

fifteen members from among themselves to serve as members of the Committee on Public Accounts for the term beginning on the 1st May, 1966."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the members of this House do proceed to elect in the manner required by sub-rule (1) of Rule 309 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, fifteen members from among themselves to serve as members of the Committee on Public Accounts for the term beginning on the 1st May, 1966."

*The motion was adopted.*

Shri Morarka: I beg to move:

"That this House recommends to Rajya Sabha that they do agree to nominate seven members from Rajya Sabha to associate with the Committee on Public Accounts of the House for the term beginning on the 1st May, 1966, and communicate to this House the names of the members so nominated by Rajya Sabha."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That this House recommends to Rajya Sabha that they do agree to nominate seven members from Rajya Sabha to associate with the Committee on Public Accounts of the House for the term beginning on the 1st May, 1966, and communicate to this House the names of the members so nominated by Rajya Sabha."

*The motion was adopted.*

—

12.38 hrs.

# MOTION RE. SITUATION IN SCHEDULED AREAS OF BASTAR DISTRICT

Mr. Speaker: Now, we take up this motion. I have to make a few observations in that context.

As the Members are aware, this discussion has been allowed under the proviso to rule 188. There are inhibitions put down there that when a matter is before a commission of inquiry, that matter cannot be discussed in the House, but there is a provision that those aspects whose discussion might not prejudice the enquiry can be allowed by the Speaker. So, I have, in my discretion, because it was a matter of public importance, of great importance, allowed that discussion, but we shall have to confine ourselves within limits.

The other day, certain remarks were made against the Judge also. That should not be done. We should have full faith in our judiciary. Usually we demand here that a Judge of the High Court should be appointed to make an enquiry. (Interruptions) They will kindly allow me to proceed. The High Court has to give its verdict daily when one party is the State itself. Therefore, this confidence of ours should be there and we should try to enhance their dignity and not minimise it. One thing would be that no reflection should be made personally against the judge. The second is that under the proviso we can have discussions so far as the procedure, subject and stage is concerned, not the other things. The terms of reference that we have before us are: "to enquire into and report on the disturbances in Jagdalpur on the 25th and 26th March, 1966 resulting in the deaths of some persons, secondly, to report on whether the firing was justified and thirdly, to report on the adequacy or otherwise of the action to deal with these disturbances". The Commission shall consist of a single member. There is scope for discussion but that is very limited. How these deaths occurred, who was responsible for that, whether there was any provocation, was any motive behind it, if there was what was it. . . .

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Motive we can discuss.

**Mr. Speaker:** That has to be found out by the commission of enquiry. Then we can also say so far as I can think without casting any aspersions on the integrity and the independence of the judge, somebody can argue that the commission of enquiry might be enlarged, the terms of reference might be widened and that also can be urged. Probably, I think this could also be urged here that the enquiry should be expeditiously conducted and report made to the State. The Parliament is not a fact-finding body; the commission of enquiry is to sift out facts and then report. When the facts are known certainly the legislature can discuss. Unless the facts are agreed or admitted, we cannot have any discussion of these controversial things. I hope Members would keep this request of mine or my observations in their view when they discuss this matter.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I make a request? While we certainly agree with the limits prescribed by you for the discussion, may I suggest that considering that this is one of the saddest events or gruesome tragedies that have taken place in India since Independence, the time fixed for the discussion of this motion should be extended. You are aware that the other House which is a much smaller house discussed it for 2½ hours yesterday. I would pose three alternatives. One is that the private members resolutions today may be taken up at 4.30 or 5 and carried on till 7. Or I may make an appeal to my hon. colleagues here to give up, in the national interest, their right to discuss the private Members' resolutions today so that we can have the whole day upto 6 O'clock.

**Some hon. Members:** Yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will ask the Leader of the House.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Private Members' Business—they agree.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** Yesterday the matter was discussed in the

Rajya Sabha by the Home Minister himself and all the points discussed by him there are open to discussion here; I hope that you will hold that they are not beyond the instructions which you had given.

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians):** May I say something? I was extremely distressed by the newspaper reports of what the Home Minister said in the Rajya Sabha. I say this with respect that he deliberately canvassed the culpability of these adivasis who were shot; None of us will do it but the Home Minister did it though obviously it should not have been done. We are not going to canvass the culpability of the government; the Home Minister directly canvassed the culpability of the adivasis.

**डा० राज मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अपनी बात कहने के पहले जरा धीरों की बात भी सुन लीजिये। अगर आप का यह मतलब है कि जगदलपुर में उस वक्त जो प्रशासनिक अफसर थे या जो घटनायें हुई उन की तफसील पर यहां बहस नहीं होनी चाहिए तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि मेरी राय में वह बिल्कुल सही है। लेकिन अगर हम में से किसी का ऐसा खयाल है कि उस घटना के पीछे वर्तमान दिल्ली सरकार के गृह मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री या मध्य प्रदेश सरकार के मंत्रियों का हाथ है तो उसे तो कहने का यहां पूरा हक होना चाहिए, क्योंकि वह राजनीतिक जिम्मेदारी है, यह कोई सीधे छुरा मारने की जिम्मेदारी नहीं हुमा करती है या गोली चलाने की। इसलिये हम लोगों को यहां पर राजनीतिक जिम्मेदारी पर बहस चलाने का हक होना चाहिए।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं यह खयाल नहीं करता।

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon):** I would like to have your ruling on the question whether we are allowed to make out the point that the judge who is appointed is the brother-in-law

or a relative of the chief minister if it is a fact?

Mr. Speaker: That can be done in the speeches.

बी स० बी० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन केवल यह है कि कल राज्य सभा में इस मसले पर बहस हुई थीर. . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : राज्य सभा को आप यहां नहीं ला सकते ।

बी स० बी० बनर्जी : अध्यक्षारों में जो कुछ हम ने पढ़ा है कि दूसरे सदन में यह हुआ है उस से कम से कम साफ जाहिर होता है कि वहां पर जो बन्वितें आप यहां अपनी दानिशमदी के फलस्वरूप लगा रहे हैं वह नहीं लगाई गई । इस के कारण हो सकते हैं । वहां और कानून हो सकते हैं और यहां के और कानून हो सकते हैं, लेकिन मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारे पास क्लिफर टर्म्स आफ रिफरेंस, हैं, अगर यह परिस्थिति वहां कैसे उत्पन्न हुई, आखिर यह गोली चलाने की नीमत वहां क्यों आई, उसके पीछे क्या राज है, अगर इस के बारे में हम लोगों को बोलने का हक नहीं होगा तो मैं समझता हूं कि जो डिस्कशन आप ने बहुत मेहरबानी कर के हम लोगों को दिया है, वह बकार हो जायेगा । मेरा निवेदन है कि हम जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं मध्य प्रदेश के या जो जब साहब हैं उन के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहते, लेकिन जिस तरह से लाशों को हटाया गया, जिस तरह से वो ली, डार्ल सी या तीन ली डेस हुई हैं और 13 बतलाई गई, उस के बारे में हम अगर कुछ नहीं कह सकते, हम अपनी बात कमिशन के सामने भी रखना चाहते हैं लेकिन हमारी आवाज कमिशन तक नहीं जायेगी, इस सदन में जो हमारी आवाज होगी वह कमिशन के पास एक निवेदन होगा . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं ने सुन लिया ।

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): About the restriction on the scope of the discussion, you are the proper authority to say.

Mr. Speaker: Objection has been taken here that the Home Minister referred to certain things in the Rajya Sabha which have appeared in the newspapers, but that will not be permissible so far as my restrictions are concerned.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): The ground laid for the discussion in the other House is different from what we have before us. A point of order was raised there that nothing which concerned matters coming within the scope of that enquiry should be allowed to be discussed. The rules relating to Rajya Sabha were referred to and that rule is very different from what is here.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): They are the same.

Shri Nanda: Hon. Member belongs to the Lok Sabha and he does not necessarily know what the Rajya Sabha rules are; the rules are different; this is permissible there although it will not be permissible under rule 59 or so concerning the Lok Sabha. Even then, although some of the Members mentioned certain things relating to those events, I did not touch that ground except to correct one or two mistakes and mis-statements. I did nothing else. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: I do not know what happened in the other House, but so far as this House is concerned, you have rightly stated . . .

Mr. Speaker: What is the time for this?

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: We have agreed that 2½ hours should be allotted for this motion.

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : डाई घंटे से क्या होने वाला है ?

श्री सत्य नारायण सिंह : भाई साहब, जरा सुन तो लीजिए ।

श्री बागड़ी : दो डाई घंटे से क्या होगा ? सुन क्या लें ?

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** We discussed it with you today, because we have half a day which is allotted for the non-official business, and in view of that, we could discuss this from 1 O'clock to 3.30.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They may agree to give some of that time. If they are agreeable, it can be done.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** If the House wants to give up non-official business, I cannot object to that.

**Mr. Speaker:** The proposal is that we may push back the non-official business by one hour and have an hour. That was the proposal made.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** There could be no objection if the House agrees to that.

**Mr. Speaker:** Does the House agree to that?

**Several hon. Members:** Yes, yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right. We will have that. **Shri Ranga.**

**Shri G. N. Dixit (Etawah):** Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** We will be spending the time allotted for this motion on other things then.

**Shri G. N. Dixit:** I will be saving the time and I will be curtailing the discussion if I am allowed to raise this point of order. You have very well said that the scope of discussion of this motion is very limited by rule 188. But then we have also to read the provisions contained in the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, under which this Commission has been appointed. I just want to bring home

to you that this House cannot discuss at all the subject-matter before the House. Both the Governments have got the power to appoint Commissions of Inquiry. The Government of India has got the power to appoint a Commission and the State Governments have got the power to appoint a Commission under the Commissions of Inquiry Act. Once a State Government appoints a Commission, then, section 3(b) of the Commissions of Inquiry Act applies.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Minister would reply accordingly.

**Shri G. N. Dixit:** It cannot be discussed here. That is my point of order. That is, so far as the Commission appointed by the State Government is concerned, it cannot be discussed in this House. That is my submission. Therefore, the question of reply does not arise.

Section 3(b) of the Commissions of Inquiry Act says:

"Where any such Commission has been appointed to enquire into any matter by a State Government, the Central Government shall not appoint another Commission to enquire into the same matter for so long as the Commission appointed by the State Government is functioning, unless the Central Government is of opinion that the scope of enquiry should be extended to two or more States."

This particular matter cannot be extended to two or more States. This relates to only one State. (*Interruption*). Therefore, under section 3(b), this Government cannot function at all in respect of this matter. The Government of India cannot act so long as the present Commission is functioning. If it cannot, then, no motion on that matter can be discussed here, unless this Government has got the power to do so. But as it is, only the powers of the Government of India can be the subject matter of discussion in this House. So far as

that Commission is concerned, that cannot be the concern of this House.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur** (Jalore): On that very day, when this question was being raised, that this may be discussed, I drew your pointed attention to the fact that it is only under rules 184 and 188 that this discussion could be permitted. I do not know what was before your mind. If I have understood you correctly, this motion is under rule 184 read with rule 188 and the proviso to rule 188. I think that under these rules you are permitting this discussion. I do not know whether you read out proviso to rule 188.

**Mr. Speaker:** I did.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Proviso to rule 188 is absolutely clear. You were good enough to elaborate as to what can be discussed and what is the scope of the discussion and also you gave a certain lead to the Members so that they may not go astray. So far as that aspect is concerned, I am in perfect agreement. The only submission which I would like to make in this connection is that it is only under proviso to rule 188, which is completely restricted, that this discussion has got to take place. You were good enough to say that nobody can say anything about the judge; not that anybody can say anything about the judge, but nobody should say anything, if the permission is under this proviso about anybody who is related with this incident and this enquiry. Let it be made clear.

**Mr. Speaker:** Anybody who was responsible for that—that also cannot be said.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Yes; not against the Chief Minister, not against the Commissioner, (*Interruption*). My hon. friends need not get irritated. I am only seeking a clarification from the Speaker. If what the Speaker says is accepted by the House—and it definitely follows from what the Speaker has said—then, nobody can say anything against the Chief

Minister with particular reference to this enquiry and this incident. Nobody can say against the Chief Secretary, against the Commissioner, against anybody whatsoever. That is what the Speaker was good enough to say, that nobody could say anything against the judge. You were also good enough to preface it by saying that let us have more faith in our judiciary. It is not out of your respect for the judiciary that you said it; I would like this to be clarified: that it is not out of your respect for the judiciary that you did not want anything to be said against the Chief Justice, but because this rule does not permit anybody to say anything not only against the judge but against any of the officers. I only want to have this cleared: whether this is understood by the House. (*Interruption*). Voices are raised, when I just underline this particular issue; the implications of your ruling must be clearly understood.

What happened in Rajya Sabha we cannot take note of. I was not very happy when I read in the newspaper what happened there. The proceedings in this House are governed by our rules and by your rulings, and we have got to take no notice whatsoever of what has happened in the Rajya Sabha. It is not, as the hon. Home Minister says, that we do not know what the rules of the Rajya Sabha are. My hon. friend Shri Ranga as well as myself have been Members of the Rajya Sabha. We are fully conversant with the rules of the Rajya Sabha. Let him not understand that we do not know the rules of the Rajya Sabha. I am quite clear in my mind that the rules of this House and your rulings are to govern the proceedings in this House, and we have to take absolutely no notice of what has happened in the Rajya Sabha and what was said in the Rajya Sabha. Even according to our rules, it is inherent in our rules that we cannot take notice of it.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani** (Amroha): Can we say anything about the deceased prince?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** If I am permitted to speak, I will say many things.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** The rule does not prevent us from discussing the statement made by the Home Minister. It does not come in our way at all.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):** With great respect to Shri Mathur, I may submit that we should not put such restrictions on the construction of rule 188 so as to make the debate ineffective or a farcical one. The scope is already restricted to this: that we can discuss it if you are satisfied that it is not likely to prejudice the consideration of the matter before the enquiry commission. (Interruption).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I may be allowed to regulate the debate.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** This extreme contention in respect of this rule would make it completely ineffective, nugatory and farcical. Why should any Member suppose that any discussion will completely thwart the inquiry and the judge will be overweighed by our debate? That is my submission.

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल (यवतमाल) :** व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। लोक सभा प्रक्रिया नियम, 188 का उल्लेख करते हुए ....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैंने अभी 188 का तो जिक्र किया है।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** आपने जो उल्लेख करते हुए कहा उसी पर प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब मेरे उल्लेख करने पर प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर कैसे हो सकता है ?

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** मैं उसी पर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। आपने जो निवेदन दिया है इस सदन का इस शब्दार्थ में बहस के सम्बन्ध में उसकी ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

13 hrs.

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** ध्यान आकर्षित करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। अब जैसे आप ने कहा है मुझे डिबेट रेगुलेट करने दीजिये। अगर कोई श्रीवर्जकशनेबुल चीज आयेगी तो उस वक्त मेम्बर साहब उसे मेरे नोटिस में ला सकते हैं।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप बैठ जाइये।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** बहुत महत्वपूर्ण व्यवस्था का सवाल है और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप उसे अवश्य सुन लें। आप भी उसे मानेंगे और मदन् भी उसे मानेगा। मुझे उसे रखने दीजिये।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आर्डर, आर्डर।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** बहुत महत्व का सवाल है। आप मेरी व्यवस्था सुन लें।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** हर एक महत्वपूर्ण है। आप मुझे आगे चलने दीजिये। जब कोई वैसी श्रीवर्जकशनेबुल चीज आयेगी तब आप नोटिस में लाइयेगा।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर यह है कि राज्य सभा में जो प्रस्ताव था वह अलग था और लोक सभा में आज जो प्रस्ताव है वह अलग है। वह प्रस्ताव ऐसा है ....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अभी आपने कहा है कि राज्य सभा का जिक्र नहीं करूंगा।

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल :** मैं यहां का जिक्र कर रहा हूँ :

"That the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh where there has been a prolonged state of unrest ..."

श्रीर यह जो नोट है वह  
मिनिस्टर ने दिया हुआ है ।  
The Report of the Welfare of  
Tribals...

अध्यक्ष महोदय प्वाएंट श्रीफ  
ग्रांडर क्या है ?

श्री डे० शि० पाटिल : मेरा कहना यह  
है कि यह जो प्रस्ताव है वह कौन से क्षेत्र के  
लिए आप चर्चा कर सकते हैं और कौन से  
क्षेत्र के लिए चर्चा नहीं कर सकते हैं यह इस  
में साफ़ दिया हुआ है ।

"The following areas in the Dis-  
trict of Bastar are scheduled areas  
governed by the Sixth Schedule."

उस के बारे में आप चर्चा कर सकते हैं ।  
उसमें बतलाया गया है कि शैड्युल्ड  
ऐरियाज कौन कौन से हैं ।

It may be pointed out that the town  
of Jagdalpur which is the headquar-  
ters of the district is not included in  
the list of scheduled area . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ग्रांडर, ग्रांडर ।  
He might resume his seat. I will  
take action against him if he does not  
sit down.

Shri Ranga: Sir, . . . beg to move:

"That the situation in the Sched-  
uled areas of Bastar District in  
Madhya Pradesh where there has  
been a prolonged state of unrest  
and discontent arising out of the  
neglect of welfare measures  
among the tribal people who pre-  
dominate there, be taken into con-  
sideration."

I wish to pay my homage to all  
those who died recently in this un-  
fortunate tragedy, under tragic cir-  
cumstances. Some, including the Home  
Minister, say that only 20 died. Those  
MPs who have gone there say many  
more died. There is the rumour- I do

not know how far it is true—that more  
than 100 people died. They all died  
under tragic circumstances, in an inci-  
dent which can only be described as a  
dastradly. Their leader happened to  
be the late Maharaja Bhanjdeo. I pay  
my homage to him and also to the  
others who have fallen as martyrs in  
the cause of tens of millions of adiva-  
sils, backward and scheduled classes,  
and people of those undeveloped areas  
in our country. The late Maharaja is  
said to have suffered, according to the  
Home Minister, from some illusions  
and delusions.

Mr. Speaker: We have to fix some  
time-limit for the speeches. Ordinari-  
ly the mover takes 20 minutes and  
the others 10 minutes.

Shri Daji (Indore): 10 minutes will  
not be enough.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): The  
mover is entitled to 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: I have no objection to  
giving him even 1 hour, but the time  
available is 3½ hours and it has to be  
apportioned. There are so many mem-  
bers who want to speak. The greater  
the time limit, the fewer would be the  
number of members speaking.

Shri Ranga: The home Minister,  
along with others, are under the im-  
pression that the late Maharaja suf-  
fered from delusions and illusions. What  
could have been those illusions and  
delusions except that he dreamt of  
a self-governing administration for  
his people, a sympathetic and demo-  
cratic regime for Bastar . . .

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): He  
wanted a separate State.

Shri Ranga: . . . enough funds and  
proper administrators and a sympa-  
thetic administration which would  
work for their welfare and promote  
their development? If that was an  
illusion or delusion, I am sure all of  
us would like to come under that  
category. Certainly his illusions and  
delusions were not as sky-high as

[Shri Ranga]

those of my hon. friend, the Home Minister, who as we all know and as he himself knows, has aimed so high, but has not been able to go so high. And yet, he has been allowed to occupy this very important position after a great struggle by himself and his friends. With all the goodwill of the people on his side as well as of so many on this side, he has not been able to rise to that level which he, in his illusions and delusions, had hoped. If that was permissible for my hon. friend, why should it not have been permissible for that Maharaja to have had those hopes and aspirations for his people?

The late Maharaja was one of the descendants of those great martyrs and patriots who fought against the Delhi sultans at Warrangal in Andhra Pradesh under the army of the Kakatiya dynasty. He was the last of that great dynasty which kept the Delhi sultans at bay on more than one occasion. When in the end southern India was overrun by the Delhi sultans, those great Nayaks, Prolaya and Kapaya, organised the war of independence on behalf of the whole south, won freedom for the south and established an independent Dakshinapath. They rallied for 25 years and finally when they were again overcome by the Delhi sultans and Delhi imperialism, some of them, instead of submitting themselves to that imperialism, receded into the forests. One of them established himself in Bastar. That is how Bastar had come to be an independent State, during the time of the Muslims and also during the British times. It is only when we achieved freedom that the Maharaja of Bastar placed his sceptre before the united India and accepted the Union of India. For 18 years, he had been patient and his people also, with us. He expected that there would be real self-government there for his people and they would have the benefits of swarajya and swatantra. But he was disappointed. My hon. friends are inclined to have wrong impressions

about him and to say harsh-things about him. But when he was invited to join the Congress and welcomed as a Congress MLA into the then CP Assembly and later on into the MP Assembly when he was invited, also, to become the President of the District Congress Committee, certainly my hon. friends did not think he was suffering from illusions or delusions. They hailed him as one of the honourable members of their party and one of their local leaders also. Indeed, the late Shri Shukla welcomed him as one of his honourable comrades. Dr. Katju also had to deal with him. Now, the latest is the present Chief Minister. He has had experience of three Chief Ministers and the Congress regime during all these years. It is because the Maharaja got tired of the bad treatment, the harsh treatment, the cruel treatment that was meted out to his people that he left the Congress. He chose to be independent and he prevented the Congress from gaining even one seat in his area. And that was the real gravamen of the charge that any of my hon. friends can possibly raise against him.

Sir, this country is suffering from many ills. But the greatest disease that this country is suffering from is the want of a man like Mahatma Gandhi to lead us. After Mahatma Gandhi, for some time the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was able to fill in that place. He too began to fail. Later on, we know what void we are suffering from. Within five weeks we have had occasion here to raise five adjournment motions, all because of these crises all over the country. Why? It is because there is this crisis of leadership. But, on the other hand, in Bastar, even according to my hon. friend, the Home Minister, the late Maharaja of Bastar was being looked upon as God by those people. It may not be necessary for us to develop hero worship. It may not be good for us to accept any one mortal person as God, but certainly it is good for any nation, any sort of people, to come to



have that much of faith, that much of implicit faith in a leader. Then alone your plans can succeed, then alone your appeals will make a dent, a mark on the minds of the people, then alone it will be possible for your administration to get the cooperation of the people, their comradeship and make any kind of administration a success. That leadership they had.

Now, Sir, I bemoan the fate of India, that that leadership has come to be forced to breathe its last through wanton neglect of duty on the part of this Government. That is what I charged this Government with. This Government cannot plead ignorance of what was happening at Bastar as long as Shri Shuklaji was there, though the Prince was dissatisfied with him, though he had left the Congress, he was not prepared to walk the path of revolt. It was after that, when a deaf, dumb and half-blind leadership came to dominate that State, when the officers took law into their own hands and they neglected, not only neglected but they forgot their responsibilities towards these tribal people, these unfortunate people, these under-developed people, these uneducated people, these long neglected people, that they took this step. Is there any wonder that the Home Minister himself the other day exposed his own ignorance of his responsibility towards these people by simply saying that they have shifted it on the other Minister, the Minister in charge of Planning and Social Welfare and, therefore, he has washed his hands off of this responsibility? That shows the gross ignorance, the criminal negligence of the sense of duty towards these people. This duty was cast upon the Government of India. The other day, my hon. friend, Shri Frank Anthony, made it very clear to the House how within the Constitution there is a definite provision and how according to the rules that were made under the provisions of the Constitution, Bastar area, excepting that little town of Jagdalpur was treated as a tribal

area and placed as a special charge of the Governor and the Union Government. Yet this Union Government had the temerity to say that this work was passed on to the Ministry of Social Welfare. What a shame!

**Shri Nanda:** Sir, if I may interrupt my hon. friend, this word "shame" I believe, we are going to hear again and again.

**An hon. Member:** Nothing wrong with it.

**Shri Nanda:** To whom it belongs is the point. I only want to correct a mis-statement of fact. It is not Jagdalpur, that town alone, but the whole of that Tehsil to which it relates. Secondly, about the responsibility of my colleague, it is a fact. It is not that I said something which was wrong. Two years ago, even earlier than that, the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes was the responsibility of the Home Ministry. It has now been transferred. Therefore, it is not that I am passing on something just at this stage. What we are discussing is primarily the neglect of the welfare of that area. Therefore, the question of responsibility of another Department of Government does arise. I did not say anything which was far from fact.

**Shri Ranga:** Welfare of that area includes the safety of the person of the leader of the people of that area. If the leader were to be destroyed, then what happens? If the leader were to be dishonoured what would be the consequence? Time and again representations were sent to this Government—whether Shri Nanda was in charge of it or not does not matter. The Government goes on, the Jaganath rath passes over the heads of so many people. There were other Home Ministers also. I charge the Government of India, including this gentleman who happens to be my personal friend, most unfortunately, for years and years, I charge these people for the dereliction of their duty in regard to this matter again and again. Their leader sent representations, their people sent their representations, but in a

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language which they alone could understand, a language through which alone they could make their representations, not our language or your language or anybody else's language. I have myself been the recipient of the copies of many of these representations that were being sent to them for years and years. There was a time when the Prime Minister was visiting that area. The poor Maharaja was not properly informed. Later on a complaint was foisted on his head that he wantonly insulted the Prime Minister because he could not go and meet the Prime Minister at the time and at the place that they had chosen, notice of which was given to him much too late. This was considered a great crime on his part.

**Shri Narendra Singh Mahida (And):** It is not correct. Even when President Rajendra Prasad went there the ruler refused to go and meet him.

**Shri Ranga:** I am prepared to amend what I said. My hon. friend reminds me that it was not only Pandit Nehru but it was also President Rajendra Prasad who visited that area. Sir, is it such a crime? They treated it as a crime. Now the Nagas have gone on rebellion. It is not a crime. Their leaders are being invited here a second time, but because the Maharaja had had the temerity of saying that he was an independent Prince, he was the leader of his people, he wanted freedom for his people, he was being treated as a criminal.

Sir, that is how trouble started. So many things have happened. I do not wish to go into all that. What I am keen about is, whenever he made representations he was not given an opportunity to place those representations in a necessarily important and effective manner. He was relegated to the Collector and the local Collectors became greater Maharajas than the earlier Residents who used to boss over these Princes. These Collectors, not one but every one of them, had

begun to behave in that manner. Then, thereafter, policemen also were set on him and his people like hounds. The Maharajas had been given the privilege, by the Government, by Sardar Patel, of their person being protected at the cost of the State. As a matter of honour independent India considered it their duty to look after their person. Then what happened to him? When this Maharaja revolted against this regime at the State level, as well as the district level, cases were foisted upon him. Then he was de-promoted from the Maharajaship. His brother was raised high and he was simply considered as an ex-Maharaja; he was deposed. What would be the feeling of his people? What must have been his own feeling? He did not care for his own feelings but he certainly cared for the feelings of his people. It has gone on. I do not wish to go into all those details because several of my colleagues would be able to fill up all the gaps.

Then we come to the present. What is the present position. All over India there has been drought, scarcity, famine conditions and scarcity of food supplies. The Government of India is going round the whole of the world in order to get more and more foodgrains from everywhere. The Government of India is hastening to rush foodgrains to various places in our own country, Kerala, Bengal and other areas. And yet the Government of India was not prepared to do its duty, minimum duty, towards these helpless people in Bastar. Bastar is considered to be as big as an area as Kerala, the whole of that State.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Bigger than that.

**Shri Ranga:** Its population is only 11 lakhs and they are all Adivasis. They have been used only to podu cultivation or fugitive cultivation. They do not possess huge palaces, or huge pro-

perties or huge lands above the ceiling level or anything like that. All that the Government can claim to have done for them is first of all to prevent them from their traditional occupation, fugitive cultivation, by making it a criminal offence, punishing them whenever they were found doing that, discouraging their traditional system of agriculture and occupation and then placing at their disposal a large area of 100,000 acres. What a miserable achievement 1,00,000 acres or less for 9 lakhs of agriculturists. This is what my hon. friend claims to have done. Then he says that for one hundred years the Maharaja never did anything. But we have done such a wonderful thing! What is his achievement? He himself said that literacy has been raised from 2 per cent to 4 per cent or 3 per cent to 6 per cent. My hon. friend nods his head. Let him look at his own figures.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair** (Ambalapuzha): It is hundred per cent increase!

**Shri Ranga:** Yes, hundred per cent increase. At what cost? The old Maharaja used to collect Rs. 6 lakhs every year as land revenue and in various other ways. But these people are collecting Rs. 3½ crores or 350 lakhs from these poor people, that is, 60 times as much more as the old Maharaja used to collect.

And what have they been doing with all this money over the whole of that area? There are 3,500 villages and for them he claims to have established 287 primary schools, one school for every 12 villages. And these villages, I know as one who is acquainted with revenue accounts, would mean, one village would mean 10 or 15 and sometimes even 20 hamlets. There are hundreds of them spread over a large area. For all those 3,500 villages they have established 287 primary schools, one school for every 12 villages or 120 hamlets.

**An. hon. Member:** Schools without teachers.

**Shri Ranga:** Yes, schools without teachers, hospitals without doctors, that is the story for the whole of India. Then they talk of stipends and scholarships. How many? For less than 1,000 people. Unfortunately, my hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, for no fault of his own, was made the vehicle for communicating this miserable result, this achievement to us, this Parliament. And this is the take-off stage and this is the progress they have made in Bastar. Are they not ashamed? They admit that Bastar is the most undeveloped and backward area. They have said so. During the three Plans, Government claims to have allocated Rs. 6.8 crores but spent only Rs. 83 lakhs, or only 12 per cent, on agricultural development, minor irrigation, anti-erosion measures and all the rest of it, catering for whom? Catering for 72 per cent of the population. Can there be a more miserable failure to wean away these 11 lakhs of people from fugitive cultivation?

I have already said that they have placed at their disposal less than one lakh acres, or less than one-fourth of an acre per family. Then they say that they have introduced electrification at a cost of Rs. 1 crore and odd. They have electrified only Jagdalpur city and nothing else. The rest of the countryside has to depend on kerosene oil on which three successive Finance Ministers have heaped their duties, making it possible for those people to enjoy only darkness and not light, not only for their rest but also for their studies.

Regarding construction of roads, they lay claim for 117 miles. Road to reach up to what and for what purpose? To suppress these people. The tribal people themselves have contributed for the making of these roads. They have fully paid for it. There was forced labour. Oh yes, in spite of the ILO ban, there was forced labour for the construction of these roads.

Bastar is not the first or the only failure on the part of this Government. We have recently witnessed

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failures with serious repercussions in Naga Hills, Mizo Hills, with the Assam tribal people, even with the self-respecting Harijans of Mudukulathur in Ramnad district of the Congress President. The only thing is in Bastar the people gathered at one place and for centuries they have been kept away from development and for these eighteen years they have not achieved any taste of progress in their area. No proper administration is there. The Collectors, as I have said, have become worse than the old Residents.

Viewed from this angle, the failure of the Government in Bastar is the greatest tragedy and the blackest blot on its profession of democracy and its oath of allegiance to the chapter on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution. The tribal revolt has been likened by the Chief Minister and by some of these friends to the Mizo or Naga demand for independence. The wonder is not that the prince had mooted such an idea but the failure of the Government to appreciate this self-respecting stand and meet him and his people and their demands more than half way, by offering to these people the same democratic rights and self-governance as was done in the case of Tripura, Manipur and Cachar. Therefore, this terrible tragedy should at least now make the Government realise and hasten to make amends to the people by adopting some of the following steps—releasing them from the tyrannical and brutish administration of the Madhya Pradesh Government, by placing them under the direct protection of the Union Government, by offering them some self-governing institutions as in Tripura and Manipur and by making the Governor of Madhya Pradesh put in special charge of this subject with direct responsibility to the Union Government and without any interference from the Madhya Pradesh Government. If, on the other hand, this Government continues to pursue the pre-

sent policy, as indicated by the Home Minister yesterday, then this will not be the last of such tragedies; there will be many more Bastars. Let God save them from that.

But, at the same time, I wish to offer, if I may, a note of warning to my friends in the Opposition. If this could happen to that Maharaja, whose person was considered to be inviolable according to our Constitution, whose life this Government was bound to protect, what would happen to every one of us? And what was the crime that he committed? That he defied this Government, that he defied this ruling party, this Government's maladministration there continuously for seventeen years, that he rose to become their leader a visible God of these people for all these years, that he united all these people and guided them together under his leadership and refused to allow them to be seduced by my hon. friend, the Home Minister, who yesterday applauded what one of his colleagues, the Chief, has achieved in Madhya Pradesh. They are indulging in political prostitution. They have been seducing people. They want to take pride on that, that they have been able to take away so many of the Opposition Members on to their own side because of the beauties they find on that side, the beauty of grants, subsidies and loans and all the other assistance that they are placing before the people in order to subjugate them, in order to pervert them, seduce them. All glory to these poor people of Bastar that they refused to be seduced in that fashion even though some of the MLAs allowed themselves to be captured in that manner, as my hon. friend claims.

Therefore there is this warning to us all. 25 policemen are placed at the disposal of the Chief Minister of your State, Sir, in order to protect his person. I do not know how many policemen are there all around the Prime Minister here or any of these

gentlemen here on the Treasury Benches. There is not one policeman for us . . . (Interruption).

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty** (Barrackpore): We have so many CIDs around us.

**Shri Ranga:** We do not want any protection of any policeman. . . . . (Interruption). Thank God. In those days when we were fighting for freedom, the British Government used to keep policemen behind us and around us in order to safeguard themselves. Thank God, the Opposition in this country till today has been courageous enough to go about without asking for any police protection for themselves. But I wish to warn my own colleagues against this Government, against these minions of police. These policemen are no longer civil police; they are not discharging their duties in order to protect the person of our people. They have become political police in order to serve their interests, to destroy, to weaken, to hurt the self-respect of and to destroy the very lives of members and leaders of the political parties in opposition. Therefore Bastar is a red light for all the Opposition. Bastar is a black light for this Government and I do not wish any success for this Government, I do not wish any life for this black record that they have achieved.

I am extremely sorry that the Prime Minister was away and these gentlemen have made this gift for her. The men at the helm of state affairs have chosen to make this gift. When she has come back, as I said this morning—according to me—with empty hands, they have given her this great gift of, I do not know how many scores of them, lives of all those freedom fighters, martyrs in the cause of freedom, in the cause of self-respect, in the cause of swatantra and in the cause of the Adivasis and the Scheduled Castes.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** On a point of correction, Sir, Hon. Member, Shri Ranga, my leader, has said that all of

us on the Opposition Benches are unprotected. That is not so. Each one of us is surrounded by plainclothes CID men.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh where there has been a prolonged state of unrest and discontent arising out of the neglect of welfare measures among the tribal people who predominate there, be taken into consideration."

There is a substitute motion. Is Shri Bade moving it?

**Shri Bade** (Khargone): Sir, I move:—

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh where there has been a prolonged state of unrest and discontent arising out of the neglect of welfare measures among the tribal people who predominate there, is of opinion that a delegation of Members of Parliament be sent to make on the spot study of the hardships of the Adivasis in Bastar District particularly in relation to the food distribution and imposition of levy and other matters causing wide-spread dis-satisfaction among the tribals in the famine stricken area of Bastar." (i)

**Mr. Speaker:** Both these are now before the House. Shri Hanumanthaiya.

**Shri Jaipal Singh** (Ranchi West): May I know, Sir, how we are to catch your eye?

**Mr. Speaker:** Only one speaker has been there. There cannot be a grievance just now.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** I would like to know whether the procedure is of notes being sent.

**Mr. Speaker:** Catching the eye. Shri Hanumanthaiya.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya** (Bangalore City): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Leader of the Swatantra Party unexpectedly deviated from the ways he is accustomed to, namely, the sober way of approach to problems.

13.34 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

All the arguments that he advanced were not so much in favour of those people who have, unfortunately, been killed but against the Congress administration, their principal sin being that they obtained the mandate of the people and had the privilege to govern this country. I very much wish that the able leader of the Swatantra Party remembers that if per chance he becomes the Prime Minister of this country . . .

**An. hon. Member:** That would never happen.

**Shri Joachim Alva** (Kanara): He will have 51 policemen around him when he comes to power.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is a former Chief Minister of your State, Sir. Is it not so?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** . . . . . he is likely to adopt the very same measures that the present administration has adopted.

I do not want to quote the adjectives that he has been pleased to use; he should not have used them with all the wisdom and experience that he has behind him. I do not want to answer his anger against the ruling party. That I can understand. But I will answer only the relevant points, very serious points, that he has raised.

The last point that he made was that the Bastar State must be taken over by the Centre and should be one of the Centrally administered areas. That is a constructive suggestion he has made. But I want him to see whether his suggestion would amount

to furthering the interests of democracy and good administration. The famous principle is that no administrator can be an able administrator, a good administrator, if he does not know the people and the issues he is dealing with. It is for this reason that the unitary system of government gave place to the federal system of government in a large country like India. People are expected to govern their own affairs in small units, if possible.

In the context of Indian conditions we have divided our country more or less on the basis of language. Even these linguistic States are so unwieldy that I learnt that many a minister has not visited this area of Bastar, that Governors have not visited this area of Bastar. So is the case with regard to other states and areas. This argument does not apply to any particular area, it applies to the whole of India as to whether we have to re-draw the map of our States in order to make administration more effective, more democratic and more purposeful. If he had put it on that ground, I could understand it; but if he wants to tear up the States into Centrally administered areas, this is against all tenets of democracy.

Mahatma Gandhi once said during the course of one of his speeches at the Round Table Conference that if the Government in Delhi, namely, the Central Government, accumulates to itself excessive powers, it will be like a pyramid in inverse and it will collapse under its own weight. The Central Government, as it is, has been invested with so much power and responsibility. If territories are also added to the Government in Delhi for the purpose of administration, I am sure, the administration will become less efficient and farfetched.

In the old days, before we gave this Constitution to ourselves, there were three sets of States—A States, B States and C States. I used to call them, as they were called in the days

of the British, dominions, dependencies and Crown colonies. Under the Constitution, fortunately, we abolished A and B States and made all States of one class—maybe, they are like dominions of Delhi—but to continue C States is like continuing the Crown colonies. This idea of the Centre taking over direct responsibility for particular areas in India is against all tenets of democracy. It may be a temporary phase that, we are tolerating the existence of Centrally administered areas. Ultimately, everyone of the Centrally-administered areas has to join one or the other adjoining State and you must have only one category of States. This balance of the British heritage, namely the Crown colonies system, must be abolished. It is against the very fundamental idea of democratic set-up. People ruling themselves at their own doors is the principle which the leader of the Swatantra Party is opposed to. If Bhopal cannot administer Bastar effectively, it is very much doubtful whether Delhi which is twice or thrice the distance away would be able to administer Bastar better.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** That is, the very idea of taking Kerala's administration under Central Government Control.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Therefore, this idea of the Central Government taking direct responsibility for the governing of this area is neither democratic nor helpful to the people of Bastar.

**Shri Ranga:** What is the position in Tripura? They are having self-Government?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Apparently, he has not followed my argument—he was in consultation with others—but, otherwise, I am sure he would have agreed with the idea that I had sponsored.

It was very embarrassing for me, at any rate, to listen to Prof. Ranga

advocating the cause of the ruler of Bastar and his family. He was good enough even to give a little historical background. He was jubilantly describing the great achievement of his family, that they remained independent, that there was southern-pat or dakshanpat and that they were independent of the Delhi Government. Then, he brought in the analogy of Nagas and Mizos thereby very little realising what it would lead to. He was supporting the proposition made to by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh said that this raja and his followers wanted to have a rebellion aiming at an independent State. That is exactly the proposition that has been supported by the leader of the Swatantra Party in his speech. Therefore, if there is, what is called, honesty in arguing a proposition, the leader of Swatantra Party will have to concede that the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh was right in saying that these people were rebelling set of people.

**Shri Bade:** No, no; that is wrong

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** They were aiming at disintegration of India; they were aiming at making the small forest area an independent State. Therefore, we must and this House specially must be in a position to give the praise due to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh for the forthright steps he has taken and the premonition he had about the activities of this ruler and his band of people.

Bastar has not been neglected. In the First and Second Five Year Plans, the statement shows that the Government of India has spent as much as Rs. 5 crores over the amelioration of this area and the adivasis. The Third Plan has allotted Rs. 6.70 crores. Total amounts to Rs. 11.70 crores. This is not a small sum whatever disabilities we are suffer-

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

ing by way of economic backwardness are not peculiar to Bastar area alone. Even in the so-called advanced areas, we have not got electricity in every village, a school in every village, a well in every village.

**Shri Bade:** There is no electricity in the area, except in Bastar.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** In the rest of India also, you do not have electricity and other amenities in every village. Please verify in your own constituency whether there is electricity, a school, a hospital in every village. Therefore, when compared to the rest of India, it would be rather an exaggeration to say that this area has been so completely neglected that the people rose in rebellion. People have not risen in rebellion, not because of the paucity of the amenities provided but different considerations. This House which represents this great nation and which has taken oath to maintain the integrity of this country, ought not to countenance moves of the kind made in Bastar or in Nagaland or in Mizo Hills. People who call these people martyrs have somewhat become so angry that they do not find a suitable word for description of these activities in this manner. The word 'martyr' ought to be used with a sense of proportion. Prof. Ranga was describing that these people rose in rebellion against the rulers of Delhi during Mughal days. He did not take pains to tell us whether they did so in the days of the British. In what way did they fight for the independence of the country? What were his forefathers doing when the Britishers were ruling? To pounce upon the Government and the people who occupy offices merely because of political opposition would amount to taking advantage of all these happenings, good, bad and indifferent, for political purposes. Political purpose must be achieved by fair means. Let them, by all means, show the deficiencies of Government. But in Bastar, the

Government has come out with flying colours. It has taken prompt action without waiting for anybody to prompt it. They have appointed a commission of enquiry.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may conclude now.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I have got only one point to make regarding the commission of enquiry. The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh did not appoint this commission on his own. He consulted the Chief Justice of Madhya Pradesh High Court. It is the Chief Justice who gave the name and that name has been accepted and announced. Now, there is an argument that a Supreme Court Judge may be appointed. You will kindly see that if we have to secure the services of the Supreme Court Judge, the concerned Minister, whoever he is, has to make that request to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. The Chief Justice of India would certainly ask: Why should there be another Judge when a Judge of a High Court has already been appointed? This judicial system is such that no Judge of the Supreme Court, much less the Chief Justice of India, would so act as to cast a doubt on the *bona fides* of a member of the judiciary without proof to the contrary. Therefore, there is a delicacy in the situation. We cannot just appoint whomsoever we like to the tribunal. The head of the judiciary concerned has to do it. We should certainly not countenance a step which will result in grave doubt being cast about the impartiality and integrity of a Judge either of the Supreme Court or of the High Court. Therefore, there is no use blaming either the Home Minister or the Chief Minister if they say, let this judicial tribunal do the work. So far as my knowledge goes, this is not going to be an 'in camera' inquiry. Let those people who are aggrieved engage competent lawyers and cross-examine the witnesses.



**Shri Bade:** Where will the poor Adivasis go for money?

**Shri Hanumanthalya:** I will assure him on my personal behalf that they can approach the Supreme Court bar or any one of the High Court bars. They will provide free legal aid. There is also a provision in the various High Court bars that free legal aid will be given to those people who are so poor that they cannot defend themselves. There are rules in the High Courts to this effect; the High Court will pay in certain cases to defend the accused. Therefore, there is no question of Adivasis not being properly represented before the Tribunal merely because they are poor.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He will conclude now.

**Shri Hanumanthalya:** One more point and I will conclude.

Mr. Bade for whom I have got not only respect but also affection, wants a Parliamentary Committee to go and investigate. Let him think over the matter. After all, when this Inquiry Commission submits its report, we are competent to discuss that report; we are competent to differ from that report; we are competent to influence the decisions on that report through the Government. Therefore, we are in a way an appellant authority over the Commission. Why should this appellate authority of Parliament be reduced to the original jurisdiction of personal inquiry. After all, if you had thought of Bastar for its own sake, gone there earlier before all these incidents took place to inquire into the difficulties of Adivasis and made a report to the Government, then your *bona fides* would have been unassailable. To make a proposition for a Parliamentary delegation to go and make inquiries now is neither legal nor feasible nor profitable to his own Party.

**Shri Daji:** I speak on this motion with sorrow, anger and shame because

I have to speak of the torture, the travails and the anguish of the bleeding people of one of the largest districts of my State, perhaps the largest in India. As is well known, Bastar is even larger than the State of Kerala with a total area of 13,000 sq. miles but with a population of merely 16 lakhs.

**An hon. Member:** 11 lakhs.

**Shri Daji:** That is a story of continued exploitation, of sub-human conditions and, therefore, what I speak here is merely to echo the anguished cry of the tortures on the Adivasis of Bastar, of the shameful mass murder perpetrated there, of the dastardly crimes in the name of law and order, of an action reminiscent of a revengeful treatment for dissent, unparalleled holocaust in the history of free India and even in the history of modern India. I say that I am anguished because I have to speak of nothing less than a rape on the people of Bastar and it is this crime that I charge this Government with.

Let us see what is the background to this holocaust. It is not a question of legal hair-splitting as to whether a particular force on a particular occasion was necessary or not; that is the term of reference of the Commission. But what I ask is: what have we given to the people of Bastar? Bastar has no railway line; the nearest railway line is 180 miles away. Bastar has no transport system. Bastar has not the elements of modern civilisation. People there are still steeped in archaic, primaevial economic condition. The so-called social measures that have been taken are flaunted at us. They only touch the fringe of the problem in some of the places. In Bastar today there are parts where Adivasis do not even know the use of money. The rich mineral deposits, the throbbing jungle life and the salubrious climate have not been harnessed to modern civilisation. They are living as we were

[Shri Daji]

living years and years back. It is a new civilistion. The modern India, the independent India, after 18 years of Congress rule, has certainly money to build hotels like Asoka Hotel, but they have no money, attention and sympathy to bring these backward brothers of our free India anywhere near a civilised state. We live in Delhi and other places of our country. The American 'foundation may come later, but we have taken a lesson from the wild stories of America to rout and root them out as mere blots on civilisation. If these conditions obtain in Bastar, it is a blot on free India, it is a shame on the conscience of every Indian and a double shame on the conscience of this Government which is, after all, responsible for this state of affairs there..

I will just give one example because time will not permit me to give more. You will not believe this example. The main industry in which Adivasis engage themselves is collecting dry fruit; one of the most common fruits obtained there is a sort of dry fruit which we all eat. They collect it. When they come to sell it in the bazaars, do you know what price they get for it in this year of 1966, after 18 years of Congress rule? The contractors weigh that dry fruit in one pan and an equal amount of salt in the other. The Adivasis are paid salt for a dry fruit which sells at Rs. 5 per kilo, and they are happy about it.

**An. hon. Member:** What is that fruit?

**Shri Daji:** It is something like badam. It is Chiranjli.

This is only one example. All the labour is routed in a like manner. It is in this background of confusion and utter backwardness that they still live. Therefore, if they believe in some mystical power of this man or that man or some Maharaja, it is nothing surprising. What have we done? The question is not what

Maharaja has done or has not done. The question is what we have done. Even after 18 years of independence, even after spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees in Bastar, the Adivasis still believe in deified God in the form of a Maharaja and they are so utterly under one man's control. If what you say is true, he could instigate them to rise in a rebellion against the State. That is the point. The whole story of rebellion is, of course, bogus. Even if that is so, what has the Government done? The Government has done nothing but adding to the exploitation of the Adivasis there because these contractors, of whom I have spoken, are the biggest supporters of the Congress Party; they are the biggest donators to the Congress Party fund. No system has been devised for even a fair purchase price for Adivasis.

In 1947 the Maharaja was installed. Soon thereafter a Court of Wards was appointed. In 1951 he routed the the Congress from that area. Then what happened? Then he was wooed and he was brought into the Congress. In 1957 he joined the Congress and won all the seats for the Congress and he was an MLA with me in that Assembly. They had said, "if you join the Congress, your estates will be returned." We were not supporting the Maharaja; it was the Congress who was supporting the Maharaja. But then they did not return the estates. So he resigned from the Congress. In the next elections he defeated the Congress. Then suddenly he was detained under the P.D. Act. Within two months, the High Court said that there were no valid grounds for his being detained. So they had to release him. That is the history. Then what happened? The new elections were approaching in 1962 and how could the Congress fight the elections there, being at loggerheads with the Maharaja? So he was deposed. His younger brother whom they have installed—of course, I am not pleading the case of the

Maharaja—is a worse person than any other Maharaja today. It is a famous thing in the bazaars of Raipur as to what he was and what he was doing. There was an order to the Adivasis that they should worship him, but the Adivasis said, "he may be a Maharaja; but we will not call him God."

14.00 hrs.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas** (Ujjain): On a point of order. I would invite your attention to rule 353. The hon. Member has just made some defamatory statements about the present ruler of Bastar, which he cannot make under rule 353 which says:

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given previous intimation to the Speaker and also....."

**Shri G. N. Dixit:** Those remarks should be expunged.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas:** So, this rule is quite clear on that point.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let not the hon. Member make any such remarks.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas:** Such remarks should not be allowed to be made on the floor of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is not proper on the part of the hon. Member to make such remarks.

**Shri Daji:** There was a contest there as to who was God and who was to be worshipped as God; the collector, and the SSP took the new Maharaja in the jeep, went from village to village, beating up the people and telling them 'You worship this Maharajah as God'. But they refused to worship. Therefore, there is a biannual contest there in Bastar. I am stating this because you must also know the facts. Every year, the Dussheera and the Ramna-

vami days are the durbar days when the Maharaja could hold the durbar, and he would be worshipped. Since the new Maharajah was brought, this contest goes on, and the Congress Government, the so-called socialist Government with all the forces at its command insists upon the people to worship the new Maharajah as God.

**An. hon. Member:** Shame!

**Shri Daji:** This was on the eve of Ramanavami. Now, you could understand why the people had gathered there. And what happened at the time of the last Dussheera? In the durbar of the new Maharajah, there was the collector, the SSP, the sub-inspector and there were some village guards also who had forcibly brought thousands of people; they had all gathered there and there was a slap on their face. That has become the bone of contention. This year again the Ramnavami was coming, and the puja was coming, and the people were gathering.

You are talking of industry in that area. But where is industry there? Even agriculture is not known there. The widely practised agriculture there is shifting agriculture. On that too there is a levy imposed now. In the absence of other forces operating there, in the absence of any democratic forces operating there for which perhaps you and I and all of us are responsible, they complained to the Maharajah about the levy. That was the cause of the trouble. But the main background cause was the contest about worshipping him as God. I would submit that this God-contest must once and for all end there, if not by persuasion, then by force. *Na Rahe Bana Na Baje Bansuri*. It is with this attitude that terror was let loose there, and the incident followed. To say that there was trouble as in Mizo Hills and Nagaland, as the Chief Minister has tried to make out, is.....

**Shri Bade:** Adding insult to injury.

**Shri Daji:** . . . adding insult to injury. Apart from that, there is not an iota of truth in it.

As late as the 23rd of last month, the Adivasis had petitioned to the commissioner, two days before the incident, and told him 'We apprehend trouble; please come on the spot and help and save us'. Is this the gesture of a rebel? They went to the collector, and they went to the Congress leader there asking for a morsel of rice. Is that the gesture of rebellion? If it were the case that there was such a complete rebellion, then why was this House not informed? Why was the country not informed that a major para-military operation was required, and starting from morning, and going on throughout the night till 4 A.M. the next day, an operation lasting for hours and hours was required, an operation in which so many policemen had to fire 61 rounds? If the situation was deteriorating, and it had come to all that, were all of us sleeping? Were the Government of India sleeping? Was the Home Ministry sleeping? Therefore, this tall story cannot be believed.

What is at stake now? The inquiry has been ordered. I do not want to speak a single word about it, out of deference to the stature of the judge and the ruling of the Speaker. But let it be on record that it was the ruling of the Speaker which had prevented us from discussing the mode and manner of the appointment of the commission. I have a right to get this recorded. What inquiry will the commission hold? The inquiry is an eye-wash, because the means of inquiry are not obtainable. Who is going to defend the Adivasis? An Anderson type of terror has been let loose there. Every Adivasi male flies to the jungle in the morning and comes back only during the shadows of the night when the police writ does not run and when they are brave enough to defend themselves. Even lawyers speak only in whispers in the urinals of the court about the

incident. They dare not speak about it even in the bar-room. This is the lurid terror that you have let loose. Even the best of judge with his efforts will not be able to find out the truth. Even we who are making bold to give evidence may be detained. Unaided, and unhelped, how can the Adivasis be expected to lead evidence? In the absence of democratic forces, you want an inquiry only to wash your guilt off.

Therefore, what I would propose is this. It is not an ordinary case of a High Court judge being shifted away to some place. Not only a Supreme Court should be added for instilling greater confidence, but an independent agency should be placed at the disposal of the Adivasis there so that they can defend themselves before the commission of inquiry and vindicate their honour and faith of the people of Adivasi areas of Bastar.

Another very important thing is this. The Chief Minister is being praised to the skies. If an honest attempt at an inquiry was intended, if confidence was to be engendered, then the police officers there should have been transferred. But what do we find? Why is it that not a single police officer has been transferred? The same collector, the same SSP, the same sub-inspector and the same havildar, and the same forces which killed him are still ruling the district, and still Government expect us to have faith in this farcical inquiry.

The most important issue, and the issue above every other issue in this matter is that you are inducting cloak-and-dagger methods in politics. It is a challenge to the democratic processes and the democratic conscience of India. Let it not be said that we did not warn the ruling party. If the ruling party inducts cloak-and-dagger methods in politics, then we are ready to face it. A neo-Kaironism is being practised in Madhya Pradesh. They have forgotten the fate of such a person in history. But

if this is the system of Government and the method of rule that the Congress Party wants to foist on the people of Madhya Pradesh and of Bastar, then whatever be the suffering, we shall be prepared to face it. Let the Congress also face it when the time comes. I am not speaking emptily. There is a report which has appeared in today's papers, containing the reply of the Chief Minister. Look at the tone of the man. Look at the arrogance of the man. He says: "I have been charged with a reign of terror.... I am a terror to decoits, thieves and Members sitting opposite."

**An hon. Member:** Shame!

**Shri Daji:** He places the Opposition at the same level as dacoits and thieves, and says that he would use the same terror against them as against dacoits. This is the man who is in charge of the administration there. It is this background that brings complete lack of confidence in the capacity of the Madhya Pradesh Government to continue there even for a minute with any justification and with any regard for decent human values. It is not any question of quibbling that we want to invent or indulge in. I would submit that the Centre must step in. If they want to maintain confidence, then the entire administration of the district must be changed. Central officers must be posted there to create a modicum of confidence.

I shall conclude now, but the chapter will not conclude here. The sufferings of the Adivasis and every drop of blood that has been spilt there will be avenged by history. Let there be no mistake about it. I pledge in the name of my party and the working people of this country, I pledge in the name of the workers of of Bhilai and the workers who are building new India, that whatever the crimes of the Congress, we shall not rest content; the recent rape of Bastar will be avenged with interest,

with compound interest, and avenged fully.

**श्री राधेलाल व्यास :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी मैंने बड़े ध्यानपूर्वक अपने मित्र श्री दाजी साहब के भाषण को सुना । उसमें मुझे कोई विशेष बात नजर नहीं आयी । उनका जैसा स्वभाव है, जिस पार्टी के वह सदस्य हैं उसका जो तरीका है और जैसे शब्दों का उन्हें उपयोग करना चाहिए वह उन्होंने अपने स्वभाव के माफिक ही किया है । अभी आखिर में उन्होंने जो बात कही कि वह इसका बदला लेंगे, यह हम सबके सामने एक बड़ा विचारणीय प्रश्न है । बदला किस तरह से लेंगे ? क्या भावना उसमें है ? अगर उनका कहीं राज हो गया तो वह इसका बदला कम्पाउंड इन्टरेस्ट लगा कर लेंगे, यानी यहां 12 प्रादमी मरे हैं तब हजारों प्रादमियों को मारेंगे, इसके सिवाय ....

**श्री युद्धबीर सिंह (महेन्द्रगढ़) :** अगर मारेंगे कांग्रेसियों को खाली ।

**श्री राधेलाल व्यास :** हां, कांग्रेसियों को मारिए । हम यहीं तैयार हैं । अभी मारा ही है करनाल में ... (व्यवधान) । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि बस्तर में जो कुछ भी हुआ उस के लिए किसी को भी प्रसन्नता नहीं हो सकती है और अगर मेरे मित्रों को उस पर दुख है तो हमको भी उतना ही दुख है । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री ने जैसे ही खबर मिली और मध्य प्रदेश की विधान सभा में उन्होंने जो वक्तव्य दिया उसमें पहला शब्द यह कहा है कि उन्हें बड़े दुःख के साथ हाउस को यह खबर देनी पड़ती है और उन्होंने तात्कालिक बयान एक इनक्वायरी कराने के बारे में दिया । मेरे ऊपर के मित्र कह रहे हैं कि यह एक फास होगा । वहां कोई बयान नहीं दे सकता है वहां कोई जा नहीं सकता है और कोई खूले रूप में बात

[श्री राघेलाल व्यास]

नहीं कर सकता है इस तरह की गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बातें इस सदन में माननीय सदस्यों द्वारा करना शोभा नहीं देता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यहां लोक सभा से और राज्य सभा से दोनों जगह से कई माननीय सदस्य वहां पर गये हैं.....

श्री बड़े : हमारे पीछे वहां उन्होंने सी० आई० डी० लगा दी।

Shri Daji: He was prevented officially by the Collector from meeting the Adivasis. He was told that since he was not a lawyer, he could not meet anyone. An M.P. of the country is treated like that, and you are talking of an enquiry.

श्री राघेलाल व्यास : आदिवासियों के लिए कांग्रेस वालों को भी दिलचस्पी है। कांग्रेस वालों के हृदय में भी उनके लिए जगह है और आदिवासियों के लिए दिलचस्पी होने का ठका अकेले विरोधियों ने ही नहीं लिया हुआ है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश में आदिवासियों की संख्या बहुत अधिक है। मध्य प्रदेश के लोगों, कांग्रेसमैनों और वहां की सरकार को आदिवासियों के प्रति हमदर्दी है और उनकी वेलफेयर के लिए बहुबूदी के लिए, उन की तरक्की के लिए और उन के विकास के लिए योजनाएं हैं। उनके प्रति दिलचस्पी है और उस के लिए काम हुआ है और ऐसा नहीं है कि मानो सारी दिलचस्पी और सहानुभूति केवल विरोधी दल के सदस्यों को ही हो (व्यवधान) इस तरीके से बीच में गड़बड़ करना उचित नहीं है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन का यह दिल हाउस की टेबुल पर रख दिया जाय।

श्री राघेलाल व्यास : वहां पर यह सही है जैसा कि श्री दाजी ने शुरू में कहा कि वहां

रेलें नहीं हैं, वहां सड़कें नहीं हैं, वहां स्कूल छोड़े हैं और वहां विकास आदि कार्य पर कम पैसा खर्च हुआ है लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पहली, दूसरी और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में राज्य में जो खर्च हुआ है वह दूसरी जगहों में जो खर्च हुआ है उस के मुकाबले में इधर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया गया है, ज्यादा खर्च हुआ है। अगर वह इस तरीके से देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि प्रति व्यक्ति जितना खर्च और जिलों में होना चाहिए उसके मुकाबले में बस्तर के जिले में विशेष रूप से खर्च किया गया है। यह हकीकत है कि हमारी रियासत सभी मामलों में पिछड़ी हुई है। अगर वहां स्कूल कम हैं तो हमारे सारे प्रान्त में स्कूल कम हैं। अगर हमारे यहां बस्तर में सड़कें कम हैं तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश की स्टेट तमाम दूसरी स्टेट्स से सड़कों के मामले में बहुत ज्यादा पीछे है। अगर शिक्षा के मामले में बस्तर पिछड़ा हुआ है तो हमारा सारा मध्य प्रदेश शिक्षा के मामले में बहुत ज्यादा पिछड़ा हुआ है (व्यवधान)।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर।

श्री राघेलाल व्यास : इसलिये हमारे जितने भी साधन हैं और जितनी भी सहायता हमें केन्द्रीय सरकार से मिल सकती है उन लिमिटेड रिसोर्सेज के अन्तर्गत ही जितना भी अधिक से अधिक काम हो सकता था वह किया जाना है और किया जा रहा है। इसके मानी यह नहीं है कि वे हमारे प्रयास काफ़ी हैं या उन से हमको संतोष है। हम तो चाहते हैं कि और भी अधिक वहां काम हो और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट भी ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्च करे और हमारे यह विरोधी सदस्य लोग भी उस में अपनी शक्ति लगायें और सहयोग प्रदान करें तो वह एक बड़ी अच्छी चीज होगी। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि वह आज उस इलाके

घर वहां के आदिवासियों के प्रति दिलचस्पी दिखला रहे हैं लेकिन इस के पहले इतने सालों से बस्तर पिछड़ा हुआ मौजूद था आदिवासी अविकसित और पिछड़ी अवस्था में वहां रह रहे थे लेकिन उन के लिए आवाज उठाने की कोशिश जिस जोर के साथ की जानी चाहिए थी वह आज से पहले उन के द्वारा नहीं उठाई गई है ।

श्री बड़े : मैं ने उठाई है ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : आप ने उठाई मैं ने उठाई है लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश के लोगों के अलावा और भी राज्यों के तो यहां पर भाई मौजूद हैं जोकि आज इतनी हमदर्दी दिखला रहे हैं और बकालत कर रहे हैं उन्होंने आज से पहले यह आवाज क्यों नहीं उठाई और बकालत क्यों नहीं की ?

श्री दाजी : भरे भाई हम आवाज उठाते हैं तो आप हमारे मजदूरों को गोली मारते हो ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : अब गोली मारने या गोली चलाने का जहां तक ताल्लुक है उस के लिए तो इनक्वायरी कमिशन बैठा हुआ है और उस की रिपोर्ट से इस बारे में पता चलेगा । लेकिन आज दाजी साहब खुले रूप में कैसे कह सकते हैं कि वहां कल्लेआम हुआ है या गोलियों मारी गई हैं । यह भी विषय विवादास्पद है । यह इनक्वायरी का विषय है और इस का निर्णय होना चाहिए । लेकिन इस बारे में शहादत और फैसला होने के पहले उनके द्वारा इस तरीके से गैर जिम्मेदारी की बातें कहना यह एक डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके के बिल्कुल विरुद्ध होगा । हमने एक संविधान के अनुसार अपनी शासन व्यवस्था चलाना तय किया है । कोई भी इस तरह की चीजें हों तो उस की एक इनक्वायरी, उस की जांच पड़ताल नियमित रूप से हो ऐसी व्यवस्था की गई है अब उस व्यवस्था के

सामने जा कर अपनी बात को नहीं कहना और यहां हाउस में जिस तरीके से बाजार में बातें कही जा सकती हैं इस तरीके से कहते रहना यह कोई एक डेमोक्रेटिक तरीका नहीं है, यह कोई एक प्रजातांत्रिक तरीका नहीं है । इसलिये मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि . . . .

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर) : माननीय सदस्य इस हाउस को बाजार कह रहे हैं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : सदन का अपमान हो रहा है ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : सदन को मैंने बाजार नहीं कहा । मैंने यह कहा कि ऐसी बातें नहीं कहनी चाहिए जो कि हम बाजार में कहते हैं । मैंने सदन को बाजार नहीं कहा है (व्यवधान) मैंने सदन को बाजार नहीं कहा है । मैंने तो यह कहा है कि ऐसे शब्द नहीं कहने चाहिए जो कि बाजार में कहे जाते हैं ।

Shri Daji: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, he is casting a reflection on my speech. Probably you have not followed his Hindi speech. He says I have made irresponsible statements here as I would speak in the bazaar. Then, I say he is speaking as in a fish market.

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : मैं फिर दाजी साहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जितने शब्द उन्होंने कहे हैं और अगर वह उन की इम्पोर्ट समझते हैं और उस की जिम्मेदारी वह अनुभव करते हैं तो उन का यह पवित्र कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वह इनक्वायरी कमिशन के सामने जा कर अपनी वक्तव्य ही नहीं रखें बल्कि उस के समर्थन में पूरी शक्ति के साथ में साक्ष्य पेश कर के साबित करने का प्रयत्न करें ।

श्री रंगा स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के नेता हैं उन्होंने कह दिया कि वहां 100 आदमी गोली से मारे गये . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : पांच सौ मारे गये ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : एक भाई कह रहे हैं कि 500 मारे गये तो कोई कहेंगे कि 1000 मारे गये । लेकिन श्रीमन्, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं जगदलपुर गया हूँ । मैंने जगदलपुर को देखा है । मैं सारे डिस्ट्रिक्ट को घूमा है । आज से 4 साल पहले भी मैं वहाँ पर गया था (व्यवधान) इस वर्ष भी दो महीने पहले मैं बस्तर जिले में गया था । मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो राज्य महल कहा जाता है वह एक तरफ जगदलपुर के जंगल में नहीं है बल्कि वह जगदलपुर के कस्बे के मध्य में है और जिसके कि चारों तरफ वह जगदलपुर का कस्बा आबाद है । चारों तरफ उस के आबादी है । वहाँ से अगर एक आदमी भी जायेगा तो वह छुप कर नहीं ले जा सकते हैं सब लोग देख सकते हैं । मैं चत्तैज के साथ कहता हूँ कि जो 12 आदमी वहाँ मरे हैं उन के अलावा एक भी ज्यादा आदमी वहाँ पर नहीं मरा है । (व्यवधान) ॥

एक माननीय सदस्य : एक हजार आदमी मरे हैं । वह बारह आदमियों के मरने की जो बात कह रहे हैं यह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : अगर गलत है तो वह वहाँ जा कर साबित करें । यहाँ गलत कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा (व्यवधान)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर ।

Shri J. B. Kripalani: May I ask the speaker whether he went and counted the dead bodies there that he is making such a statement? It may not be 500, it may be 200 or 300. He has no right to say definitely that he is sure that only 12 people died.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Regarding the number of the dead, . . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him give his own figure.

Shri Khadilkar: As has been ascertained by the president of the SSP party and stated in a reputable journal Kesari recently after his visit, there were thirteen deaths.

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : मेरा तो केवल यही निवेदन है कि इसको मध्य प्रदेश असेम्बली में वहाँ के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी बार बार कहा है कि 12 आदिवासी और एक हैड कांस्टेबिल मरे हैं, केवल 13 आदमी मरे हैं, और बाकी तो केवल प्रचार है और उसमें सत्य का तो अंश भी नहीं है ।

अन्त में मैं आप से केवल यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ आदिवासियों की भावनाओं को उभारने का निरन्तर प्रयत्न बरसों से चल रहा था और उन को आगे बढ़ा कर के उनको विकास के कामों में लगाने के बजाय उन से कानून तोड़ कर और कानून के विरुद्ध चल कर बगावत कराने की शृंखला आज से नहीं पिछले पांच छः साल से बराबर चलती आ रही है ।

श्री दाजी ने जो एक दो बातें कही हैं उनका जवाब दे कर मैं बैठ जाऊंगा । श्री दाजी ने कहा कि पहले वह स्वतन्त्र थे और उसके बाद वह असेम्बली में मेम्बर थे और कांग्रेस में शामिल हुए । उन्होंने कहा कि शायद उनको यह लालच दिया था कांग्रेस ने कि उनकी जायदाद छोड़ दी जाएगी, लेकिन श्री दाजी ने कहा कि उनकी जायदाद को नहीं छोड़ा और उनको कांग्रेस को छोड़ना पड़ा । अगर कांग्रेस ने लालच दिया होता तो वह उनकी जायदाद को उसी वक्त छोड़ देती । लेकिन ऐसा नहीं था । वह अपने लालच से कांग्रेस में आए होंगे । कांग्रेस का यह काम नहीं है कि किसी को लालच देकर अपने में मिलावे । अगर कोई आता है तो उसके लिए कांग्रेस का द्वार खुला है और अगर कोई चला जाता है तो उसका हम को अफसोस नहीं है ।



श्री बड़े: माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमती जो चर्चा हो रही उस के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि बस्तर में यह इंसीडेंट होने के बाद मैं तुरन्त वहां गया था और गये साल भी मैं बस्तर गया था। और मैंने जगदलपुर और बेलाडीला का प्रवास किया था। मुझे वहां की परिस्थिति मालूम है। वहां साढ़े आठ लाख आदिवासी रहते हैं और वे केवल एक वस्त्र पहनते हैं, दूसरा वस्त्र नहीं पहनते हैं। बेलाडीला के आगे आपको नंगे आदमी मिलेंगे। 18 साल से कांग्रेस इन लोगों से खिलवाड़ कर रही है। इनको 18 सालों में कांग्रेस ने विश्वास में नहीं लिया और 18 सालों में कांग्रेस शासन ने इन लोगों के लिए कुछ नहीं किया। और जो फिगर दिए गये हैं कि इतना रुपया आदिवासियों के लिए खर्च किया गया उसमें से पता लगाया जाए कि कितना भ्रष्टाचार में गया और कितना आदिवासियों पर खर्च किया गया।

आज जो बस्तर कांड पर चर्चा हाउस में हो रही है, इसका कारण क्या था। जगदलपुर में जो पेलेस है वह सदन साइड में है। जगदलपुर से 24 तारीख को तीन हजार आदिवासी पुरुष और 1 हजार स्त्रियां चावल भांगने के लिए बस्तर कांग्रेस कार्यकर्ता सूर्यपाल तिवारी के यहां गए। वहां तीन लारियों में पुलिस थी। जिसने उनको रोका और वापस पेलेस में जाने दिया। मैं हाउस से पूछता हूँ कि उस वक्त उस तीन लारी पुलिस ने उनको वहां जाने से क्यों नहीं रोका। उनको कहना चाहिए कि तुम लोग जगदलपुर मत जाओ। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया (व्यवधान)।

Shri G. N. Dixit: Sir, on a point of order. The Speaker gave a ruling permitting this motion subject to this condition that matters *sub judice* shall be excluded. I have a copy of the terms of reference to the commission, as all Members have. What Mr. Bade is speaking about and what Mr. Daji

and Mr. Vyas talked about, all these are covered by the terms of reference, and they are excluded by the Speaker. The terms of reference of the enquiry commission are (1) enquire into and report on the disturbances in Jagdalpur....(b) report on whether the firing was justified and so on. All these are out of order and should be expunged.

Shri Bade: I am not referring to the March 25th incident but prior to that.

मेरा यह कहना है कि प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी यहां से गयी थीं तो उन्होंने देश को एक सन्देश भेजा था जिस में उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं अमरीका जा रही हूँ कोई गड़बड़ देश में नहीं होनी चाहिये और एकता को मजबूत करना चाहिए। उन्होंने उस सन्देश में यह कहा था :

“हालांकि दंगों के बाद जो शांति स्थापित हुई है उसे हमें मजबूत बनाना है और सभी समस्याओं को सोच समझ कर हल करना है। ऐसे समय जब कि मैं यूरोप और अमरीका जा रही हूँ, सरकार और लोगों को आपस में मिल कर काम करना है और ऐसे रास्ते निकालने हैं जिस से आगे हमें ऐसी कठिनाइयों का सामना न करना पड़े।”

लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश शासन ने गड़बड़ी की और इस प्रकार श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को कलंक लगाया क्योंकि लन्दन टाइम्स में यह खबर प्रकाशित की गयी कि मध्य प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट ने निहत्थे आदिवासियों को गोलियों में भून दिया है। जहां तक कि

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He should not speak about anything that led to these incidents.

Shri Bade: I am not referring to that incident; I am saying about things which were prior to these incidents. If you want I can speak in English also.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have been following your speech.... (Interruptions.) There is no point of order.

**श्री बड़े:** मेरा यह कहना यह है कि उन्होंने कोई आर्म्स और एम्पूनीशन इकट्ठा नहीं किया था। अगर रिबोल्पूशन करना होता तो वह ऐसा करते। वस्तर में एक भयंकर अकाल पड़ा है, और लोगों को खाने के लिये चावल नहीं मिलता। फिर भी जैसा कि कल नन्दा जी ने कहा है कि एक पर सेंट लेवी उन से ली जा रही है। मैं कहता हूँ जब कुछ पैदा नहीं हुआ तो एक परसेंट लेवी क्यों ली जा रही है। यह तो जबरदस्ती है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि लेवी के लिए अधिकारियों ने क्या क्या किया है। यह चीज युग धर्म नाम के समाचार पत्र में छपी है, उस में लिखा है :

“पुलिस अत्याचार—हाल में ही लेवी बसूली के नाम पर आदिवासी महिला एवं पुरुषों के साथ पुलिस द्वारा की गयी ज्यादती की कल्पना गाथाएं आज भी आदिवासी भूल नहीं सके हैं एवं भारत के किसी भी कोने में इस प्रकार की अमानुषिक अत्याचार नहीं होते होंगे जैसे अत्याचार वस्तर में से हुए।

हथेली पर साहब की कुर्सी

बड़े किले पास ग्राम हिरमा ने बताया कि जगदलपुर हवालात में उसे सिटी साहब ने बूटों से मारा, पश्चात् जमीन पर घुटने के बल बिठा कर दोनों हथेलियों पर एक एक कुर्सी रखी गई जिस पर जिला पुलिस अधीक्षक एवं सिटी साहब एक घंटे तक बैठे रहे। इसके बाद भी पंजे को टेबल पर रख कर रूल से मारा गया” (व्यवधान)।

I am not referring to the incidents which took place on the 24th March and 25th March. I am relating the incidents of 4th March 1968 and how the police gave them a good beating.

महिलाओं की पिटाई लात से की गयी।

उस पक्ष में आगे लिखा है :

“धारा 107 के अन्तर्गत गिरफ्तार महिलाओं में श्रीमती जैती ओजे सुकर

रावत मामडपाल ने 4-3-66 को जिला-घोष से शिकायत कर कहा है कि दरमा थाने के मुंशी ने पति पत्नी को लात एवं धुंसे से मारा।”

इसका बैकग्राउंड क्या है। महाराजा साहब ने अपनी किताब में लिखा है कि पहले मुझे इनसेन डिवलेयर किया गया था, लेकिन जब मैंने कांग्रेस को जायन कर लिया तो मेरी मैडनस एक-दम खत्म हो गई और जब मैंने कांग्रेस को छोड़ दिया, तो फिर मुझे इन सेन बताया जाने लगा।

I shall quote from the book, *I Pravar, the Adivasi God*, written by Shree Pravin Chandra Bhanjdeo who was shot dead in his own palace in his own bedroom:

“For this purpose, an AICC observer was sent from Delhi along with the Maharaja of Kanker who had lotus eating dreams of making Bastar his future empire. I was given the Congress ticket instead of Surya Pal just to serve their political ends. They now wanted to give me their party ticket and all allegations that I was made were ruled out completely by them after their coming to this decision.”

नरोन्हा के बारे में, जो पहले कलेक्टर था फिर कमिश्नर हुआ और जो अब चीफ सेक्रेटरी है, महाराजा साहब ने लिखा है :

“Nahronha joined them in their nefarious designs in order to prolong his distatorship in Bastar. Nahronha used to think that he was Claudius the God. It was lucky for him that I behaved like a gentleman towards him. Shri Vijaya Chandra Bhanjdeo who was a boy soon fell a prey to his scheming machinations. The Government wanted to make my brother Shri Vijaya Chandra Bhanjdeo an instrument for their own ends.”

महाराजा साहब और आदिवासियों का सम्बन्ध मैं यह तुरंत का पुरा प्लाट नरोन्हा, आई०

जी० पी० और दूसरे पुलिस अफसरों, मिश्र जी और कलेक्टर के द्वारा बनाया गया। कलेक्टर, अकबर, पांच साल से वहां बैठा हुआ है। गये साल जब मैं बबस्तर गया था, तो मैं ने उस के तबादले के सम्बन्ध में श्री मिश्र को पत्र लिखा था। महाराजा प्रवीरचन्द्र भंजदेव ने भी तीन रोज पहले उन को पत्र लिखा था कि इन अधिकारियों का वहां से तबादिला किया जाये और वह स्वयं वहां जाकर वहां की परिस्थिति को देखें, क्योंकि उन अधिकारियों के कारण ही वहां के लोगों पर मुसीबतें आती हैं, रोज लोगों की पिटाई होती है और महिलाओं को बे-आबरू किया जाता है। महाराजा साहब कुछ महिलाओं को लेकर कमिश्नर को बुलाने के लिए गए थे, ताकि वह उन को सारी परिस्थिति बता सकें। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि कमिश्नर 24 तारीख को शिकार के लिए क्यों चला गया, जब कि कहा जाता है कि वहां पर नागालैंड और मिजो हिल्स की तरह का रेबैलियन होने वाला था। मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या घाई० जी० पी० ने इस बारे में कोई रिपोर्ट दी है, कि उस क्षेत्र में नागा लैंड और मिजो हिल्स के समान विद्रोह होने वाला था। वास्तव में आदिवासी लोग वहां पर विद्रोह के लिए इकट्ठे नहीं हुए थे, बल्कि 18 तारीख को नवरात्री की पूजा के सम्बन्ध में इकट्ठे हुए थे।

आदिवासियों की अनाज की दिक्कतों के प्रश्न पर महाराजा साहब ने 8 फरवरी को अपने पैलेस के सामने प्रनशन किया था। उन का कहना था कि आदिवासी लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं और उन को खाने को नहीं मिलता है। उन्होंने कहा कि ईश्वर, प्रजातंत्र और मनुष्यता के नाम पर इन लोगों को खाने के लिए दिया जाये। कलेक्टर साहब के समझाने पर उन्होंने 10 फरवरी को अपना प्रनशन तोड़ दिया। उस के बाद उन्होंने नारायणपुरा में फिर प्रनशन किया। इसी प्रकार आपना

नामक एक पी० एस० पी० के वर्कर ने भी प्रनशन किया। तब भी उन लोगों को अनाज नहीं दिया गया। आदिवासी लोग केवल अनाज मांगते थे। वहां पर सिर्फ अनाज का सवाल था और आदिवासियों के रेबैलियन या विद्रोह का कोई सवाल ही नहीं था।

इसके पीछे एक कारण यह भी था कि महाराजा प्रवीणचन्द्र भंजदेव ने एक महाराजा पार्टी निकाली थी। 1957 और 1962 के चुनावों में उस पार्टी के कुछ उम्मीदवार सफल हो कर विधान सभा में आ गए।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may place all these before the Enquiry Commission.

Shri Chandak (Chhindwara): He is referring to matters which are all before the Enquiry Committee.

श्री बड़े : एन्क्वायरी कमीशन का सवाल नहीं है।

श्री चन्द्रमणिलाल चौबरी (महुआ) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा पायंट आफ़ भाईर है। जो बातें एन्क्वायरी कमीशन के सामने हैं, यहां पर उन का जिक्र करना मुनासिब नहीं है। वह मामला सब-जुडिस है। इस लिए माननीय सदस्य ने उस बारे में जो कुछ कहा है, उस को एक्सपंज कर देना चाहिए। वहां पर जो लेबी लगाई है, उस का असर आदिवासियों, काश्तकारों या मजदूरों पर नहीं पड़ता है, बल्कि बड़े बड़े ज़मींदारों पर पड़ता है। माननीय सदस्य जो प्रश्नबाद पढ़ रहे थे, वह तो जन संघ का शाखबार है।

श्री बड़े : यहां के जालीस सदस्यों ने, जिन में महाराजा भी हैं, प्रधान मंत्री और प्रीजिडेंट को एक प्रपोजिशन दिया है कि बस्तर में हुई महाराजा भंजदेव की हत्या के बारे में जांच की जाये। अब उन लोगों पर प्रेशर डाला जा रहा है और कहा जा रहा है कि वे मिश्र जी के खिलाफ़ काम कर रहे हैं,

### [श्री बड़े]

वे श्री कामराज के विरुद्ध हैं, और श्री मोरारजी जी देशाई के फ़ेवर में हैं, आदि ।

श्री मिश्र ने कहा है कि वह विरोधी लोगों को डाकुओं की तरह मारेंगे । यह कहने की उनकी हिम्मत कैसे हुई ? इस का कारण यह है कि वह समझते हैं कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के प्रधान मंत्री चुने में उन का बड़ा हाथ है और इस लिए श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और श्री कामराज के समर्थन के कारण वह जो चाहे कर सकते हैं ।

जब मैं बस्तर गया, तो मेरे पीछे तीन सी० आई० डी० के आदमी लगा दिये गए और मुझे किसी को नहीं मिलने दिया गया । उस क्षेत्र में इतना आतंक फैला हुआ है कि कोई भी व्यक्ति बोलने के लिये तैयार नहीं है । मैं एक कांग्रेस का पेपर भी लाया हूँ, जिस में लिखा है कि वहाँ पर भगदड़ मची हुई है और लोग गांव छोड़ कर भाग रहे हैं । इस स्थिति में जब तक वहाँ के पुलिस अफ़सरों जी० ए० एफ०, सर्कल इन्स्पेक्टर, ब्लेकटर आदि को नहीं बदला जाता है, जिन पर आज खून सवार है, तब तक वहाँ के लोग कमीशन के सामने कोई भी बात नहीं कह सकेंगे । लोगों को यह मालूम है कि रात के समय लाशें ले जा कर जला दी गई हैं, लेकिन वे इस बात को कहने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं । इसलिए सर्वप्रथम वहाँ के अफ़सरों को तब्दील किया जाये ।

सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से—श्रीर विशेषकर मन्दा जी से—मैं कहूँगा कि यदि वह प्रजातंत्र पर भरोसा करते हैं, यदि वह प्रजातंत्र को कलंकित नहीं करना चाहते हैं, यदि वह आदिवासियों को विश्वास में लेना चाहते हैं और उनकी सेवा करना चाहते हैं तो, उन को बस्तर को अपने अधीन, अपने काबू में, ले लेना चाहिए । आज मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट में लोगों को कोई विश्वास नहीं है—उस में उन लोगों को कोई आशा नहीं है । आज

वहाँ पर पुलिस गांव गांव में घूमती है और पूछती है कि कौन कौन महाराजा पार्टी का मेम्बर है, लोग अपने गांव छोड़ छोड़ कर भाग रहे हैं । वे कहते हैं कि इन लोगों ने महाराजा को मार डाला है और ये हम को भी भून डालेंगे । आज वहाँ पर पुलिस को पूछने वाला कोई नहीं है ।

इसलिए मैं सदन से मनुष्यता के नाम पर बिनती करता हूँ कि एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेली-गेशन जा कर बस्तर की स्थिति को देखे और यह मालूम करे कि वहाँ पर आज किस तरह पिटाई हो रही है, वहाँ पर कितना आतंक है, जिस के कारण कोई भी बोलने के लिये तैयार नहीं है । इस स्थिति में कमीशन बिठाना एक मजाक है, क्योंकि उस के सामने कोई भी आने वाला नहीं है ।

आज महाराजा के पैलेस का एक एक पत्थर, जिस पर खून के दाग हैं, चिल्ला रहा है कि धिक्कार है इन कांग्रेसियों को, जिन्होंने यहां घुस कर महाराजा और आदिवासियों को मारा है । कांग्रेस में जो राजा लोग हैं, मैं उन को कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वे कांग्रेस को छोड़ देंगे, तो उन को भी इसी तरह भून दिया जायेगा । उस पैलेस के पत्थर चिल्ला कर कह रहे हैं कि राजाओं को बोलड हो जाना चाहिए और इस हत्या के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज उठानी चाहिये । महिलाओं को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर दो तीन महिलाओं की भी लाशें मिली हैं, जिन को गोली से मारा गया था । उन महिलाओं के बाप, बहन, भतीजे आदि किसी भी रिश्तेदार को बताए बिना उन को दफना दिया गया ।

इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सदन मेरे इस मोशन को स्वीकार करे, जिस में मैंने कहा है, कि एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेलीगेशन जा कर देखे कि बस्तर में क्या स्थिति है ।

**Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra (Khandwa)-** Sir, I rise to a point of order. I just want to bring to your notice that during his speech and other speeches that have been delivered so far in this House, there have been many references to the incident that took place on the 25th and 26th March last, and conclusive arguments have been given, regarding the incidents. All that cannot come under the discussion now. I do not know how you were allowing all that. The hon. Member just now said that thousands of people have been killed and there has been a murder of the king. I do not know how these two points can be referred to.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no point of order.

**Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad: (Baroda):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as I had originally feared, a lot of things have been said which I personally feel need not have come into this discussion. It is really unfortunate that they have. The very sad incidents that recently took place at Jagdaipur are agitating the minds of the people and especially Members of Parliament. Fellow Indians have been killed and therefore, naturally, it should be a cause of great concern to all of us. I can particularly well appreciate the indignation caused in the opposition benches, for I must admit—I am sure the members of my party will also admit—that a great error was committed by the State Government of Madhya Pradesh. What is the error? In the past, under similar circumstances, State Governments have taken time in instituting enquiries and in such cases, the opposition vociferously demanded an enquiry. Governments have then instituted an enquiry and the opposition has taken all the credit. In this incident, the manner in which the State Government had acted in immediately instituting an enquiry has robbed them of the chance of getting the credit which they had got in the past. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unless the hon. Member yields, nobody can get up and interrupt.

**Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad:** I am appealing to the Home Minister to take serious note of the mistake that I was referring to. After all, it seems that the opposition is here to defend democracy and not the ruling party!

As far as the opposition is concerned, it boils down to this. If the State Government institutes an immediate enquiry, they are accused of trying to cover up a dark deed. If they take a little time in doing so, they are labelled callous and negligent.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Both can be correct. That depends on the circumstances in every case.

**Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad:** It appears that the State Governments can never be correct. In fact, I believe a large number of things that have been said here and outside against the State Government and the Chief Minister may never have been said if an immediate enquiry had not been ordered. It does happen sometimes that when one tries to do the right thing, one is grossly misunderstood and an attempt is made to establish *mala fides*.

If the opposition want to say that they are more concerned than we are over what has happened at Jagdaipur, they are sadly mistaken. This partly fully realises its responsibilities and election after election the people have endorsed it. No opposition is ever likely to rule this country in the foreseeable future. Therefore, serious incidents such as this do necessarily cause more concern to us.

In this case my party has been accused of committing a political murder. If that is so, I would certainly like to understand how the Congress Party stands to gain by the death of Shri Pravin Chandra Bhanjdeo and a number of adivasis. I had

[Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad]

expected that Shri Ranga and the political party which he represents in this House would naturally talk of the princely order and bring forth the argument about a Maharaja being killed. I too happen to be a Maharaja (*Interruptions*). The late Shri Pravin Chandra Bhanjdea, his brother and his two sisters were childhood friends of mine. I would like to ask the opposition, what would be my position if tomorrow, say I lead a demonstration before Parliament, of a union of Taxi Drivers, and that demonstration takes a violent turn resulting in police firing, and resulting again in grievous injury to myself?

Shri Daji: What would be the position if you were killed in your own house? He was shot down in his own drawing room. That is the difference.

Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad: I concede the point that Shri Ranga made that it is the duty of the Home Ministry to give protection under normal circumstances. But if I am going to lead a demonstration in the cause of the people, and things happen as I have just said, at such a juncture, would I as a Maharaja, be right in seeking the protection of the Home Ministry? (*Interruptions*). Obviously I have said the right thing.

Shri Ranga: You have not said the right thing: you are incapable of saying the right thing.

Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad: It is a matter of argument.

The fact remains that what has happened at Jagdalpur should never happen again. An enquiry has been instituted and the whole country awaits its verdict. I would appeal to the Home Ministry, let the verdict, whatever it may be, be given as soon as possible. If it is established that there were excesses on the part of the any Government agency, the officers responsible must be dealt with severely. If the State Government is held responsible, they must pay the penalty (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: However unpalatable it may be, he must be given a patient hearing.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): This is a most legitimate parliamentary interruption I am making. Is the hon. Member aware that in the terms of reference of the commission of enquiry, there is no mention about finding out whether the responsibility of the firing was that of the State Government or not?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): I would only remind him that parliamentary interruptions can be made from this side also and it will be difficult for them to speak. Mr. Sheo Narain will act.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We cannot go on with the discussion like this.

Shri Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad: I would, however, like to make an appeal to both the State and Central Government. It is a well known fact and, whatever information we have been supplied by the Home Ministry, I regret to say that my information is that conditions in the district of Bastar are not as they ought to be. It is a well known fact that the development of that area has been comparatively neglected. If it is said that the late Maharaja exploited this, it only goes to prove my point: that there was something he could exploit. I, therefore, earnestly request Government to look into this question immediately. The district of Bastar is part of India and the Adivasis are no less Indians than us.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must congratulate the Maharaja of Baroda for at least one emphasis that he laid, and that was that the adivasis are also Indians and that we should be concerned for any Indian who has lost his life in this way. But let us examine the implications of the position that the Maharaja has taken, and the implication clearly is that if Indians had been killed and if an impression

has arisen in the country that the rule of law was violated in any part of India then, of course, we have very rightful concern in the matter. The House has given expression and the country has given expression to the feeling of the deepest distress and disquiet, of anguish and of sorrow, of bewilderment and of alarm, on what happened in Bastar. Let us candidly concede that this discussion is because of the national concern, because our minds are seriously exercised about the happenings and because Parliament is really the conscience of the country. The moment Parliament ceases to be the conscience of the country, the moment Parliament ceases to be the focus of events and affairs in the country, the Parliament would lose its primacy and its central importance in the country's political life. Therefore, it was quite observable that in the maze of technical niceties and various points of orders that were raised on the floor of this House what was clear was that there was concern in this House and this House was not prepared to abdicate its concern in the matter. I agree that some of the points of order raised here are sustainable in strict law, but the House has waived those points of orders and they are suspended and kept in abeyance for the purpose of this debate.

I quite agree, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that it is not right for us to cast aspersions without foundations either on the judiciary or on a particular judge. It is also right for us to ensure that the course of inquiry which has been instituted is not interfered with. But the question that this House is very much concerned with is the alleged inequitable way in which the Maharaja of Bastar, Shri Pravinchandra Bhanjdeo, was dealt with by the Government of India and by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. I am told that his estate was put under court of wards on the plea that he was insane, but this plea was easily dispensed with when he was allowed to enter the Congress Party and when he sat in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly representing nearly a lakh of

people. At that time the plea of insanity was not advanced. Later on..... (Interruption). Of course, the Congress Party is entitled to have, if they want to—I assume they would not want to have—any insane person. The manner in which he was deposed, also left much to be desired and it created a legitimate doubt about the causes which led to his deposition. Be that as it may, it appears that this incident was the culmination of a sequence of events, and if it is so viewed then, of course, the Parliament has legitimate concern in the manner in which the Central Government had dealt with the deposed and deceased ruler.

Sir, there have been many allegations that evidence has been destroyed. This is for the Commission of Inquiry to determine. But the question is, when aspersions are cast on the Commission of Inquiry, when an insistent demand is made that someone from outside may be appointed to go into the question precisely in order to safeguard the dignity and independence, the reputation and integrity, of the judiciary, I think the Government should go more than half way to constitute an inquiry which would command the respect, the unquestioning respect of the entire country. I do not know on what basis these aspersions are cast. I do not know if any of these aspersions has any foundation whatever; nor is it proper to cast any aspersion on a sitting judge of a High Court or the Supreme Court, even when he is heading a Commission of inquiry. But the question is not merely of questioning the *bona fides* or the integrity of a judge. The question is of giving a body of inquiry which would command the respect of the whole nation, and that is where I think the Government of India should act in a manner so as to enthuse and inspire that confidence.

The terms of reference are extremely disappointing, they are very much limited. I would plead with the Home Minister to revise and to widen the terms of reference substantially in order that the whole matter, the manner in which the ruler was

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dealt with and the consequences that followed from the inequitous and unfair dealings of the Government of India with the ruler, should be gone into. What should also be gone into is the question of the general unrest in the tribal area of Bastar, the manner in which development projects and prospects of that area were treated by the State Government and whether that had any consequence in building up a hard core of dissatisfaction and discontent.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, a suggestion has been made here on the floor of the House that a committee of Members of Parliament should go to Bastar. The other day the hon. Home Minister was prepared to say that he had no objection if a goodwill mission were to go to Bastar. I do not see why the hon. Home Minister chose to characterise it as goodwill mission. There is no need for a mere goodwill mission from one part of India to another part of India. What we need really is, and no words should be minced in this matter, is a body of people going to that area to satisfy themselves not on the specific incidents but what surrounds this whole Bastar incident. It is shrouded in mystery. The versions that have been put forward are so radically varying with each other that it is impossible to know as to what was actually happening. I have heard it said that there were only as many as 12 or 13 persons killed. I have also heard it said that as many as 1200 persons were killed. Where is any fair-minded person to find the facts from? The Government therefore, create conditions where a modicum of information about what happened in Bastar should be made available to the country at large, because it is not merely a question of a particular incident, it is a question of the maintenance and upholding of the rule of law in this country.

I would also like to plead with this House that the time has come when there should be a radical re-thinking on the question of the role of the Central Government. There is

no use in the Home Minister trying to adduce the constitutional provision or that rule of procedure in this House. The fact of the matter is that we are concerned in the matter and the Parliament has certain basic duties in this respect. Sir, the Constitution contains clear provisions where, if necessary, and if deemed appropriate, the Government of India can extend a proclamation of emergency and, through this, in the eventuality of internal disturbances, it can extend its control and its administration. If this is going to give confidence to the people of this country, then this is not a measure which the hon. Minister should shirk for any political reasons. The Government and the governmental operations in the country, must acquire a distinct unitary bias and this should be uninhibited. Every time the federal principle is paraded in defence of inaction, inertia or disinclination of the Central Government. I think this should stop. The Constitution already has that unitary bias and has been described generally as a quasi-federal Constitution. These are the provisions which must be pressed into service because that alone will give confidence to the people at large.

15 hrs.

One last thing and I would have done. In the name of regional autonomy this House will not tolerate any regional autocracy or exclusivism. That is what is sought to be encouraged, that is what is sought to be defended and that is what is sought to be adduced as a plea in defence and extenuation. This must stop.

15.01 hrs.

[SHRIMATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair]

I feel that the hon. Home Minister was not right when he claimed that the statement that he had made in the other House was of no concern of this House. Nor was Shri Mathur right in this respect, because rule 51, which prohibits this House from taking



into consideration the answers given to a question in the other House, does not apply to a debate or a discussion or the speech of the Minister.

**Shri Nanda:** I did not say this. It is a wrong assumption.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Shri Mathur did say this and you said that there are different rules on the subject.

**Shri Nanda:** I did not say that it cannot be discussed here. I asked: why is it that something I had to say in answer to some questions, which could not be allowed because of the circumscribed scope of the debate, is being referred to? Then I corrected a few mistakes. I explained what was said there.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** If the hon. Member will yield what I said was that it is the rules of this House and the ruling of the Speaker which will govern this House; nothing beyond that.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** If my recollection is correct, the hon. Members also said that the speeches and what had gone on in the other House are of no concern of this House. I suppose that would require looking into the records. I am perfectly willing to stand corrected if my recollection is not correct, but I have a distinct and definite recollection of that speech. Anyhow, particularly when the statement or speech of the hon. Home Minister, delivered in the Rajya Sabha yesterday, is circulated to us along with our papers, then, Madam, there is no reason for the hon. Home Minister or anyone else to claim that that speech could not be discussed.

**Shri Nanda:** I have never said that it could not be discussed. Why is he making that point again?

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** I have great respect for the sincerity with which Shri Nanda has tried to deal with the administrative problems of this country. But this must be clearly stated

that it was certainly beyond the scope of his ministerial duties to canvass the culpability of the deceased Maharaja or even to suggest that the Maharaja had no one else to blame but himself for what has occurred in Bastar. I hope that this matter would not be carried further and the hon. Home Minister would be prepared to make amends, particularly in respect of the advocacy of the cause of the State Government, especially by saying that what happened to the Maharaja of Bastar was his own fault.

I hope that this debate is not cited as likely to prejudice the course of the inquiry. If this discussion could be cited as likely to prejudice the course of the inquiry, then, of course, I think by that token we are reposing very little confidence in the intelligence and integrity of the judiciary itself. This discussion shows our willingness to impose a measure of self-restraint on ourselves. The self-restraint which we have imposed on ourselves is so as to skirt round the incident and yet discuss the various questions relating and leading up to that incident. But, I think, to say that this discussion is likely to prejudice the course of the inquiry is really to underestimate and to undermine the quality of our Judges.

Why I am pleading for a reconstitution of the Commission of Inquiry or the body of inquiry is not because I have even the slightest doubt about the integrity or the intelligence of the Judge concerned but because this is the only way, consistent with democratic principles and democratic responsiveness. This part of the House does not command any numerical strength in this House in order to force issues. But, certainly the Government would, I think, in its keenness to build up healthy traditions, respond to some of these suggestions that have been made here and would by supplying more information, by furnishing more facts, by being not as reticent as they have been and by, if necessary, widening the terms of reference, would try to inspire

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confidence in what is now being done in Bastar and, what is more, the consequences of the inquiry must be fearlessly faced and this assurance should be forthcoming when the hon. Home Minister rises to reply to this House.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** Madam Chairman, I am an Adibasi myself and I have worked for the last 28 years among the Adibasis, who are the prescriptive citizens of this country, the original people of our land. Personally I would like to say as little as possible about Bastar, because the way the whole thing has been circumscribed is most unfortunate. Things one would like to say, one cannot say.

The position is this. Just because a Maharaja was slaughtered, massacred along with his worshippers, people who worship him, this particular incident at Jagadelpur has attracted the attention of the whole country and, for the first time, of Parliament. Adibasis have been slaughtered right and left ever since independence. On the very first day of independence what happened at Raj Kharsawan? On the market day, when my people were leading a procession, Bren guns were used against them, to frighten and stop their movement. 87 Adibasis were slaughtered in the open market place on the market day. When I raised this point in Parliament, I was told by the then Home Minister that there was no such thing as the Chota Nagpur States agency and so it was ruled out. It was because of that massacre that the State of Bihar got back Seraikela and Raj Kharswan. There is one Jallianwalabag that never seems to receive any response or respect in Parliament.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं बोला हूँ कई बार ।

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** What happened in Mayurbhanj? When there was an

agitation, the army were let loose to terrify the people. Let us not talk any further about that. The army had to do their job when they were asked to do that. It is not because the army wants to kill the people of our country. What happened at Simko? Poor Adibasis had gathered in a small village, in Simko. They were sitting in a house and discussing how to get the land rent reduced. 28 of them were slaughtered. It was left to one Englishman who happened to be somewhere near in a mine to bury them. Like that one can go on repeating incident after incident. This is the first time that the conscience of Parliament has been struck, and all because of the prominence given to this terrible, shocking, discreditable and disgraceful incident of the death by slaughter of a Maharaja.

What have you done in Nagaland? You send punitive expeditions despite the fact that General Cariappa said 'I am a soldier; I cannot kill my own countrymen'. Why have the Nagas become hostile? Let us go to the root of the whole problem. I am telling you that the Adibasi millions are highly inflammable material. If you think you can browbeat them by shooting them or even by slaughtering them, you are very much mistaken. As I have said in this Parliament often, the security of this country at the present moment depends on the loyalty of the Adibasis, especially in the North East Frontier Region. You cannot defend your territory by talking big here on party lines. It is not a party matter. You have completely misunderstood it. It is a national matter. I am ashamed of Congressmen here who have been thinking of it as a party matter since Professor Ranga brought it up.

**Shri Khadilkar:** We do not think on party lines.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** The behaviour of all of you has been like that. Believe me, I never hit below the belt like some of you.

This is a national problem. We are all Indians. How have the Adivasis been treated anywhere in any State? In the Constitution the Central Government has special responsibility about them, whether they are in scheduled areas or not. Year after year I have been asking, "What directions have you given to your States about the Adivasis, about the tempo of development and everything else like that?" There has been no reply.

In this particular case what is the President's Special Officer doing, I want to know. Has he submitted a report? Why not? It is his specific task to tell us something about this.

What has happened in Jagdalpur is not something that has suddenly happened. The ruling party have been gunning for this Maharaja and his followers for years. It has already been said that he was a wonderful man so long as he was in the Congress Party. The moment he refused to contribute to the Congress Party funds or belong to it, he became a bad man, an insane man. I have known Pravir Chandra Bhanj Deo since his childhood. I have been to Bastar several times. The biggest mistake that was ever made, whatever his mental condition might have been, was not to pay any heed to the feelings of his lakhs and lakhs of followers. The cultural imponderables of the Adivasis have to be respected. Do not try to be too clever here as if you know better.

That is a mistake you are making everywhere. That is the mistake you are making in Assam, for example. It is not merely Nagaland; what about NEFA, what about the Hill Areas? What about the Jharkhand Movement? Why is it there? Have you ever tried to understand it? No.

My fear is that if you are not careful, the Adivasi millions will have to resort to violence because by your own behaviour in the past it would appear as though you will do some-

thing only when people are violent, whether it is the question of Andhra Pradesh, of Gujarat, of Maharashtra, of Nagaland.

**Shri Lahri Singh (Rohtak):** But in Punjab they have done all right.

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** Whatever it is, you just see what will happen. I am not talking against Punjabi Suba or whatever suba there might be. That is not my point. My point is that this dandaraaj is not going to pay you. That is exactly what you have done in Jagdalpur, in Bastar.

**Shri Asoka Mehta** is a very dear friend of mine and he is genuinely a great lover of Adivasis, at least as far as reading books is concerned. I gave him one book "Mundas and Their Country". I am a Munda. He read from the first page to the last page and he almost became an Adivasi. Now he is put in charge of it.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** Only the first page and the last page?

**Shri Jaipal Singh:** From the first page to the last page.

What I have been pleading with you, the Parliament and the rest of the country is that you have treated the Adivasis shabbily. You have been bragging about the crores of rupees that you have spent. The crores of rupees that you have spent has been to employ Congressmen, block development officers, this, that and everything else. The actual benefit out of the crores of rupees that you may have spent over them has not reached them. I am not talking of Bastar alone. You go to any place you like.

Take the Tribes Advisory Council, for example. In my State after independence for two years the Tribes Advisory Council never met. There it is in the Constitution; you have got these various schedules. How are they being implemented?

So, all that I say is this. Please look at this as a very serious national

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

problem. I am very grateful that it was left to the Opposition to force a discussion on this. How are we respecting the Adivasi problem? There is a special officer; he submits his reports. How many times have we discussed it? How many hours have you allotted for the discussion of his reports? Year after year it is just put aside and if there is a discussion taking place, it will be right at the fag-end of the session for a couple of hours. That is your concern for the Adivasis, who are the real owners of this land! You are all newcomers. If you think of 'Quit India', the whole of you should quit and then only Adivasis will be left here. You have to accept that fact. As a result of adult franchise Adivasis are now beginning to realise things. They are not people whom you can leave out by throwing around them your cordon so that nobody else can get near them. They are going to assert themselves, not because the Maharaja was killed along with his worshippers—not only because of that—but because of so many things you have been doing all along. There was never any commission of inquiry held about all the slaughters that took place at Mayurbhanj, Seraikella-Kharswan, Deogarh, Simko and so many other places. This is the first time a commission of inquiry is being held and I am rather surprised that somebody from outside the State has not been associated with it. It is an extraordinary thing. I do not want to say anything because the report has yet to come but personally I do not think it makes any difference whether you hold any inquiry or not. This is the way I look at it. The main thing is that you have hurt the Adivasi millions and they are going to retaliate. Let there be no mistake about it. You can post your regiments and everything against them, but until you learn to respect them as your equals, you are not going to make any headway. I do not want to say anything more, but I can myself prove to you within 24 hours as to what I could do with the Adivasi millions. But that is not the

point. The loose way the Home Minister and others talk, as though we have no sense of citizenship, decorum, respect for law and order—just say tribalism, tribalism, tribalism—such a man has no business to occupy that chair there. It is a wrong approach. Unless you approach the problem in a sympathetic way, treat them as your fellow citizens, I am afraid, the future is very very dark as far as Adivasis are concerned.

I do not want to say much more, but I give a warning, whichever government comes in, whether Congress or anything else, that Adivasis have been silent sufferers for centuries and centuries under various dominations. Do not get away with the belief that just because you are an Indian, you are a devotee of non-violence—you are a devotee of that but the very next minute you try to run this country with bullets; that is what you have been doing in most Tribal areas—you will get away with it. It is a disgraceful thing.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात शुरू में मैं ऐसी कहना चाहता हूँ जो गम्भीरता से पूरे सदन को विचार करनी चाहिए, सिर्फ इस तरफ के लोगों को ही नहीं और वह यह कि सरकार का और जनता या उसके कुछ हिस्सों का बर्ताव इतना जंगली होता जा रहा है कि एक स्थायी आयोग बनाने की आवश्यकता है। जिस तरह से भावा के लिए भ्रष्टाचारी सरकारी नौकरों के लिए ऊँचे दर्जे के स्थायी आयोग हैं उसी तरह से स्थायी आयोग बनना चाहिए सरकारी गोली और जनता के दंगों के लिए। जब कहीं जहाँ कहीं कोई दंगे हों भ्रष्टाचारी गोली चले वह स्थायी आयोग तुरन्त वहाँ पर अपनी कार्यवाही शुरू कर देगा। अगर यह चीज आप लोगों ने मान ली तो उससे आगे लाभ होगा।

यह कहने के बाद अब मैं आपको बताऊँ कि राष्ट्रपति कैनेडी अमेरिका के

मार डाले गए। वहाँ का सब से बड़ा जज और दुनियाँ का शायद सब से बड़ा जज फौरन उसके ऊपर जांच पड़ताल करने के लिए बैठा। अभी तक नहीं पता चला कि राष्ट्रपति केनेडी की हत्या के पीछे कौन कौन थे। तो यहाँ कोई ऐसी जांच पड़ताल से क्या पता लग सकता है? दरमसल बात यह है कि पिछले 17-18 वर्षों में एक बहुत बड़ी बात हुई, उन्नति हुई, परदेशी राज गया, देशी राज आया। लेकिन उसके साथ साथ कानून की जबरदस्त घिसाई होती चली जा रही है। जिस तरह से मशीन के, कारखाने के कल पुरजों की घिसाई होने पर वह नालायक हो जाते हैं, उसी तरह से कानून और प्रशासन के कलपुरजों की घिसाई होने पर वह नालायक हो जाते हैं। और वह खास तौर से इसी सम्बन्ध में आप देखें। लोग बहुत ज्यादा जोर देते हैं कि एक जांच पड़ताल उसी वक्त बिठा दी गई जिस वक्त कि यह हत्या हुई। लेकिन मैं आप को याद दिलाऊँ सन् 1938 का एक किस्सा मैसूर का। प्राचार्य कृपालानी बैठे हुए हैं उन्होंने सरदार पटेल के साथ उस जांच के खिलाफ बहुत जोर से अपनी घाबाज उठाई थी जबकि विधुस्वय में गोली चलने पर मैसूर की सरकार ने केवल मैसूर के अफसरों की जांच बिठाई थी। उस वक्त अंग्रेजी सरकार होते हुए, राजाओं की सरकार होने हुए एक जांच बिठाई गई जिस में मद्रास के मुख्य न्यायाधीश शामिल किये गये थे। मैं यह पहली बात कह रहा हूँ। कि जब तक कोई बाहर का न्यायाधीश और मुख्य न्यायाधीश और भ्रगर हो सके तो सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का कोई न्यायाधीश, नहीं शामिल किया जाता तब तक यह जांच अंग्रेजी जमाने की 1938 की जांच के मुकाबले में भी बिल्कुल रही है और कोई मतलब नहीं रखती है। उस जांच का सभापति महोदया, जज कौन है? उस का जज वह है जिस ने एक बार श्री मिश्र को जो वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री हैं उन को विधान सभा की सदस्यता 137(Ai)LS-8.

बच जाती थी ऐसा फैसला दिया। एक चुनाव आयोग का फैसला जो सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में आने पर रह किया गया। यह जज ऐसा फैसला दे चुका है श्री मिश्र के पक्ष में जो कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने रह किया और इस तरीके से...

**Shri G. N. Dixit:** Madam, this is a very serious matter. I want to raise a point of order. Under article 121 of the Constitution....

**श्री हुसैन अहमद कज़वाब (देवास) :**  
यथा प्राप मिनिस्टर बनने वाले है ?

**श्री गो० ना० दीक्षित:** प्राप का सलाहकार बनने वाला हूँ ताकि प्राप कानूनी गलती न करें।

Article 121 says:

'No discussion shall take place in Parliament with respect to the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court in the discharge of his duties except upon a motion for presenting an address to the President praying for the removal of the Judge as hereinafter provided.'

What Dr. Lohia is saying about the conduct of the Judge that he has done something in favour of the Chief Minister is a violation of article 121 of the Constitution. This should be expunged.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not think that Dr. Lohia made any such allegations.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** सभापति महोदया, कानून की घिसाई कितनी जबरदस्त होती चली जा रही है कि मैं श्री जयपाल सिंह से कहूंगा कि कम से कम मैं पूरे भारत में ऐसा आदमी रहा हूँ जिसने हमेशा अपनी घाबाज इसके खिलाफ उठाई है। वे जानते हैं कि खरसवान के मामले को लेकर मैं पहला हिन्दुस्तानी रहा हूँ जिसने कहा है कि यह जलियावाला बाग से भी खराब कांड था। उस

## [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

के साथ साथ मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कि इसी बस्तर के आसपास रायपुर जिले में सुखराम नागे की पुलिस की हवालात में हत्या की गई थी। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उस वक्त जो हम लोगों ने हल्ला मचाया था वह देश में इतनी गूँज पैदा नहीं कर सका जितना कि यह एक महाराज की हत्या से हुआ। उसमें हमारा सब का दोष है लेकिन वह सुखराम नागे धोबी का लड़का रायपुर का नेता बनता चला जा रहा था। पुलिस की हवालात में इसी तरीके से निर्मम हत्या की गई थी। जब महाराजाओं की चर्चा होती है बड़ौदा के महाराज साहब कहते हैं कि उन्हें अपने भत्तों की जरूरत नहीं है। जब उनके पिताजी की गद्दी से हटाया गया था तो भत्ता क्यों लेते हैं? भत्ता छोड़ दीजिये। यह बात आप याद रखना कि हो सकता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी वालों ने, हो सकता है स्वतन्त्र पार्टी वालों ने भी इन महाराजाओं को एक लालच दिखाई हो कि उनके भत्ते सुरक्षित रहेंगे मगर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मेरे हाथ में ताकत आई तो उनके भत्ते खत्म किये जायेंगे लेकिन जान उनकी सुरक्षित रहेगी। भत्ते उनके खत्म किये जायेंगे लेकिन जान के हिसाब से चाहे महाराज हो और चाहे सुखराम नागे हो मेरे लिये बराबर हो। मैं महाराज भंजदेव की सिफारिश नहीं कर रहा हूँ, श्री भंजदेव जो अपने इलाके का नेता बन चुका था, महाराजा जाये चूल्हे भाड़ में, मुझे महाराजाओं से क्या पड़ी हुई है? इस तरीके से जीवन मूल्य के बारे में सभापति महोदया, आप समझिये कि अपने देश के अद्वैत के कारण जीवन का मूल्य बहुत समान और समतावादी हो गया है लेकिन जीवन की कीमत में इतनी गैर बराबरी है कि एक मामूली खेत मजदूर या मजदूर कोई 100, 500 या हजार रुपये के लायक होता है और जब मर जाता है तो उस हिसाब से हरजाना दे दिया जाता है जबकि बड़े बड़े करोड़पति, प्रधान मंत्री और मुख्य मंत्री 50 करोड़ और 1 अरब

रुपये की जिंदगी पाते हैं। जब तक यह जीवन की कीमतों में गैर बराबरी रहेगी तब तक इस तरीके के कानून और प्रशासन की घिसाई चलती रहेगी।

इसके अलावा इस मामले में एक और भी घिसाई हुई है। मिश्र जी की कुछ पुरानी बातों को जानना जरूरी है। थोड़ी बहुत मैं भी जानता हूँ। कुछ भर्से वह हमारे पास भी आये थे। मुझे भी उन्होंने बड़ा चकमा दिया लेकिन एक साल तक खेल चला तब जाकर कहीं मैं उनकी असलियत देख पाया। वह आये हमारी पार्टी में और कहा कि खेत मजदूरों के लिये और छोटे छोटे किसानों के लिये वह एक बड़ा 'जबरदस्त आन्दोलन' चलायेंगे क्योंकि उन्हें पता चल गया कि मुझे जनता के आन्दोलनों से जरा मुहब्बत है। जनाब आये तो उन्होंने आकर के यह लालच मुझ को दी। फिर कांग्रेस ने मिश्र जी को एक बहुत ही नालायक और गैर जरूरी आदमी समझ कर अपने दर्जे से निकाल बाहर किया था। उस वक्त उनको श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का सहारा मिला। उनके सहारे वे वापिस आये कांग्रेस में और अब की बार उन्होंने क्या बढ़िया बदला, सौदे का बदला चुकाया है कि अगर वह न होते तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी कभी भी प्रधान मंत्री नहीं बन सकती थीं तो यह दोनों का एक सौदा आपस में चल रहा है जिसका कि नतीजा होता है कि जब कभी मुगल अपने सूबेदारों की मदद से बना करता है मुगल, तो वह कमजोर हो जाया करता है, कानून की रक्षा नहीं कर पाता है जब सूबेदार कहने लगते हैं कि वह कौन हो? मुगल अगर रहना है तो उसे तो अपनी ताकत के सहारे जनता की लोकसभा की ताकत के सहारे आना चाहिये न कि सूबेदारों की ताकत के सहारे। इसी तरीके से जब यहां पर जिक्र किया गया संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के सभापति जोशी जी का खाडिलकर जी ने किया तो मैं उनको बत,

दू, अभी मुझ से उनकी बातचीत हुई। एक पुलिस के बड़े अफसर से जोशी जी की बात-चीत हुई तो पुलिस के अफसर ने कहा कि अब बस्तर की क्या बात करते हो वह मामला तो खत्म हो गया। क्यों खत्म हो गया? वहां का नेता खत्म कर दिया गया, मामला रह कहां गया है? यह है प्रशासन की तबियत क्योंकि बस्तर के नेता को खत्म कर डाला गया है इसलिये यह नेता विहीन जनता अब और कोई समस्या सरकार के लिये पैदा नहीं कर सकती। यह इन लोगों के दिमाग में बात धंसी हुई है और वास्तव में आदिवासियों के मामले में पूरे भारत की 44 करोड़ दबी जनता के मामले में इस सरकार का ऐसा रुख रहा है जिसका जयपाल सिंह ने वर्णन तो ठीक किया लेकिन मैं उनसे यह बताऊंगा कि वह जगह अपनी बदलें और बदल कर इन आदिवासियों की जान की रक्षा करना सीखें। क्या हो रहा है सब जगह? आप कहते हैं कि बस्तर का राजा खराब है तो नागा वाले मामले में क्या हुआ? मीजो वाले मामले में क्या हुआ? फिजो वाले मामले में क्या हुआ, कश्मीर में क्या हुआ? उर्वशीयम के दाफले में क्या हुआ? सब जगह गोली चलाते रहते हो। देखो कितना मामला गड़बड़ हो गया है। अंग्रेज तो खराब राज्य था। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि उस राज्य से छुट्टी पाकर भारत ने बहुत बड़ी चीज हासिल की है। मैं कभी तुलना नहीं करना चाहता लेकिन अंग्रेज इतने घनाड़ी नहीं थे जितने यह लोग हैं। अंग्रेज रीबां के राजा को जो हटाना चाहते थे, नागा के राजा को जब हटाना चाहते थे वह इस तरीके से अपनी राजनीति चलाते थे कि यह राजा लोगों को फुसला कर इनको गद्दी से भलग कर देते थे। अब यह कौन थे श्री भंजदेव उस के ऊपर बहस बाद में करूंगा लेकिन यह कितने घनाड़ी हो गये हैं? उसका सबब है कि कानून बहुत घिस चुका है। जब पहले के प्रधान मंत्री साहब की मौत हुई उस के बाद से सिलसिला एक ऐसा चल पड़ा है

कि इस देश का राजा कौन बन पाता है वह पंचमेसी कार्यक्रम का जो प्रतिनिधित्व कर सकता है। सब को मिला जुला कर किसी एक नीति पर जो नहीं चल सकता है जो दर-असल चापलूसी और चुगलखोरी में खुद भी बहुत जबर्दस्त चालाक है और जो दूसरों से भी चुगलखोरी और चापलूसी करवाने में बहुत चालाक है। यह पूरा का पूरा मंत्रिमंडल इसका सर्वोच्च गुण अगर देखा जाय तो चुगलखोरी और चापलूसी का है। उसकी मातहतों में जितने लोग रह सकते हैं चाहे वह दाफला हो, नागा हो, फिजो हो, चुगलखोरी और चापलूसी के गुण वाले ही आ सकते हैं। अगर कोई भंजदेव जैसा दूसरा और तीसरे दर्जे का भी तेजस्वी निकल आता है तो उस आदमी की इनके यहां कोई जगह नहीं रह जाती है। इसीलिये वह सारा मामला खड़ा हो जाता है। मैं आप को सभापति महोदया, श्री भंजदेव की मृत्यु के पहले जो उनका आखरी बयान था उसके कुछ हिस्से पढ़कर सुनाता हूं और मैं आप से भी यह कहूंगा कि एक आदमी मर गया है, वह मारा गया है या नहीं मारा गया यह सबाल छोड़ दीजिये। उसको वह जांच नहीं तय कर पायेगी लेकिन उस आदमी का यह आखिरी बयान इस सदन के पटल पर रखा जाना चाहिये।

उन्होंने कहा कि बस्तर के बाहर के लोगों को मुफ्त में जमीन दी जाती है, आदिवासियों के लिये लकड़ी और जमीन लेना मना है, यहां तक कि बस्तर के लोगों को अपने तालाबों में मछली पकड़ने का भी अधिकार नहीं है, आदिवासियों की जमीन पर जो लकड़ी है, उसको शासन के डाकू और वकील चोर हड़प रहे हैं। इसके साथ साथ इस में यह भी कहा गया है कि ये मर-कारी अफसर सब मिल कर दण्डकारण्य योजना के छः करोड़ रुपये खाए हुये थे। ये लोग केवल धूम्रपान के लिये, सिगरेट मंगाने के लिये अपनी मोटरों को घमंतरी और राय-पुर तक भेजते थे।

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

इसमें न जाने और क्या क्या बातें हैं।  
यह उनका आखिरी बयान है।

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** I move that the source of this statement be disclosed and the statement be laid on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** The particular statement which is desired to be placed on the Table may be forwarded to the Speaker who will look into it and then permit or not permit its being laid on the Table. I would request Dr. Lohia to send the statement to the Speaker and ask for his permission.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं आप की इजाजत मांगता हूँ।

**Mr. Chairman:** It will be forwarded to the Speaker.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मेरे लिये तो आप अध्यक्ष हैं।

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** You have the rights of the Speaker in this matter.

**Mr. Chairman:** It will have to be examined and then the Speaker may or may not allow it. In any case, he can forward the statement to him.

[Dr. Lohia then laid the statement on the Table—Placed in Library, see No. LT-6068/66.]

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इस बारे में बहस करते वक़्त हिंसा पर भी कुछ बहस करना जरूरी हो गया है। मैं हिंसा नापसन्द करता हूँ। मैं अभी भी इस मत का नहीं मानता हूँ कि सरकारी हिंसा का जबाब जनता को हिंसा से दिया जाये। लेकिन मैं बिल्कुल किनारे पर जा खड़ा हुआ हूँ और इसलिये मैं आप से बड़ी नम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ—इस लिये नहीं कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों की जाने जायें, लेकिन इतिहास का एक विद्यार्थी होने के नाते मैं कह रहा हूँ—कि हत्यारे का हाथ हमारे देश में चल पड़ा है, भंजदेव पर चल गया, सुखराम नागे पर चल गया, कानपुर में चन्द्रशेखर पर चल गया।

मैं न जाने कितने ऐसे नाम गिना सकता हूँ, जिन पर सरकारी हत्यारे का हाथ चल पड़ा है। जनता का हत्यारा भी पैदा हो सकता है और पैदा होगा। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि उस का हाथ पड़ता जा रहा है गृह मंत्री की गरदन और छाती पर—प्रधान मंत्री की गरदन और छाती पर हत्यारे का हाथ पड़ता चला जा रहा है। मैं उसको रोकना चाहता हूँ। कोई न समझे कि मैं हिंसक बनने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। उसको रोकने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि हम यहां पर सारी बातों पर अच्छी तरह बहस किया करें। जनता के दंगों और सरकार की गोली के बारे में जिस स्थायी आयोग का मैंने सुझाव दिया है, उसको कायम किया जाये, वना हत्यारे का हाथ इन लोगों की गरदन और सिर पर जाकर रहेगा।

मैं आपको यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बस्तर में हुआ, वह सब जगह हो रहा है। धान-बसूली के बारे में मैं कहूंगा कि आप जानती हैं कि किस तरह से जब तक जनता ने उपद्रव नहीं किया, तब तक एक एक एकड़ के किसानों से भी धान-बसूली मांगी गई थी। उपद्रवों के बाद अब बंगाल में यह कानून बना दिया गया है कि सिन्धी खेती पांच एकड़ और बेसिन्धी खेती दस एकड़, उसके नीचे धान-बसूली नहीं की जायेगी इस तरह से अगर उपद्रव होने के बाद ही ये लोग अपना फैसला ठीक करते हैं, तो फिर आप सोच सकती हैं कि जनता पर इस की क्या प्रतिक्रिया हो सकती है।

यहां पर श्री भंजदेव का चरित्र-हनन करने की बड़ी कोशिश की गई। मुझे उन का चरित्र बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन एक बात मैं कह दूँ कि जो आज मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य सचिव हैं, वही किसी जमाने में रायपुर कमिश्नरी के कमिश्नर थे। उस वक़्त श्री भंजदेव ने विदेशी पादरियों को अपने इलाके में नहीं आने दिया। चूकि नरोन्हा



नाम के यह सज्जन ईसाई हैं, इसलिये उन को यह बड़ा बुरा लगा। उस ईसाइयत के सबब से उनके दिमाग में यह धंसा कि भंजदेव खराब हैं। मिश्र जी के दिमाग में तो पहले से ही यह था कि रास्ते में घाने वाले जो रोड़े हैं, अगर उनको हटा दिया जाये, तो अच्छा ही है। फिर नन्दा जी का दिमाग भ्राज कल ऐसा हो गया है कि एक तरफ दंड हाथ में है और दूसरी तरफ उनके दिमाग का पारा न जाने कितनी छिड़ी पर चढ़ा रहता है। जिसके हाथ में दंड है—नन्दासाहब हंसे नहीं—, उस को शान्त दिमाग रखना चाहिये। वह पाद रखें कि दिमाग का सन्तुलन खो देने पर वह अपने ऊपर तो आफत लायेंगे ही, अपने प्रधान मंत्री पर आफत लायेंगे, लेकिन उसके साथ साथ देश को बरबाद कर डालेंगे। वह भ्राज यहां कसम खायें कि कभी उनके दिमाग में गर्मी नहीं आयेगी, क्योंकि जब कोई भ्रादमी दण्ड इस्तेमाल करता है, उसका दिमाग शांत रहना चाहिये।

यहां पर यह भी खरिद हनन करने की कोशिश की गई कि भंजदेव निजाम के साथ मिल कर भारत की एकता को खंडित करना चाहते थे। क्या उम्र थी उनकी उस वक्त? उस वक्त वह तो बेचारा केवल छठारह उन्नीस बरस का था। लेकिन उस संबंध में कहना चाहता हूं कि खेरागढ़ के महाराजा यहां पर मौजूद हैं, जो कांग्रेसी हैं। उनको बुला कर इस बारे में पूछ लिया जाये। खेरागढ़ के महाराजा ठीक इस से उल्टा किस्सा बताते हैं कि जब निजाम हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ना चाहते थे, उस वक्त यह भंजदेव निजाम की करतूतों के खिलाफ भारत के साथ कार्यवाही कर रहे थे।

यह इन के झूठ का सारा किस्सा है। झूठ बोल बोल कर भ्रादमी को बदनाम करो और फिर उसको कत्ल कर डाला, जिस से दुनिया में कोई बात न हाने पाए। भ्राज हम लोगों के खिलाफ भी झूठ बोल जा रहा

है, हमको बहुत ज्यादा बदनाम किया जा रहा है। आप जानती हैं कि किस तरह से यह बहस घानी चाहिये थी। मैं अपना विरोध जतलाना चाहता हूं कि यह बहस स्वयं प्रस्ताव पर न हो कर भ्राज इस ढंग से हो रही है। मैं इस पर भी अपना विरोध जतलाना चाहता हूं कि हमारे तीन सदस्यों को गैर कानूनी ढंग से मुमत्तिल कर के इस बहस से वंचित किया गया है। सभापति महोदया, कम से कम अब तो आपको इतनी उदारता दिखानी चाहिये कि उन तीनों को वापस यहां बुलायें।

**श्री बड़े :** उनको गैलरी में घाने देना चाहिये।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** उनको गैलरी में बुलाने की बात श्री बड़े कहें। वह अपने मुंह से यह बात कहें कि कम से कम वे बैठ कर इस बहस को सुनें, लेकिन मैं मांग करता हूं कि जब उन लोगों को गैर-कानूनी ढंग से निकाला गया है, इसलिये कम से कम अब तो उस बात को ठीक किया जाये और इस बहस में यहां पर रहने दिया जाये।

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may conclude now. I have to call other Members also.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You may extend the time by another hour.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** मैं आप की खिदमत में एक दो मिनट में सारी बात खत्म कर देता हूं।

इस वक्त जो मित्रों लोग लड़ाई कर रहे हैं, उनके बारे में गृह मंत्री साहब ने इसी सदन में कुछ दिनों पहले कहा था कि मित्रों का सारा सबाल खत्म कर दिया गया है, एक भी मित्रो विद्रोही नहीं रह गया है। आप जानती हैं कि अभी कल आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा है कि मित्रो उपद्रवियों की जो रीढ़ थी, हट्टी है, वह अभी ज्यों की त्यों है। आप

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

बतायें कि कौन झूठा है—दिल्ली का गृह मंत्री झूठा है या आसाम का मुख्य मंत्री झूठा है। यहां कहा जाता है कि सारा मामला हल कर दिया गया है और आसाम में कहा जाता है कि नहीं, वह ज्यों का त्यों है।

Shri Nanda: I must rise to interrupt him here. . . .

Mr. Chairman: Let the Minister not interrupt now; he can reply later.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अगर मैं उनकी तरह चलूं, तो मैं कहूं कि अभी मौका नहीं देता, लेकिन वह बोलें—जो बोलना चाहते हैं, बोलें। मैं उनको मौका देता हूं।

Mr. Chairman: Since the hon. Member did not give way, I have asked him to reply later. There is no time. Dr. Lohia may conclude now.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : वह बात दूसरी है। नन्दा जी अपना हाथ दिखायें। मैं अंग्रेजी जमाने में भी उनके हाथ बहुत देख चुका हूं।

Mr. Chairman: Please do not bring in Mizo Hills here.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : ये सब जुड़े हुये सवाल हैं, सब आदिवासियों के सवाल हैं, सब जीवन की कीमत के सवाल हैं, ये लोग नहीं जानते हैं कि जीवन की कीमत क्या है। ये इस से कूतते हैं कि कौन बड़ा आदमी है, कौन रतबे वाला आदमी है, उसके जीवन की कीमत ज्यादा होती है और जो मामूली आदमी है, जो आदिवासी है, चूँकि वे कपड़े बगैरह नहीं पहनते हैं, इसलिये उनके जीवन की कीमत कम हो जाती है। ये लोग अद्वैत से कुछ सीखें कि जीव का मूल्य एक जैसा है। इन लोगों को तेजस्वी लोगों को बूढ़ना चाहिये। मिजो और नागा लोगों के और काश्मीर भीमें ये पांचबे, छठे दर्जे के नेताओं

को बूढ़ कर उनको अपने साथ चिपका लेने से भारत का काम नहीं चल पायेगा। ये दूसरे, तीसरे और चौथे दर्जे के आदमी भारत की सारी तपस्या को बरबाद कर रहे हैं। जब यहां पर पहले दर्जे के आदमी बैठेंगे, तब नागा और मिजो इलाके में, काश्मीर में और उर्वशियम में पहले दर्जे के आदमी मिल सकेंगे और तभी भारत माता हंस पायेगी, वरना इन लोगों के लिये यह सम्भव नहीं है।

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I move under rule 292 that the time for this debate be extended by one hour.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): I second it.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I third it.

Mr. Chairman: That means that the House will have to sit longer....

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My concrete proposal is that we may sit till 5.30 p.m., and the Home Minister may reply on Monday next.

The Minister of State in the Departments of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jaganatha Rao): No, no.

Mr. Chairman: That means that private Members' business will have to be pushed off till 5.30 p.m. and it would go on till about 8 p.m.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Once in a while, for a change, we can have a night sitting.

Mr. Chairman: That will only mean that there will be no quorum at all for the private Members' business.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Even at 5 p.m. there is no quorum in the House nowadays.

Mr. Chairman: I want to take the opinion of the House whether we should extend the time or not, al-

though personally I would not like to extend it till 8 p.m. because it makes it very difficult for the staff.

**Dr. U. Misra (Jamshedpur):** Is my name there?

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, his name is there. That does not mean that there is time and he would be called. I am discussing the time and not the speakers.

**Shri Jaganatha Rao:** The Speaker had accepted the demand and had extended the time already by one hour.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** But the House is sovereign.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am seized of the matter now. The question is whether we should extend the time by another hour. Let me make it clear that if the time is extended then within that hour, the hon. Ministers are to speak, and the hon. Mover of the motion has the right of reply and everything has to be finished within that hour, if at all the House desires to extend the time.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Home Minister can reply on Monday.

**Shri Nath Pal:** I want to make one submission. My submission is different....

**Mr. Chairman:** His submission is under rule 192 or rule 292?

**Shri Nath Pal:** My submission is a different one. If we agree to extend the time and if Shri Nanda agrees to reply on Monday, it gives Shri Nanda some time to digest, reflect and come with something new rather than repeat what he has already said in the Rajya Sabha. It will be good to him also.

**Shri Jaganatha Rao:** The Speaker had already extended the time for the debate by one hour, and a request for further extension cannot be acceded to, because the financial business would then suffer, and we are already behind schedule.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The House is sovereign in this matter. It has happened before also.

**Mr. Chairman:** On this point, I shall have to take the opinion of the House. I shall have to put it to the House and it is for the House to decide whether it would like to give an extension of time.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The Chair has always got up its sleeve one hour.

**Mr. Chairman:** That extension has already been given. The debate has already been extended by that one hour. Now, the question is whether a further one hour's extension should be given. I shall put it to the House.

Those who would like to extend the time may please say 'Aye'.

Some hon. Members: Aye.

**Mr. Chairman:** Those against may please say 'No'.

Several hon. Members: No.

**Mr. Chairman:** So, the 'Noes' have it. . . .

Some hon. Members: No, the 'Ayes' have it. . . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** All right, let the lobby be cleared.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Why should we waste time on this? We do not press for division.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall put it again.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** We know the fate of this motion. So, I would make another appeal. We know the fate of a motion when it is opposed by the ruling party. . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** No speeches can be allowed now.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair:** The objection of Government was that the financial business would suffer. Our suggestion is that we should have more time today and not on Monday.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall put the motion to the House, and I would request the Opposition also to realise that if they want a division they will only be taking away the time for the debate thereby.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** We are not pressing for any division.

**Mr. Chairman:** Those who are in favour of extension of time may please say 'Aye'.

**Some hon. Members:** Aye.

**Mr. Chairman:** Those against may say 'No'.

**Several hon. Members:** No.

**Mr. Chairman:** So, the 'Noes' have it, the 'Noes' have it; the extension of time is not granted.

**श्री उइके (मंडला):** सभानेत्री महोदया, बस्तर के गोली कांड से जिनकी मृत्यु हुई, उन सब के लिये मुझ अत्यन्त दुःख है, किन्तु एक बात का सन्तोष है। इनमें एक राजा के होने के कारण इस हाउस में, इस देश के सारे अखबारों में और इस पूरे देश में आदिवासियों पर जो फायरिंग होता है, जो गोली चली है, वह बात सब तरफ फैल गई और इस सम्बन्ध में कहा जाता है कि आदिवासियों में बहुत असन्तोष फैल गया है। परन्तु मैं एक आदिवासी हूँ और बस्तर जिले में 1943 से जबकि वहाँ पर रियासत थी, उस समय से पदल काफ़ी दिनों तक घूमा हूँ। मेरे पास बस्तर जिले के आदिवासियों के उस समय के फोटो हैं, बस्तर जिले के आदिवासियों के नग्न फोटो हैं, ये आदिवासी क्यों नग्न रहते थे? रियासत के एक समय चपरासी भी अगर देहातों में किसी गांव में चला जाता था और अगर वहाँ पर कोई आदिवासी अगर घुटने के नीचे भी कपड़ा पहने होता था तो उसको गोली लकड़ी से पीटा जाता था कि वह क्यों ऐसा कपड़ा पहने है और यही तीरवाले जो अब जरा-जरासी बातों पर तीर चला देते हैं, उस समय उन पर तीर नहीं चलाया करते थे। क्योंकि राजा के प्रति उनके अन्दर भावना थी, अंधाश्रयता थी, इन सब के कारण उनके तीर नहीं निकलते थे और इसी कारण उन्होंने अपने कपड़े छोटे पहनने शुरू कर दिये। ये चिह्न जो मेरे पास हैं महिलाओं की कपड़ा

दे कर लिये गये हैं, नीचे के भाग में उनको कपड़ा पहना कर लिये गये हैं।

यहाँ पर आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में जो बातें कही जाती हैं, मैं आपको यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आदिवासियों में कल्याण काय करना इतना सरल नहीं है, लोहे के चने चवाना है, तलवार की धार पर चलना है। बस्तर में छः प्रकार की भाषा बोली जाती है, उनमें जाकर काम करना सरल नहीं है। सरकार उनके लिये काफ़ी काम करती है, काफ़ी पैसा खर्च करती है, परन्तु जिस ढंग से वह पैसा खर्च होना चाहिये या वहाँ पर काम होना चाहिये, उस ढंग से नहीं होता है जबकि इस जिले में सब से ज्यादा पैसा खर्च होता है। मध्य प्रदेश में 43 जिलों में 66 लाख आदिवासी हैं और अभी थोड़े दिनों में 30 लाख आदिवासी घोषित होने वाले हैं। इस का मतलब है कि एक करोड़ आदिवासी मध्य प्रदेश में हैं। अब इस एक ही जिले में ज्यादा पैसा खर्च होते हुए क्यों दो बार गोली चली। लोहांडीगुडा में 1961 में गोली चली और फिर दूसरी बार गोली चली, तो एक ही जिले में क्यों दो बार गोली चली? क्यों इस जिले में विकास का काम ठीक से नहीं होता, क्यों बार बार हमले होते हैं, क्यों मार-पीट होती है, हत्यादि बातें लगातार होती हैं। इनका एकमात्र कारण एक ही है—एक व्यक्ति की महत्वकांक्षा, एक व्यक्ति की स्वार्थधंता

भोले-भाले, भक्ति-भावना और अंध-विश्वास से भरे हुए आदिवासियों का उपयोग इस व्यक्ति ने, जो राजा था, लगातार अपने स्वार्थ के लिये किया।

1961 के गोली कांड के बाद मैं गुडविल-टीम में बंहा गया और सारे बस्तर में घूमा। उसके पहले भी हजारों सभायें मैंने बस्तर में की हैं और बहुत सी सभाओं का सभापतित्व भी किया.....

**Shri Bade:** I have received a wire from Jagdalpur just now....

**Mr. Chairman:** This kind of thing cannot be allowed.

**Shri Bade:** I have received this telegram from Jagdalpur....

**Mr. Chairman:** This kind of thing cannot be allowed. Shri Bade may resume his seat.

**Shri Bade:** All right. I shall pass it on to the Home Minister.

**श्री उइके :** उस से क्या मतलब है, भाई ।

**Shri Bade:** On a point of order. The hon. Member's son is the Deputy Home Minister in Madhya Pradesh, and so, he might be knowing certain things. But he should not be giving them out here *ex-parte*. His son is the Deputy Home Minister there....

**Mr. Chairman:** That does not matter. All that we have to judge here is this.....

**Shri Bade:** His son is the Deputy Home Minister in Madhya Pradesh.

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the point of order?

**Shri Bade:** The point of order is that he is giving out things *ex-parte*, which nobody knows. He says that because.....

**Mr. Chairman:** As far as I could make out, he is not giving out any secrets. He is only speaking about some delegation on which he went. So, there is nothing secret which he has divulged. What is the point of order in that case?

**Shri Bade:** He says something against the ex-Maharajah.

**Mr. Chairman:** That does not matter. Let him state the facts as he knows.

**श्री उइके :** मैं यह कह रहा था कि गुडविल मिशन में मैं गया था और पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी को मैंने तीन महीने पहले ही यह बता दिया था कि बस्तर की समस्या समाचारपत्रों से मुझे बहुत अच्छी

मालूम नहीं देती है और वहां पर एक न एक दिन गोली चलेगी । 30 मार्च 1961 को वहां गोली चली । बारह आदमी मारे गए । मैं कांग्रेस दल के सेक्रेटरी डा० राम सुभग सिंह के साथ प्रधान मंत्री से एक्जीक्यूटिव कमेटी में मिला था और उन से मैंने कहा था कि वहां आप गुडविल टीम भेजें और अगर आपने ऐसा नहीं किया तो बरसात होने पर वहां फिर गड़बड़ होगी । वहां पर मैं धुमा हूं और मैंने वहां के लोगों से पूछा था कि उनकी राजा के प्रति क्या भावना है । लोगों ने मुझे कहा कि राजा तो अब खत्म हो चुके हैं, हमारा उन के साथ क्या सम्बन्ध है । जगदलपुर के इर्दगिर्द पचास हजार के करीब आदिवासी हैं । जो यह कहा जाता है कि वे दंतेश्वरी देवी को मानते हैं, उसकी पूजा करते हैं, उसको देवता मानते हैं यह गलत बात है । दंतेश्वरी देवी उनकी देवता नहीं है । श्री प्रवीरचंद्र भंजदेव उसकी पूजा किया करते थे । वह उसके पुजारी थे और उनका रथ सजाकर निकालते थे । ये भी राजा के पीछे चलते थे । अब कोई तो कहता है कि बारह आदमी मारे हैं, कोई कहता है पांच सौ मारे और कोई कहता है कि एक हजार मारे हैं । लेकिन मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूं कि बस्तर के अन्दर जो कुछ हुआ है उसकी परस्पर विरोधी खबरें आदिवासियों के लिये खतरे की घंटी है । मानवता के नाते मैं आप से कहूंगा कि जिस किसी ने गलती की हो, जिस किसी का कमूर रहा हो, चाहे वह मैजिस्ट्रेट हो या पुलिस का कोई छोटा अथवा बड़ा अधिकारी हो और चाहे मंत्री हो, या कोई भी दूसरा अफसर हो उसको फांसी की सजा होनी चाहिये । यह सिद्ध हो जाना चाहिये कि उसने गलती की है और अगर यह सिद्ध हो जाता है तो उसको फांसी की सजा हो जानी चाहिये । आयोग की नियुक्ति हो गई है और उसके निष्कर्ष जानने के लिए हम प्रतीक्षा करैतया गांत रहें । मैंने न्याय करने की बात वहां के मुख्य मंत्री से भी की थी । उन्होंने भी यही कहा कि कमूरबाग लोगों को सजा होनी चाहिये । फांसी होनी चाहिये ।

## [श्री उइके]

चूँकि आयोग बठ गया है, इस वास्ते मैं गोली की चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता हूँ, उस में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। वह इस पर विचार करेगा। लेकिन आदिवासियों का अगर आप हित चाहते हैं तो मैं कुछ बातें आप से कहना चाहता हूँ। आदिवासियों की मेटेलेटी को मैं समझता हूँ। मैं उत्तर और पूर्व का आदिवासी नहीं हूँ। हमारे माननीय जयपाल सिंह जी बहुत जोर से बोले हैं। आदिवासी बहुत सीधे सादे और भोले हैं, बहुत हीन हैं, बहुत दबे हैं। उनको सदियों से दबा कर रखा गया है। आदिवासियों के बारे में जब यहां चर्चा होती है उस चर्चा का फल अगर यह निकलता है कि कुछ लोग यहां से जायें और उस भोली भाली जनता को भड़कायें और फिर गोली चलाने की नौबत आए तो यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात होगी। इससे हालत खराब हो जाएगी। इससे बदनामी के सिवाय और कुछ पल्ले नहीं पड़ेगा।

कुछ बातें यहां पर मुख्य मंत्री जो मध्य प्रदेश के हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में भी कही गई हैं। असल सवाल यह है कि लोग चाहते क्या हैं? लोग चाहते यह हैं कि मुख्य मंत्री वहां पर नहीं बने रहना चाहिये, उनको हटा दिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मुख्य मंत्री के श्री भंजदेव के साथ बहुत अच्छे सम्बन्ध थे। भंजदेव जी जब बीमार पड़े थे तब मुख्य मंत्री ने उनके लिए बहुत काम किया था। उन्होंने जो कुछ आदिवासियों के लिए किया उसको भी आप देखें। जैसे ही मुख्य मंत्री ने चार्ज लिया वैसे ही उन्होंने स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू को कहा कि बस्तर जिले में जंगलों और खनिज पदार्थों का बड़ा भारी भंडार है। अगर उनका उचित विकास किया जाए तो न केवल मध्य प्रदेश को इससे लाभ होगा बल्कि सारे देश की आर्थिक समस्या भी हल हो सकती है। उन्होंने श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी से भी बात की थी। तब श्री नागराज राव कमेटी

मुकर्रर हुई। उसके बाद वहां विकास कार्य शुरू हुआ। वह पहले मुख्य मंत्री थे जिन की नज़र में बस्तर आया।

इसके बाद उन्होंने अपने प्रथम संवाददाता सम्मेलन में कहा कि जब तक आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति नहीं सुधरती है, जब तक खास तौर पर बस्तर के आदिवासियों तक हम नहीं पहुंचते हैं, तब तक हमारा यह जो समाजवाद है, यह कैसा? इसके बाद जो कुछ भी विकास कार्य उन्होंने किये वे मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ।

चार्ज लेने के बाद उन्होंने तीन चार महीने भी नहीं होने दिये कि आदिवासियों के लिए एक कर्ज समझौता बोर्ड कायम कर दिया और इससे उनको बहुत राहत मिली।

इसके बाद उन्होंने आदिवासी विकास निगम स्थापित किया। यह निगम जो जंगल की छोटी उपज होती है उसको खरीद करता है। इस निगम ने 1964-65 में बस्तर के अन्दर 64 लाख की खरीद की। पहले यह काम व्यापारी लोग किया करते थे। इसका फल यह निकला कि व्यापारियों को नुकसान हुआ। पहले आदिवासियों को छः घाने मजदूरी के मिलते थे और आज उनको डेढ़ रुपया मजदूरी मिल रही है। यह भी एक बात है जोकि मुख्य मंत्री के खिलाफ जाती है।

वहां पर बेलगान जंगल की जमीन हमारे जनसंघ के भाइयों ने जुतवा दिया। खारगोन से इसी की बबूलत हमारे बड़े साहब एम० पी० बन कर आए हैं और आठ सीटें इनकी पार्टी वालों ने जीती हैं। सेवा करके नहीं खाली पोलिटिकल बेसिस पर इन्होंने ये सीटें जीती हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा उन्होंने मानवता से गिर कर किया है। इस तरह की बातें मानवता से बहुत दूर हैं। आदिवासियों से वोट लेने के लिए इन्होंने भोले आदिवासियों को गलत रास्ते पर चलाया। मैं आपको

बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब वहाँ पर देशी रियासत थी उस वक्त आदिवासियों को बेंतों से.....

श्री बड़े : सभानेत्री महोदया, क्या वह जो चाहें कह सकते हैं ? क्या उनको इसकी छूट है ?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. He must address the Chair, and not the Jana Sangh.

One more minute.

श्री उइके : कुछ अधिक समय तो आप मुझ दें । मैं पाँच मिनट में खतम कर दूँगा ।

मैं बस्तर के आदिवासियों की वास्तविक स्थिति आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ ।

श्री राबेलाल व्यास : लोहिया साहब को जितना समय दिया है, उतना इनको भी आप दें ।

He is the leader of the Adivasis. You gave so much time to Dr. Lohia.

Mr. Chairman: I told Dr. Lohia several times you may remember that because he was continuously going on, the people who were left would have to shorten their speeches, and as a matter of fact, it has been very difficult for me to accommodate the last two or three speakers.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: The treatment that was given to Dr. Lohia may be extended to him also.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The time may be extended by half an hour at least.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: We plead that the same time given to Dr. Lohia may be given to him.

Mr. Chairman: It is not possible. Dr. Lohia has taken more time than anybody else. Therefore, I would request Mr. Uikey to please try to

finish his speech within the next two minutes.

श्री उइके : वहाँ चीफ मिनिस्टर ने तेंदु पत्ते का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया । वह इस वास्ते किया कि हर साल दो चार सौ आदिवासी मुकदमों में फंसाये जाते थे । मजदूरी में भी काफी लूट चलती थी ।

उन्होंने वहाँ पर वन विकास बिल बनाया है जो अभी पास नहीं हुआ है । ठीकेदार आदिवासियों की लूट करते थे उसको रोकने के लिए इसको बनाया गया है ।

23 तहसीलों के आदिवासी जिन के बारे में आज तक आदिवासी होने की घोषणा नहीं हुई है उनको ऐसा घोषित करने की सलाह उन्होंने केन्द्रीय सरकार को दी है ।

नरहोना साहब के सम्बन्ध में भी यहां बहुत कुछ कहा गया है । वह आदिवासियों से प्रेम करते थे । उनकी भाषा उन्होंने सीखी । चूँकि आदिवासी उनकी तरफ झुकने लग गये थे इस वास्ते भंजदेव जी को यह बात बुरी लगी । 1940-41 में ग्रीगसन इनक्वायरी कमेटी बनी थी जिसमें श्री नरहोना ने सहयोग दिया । उसने बहुत ही सुन्दर रिपोर्ट दी । यह रिपोर्ट वैसी ही है जैसी डेवर भाई की रिपोर्ट है । मल्टीपरपज ट्राइबल डेवलपमेंट ब्लाक्स कमेटी में भी । नरहोना साहब ने स्वर्गीय डा० एलविन ग्रीर श्री वाडवा के साथ एक प्रखिल भारतीय स्तर की कमेटी पर काम किया । इन्हीं विकास खंडों की ही वजह से आदिवासियों के कल्याण के काम अभी हो रहे हैं ।

अब मैं सरकार को कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ । मैं पहला सुझाव तो यह देना चाहता हूँ कि आदिवासी कल्याण के लिए बस्तर जिले को दो जिलों में बाँट दिया जाए, उसके दो जिले बना दिये जायें । दूसरी बात यह है कि आदिवासी बहुल जिलों में

[श्री उइके]

आदिवासी कल्याण कार्यों के लिए पूरे अधिकार दे कर एक एक कलैक्टर मुकरंर किया जाए ।

तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि आदिवासी बहुत जिलों में अच्छा काम न करने वाले कर्मचारियों को सजा के रूप में जो भेजा जाता है उसे बन्द किया जाए तथा आदिवासियों की समस्याओं को न समझने वाले तथा उनके आचार विचार को न जानने वालों को वहां न भेजा जाया करे । अभी ऐसा होता है और इसको बन्द किया जाए ।

चौथा मेरा सुझाव यह है कि संसद सदस्यों का एक सद्भावना दल वहां भेजा जाये ।

पांचवां सुझाव यह है कि पुलिस एस्टेशन की संख्या वहां बढ़ाई जाए तथा हर पुलिस स्टेशन में टेलीफोन सम्बन्ध स्थापित किया जाए ।

मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर आपको यह बताना चाहता हूं कि पीछ जो गुडविल टीम गई थी उसने ऐसे ही सुझाव दिये हैं और उन सुझावों पर आप अमल करें ।

मुख्य मंत्री का यहां बहुत विरोध हो रहा है । इसका कारण यह है कि वहां के मुख्य मंत्री के प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व के कारण 288 की विधान सभा में कांग्रेसियों की संख्या 141 से बढ़ कर 174 हो गई है यानी 33 उसमें और आ गये हैं । और मैं आपको यह भी बतला देना चाहता हूं कि भगले जो आम चुनाव होंगे उनमें कांग्रेसियों की संख्या 274 हो जाएगी । यही चीज है जो कि विरोधियों को खटक रही है । वे यह जानते हैं कि उनकी यही हालत मध्य प्रदेश में आगे चल कर होने वाली है । भंजदेव जी की मृत्यु को ले कर ये अपना स्वार्थ सिद्ध करना चाहते हैं । राजनीतिक लाभ ये उठाना चाहते हैं । कुछ लाभ तो

इनको प्राप्त हो भी गया है । एक एम० पी० तो एस० एस० पी० में शामिल हो गया है और इसके अलावा छः विधान सभा सदस्य वहां पर जनसंघ में शामिल हो गए हैं । इससे कांग्रेस को कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ है, इनको लाभ हो गया है । लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूं कि भगले चुनाव में ये मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर उखड़ जायेंगे । आदिवासी ही इनको उखाड़ देंगे । जिन भोले आदिवासियों की वजह से इन्होंने इतनी सीटें प्राप्त की हैं वही इनको हरा कर दिखा देंगे यह मैं विश्वासपूर्वक कह सकता हूं । मैंने पचास साल तक आदिवासियों के बीच काम किया है और अब भी कर रहा हूं । मेरा सारा जीवन आदिवासियों के अन्दर गुजस है । उनकी मँटेलेटी को मैं समझता हूं । मैं विश्वासपूर्वक कह सकता हूं कि ये आदिवासियों का बजाय फायदा करने के नुकसान करेंगे ।

आज तक मुझे लगता था कि प्रजातंत्र वरदान हमारे लिए सिद्ध हुआ है लेकिन आज मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि प्रजातंत्र आदिवासियों का विनाश करने वाला है । किस प्रकार के लालच दे कर इन्होंने आदिवासियों के वोट लिये हैं इसको मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं । जनसंघ वालों ने सौ दो सौ रुपये ले कर उनको कह दिया कि यह जो जमीन है यह आपको दी जाती है और इस तरह से इन्होंने सरकारी जमीन को कटवा दिया है । इस तरह की भी मेरे पास दरखास्तें पड़ी हुई हैं जो कि भर्जोनबीसों से उन्होंने रुपया दो रुपया दे कर लिखवाई है और उन पर स्टैम्प ड्यूटी भी लगी हुई है । मैं हाउस से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आदिवासियों के मामले पर यह हाउस गम्भीरता से विचार करे । जिस जोर से हमारे भाई जयपाल सिंह जी ने कहा है वैसे जोर से कहने से काम नहीं चल सकता है । मध्य प्रदेश के 66 लाख आदिवासियों को आप



जिन्दा रहने दें। उनका आप उत्थान करें। आदिवासियों के अन्दर इस तरह के पोलिटिकल मामले अगर आपने उठाये तो उनके अन्दर आतंक की भावना फैलेगी और उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि कई जगहों पर गोलियां चलेगी।

16.00 hrs.

**Mr. Chairman:** I must say a few words. Mr. Uikey is a fairly elderly gentleman of this House and when he speaks he does not listen to anybody, neither the Chair nor anybody else. Now, he has taken full fifteen minutes, just five minutes less than what Dr. Lohia took. Most people have been taking fifteen minutes. He should have realised that we are so much short of time. He has taken his full fifteen minutes even though I was ringing the bell. Now, Shri Kamath may take ten minutes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Fifteen minutes; the Speaker promised me fifteen minutes. Otherwise I will not like to speak.

**Mr. Chairman:** If you follow Mr. Uikey you can take fifteen minutes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Chair-  
man Madam, this is an occasion which comes seldom in the life of a government, an occasion for earnest heart-searching and humble self-introspection for Shri Gulzarilal Nanda and his colleagues here as well as for Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra and his colleagues in Madhya Pradesh. What the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh described as a rebellion, Madam, but what in reality was the eruption of mounting, pent up, long-standing socio-economic discontent and political dissent and opposition has been ruthlessly crushed by the efficient weaponry of a modern government. The gruesome, grim events of the 25th and 26th of last month have irretrievably sullied the Constitution, have besmirched the Gandhian heritage of which Shri Nanda and Shri Mishra proudly boast,

have indelibly stained the democratic escutcheon of the government. Shri Mishra has said in Bhopal that peace has returned to Jagadalpur and Bastar but in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, it is only peace of the grave.

What manner of man was Shri Pravin Chandra Bhanj Deo? He has been described as a wayward and eccentric man. But that certainly cannot be a reason for shooting him down in his own home. He has been described in various ways, and even Mr. Ravi Shankar Shukla when he was the Chief Minister in the late 40s and early 50s tried to get him certified as a lunatic. But even a lunatic has got the right to live, not to be shot down in his own home. The gravemen of his offence in the eyes of the Congress Party and the Government was that he has been in persistent political opposition to the Congress government. May I read out what he himself recently wrote? He had some good points about him; I knew him some fifteen years ago. I met him once or twice, and he could talk on the Gita, the Ramayana, and Freud and Havell Ellis.

**Shri Khadilkar:** He has influenced you.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Unlike Shri Khadilkar, he was a tolerant man and was not narrow-minded, as my hon. friend Shri Khadilkar is. This is what he said in his book "I the Adivasi God", pompously titled but excusable:

"Let there be no misgivings: I stand for scientifically designed and oriented plan; it must start from the down-trodden and less fortunate sections of society. To-day the Congress government's planning is modernisation or industrialisation plus contractors' welfare."

He says that "this conspiracy must end" and so on and so forth. I wish I had more time so that I could read some more from it.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

That was the position even in Shri Shukla's time; in Dr. Katju's time and in Shri Mishra's time. I remember when Shri Shukla went to Jagdalpur, when he was Chief Minister of old Madhya Pradesh—with Nagpur as capital—Shri Bhanjdeo did not go to the airstrip to receive him. That was one of the charges against him. But Shri Bhanjdeo said, "Why should I go? I am not the Collector here. The Minister is welcome to my residence. I will receive him when he comes to my place there." That was the position which he consistently took in respect of all the Chief Ministers every time. The Congress party was reduced to a cipher in Bastar district, and so he was an eye-sore to the Congress party, the Congress minions, panjandrams, in Madhya Pradesh.

It was not that the Congress party was not warned in time; the Congress party, the Home Minister here, were came to Delhi about a month and a half or two months before this tragedy, and I am told he met some members of the press also here, but unfortunately no paper published whatever he told them or conveyed to them, that he felt that his life was in danger; he wrote to the Home Minister and I believe to the Prime Minister also, conveying to them his sense of insecurity and the sense of insecurity of the Adivasis in Bastar district, and the discontent that they were feeling in Bastar district. He wrote a letter on the 1st February to my party's Chairman, Shri Narayan Ganesh Goray. If I had the time, I would like to read some portions of it, but I will read only one sentence

**An. hon. Member:** It may be laid on the Table.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I would lay it on the Table if I am permitted. He says: "Bastar has been victimised for years on end by the Government of the bureaucrats". That is the gist of the letter he wrote to him. He request-

ed the Chairman of my party, Shri Goray, to request Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan to go to Bastar and enquire into the complaints and grievances there. There is much force in the suggestion made today that a delegation of Members of Parliament should proceed for an on-the-spot study of the situation in Bastar district and go into the complaints and grievances of the Adivasis there.

Just before the tragedy, my party in Madhya Pradesh tabled an Adjournment Motion on the 22nd March, three days before this happened. My party colleagues who had gone to Bastar and seen what was happening what was brewing there, tabled an Adjournment Motion, but that Adjournment Motion was held over and was taken up 15 days later, something unprecedented in the history of parliamentary democracy. I do not know when it was taken up exactly, but it was not taken up in time, and three days later the tragedy happened. If action had been taken, the Government would have been forewarned and the people would have been forewarned, but nothing happened, and the tragedy took place on the 25th and 26th.

Coming now to the welfare projects of the Government, for the Adivasis, my hon. friend and former colleague in the party, the Praja-Socialist party, laid on the Table a very plebeian, dry-as-dust, dull document, showing what has been done in Bastar. It was done before he became Minister. I do not know whether it was before he became Deputy-Chairman of the Planning Commission. I am sure that it does not come to his expectations, in the light of the excoriating criticisms that he used to level from these Benches when he was in my party, from the Opposition Benches. But there is nothing in the statement of which he need be proud. There is only a catalogue of wells dug without water, and as my hon. friend said, schools without teachers, dispensaries without doc-

tors. The whole approach to this problem is wrong.

Now, why should they be called tribals—Indian citizens, who are proud to be Indian citizens, patriotic Indian citizens—why should they be called tribals in a pejorative and derogatory sense? Is it not high time that we regarded them as full-fledged Indian citizens, and worked for their welfare just as we work for the welfare of other Indian citizens? It is malodorous. Don't you agree, Mr. Chairman, that it is malodorous in this context? The government must first reorientate their psychological approach towards the advasis problem.

Just before this tragedy, even in those villages of Bastar district where land revenue was suspended because of drought conditions, a compulsory levy was imposed and collected. That was one of the reasons why the advasis felt discontented and were straining at the leash. The poor, simple advasi cannot be bludgeoned, cannot be won over with the lathi or bullet. He can be won over only by friendly, loving service and that is what the government has failed to do and has been remiss about. Three days before the tragedy, a few advasis were coming for their Navratri puja with firewood and fuel. Shri Bhanjeeo was their high-priest, their pujari. When they were coming, I am informed that some petty panjandrums, some petty minions of the law, stopped them and seized what they had in their hands. Perhaps they wanted to challan them for illegal cutting of wood. That is the way the whole problem is being tackled.

Now comes, on top of all this, this inquiry commission, as if that is an expiation and atonement for all the sins and crimes committed. Something happens in the evening of the 25th March. The Chief Minister makes a statement in the Assembly on the 26th at 12 noon. But there is no word about this tragedy—I would not call it a massacre—about this killing of Shri Bhanjeeo in his own home.

At that time, he refers to this disturbance as a rebellion like the Mizo or Nagas rebellion. There is no word about the firing by the police. Then, late in the evening, at 5 o'clock, nearly 24 hours after that, Shri Mishra comes out with a statement that the police going into his palace in the morning found him dead. Look at the lies that have been uttered. That is what he said—"found him dead". But later on, when confronted with the realities and truth—*Satyameva Jayate*—

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** That is a subject-matter for enquiry.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I know, but this has been admitted. When the Chief Minister announced that he was dead, at the same time, he announced that he had appointed a High Court Judge to conduct an enquiry. We have nothing against the Judge. We do not wish to cast any slur or reflection on him. But facts are facts and realities have to be faced. When Shri Mishra was a Minister in the old Madhya Pradesh State, he was a Secretary—Law Secretary. Then he was promoted to be a Judge of the High Court of that State. There is a precedent in this House. When an inquiry commission was appointed by the U.P. Government, of which Shri-mati Sucheta Kripalani is the head, to inquire into the firing incidents in Banaras Hindu University, Mr. Chagla told this House that the Judge appointed by the UP Government did not inspire public confidence and wrote her a letter also. That letter was read out in the House. But perhaps because—I do not know why—Mr. Mishra played a valiant role in the election of the present Prime Minister, he is in a special category. We do not want to change the personnel of the inquiry commission. Let Shri Pandey be there. But along with him—there should be a broader-based Inquiry Commission—there should be a High Court Judge from another State plus a Supreme Court Judge.

I would have been happy, Madam, if the Mishra Ministry had resigned *suo*

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

*motu* pending this inquiry. We have got precedents here in this House when the Cabinet Sub-Committee and Shri Chagla held in the past very recently that the former Chief Minister of Orissa was not worthy of that office. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, our late Prime Minister, resigned *suo motu* because of a tragic railway accident at Ariyaloor. He could have lived up to the expectations of the people and the high standards of public life if Shri Mishra had also resigned from office. (*Interruption*).

If this cannot be done, I wish under the Constitution the Centre could take over the administration of Bastar District for the nonce, during the inquiry. If even that cannot be done, I demand that here and now, straightway, all the officers, including the Collector and Commissioner, of that division should be immediately transferred pending the inquiry (*Interruption*).

Lastly, a special officer of the Central Government should be appointed immediately to look after the affairs of Bastar District. That is the least that should be done. If this is not done, I appeal to my friends to search their own conscience. The grim tragedy has aroused the indignation of the whole of India, this gruesome episode. It has awoken their conscience, has stirred their conscience to its very depths (*Interruptions*). But if they have no conscience nothing can be done.

What has happened. Madam, in Bastar is a cold, calculated, political vendetta ruthlessly executed (*Interruptions*). I believe, I repeat with all emphasis, it is a political vendetta executed mercilessly and ruthlessly in cold blood.

Shri Mishra prates of winning 232 seats in the next elections. I am reminded, Madam, of what he said in 1951, when he left the Indian National Congress and founded the Bharatiya Lok Congress, that the same ominous 232 seats were going to be won by

him. He did not win even a single seat (*Interruption*). If action is not taken in time to save the rot that has set in in Madhya Pradesh, I am constrained to say that nemesis, grim nemesis will overtake this Government, the Government of Madhya Pradesh; and they will go down in history as the grave-diggers of democracy.

Some hon. Members: rose—

Mr. Chairman: Dr. Misra.

Dr. M. S. Aney: May I know, Madam, whether I will have any chance of catching your eye.

Mr. Chairman: We have not yet finished the parties. Shri Misra has been given the time of the Marxist Communist Party.

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: What about Shri Chatterjee?

Mr. Chairman: His name is not before me. He has not stood up.

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: I have sent it in the morning.

Mr. Chairman: After Shri Misra, Shri Kripalani will have five minutes.

Dr. U. Misra: Madam Chairman, while thanking you for giving me an opportunity, I want to say that when I heard of the Bastar incidents, I went to that area for an on-the-spot study.

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): Is he speaking for Marxist Communists?

Mr. Chairman: I would request Shri Priya Gupta to seek a clarification later. We are fighting against time. We are very hard-pressed for time. I would request the hon. Members to co-operate with the Chair. I am trying to accommodate more Members by trying to give the shortest possible time without success. All the same, I would request hon. Members not to interrupt.

Dr. U. Misra: I want to stress only one point. The myth which has been created by equating the condition in

Bastar with that in Nagaland or Mizo Hills is an atrocious attempt. Bastar is a most backward area, as described by our Adibasi leader and my hon. friend Shri Jaipal Singh. They have no other aspiration except that they should be treated as human beings. Their condition was no better when the State was there. Their condition today is no better than what it was then, in spite of our achieving independence. But, why then have they rallied round the Maharaja? Because, they expected human treatment from the Government after independence, which they did not get.

During the time of the Raja their economic condition was the same. But, then, they had a social order, a pattern of life. That pattern of life was exploited by the police and other officials. But, then, there were very few officials those days. There were four rangers who used to take four *murgis*. Today there are 300 or more officials to be fed by the adivasis who are exploiting the Adivasis.

We have been given a list of what welfare work has been done there. I and my friends have seen a dozen of such people. There are 3,000 welfare officers, properly trained, in narrow drain pipe and terylene shirts, very handsome and nice to look at but they have nothing to do with the Adibasis.

**An. hon. Member:** They are Congressmen.

**Dr. U. Misra:** I do not know whether they were Congressmen or not. I do not speak very often. I got a chance to speak on the no-confidence motion. Then I said that the Congress has created a new class. It is no slur on the honest Congressmen, because I was also there till the other day. We have now got a new class, called contractors. So, in the name of Congressmen, there are some vested interests in the village level. Such a man with a vested interest was engaged for the levy collection in Bastar. I do not think that he was ever a Congressman. Anyway, since he was engaged in levy collection, the Adibasis went for rice to

him. He was not found in his house. Therefore, they did not meet him. But they did not do any damage to that house or the members of his family. They stayed there for the whole night. Then the police arrived on the scene and dispersed them. They came back to their Praveen Chandra and complained that they did not get their rice. I want to say this because if they were militant, if they were like Mizos, they would have done something violent because 400 people were there. But they did not do any such thing.

Then, on the 18th the Adibasis were beaten when they were carrying their log of wood. So, there was some tension there. On the 22nd a petition was given to the Commissioner, signed by 26 Adibasis, a copy of which I have got with me.

What have they said there? They have said, "We want to remain peaceful." Some people think, to go with bows and arrows is "militancy." Bows and arrows are not militancy for them; carrying these weapons is rather a custom. They submitted this on the 22nd. There they have written, "We have approached your District Magistrate to remain peaceful, to keep law and order but your District Magistrate has said: राज कर हो ही जाय

This was the application they sent. If they were after something like Mizoland or Nagaland, they would not have submitted such an application on the 22nd. I am sure, if the Commissioner had taken note of this, there would not have been any incidents there. It would have been averted.

They are a people who are very simple people. I was told that when our late President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, went there, they danced before him and our President was very pleased, so he wanted to give them some money; but they refused and they said, "Why should you give us money? We have danced to give you pleasure and for our pleasure".

Such are the Adibasis. I am working there in Adivasi areas as a medical

[Dr. U. Misra]

man, not as a politician, for the last 30 years and Shri Jaipal Singh is a friend of ours. We know, they are very simple people. They are satisfied with very little, that we cannot even imagine.

So, the myth that has been created, about another Mizoland, has shown that it was intentional. The occurrence which has been there—massacre or murder or whatever you call it; some say it is 13, others say it is 1000; I am not going into it—but what has happened is to my belief calculated and political horsetrading.

I do not want to take much time. I had this much to submit.

Mr. Chairman: Now the House should be taking up non-official business at half past four o'clock, but since we have been under great pressure, I propose to ask Shri Kripalani and Shri Chatterjee to take a few minutes, just five to ten minutes, and then I will call upon the two Ministers who want to participate in the discussion, so that in any case the desire of the House is met that we do not start the non-official business before half past five o'clock. Does that meet with the wishes of the House?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Shri Hukam Chand Kachhavalya  
rose—

Mr. Chairman: This is the maximum that we can give.

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाल्य : सभापति महोदय, मैंने प्रस्ताव दिया है। इसलिए पांच मिनट मुझे भी मिलने चाहिए। मेरा इस क्षेत्र से काफी सम्बन्ध है।

Mr. Chairman: There are many others. Shri Banerjee also wants to speak.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Give me just three minutes.

श्रीमता। निनीमाता (बालोदा बाजार) :  
मुझे भी समय मिलना चाहिए।

Mr. Chairman: Shrimati Minimata also wants to speak. We are shutting out many. That is why I am asking Shri Kachhavalya not to press for it.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Madam, I am sad because I think that even the most optimistic person in India cannot but bewail the condition in which we find our country. I am not going to talk about what happened at Bastar. Previous speakers have talked about it. But I am going to talk about now this matter has been handled from the very beginning.

The Home Minister here said that a commission of inquiry has been instituted and this matter cannot be discussed. He also said that it was a matter for the State to decide upon and the Centre had nothing to do with it. Then, he took 48 hours to get information from the State and after 48 hours, very surprisingly, he said the same thing that he had said 48 hours before that the Centre had nothing to do with it and that it was the State's responsibility. And curiously enough, he passed off the buck to the Minister for Social Welfare and the learned Minister for Social Welfare placed on the Table a description of the region, its geography, its topography, what had been done in the past, etc. etc. but nothing of what had recently happened there. He placed the paper on the Table of the House and, he went away, his responsibility was discharged. This is not the way in which the House ought to be treated. Whether it is a question of the Opposition or it is a question of Congress Members themselves, the House should not be treated in this cavalier way.

Madam, for the Centre to say that it has no responsibility is the most absurd proposition. No Indian State can exist without the financial help from the Centre. No State can exist

without the support of the Centre. In the last resort, if there is confusion in a State, the Centre sanctions that the army be used and when the army is used, that means the Centre is supporting the State. When the Centre is supporting financially and militarily and also in the way of police, when the police is wanted in one particular State or the States are required to send police to other State on the bidding of the Centre, the Centre cannot escape responsibility for what happens in the way of law and order and in the way of many other things. I know that the Centre does it when it wants to interfere. When it does not like to interfere, where the person is powerful, when the head of the State is a hot favourite of the Centre, then nothing is done and the Centre says that it is the concern of the State Government. All right. Let us leave that aside. Our Government has been crying from the house-tops that every international dispute must be settled without recourse to violence, perhaps, except our internal disputes. If people consider it as sanctimonious humbug, I cannot blame them. Every international quarrel must be settled peacefully but every internal quarrel must be settled with bullets. If this is not sanctimonious humbug, I do not know what it is.

I am very much sorry for the Congress. I remember, under the British Government, even when there was one firing and only one man died, our anger rose to white heat and we denounced the Government. Now, in every State, day after day, murders are committed in the name of law and order. If this is the way that law and order is to be kept, I think, it would be more honourable for the Congress Government to say that they are unable to control this country, that they have no hold on the people and to say that they have no influence on the people. They might get the votes. But where is their influence? Whenever there was any disturbance anywhere in the past we ourselves went there.

We made enquiries; we consoled the people; we said, "do not use violence; we are here to support you; we are here to take up your cause". Did the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh go to the spot there? I do not think that he has, even uptill now, gone to the spot. What did he do? He came running to Delhi. (*Interruptions*). I did not see him. I heard that he was in Delhi. Why was he in Delhi? He was in Delhi to tell the Home Minister and other Ministers, "do not interfere in this matter; this is my affair; this is none of your affair". This is what has happened.

Then again we are told that the firing went on from 11 on one day to 9 the next day, i.e., almost 24 hours, and I cannot imagine that the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police would take the responsibility upon himself to go on firing for 22 hours.

**Mr. Chairman:** These are points which should be covered by the Inquiry Commission.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Did the firing go on for 22 hours? I want a denial of this. I have nothing to do with the judicial inquiry. Is it a fact that firing went on for 22 hours?

**Shri Hanumanthalya:** It has to be inquired into.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** It is for the Government to say that it did not go on for 22 hours. I cannot imagine that firing can go on for such a long time on the initiative of the Police Superintendent or a District Magistrate. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra:** There is a statement by the Commissioner of the Division that there were only 61 rounds. Government have contradicted that the firing went on for 22 hours.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** I did not know that the Congress had fallen on such foul days that they raise their voice against those who are raising their voice for justice, for fairplay and for equity. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra:** I have all respect for him but he is basing his arguments on a wrong data.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** I am really very sorry. . . .

**Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra:** I am also sorry for him. . . .

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** . . . that Congress should have fallen so low. I thought that there might be Congressmen who would be indignant at what had happened, who would not support what had happened and would at least say a few words that they were sorry for what had happened and that, in future, such things would not happen. This story of Bastar is not a question of law and order. It has a previous history and I do not want to go into it because my predecessors have described that. If the Congress people do not feel ashamed, I feel ashamed for them.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I cannot allow that. I cannot allow the Party to be defamed. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may please sit down.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Please listen to me. You have to give me a chance.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Hanumanthaiya may please sit down.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** You have to go according to the rules.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am going according to the rules.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Please listen to me first.

**Mr. Chairman:** Why should I listen to him first?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I am not going to sit down. You have not given an impartial hearing. (*Interruptions*).

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : बैठ जाओ ।  
पाप जब खड़ी है तब ये बोल कैसे सकते हैं ?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** I can understand arguments. But I cannot allow the whole Party to be defamed. (*Interruptions*).

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि इन्हें बाहर निकाला जाए ।

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya may please sit down.

**An hon. Member:** He is raising a point of order.

**Mr. Chairman:** Let me control the House. What is the point of order that Mr. Hanumanthaiya wants to raise? He only said that he wanted to say something. He cannot be permitted to say something. The hon. Member cannot rise and he cannot intervene when the speaker who is on his legs is not giving in. The hon. Member never said even for once—at least it did not come to my ears—that he wanted to raise a point of order. Without rising on a point of order, how can he insist that he must be heard?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** That was exactly my point. There was so much noise in the House, and I could not make myself heard.

**Mr. Chairman:** He is a very elderly Member of this House and he has been in a very responsible position. He must realise that when the Chair is asking him to sit down, if he refuses to sit down, it is a very unmannerly conduct, and I should not be put in the position of pulling him up. It is embarrassing for me also. So, I would request him that if he wants to raise a point of order, he should please clearly state that he wants to raise a point of order; then only I can allow him. Otherwise, I cannot allow him.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Please allow me. I agree. I want to raise a point of order.



श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभापति महोदय, जब आप खड़ी हैं, तब क्या माननीय सदस्य बोल सकते हैं ।

Mr. Chairman: Let him speak. Let him put forward his case.

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : यह लोग शोर मचाते हैं ।

सभापति महोदय : आप भी शोर मचाते हैं और वह भी शोर मचाते हैं । आप थोड़ा चुप रहिये ।

Shri Hanumanthaiya: The point of order is this. As you have correctly said, I do not generally interfere when the Opposition people speak. I am the most tolerant man. But when a senior Member like Acharya Kripalani violates the rule, then I have to bring it to your notice; the Speaker has already given a ruling that those matters which are the subject-matter of inquiry should not be brought in. That is one point of order. As you know, insinuations and aspersions must not be made on the floor of the House, when an hon. Member speaks and especially of the stature of Acharya Kripalani.

An hon. Member: Is he speaking on the point of order?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: When he blames the whole Congress organisation and says 'Shame' for this and that, it is cowardly on my part to keep quiet and allow such things to go on record.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: That is hardly a point of order.

Mr. Chairman: I have not understood his point of order except that he wants to come to the rescue of his party. The only point which I could make out was that the hon. Member should not touch on matters which are to be covered by the inquiry. As the hon. Member knows quite well, I had asked Acharya Kripalani not to raise those points. After that, he made his own judgement with regard to the

Congress's actions in Bastar. The hon. Member Shri Hanumanthaiya has made a point that there were certain insinuations. If there are any insinuations which are of an unparliamentary character, the hon. Member may raise it by way of a point of order. But as far as I could make out, there was nothing unparliamentary which was said.

The hon. Ministers will be speaking just now and they will be given full chance to present their case and to answer the charges. So, it is better for Shri Hanumanthaiya not to take up the cudgels just now and raise these things on a point of order. There is no point of order.

I would request Acharya Kripalani to wind up his speech now.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I shall just finish. I have very great regard for the gentleman who had just interrupted, namely Shri Hanumanthaiya. I was saying that I was sorry for the conduct of some Congressmen, and I was saying this as an oldest Congressman in this House; I was identifying myself with them; I consider them as my own. I have fought shoulder to shoulder with them in the freedom fight, and I want them to behave in a manner which is befitting the old organisation, and I think I have a right to remind them of the traditions of the Congress.

Finally, I have only one thing to say. I have nothing to say against the judge who has been appointed. In public affairs, it is not that you should do what is right, but the people should feel that you are doing the right thing. I am afraid that the people will not feel that the Madhya Pradesh Government is doing the right thing. If you want to convince the people, the best thing to do is this. Let this Judge be there, let some other Judge from outside be associated with him, preferably a Judge of the Supreme Court. Also, because this is a political matter, there should be a commission from the two Houses to go

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

into the political matter, not the matter that is referred to this Commission. That is all I have to say.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Bastar raises a very serious problem for us, and poses honestly a threat to the integrity and unity of India.

We were very happy that a few months back the country had a wonderful demonstration of loyalty to India. The country stood by the Government when it started its operations against the aggressors. But today, what are you finding? Disruptive forces are operating everywhere. We are condemning the so-called spread of the cult of violence, but what is that due to? Kindly try to appreciate. It is because there is so much of starvation, so much of frustration, so much of indifference by people in authority towards the exploited and the downtrodden, that this kind of violence is going on. You must put a stop to it, not only violence on the part of the people, but also violence on the part of the Government.

I am one of those who, along with Mr. Anthony,—you were not in the House that day—pleaded, for what? There was no question of any reflection on any Judge. There was no question of any insinuation. Having spent my whole life in law, I could not possibly cast reflection on any judge. I never said that he was the Law Secretary, therefore he was not fit to be appointed, that he was a Munsiff or a Subordinate Judge, therefore he was not fit to be appointed. There was no such allegation.

We said, when it was a question of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, you appointed Mr. S. R. Das, Chief Justice of India; when it was a question of making investigations into the conduct of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, you appointed a Supreme Court Judge, Mr. Justice Rajagopala Ayyangar; so what is the objection to following the

same thing here? My appeal to Mr. Nanda was this, that the Union Home Minister should convey to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh that, in his own interest, as charges of a serious character have been made against him, as charges of complicity have been levelled against him, he should welcome the appointment of a Supreme Court Judge or the ex-Chief Justice of India. I mentioned Mr. Gajendragadkar, regarding whose position and juridical ability, complete indifference to any political pressure and his highest integrity, we are all convinced. He would have been an ideal Judge. But Mr. Nanda pleaded pathetic inability. This is nothing but a pose. He is a good artiste, but that artistry will not work. When it is a question of other States and he wants to put people under arrest under DIR, he issues orders, and other States follow him blindly, but when it is a question of conveying to the Chief Minister of this State that it is in his own interest in order to effectuate a proper enquiry, in order to galvanize the people, in order to ensure public confidence, that we should have a Supreme Court Judge or the ex-Chief Justice of India, he pleads inability.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** He is too powerful.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Not only that. At the same time, in his speech in the other House, I read it today, he has cast very serious reflections on the late Maharaja of Bastar saying that he was exploiting the loyalty, allegiance and devotion of the poor Adivasis. That is not fair. That is very unfair. If it is sub judice, it is sub judice for all.

I only want to point out to the hon. Home Minister possibly he has not read it, the judgment of the Supreme Court of India. Mr. Pathak, who is the law Minister, argued it. It is the case of Mr. Dalmia. In that case the Supreme Court has said that the recommendation of a Commission of

Inquiry is only to help the Government to enable it to make up its mind as to what action it should take, it is not a court of law and it does not function like a court of law. It has further said that the Commission cannot be asked to make any recommendations for taking any action by way of redressal of any grievances. Therefore, its powers and functions are limited. Even within that scope, although it is not a court of law, although it is not purely sub judice, we are not discussing those things, but in the interests of India, in the interests of the poor Adivasis, at least our suggestion could have been agreed to.

As you know, we have given to the citizens of India a glorious Constitution, guaranteeing liberty, equality, social justice and economic justice. Is this the social and economic justice which you are giving? They will all ridicule this. If we do not on this solemn occasion make these things really effective, they will not believe your word when you say: we are going to uplift the downtrodden people. What were they fighting for? They were fighting for hungry, famished people. I am told that they were having a very small quantity of rice, possibly one kilo per head per month or not even that. They were shouting for more. They were promised some redress but that was not redeemed by the Commissioner and therefore this upsurge took place. In such a situation it will not do for Mr. Nanda to plead pathetic inability. India will be completely finished and disrupted if the centre becomes weak and allows the provincial chief ministers or the governments to assume these powers and behave like the old Moghal nawabs sniping their finger at the Moghal Emperor. That is the way to ruin. Therefore, I say that in the interest of India's unity, integrity and cohesion it is thoroughly imperative that the Centre should assert its authority and make the provincial governments know what they are. They should not be allowed to dominate the centre. I am pleading that the centre

should be strong; that they should assert their authority and this should be done in the interest of the Chief Minister himself, in the interest of social justice, economic justice, in order to prevent any further misunderstanding and cleavage between the oppressed and the frustrated people and those in authority.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Madam Chairman, as I have made a speech it is but courteous that I should sit here and hear the speech of the treasury benches. As I have sat for long hours, I may be excused if I go.

**The Minister of Planning and Social Welfare (Shri Asoka Mehta):** Madam Chairman, as one currently responsible for the department of social welfare, I am grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in this debate and evinced keen interest and sympathy for the adivasis and their welfare. Their interests and their goodwill will be greatly needed in the coming months and I would particularly like to invite my friends like Shri Jaipal Singh and other representatives of the adivasis in this House as well as the other House to extend to me their co-operation so that we may be able to formulate development programmes for the adivasis that can be included in the Fourth Plan that is on the anvil now.

16.54 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Various working groups have already formulated proposals but I would welcome further scrutiny of these proposals and I would be willing to be guided to a great extent by the advice that may be given by my hon. friends like Shri Jaipal Singh and others in this House and the other House. Madam, I am saying this.... (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** The same thing happened the other day and I remarked that at my age it does not make any difference.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Mr. Speaker, I apologise for not having noticed your coming and taking the Chair.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned, it is one of our under-developed States and in that State the most backward districts happen to be, and perhaps naturally, those that are inhabited largely by the Adivasis. Bastar is not the most backward district. The most backward district happens to be Jhabua; then comes Surguja, and Bastar is the fourth in the order of backwardness. All these backward districts will have to be given special attention. Unfortunately, it has taken considerable time to develop the capacity even with the limited resources that were available for the development of this area.

In the first Plan, Rs. 186 lakhs were made available for tribal welfare in Madhya Pradesh. Only Rs. 66 lakhs or just 33 per cent of it could be spent during the first Plan. In the second Plan, when Rs. 907 lakhs were made available for tribal welfare, Rs. 574.5 lakhs should be spent. So, the absorption capacity went up from 33 to 55 per cent. It is only in the third Plan that something like Rs. 1,385 lakhs have been provided; 98 per cent of that amount will now be spent. At long last, the administrative organisation has been built up and the absorption capacity created for us to undertake in an adequate manner the various development programmes. It is for this reason that I suggested that we would welcome further suggestions that our friends and colleagues may have to make.

As far as Bastar is concerned, I have already placed on the Table information about whatever work has been done so far. Whether it is adequate or not is a different matter. Perhaps it is not adequate. It is a district which is very large in area and it is not easy to develop communications, to develop various facilities, where

a district is so very large and so sparsely populated. The fact, however, remains, as has been pointed out, that Bastar receives a much better treatment compared to other districts in Madhya Pradesh. For instance, Bastar's population is only 11.68 lakhs, and in the third Plan the provision made for that district was Rs. 710 lakhs, while in the neighbouring district of Drug, where the population is 18.85 lakhs, the provision made was Rs. 783 lakhs. In Raipur, with a population of 20 lakhs, the provision was Rs. 915 lakhs. It will thus be noticed that Bastar has generally received somewhat favourable treatment. But the area is so large that it will take considerable time before all the resources are fully developed.

Bastar also forms part of the Dandakaranya project and therefore it has been receiving some special attention; as was pointed out, I believe, by one of our colleagues on this side, sometime back, a Committee was sent, led by the Industrial Adviser to the Planning Commission, Dr. Nagaraja Rao. A detailed survey of the industrial possibilities of the district has been made. As we all know, the industrial possibilities of this district are immense, but it takes a certain amount of time before all these possibilities could be fully tapped. I say it takes time because in some of these areas, development programmes are very costly. All of us are fully aware of the urgency of providing drinking water to people living in rural areas. But even this programme of provision of drinking water to people in rural areas would require an outlay for the country as a whole of something like Rs. 500 crores. Obviously, all this amount cannot be found within a single plan period, and therefore the programme has to be phased out. It is not enough to say that so many years have gone by since Independence and ask what has been achieved. We have to decide ultimately on deploying the limited resources in a particular manner. One would welcome every opportunity to provide large resources for the development

of the tribal areas, not only because they deserve these amenities and these increased facilities, but also because some of these areas happen to be potentially so rich that the development would be in the interests of the country as a whole. But if this is to be done, ultimately we will have to decide how much more resources we are willing to deploy for development, and it is here that I hope that the sympathy that has been shown, the interests that have been evinced, will have to be given concrete shape, when the question of mobilising the resources for these hapless people is brought up for consideration before this House.

I have only one more point. In the statement, which I placed on the Table of the House, one mistake has crept in and I would like to correct it. On the basis of information that has been received later on, I would like to point out that there are 1145 schools in Bastar district of which 931 are primary schools.

I would like to say that while we are not satisfied with what has been done in Bastar, it needs to be realised that in a place where nothing whatever had been done, God only knows for how many decades and generations, a new momentum has been generated and with the interest now shown, the momentum will be carried forward. All I would like to say is that if we are genuinely interested in the well-being of the adivasis, let us realise that the problem is not confined to Bastar alone, but there are many districts in Madhya Pradesh itself where the conditions are more difficult. I hope and trust that our interest and goodwill are extended to those districts also.

**Shri Nanda:** Sir, I thought I would not have to intervene at all in this discussion, since the basis of the motion moved by the hon. Member was—

“discontent arising out of the neglect of welfare measures among the tribal people” etc.

I thought when my colleague has pointed out what was being done for Bastar, that would have sufficed for this motion. I hoped, at any rate, that minding the directions given about the scope of the discussion, hon. Members would refrain from bringing into the discussion those tragic events which are the subject-matter of enquiry and that things will not be said here which are within the field of that enquiry and which impinge on the ground to be covered by that enquiry. I feel very sorry that this temptation was not resisted....

**Shri Ranga:** We are not sorry.

**Shri Nath Pal:** By the Speaker or by the Members?

**An hon. Member:** What about the other House?

**Shri Nanda:** I had already explained that in the other House it was permitted by the Chairman....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Mr. Speaker, it is a reflection on the Chair. How can he make such a charge against you? (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us hear his reply now.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** No aspersions on the Chair should be made.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He should behave himself.

**Shri Nanda:** In spite of persistent warnings from the Chair, this was persisted in. Several points of order were raised.

**An hon. Member:** But they were over-ruled.

**Shri Ranga:** He has no business to talk in this manner. He is saying all these things in regard to the Chair. Whoever might have been the occupant of the Chair, it was with the permission of the Chair that we have spoken. Let him confine himself to the more important problems raised here.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us hear his reply.

**Shri Nanda:** I shall be very brief, because I am not going to transgress those limits. Let me place before the House the kind of things said here which could have been objected to and were objected to. For example, when there is a commission of enquiry looking into all the circumstances which will give its findings, here I find the findings are already given and everything has been prejudged. It was said, it was a mass murder and not 12 or 13 but 500 persons were killed; it was deliberate and calculated. Some hon. Members had gone on in that fashion. But the hon. member, Acharya Kripalani, has much more latitude. Not only he said that it was deliberate and calculated, he also said that it was not the officers alone who did it, it must have been instigated from somewhere else. All this certainly is prejudicing the inquiry and it should not have been said (*Interruption*). When you give currency to such huge figures that itself creates a sensation. We were asked, how do you know, did you count whether it was 12 or 13. I ask, can there be a shade of foundation for this figure which is being bandied about everywhere, that 500 persons were killed?

**श्री बागड़ी :** वहां पर पांच सौ छादमी कत्ल हुए हैं ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** कमीशन इस बात की एन्क्वायरी करेगा ।

**Shri Nanda:** That creates a basis, a foundation for a new kind of agitation. I feel sorry for the use that has been made of this occasion to say that what happened there is going to be avenged with compound interest and other things not less serious than this.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagao):** You should be thankful for the timely warning (*Interruption*).

**Shri Bade:** 3000 persons were inside and 500 persons were taken out.

**Shri Nanda:** It was said that firing lasted for 24 hours. All these conjectures, I thought, should have been avoided.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Acharya Kripalani never said that.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. It is a subject of inquiry. It has to be found out by the Commission. How can the Minister say one way or the other?

**An hon. Member:** All this has been referred to in the House.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** Sir, quite a number of misunderstandings could be removed in this respect if the Home Minister was in a position to give the definite number of persons killed.

**Shri Nanda:** I am not in a position to do that. I can only say this, that if such a large number of persons have been killed, these are not unknown entities, they are people who have families and it can easily be verified. Therefore, we have to wait for the inquiry to know as to what exactly happened (*Interruptions*).

The hon. Member, Shri Kripalani said that if people lose their lives as a result of firing anywhere in the country, it is certainly a thing about which we are distressed. I agree. But, at the same time, to promote the cult of violence in the country is also bad. If people go about encouraging, instigating, making use of every opportunity to create violence, that is a bad thing. If it is a matter of food, they will do everything, not to see that more food is obtained, but to see that even the food that is available is cut off from the people by stopping trains and other means of communications.

**श्री बागड़ी :** क्या महल में महाराजा ने गाड़ी रोकी थी ?

**Shri Nanda:** I want to make one appeal on this occasion. It was said

that this should not be made a party matter, it should be dealt with as a national issue.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Inefficient and corrupt Government.

**Shri Sheo Narain:** On a point of order, Sir. What is this? A senior Member is saying like this (*Interruptions*).

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्राप स्पीकर हैं, लेकिन क्या यह लाउड-स्पीकर हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : प्राप मिनिस्टर साहब को बुनें ।

**Shri Nanda:** Apart from all that I am not dealing with the debating points. The most important thing is, for the sake of this nation, for the sake of democracy, and the social economic progress that we cherish. So, all parties have to unite to ensure, to see that such occasions do not arise at all in the future. We, on our side, give our pledge. With the co-operation of everybody, we want to see that no occasion or cause remains for such trouble. But if violence erupts and as a result of it the property of the nation or of the individuals or the lives of the individuals are in danger, then it is the duty of the Government to protect the lives of the people and save the property.

In this connection, a question was asked as to what steps would be taken after the outcome of the Commission of Inquiry is known. I can assure that the severest penalties will be imposed on those who are found to be guilty in one way or the other. Irrespective of the rank of the persons, all that can be done in order to ensure that such persons are deterred from any excesses will be done.

I had explained in this House that under the law, as it stands, once a Commission of Inquiry is set up by the State Government, the Central Government cannot do anything more.

We in Parliament have to act under the law. I cannot give any assurance here that the State Government will do something else.

The question of the Judge arose again and again . . . (*Interruptions*). There was nothing against the Judge or that State. The Vidhan Sabha has expressed complete satisfaction with the appointment of that Judge. . . . (*Interruptions*).

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : जज की, मिश्र जी की ओर प्रापकी तिकोनी सज्जिष है ।

**Shri Nanda:** I am prepared to produce the record of the proceedings of the Vidhan Sabha to prove that. There was not a single person. . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Have a three-man Commission, including this Judge.

**Shri Nanda:** All kinds of suggestions can be made. They will all be conveyed to the State Government. It is for the State Government to take a decision. We cannot interfere in that and there is no reason for that. . . . (*Interruptions*).

I was questioned as to why I said something about the person.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is he referring to what he said in Rajya Sabha?

**Shri Nanda:** No, Sir. They were saying that I brought in the name of Shri Bhanja Deo and that I had said something which was wrong. Not only that, they have told me in this House that Shri Bhanja Deo was doing something good to the Adivasis, he was taking up their grievance, he was agitating on their behalf, there was growing discontent and unrest and it was because of that that something was done to him.

Now, What I want to explain very briefly is this. I never mentioned anything and I do not want to mention anything here about those inci-

[Shri Nanda]

dents. But I want to make one point clear. As my colleague, Shri Asoka Mehta, has stated, the neglect of welfare in that area had nothing to do with the present situation. It is true that area suffers from extreme backwardness. They are deprived of the minimum basic amenities and their welfare is at a very low level. So much has to be done there. But has that neglect, if you call it neglect, anything to do with the situation over there? My answer is that it has not. The facts that have been adduced bring out very clearly that this has no bearing on that situation. There are several districts inhabited by the Adivasis.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया: जयपाल सिंह जी से पूछ लीजिये ।

Shri Nanda: Among those districts this one, that is Bastar, has been treated much better in every respect. The expenditure on development is much more than in other districts, because apart from the Rs. 7 crores there were another Rs. 2 crores spent during this period under the Centrally sponsored schemes. The per capita expenditure in this area is higher than in any other district.

But I am not justifying the existing state of things. We should do much more, but the point is different. The point is whether the discontent there was related to our failure to do what was possible for that area.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Why do you not visit Bastar?

Shri Nanda: Therefore that neglect of welfare was not the factor.

Then, another thing was said about the levy, that it was because a severe levy was imposed when in that area there was drought. I do not like to take much time, but I can state briefly that in that area the production was more than in other areas.

Shri Bade: Question.

Shri Nanda: The levy was a very low levy. It was only on larger producers, a very small percentage of the Adivasis were affected. Whatever was procured as a result of the levy was only for the Bastar area. No grain was being taken away from that area. It was only from some surplus pockets that something was taken and given to others.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Levy was collected even where land revenue was suspended.

Shri Nanda: Much more was brought into the district. Therefore, levy had nothing to do with it; welfare had nothing to do with it.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : चालीस पचास हजार लोग दण्डकारण्य में बसाये गए हैं ।

Shri Nanda: So far as the levy is concerned, what was being done was that they were being instigated to surround the officials who were collecting the levy and snatch away the levy from them. There were all kinds of provocations and, I believe, still there was a great deal of restraint used there.

What was it then which brought it about? I am not speaking in connection with those recent incidents, but the situation previous to that—a series of agitations, several times disorders and several times action taken.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Agitations are democratic actions. Under the law agitations are permissible.

Shri Nanda: I do not want to say anything connected with these disturbances even remotely. I was saying this because the subject matter of the motion is "the growing discontent and unrest etc. because of neglect of welfare". I am pointing out that that was not a factor; the levy was not a factor. I want to say that apart from that, the situation there over a period of years....



**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** On a point of order, Sir. I think, the hon. Home Minister has wholly misconstrued the Resolution which you were pleased to admit. If you will see it, it says:—

“That the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh....be taken into consideration.”

The rest of it is descriptive, namely,—

“Where there has been a prolonged state of unrest and discontent arising out of the neglect of welfare measures among the tribal people who predominate there.”

All that is descriptive. The substantive part of the motion is:—

“That the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh....be taken into consideration.”

**Mr. Speaker:** Not the present incident that happened. That cannot be taken.

**Shri Nanda:** I do not know whether it is for me to say....

**Mr. Speaker:** No, not about this incident.

**Shri Nanda:** Not the incidents of that month or two months, three months or six months. I was talking of the growing unrest and was going to point out that although we deplore, we are very sorry and deeply distressed about the death of this gentleman who, as somebody said, said, “I, Pravir Chandra, Adivasi God”—we may forget the personal aspect of his life; I am only thinking of the role he played as a factor in that situation—all the time whenever there were demonstrations and agitations, they were all related to certain demands on his behalf, that the property which was taken under the court of wards should be released.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That is democratic.

**श्री बागड़ी :** इसीलिए कत्ल किया गया है ?

**Shri Nanda:** I have full information about that. Afterwards, when he was derecognised, there were about 10 or 11 occasions and every time the demand was: Release his property.

**श्री बागड़ी :** इसीलिये कत्ल किये गये थे क्या ?

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** क्या आप ऐसी ही शाउट करते चले जायेंगे। अब आप सुनिये तो सही। हो चुकी बहस।

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐसी क्या बात है। अगर वह कुछ कह रहे हैं तो मैं पूछ रहा हूँ कि क्या इसीलिये कत्ल हुए। वह खुद राजनीतिक दुश्मनी.....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आईर, आईर।

**Shri Nanda:** Since it is not palatable to them to know what the real causes were, I will not labour this point more.

The conclusion to which I am coming is, and to be shared with the House—about all these things which happened there, we are very greatly distressed and that we leave to the commission of enquiry to settle—that, in this case, let us not pre-judge the things and let us not, at any rate, introduce the speculation, the myth—the hon. Member said about some myth—about the number, the myth about the role of this gentleman in the situation.

**श्री बागड़ी :** अंग्रेजी राज्य में कितने दफे बस्तर में गोली चली थी।

**Shri Nanda:** Sir, I would not take a long time. I want now to say about the adivasis because this is an occasion to stress that point. I have some knowledge, some idea, about the situation of the adivasis. I think that if there is any test of any progress that we can make in respect of welfare or, as somebody said, socialism,

[Shri Nanda]

the criterion will be as to how much more we are able to do for them. As a matter of fact, today, the standards of living of those people are extremely low. It is something which we have inherited, extremely backward conditions, and they were isolated—no communications, no education, nothing—and in a short period we have tried to do something relatively considerable. But the impact has not been as much as we should have desired. It is meagre although it may be said that in so far as the resources available to us are concerned, we have done a good deal. I personally feel a keen sense of dissatisfaction about it and, I think, as somebody said, searching of the heart, I believe, is needed because in spite of all that we have done, those adivasis have reason to be discontented. They are not as much discontented as they should be because when they look at others, being so much better off, and as they are brought into contact with the life outside their own areas, naturally they should feel, "Why are we like this?". While efforts are being made to level up their standards, there are those factors of exploitation also. We do not want to feel shy of the facts. I believe, on this occasion, when this subject has been brought up—the commission of enquiry will deal with those incidents—it has served a very good purpose in highlighting the facts that much more needs to be done for adivasis than what has been done.

**Shri Ranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir. . . .

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Sir, before the hon Member is allowed the right to reply, I want to submit that precisely the questions which you said at the outset were permissible and could be raised were raised: as to what would be done to the staff that is there, would it be transferred, whether the enquiry will be entrusted to the C.B.I., whether the terms of that enquiry could be widened, whether the composition of the commission would be enlarged. These questions have not been answered.

**Mr. Speaker:** Well, Mr. Ranga will bring them out.

**Shri Ranga:** That was the very reason why I specially did not even make a mention of that so-called judicial enquiry that has been ordered by these people.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You were pleased to agree that these points about the enquiry commission could be raised. He has not replied to them. He has replied in such a cavalier fashion.

**Mr. Speaker:** I can only give the scope and not force the Minister to reply to those points.

**श्री बागड़ी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर यह उन के बारे में नहीं कहेंगे तो इस बहस का क्या मतलब हुआ । जो बुनियादी सवाल हैं उन के बारे में . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** घाईर, घाईर । आप बंट जाइये ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैंने आप को बोलने की इजाजत नहीं दी है ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** अगर हमारी बातों का जबाब नहीं दिया जाता है तो इस का मतलब क्या है ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैंने आप को नहीं बुलाया । रंगा साहब को बुलाया है ।

**Shri Ranga:** I cannot congratulate the Government on the performance....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It was a hopeless performance.

**Shri Ranga:**.... of the Home Minister. He has tried to take four heads on himself in order to become a Brahma, but he has failed miserably. He made an appeal to the Opposition parties; then he asked the tribal people not to

be discontented; he has asked the people as a whole not to develop agitations; and fourthly he has said, "confine yourself only to tribal welfare; oh! my heart is crying like anything". On all these four counts, he stands condemned.

My hon. friend has made an appeal to the Opposition not to give any kind of chance for violence. Was there any violence in Calcutta during the second bandh? Was there any violence in Kerala during the first bandh? Yet, who is it who is indulging in violence?

Secondly, my hon. friend wanted this question and other questions also to be treated on a national basis. On a party basis, their Chief Minister is reported to have declared himself as, and has boasted himself of, being a terror to his Opposition in his Legislative Assembly. That is the way how they deal with their Opposition. While asking for co-operation, they deal with the people in this ghastly manner. Then how can there be any kind of co-operation from the Opposition?

My hon. friend has developed a great allergy for agitation. He forgets that he had been a labour leader for a long time, but unfortunately he seems to have been a Minister for a longer time than as a labour leader, (*Interruptions*) taking account his future hopes also. If he wants to run this country as Harishchandra had had to run the *shamshan* then I can only tell him that the Opposition—all of us—are not going to co-operate with this Government. If he wants all these questions to be treated on a national basis, then this Government has got to resign first of all. It should have resigned long ago; it was also suggested by my friends.

My time is up. Now let me say that I am in agreement with the suggestions that have been made by my friends, Shri Kamath, Dr. Singhvi and Shri Kripalani that whatever they propose to do in order to unravel the facts and truths, should be done in a

more satisfactory manner, in a more acceptable manner, so that all over the country there would be a feeling that this Government is prepared to learn its lessons from events as they happen and from public opinion; they can also widen their own perspective, so that they can say that they do not merely stand on prestige either at the State level or at the Union level and they are prepared to yield to public opinion. Otherwise, they have absolutely no right whatsoever to ask for our co-operation.

Then I was told that my hon. friend's son is a Minister there. He has held out in a very eloquent manner all in favour of that Government and so many of our friends who are very enthusiastic helped him to go on speaking for a period longer than the usual time. What is it that he said? The *summum bonum* of it is this: the Opposition parties have something to gain; they have some vested interest there; therefore, they have taken it up. Let me assure the House that, whatever may be the position in regard to other political parties, my Party is not operating there; as had been the case when I was pleading for the people of Kerala and also for the people of West Bengal, my Party has no political interest there; yet, I stand up for the people of Bastar as I ought to as a public man, as a citizen of this country, as one who has been one of the fathers of the Constitution, as one of the architects of the few Chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.

Then, my hon. friend expressed his great dissatisfaction that we had gone far beyond the scope of the motion which I had moved here and we had touched upon various other subjects and so on. Why has all this happened? Does he want to play the role of an ostrich? Does he want to turn a blind eye to what is happening? Is he simply asking us and helping us to shut our eyes to what is happening in this country, taking protection behind the rules and various other things?

[Shri Ranga]

It is a fact that that Government has failed, and this Government also has failed. My hon. friend over there who was very eloquent, and who is one of our ablest parliamentarians was foolish enough to forget one simple fact that Raipur may be with the tribal people and some other district may be with the tribal people but their areas are smaller, and the percentage of tribal people in those districts is not so heavy as in Bastar. Therefore, there is all the greater need for paying special attention to Bastar.

Thank God, there was that maharajah who identified himself with the ordinary people. He did not fight for himself. He lost his maharajahship, gaddi and everything, and he sacrificed his life, which most of us are not yet ready to do. We have not done it. Anyhow, he has done it. He received eight bullets. My hon. friend opposite talks of violence. But who used violence in Bastar? It was not the Maharajah, it was not the Adivasis. . . .

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** On a point of order. . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** That is a matter for investigation.

**Shri Ranga:** I have taken your caution. He was noble enough to receive eight bullets into himself.

**Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna):** How does my hon. friend know that?

**Shri Ranga:** This is what my hon. friends themselves say. They say that he received three bullets, while others

say that he received eight bullets. My only point is that he was noble enough to receive eight bullets. He did not throw any bullet himself, and nobody has said so. He behaved like an apostle of non-violence. Therefore, the hon. Minister stands condemned.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** How has my hon. friend Shri Ranga come to know that he received eight bullets?

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, I shall put Shri Bade's substitute motion to vote.

The question is:

"That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation in the Scheduled areas of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh where there has been a prolonged state of unrest and discontent arising out of the neglect of welfare measures among the tribal people who predominate there, is of opinion that a delegation of Members of Parliament be sent to make on the spot study of the hardships of the Adivasis in Bastar District particularly in relation to the food distribution and imposition of levy and other matters causing widespread dissatisfaction among the tribals in the famine-stricken area of Bastar."

Let the Lobby be cleared.

Lok Sabha divided:

#### Division No. 10]

#### AYES

[17.36 hrs.

Bade, Shri  
Bagri, Shri  
Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
Barwa, Shri Onkar Lal  
Chatterjee, Shri H. P.  
Chatterjee, Shri N. C.  
Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib Kumar  
Daji, Shri  
Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath  
Elias, Shri Mohammad  
Gokaran Prasad, Shri

Gupta, Shri Kashi Ram  
Gupta, Shri Priya  
Kachhavaia, Shri Hukam Chand  
Kakkar, Shri Gauri Shanker  
Kamath, Shri Hari Viahnu  
Kandappen, Shri S.  
Kapur Singh, Shri  
Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
Lahri Singh, Shri  
Lohia, Dr. Ram Manohar

Mahananda, Shri  
Mitra, Dr. U.  
Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
Nath Pal, Shri  
Pandey, Shri Sarjoo  
Ranga, Shri  
Reddy, Shri Narasimha  
Singhvi, Dr. L.M.  
Tan Singh, Shri  
Verma, Shri S. L.

# NOES

Akkamma Devi, Shrimati  
Alva, Shri A. S.  
Alva, Shri Joachim  
Aney, Dr. M. S.  
Asad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
Balakrishnan, Shri  
Balmiki, Shri  
Barman, Shri P. C.  
Basappa, Shri  
Bhattacharyya, Shri C. K.  
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri  
Chandak, Shri  
Chandrabhan Singh, Shri  
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati  
Chandricki, Shri  
Chaturvedi, Shri S. N.  
Chaudhry, Shri Chandramani Lal  
Chaudhuri, Shri D. S.  
Chaudhuri, Shrimati Kamala  
Chuni Lal, Shri  
Daljit Singh, Shri  
Das, Shri B. K.  
Deshmukh, Shri B. D.  
Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri  
Dixit, Shri G. N.  
Doral, Shri Kasinatha  
Dubey, Shri R. G.  
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.  
Erang, Shri D.  
Firodia, Shri  
Gaekwad, Shri Fatehsinhrao  
Gandhi, Shri V. B.  
Guhra, Shri A. C.  
Hanada, Shri Subodh  
Hanumanthaiya, Shri  
Hazarika, Shri J. N.  
Hem Raj, Shri  
Iqbal Singh, Shri  
Jadhav, Shri M. L.  
Jagjivan Ram, Shri  
Jedha, Shri

Jha, Shri Yogendra  
Jyotishi, Shri J. P.  
Keishing, Shri Rishang  
Khan, Dr. P. N.  
Kindar Lal, Shri  
Kotaki, Shri Lilladhar  
Koujalgi, Shri H. V.  
Laskar, Shri N. R.  
Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini  
Malaviya, Shri K. D.  
Mandal, Dr. P.  
Mantri, Shri D. D.  
Maruthiah, Shri  
Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari  
Mehta, Shri J. R.  
Mehta, Shri Jashvant  
Menon, Shri P. Govinda  
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
Mishra, Shri Mahesh Dutta  
Morarka, Shri  
Murti, Shri M. S.  
Naik, Shri D. J.  
Naik, Shri Maheswar  
Nanda, Shri  
Naikar, Shri P. S.  
Paliwal, Shri  
Pandey, Shri R. S.  
Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
Patel, Shri Rajeshwar  
Patil, Shri D. S.  
Pattabhi Raman, Shri C. R.  
Prabhakar, Shri Naval  
Pratap Singh, Shri  
Puri, Shri D. D.  
Rai, Shrimati Sahodra Bai  
Raja, Shri C. R.  
Rajdeo Singh, Shri  
Ram Swarup, Shri  
Rameshkhari Prasad Singh, Shri  
Rane, Shri  
Ranjit Singh, Shri

Rao, Shri Jaganatha  
Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy  
Rao, Shri Ramapathi  
Reddy, Shri Linga  
Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
Sadhu Ram, Shri  
Sahu, Dr. S. K.  
Sahu, Shri Rameshwar  
Samanta, Shri S. C.  
Sanji Kupji, Shri  
Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati  
Shankaraiya, Shri  
Sharma, Shri A. P.  
Shashi Ranjan, Shri  
Shastri, Shri Ramanand  
Sheo Narain, Shri  
Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan  
Siddhananjappa, Shri  
Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri  
Singh, Shri D. N.  
Singha, Shri G. K.  
Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari  
Subbaraman, Shri  
Subramanyam, Shri T.  
Swamy, Shri M. P.  
Swaran Singh, Shri  
Thomas, Shri A. M.  
Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
Tiwary, Shri R. S.  
Tula Ram, Shri  
Uikey, Shri  
Upadhyaya, Shri Shiva Dutt  
Vaishya, Shri M. B.  
Valvi, Shri  
Venkatasubbalah, Shri P.  
Vijyalankar, Shri A. N.  
Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
Vyas, Shri Radhela  
Yadava, Shri B. P.

Mr. Speaker: The result of the division is:

Ayes 31; Noes 123.

The motion was negatived.

श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी : मेरी मशीन ने ठीक वर्क नहीं किया है। इसे नोट कर लिया जाय।

श्री बी० चं० शर्मा (गुरुदासपुर) : स्पीकर साहब, मेरी मशीन ने भी वर्क नहीं किया।

137(A)LS—10.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: On a point of order. Why should the Deputy Speaker always vote with the Government? Can he not abstain or vote with the Opposition?

Mr. Speaker: He can ask him.

17.36 hrs.

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): With your permission, I rise to announce that the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Health and Family