Welfare	Programmes of higher education for SCs and STs	14-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Programmes for SCs and STs	14-May-2007	JESUDASU SEELAM
Welfare	Fund to SC and ST families under IAY Scheme	16-May-2007	SITARAM YECHURY
Tribal Development	Schemes for vocational training centres for Tribals in Sikkim	19-Mar-2007	O.T. LEPCHA
Welfare	Number of SC/ST officers	10-May-2007	BHAGIRATHI MAJHI
Welfare	Projects implemented for welfare of SC/ST/OBC and weaker sections	06-Mar-2006	M.M. AGARWAL
Job Reservations	Promotion of SCs in Customs Department, Patna	08-May-2007	CHAIRMAN; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL; BRINDA KARAT; RUDRA NARAYAN PANY; K. MALAISAMY; RAM DEO BHANDARY

## 2006: Questions asked in Rajya Sabha

Commission	REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	21-Aug-2006
Commission	REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	ROBERT KHARSHIING	29-Nov-2006
Commission	REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	18-Aug-2006
Commission	REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	06-Dec-2006
Commission	REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	19-Dec-2006
Commission	STATEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	RAM NATH KOVIND	03-Mar-2006
Commission	Study Tour Reports of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	ROBERT KHARSHIING	01-Aug-2006
Commission	STATEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	02-Aug-2006
Sub-plan	Demand For Formulation of The Scheduled Castes Sub-plan And,The Tribal Sub-plan	RADHAKANT NAYAK	07-Dec-2006
Commission	REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	ROBERT KHARSHIING	29-Nov-2006
Commission	REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	18-Aug-2006
Commission	REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	19-Dec-2006
Commission	STATEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	RAM NATH KOVIND	03-Mar-2006
Commission	Report submitted by National Commission for Scheduled Castes	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	18-Dec-2006
Commission	Study Tour Reports of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	ROBERT KHARSHIING	01-Aug-2006
Commission	STATEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	02-Aug-2006
Welfare	Upliftment of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes	P.R. RAJAN	18-Dec-2006
Sub-plan	Demand For Formulation of The Scheduled Castes Sub-plan And,The Tribal Sub-plan	RADHAKANT NAYAK	07-Dec-2006
Welfare	Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	-	20-Dec-2000
SC/ST Revision	Inclusion of castes as Scheduled Castes	MAHENDRA SAHNI	14-Aug-2006
reservation	Increase in reservation for Scheduled Castes	UDAY PRATAP SINGH	07-Aug-2006
SC/ST Revision	Applications for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	15-May-2006
reservation	T.K.A. Nair Committee on reservation for OBCs	RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD; RAM JETHMALANI	04-Dec-2006
SC/ST Revision	Declaring Lavana caste as Scheduled Tribe	KRIPAL PARMAR	27-Feb-2006
SC/ST Revision	ST status to Kol tribe people	JAYA BACHCHAN	11-Dec-2006
	The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2004 (Amendment of Articles 341 And 342) Contd.	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN; SURENDRA LATH; P.J. KURIEN(VICE CHAIRMAN); MATILAL SARKAR; DHARAM PAL SABHARWAL; RAM DEO BHANDARY; PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL; SANTOSH BAGRODIA; N. JOTHI; V. NARAYANASAMY; ANUSUIYA UIKEY;	28-Jul-2006

		MANGANI LAL MANDAL; OBAIDULLAH KHAN AZMI; ANWAR ALI; SUSHMA SWARAJ	
SC/ST Revision	Declaring a community as Primitive Tribal Group	O.T. LEPCHA	27-Nov-2006
	MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	-	06-Mar-2006
reservation	Employment of SC, ST and OBC in private sector	BRINDA KARAT	22-May-2006
census	Caste-based census	JANARDHANA POOJARY	13-Dec-2006
	Inter-caste marriages	PENUMALLI MADHU	31-Jul-2006
reservation	Recruitment on the basis of fake SC/ST certificates	JANESHWAR MISHRA	09-Mar-2006
	STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI; CHAIRMAN; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; S.S. AHLUWALIA	21-Aug-2006
	I. Report (2004) on the working of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and related papers,II. Report (2004) on the working of Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and related papers	-	14-Aug-2006
	Allocation of funds under special component plan	JAI PRAKASH AGGARWAL	14-Aug-2006
Scholarships	Scholarships to students	PENUMALLI MADHU	27-Feb-2006
reservation	Grounds for providing reservations	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	18-Dec-2006
	Caste-specific UGC schemes	S.M. LALJAN BASHA	18-Dec-2006
	Eviction of tribals	S.M. LALJAN BASHA	11-Dec-2006
	Funds for Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation	NIRMALA DESHPANDE	13-Mar-2006
SC/ST Revision	ST status to various communities of Assam	SILVIUS CONDPAN	27-Nov-2006
	Navodaya Vidyalayas for SCs and STs	SHATRUGHAN SINHA	27-Nov-2006
	Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship for SC/ST students	NANDI YELLAIAH	27-Feb-2006
	Tribals facing eviction from land	S.G. INDIRA	27-Feb-2006
	District Rehabilitation Centres	C. PERUMAL	18-Dec-2006
	Need to bring all districts of Tripura under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme	MATILAL SARKAR; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN	02-Aug-2006
	Need to bring all districts of Tripura under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme	MATILAL SARKAR; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN	02-Aug-2006
	INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL AWARDS FOR OUTSTANDING WORK DONE IN ERADICATING UNTOUCHABILITY AND COMBATING ATROCITIES ON SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	RAASHID ALVI; C. RAMACHANDRAIAH; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN	27-Nov-2006
	Fellowships to SC/ST/OBC students for higher education	T.T.V. DHINAKARAN	20-Feb-2006
	STATEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES	SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI	22-Aug-2006
	I. Notification of the Ministry of Railways.,II. Report and Accounts (2004-2005) of the Centre for Railways Information Systems, New Delhi and related Papers.,III. Progress Report on the intake of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, for the year ending 31st March, 2004.IV MoU (2006-2007) between the Government of India and various Corporations.	-	19-May-2006
	IAS Officers from SC/ST/OBC Category	KARNENDU BHATTACHARJEE; MANOJ BHATTACHARYA	23-Feb-2006
	Proper utilization of funds allocated for schemes	B.J. PANDA	21-Aug-2006
SC/ST Revision	Inclusion of communities into ST list of Assam	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	04-Dec-2006
	Steps taken on affirmative action	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	21-Aug-2006
	Free textbooks to students	N.P. DURGA	25-Jul-2006

	Seats in Central Universities, IITs and IIMs	BRINDA KARAT	15-May-2006
	Scheme for fellowships to SC/ST students	PRAMILA BOHIDAR	20-Feb-2006
	Grants to old-age home	MAYA SINGH	22-May-2006
Atrocities	Atrocities on SCs/STs	ALI ANWAR	11-Dec-2006
	Projects undertaken in NER	T.R. ZELIANG	07-Aug-2006
Reservation	Reservation in private sector	SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK	13-Mar-2006
	(i) Nomination to Committee on Public Accounts (ii) Nomination to Committee on Public Undertakings, (iii) Nomination to Committee on Welfare of SCs and STs, (iv) The Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005. (v) The Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005. (vi) The Contempt of Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2006.	-	22-Feb-2006
census	Backward class population in the country	RAM JETHMALANI; MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI	31-Jul-2006
	Misappropriation of funds for disabled persons	ANUSUIYA UIKEY	18-Dec-2006
Reservation	Scheme for Reserved Category Students	RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD; RAJ MOHINDER SINGH MAJITHA	31-Jul-2006
Reservation	Reservation for BCs and OBCs	MANOHAR GAJANAN JOSHI	15-May-2006
	Atrocities on dalits	NARAYAN SINGH MANAKLAO	11-Dec-2006
	Status of proposals for welfare of disabled	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	14-Aug-2006
	Reservation in Government jobs	MAHENDRA SAHNI	10-Aug-2006
Reservation	SCs and STs In minority educational institutions	P.R. RAJAN	21-Aug-2006
	Land for tribals	S.M. LALJAN BASHA	04-Dec-2006
	The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order Amendment Bill, 2006	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD	27-Nov-2006
Reservation	Provision of reservation for SC/ST in Judiciary	MAHENDRA SAHNI	18-Dec-2006
Reservation	Reservation in Private Sector	K. CHANDRAN PILLAI	25-Jul-2006
	Welfare schemes for widows	DHARAM PAL SABHARWAL	06-Mar-2006
	Enactment of legislation for maintenance and care of senior citizens	VIJAY MALLYA	13-Mar-2006
	Tribals and big companies in mineral sector	NARAYAN SINGH MANAKLAO	15-May-2006
	Coverage of SCs/STs under SSA	R.P. GOENKA	27-Feb-2006
	Data base of employment and literacy rate	JANARDHANA POOJARY	06-Dec-2006
	Stipend to SC/ST students in Orissa	SUSHILA TIRIYA	15-May-2006
	Extension of concept of creamy layer for SCs/STs	VIJAY J. DARDA; MOHSINA KIDWAI	31-Jul-2006
Reservation	Reservation in private sector	ABU ASIM AZMI	13-Mar-2006
	Schemes for welfare of older persons	TARIQ ANWAR	13-Mar-2006
	Hostels for SC and OBC Girls	LALIT SURI	15-May-2006
	Hostels for SC/ST boys and girls	MAYA SINGH	07-Aug-2006
	Killings of SCs/STs	PYARELAL KHANDELWAL	08-Mar-2006
	Scholarship for SC and ST students	GIREESH KUMAR SANGHI	18-Dec-2006
	Education services vis-a-vis WTO	VIJAY J. DARDA; SHOBHANA BHARTIA	27-Nov-2006
	Dropout rate amongst SCs/STs	VIJAY J. DARDA; MOHSINA KIDWAI	27-Nov-2006
	Fund for implementation of elementary education programmes	SHOBHANA BHARTIA	27-Nov-2006
	Filling up the Backlog vacancies	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	11-Aug-2006
	Outcome of negotiations for reservation in private sector	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	21-Aug-2006
	Private operators in mid-day meal programme	MABEL REBELLO	21-Aug-2006
	Effectiveness of school education system	MAHENDRA MOHAN	25-Jul-2006
	Naming of schemes and programmes	SUSHMA SWARAJ	02-Mar-2006
	BPL population	EKANATH K. THAKUR	02-Mar-2006
	Shifting of Kendriya Vidyalaya, Sundargarh	PRAMILA BOHIDAR	15-May-2006
	Free textbooks to students	MAYA SINGH	11-Dec-2006
	Survey on population of backward SC/ST	KRISHAN LAL BALMIKI	18-Dec-2006
	Welfare of older persons	AMIR ALAM KHAN	18-Dec-2006
	Answer sheets to students	DATTA MEGHE	18-Dec-2006

	Reservation In private sector	VIJAY MALLYA	25-Jul-2006
	I. Notifications of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas,II. Report and Accounts (2004-05) of GAIL, New Delhi and related papers,III. MOU (2006-2007) between Government of India and ONGC Ltd.	-	22-Aug-2006
	Intake of students in IIT and other professional colleges	AMAR SINGH; ABU ASIM AZMI	15-May-2006
	Training bureaucrats in managerial skills	B.J. PANDA	22-May-2006
	Statistics on population of SCs, STs and OBCs	MAHENDRA MOHAN	18-Dec-2006
	IAY in Rajasthan	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA	01-Mar-2006
	Uncertainty due to reservation policy	MANOHAR JOSHI	04-Dec-2006
	THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2004 (AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES 341 AND 342)	SHREEGOPAL VYAS; URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA; P.J. KURIEN(VICE CHAIRMAN); SUSHILA TIRIYA; VIJAYKUMAR RUPANI; PRAMILA BOHIDAR; S.S. AHLUWALIA	11-Aug-2006
	Reservation of OBCs	K. MALAISAMY	18-Dec-2006
	Naxal violence	RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD	08-Mar-2006
	Delimitation of Constituencies	SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK	04-Dec-2006
	Panchayat elections in Jharkhand	MABEL REBELLO	27-Jul-2006
	Need for equitable distribution of wasteland among the weaker sections of the Country	PRAMILA BOHIDAR	31-Jul-2006
	Unemployed tribal graduates registered in Employment Exchanges	URKHAO GWRA BRAHMA	13-Dec-2006
	Jobless plantation workers in Kerala	K. CHANDRAN PILLAI	13-Dec-2006
	Alleviation of poverty in tribal regions	LAXMINARAYAN SHARMA	09-Mar-2006
	Out of school Muslim children	SYEDA ANWARA TAIMUR	11-Dec-2006
	Status of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Foundation	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	14-Aug-2006
	Allotment of residential flats/plots to SC/ST	GANDHI AZAD	14-Aug-2006
	CBI enquiry into housing scam	RAMDAS AGARWAL	17-Aug-2006
	Twenty Point Programme	DATTA MEGHE	17-Aug-2006
	Delimitation of Constituencies	AMAR SINGH; ABU ASIM AZMI; C. RAMACHANDRAIAH	04-Dec-2006
	Examination on demand system	JANARDHANA POOJARY	11-Dec-2006
	Scholarship to SC and OBC students	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA	18-Dec-2006
	Demand for reservation in Government and Private Sector	MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI; RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD	18-Dec-2006
	Overage expenditure to students	PRASANTA CHATTERJEE	18-Dec-2006
	Caveat of AICTE to Students	S.G. INDIRA	07-Aug-2006
	SC/ST/OBCs in IAS, IPS and IFS	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA	17-Aug-2006
	Proposals from Chhattisgarh under coaching and allied scheme	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	21-Aug-2006
	Facilities for disabled persons	JAYA BACHCHAN	21-Aug-2006
	Need for clearance to the Kalasa and Bandura Nala Projects of Karnataka	JANARDHANA POOJARY; PREMA CARIAPPA	31-Jul-2006
	Need to implement programmes for the removal of indebtedness of farmers in Karnataka	PREMA CARIAPPA	31-Jul-2006
	Persons registered in the employment exchanges	LALIT SURI	08-Mar-2006
	Urban employment under NREGA	SUSHMA SWARAJ	09-Mar-2006
	Non-compliance of UGC guidelines	SUSHILA TIRIYA	15-May-2006
	Reservation in jobs in private sector	A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN	15-May-2006
	Special drive for vacancies	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	16-May-2006
	Vacant posts of officers in army	PYARELAL KHANDELWAL	17-May-2006
	Coverage of SCs, STs and OBCs under SSA	B.J. PANDA	22-May-2006
	The Central Educational Institutions (Reservation In Admission)Bill,2006	S.S. AHLUWALIA; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; RAM DEO BHANDARY; BRINDA KARAT; V. HANUMANTHA RAO; B.K. HARIPRASAD; JANARDHANA POOJARY;	18-Dec-2006

		SHAHID SIDDIQUI; AMAR SINGH; DINESH TRIVEDI(VICE CHAIRMAN); NAND KISHORE YADAV; PRASANTA CHATTERJEE; P.G. NARAYANAN	
	Development of tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh	MAYA SINGH	02-Mar-2006
	Naxalities'Movements in Chhattisgarh	MOOLCHAND MEENA; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; SUSHMA SWARAJ; BALBIR K. PUNJ	06-Mar-2006
	Schemes for women tribals in Andhra Pradesh	VANGA GEETHA	20-Feb-2006
	Preliminary Selection Centres for Army Recruitments	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	06-Dec-2006
	Free text books to students	MAYA SINGH	07-Aug-2006
	Appointment of women judges	RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY	22-May-2006
	Establishment of schools for educational development of tribes	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	11-Dec-2006
	Funds to NER for tribal people	O.T. LEPCHA	27-Nov-2006
	Facilities under Sarva Shiksha Abhyan	S.S. AHLUWALIA	04-Dec-2006
	Literacy of Muslims	MAHENDRA SAHNI	04-Dec-2006
	Legal aid to poor	M.V. MYSURA REDDY	11-Dec-2006
	Strategic alloys for defence organisations	RAMADHAR KASHYAP	18-Dec-2006
	Reservation in Southern States	MAHENDRA SAHNI	18-Dec-2006
	Rural electrification in Andhra Pradesh	N.P. DURGA	27-Nov-2006
	Population of Backward Classes and SCs/STs	RAJ MOHINDER SINGH MAJITHA; RAM JETHMALANI	27-Nov-2006
	Backlog vacancies of SC/ST	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	07-Aug-2006
	Care of disabled children	MANOHAR JOSHI	07-Aug-2006
	Amendments in Protection of Human Rights Act	S.G. INDIRA	26-Jul-2006
	SCs and STs in NTs	NANDI YELLAIAH	31-Jul-2006
	Urban Reforms Incentive Fund	LALIT SURI	02-Mar-2006
	National Slum Development Programme	M.M. AGARWAL	02-Mar-2006
	Filling up the vacancies in ESIC	BRINDA KARAT; CHITTABRATA MAJUMDAR; KUM KUM RAI	08-Mar-2006
	Failure of National Literacy Mission	PYARELAL KHANDELWAL	13-Mar-2006
	Drop-outs of SCs, STs and girls	R.K. ANAND	13-Mar-2006
	SC direction regarding Right to Education	K. RAMA MOHANA RAO	13-Mar-2006
	Package for Uchcha Prathmik Schools	JANESHWAR MISHRA	15-May-2006
	Financial assistance for revised pay in A.P.	NANDI YELLAIAH	15-May-2006
	Backlog vacancies	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	18-May-2006
	Indian workers in Afghanistan	DARA SINGH; LALIT SURI	18-May-2006
	Crop Diversification Programme	MANOHAR JOSHI	19-May-2006
	Backlog vacancies	PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL	19-May-
	Loans to SC/ST Farmers by RRDB in MP	MAYA SINGH	21-Feb-2006
	Financial Assistance to tribals	MABEL REBELLO	22-May-2006
	Guidelines for selection of LPG/petrol pump outlets	CHAIRMAN; BHAGIRATHI MAJHI	19-Dec-2006
	Concern over continuing atrocities on Dalits in Karnataka	B.K. HARIPRASAD; MABEL REBELLO; PENUMALLI MADHU; K. KESHAVA RAO; PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; RAM DEO BHANDARY; BRINDA KARAT	05-Dec-2006
	THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2004 (AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES 341 AND 342)	P.J. KURIEN(VICE CHAIRMAN); SANTOSH BAGRODIA; V. NARAYANASAMY; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; ANWAR ALI; SURESH BHARDWAJ; JESUDASU SEELAM; SHREEGOPAL	11-Aug-2006

		VYAS; SURENDRA LATH; VIJAYKUMAR RUPANI; MAYA SINGH	
	Schemes for welfare of SCs and STs	O.T. LEPCHA	04-Dec-2006
	Restructuring of 20 Point Programme	TARIQ ANWAR	23-Nov-2006
	Welfare schemes for SC, ST, OBC and Minority students	S.S. AHLUWALIA	15-May-2006
	Special scheme for education of Dalits	BALAVANT ALIAS BAL APTE; SHREEGOPAL VYAS	11-Dec-2006
	Applications from Kerala pending with AICTE	P.J. KURIEN	18-Dec-2006
	Children out of school	N.R. GOVINDARAJAR	27-Nov-2006
	Review meetings of Panchayati Raj System	DILIP SINGH JUDEV	10-Aug-2006
	Allotment of dealership	GANDHI AZAD	22-Aug-2006
	Operation of Mid-Day meal by NGOs/contractors	MABEL REBELLO	25-Jul-2006
	Vaimiki Amhedkar Awas Yojana	GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA	02-Mar-2006
	Harassment of tribal woman in Madhya Pradesh	A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN	08-Mar-2006
	Projects implemented for welfare of SC/ST/OBC and weaker sections	M.M. AGARWAL	06-Mar-2006
	The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2006	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; KANJIBHAI PATEL; NABAM REBIA; MAHENDRA MOHAN; BRINDA KARAT; PRASANTA CHATTERJEE(VICE CHAIRMAN); RADHAKANT NAYAK; ABANI ROY; SUSHMA SWARAJ; BARUN MUKHERJEE; SYED AZEEZ PASHA; ANUSUTIYA UIKEY; B.S. GNANADESIKAN; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; S.S. AHLUWALIA; BHAGIRATHI MAJHI; JAYANTILAL BAROT	18-Dec-2006
	Scheme for development of backward areas	BALAVANT ALIAS BAL APTE; KRIPAL PARMAR	02-Mar-2006
	THE CENTRAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (RESERVATION IN ADMISSION) BILL, 2006 - CONTD.	DINESH TRIVEDI(VICE CHAIRMAN); P.G. NARAYANAN; RAM DEO BHANDARY; S.S. AHLUWALIA; V. NARAYANASAMY; P.J. KURIEN(VICE CHAIRMAN); K. KESHAVA RAO; GANDHI AZAD; RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY; PRASANTA CHATTERJEE; CHANDAN MITRA; V. HANUMANTHA RAO; ALI ANWAR; P.C. ALEXANDER; JANARDHANA POOJARY; BRINDA KARAT; SU. THIRUNAVUKKARASAR; DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; SANJAY RAUT; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; RAHUL BAJAJ; BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI; SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI; UDAY PRATAP SINGH; AMAR SINGH	18-Dec-2006
	Justice Rajindar Sachar Committee	SUSHMA SWARAJ; RAASHID ALVI; S.S. AHLUWALIA; CHAIRMAN; NILOTPAL BASU; DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE; BRINDA KARAT; VIKRAM VERMA; KRIPAL PARMAR; MAYA SINGH; ABU ASIM AZMI; ARUN JAITLEY; RAM DEO BHANDARY; JASWANT SINGH	21-Feb-2006
	People living below poverty line	S.G. INDIRA	02-Mar-2006
	Forest Credit	AMAR SINGH; RUDRA	15-Dec-2006

		NARAYAN PANY; A. RAJA; BRINDA KARAT; PENUMALLI MADHU; CHAIRMAN; JAYANTILAL BAROT; JANARDHANA POOJARY	
	THE CENTRAL EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (RESERVATION IN ADMISSION) BILL, 2006	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; DATTA MEGHE; MANGANI LAL MANDAL; SYED AZEEZ PASHA; R. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM; PRABHA THAKUR; V. HANUMANTHA RAO; BARUN MUKHERJEE; NIRMALA DESHPANDE; P.J. KURIEN; K. MALAISAMY; BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI; BRINDA KARAT; BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI; JAYANTILAL BAROT; CHAIRMAN; TARIQ ANWAR; ARJUN SINGH; S.S. AHLUWALIA; SURENDRA LATH; SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI; RAM DEO BHANDARY	18-Dec-2006
	THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT (RESERVATION FOR WOMEN) BILL, 2005	JANARDHANA POOJARY; LAXMINARAYAN SHARMA; KALRAJ MISHRA(VICE CHAIRMAN); PRAMILA BOHIDAR; PRABHA THAKUR; SURESH BHARDWAJ; VIPLOVE THAKUR; E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN; M.S. GILL; SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK; MAYA SINGH	12-May-2006