

18.03 hrs.

**DISCUSSION RE: ATROCITIES OF
HARIJANS AND ADIVASIS**

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Chairman, under Rule 193 I rise to raise a discussion on a very important subject, a subject which has affected various parts of the country that is the issue of atrocities on Harijans and Adivasis in the country.

I believe, it is a subject, where we must rise above partisan politics. It is an issue on which all sections of the House must feel perturbed and all those who have sensitivity to injustice must legitimately feel deeply distressed, pained, agonised and angered at the happenings that are taking place in the country.

As far as the atrocities on Harijans and Adivasis are concerned, they have both the caste as well as the class aspect. Unfortunately, in our social life, there have been caste aberrations and they are being accentuated by class exploitation and unless we take note of this fact, we will not be able to find a lasting solution to the problem of atrocities that are taking place today in remotest villages and in different corners of the country.

Recently, even after the proclamation of the President's rule, we find that at Pipra, there was a colossal tragedy in which 14 Harijans were killed and those who indulged in these atrocities not being satisfied merely with killing the Harijans, tried to throw them into the burning flames. These are the atrocities that have taken place. Whether the tragedies take place under one Government or the other, whether the Congress Government is responsible or the Jantata Government is responsible, or whether the President's rule is responsible, those of use who are sensitive to injustice in the country and those who have deep humanity, at heart will be deeply perturbed. We should not be concerned with the political set up in the country;

I am least concerned about it. And let us take note of the fact that whatever be the political composition of the Government in the country, whatever may be the nature of the political set up in the country, all those who are concerned with the interest of the Harijans and Adivasis and of the weaker section of the society will be deeply perturbed.

18.07 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Recently, I and my colleagues had an opportunity to visit pipra village where on 25th February, 1980, the worst type of tragedy had occurred. I do not want to focus the attention of this House only on one particular tragedy, but I want to bring forward certain facts about this tragedy since these are the aspects which are not related to happenings in Pipra alone, but these are the aspects which are related to all the atrocities that have taken place in different parts of the country. On 25th February, 1980, at 10.30 at night, about 500 men armed with lethal weapons, armed with guns and rifles and also who had got all the material for committing arson visited this Pipra village, which is near the capital of Bihar. From 10.30 at night till 3.30 in the early morning, the next day, these 500 hooligans remained there to commit all sorts of atrocities on the Harijans. And you will be shocked and surprised to know that when these 5 goodas were indulging in all sorts of heinous atrocities right from 10.30 at night till 3.30 early morning, no police force arrived at the spot and these atrocities went on unabated. This is the manner in which complete neglect of the police authorities is responsible for the atrocities that have taken place.

Unnecessarily the Naxalities are being brought into the picture. I went on the spot, alongwith my colleagues. We talked to the family members of those who were dead. We talked to the villagers, we talked to the Harijans and they told us and

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

even the police authorities confirmed the Superintendent of Police and the Additional Magistrate confirmed that for 2 years there was no trouble by the Naxalities in that area; and therefore, only to shift the responsibility unnecessarily, the Naxalities were being brought into the picture. But in reality the atrocities are merely a crude expression of casteism and class exploitation at its worst.

We talked to the Harijans, and we asked them was the election anything to do with the happenings? Was there any conflict arising out of the elections? Is there any politics behind it?" The answer, that the Harijans gave, disturbed me; and it will disturb every Member of this House, no matter to which political party he belongs. All the Harijans said, "This has no relation with the elections at all. We the Harijans voted only in the 1952 elections. After that, we have not gone to the polling station at all. We participated only in the 1952 elections." I asked "What happened in 1957, 1962, 1971, 1977 and 1980?" And they gave us a reply: "We never went to the polling booths; but, of course, our votes were cast." They did not refer to any political party. I must admit—party X or Y. But it was a denunciation of the entire political life in this country, and a denunciation each one of us sitting in this sovereign parliament which represents the will of the people. These are the Harijans who candidly admitted that after the 1952 elections they could not go to the polls but that their votes were cast. I asked them: "How do you feel you can be protected? If you are given arms, will you be protected?" One of them replied: "Sir, don't give us arms. Merely giving arms will not protect us at all, because the landlords and their agents are in collusion with the police authorities. They have got all the power at their command, all the money at their command and they can wield influence on the authorities."

You may give us paltry arms; but the landlords and their agents can have an accumulation of more powerful arms; and on the basis of that, they will be able to exploit us."

Then they said, "Instead of arming us, disarming the landlords and their agents will be better and more constructive solution to see that we are protected." And the second answer they gave hurt me the most. They said, "You have come to see our agony. We would like to make a proposal. Keeping in mind the manner in which atrocities are committed on Harijans in different parts of the country, if you can take all the Harijans in the country to some corner of this country and put them in one urban area, and give us military protection, it will be good." Indirectly they were asking us to give them a separate homeland. It was a vote of no confidence against all of us. I do not want to cast aspersions; but if the Harijans in this country feel that they are not safe and that they felt that it is better that all Harijans are shifted to one corner and protected by the Military. It is a denunciation of all of us. It is a great tragedy. We asked them a number of questions. They said so many questions were coming up but nobody was providing any answer to them. They were not merely living below the poverty line life; but if there was a line for below the poverty line, they were living below that line. The landlords and their agents are constantly attacking them. Unless we are able to solve their problems, nobody will be able to offer them any protection. I am not one of those who feel that merely by the process of class struggle, automatically all their problems can be solved. Ours is a peculiar country where the society oscillates between caste and class. About the evil of casteism let me try to give one instance, to indicate that all problems do not depend merely on the economic status of those who are subjected to humiliations.

I would like to refer to one incident in the life of the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar with whose institution I was associated for 25 years. The House will be shocked to know that when the late Dr. Ambedkar was in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Viceroy and his wife requested Dr. Ambedkar: "You come along with us; we want to study the architecture of a prominent temple." Dr. Ambedkar told him, "Do not take me with you. You, have no idea of the type of orthodox society in which we are living." At the instance of the Viceroy and his wife, Dr. Ambedkar however went there; and when he tried to enter the temple—the Viceroy and his wife were allowed to enter but Dr. Ambedkar was told, "You are harijan; you belong to the Ssheduled Caste., you can not enter the temple." Thus a social stigma is there. Thus merely by the solution of the economic problems all the problems cannot be solved. No doubt the caste aberration can be diluted and for that problem, the class exploitation must be ended.

If this problem is to be solved, I would like the National Integration Council to be revived and just as the problems of communalism are tackled by the National Integration Council it is better that the National Integration Council also addresses itself to this task. (2) If those who commit atrocities against Harijans and Adivasis, are allowed to go through the usual procedure of enquiry and the normal legal processes, then they will never get a speedy justice; and therefore the Special Courts which are set up, I hope and trust that these cases will be entrusted with the task of dealings with these cases of atrocities against Harijans.

(3) Those who are found guilty of atrocities against the Harijans and Adivasis, not only they should be sent to prison, but I hope that the government will take steps to see that even their property is confiscated. That will act as deterrent. (4) Those who are vic-

timised and who suffered during atrocities, adequate compensation should also be paid to them. (5) Then all the arms in the hands of the landlords and their agents in the afflicted areas should be removed. (6) My last suggestion is that a SC Commission has already recommended that illegal eviction of Harijans and Adivasis from their lands and houses should be made a cognisable offence. I hope this will be accepted and the Commission will be given a statutory status. I also hope that enough arrangement will be made to see that the social reform movement and the class organisation of the toiling masses will be organised and strengthened. I also trust that the Adivasis and the Harijans in this country will organise themselves and tell the orthodoxy in this country in the words of a great leader who said that "it might be in your interest to be our masters, but how is it in our interest to be your slaves." I hope and trust that this message of Abraham Lincoln will be brought home in this country so that Harijans and Adivasis can live in peace.

श्री बालेश्वर राम (रोसेडा) . माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, अभी एक दुखद घटना के बारे में जो इस सदन में हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं, मुझे खुशी इस बात की है कि हमारे प्रो० मधु दडवते जी को आज यह अहसास जरूर हो रहा है, इस घटना को लेकर, कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इसका समाधान होना चाहिए। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस इस बात का है कि पिपरा की घटना जब हुई तो हमारे प्रो० मधु दडवते जी वहां गये थे, लेकिन 1977 में जब सेंटर में जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी, श्री चरण सिंह जी गृह मंत्री थे, उस वक्त, अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आप में से किसी ने .. (व्यवधान)

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन समय पिपरा की यह घटना हुई, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने तुरन्त गृह मंत्री श्री जैल सिंह जी को वहां जाने के लिए कहा। हम लोग भी चन्द साथी, जो इस सदन में बैठे हैं, वहां गये थे और हमने उस घटना को विस्तारपूर्वक जानने की कोशिश की। दोबारा भी मैं वहां गया था और सारी घटना को जानता हूं। इसीलिए कहता हूं कि आपने जिन भावनाओं को व्यक्त किया है, यह ठीक है कि आज आपको यह अहसास है, मैं आपकी भावना की कद्र करता हूं कि आप समझते हैं कि इस समस्या का समाधान होना चाहिए। बेलची से भोजपुर

[श्री बलेश्वर राम]

तक हरिजनों पर अत्याचार की जो घटनायें हुई हैं, उनकी शुरुआत बेलची से हुई—आपके रेजीम में उनकी शुरुआत हुई। अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि श्रीमती गांधी के शासनकाल में जो 20—पायंट प्रोग्राम लागू किया गया था, सब सूबों में जनता पार्टी की सरकारें कायम होने के बाद उसको खत्म कर दिया गया। एग्जीक्यूटिव लेबरर्स को जो मिनिमम बेजिज मिलने थे, वे भी समाप्त कर दिये गये। वह सिलसिला आज भी जारी है। उस इलाके में उन लोगों को मुश्किल से एक किलोग्राम कोर्स ग्रेन की मजदूरी मिलती है। आपने उस वक़्त उनकी मजदूरी बढ़ाने की तरफ़ ध्यान क्यों नहीं दिया? वास्तव में 20—पायंट प्रोग्राम आप लोगों के लिए एक हौआ बन गया था और इस लिए आपने उसको खत्म कर दिया।

श्रीमती गांधी के शासन-काल में बिहार में हथारों एकड़ ज़मीन बड़े ज़मींदारों, भूमिपतियों और क्लार्क्स से ली गई थी और होमस्टेड के रूप में लैंडलेस लेबरर्स में बांटी गई थी, जो मुख्यतः हरिजन थे। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जनता पार्टी और लोक दल के समर्थकों ने उन लोगों की सारी ज़मीन छीन ली। . . . (ब्यवधान) मुझे यह कहते हुए फ़ाय हासिल है और खुशी हो रही है कि आज जब कि देश ने फिर श्रीमती गांधी को शासन-सूत्र दे दिया है, उन्होंने 20—पायंट प्रोग्राम को लागू करने की घोषणा की है। अगर कोई भी माननीय सदस्य छाती पर हाथ रख कर सोचे, तो उन्हें मालूम होगा कि उस प्रोग्राम से सब से ज्यादा वीकर संवर्षण, कमज़ोर वर्ग के लोग—हरिजन—लाभान्वित हुए थे।

मेरा चार्ज है कि आपके शासन-काल में बेलची की घटना उन लोगों ने की, जो लोक दल के समर्थक थे। जिन लोगों को आप वोट लिया करते थे, उन्होंने बैकवर्ड क्लासिज़ के लोगों न, उन्हीं कुर्मी जाति के लोगों ने ही बेलची की सारी घटना की और उन्हें चौ० चरण सिंह और कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने भड़काया था। इस घटना के लिए भी लोक दल (कांग्रेस) और जनता पार्टी के समर्थक ज़िम्मेदार हैं। इसका सबूत यह है कि पिछले इलेक्शन में उन लोगों ने इनके पक्ष में वोट दिये थे। मेरे पास उन पोलिंग स्टेशनज़ और पोलिंग बूथ के मारे रिकार्ड मौजूद हैं।

1977 में देश की जनता ने जो फैसला दिया, हमने उसको माना था, लेकिन बिहार में जिस तरह से रिगिंग की गई और जिस तरह से हरिजनों को वोट देने से रोका गया था, हम सब उसका जानते हैं। 1977 में आपका ही रेजीम था, नीचे से ले कर उपर तक आपकी ही सरकारें थी। आपने हमारे लोगों को वोट देने से प्रिवेंट किया, उनको वोट नहीं देने दिया। आपके शासन के समय में भी आगरा में कितने ही लोग मारे गये।

आपने डा० अम्बेदकर का नाम लिया। नराठ-बाड़ा यूनिवर्सिटी के साथ उनका नाम जोड़ने के बारे में लैस्लेटिव एसेम्बली और कौंसिल दोनों ने प्रस्ताव पास किये लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि उस नामकरण को रोकने की कोशिश की गई जब उसके विरोध में हरिजन भाइयों ने आवाज़ उठाई, तो उनके हथारों घर जला दिये गये। श्री मधु दंडवते उसी प्रान्त से आते हैं। उस वक़्त वह कहाँ थे? उस वक़्त उनकी आवाज़ क्यों नहीं उठी थी? उस वक़्त उनको बोलना चाहिए था। आज वह क्राकोडाइल टियर्स, षड्योली ग्रासू, बहा पर पोलिटिकल फ़ायदा उठाना चाहते हैं। अभी ज्यादा दिन नहीं हुए हैं। अभी हमारी सरकार ने शासन-सूत्र नहीं संभाला है। प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल में यह घटना हुई है।

मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि राधिकासिंह, जो इस घटना के लिए ज़िम्मेदार हैं, अपराधी हैं, वह लोक दल और कांग्रेस (अस) का समर्थक है। (ब्यवधान) वहाँ से कांग्रेस (अस) और लोक दल का, म्बिनेशन का सदस्य जीत कर आया है, लेकिन आज वहाँ के लोग उस पार्टी के किसी भी आदमी को देखने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हैं। चौ० चरण सिंह और कर्पूरी ठाकुर समूचे बिहार में, और सारे हिन्दुस्तान में, जो क्लास हेट्रिड और जातीयता की भावनायें भड़का रहे हैं उसी का परिणाम होता है बेलची, दोहिया और पारसबीघा, विश्रामपुर नैला आदि की घटनायें। आप के शासन काल में जितनी घटनायें हुई हैं, मेरे पास उनकी लिस्ट है। मैं दे सकता हूँ। मैं सिर्फ़ इतना ही बताना चाहता हूँ और पहले भी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उस दिन जवाब देते हुए बताया था आप को कि जो हरिजनों के ऊपर एट्रामिटीज़ हुई, 1974 में वह केसेज़ थे 8860, 1975 में 7781 हुए, 1976 में आकर उस की संख्या 5960 थी लेकिन फिर वह संख्या इन्क्रीज़ हो गई, 1977 में 10879 हो गई, 1978 में 15059 हो गई और 1979 में 17 हजार तक हरिजनों पर एट्रामिटीज़ की घटनाएं हुई हैं। उन की संख्या 1979 में 17 हजार तक पहुँच गई। यह मेरी फिगरस नहीं है। आप ने जो कुछ एजेंसी बनाई है और पहले मे कांस्टीच्युशन मेकर्स ने जो एजेंसी बनाई थी शेड्यूलड कास्ट एण्ड शेड्यूलड ट्राइबज़ कमिश्नर की उस ने यह रिपोर्ट दी है जिन को आप लोगों ने और आप की सरकार ने कंसिल किया। यह रिपोर्ट भी आज आप के सामने है। आप देखेंगे कि 1974 में हरिजनों पर एट्रामिटीज़ के जो केसेज़ हुए थे उस में कितनी बढ़ोतरी हुई है। जिन बात को आप को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए और आप को सोचना चाहिए कि जिस तरह से आप इस का राजनैतिक फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं वह ठीक नहीं है। आप ने कमीशन

एम्पाईट किया। मेड्यूलर कास्ट एंड लेड्यूलर ट्राइबल का एक इंस्टीच्यूशन है जो फ्रेमर्स आफ दि कांस्टीच्यूशन ने बनाया था, उसका राजनैतिक फायदा उठाने के लिए आप ने इस्तेमाल किया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब कांस्टीच्यूशन का अमेन्डमेंट नहीं हुआ तो एक वैरेबल कमीशन बहाल कर दिया और वह अपनी एग्जीक्यूटिव पावर से बहाल किया, उस में सिर्फ जनता पार्टी के तीन भावमियों को रखा। आज वह चेयरमैन और सारे लोग राजनैतिक फायदे के लिए सारी सरकारी मशीनरी का इस्तेमाल करते हैं और जाते हैं... (व्यवधान)... मैं सिर्फ दो चार सुझाव आप के सामने देना चाहूंगा। मेरा यह कहना है कि उस का राजनैतिक फायदा न उठाएं। अगर आप को कमीशन बनाना था तो आप सर्व-दलीय कमीशन बनाते। आज उस के चेयरमैन जो बने हुए हैं वह किसी पार्टी विशेष के सदस्य हैं और राजनैतिक फायदा उन के माध्यम से लिया जाता है। उसी को आप कोट करते हैं। आप को इतनी फिक्र थी तो आप उस को स्टेट्स दिए होते, कांस्टीच्यूशन में प्राविजन किए होते। लेकिन वह आप ने किया नहीं। अगर वह पहला इंस्टीच्यूशन है तो उस को मजबूत करना चाहिए। जो हमारे फ्रेमर्स आफ दि कांस्टीच्यूशन थे उन्होंने उस इंस्टीच्यूशन को बनाया है तो उस के माध्यम से हमें काम करना चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि अगर उन के कुछ सुझाव आए हैं तो उस को मानना चाहिए।

मैं पिपरा के सम्बन्ध में बताना चाहता हूँ कि 25 की घटना हुई है और 9 तारीख तक सभी जितने उस के अभियुक्त थे उन के ऊपर चार्जशीट सबमिट कर दी गई। इतनी जल्दी किसी भी गवर्नमेंट ने आज तक ऐक्शन नहीं लिया है कि सभी के सभी अभियुक्त गिरफ्तार कर लिए जायें। चार लाख रुपया अभी तक उन को सहायता मंजूर की गई है। मेरा यह कहना है कि एक इंडस्ट्री वहाँ बैठाई जाय या चाहे जमीन खरीद कर उन को दी जाय जिस से कि वे अपनी जीविका-उपाजन कर सकें। यही सुझाव मैं देना चाहता हूँ। साथ ही मैं यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह के जो केसेज हों उन की जांच करने के लिए स्पेशल कोर्ट्स और मोबाइल कोर्ट्स बनाई जायें। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतनी जल्दी ऐक्शन लिया और जल्दी से सारी सिचुएशन कंट्रोल हो गई। जिन लोगों ने बन्दूकें जमा कर के रखी थीं उन के घरों की तलाशी ले कर वह सारी बन्दूकें ले ली गईं और अभियुक्तों को पकड़ कर उनके ऊपर चार्जशीट कर के उन को जेलों में रख दिया गया।

श्री राम बिलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं संविधान की 46 वीं धारा की और सर्व प्रथम आप का ध्यान आकषिप्त करना चाहूंगा जिस में स्पष्ट रूप से यह लिखा हुआ है ;—

Article 46—

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

श्री बिहार से आए हुए साथी श्री बालेश्वर राम जी का भाषण सुन रहा था। सब से पहले मैं एक बात सभी सम्मानित सदस्यों से कहूंगा कि जब हरिजनों के ऊपर कोई घटना घटे और कमजोर वर्गों के ऊपर कोई घटना घटे तो कभी भी उस को पार्टी इंटरेस्ट के दृष्टिकोण से नहीं लेना चाहिए। मुझे ख्याल है, साठे साहब वहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, स्टीफेन साहब भी बैठे हुए हैं जब बेलची की घटना घटी थी उन्हें याद होगा उस समय विरोध पक्ष के लोगों ने कम और ट्रेजरी बेंचें जिस में हम लोग थे, हम लोगों ने ज्यादा हंगामा किया था। बेलची से हम लोग हड़ियां लाए थे, होम मिनिस्टर के माथे पर हम ने हड़ी फेंकी थी और उसे खून के पटल पर रखने की कोशिश की थी। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब हरिजनों पर अत्याचार की बात चले तो भी कभी उस को पार्टी-स्परिट से नहीं लेना चाहिए। जब पार्टी के दृष्टिकोण से आप लेंगे तो कभी इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। आपने कह दिया कि दण्डवते साहब नहीं गए तो मैं भी कह सकता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठी हुई हैं वे उस समय बेलची में हाथी पर चढ़ कर गई थीं, लेकिन अब क्यों नहीं गईं? (व्यवधान) इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि इसको कभी पार्टी स्परिट से नहीं देखना चाहिए। हमारे साथी ने कहा कि शुरुआत बेलची से हुई है लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि इसकी शुरुआत बेलची से नहीं, उसके पहले से—आप बिहार सरकार से रिपोर्टें मंगाकर देख लीजिए—भोजपुर में, जिस समय इमर्जेंसी पीरियड था, उस समय डेढ़ सौ हरिजनों को नक्सलाइट के नाम पर मारा गया था। बिहार सरकार की रिपोर्टें हैं, उसको आप मंगाकर देख लें हालांकि शुरुआत उससे भी पहले हुई होगी। आपने कह दिया कि वे हमारे समर्थक हैं, लोक दल के समर्थक हैं लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ हत्यारा किसी का समर्थक नहीं होता। अगर समर्थक हैं तो पता लगा लीजिए, लड्डू सिंह, गोडन सिंह और ललन सिंह—ये जो तीनों भादवी हैं जो जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी गिरफ्तार हुई थी तब उनके समर्थन में जेल गये थे। आप कहते हैं कि कुर्मी लोगों ने बोट नहीं डालने दिया। आप कहते हैं कि पिछड़े लोगों पर अक्रिया लोक

[श्री राम बिलास पासवान]

दल को है और श्री धर्मवीर सिंह वहां से जीत कर आये हैं वे कुर्मी हैं। आप ने राजाराम सिंह को क्यों कैंडीडेट बनाया था? आपका भी कैंडीडेट कुर्मी ही था। जब कुर्मी कैंडीडेट होना, आपके कैंडीडेट को भी बोट मिले होंगे और दूसरे उम्मीदवार को भी बोट मिले होंगे। मैंने पता लगाया है कि जिन लोगों ने बन्दूक के लाइसेंस लिए हैं, राइफल के लाइसेंस लिए हैं उनमें 90 परसेंट लोगों की रिकमेंडेशन रामराज सिंह के नाम पर हुई है। वह आप का उम्मीदवार था जिसने बन्दूक और राइफल दिलवाई थीं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब इस तरह की घटना घटती तो उसको राजनीतिक कलर नहीं देना चाहिए। किस तरह से इस समस्या का समाधान हो सकता है, किस तरह से हरिजन आदिवासियों के हितों की रक्षा की जा सकती है उस बात को हमें देखना चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष जी, जिस समय मैं ट्रेजरी बेंचेंज में था उस समय मैं ने कहा था कि रोडेशिया में जब जुल्म होता है या दक्षिण अफ्रीका में जब काले लोगों पर जुल्म होता है या अन्य मुल्कों में जब मानवता की हत्या होती है तब हम बहुत धड़ियाली भासू बहाते हैं लेकिन आजादी के 32 वर्षों के बाद भी इस देश में हरिजनों को आजादी नहीं है, आदिवासियों को कोई सम्मान नहीं है, यहां पर जब इस तरह की घटनाये होती हैं तो उनको पार्टी का कलर दे दिया जाता है। आप बिहार की बात छोड़ दीजिए, बम्बई में एक कमेटी है—कमेटी फार प्रोटेक्शन आफ डिमोक्रैटिक राइट्स—उसका बेलिगेशन साउथ गया हुआ था और अभी फर्स्ट मार्च को उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी है जिसमें उसने कहा है कि नालगोंडा, आदिलाबाद और करीम नगर, इन तीनों जिलों में दर्जनों हरिजनों की हत्याये हुई है जिसमें हरिजन मुसलमान भी थे और हरिजन महिलाये भी थी जिनके साथ पलात्कार हुआ है। उस कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट में यह बात कही है। (ब्यवधान) सही हो या गलत, कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह कहा है। यह कमेटी न आप की है न मेरी है। उसने कहा है कि इसमें सरकार और पुलिस, दोनों की मिली भगत है। इसलिए मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि जब हरिजन आदिवासियों की बात चले तो उसको गम्भीरता पूर्वक लेना चाहिए। मैंने सरकार के सामने कर्फीट सुझाव दिए हैं और मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी और गृह मंत्री जी से आप्रह कहेगा कि वे इन पर गम्भीरता पूर्वक विचार करें।

मेरा सुझाव है कि सर्व प्रथम जो हरिजन एंटासिटीज का मामला है या जो शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बीकर सेक्शनस हैं उनके मामले को आप संविधान के कानकरेन्ट लिस्ट में शामिल करें। इसको आप स्टेट लिस्ट में न रखें। हमारे भूमि सुधार और हृदबन्दी के जो कानून हैं उनको आप संविधान में संशोधन करके संविधान के नवें अनुच्छेद में जोड़ें। जब तक इस देश में जमीन

का मामला सात्व नहीं होगा तब तक हरिजन, आदिवासी और कमजोर वर्गों पर अन्याय बन्द नहीं होगा। हरिजन और कमजोर वर्ग के लोग जहां-जहां बसते हों वहां आप उनको हथियार से सैस करें लेकिन दण्डवते साहब ने ठीक कहा है कि जब तक पेट में अन्न नहीं होगा तब तक हथियार भी कुछ नहीं कर पायेंगे। मैं आप को सरकारी नौकरी के कुछ आंकड़े देना चाहता हूं कि अभी तक प्रथम और द्वितीय श्रेणी में दो चार परसेन्ट हरिजन भी नहीं पाए हैं। डा० अम्बेदेकर ने कहा था कि दस वर्ष तक आप आरक्षण दीजिए और दस वर्ष के बाद आरक्षण की आवश्यकता न रहे। क्योंकि उन्होंने सोचा था कि दस माल नें शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स सोसियली, इकोनोमिकली, ऐजुकेशनली सभी स्तरों पर बराबर आ जायेंगे। लेकिन 32 साल के बाद भी वे जहां के तहां हैं। आप जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में आरक्षण दीजिए, चाहे सरकारी नौकरी हो या गैर सरकारी नौकरी हो, चाहे कोटा हो, परमिट हो, लाइसेंस हो जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में उनको आरक्षण दीजिए। आप पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाइए और उम पंचवर्षीय के तहत ऐसे कार्यक्रम चलाइए कि पांच साल के बाद कोई हरिजन ऐसा नहीं रहेगा जिस हरिजन परिवार के एक व्यक्ति को या तो सरकारी नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी या एक व्यक्ति को रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा। आप अपनी सरकार को कहिए कि प्रत्येक डिपार्टमेंट एक सेल खोले और वह पता लगाएगा कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की बहाली हो रही है या नहीं। कहां से योग्य उम्मीदवार आयेगा जब कि उसके लिए लिख दिया जाता है कि—

If the candidates belonging to SC & ST are not available, the seats will be treated as un-reserved.

यह बात लिख कर सारी चोंजों को खत्म दिया जाता है। मैं आप से फिर यही कहूंगा कि आप प्रत्येक डिपार्टमेंट में एक सेल बनाइए।

आज मन्दिर का पूजारी कौन होता है? वही मन्दिर का पूजारी होता है जो ब्राह्मण होता है। आप क्या नहीं एक रिलीजियस इन्स्टीट्यूशन चलाते हैं कि जो लड़का पढेगा, चाहे वह हरिजन हो या ब्राह्मण हो, जो उसकी डिग्री ले लेगा, वही मन्दिर का पूजारी बनेगा। चारों पुरी में चारों शंकराचार्य बैठे हुए हैं। ये लोग वहां से एक फरमान जारी करने हैं कि वह अछूत है। ये चारों शंकराचार्य देश में जातपात को फैला करके देश को तोड़ना चाहते हैं। आप उन चारों शंकराचार्यों का गिरफ्तार करके जेल में बन्द कर दीजिए।

आप ने एक शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमीशन बना दिया है उसकी रिपोर्ट इस सदन के सामने पांच साल के बाद आती है और तब उसके बाद हाउस में उस पर बहस चलती है। मैं आप से मांग करता हूं कि आयोग

जब अपनी रिपोर्ट देना करे तो उसके साथ ऐकमन टेकन रिपोर्ट भी सबमिट करे। हरिजनों के अत्याचारों के प्रति कमीशन जो सिफारिशें करता है, उसके बारे में क्या कार्यवाही की जाती है, इसकी सूचना हमें मिलनी चाहिए। जहां कहीं भी सडयूल्ड कास्ट और सडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स के प्रति घटना घटे आप उसके लिए एक स्पेशल पुलिस स्टेशन बनाइए, दो-बार-पांच अलग से पुलिस स्टेशन बनाइए, जो उस केस के बारे में तुरन्त तहकीकात करे, उस केस को दर्ज कराए और उस पर कार्यवाही करे। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि नीति बना देने से काम नहीं होता है, नीति के साथ साथ नीयत भी चाहिए, इरादा भी चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ यदि आप इन इरादों के साथ काम करेंगे तो निकट भविष्य में हरिजनों, आदिवासियों, कमजोर वर्गों के साथ जो आज अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, व कम हो सकेंगे। यदि इसको आप पार्टी स्पिरिट से लेने रहेंगे तो इस समस्या का निदान नहीं कर सकेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI R. R. BHOLE (Bombay South Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think there is any quarrel on the question that there is a discrimination between man and man in our country. This is there because everybody knows of the caste system. The philosophy of the caste system which, unfortunately, still exists, is that a man considers the other as inferior. It is this philosophy which, unfortunately, is still in existence and is practised, is creating trouble everywhere even after a period of 30 years after Independence in our country; because one man does not treat the other man like man and because he accepts this system of caste distinction, he treats him as a slave. Therefore, all these atrocious crimes are committed against their own brethren. I will give some figures which are known to us. In Bihar, the atrocious crimes in the year 1977 were 560. In the year 1978 it was 1,911 and in 1979 it was 1,824, these figures are till October. Coming to Madhya Pradesh, the atrocities against Scheduled Castes in 1977 was 2,736, in 1978 it was 3,240 and in 1979 it rose to 3,866. In UP it was 4,019 in 1977, 5,660 in 1978 and 4,102 in 1979. For want of time, I

do not propose to give figures for other States, but the figures which I gave clearly show that the championship in the perpetration of crime against Scheduled Castes and the poor people goes to UP. Next comes Madhya Pradesh and Bihar is in the same line. States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and others are following in the footsteps of these States, but not to that extent.

I want also to bring to the notice of the House that orthodoxy and Commission of atrocious crimes against the Scheduled Castes and weaker sections are more in the north than in the south. The reason is very clear. There was a movement of rebellion, of revolt by the weaker sections against the caste system in the South under the leadership of Mahatma Phule, Dr. Amedkar, Sahu Chatterpati Maharaj, Ramaswamy Naicker and other social leaders. In the north, unfortunately, this movement did not come. No leader started the movement. Probably, it was not allowed to come. That is the reason why in North India there is more orthodoxy, there is more toryism social toryism, more conservatism. When I travelled in Bihar, Haryana and other northern States, I found in some States actual slavery. The zamindars treat their agricultural labour and some Scheduled Caste and backward classes as if they are slaves. If they raise their head, their heads are broken. This is the condition even today of poor agricultural labourers, and much more of the Scheduled Castes.

I do not propose to take more time but I would certainly like to suggest some remedies which might be considered by the Government. These atrocious crimes are committed mostly in the far-off villages. Therefore, roads and communication systems from those villages must be built as quickly as possible. There must be collective fines on the *Mukhyias* and *Patels*, of the villages who are many times responsible for instigating others to commit these crimes against the poorer

[Shri R. R. Bhole]

and helpless classes. There must be rehabilitation in big groups so that they can defend themselves. Of course the first and foremost, is that there should be economic and educational development of the Scheduled Caste and the poorer classes, and it should be speeded up as early as possible. We are, of course, on that road because of our programmes. Unless and until the level of these poorer classes is raised, the country's level cannot be raised. I am sure our Government, through the 20-point programme will try to remedy this evil which has been existing for thousands of years and disintegrating our great country.

SHRI MUKUNDA MANDAL (Mathurapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of shame that after 32 years of Independence this type of atrocities are going on. The whole country should hang its head in shame after the cold-blooded murder that was organised by the criminal kulaks in Bihar.

Sir, there are landlords and zamindars in the Pipra village. The country is ashamed of the incident in Pipra.

When the Janata Party was in power in the month of May, 1977, there was some incident in Belchi where Harijans were killed. There a powerful community organised an attack on the weaker sections of the society. The powerful community in the rural areas also organised their forces to kill the weaker sections of the society in Dharrampura, Jathadda, Begusarai, Bihar-shariff, Vishrampur, Bajitpur, Parasbigha and then in Pipra. We are now discussing Pipra.

Sir, the fact is that the Janata Party is now blaming the Congress(I) Party for these incidents and the Congress(I) is blaming the Janata Party for the incident of 1977. But my point is, in the year 1968 when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was in power, in the village

Keelvenmani in Tamil Nadu, 43 Harijans were burnt alive. This was the position, and now in the Pipra village the same incident happened. (*Interruptions*). These incidents should not be considered from the political angle. The point is that the zamindars, the kulaks, take shelter under the ruling Party for organising atrocities on the Harijans and weaker sections of society. Who are the Harijans? Who are the Scheduled Castes? Mostly they are agricultural labourers. The poor peasantry and agricultural labourers are ill-treated by the zamindars and jtdars and the ruling Party, whether it is the Congress(I) or the Janata Party.....(*Interruptions*). In the case of West Bengal this type of happenings will not take place. (*Interruptions*). The people of West Bengal are above casteism.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar): What about the Marichjhapi incident?

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI MUKUNDA MANDAL: The ruling party includes those zamindars, because in the villages they are the pillars, and the ruling party has to get money from them for the elections.

The agricultural labourers produce foodgrains, but they do not get two square meals a day. They produce the raw materials essential for industries, but they cannot consume the final product.

In Pipra village, the agricultural labourers were getting one share of *sattu* and one share of *kesari* as wages. Under the Act, Rs. 5 has been fixed as minimum wages, but that is not given by the village landlords.

It is not only in Bihar where these atrocities are going on. Most parts of the country are suffering in this manner. My suggestion is that the land ceiling laws should be implemented and the land above the ceiling should be distributed among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry.

The right to work should be accepted as a fundamental right. If that is done, the agricultural labourers will not be depending upon the village money-lenders, the jotedars and the kulaks. The names of those who are responsible for the atrocities should be publicised and the steps taken by the Government should be made known to the people.

श्री बृटा सिंह (रोपड़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हरिजनों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार की घटना होने की इस सदन में चर्चा हुई, यह मसला बहुत ही गम्भीर है और महत्वपूर्ण मसला है। इस में अनेकों किसानों की जानें गयी और उनके घर जलाये गये। उन के साथ ऐसा व्यवहार किया गया जो आजकल के जमाने में बहुत ही असम्य है और इस पर जितना भी दुःख व्यक्त किया जाए थोड़ा है।

मिस्टर दण्डवते ने कुछ तथ्य दिये और यह कह कर दिये कि वह पार्टीबाजी से ऊपर उठ कर इस पर चर्चा करने जा रहे हैं। परन्तु उसके तुरन्त बाद ही लोक सभा के कुछ सदस्यों ने ऐसी-ऐसी बातें पेश की कि बड़े दुःख से कहना पड़ता है कि इस मसले को राजनीतिक रंग देने की चेष्टा की गयी। (ध्यान) कहा गया कि राष्ट्रपति शासन के लागू होते ही लोगों के ऊपर, हरिजनों के ऊपर अत्याचार बढ़ने शुरू हो गये। जैसे जस्टिस भोले ने अभी कहा बिहार में इन अत्याचारों का बढ़ना तब शुरू हुआ जब कांग्रेस की हकूमत खत्म हुई और जनता पार्टी की हकूमत आई। इनकी हकूमत आने के बाद यह संख्या दुगुनी नहीं बल्कि चार गुना बढ़ी। बिहार का ही मैं उदाहरण पेश करना चाहता हूँ। 1977 के पहले इन अत्याचारों की संख्या 560 थी लेकिन जनता पार्टी की हकूमत आते ही यह संख्या बढ़ कर 1911 हो गयी यानी दो हजार के करीब हो गयी। 1979 में यह और भी बढ़ गई। मैं इसलिए यह कह रहा हूँ कि जनता पार्टी के साथ साथ इस प्रकार के और इस मनोवृत्ति के राजनीतिज्ञ सत्ता में आगे आए जिन्होंने गावों का जो हमारा सामाजिक स्ट्रक्चर है, जो हमारा समाज का ढांचा है उसको जातीयता की भावना से और फिरकापरस्ती की भावना से भर दिया। फिर ये अत्याचार शुरू हुए। पिपरा कांड को ही आप लें। हम में भी यदि आप देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि इस में एक ऐसा भ्रूष काम करता हुआ आपको नजर आएगा जो कि एक राजनीतिक दल से सम्बन्ध रखता है, जिसका उल्लेख हमारे देश के बड़े बड़े अखबारों में भी हुआ है। टाइम्स आफ इन्डिया ने इस दुःखभरी घटना का जिक्र

करते हुए स्पष्ट रूप से लिखा है कि इसकी सारी की सारी जिम्मेवारी किसान संरक्षण संघ के ऊपर जाती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ माननीय सदस्यों से कि यह जो किसान संरक्षण संघ है यह किस पार्टी के साथ सम्बन्ध रखता है, क्या यह लोक दल का दूसरा नाम नहीं है ? (इंटरप्राज)*

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing should be recorded without my permission.

श्री बृटा सिंह : इससे भी अधिक बातें बिहार असेम्बली में उस वक्त के मुख्य मंत्री के सामने लोक दल के सदस्यों ने कही थी। बिहार के इस क्षेत्र में भोजपुर, पटना, नालंदा, गया, रोहतास आते हैं और इस बेल्ट में वाकायदा और विधिवत ढंग से डाकुओं और असामाजिक तत्वों को पैसा देकर रखा जाता है ताकि वे गरीब वर्गों और खास कर हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के ऊपर अत्याचार करते रहें। वहां के बड़े बड़े जमींदार और कुलक लोग ऐसे हत्यारों को पालते हैं, उनको हथियार देते हैं और उनसे इस प्रकार के अत्याचार करवाते हैं। इसके पीछे किस राजनीतिक दल का हाथ है यह तो अब जो जांच होगी और जब वह बाहर आएगी उससे ही पता चलेगा परन्तु आप देखें कि इस घटना के बाद हमारे देश के गृह मंत्री वहां पहुंचे और तुरन्त घटना स्थल पर जा कर वहां जो राज्य अधिकारी थे उनको इवट्टा किया और वह पहले गृह मंत्री हैं जिन्होंने उनको स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह कहा— "You may pack up and go if you cannot do your job efficiently."

19.00 hrs.

ज्ञानी जी के जाने के तुरन्त बाद वहां के शासन ने, वहां के राज्यपाल ने आदेश जारी किए और जिन कदमों को उठान की जरूरत थी उठाए। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी और खास कर प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ऐसे जितने भी अत्याचारों के मामले होते हैं उनमें स्वयं दिल-चस्पी ले कर इनका खुद समाधान करती हैं। अभी बिहार सरकार की तरफ से जाँ कदम उठाये गये हैं ऐसे कदम पहले किसी भी सरकार ने नहीं उठाये। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि नारायणपुर में क्या हुआ, वहां की सरकार ने क्या किया ? इसी तरह बलौची में क्या हुआ ? उस वक्त की बिहार सरकार ने क्या किया ? . . .

(व्यवधान)

श्री मंत्री राम बागड़ी (हिंसार): अध्यक्ष जी, मैं एक क्लैरिफिकेशन चाहता हूँ। वह कृपा करके यह बता दें क्या; किपी सरकार ने, पहली सरकार ने अगर हरिजनों पर जुल्म किया हो तो क्या आप जस्टीफाइ करोगे आज के जुल्म को। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री बृदा सिंह: अध्यक्ष, मैं बता रहा था कि बिहार सरकार ने कुछ कदम उठाये हैं। बिहार सरकार ने तुरन्त गृह मंत्री जी को यात्रा के बाद यह कदम उठाये :

Armed force with Magistrate was deputed in village Pipra.

Static police pickets were stationed in villages Kalyanchak, Parthu, Sabhajpur, Upraul-Bhabhaul and Allauddinchak.

Mobile police parties with police officers and magistrates were deputed in the rest of the area.

A proposal for the cancellation of a large number of arms licences in the area is under the consideration of the District Administration.

Apart from the above steps, the Government of Bihar have taken up for immediate consideration the following measures for the general tightening up of law and order in the State:—

Quartering of additional police force in disturbed areas and wherever necessary providing compensation to the affected families at the cost of the inhabitants of the area under Section 15 of the Police Act.

Promulgation of an Ordinance for collective fine or collective tax as well as for making Mukhiyas and other responsible for collective security of the village, specially Harijans and other weaker sections of the society.

Earmarking of special courts. I want to highlight this point. The Gov-

ernment of India has taken a very bold step for earmarking of special courts for expeditious disposal of criminal cases of this nature in consultation with the High Court of Judicature at Patna.

These are the immediate steps that have been taken by the Government of India.

यह पहली बार है कि इस प्रकार के घटनास्वल् पर देश के गृह मंत्री महोदय स्वयं गये प्रधान मंत्री के आदेशानुसार, और उन्होंने जा कर कोशिश की है कि अधिक से अधिक लोगों को सहूलियत दी जाये।

मैं एक बात में माननीय राम विलास पासवान का समर्थन करता हूँ कि मसला इतना गम्भीर है और मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूँगा कि अब यह मामला हरिजनों के ऊपर अत्याचारों का इतना गम्भीर हो चुका है कि अब इसको राज्यों के ऊपर छोड़ना बहुत मुश्किल है। अब तो हरिजनों को सुरक्षण देने के लिए, इनका प्रोटेक्शन देने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार स्वयं इस महकमे को अपना हाथ में ले और कोई इस प्रकार की मशीनरी या फोर्स इवाल्फ करे और खास कर के जिलाधिकारियों और पुलिस अधिकारियों को पर्सनली रेस्पॉसिबिल ठहराया जाय और उनके कैरेक्टर रोल में लिखा जाय। यदि किसी डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट के इलाके में ऐसी घटना बार-बार होती है, तो उसको तुरन्त सेवा से मुक्त किया जाये, नौकरी से बर्खास्त किया जाये। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा तब तक इसका असर समूचे देश पर होने वाला नहीं है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर अपने माननीय सदस्यों से अपील करूँगा कि यह मानवता और गरीबी के ऊपर अत्याचार हुए हैं, इससे राजनीतिक फायदा उठाने की कोशिश मत कीजिए और इस समस्या को मानवता के नाम पर ही ज्यादा से ज्यादा हल करने की कोशिश कीजिए।

MR. SPEAKER: With the pleasure of the House, the time for the discussion is extended by half an hour Mr. Nagaratnam.

श्री श्रीराज बंगकी : जनता सरकार में 4
बटे इस पर बहुत हुई थी ।

*SHRI T. NAGARATNAM (Sriperumbudur): Hon. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the debate on the atrocities being perpetuated in our country even after 32 years of independence.

At the very outset I would categorically say that, even if cases are instituted in law courts, against the offenders, the Harijan victims do not ultimately get justice. This has become common knowledge in our country. The hon. Members who preceded me stated that the landlords are primarily responsible for the continuing atrocities on Harijans. But I would like to ask of them how the affluent farmers belonging to upper castes do not indulge in such inhuman acts against the agricultural labour belonging to low classes.

When Janata Government was there at the Centre, in Villupuram 13 harijans were murdered in day light. In his speech, Shri Madhu Dandevate emphasised the need for establishing special courts for trying the culprits. I want to know why he did not advocate such a step at the time of Villupuram atrocities when he was a responsible Cabinet Minister in the Janata Government. The dead body of a Harijan by name Bango Arumugham was being taken to the cremation ground and when it was going in Anna Salai, the procession led by the AIADMK Chief Minister, Shri MGR was about to pass by that way. The bullient workers of AIADMK prevented the dead body of the harijan being carried in Annasalai. The dead body was dragged on the road by these workers. This is the fate meted out even to the dead bodies of Harijans.

Even after handing over the pattas of land to the Harijans, the Harijans are not allowed to till the land. The people interested in that land go to the court and get a stay order. I would request the Central Government to for-

mulate legislative proposals debaring the reference to Courts by individuals of such cases where the pattas have been given to the Harijans. Unless such a legislative sanction is there the Harijans will never be able to till the land given to them. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and such other national leaders not only fought for the independence of the nation but also for the welfare of oppressed classes in the country. In Tamil Nadu, in the footsteps of Periar and Arignar Anna, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi is committed to the well being of Harijans and other oppressed classes. A Harijan can become an IAS Collector, can become a high Police official and also can become a Member of Parliament. But even after 32 years of independence he cannot become a temple priest. Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi during his tenure of office as Chief Minister enacted a law which enabled the Harijans to become temple priests. But the Supreme Court annulled this law. It is not enough to have a law for curbing the atrocities on Harijans. Such a law must become a practical tool in day to day life. I demand that special courts must be established in each district for expeditious disposal of cases involving atrocities on Harijans.

With these words I conclude my speech.

श्री मूलचन्द्र शर्मा (पाली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस प्रकार के अपराध राष्ट्र के लिए कलंक हैं, और यह कलंक तभी मिट सकता है, जब हम यहाँ शोषण-विहीन समाज की स्थापना करें। अगर वर्तमान आर्थिक विषमता कायम रहेगी, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि भविष्य में ऐसी और भी घटनाएँ हो सकती हैं।

भाज सारा समाज शोषण और दमन पर टिका हुआ है। कहा जाता है कि लोगों को जिन्दा जला दिया गया। लेकिन भाज हमारे देश में करोड़ों लोग जिन्दा होते हुए भी गौरव से जीना नहीं जानते हैं। हम उनको जिन्दा मानते हैं, यह हमारे लिए कलंक की बात है। वे जिन्दा नहीं हैं, वे किसी तरह जिन्दागी के बिन काट रहे हैं। उनके पास जाने के लिए अनाश नहीं है। भाज गांवों में जो भयंकर गरीबी है, उसका जिम्मेदार सारा राष्ट्र है, काश्मिर चाहे कोई भी हो। जब तक शोषण-विहीन और जाति-विहीन समाज कायम नहीं होगा, भूमि सुधार कानून और सीलिंग एक्ट की मजबूती के साथ साथ

[श्री नृप चन्दाबाबा]

नहीं किया जायेगा, कुदुब मीनार पर बैठने वाले लोगों को जमीन पर नहीं लाया जायेगा और निचले लोगों को ऊपर नहीं उठाया जायेगा जब तक ये सारी घटनाएँ होती रहेंगी और सारे राष्ट्र को 'शर्म' से अपना सिर झुकाना पड़ेगा,

पिपरा की घटना के बारे में मेरे प्रश्न के उत्तर में सरकार की ओर से कहा गया है :

“बिहार सरकार से प्राप्त रिपोर्टों के अनुसार फरवरी, 1980 में पिपरा में हुई भयानक घटना के पीछे कारणों के बारे में एक निश्चित परिणाम पर अभी पहुंचना है।”

सरकार की इनवेस्टीगेशन मशीनरी अभी तक इस घटना के कारणों का पता नहीं लगा सकी है। जहां तक इस बात का सम्बन्ध है कि इन लोगों का बालान किन संकलन के मातहत किया गया, उन्होंने क्या एट्रसिटीज की थीं, कितने लोग एक्सकांड कर गये हैं और ऐसी घटनाओं को रोकने के लिए क्या उपाय किये गये हैं, सरकार की ओर से जवाब दिया गया है कि इस पर विचार हो रहा है। ऐसे धिसे-पिटे जवानों से न भारत के प्रधान मंत्री को संतोष मिलेगा और न हम लोगों को। देश को संतोष तब मिलेगा, जब इस देश में श्रीव गौरव से जिन्दा रह सकेगा। अगर 25 फरवरी को घटना होती है और 12 मार्च को यह जवाब दिया जाता है कि फलां फलां मेजरज घंवर कनसिडरेशन हैं, तो यह बहुत खेद की बात है। मैं इस बारे में और कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं।

इन घटनाओं को राजनैतिक या [पार्टी की दृष्टि से नहीं देखना चाहिए। ऐसी घटनाओं पर राष्ट्र को शर्म से सिर झुकाना पड़ता है। इसलिए हमें गरीबी को मिटाना चाहिए, सीलिंग एक्ट और 20-पायंड प्रोग्राम को सख्ती से लागू करना चाहिए और ऊपर के लोगों को नीचे और निचले लोगों को ऊपर लाना चाहिए, बर्ना देश में और खतरनाक स्थिति पैदा हो जायेगी।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat):
India has been one of the foremost champions in the world of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

It was Gandhiji, during the years he spent in that country, who first evolved the idea of a passive non-violent satyagraha which he recommended to the coloured peoples of South Africa to fight against the racial injustice which

was being perpetrated on them and which regrettably continue to be perpetrated to-day. I think this is a matter of shame for all of us that while we hold high the banner of anti-apartheid in United Nations and we are respected for that, here, in our own country, this is the private brand of Apartheid which we are tolerating day after day. I am really very much grieved, Sir, that the party angle is sought to be injected into this. We were having enough of it a little while ago on the budget—this party and that party trading accusations against each other. Here, people are being killed; their houses are being burnt; their women were being dishonoured; their children at Pipra were torn from the arms of their mothers and thrown into the flames. We are arguing here; in whose regime it has happened more and in whose regime it has happened less.

I am grieved because I think the people who have got this kind of attitude to this problem will never be serious in tackling it.

Just now after coming here and before the discussion began, I received a message from Shri Vijay Kumar Yadav, a sitting Member here, who has been elected to this House from Nalanda in Bihar—the message has just now come—that in his constituency, in village Madanpur, Thana Ikander Sarai, the house of a Harijan worker of his, who worked for him in his elections, Shri Kishori Ram, Khar by caste, has been set on fire. I have here many names but I do not want to read them the names of those culprits or alleged culprits who are supposed to have done this. It is said here that this is a sort of their taking revenge because this man had worked for our comrade here. They have stopped them from taking drinking water from the well. This kind of thing is going on all the time. I went to Pipra. My party directed me to go there for the simple reason that one house in which 9 people—the members of a family—were but-

chered; that family belongs to two brothers. They lived together. One of them by name Krishna—there are two families—they are all chamars and mochis—was a member of our party. The other brother happened to be away from Pipra village on that night—he was in another village. So, naturally, I went there to meet them, to see them. I do not want to recount all those things which many friends have said. But, two things I will say. Somebody has mentioned a little while ago that they had decided that they would not go to vote because the booth to which they had to go was situated in a place about a kilo-metre away from Pipra; they would have to cross over the lands and the fields of those landlords. The booth is also situated in the village of those landlords. They told us:

‘हम क्या पागल हैं, हम पागल हुए हैं कि हम वहाँ वोट देने जाएंगे ? इस से बेहतर हम ने ठीक किया कि हम में से कोई नहीं जायगा वोट देने ।’

I had asked them: ‘Perhaps, you do not know what is being propagated in newspapers outside about the incident here.’ One of the things I have said is—this is in order to see what their reactions would be—that it is being published in the press that this is an area of great Naxalite activity and there are Naxalite dens here. Is that true to your knowledge? what they said, Sir, is this. They said, it is all false....

MR. SPEAKER: That point has been made.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If Naxalites had been here such a thing would not have happened. What is the implication of this remark? Here there are people who have no land, who are oppressed by the landlords, who are not paid their due wages, who are not protected by the police, who are not able to go and vote. Where does the simple logic of this lead them to? Can you blame them? Can you accuse them?

What is their future? What is it that they look forward to? Therefore, all I will say is this: we cannot just by making a few speeches in this House change the whole of this caste ridden Hindu Society. We have inherited it from thousands of years, from the days of Manu. It is not going to be changed without deep-going social revolution in this country; it is certainly not just round the corner; I don't know how many years it will take. But just now it is the duty of this Parliament, it is the duty of the State, to take practical steps to see that these millions of harijan brothers and sisters of ours are given adequate protection. The main question is the question of land. You cannot get round it. The basic question is the question of land. The struggle is taking place on this issue and all the governments upto now despite all the good laws they have passed on paper and statements they have made, have failed to see that the surplus land of the landlords is taken over and really distributed among these poor harijans and landless people. It is not being done. The figures are there; it can be shown. So unless this problem is solved we will have this trouble with us for years to come.

Sir, I conclude by quoting the words of Dr. Ambedkar with which I do not totally agree because it is a bit of an over-simplification. He said:

‘The Romans had their slaves; the Spartans their helots, the British their villeins, the Americans their Negroes and the Germans their Jews. So the Hindus have their Untouchables.’

I hope this is not actually the framework within which we should place this issue. Because, in that case, it will be difficult for us to hold up our heads before the whole world and civilised humanity. But at least we must understand, Sir, that what we say in this House and what we do after that is something which

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

should not provoke these Harijan millions to feel that we are only shedding crocodile tears for them and making speeches while the same barbarous behaviour goes on down below. So let us at least try to transcend party loyalty in this matter at least and let us resolve to get forward and wipe out this scourge from our country. And if Krishna mochi had died in that burnt hut (*Interruptions*) his family had been killed, massacred, women, children and all, then, I say, if that has at least led to this subject being brought sharply to lime-light in this country and has precipitated this debate today in Parliament, then, their martyrdom has not been in vain. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA): Mr. Speaker, Sir. I am entirely in agreement with these friends who said that issue should be discussed above party lines and no politics should be injected into it. The hon. Member who started the debate, Mr. Madhu Dandavate, has made some suggestions and I am really thankful to him for making some good and constructive suggestions and discussing the issue with all seriousness. Sir, many of the suggestions which he has made are under the active consideration of the Government. I wanted to deal with it point by point if you kindly permit me and give sufficient time. I would like to tell this august House about the action which the Government wants to take in this regard.

While we are discussing this issue above party lines, it requires to be discussed from all angles, and if you want to know the real genesis of it, then, certain comparisons are also necessary. And when we do that, it should not be taken that we are criticising a particular political party. But at the same time, I may tell you

and this august body that it is the political will of the political party which works in these cases. And if there is a political will, then everything can be done in this direction. Sir, Prof. Madhu Dandavate mentioned that the people in Pipra told him that after 1952 they had not exercised their franchise.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
They voted only in 1952.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:
They have not voted from 1957 onwards. From 1957 onwards some feudal elements and some landlords formed a party, namely, the Swatantra Party. That was in 1962. But it was conceived in 1957 and these feudal elements which had spread over the country, particularly in the northern part of the country, did not allow these Harijans to vote, not only in the northern part of India but elsewhere also. But as has been pointed by him, these atrocities had been done. It is obvious that due to socio-economic factors, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are in a particular region, in a vulnerable situation. Some of them are agricultural labourers, others depend on share-crops; some of them engaged in small farming, fishing and other low income occupations like weaving and leather work. They own very small assets. Almost all of them are below the poverty line. Just now a survey has revealed the 66 per cent of the bonded labourers of the country belongs to the Scheduled Castes. This is the situation prevailing in so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. The Government is very vigilant about it and from the beginning the Government started taking some action in that direction. I should point out to this House that the 20-point Programme was started with that motive. The tribal sub-plans were started only for the welfare of the tribals and for their overall development. The tribal sub-plan is there and some other plan for the Scheduled Castes

is also thought over and that is also started in almost all the States. That is the Sub-component Plan.

Sir, we have started reviewing of the work done by the State Governments. In this regard we had the first meeting in Gujarat. We had reviewed the work done by the Gujarat Government. In this connection, certain directions are given. I and the concerned officers were there. We had given them certain directions in this respect and we are going to have a second meeting in Maharashtra. Likewise we are going step by step and we are going to review the work done in this direction.

The Hon'ble Prime Minister is deeply interested in the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes so that the economic backwardness prevalent among these people could be removed. It is she who suggested when this incident took place that the Home Minister should personally visit that place. The Home Minister and myself visited Pipra. The Home Minister had given strict instructions to the State officials to investigate the crimes committed and file the charge-sheet as early as possible. It will be interesting to know that though the executive orders are there that the charge-sheet should be filed within 14 days, in almost all the cases it is not done. But in this case the charge-sheet is filed within 12 days, that is, before the time-limit fixed by the executive orders.

श्री रामविलास पासवान : बेलची में भी हुआ था ।

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:
I am coming to Belchi,

(Interruptions).

Sir, for the benefit of my friend, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, and others, I would like to give the information in regard to Belchi. Belchi incident took place on 27th May, 1977

and the charge-sheet was filed after 33 days (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: No interruptions please. You cannot speak without my permission. He is stating certain facts. Why can't you take them?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: I am stating certain facts as they are. I do not want to twist them.

Just for the information and benefit of the hon. Members, I may state that the chargesheet in the Belchi case was filed on 30th June, 1977 after 33 days; the case was committed to sessions on 17th December, 1977 and the hearing started in the court of Additional Sessions Judge on 5th February, 1980. All the culprits in this case have been released on bail.

So far as the Pipra is concerned, we had discussions with the Bihar Government and the Home Minister advised the Governor, the Advisers and the officers to approach the High Court to earmark a special judge to try this case. The State Government moved the High Court accordingly and the High Court has agreed to earmark a sub-judge for hearing the Pipra case on day-to-day basis. The State Government expects that the trial would be over within two months.

Now, compare both these incidents. In the Belchi case, while the trial has not yet completed, in the Pipra case because of the intervention of the Prime Minister at the right time, the case is expected to be finished within two months; and all the culprits will be brought to book.

As I said, it is the political will of the political parties that plays a very important part in these matters. I can assure the House that on our part, on the part of my Party there is a political will to protect the poor, to protect the downtrodden and to

[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

protect the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in this country.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You are speaking on behalf of the Government and not the Party.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Yes, on behalf of the Government, but there is my party behind it. I cannot forget that also.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate has made many suggestions and I would now deal with them one by one. Firstly, he has said about the revival of the National Council. It is under the consideration of the Government already and the Government will take a decision within a very short time.

So far as setting up of special courts to such cases is concerned, we have already issued the guidelines to the States and as I pointed out, for the Pipra case, a sub-judge has already been earmarked. So, we are proceeding in that direction.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate has made three or four other suggestions in this regard. I may inform him that I am also of the same thinking and most of these suggestions were already discussed by us in the Ministry, and we are considering these suggestions very actively.

Sir, this is a very sad incident which took place. The Government has taken all precautions and care to see that in future no such incident occurs in the country. I may assure the House that the Government is quite vigilant about it; particularly, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are committed to ensure protection of the poor people of this country. And, in any case, this will be done. I am thankful to the hon. Members for bringing this discussion before the House. Before I sit down, I will again request all the hon. Members of this House to keep the discussion above party lines.

MR. SPEAKER: We can extend the time, with permission of the House, I

think the House agrees with me that we can extend it till 8.15.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh): Sir, I rise to speak with a sense of great shame, because nothing that can happen hereafter, nothing which is said in this House and no action which is taken hereafter, can take away the shame that hangs on me, as the representative of the constituency, and all of us, as Indians. I also speak with agony, pain and also a deep foreboding. I speak with agony and pain, because I had warned the State Government, the highest authorities in the State Government amply and in advance, that things were not all right, that tensions were brewing in that area and that anything might happen. It did happen. Why did it happen when they had ample and advance notice?

Only yesterday, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Makwana said in Rajya Sabha that the Central Intelligence also informed the State Police that tension was brewing in the area, and that something might happen. If, as someone who is aware of the happenings in that area I had informed the State Government, if the Central Intelligence authorities had informed the State Government, then it was not a case just of a prejudice turning into mad violence. Please believe me: it was not just a case of prejudice turning into mad violence. There is a background. I do not want to indulge in partisan politics in such affairs. For people like me who believe in a compassionate society, nothing can be more tragic and worse. But things have been brewing in that area.

Some people used my name in the debate. It was suggested that maybe, some of the people who supported me or supported my campaign were the organizers or were behind this dastardly action. I leave it to you. Mr. Speaker, to name a Committee of the House. I would welcome it, and

would like it to go into it and find out who are the persons responsible. Legal action can never bring out facts as a Committee of the House can. I would myself welcome it. But again, when I say this, I do not say it in a partisan manner. It is upto the leaders of the House and to you, Sir.

When I said that I had warned the State Government, there was a reason for me to do so. In the last 2 months before this incident took place, a peculiar kind of situation had developed in this area. I will not bring in the name of Naxalites. I know Naxalites are no longer operating in that area; but they did operate there. It is some degenerated form of a group whose slogans are taken up by criminals. Pipri is a famine-declared area for the last 6 or 7 months. There cannot be any question of a wage dispute there. There cannot be any question of labour dispute in a famine area—neither the agricultural labour is having to gain anything nor the farmer is having to gain anything. Every Member from Bihar knows; that it is a famine area. Nothing has grown over there. So, what was happening in the last two months is that a gang of 200 or 300 people move from village to village and demands—not asked for arms—from the farmers that they should be given a particular quantity of grains. They took 100 maunds of grains from one village and 25 maunds of grains from another village; and in a week they served actual notice to hundreds of people asking grains to be deposited with this gang. Who are these people? The State police

should have known, the Central Intelligence should have known. I think they knew it, but still no action was taken. My friend, Shri Buta Singh had referred to Gram Raksha Samiti. I can tell him that it is completely a non-political organisation. People who are involved in it are not interested in political parties, but they did create this organisation. And when the organisation was created, within two months, both the President and the Secretary were killed. Their threat was pressed in the usual extremist fashion. They are not Naxalites; they are some degenerated political criminals group. When I say this I have this unfortunate duty of giving all the hard facts of the hard background of the matter over which this incident took place. I am ashamed of what is happening and I would urge upon the Government even now to do its best to find out the culprit and give him exemplary punishment, but please also spare the innocents; do not harass the innocents, because then the tension will continue in the area. The need of the time is to end the tension and create peaceful conditions. Thank you.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI-MATI INDIRA GANDHI): I share the feelings of anguish of all the hon. Members. We all realise that a debate is necessary for us to vent some of these feelings. But this does not necessarily lead to any solution. As soon as I heard of the tragedy in Pipra I asked the Home Minister to go and he was able to take certain initial steps which gave some reassurance to the people. How effective they have

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

been one can only tell in the long run? We are here as responsible Indian citizens who are proud of our country. Therefore it is all the more our responsibility to cleanse our society of those blots, shameful blots which can only, as hon. Members themselves said, cause shame to us and deprive us of our own self-respect.

I have decided to reactivate the National Integration Council. It is not a solution; it is merely a tool. It is the responsibility of the Government to assure our Harijans and tribal brothers and sisters of full protection. Also the guilty must and should be punished. This is not a new problem. As many have pointed out, it goes back to thousands of years; it is not easy to pull out those old roots. The causes are largely economic but into them are woven traditional social attitudes. Whereas it is government's responsibility to protect its citizens, it is the responsibility of all of us here, not only as Members of Parliament but as thinking, responsible Indian citizens to work towards the ending of casteism and communalism which are kinds of poisons which urge people to barbaric acts, lead them to forget that they are human beings and that others also are human like them, and have a right to live, to earn and to love and to work. This is something that cannot be removed merely by government decision or government action. It has to be a people's movement. Mahatma Gandhi tried to make it so. In our independence struggle,

we did not fight merely for political independence; we did this but part of the struggle was against economic injustice, against social humiliation of all Indians, especially of Harijans, Adivasis and the very weakest who had no voice, and who had no organisation. Today's situation is not the same, it has vastly changed; mainly it is this change which is part of the trouble, part of the cause of the trouble itself. As soon as they started reasserting their right; as soon as they wanted to stand straight with their heads up, a shower of atrocities and harassment descended on them. We are experiencing this also as a nation because this is the attitude of some of the developed nations towards us. They say how dare these poor people, who were cowed down, who listened to us, how dare they stand up and assert their rights? That is something that we have to deal with as a national problem. I know that. When politicians are talking, politics comes in, no matter how much one tries to avoid it. I certainly do not want to lay the blame on anybody. What is past is past. But we cannot remove the past; we have to be aware of the past. But now let us try to see how we can put our heads together and how we can create a right atmosphere. This is not something we can do just sitting here or sitting in the Integration Council. It has to be done at the local level. If a group of people have to be protected, basically it is the neighbours who are going to protect them. It should be our task as Members of Parliament from these areas, from every area because all of

us have Harijans and may be tribals in our constituencies, to see how to create that atmosphere, where people will not behave so barbarically, however much their feelings are aroused, even if they feel there is a cause for revenge. One wrong is committed, immediately the aggrieved feel that they must retaliate. The only solution is, apart from taking all possible administrative and other measures for protection as well as for punishment of the guilty, if we create an atmosphere that this is wrong, that it is not done in Indian society and will not be accepted by society. This is no short term solution. Much as I would like to say that I think such incidents are not going to happen again, I cannot honestly say that. We can only say that we shall try our very utmost, our very best to prevent such things from happening and I hope that in this effort we shall have the full cooperation of all sections of the people.

19.49 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: PRICE AND PROCUREMENT POLICY FOR WHEAT AND GRAM FOR 1980-81.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

(SHRI BIRENDRA SINGH RAO):

Sir, I rise to make a statement on the price and procurement policy for wheat and gram for the 1980-81 marketing season....(Interruptions).

.....I apologise for my inability to make this statement earlier at the fixed time.

The Government have had under consideration the recommendation of the Agricultural Prices Commission and have taken the following decisions in regard to the price and procurement policy for wheat and gram for the 1980-81 rabi marketing season:—

- (i) The support price of wheat will be Rs. 117 per quintal and that of gram Rs. 145 per quintal;
- (ii) The issue price of wheat from the Central pool will be maintained at the present level of Rs. 130 per quintal;
- (iii) Free movement of grains throughout the country will continue, the whole country continuing to be treated as a single zone for this purpose; and
- (iv) As procurement will be by way of affording price support, there will be no formal targets of quantities to be procured.

2. Government will ensure that price support operations are backed by adequate purchase arrangements in the field. However, this is a matter in which the primary responsibility rests on the State Governments. All efforts will be made to help the State Governments and the public agencies in removing any bottlenecks and in setting up an extensive network of purchase centres in areas where procurement takes place.

The Lak Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 14, 1980/Phalguna 24 1901 (Saka).