SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: How miich time have they taken?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN fSHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The Congress Party has taken 33 minutes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH-. Out of one hour,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK); The total iime allotted lo the Congress Party was iiaar about 42 minutes, and only two Members were allowed to speak.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The Minister will reply tomorrow.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: May I make a submission? Let Mr. Dhabe comnlele his speech today. I will reply on Monday.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE Tomorrow.

SHRI VASANT SAIHE; Not tomorrow. Tomorrow there is another Bill com'-ing. I will reply on Monday. {Interruptions}

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: On Monday we are going to debate another important thing—the Education Policy. For your information, for the Muslim women Bill, we are devoting (snly one day. For educational policy we have decided, toi devote two days. That is the kind of importance that we attach to tfie education polify. If you take away some time from that day, that will also not be fair. This is f Or your consideration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Let us finish this today.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: ShaH I not reply? When do you want to hear me?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We want a specific reply

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am bringing thi to your noiics implicitly for extending the .session *nf.* the House by another day so that everybody can be accommodated.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: In any case it has to be. The Lok Sabha has' been e.K-tended by another day.

SABHA] Fund (.Repeal) Bill, 19&6
Discussion not concluded

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN {SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): My request is that either we complete the Bill today or it will be continued on Monday.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Not tomorrow. It will be done on Monday.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Then I will speak on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): All right.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr." Dhabe, you speak today.

THE VICE-CHAIRJVIAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): He does not want to speak today then. AII right, we will take up the Short Duration Discussion now.

SHORT DURATION DLSCUSSION RE CARDING RECENT KILLINGS OF IJARUANS IN ARWAL IN GAYA DISTRICT OF BIHAR

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (We->t Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with a heavy heart I raise a discussion on the recent mass killings of Harijans in a place which is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. It is extremely paiiiful to raise such a discussion when we are celebrating the hundredth year of India's freedom movement. Perhaps, Sir, it is quite consistent with the tradition of the natioml movement that the Members present in the House shall unanimously from all sides seek to disown and condemn all that happened in Arwal.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it will be better and helpful for me to go into the problem if you will kindly remove the people standing around you while the proceedings of the House are going on. That will be quite helpful. (*Interrup-/ions*). But he is your colleague, please allow him.

Sir, the incident occurred on April 19 in Arawal. The incident occurred in the compound of Gandhi Library. The incident occurred during a meeting that wa? taking place where agricultural workers were present. The number of agricultural workers were around three thousand. What was their offence for which the bel-lets were showered on them? The offence, according to the editorial in the 'Times of India' ij that they have sim,ply demolished a wall that was erected on a disputed land because that land was sought to be occupied by an affluent person. Sir, this is the grave offence and crime that the landless, adivasis of Bihar, North Bihar, had committed. Therefore, police came out fnom, Thana with automatic weapons and firing was carried out and 20 people died, according to the Government statistics. But, according to me, my party delegation, the delegation of the 1 Communist Party of India, that had visited the place, not less than 50 people have died as a result of the incident. Sir, fhey say, the custodians of law and order in Bihar say. If there is any law and order there, that the demonstrators had turned violent and therefore, the police had to fire. May I ask what was the sign of demonstration, a violent demonstration, of the poor peasants? Was any car burnt? Did any man die? Was any house put on fire? The only sign of violence which the people could see on the very day nnd the day ne.\t was that the windscreen of a car which u,sed to carry one Government official was shattered. Merely for the breaking of the windscreen of a police car, twenty lives in Bihar had to be sacrificed. I do not know if the Home Minister himself is acquainted v/ith the development that is taking place in Bihar. Therefore, it is only because they demolished a wall on a disputed Land soiighrto be taken over by a zamindar that the police fired. They are being called violent because the windscreen of a car was arj^shed. They have been fired upon because they have picked up the courage—in the compound where a library is situated and de-1icn?"d to the memory of Mahatmlf Gandhi-to say that an affluent

cannot grab the Ian dwhere they had set up their own houses. This is the charge. The charge is, why the down-trodden shall raise their head? The charge is, why the downtrodden shall not bend down? The charge is, why the downtrodden shall hold a meeting? The charge is, v/hy tha down-trodden shall demolish a wall? The charge is, why the downtrodden shall pick up courage and raise their voice and speak? That is the whole point, and iliey should be dominated; they must be dominated and there is no question of Lhcir not being subservient to the Tandlords and behamidars of Bihar and if they do not do it, they shall lose their lives; if they do not do it, they will be fired upon; if they do not do it, Ihey will be the cause of violence; if they do not do it, then they are going to be killed. By whom? By the police. My dear gentlemen, the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi should understand; the torch-bearers of national movement should understand; the people who are celebrating 100 years of India's freedom movement in the Bombay Stadium should understand. It is not by holding a big meeting th?t you can pay a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi when the poor is oppressed. It is only by liberating the poor; it is or,!y by throwing off their sh;ickles that the memory of Mahatma Gandhi can be prepetuated.

SHRI V. GOPALS.AMY (Tamil Nadu):" There is only one Gandhi—Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am not speaking of anyone else, anyone other than Mahaima Gandhi. I do not know of any other Gandhi who has found a permanent place in the Indian history than Mahatma Gandhi. I do not believe theire is any other Gandhi who has found a place in the Indian history other than Mahatma Gandhi. It is for the future toi say who else will find his place.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): Devil is quoting scriptures; Marxist is quoting Gandhi ji.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am speaking of the tragedy. People should understand where the shoe pinches. I expect a little bit of higher standards of intellectual understanding in the House, including myself, as to where the shoe pinches. I do not put a slur on anvhoSy but I expect people to understand at least Mahatma Gandhi and all that he stood for. People should understand him. Sir,

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

I am speaking of the tragedy. The Library there was dedicated to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. And th'ire the people are killed: people are tortured and butchered. Let the Minister take note of it. I call it a Stale terrorism. It is not police violence. I lull it State terrorism;—liquidation of hundreds and thousands of peasants in North Bihar tantamounts to State terrorism more or less; may be on a miniature scald than what we see in Sri Lanka. Sir, I do not put any particular party in the dock. I expect my friends.. . (Internipiions) I expect people to be ashamed of it. The Indian Parlianient, the elders, as we are called, should feel ashamed that such a thing is happening in Bihar. We should feel ashamed because the Director-General of Police of Bihar has issued a statement that he is going tw take the help of private armies to put down lawlessness. What else is it, if it is not State terrorism? This is what is happening in Bihar. The real lawlessness is State terrorism.

Thirdly, Sir, there is connivance between the Bhoomi Sena and the police. Why this connivanice? This connivance is due to the fact that the landless are asserting-, their rights. Let m© quote, not my party paper not C.P.I, or the paper of my brother-party, the CPI(M). Let me quote again the 'Times of India'. It say 'The primary reason for this connivance appears to he their common opposition to the efforts of the landless to assert their riahts to organise themselve.s around the elementary demand for minimum wage'. This is what the 'Times of India" says. Sir, people are being tortured. People are being killed because they have picked UD courace to demand minimum waee. People are being tortured because they have picked UD couraee to take possession of the land which is under the ille.aal Occupation of landlords? Sir. what is the, iand situation? Let Us all he ashamed. Ninety per cent of the potential iciplus land in the country is still in the hands of the zamin-dars. Even in regard 'o the remaining ten per cent, a large part is again in the hands of zamindars because of court cases. The zamindari abolition for which the patriotic Congress stood for still remains on paper only. The commitment

nf the Karachi Congress, the commitment of Mahatma Gandhi, the commitment of Jawaharlal Nehru that land will be given to the tillers is still an uafulfilled dream, even after so many years of India's fiecdom. The crime on the part of the land-'less in Bihar Ls that they have picked up courage to demand minimum wage. They have picked up courage to demand land for the tillers. They have picked up courage to demand that land legislation should be put into practice. '

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu) in the Chair.]

It is for this crime they are called criminals. It IS for this crime they are being; butchered. It is for this crime they are being killed. T am sorry to say, the police administration in Bihar is totally in the hands of landlords, totally against the landles.s, totally in connivance with the private armies and totally against the genuine demands of the common people. This is not a partisan question. I beg of my colleagues and comrades on either side. Please understand. This is not a Communist issue. Nor it is a Congress issue. This is a national issue. It puts us to shame that every day, hundred of people are being butchered. It puts the nation to shame that fifty people were killed for holding a meeting. It puts India's prestige in the international arena to shame bccaus; lawless law is in vogue in Bihar. It is a shame for all of us that the Director-General of Police of Bihar has said that he will take the help of private armies to put an end to lawlessness. What about the real lawlessness? Is not illegal occupation of land by the landlords is lawlessness? Is not the denial of minimum wage to agripultural workers lawlessness? Is not putting down the genuine demand, the genuine movement, of the Irndless with a heavy and lawlessness? Therefore, Sir, this is a perennial problem concerning the whole country. This is not a matter of Bihar only. This is a matter concerning the whole country. What do we see when we look at the country as a whole? The number of atrocities now being committed on the weaker sections is on the rise. I will just quote the figure {Interruptions}

I am pleading for your case, gentletnent. Let me quote, these are the Government statistics. EHiring three months only in 1985, 4000 case of atrocities on weaker sections had taken place in Madhya Pra-. desh. It is the highest record. 2000 cases ofaXrod'Ks. .(Interruptions). Yes, my respected colleagues, I am only narrating th:, problem at the nUional level, I am only giving a national panorama. It is not an isolated question of Bihar alone. Dont't you think, dont't you believe that even Mrs. Gandhi spoke about the alrocities on the Harijans all over? I am not speaking of the atrocities in Bihar alone, it is a general feature all over India.

SHRIMATI , PRATIBHA SINGH (Bihar): What about West Bengal? What about the atrocities in West Bengal?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; I can tell you with pride, I can tell you that not a single case of atrocity has been reported 'n West Bengal. {Interruptions}.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal); . Can you point out ...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Comrade, I am capable of defending myself. If at all the Government led by Left Front has done anything, it has liberated the landless and down-trodden people in the rural areas of West Bengal. I can tell you that the largest am; Ount of land... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please continue.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: What hippened i(, Patni in West Ben-.Kal? What happened In all thos; areas where poor people were killed. (Interruptions), They were poor Muslims, they were not bour geois. (Interruptions).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Do you 7iV,ri:.i whether the agricultural labour and the peasants in West Beugal are better off than the ones living in Bihar? Do you agree with this or not?

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH; No, I don't I have seen West Bengal also,

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Tliank you, that is what I wanted t© know. 376 R-S-9. . V

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; Mr. Vice-Chairman. I am only astounded at the level of ignorance . . .

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: I am also astounded at rhe knowledge and ignorancg of the hon. Member about Bihar.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; It is the Planning Commission which has stated ... (Interruptions). Comrade Dipen Ghosh I am quite capable of defending myself The point is, according to fhe statistics pf the Planning Commission, largest amount of 1/ind has been distributed among landless in West Bengal. Kerala and Tripura. This is the report of the Planning Commission. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Go through the books. Those books are not written by us. (Interruptions).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; We are discussing atrocities, not the level of development. We are discussing th^ role of Bihar police and Bihar administration, we are not discussing the question of development. If it were the question of development, I would have agreed that many more things have to be done in West Ben-gil. We have to do many mor^ things in West Bengal, After all, India is one and West Bengal is part.of India. India suffers from hunger and we cannot liberate West Bengal from hunger. It is for you to tell us whether you want to throw us out, if that is, it is a different story.

My point is, it is the question of State terrorism. State administration is involved Bihar Government is involved, Bihar police is involved. There is a strange connivance between the police and the administration of Bihar. This lis borne o\it by the report given in a bourgeois paper. That is why. Sir, I am raising this question with hiavy heart. I expect patience and indulgence from all sides. Let us together put an end to it, let us together put pressure on the Bihar Government. There is a newspaper report which says that the Centre is not happy with Bihar. If this report is correct, why are my friends getting angry?

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

I am concentrating on the Congress Party, Neither do I haVg any criticism about the Prime Minister, nor do I propose to speak anything about the politics in general. Wg are discussing a specific socio-economic problem associated with thg cnwrgence of an independent force in the rural country sidei.e. the agricultiu'al workers. There is a churning among them. You cannot rule them the way you are doing. You cannot put them down. You cannot shoot them. You cannot butcher them. Therefore, this emergence of a singular and new social force ,',, the rural India is sought to be prevented by the counter-Wast of the reactionary forces. Most unfortunately, the Government and administration of Bihar seeks to be a party in putting it down. I thought that we shall all unite to condemn the ki!lim;s !.. Bihar, that we shall all unite to condemn the beha viour of the policg in Bihar, t'hat we shall all unite t\, demand a probe, that Wg shall all unite to say "let us put a stop to it". Tf Bihar goes this w.iy. if law breaks down, if Government cannot function, then T suppose that will bg a problem and shame not for the people of Bihar but for the. whole country. T expect the Minister and other Member of the House who rnay have got prematurely agitated because of the deliberations that we are goin gto have tomorrow, they might be having a rehearsal today. If they are having it. I don"t mind it, but if they quarrel like this people who are carrying on the struggle there will think that there are some people; at least in the Indian Parliament who do not like plain speaking about murder of poor people and State terrorism on the toiling masses.

थी महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाष्यक जौ, हमार मित्र ने अभी बरबल काण्ड की यहाँ पर बड़ी चर्चा की। यह सही है कि 21 अदमी इसमें मारे गये हैं। यह बहुत द:सव है। लेकिन ये बस्त स्थिति को बहुत दर लेगये। सदन को गमराह करने की कांशिय और यह कहने की काशिश की कि जैसे यह मजदारों का प्रका था, खेतों में काम करने वाले मजद्रों की मजदरी का प्रश्न था। यहां गोलियां चलाई गई, मबदरों पर गालियां चलाई गई, एसा कहने की इन्होंने कोशिश की है। अगर आप इस काण्ड के पीछ देशों ने बापको पता चलेगा कि एक रजक हरिजन थांबी था, वह वहां पर कपडे थोने का काम करता था। उसके दादा आदि पुस्तों से यह काम करते थे और उनके नाम पर यह था। इस रजक ने सन 1984 में बन्दोबस्त के लिए निवंदन किया। उसके बाद उसमें 1985 में बांच हुई । बन्तता-गत्वा सन् 1986 में जिले के एल आर डी सी. के पास सामला गया । उस हरिजन रजक के नाम से बन्दांबस्त किया गया । मैं यह कहना चाहता हु कि हमार विहार में ये नक्सलबादी लोग किसान मजदूर संग्राम समिति नामक एक एसी संस्था बनाये हुए जो गडबड कर रही हैं। इसने बहत सं बामपंथी लोग घरों हुए हैं। ये लोग बहां की शांति और अमन को भंग किये हुए हैं और लोगों को गमराह कर रहे हैं। कोई गरीबी हटाने का कार्यक्रम नहीं चाहता है ? हमने गरीबी को हटाने का कार्यक्रम बनाया है। हम उस कार्यक्रम को मस्तैदी से चलाना चाहते है...(व्यवधान) । यह किसान मजदूर संग्राम समिति पांच वर्षा से विहार के छ: जिला में -- पटना, गया, और गाबाद, भोज-पर और पाल आदि में आतंक फौलाये हुए है। इन्होंने वहां पर एसा आतंक फौला रखा है जैसा पंजाब में भी नहीं हो रहा है। इनके आतंक में वहां पर लोग डरते हैं। इन्होंने बहां पर अपनी पैरोलल बनाइ हुई है। लोग मजदरों में आतंक ह² . . . (व्यवधान) ।

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Why are you advocating for somebody. it is a . cooked up story by the police.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Cock-and-bull

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Does your Prin>p Minister approve of it? T ask you: does your Prime Minister approve of it that the Bihar situation is worse than thit cf Punjab? This is what you have said just now. Wh-.w are you sayin??

श्री महोन्द्र महिन मिश्र : श्रीमन्, में यह कह रहा था कि इन लोगों ने वहां पर आतंक फौलारखाही। वहां पर एक पांच कठठा का

स्थान है। वहां गड्ढा है, पानी है, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमीशन वहां गया और उसने इस घटना को अपने प्रतिवेदन में दिया। यह किसी दूसरे का मकान नहीं था, किसी को जमीन नहीं थी, यह रजाक के घर के बगल में था और वह उसका प्स्तैनी गड्ढा था जिसमें पानी था और उसमें वह कपड़े धोता था। लभी हमारे मित्र ने बड़े जोरों से कहा कि मजदरों के नाम पर वहां पर कल्ले आम हुआ। लेकिन यह बात नहीं है। ये चाहते थे हमारे वहां समानांतर सरकार हो । डा. पीनियान नाम का एक जादमी है, जो बाहर का रहने वाला है, मध्य प्रदेश का रहने वाला . है, वह कहता है कि इस क्षेत्र में जो फौसला होगा वह हमारा होगा। विहार सरकार का फैसला यहां नहीं चलगा। जो मैं चाहुंगा वही होगा । उसने एलान किया कि हम वहां कब्जा करेगे। यह बड़ी शर्म की बात है। मैं कहना चाहता है कि कानन हाथ में लेकर देश का संचालन नहीं हो सकता है । अगर इस तरह से लोग कान्न हाथ में लेकर चले तो इससे कोई देश नहीं चल सकता है, कोई प्रांत नहीं चल सकता

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Who is taking law into his own hands... (Interruptions)

. What is the source of your report?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You have raisied a private army.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: It is a cooked-up story of the police. .(Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is giving the Bihar police report. .(Interrup-■ lions), .

श्री महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्रः उसने ऐलान व्यि भाकि हम इस जमीन पर कब्जा करेंगे। हमारी सरकार की तरफ से वहां पर डी.एस. पी. तैनात हुए ताकि यह बात न हो सके। लेकिन श्रीमन वे लोग 6-7 के गिरोह में चले बाय । हमारी सरकार के सिपाहियों ने फाय-रिंग नहीं किया और उन लोगों को पकड़कर ने गये ताकि बलवा शांत हो । परन्तु जब बलवा शांत नहीं हाआ तो एस. पी. साहब आरि जिलेके डी. एस. ओ. वहुंचे। इन लोगों में एौलान किया था कि यहां हुक मत हमारी है और यहां हमारा राज चलेगा, हमारा भांडा होगा । उन्होंने एस. पी. साहब पर कातीलाना हमला किया लेकिन वह आई. पी. एस. आफिसर बाल वाल वच गया, नहीं तो उसको सत्म कर लेते । उन्होंने इतना ही नहीं किया । उन्होंने कहा कि सारी ह क मत हमारी है। यह बिहार सरकार मुलजिम है इसलिए इसकी ह क मत कैसे चलेगी । इन लोगों ने साव सौ, अाठ सौ लोगों की जमात को गमराह करके हार लगाये और थाने पर पत्थरबाजी की और शीशे फोड डाले और वहां पर आग लगाने की साजिश की । नतीजा इसका क्या होता, कोई भी सरकार चुप बैठी नहीं रहती । मैं पछना चाहता हुं कि वैस्ट बंगाल में अगर इस तरह होता और थाने को लटना चाहते तो आप क्या करतें ? आप गांधी के नाम पर . . .

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; Great Gandhian!

श्री महत्व मोहन मिश्र : आपके गांधी कार्ल मार्क्स है। हम गांधी जी के जो सिद्धान्त है उनका अनुकरण करते हैं, आप नहीं कर पाते। जब थाने को लूटने की बात हुई और थाने के सिपाहियों की जान जोखिम में पड़ी तो एस. डी. ओ. ने गोली चलाने का आदश दिया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हरिजन पर अट्रांसिटीज की बात ये लोग करते हैं।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is giving out a police report from Bihar.SHRI MOHANAN; Jallianwala-bagh of the Congress regime

re. recent killings

श्री महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्र . . . (व्यवधान). . यह हरिजनों पर अत्याचार की बात नहीं हैं। संग्राम समिति के लोगों में इन लोगों को गुमराह करके वहां पर उतिथयों की जमाप बनाइं है । श्रीमन, मैं कहना चाहता है कि कि आप पांच सालों का रिकार देख लीजिये। 1981 से 85 के बीच में वहां पर 199 मर्डर्स इन लोगों ने किये हैं। पलिस का गर्न ल्टा है 35, फायर बार्स पब्लिक से लटे हैं 73 अर अदर बाफेंसेज छोटी मोटी मारपीट को मामले हैं 418 । श्रीमन, यह रिकार्ड की . बात है। (ब्यवधान) यह न्यूनतम मजदारी की बात करते हैं, इस संग्राम समिति की बात करते हैं (व्यवधान)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is because of the age-old injustice meted out to them.

भी महत्व सिंह मिशा: यह कहते हैं कि न्यनतम मजदरी के लिए (अयहधान) सती करना जानते नहीं हो, निमन बेजेज पर क्या बोलेंगे। (ब्यवहान) च्य रहा (व्यवधान)

श्री दीपेन घोष : बेलछी में जो हत्याकांड हुआ। था, उस वक्त क्या हुजाधा (**व्यवधान)**

श्री महोत्व माहन मिश्र : विहार सरकार नं इस पर एक क्वासी ज्युडिशियल इन्क्वायरी की घोषणा की है...(व्यवधान)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Why qu'asi why not judicial?. If you stand by that statement, agree to the demand for a judi cial enquiry- Let the truth come out. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Let us hear his views. Please sit down. (Interruptions')

SHRI DIPEN GHO.SH: Let there be a Judical enquiry. Let the people know who is correct, he or he. Let there be a judicial enquiry. Why are you afraid of having a judicial enquiry?

भी इतिन्द्र मोहरा मिथाः हमारी प्रार्थना सनिये। (व्यवधान)

श्री श्रीपेन घोष : खनी का दयान सनने को तैयार नहीं है। (अयधान) यह खुनी का वयान हैं (व्यवधान)

This is a statement of a murderer.

श्री महोन्द्र मीहन मिथा : तज्काल हरिजन मार गये उनके लिए हजार रापये जन्दान का एलान किया। म्वाबजं का एलान किया (व्यवधान) इसलिए ज्यादा समय नहीं ल गा इतना ही कहना चाहता यह कोई एटासिटी की बात नहीं है (खंबधान)

SHRI DIPEN GOSH: Shame.

भी सहिन्द्र मोहन मिश्रा : यह मिनियम वेजेज की मजदूरी की बात नहीं है, जमीन वितरण का सवाल नहीं है। यह सवाल बाज हमों संस्थाना है कि ग्ंडानदीं से देश चलेगा या कानन से देश चलेगा । अगर आप चाहते हो कि गंडागदीं से देश चले तो मैं कहना चाहांगा भारत सरकार सं . . (व्यवधीन) . . .

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Whose law? Zamindars' .law? Private army'3 law?

श्री महोन्द्र मीहन मिश्रः इस तरह से मृत्क नहीं चलेगा । श्रीमन् , मैं उस क्षेत्र से अाला हुं हम लोग उस क्षेत्र सं आत हैं, कोई भी व्यक्ति शाम को रहीं जा सकता है (व्यवधान) यह कहा जाता है कि वहां लोगों को मारते नहीं हैं, को 6 इंच छोटा कर दोते हैं। सिर्फा गला काट दोते हैं और ६ इ.च छोटा कर दोते हैं। यह इस जमात के लोग हैं जो लोगों को दिन-दहाड़ें 6 इंच छोटा कर देतें हैं । अगर न्यनतम मजदारी की बात करते सचमच चोहते हैं कि उनकी साली हालत बच्छी हो तो बडी ईमान-दारों से निष्ठा से काम करें। बिहार भी इसके लिए तत्पर और लैंड सीलिंग कानन को बड़ी तत्परता के साथ लाग करती है। इन शब्दों के साथ कि हमारी सरकार में कहना चाहता ह को विहार सरकार को जो काम करना चाहिये था उसने किया । (व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Does he condemn the killings? I would like to ask him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU). At the beginning he has done that.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; He has not uttered s single word about that He is a supporter of the killers.

*SHRI NARAYAN KAR (Tripura): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all 1 would like to ihank you for the opportuni.y given to me to speak on l'ais Short Dui'ation discussion. I also thank other Honourable, Members of this Heusg who are well-versed in Parliamentary procedures and traditions. 1 shall always get guidance from iheni ai7,')ut those things. Their guidance will help me as a Memeber of this House. I hope, I shall always get guidance from t- the experienced Members of this House.

Sir, on the 19th April, 1986, violent attacks were made against Harijans at Arwal village of Jahanabad sub-division in Gay i district. Already two Speakers have made their observations on that cruel incident. Immediately after that incident the Bi-h tr Government made a statement. In that statement they said that the victims of that incident became violent an' gheraoed the Police Station. They also tried to kill the the Superintendent of Police. In (hat situation the Police had to resort to firings and, consequently, eleven persons died and nine persons were seriously injured. Injured persons wer^ admittfed to a hospital but they succumbed to their injuries later. So, the death toll was twenty in all.

What was the real cause of that trouble? We jTiusi go to the root causg of that trouble. What prompted the Police to resort to firings? This attack on Harijans should not be considered in isolation. Harijans were being tortured elsewhere even before this incident took place. Nine Harijan families took possession of only ^-9 katha of waste .land. Th'at land was actually a hole having a depth of 7-8 feet. The Harijans developed that land and built their cortages on it. They had been living there since 1970. In 1980 the Bihar Government announced that Harijans would h> given house sites on a priority basis. So, these nine Harijan families hoped that they would become own^ers of the lands which were already in their possession. But

they did not know that despite ot die said announcement they would be evicted from their lands and face bullets. It all happen, ed because of the fact that rich people bribed the Police Officers and Government Officials to evict these unfortunate people from their lands.

Sir, an attempt to evict these Harijan families Irom their lands was also made in December last year. Ij, that attempt Jot-edars were involved. Ong of them Was the Chief Executive Engineer in the De-ptrtment of Minor Irrigation. They bribed the. Police OiTiers and Government Offl-ciali and got a decree issued in their favour for the eviction of these people from their lands. They also got all male Harijans arnssteJ. In protest against that arrest, Harijan women staged a dharna before the Office t'f Sub-divisional Magistrate. The Magistrate rele':ised all the male Members and instructed thg Revenue Department not to transfer I'heir lands to other persons. But the instruction of the Subdivisional Magistrate was not honoured. Thereafter, iittempts to evict thei, people from their lands continued. This year, some people be. longing to Rajak Caste, bribed th,. Police Officers anj Government Officials and got the houses of those Harijans demolished. The affected people made repeated appeals to the Government for justice. But they could not get justice.

It is wrong to say that Harijans indulged in voilent activities. These people have been living m a particular place for a long time. They made repeated appeals to the Government for justice. But when their houses were demolished, not a single Police Officer, not a- single Government Official, not a single M.L.A. and not a single Minister visted them fa know their sufferings. So, these affected Harijans assembled at Gandhi Maidan on the 19th April, 1986 to protest against the demolition of their houses In that meeting they demanded for house-sites. It is our misfortune that such a legitimate demand of the Harijans was treoted as a crime.

I hope, Ruling Parly Members vriU agree with me that one of the programmes of the 20-Point Programme is that people below

[Shri Narayan Kar] the poverty line should be lifted up. Another programnie is that Harijans and landless agricultural labourers should be provid-ded with lands. But the cruel murders of Harijans on the. 19th April, 1986 showed us as 'o how the Government of Bi'har was implementing the 20-Point Programme. That gruesome murder s'nocked the entire nation. That incident in Bihar should be a lesson for 'U of us.

Sir, this murder of Harijans in Bihar was a pre-planned one. It was reported in the Press that the superintendent of Police himself stood at the gate and encircled the entire trea like walls with the help of police personnel who were brought there jn three vans. Those police personnel killed the Harijans mercilessly under his orders.

Hon. Members m'ay remember the mass murder that took place at Jalianwalabagh. That type of murder used to take place during British days. British Pohce used to Icill the freedom fighters in the manner as Bihar Police killed the Harijans who were struggling for their house-sites through peiaceful means. So, the history of Jalianwalabagh was repeated in Bihar Under Congress (1) regime. This heinous crime of Bihar Police is a disgrace to the nation. It must be condemned outright in the House.

Before this incident took place, the Chief Minister of Bihar made a statement that atrocities on Harijans in different districts of Bihar would be dealt with sternly. On the 22nd April, 1986, the Commissioner of Police there made a statement that t'hev had no orders for blank-fire although it was said here that two rounds of blank fires were made on the assembly at Gandhi M'aidan on the 19th April, 1986. He also instructed the Police to resort to firings whenever it would be necessary to murder people. So, a Member from the Ruling Party distored the Police Report here. I would like to say that the Chief Minister of Bihar and tlie Police Administration converted that Police Subdivision into a Police district overnight in a planned manner Ag'ain, the notorious Superin-tendem of Police vi'as appointed three

days before that ghastly incident took place.

The Jotedars ia the concerned place sent telegrams to the Government for th« transfer of S.D.O. as he was in favour of Harijins. Ultimately, telegraphic orders were issued for the transfer of that S.D.O-. So, the entire administration was involvedin a conspiracy to evict these Harijans from their lands. In that conspiracy were also involved 'he landlords of Bihar, who usually indulge in caste politics. These landlords haVe great influence in social economic and political affairs of that State. They have their private armies. The goondas belonging to these private armies are in possession of automatic guns. It is a fact that Bihar Police is not in a position these private" armies. These private aijmies are also receiving patron'age from political leaders of Ruling I know that there are Congress Party. M.L.As. in Bihar who are having more than 20,000 acres of land. So, one Hon. Member has rightly said that concentration of lands in few hands will not enable us to distribute lands toVandless people. Under the situation. majority people will turn into 'endless agridullural labourers. So, t^ne landless people are justified to protest aganst this

My Party does not believe in Politics of violence. But we always support democratic struggle of people against economic injustice. But the Government pay' scant attention to the democratic struggles of people against economic injustice. The glaring example of that is the incident that took place in Bihar on the 19th April, 1986. In order to remedy this situation,, surplus lands should be taken 'away from the landlords and thereafter that surplus land s'hould be allotted to landless people. But the landlords of Bihar are always conspiring against hndless people with he help of Police and Administration and* with the ftelp of their private armies. Consequenty, discontent is growing day by day among landless people. The incident of 19th April, 1986, was purely the result of conspiracy of landlords in Bihar. Similar incidents of atrocities on Harijans took place elsewhere in Bihar as a result of the conspiracy of landlords there.

sort Of economic injustice.

Sir, this type of atrocity on Harijans must be condemned outright. We demand that a Judicial Enquiry Commission under the Chairmanship of a Supreme Court Judge should t^e appointed by the Bihar Government. *I* again demiand 'hat the Police Officer, under whose instructions the atrocities on Harijans were committed, must be broirght t© book.

With these words. I conclude, i again thank you all the Members of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr Narayan Kar, 1 congratulate you on your maiden speech.

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव (विहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महादेख, जिस विषय पर मैं ने पहलेचर्चाप्रारम्भ की थी, आज उस पर हम फिर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। मेरे पास राज्य सभा की दो किताओं हैं जो कि दोनों राज्य सभा की बहस है। यह हुई है, बल्कि जब आजः नहीं सभा को यह सीभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था 22 जुलाई, 1977 को जब यहां पर बेलछो कांड पर चर्चा हुई थी। उसी तरह 11 मार्च, 1980 को पिपरा, परिसबीघा और नारायणपर राज्य सभा में चर्चा हुई थी। इन दोनों कांडों को पढ़ने से और इंखने से पता चलता है.... (व्यवधाम)

संसदीय कार्य (राज्य सभा) विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीतारांच केसरी): उसमें हरिजन थे, इसमें और लोग भी बेचार हैं। इसलिए आप इस तरह के केस को सैपरेट मत कीजिए, बहुत से लोग हैं। हम किसी केस के पक्ष या विपक्ष की बात नहीं करते हैं। आप सारी चीजों को विस्तार से कहिए। आप रौफर कर रहे हैं इसमें और लोग भी हैं।

श्री हुक्सदेव नारायण यादव :
श्रीमन्, आपने ठीक ही कहा है। बेलछी कांड में 13 हरिजन थे, पिपरा में 14 हरिजन थे और पारसवीया में 11 मारे गए, उसमें से 4 महिलाएं थी। यह आपकी रिपोर्ट है। उस समय पिपरा कांड पर दो लाख रुपया प्रधान मंत्री कोष से दिया गया था उनकी सहायता के लिए। मैं इसलिए इस बात को उठाता हुं कि उस समय बिहार में जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी लो कांग्रस (आइ) की सरकार आज भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री जी की अगर आत्मा होती तो वह स्वयं रोती कामों को देख करकी स्व. प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरागांधी वहां बिहार में जब हरिजनों पर जल्म हुआ। था तो वह स्वयं दडिकर गई थीं। जाने का रास्ता नहीं था। पर चढाकर आप लेगए 1 13 श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी वहां गइ आज उसी पाटीं की सरकार और आज इस सरकार के गह राज्य मंत्री गह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री का जाना तो दर रहा किसी छोटे मंत्री तक म यह प्रेरणा जागत नहीं हुई कि वह बिहार में जाए और जहानाबाद कांड का वहां द सरा उदाहरण हुआ है वहां जा करके देख सकते थे। कहां आपके दिल के देव गए? मैं अपनी बात नहीं करता, इस खंड में पं । महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्र जी बोले हैं, भाई रामानन्द यादव का भी इसमें दिया हुआ वक्तव्य है। मैं कहना चाहागा मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहता, उस समय बहस करते हुए एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था । तीसरी बाता, मान्यवर, पलिस कनाइव करती है, मजिस्ट्रेसी कनाइव करती है, एडीमिनिस्ट्रेशन कताइव करता **है, इसलिए करता** है कि उस प्लिस में, उस मिजिस्ट्रेसी में बड़े अफसरों में उन्हीं काश्तकारों के बीच के लोग आए हुए हैं जिनके पास काफी जमीने हैं जिनके दादा बड़े-बड़े ओहदों पर थ और आज वहीं लोग बड़े-बड़े आहेदा पर है। बेबडे-बड़े किसानों के साथ कनाइव करते हैं, उनसे मिल जाते ही और हरिजगों पर अत्याचार करते हैं और करने की छट देते हैं। यह मेरी बात नहीं है, कांग्रेस पाटीं के एक बरिष्ठ यादव जी न माननीय सदस्य श्री रामानन्द अपने विचार उस वक्त व्यक्त किए थे, मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहता आपने कहा था कि विहार का चरित्र क्या बदल चुका है? बिहार का वह चरित्र क्या बदल चका है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं किसी एक जाति विकोध पर जारोप नहीं लगाना चाहता,

re. recent killings [श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव]

बिहार के अन्दर जितनी ताकतवर जातियां हैं जिनके हाथ में जमीन है चाहंबे उन्नी जाति के हों, चाहे पिछड़ वर्गी की मध्य जातियां हों जो जमीन जातने वाली जातियां है, उन्होंने अपनी जमीनों की सुरक्षा के लिए अपनी सेवाएं बनाई है। क्यायह छिपाहुआ है? बिहार में अपनी जमीन की सुरक्षा करने के लिए राजपूतों ने अपनी कुंबरसेना बनाई है, अपनी जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए यादवाँ ने अपनी लोरिक सेना बनाई है, अपनी जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए भूमि-हारों ने अपनी सना बनाई है, अपनी जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए वहां कुमी लोग है उन्होंने भूमिसेना का गठन किया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महादय, कहीं पर क्रांतिकारी समाजवादी सेना के जो अराजक ह³। श्रीमन जाति तत्व हैं, जो असामाजिक तत्व हैं, जो गुंडा तत्व है, जाति के जो अपराधी है वे अपनी जाति को भूमिपतियों के पैसों स पलटन बनाते हैं, हथियार लेतें हैं और गरीबाँ पर जल्म करते हैं। उनके सीने पर गोली चलाते हैं। क्या में नहीं कहता, एक दो घटनाएं तो दूर रहीं, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लगातार बिहार में जो घटनाएं घटती रही हैं, मैं उसको बताना चाहूंगा-यह एक नहीं है, कई है-12 अप्रेल को रोहतास जिले के जयपुर गांव में भूमि-विवाद के संदर्भ में दो बच्चों तथा दो महिलाओं की हत्या कर दी गयी, 13 अप्रेल की शाम जहानाबाद अनुमंडल के करपी थानान्तर्गत् मुढ़ारी गांव में चार बीड़ी मजदूरों की जान, उन्हें लाल सेना का समर्थक बताकर गांव के भूमिहार सामन्ता नेलेली। इसी दिन आधी रात को पटना ग्रामीण जिले के पालीगंज थाने के जिनपुरा गांव में लोरिक सेना के जवानों ने सो रही छह लोगों को भार डाला, मरने वालों में तीन बच्चे और तीन वृद्ध थे, 14 अप्रैल को बहानाबाद अनुमंडल के करची थानान्तर्गत् बुद्ध् विगहा गांव में चार तथा अरवल थाने के जलपुरा गांव में छह व्यक्ति मारे गए, 19 अप्रैल को जहानाबाद अनुमंडल के अरवल में पुलिस की गोलियों से 19 लोग मारेगए, जो सरकार के व्यान के मुताबिक 21 है और फिर उसी तरह से मोकामा के सहरी गांव में जो हुआ है, वहां जाकर जा हमने द खा है, इस मैं सिद्ध करना चाहता हू । निरन्तर दो, चार, पांच, छह, सात जाठ, नां, दस, बारह, पन्द्रह लागा का जिन्दगी के साथ खंला जा रहा है, जैसे बड़े लांग जंगल में शिकार खेलने जाते हैं, आज उसी तरह सं विहार म बड़ लांग अपनी राइफल बार बन्दाक से उन गरीबों को जिन्दगी से चिड़िया जैसे शिकार खेलते हैं, जैसे जंगल का चुहा हो, खरगोश हो, चिड़िया हो। आज उनकी जिन्दगी की कोई कीमत नहीं रह गयी हैं। में बिहार सरकार और भारत सरकार से मांग करना चाहता हु और आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि आज अगर आपकी स्वगीय प्रधानमत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जीवित होती तो क्या जापका एक भी मिनिस-टर वहां दौड़कर नहां जाता, वहां आपके कोई मिनिस्टर नहीं जाते, बहां दर्शने के लिए नहीं जाते ? दौड़ के जाते, वहा के घरों में जाते । लेकिन आज आपके दिल में वह दर्द नहीं हैं, आपके दिल में वह अरमान नहीं हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं, चाही मुक्त पर आरोप लगाएं, मैं बताता हूं विहार के भूतपूर्व मूख्यमंत्री पंडित जगन्नाथ मिथ ने केंद्र सरकार को टोलीग्राम भेजा, एसा हमन अखवारों में पढ़ा । अब वह सच है या भूठ यह तो आप बताएं , सरकार बताएगी? लेकिन असबार में पढ़ा कि बिहार के भूतपूर्व मूख्य-मंत्री पंडित जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने केन्द्र सरकार को टेलीग्राम भेजा और सरकार को कहा कि उस समय बिहार में कोई घटना होती थी तो उस समय की प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी स्वंय यहां आ जाती थीं, इसलिए दिल्ली की सरकार से भी कोई आना चाहिए। हमें याद है सन 1979 में स्यामसन्दर द्वास बिहार में जनता पार्टी के एक हरिजन मंत्री थे, उसी गाउण्ड पर जापने उस सरकार को सस्पेण्ड कर दिया था और आरोप लगाया था कि यह सरकार विधि-व्यवस्था बनाए रहने में अक्षम है, यह सरकार कानून को बनाए रखने में अक्षम है और सरकार हरिजनों और पिछरों की रक्षा नहीं कर पा रही है, इसलिए सर-कार को दरखास्त किया जाये आज नैतिकता का तकाजा क्या कहता है? . . (व्यवधान) . . आज आपकी आतमा क्या कहती है। तो कहिए, केंसरी जी, क्या कह सकते हो। केसरी जी, माफ करिएगा, आप कह सकते

हो--हममें कोई विवभक्ति नहीं है, हम में कोई दिवंधा नहीं है। विहार सरकार की उस कुसी पर पंडित जगन्नाथ मिथा जी भी थे, उनकी सरकार के जल्म के खिलाफ भी हम लड़ते थे, अब बिन्देश्वरी जी की सरकार है, उनकी सरकार के जलम के खिला कभी लड्गे । . . . (व्यवधान). . .

उपसभाष्यक्ष महादेय, माननीय महोन्द्र-मोहन मिश्र जी बोल रहे थे। उस समय भी उन्होंने एक जगह जिक्र किया है, तत्कालीन गहमंत्री को उन्होंने कहा था-आपका क्या विचार है ? हरिजनों को आप मरवाना चाहते हैं या हरिजनों को बचवाना चाहते हैं? मुफो अफसांस होता है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महादेख, मैं जिस दिन से लगातार जिस राजनीति से संबंधित रहा हूं, डा. लोहिया ने समाज-वादी अन्दोलन में हमें जो दीक्षा दी थी, मूज गर्व है, बाज भी लोकसभा की, संसद की प्रांसीडिंग गवाह है कि जनता पाटी की सरकार में भी जब जनता पर जुल्स होते थे तो ह कमदेव नारायण यादक आनी सरकार के भी खिलाफ इसी आवाज में बॉलता था। संसद की प्रांसीडिंग इस बात की गवाह है। अाज आपके अन्दर से आपकों आत्मा कहां चली गयी । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं । देश के सर्वमान्य नेता कमलापति जिपाठी जी यहां होते, तो मैं उनसे प्छता--अपकी इस कार्य-बाही में उस दिन तो आपने कहा 7.00 р.м. था, वह आपकी वाणी कहां चली गयी? जाज आपकी जातमा मृतप्राय क्यों हो गई है? इस अन्याय जलमः की आपके खिलाफ

मह नहीं है में वाणी क्यों जा इस प्रोसीडिंग में थी। जडीशियल इनक्वायरी की बात अलग है। मैं सीधे कहना चाहता हुं कि कांग्रेस पाटी के ही कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष पंडित कमलापति विपाठी जी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानी है, की अध्यक्षता में संसद की समिति बने, घटनास्थल पर जाकर इनववायरी करे। है हिम्मत तो स्वीकार करलो । हुवमदेव नारायण यादव गलत नहीं बोलेगा । मेरे दिल में दर्द इसलिए हैं कि गरीब का बेटा, हरिजन का देटा, पिछड़े का बैटा अगर आज सामाजिक अन्याय के खिलाफ बोलता है, जमींदार के खिलाफ बोलता

पूंजीपित के खिलाफ बोलता है तो उसे तथाकथित नक्सलाइट कह कर गोली सं मार दिया जाता है। मैं पछना चाहता हु कि बराजकता के नाम पर पंजाब में अगर दो मरते हैं, चार मरते हैं टोरिस्ट के द्वारा, इतने अखबार में छप जाते हैं, इतने कहे जाते हैं, पंजाब में निरन्तर विहार से बदतर स्थिति है, महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्र ने स्वीकार किया है कि पंजाब से बदतर स्थिति है, पंचाब में दरवारा सिंह को हटा कर राष्ट्रपति शासन लाग किया गया था, यहां दिन्दोश्वरी दुवे को क्यों नहीं हटा रहे हो । (स्वधान) उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहांगा । में इतना ही कहना चाहांगा कि अरवल में जो लोग मारे गए हैं, 21 के नाम आप कह रहे हो, पंडित महोन्द्र मोहन मिश्र जो कागज पढ़ रही थे वह मरे पास भी है, बिहार सरकार के जरिए उन लोगों का कागज दिया गया ही, जिसमें लिखा है-एडीशनल इनफारमेशन रिगार्डिंग अरवल एटासिटांग । उसम इन्होंने कहा है 6 हरिजन, 1 मुसलमान, 7 बैकवर्ड जो मारे गए हैं, 7 नाट आइडेटी-फाइड । अभी जो मारे गए उनकी जिन्दगी जिन्दगी नहीं हैं ? वो मुसलमान मार गए उनकी जिन्दगी की कोई कीमत नहीं है, वे मरने के लिए पैदा हुए है, पहले हरिजन 21 मरेथे, अब 6 मरे हैं तो क्या बात है, वह तो मरने के लिए पैदा हुए हैं, उनके लिए हम क्यों रोयोंगे । मैं पूछना चाहता हुं कि शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से गांधी पुस्तकालगमें आम सभा कर रहे थे तो उनकी ओर से प्रोवोकेशन नहीं हुआ था, शांतिपर्ण सभा हो रही थी, पुलिस जाती है, जैसे जिलयांवाला बाग में गोली चला दी गई थी. वैसे ही गोली की बौछार की जाती हैं, लाश पर लाश गिरा दी जाती है, गरीब भागा है तो खदेड़-खदेड़ कर उसकी हत्या कर दी जाती है, उनके खून से चिहार की मिट्टी को लाल कर दिया जाता है। गांधी जी ने अंग्रेजी राज के ख्लिफ बिगुल फुंका था बिहार से, उसी विहार ने डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को जनम दिया था, उसी विहार ने गौतम बद्ध को जन्म दिया था, जिसने लोकनायक जयप्रकाश को जन्म दिया था, आज उसी बिहार की धरती पर जघन्य अपराध हो रहे हैं और

[श्री ह कमदेव नारायण यादव]

मन्त्र्य की जिन्दमी के साथ खिलवाड जारहा है जातिय उन्माद पैदा सामन्त अपने पैसे पर जातीय सेनाए बना चुकी है। बिहार के महापुलिस निदेशक बयान दिया है कि जो कोई व्यक्तिगत आदमी इन तथाकथित नकसलाइट से लड़ेगा उनको पुलिस सहयोग दोगी। का इस्तेमाल उन जातीय लोगों को दिया जायगा । जातीय उन्माद, जातीय अराजक स्थिति पैदा करके बिहार को ले जाना चाहते हैं। आपके हाथ में अपनी सत्ता, अपनी है, सत्ता है 1 लाठी से तम मफ़ी दवा सकते हो, आवाज दवा सकते हो, इमरजेंसी लगाकर कालकाठरी में बन्द कर सकते हो । लेकिन एक न एक दिन बिहार के वे तनहींन, मनहीन, बलहीन करोड़ों मानव उठाँगे, बिहार की मिट्टी फटोगी और अन्याय करने उसमें जल कर राख हो जाएंगे। बालों को, अफंसरों को बर्खास्त करो, यही हमारी मांग है। उन अफसरों को वर्सास्त करो तब हम समभी कि आपके दिल में गरीबाँ के लिए दर्द है, नहीं तो बिलक ल ढोंग है पासंड है।

THE VICE<:HAMMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now, Mr. Ramanand Yadav.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH. Mr. Ramanand Yadav, you start quoting what you had said at the time of the Belchhi incident. You start quoting from that point

AN HON. MEMBER. I think now it is Yadav versus Yadav'.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sir, may I request my friend, Shri Ramanand Yadav, to say in the House what he admits in private?

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I say, you are all vultures. *{Interruptions}*.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Yadav, have a look at this volume of debates. It will help you to recollect what you have said earlier. *{Interruptions}*.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आप के हृदय में सबमुच उन मरे हुए लोगों के लिये सहानुभूति नहीं हैं। आप चाहते हैं राजनी-तिक फायदा उठाना उस कांड सें।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You omy exploit it. Your own Madam, Shrimali Indira Gandhi, exploited it. *{Interruptions}*

श्री राम नर'त कु अवाहा (उत्तर प्रदेश)ः राजनीतिक फायदा दूसरे उठा के तो क्या है आप तो आर्थिक और सामाज्ञिक फायदा उठा रहें हैं इस से।

SHRI V.GOPALSAMY: Shrimali Indira Gandhi exploited the Belchhi incident.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Mr. Yadav, whatever has happened has happened. It is only an academic affair and there is no point now in arguing. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I would request you to wait.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; The devil is going to quote now.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं तो एसा सम्भ रहा हूं कि सचमूच उन गरीबों के प्रति आप के दिल में न तो कोई दस है, न सिद्धांत के प्रति आप की कोई निष्ठा है कि इस लडाइ का सही म्ल्यांकन जाप कर जाप हरिजनों पर एट्रोसिटीज की सक[्] । बात तो करते हैं लेकिन दरअसल बात यह नहीं है। यह भूमि से संबंधित विवाद है। आप ने अपने रेजोल्युशन में हरिजनों पर एटासिटीज की चर्चा की है, लेकिन बात एसी नहीं हैं। लड़ने वाले कॉन हैं। किन के बीच में भगड़ा है। एक हैं रजक-धांबी और दूसरा है साहु । साहु है धीनक, शराव की दकान करता है। उस का में शराब की भाइं उडीसा बडा और बहुत बहा ੜੀ करता द कान का ਰੂੰ शराब ठेकेंद्रार यह रजक जैसा कि आप जानते हैं हमारे यहां जो वर्णव्यवस्था है उस के काधार पर ही अधिकार, राजनीतिक अधिकार सामाजिक और संपरित का अधिकार इस देश में

श्री ह क्यवंद नारायण यादवः जाप में से बहुत जगन्नाथ मिधा की रोटी पर पले हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इसी से समझ लीजिए कि कितना इनका स्तर उजंचा है। कहने लगे कि उन्हीं की रोटी पर हम पले हैं। अपनी व्यक्तिगत बात है नहीं तो मैं आपको इस सदन में लंबा करके छोड़ दूंगा। मुभ्रे मालम है, आप व्यक्तिगत बातों में मत जाइए नहीं तो म एसी बात कहांगा कि आपको लम्बा करके छोड़ दांगा। (ब्यबधार्म)

थी हक्मदेव नारायण यादव : में तो जापकी पाटीं की बात कह रहा हूं।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Whom are you defending?

श्री रामा नन्द यादव : खशी की दात है कि आप रिट्रीट कर गए। मैं एसा समभता ह कि दबेजी ऐसे मख्य मंत्री हैं जो जाने माने मजदूर नेता है और अनेक बार हमार कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी उनकी चर्चा करते ह चाहें सी0 पी0 एम0 हो या दूसरे कि वे निष्ठावान व्यक्ति है। क्या आप कह सकते हैं कि कोई भी कांग्रेसमैंन इस कांड से खुश हैं ? हम कुछ एवशन लोग चाहते है। जब भी एसी घटनाएं हुई है हमने उनके संदर्भ में सोचा लेकिन आप पार्टी के फायह के लिए करते हैं। यदि भूमि विवाद की बात है तो लैंड सीलिंग करो, हदबंदी करो, लेंड सुधार करो । आज क्या कारण है कि विहार में एसी घटनाएं हो रही है क्या आपने कभी सोचा ? शायद आप भूल गए इस दात को कि आप बंगाल से आते ह⁴ । (व्यवधान)

श्री दीपेन घोष: लंड रिफार्म करना होगा। सबसे ज्यादा लींड रिफार्स बंगाल में हुए।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have made a very इस्तीफ की मांग करते थे। आज वे उन bad case. You are totally confused today.

> SHRi RAMANAND YADAV: Let me have my {Interruptions}

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your Government-Mr. Siddarth Shankar Ray. {Interruptions}

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You totally mistaken.

श्री रामानन्त यादवः घोष साहब आप भूल गए कि बंगाल के रहने वाले हैं।..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is a political fight. {Interruptions}

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: It will take a long time for you. (Interruptions) 1 will teach you, first, parliamentary etiquette.

आप हमको सिखाइए कि क्या करना है? ...(व्यवधान) आप चपच्या स्निए। अगर आप डैमोकेट है तो आप हमारी बाद सुनियों। जाप जो कहाँगें वह हम सुनोंगे,

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

सनते हैं। आप जानते है कि जमीन का मामला है । यह समस्या हल कौसे होगी ? कांई भी पार्टों....

re. recent killings

श्री दीपने घोष: गोली चला कर।

श्री रामागन्द यादवः में यह कह रहा था कि एसी समस्याएं बंगाल में भी बाई और जगह भी आई है। एक दल एसा बन रहा है जा इसे बढ़ाना चाहता है। क्यों चाहता है? क्यों कि अार्थिक विषमता समाज में हैं। हमं यह मानते हैं कि कांग्रेस के रिजिम में ही होगा, होता है, आपके टाइम में भी होता रहा है और होगा। कल आप आयों ने तो यह घटनाएं घटांगी।

श्री गरुदास दास घट गी।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Our Chief Minister will not come down to that level. He will not say that the police will help the private landlords. On the contrary, our Chief Minister has declared that the police will be fighting for the peasants, the police will be fighting for the workers and not for the landlords and the emipioyers. (Interruptions)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : अगर इस तरह सं हरकत करते रहाँगे तो मैं एक दिन भी आप-को नहीं बोलने दूगा। हम यहां पर डोकोरम मेनटोन करने के लिए आए हैं अपनी भावनाओं को रखने के लिए आए हैं। So, there is a visit difference. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Our Government is saying that the police will help the workers.

GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Police is the paid agent of the land lords in Bihar.

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): No interruptions, please. Let the hon. Member speak. Let us hear him.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Let there be a discussion in the proper way. Let there be no accusations or character assassination.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: You are jumping like a monkey.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. monkey is an unparliamentary word. It should be expunged.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Sir, I can quote the British Parliament. is not unparliamentary.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सन्ति पर्क मार साह-): बहस में कई बाते हो जाती है जिसका असर खराब हो जाता है। डिसेंसी डेकोरम की लिए यह कहना अच्छा नहीं है। आप अपनी बात रिखये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं यह कह दोता हुं कियह जंगल से अभी-अभी आए हैं। अंगर यह कहलाना चाहते .है कि यह अभी-अभी जंगल से उठ कर आए हैं तो मैं यही कह दता हूं।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I don't mind because he is recalling his gre t great grandfather.

श्री रामानन्व यादव : मैं यह कह रहा था कि हमें इस संदर्भ में देखना चाहिए कि हमें क्या करना है। दुवे जी हमार मुख्य मंत्री है। वे काफी दूखी है, हमारे कांग्रेस जन भी काफी दुख है, हमारे यहां के लोग भी काफी दुसी है, हमारे कांग्रेस एम पी वहां घटना के दूसरे दिन घुमे

श्री दीपन गाष : किस को लेकरघम ?

श्री रामानन्द यादण : अकले गये । उसके बाद आप के लोग गये। आप के लोग बाद में गये मछली पकड़ने के लिए तालाब मा।

श्री दीपन घोषा : आप कहां थे उस रोज?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं यह दोसता हुं कि हम को क्या करना है। आज बिहार का एेसा इश् हो गया है कि नक्सलाइट्स बहुत बढ़ रहे हैं वहां । यह बंगाल से यहां शिफ्ट हो गया है। आज विहार में यह हावत है कि

कहीं तो भूमि सेना है, कहीं पर संग्राम समिति है, कहीं पर जाति की सेना बड़ी कर दी गई है। जगह जगह पर जातीय सेनाएं बन गई हैं। इनमें धनी और गरीब सभी शामिल हो गयी हैं। कास्ट्स के आधार पर सेनाएं बनायी गई है । सब आइडियो-लोजी एक तरफ कर दी गई है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इनको खत्म करना चाहिए । हमें बाज कास्टस के मोर्चे पर लड़ाई लड़नी चाहिए । हमारी केन्द्रीय और बिहार सरकार ने भीम सधारों की घोषणा की हैं। इसलिए सबसे पहले हमें इन भींगे सधारों को इम्प्लीमेन्ट चाहिए। भूमि सधार ही इस सब को रोकने में कामयाव हो सकते हैं। आप लोग दुवे जी की इस्तीफा दोने के लिए कहते हैं। दवे जी जैसा आदमी जिसने अपनी सीरी जिन्दगी मजदूरों के बीच में बिताई है, वे इस काण्ड को दोख कर रो दिये। इस घटना को देखकर वे बहुत दिः सी है। आप उनसे इस्तीफा दोने के लिए कहते हैं ? इस जनता पार्टी ने क्या किया है, यह भी आपका बताना चाहता हुं । नवेदा हमारे छपरा जिलै में है। इनके नेता श्री चन्द्र शेखर जी ने जब पद-यात्रा शरू की तरिंगरीय लोग उसमें शामिल नहीं हुए । यह स्थान मेरे घर से चार मील की दरी पर है। वहां पर पद यात्रा में शामिल न होने के कारण धीनक लोगों ने गरीबों की बस्ती को जला दिया । मैं श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव जी सें पूछना चाहता हुं कि आप इसको कंडोम क्यों नहीं करते हैं ?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Who prevents you from land reforms? Who prevents you from implementing the land reforms?

श्री सीताराम केंसरी : श्री हक्मदेव नारायण यादव कहां चले गये हैं ? वे भाग गये हैं।

श्री रामानन्व यादव : वहां पर गरीवां की बस्ती जला दी गईं। इसलिए सबसे पहला काम लैण्ड रिफार्म का किया जाना चाहिए । दूसरा काम मैं समभता हूं कि यह किया जाना चाहिए कि विहार में जाति के आधार पर जो सेनाएं खड़ी की गई है उनको खत्म करना चाहिए । आप तो यहां पर पौलिटिक्ल फिशिंग करना चाहते हैं, पौलिटिकल गेन

प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं। जाप कास्ट के आधार पर जो सेनाएं बनाई जाती है उन पर बैन कोजिये। तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हुं कि जितनी भी पौलिटिक्ल पार्टियां है, चाहे वे वामपंथी हों या राइ-टिस्ट्स हों उनको एसी संस्थाओं से दूर रहना चाहिए। अभी तो बिहार में यह हालत हो गई है कि धनी जमीं दार भी इन सेनाओं को जोयन करने लगे हैं। भरत साह ने यही किया है। वे डर के मारे इन संस्थाओं में शामिल होने लगे हैं। हमार विहार में एक सिस्टम है-सिजमती । इसमें जमीं दार लोगों को कुछ जमीन दे देता है। ओ उसकी हजामत बनाता है, जो कपड़ा सीता है या खेत में काम करता है, उसका जमींदार जमीन देदोता है। इसी को खिजमती सिस्टम कहते हैं। उसी के तहत इस रजक को जमीन दी गई है और उस जमीन का बन्दोदस्त किया गया था । अंत में जाकर सरकार ने किया । लेकिन मैं इसको नहीं मानता कि सरकार को यह नहीं करना चाहिए था । सरकार ने राइट किया क्योंिक कानन कानन है। जिसके पास कम जमीन है उसको और जमीन मिले। जिसके पास जमीन नहीं है, जो भूमिहीन है पहले उसका दों और जिसके पास कम जमीन हैं फिर उसको दो । उसके बाद जो नीची जाति को है या गरीब मसलमान है इन सव को दो। लेकिन भूमिहीन को सबसे पहले दो ।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Why are you not implementing that?

{Interruptions}

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: When Mr. M. M. Prasad was Chief Minister, in my State, the leftist parties were

(Interruptions). They never thoaight of implementing it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is the use of talking from housetops when you are running the Government here and you are running the Government there. Who is preventing you from doing that?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष कुमार साह) : रामानन्द जी आप बोलिये, आज करते रहाँगे तो वहस 9 वजे तक चलेगी । आप अएनी वात कह²।

re. recent killings श्री रामीनन्द यादव : बांधो हिज गला

तों मैं आपसे यही निवंदन करूंगा कि भूमि स्धार डिपार्टमेन्ट जो स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट का

विद रस्सी एंड कन्द्रोल हिम ।

है उसमें कमिटोड लोगों को ही उरंचा औहदों पर, ऊंची जगहाँ पर रखना चाहिए ताकि वह भूमि स्धार का जो कान्न है उसको ठीक से इम्प्लीमोंट कर सके ।

अंत में में आपसे अपील करूंगा, लेफिटस्ट पाटींज से कि आप अपने सीने पर हाथ रहकर सोचे कि जब किसी का बेटा मारा जाता है तां आप भी द्वी होते हैं। जो 21 आदमी मारे गये हैं उनका हमें भी दख है जैसा कि आपका है। हमें आपसे कम नहीं है। हमार' कांग्रेस जन भी उसी तरह से दखी है। सबसे पहले वहां कांग्रेस की एम. पी.

श्री दोपन घाँव : हमारा एम . पी . नहीं , हमारे आदमी है।

श्री रामानन्द यादवः : आपका मालम नहीं . . (व्यवधान) . .

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The C.P.I. M. P. had gone there much before. You are misleading the House.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : तां मैं इनसे कहांगा कि केवल एक तरफा बात हम लोगों को नहीं सोचनी चाहिए । आज जो स्थिति देश मों पैदा हो रही है, उस स्थिति को रोकने के लिये कछ सांशली हमका स्टोप लेने होंगे। अगर हम यह नहीं करेंगे, अगर यह हम नहीं कर सके तो चाहे बंगाल हो, बिहार हो, उड़ीसा हो कहीं भी हम इस पर काब नहीं पा सकरें। इसिलये यहां पर जो विरोधी दल के लोग हैं, हमारे मित्र हैं उनसे मैं अपील करना चाहुंगा कि इस तरह की पोलि-टिकल है पीनंग्स देश की समाजवादी व्यवस्था के हित में, गरीबों के हित में और देश के कल्याण के हित में नहीं हैं। पार्टीजन वे आपको मास्म है कि रोहतास जिले में 250 भिभिपति भारे गये और 300 गरीब नौजवान मारे गयै। क्या आप चाहते हैं कि इस तरह की धटना घटे ? कोई भी भला आदमी

ए'सा नहीं चाह'गा । एक तरफ गरीब तबके को लोग और दूसरी तरफ धनी तबको को लोग और इस तरह से क्या आप चाहते हैं कि देश में सिविल वार हो । कोई नहीं चाहेगा ? म्भो यकीन नहीं है कि कभी भी कोई चाहोगा । इस तरह की हालत पर राके लगाने के लिये हम सब को मिल बैठकर सोचना चाहिए कि करेंसे इस पर रोक लगायाँ। थी बिंदरेवरी दुवे के त्यागपत्र देने से यह समस्या हल नहीं होगा । उनका त्यागपत्र मांगना हुवमदेव नारायण यादद जी के लिये इजी है लेकिन शायद वे जानते नहीं है कि विवर्वतरी वृबे एक कमिटेड सोशलिस्ट हैं (क्यंबधान) . . . में आपसे यह कह रहा था कि हमको और आपको सांचने की आवश्यकता है और इससे पोलिटिकल फायदा उठाने की क्येरिश नहीं करनी चाहिए। बिंदरेवरी दुवे को रहना चाहिए (व्यवधान) अब तो जगन्नाथ मिका प्यारे हो जाएंगे। (व्यवधान) जैसे पंडित जी गजरात के हो गये (व्यवधान) हमार यहां से निकल कर स्पीकर साहब तो चीफ मिनिस्टर हो गये, बंगाल में संविद सरकार के समय स्पीकर थे निकल कर गये तो आप चीफ फिनिस्टर बना दिये। मैं अपने इन विरोधी भाइयाँ से अपील करूंगा कि इस तरह की घटनाओं से राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की चेष्ठा नहीं करनी चाहिए। समाज में किस तरह से व्यवस्था ठीक रहें आप और हम कानन बना कर कान्न व्यवस्था के द्वारा इस सदन के माध्यम से सामाजिक दरिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं इसकी प्रतिष्ठा को मददो नजर रहते हुए ही कुछ करो तो ज्यादा अच्छा है । इन कब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता है।

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, boisterous laughs unkindest cuts and uncharitable reckless remarks sometimes go to prove that Harijans in this country receive a raw deal everywhere and it is quite shocking that even in the highest democratic forum they receive a raw deal.

At the very outset. I would like to know ffomi the hon. Minister whether Bihar is, a State in India or it is an independent nation because daily we

receive reports from the press that there are armies and I would like to have a categorical reply from the hon. Mitii'Ster whether they are going to curb this kind of army and whether they are going to have any curb on this kind of recruitment to the army.

What has happened in Bihar is no thing short of a dastardly act of State terrorism. It is infernal massacre; it is total conflagration. These happeaings in Bihar are comparable only to the colossal terminations of Red Indians in the South of U.S. centuries back.

I would like to remind the hon. Minister that individual terrorism has a penal code, the State terrorism has got Constitutional protection. Of late, I find a kind of consistent departure from the line of operation that we have witnessed earlier in Bihar. Earli er in Bihar and ellsewhere, whenever, you find that injustice was perpetra ted on the Harijans, it was by the landlords against the landless flarijans and again it was police atrocities On the farmless people in Bihar. Now there is a departure wherein we find a kind of shameless collusion between the Statte machinery/ and the landlords and bhoomidars in places like If we look into the records of both the Houses of Parliament in the last 30 years, on so many occasions even a debate or a discussion on the atrocities on Harijans Jias been withheld and has not been permitted even. But today, 1 am happy, in the recent past, at least discussions in this House— because this seems to be the ventilating Chamber—are being allowed. Thanks to the Chairman. This seems to be a kind of charitable grant of the Chairman. But when we see that this highest forum of the House, democratic in«titution. discusses atrocities on Harijans at the fag end of the day. I would say, Harijans have been relegated to the oblivion not only in the national mainstream but even in this highest forum of the counfry.

I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to the fact that in 1982 a total of 557 Harijan women had been raped in the country. This js not my finding; this is an answer to Unstarred Question in the Lok Sabha. Again, 487 Harijans had been murdered and 1356 had been grievously hurt. The maximum number of rapes to^ok place io U.P. and

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Kaushik) in the Chair].

the number was 152. In Madhya Pradesh, it was f33. In Bihar, it was 77. In Rajasthan, it was ^8- I am not quoting the other States because the sfanie reply say t'hat in six other southern States, it was one each. Incidents of crimes against Harijans are definitely on the increase, whenever, Harijans are attacked, there is police inaction. But whenever there is police action, positive action it is against the Harijans. This is a criminal and piquant situation in whch we find ourselves today. The police psychology has not changed. Even after so many years of our Independence. 1 do not find any change in the police psychology. For the last 35—40 years, there jg no change, there is no bold departure, even in regard to the training of the police personnel, we attach mOre fmportance to the physical prowesi of the police, than to the mental attributes and character.

It is a very painful and revealing thing that ^he police constabulary w'nich is being drafted from the lowest of the low, the lowest rung of the society in the social milieu, undergoes a very radical change in its class character and they go and use their lathis, they use their bullets against the same class of people because they are part of the power. The police training has not undergone any kind of a radical change in consonance with the changing times. I remember an occasion. I was a student of the Law College in Madras. I was a student leader, I was asked to tender evidenco before the Police Commission headed by Shri G. Parthasarthy in 1972. He asked me a pertinent question. He quoted the statement of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who saTd "police are the friends of the law abiding neople, but they are the enemies of criminals'. He asked me

[Shri Valampuri John]

Would you agree with this?' I remember, I told him, 'I agree with the first part of the statement; I cannot disagree at '^ but I cannot agree with the second part of the statement' because •' i^ a different postulate on a shifting sand. Why? Police may be the friends of the law-abiding people. But police Can never in this country be *he enemiej of criminals. They can be enemies of crime but not of criminals because criminals are, after all, s-ocial by-products. It is circumstance which makes a person a criminal. Sin is different from a sinner. Crime is different from a criminal. When this kind of knowledge of jurisprudence, when this kind of management of police in developing countries has undergone a radical and vasft change, why no tangible action $h \mid K$ been taken in this country to c'nange the psychology of the police. This is unfortunate.

Here, I would like to make only three suggestions Unli] and unless Government takes long-term measures, I do not thing they car contain this kind of inhuman atrocities On Harijans. The first thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is that the States which have not set up special courts for trying c'ases of atrocities and crimes against Harijans, should come forward and set up special courts. Here I would like to drive home the truth that Tamil Nadu is one of the first Governments in the country which hag gone in for the • formation of special courts to try the oflenders against Harijans. This w'as done in the year 1983. Secondly, the question of land should be settled once and for all. This question should he settled. For whom, to whom the land belongs? Is it to the one who possesses it or to one who- has been deprived of it? Bihar is the only unfortunate Statg in the whole country wherein we find that there is a legacy of permanent settlement introduced in 1793 by CornvVallis. No land reform worth the name has been taken up in Bihar and that is why all these problems have cropped up. Thirly, any re-"

lig>.3n that not only accepts caste hierarchy but which justifies internal divisions simmering into group violence has a potential for promoting fatalism. Fatalism has very high shoulders on which sits the ila!ioi)s' ethos committed to status quo. T'ne caste system in Bihar and elsewhere is only a manifestation of the simmering disensions in a society like ours. (Time bell rings) Sir, you have to be charitable. For others, you have allowed fifteen-twenty minutes. Why thij discrimination?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I will not sit down. This is uncharitable.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please "^ten to me. There are seven or eight speakers more.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: Let ihere be. You have to be charitable. You have allowed other speakers fifteen-twenty minutes. Why are you not allowing me? This is not the fist time that you are doing this. Let there be hundred speakers, let, there be thousand speakers. Why have two different standards (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.,P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down. I am on my legs, please sit down. There are 7 to 8 speakers still and the time allotted is two hours and thirty minutes. I will request the hon. Members not fo take more than five to six minutes each. I would like to givg enough time to the Minister to reply and if this is done, as the time stand at the present moment, it will take more than three hours. (Interruptions) I am sorry, T have got to tell you very frankly that the Members must cooperate. They should comnletg whatever they have t.D say within five to six minutes each.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I do agree with you but my submission is that you should have UjCd the same yardstick for all. Why different yardstick ft»r me? This 's the biased attitude, this '^ sermonising.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Others have been allowed to take more than 20 to 25 minutes He has taken only five to ;&ix ' minutes and he is saying such good things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK) He has aheady taken ten minutes.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: Why are you partial to me oaly? For others you 'nave allowed more time. What is the vahd reason for you IQ ask me to sit down? (Interruptions). i do accept what you are saying. I um going to wind up, but why my case alone?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): It is in the case of all. (/nterruptions). I am iorry, I cannot help it.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I do accept thai there is limited time, but why a dififerent yardstick, you are using for nie 1 cannot understand. I am winding. I have taken it as an insult and I am gomg to take it

Sir George Birdwood has averred, "So long as the Hindus hold to the Caste system India will be India; but from the days they break from it, there will be no more India. That glorious peiiinsula wiil be degraded to the position of a bitter 'East End' of the Anglo-Saxon Empire." Whe« he »did it. tie said 't with all the venom. It was PanJit Jawaharlal Nehru who retorded, "with caste or without it we have long been tiegraded to that position in the British Empire." But I do not find the same kind of blowing spirit today in I'ne power wheels. As long as there a rshgious sanction for the caste system in Hinduism, you cannot stop this kind of a m'asg killing, mass carnage in Bihar or elsewhere. Sir, in Karamchedu in Andhra Pradesh in the last December, 1985 when there was a kind Of a killing of a lesser magnitude Shrimati Ram Dulaii Sinha visited the particular placg and said that t'his Telugu Desam Government had no lustification to remain in power. Now I would I'ke to ask Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, when

she s'aid that there was no moral justification for Telugu Desam Government to continue in power for a cime ol ieser magnitude than Ais, what has he got to say about this today. Again you are having double standards.

Discussion concluded

of Harijans in Bihar-

I would like to add t'hat there is enough 'anger amongst the Harijans but that anger is divided among the Harijans, ihe Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because of the geographical limitations, of the different linguistic States, because of the economic compulsions, because of the political reasons and that is why your institutions, your establisliments and your Government jj safe. But 1 warn this Government that a day will come when they will extricate themselves from the morasse when all the institutions that you have been ntirturing from the days of Mahatmaji and Jawaharlal Nehru, wiU go down, because enough anger 's I'iiSre but only because the anger is divided that you are safe.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Shri Mahendrg Prasad. Please be careful about time.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD (Bihar): Sir. I come from the area where atrocities have taken place and therefore, I may be made an exception to this rule.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there was a swan wi.h two mouths. The swan chanced to get a sweet fruit and ate it merrily with only one and the same mouth. The second mouth got jealous Of the fruit-eating first mouth and out of anger ate pois.on to teach the swan and the first mouth a lesson. The swan died because of t'ne poison eating of the second, mouth and with the death of the swan \ died both the mouths, including the one which could not get the fruit and ate the poison. The other day I saw some honey in a plate at one of my friend's house. So many greedy flies came to eat the honey and in the process got themselves entangled in the sticky honey and died. The flies d'd not deserve the honey because they had not worked hard for the honey. =

Sir, the jealousy of the Opposition par-tiei against the party in power is forcing them to commit suicide. Their greed to come to power W any means, fair or foul, it making them entangled in a tricky cobweb of death, to extricate from which will by *n impossibility. Their unieemly haste and hunger to come to power by hook or by crook are making th«n unhesitant In swallowing even deadly poisonous snakes and scorpions. The magic of power is too captivating for them to distinguish good from eril and holy from unholy. Our friends in the Opposition, in their anxiety to come to power, aro prepared to hug even willy wolves.

Sir, I pity my friends on the Opposition benches on their lack of knowledfe of the incident in discussion and the area in which this unfortunate but inevitable incident has occurred. Sir, at this juncture I am reminded of the holy words of Jesus Christ at the time of His Cru-cification. He prayed to God in defence of His perspecutors and said; "Lord, forgive them: for they know not what they are doing". Our friends in the Opposition do not know what crime they are doing against democracy, civilization, orderly existence of our society and against themselves, the values they proclaim to cherish, by condemning the police firing et Arwal and thus supporting extremism and forcible and violent take-over administration by mentally and ideologically deranged and anti-social criminal elements.

Sir, if there is only one action during the last over nine years, the years which) have seen both the Congress and the Janata Governments, for which the Government of Bihar should be praised and appreciated, it is the action under discus-tion in this House in which several extremists and anti-social criminals were killed in police firing at Arw.il in Gava district of Bihar. If the history of the struggle to saTe democracy and the history of finding solution of a problem through democracy and the history of finding solution of problem through democratic constitutional means is written in future, the incident of Arwal will be and llk«i|ld ht written I'n silvar Iett«r8 if aot

in golden letters. Had there been no action such as has been taken at Arwal, or if similar actions are not taken in future to meet similar situations and to retaliate lawlessness and state of "no government" in the extremistafifected or the socalled Naxal-aflected areas of Bihar, tomorrow will show that there is no government in Bihar. During the last few years there is hardly any government functioning in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar, especially in Gaya, Aurangabad, Bhojpur, Nalanda, and Patna districts and more especially in Jehanabad sub-division of Bihar. There are several Senas functioning in these areas. In such a situation there can be either only a Government Sena or the other Sena. ITiere cannot be a co-existence of the two Senas. A government is worth no name if it succumbs and surrenders and allows the existence of Senas other than its own Sena or force. A government has got no legitimate or moral right to rule if it fails to protect the life and property of its citizens from barbaric, anti-national and violent criminal forces.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK)- Please conclude your speech now

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: Sir, what is happening in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar is negating the government and their right to governance. A Government worth its name should be ashamed if it allows the sordid acts that have been happening in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar. (Time bell rings) It is beyond words to describe the pathetic plight of the people of that area. It is unbelievable. (Time bell rings).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The hon. Member is requested to resume bis seat.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD; I am. just concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Mr. Radhakrishna. I have called the next speaker. Now yon please tak« your Mat.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD; The extreini4 organizations, by whatsoever name they are known, are indulging in the worst type of terrorism and crime. *{Time bell rings}*. They are indulging in wanton murders... just two minutes, Sir... brutal killings, robberies, dacoities, blackmail, rape...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Nothing will go on record. Please s't down.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset I agree with my friend, Mr. John, that we do not find that emotion, that seriousness and that spirit with which we should have debated this heart-burning incident in Bihar. Mr. John has also referred to the Karamchedu issue in Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, last year there was an incident in Karamchedu village in which some caste Hindus haras ed Harijans, attacked Hari jans and killed some Harijans. Also there was some damage to properties of Hari jans. But, On receiving the information, our Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, had gone to the spot and immediately ordered a judicial inquiry into the matter. Hg had ordered for the immediate arrest and prosecution of the offenders. He had a'so arranged for all types of relief works for the victims there. But here in Bihar it is totally absent. With a great burden of heart an' pain I have to say that some friends have nO pa'n for this in human and barbaric incident; they have no sympathy for the victims there. They are humorous! if talb'ng about it.

Sir, this incident is an altogether different thing. Of course, such incidents have become ^^ order of the day. Nowadays there is not a single day on which we do not hear of harassment of Harijans. GirMans and some other poor people somewhere in the country. But this Bihar is'ue is an altogether different thing. I don't find any Government functioning there. 1 do not know whether there is Miy Government there established under

the Constitution of India. I do not think there ig any Government properly functioning there fOp the people, elected by the people. I came to know that there are a number of Senas operating in Bihai State, namely, Lorik Sena, Bhoomi Sena, Kuer Sena, Brahmarshi Sena, Azad Sena, Srikrishna Sena. Samajwadi Krantikaii Sena, Shoshit Samajwadi Sena, Dalit Sena, Lai Sena, etc. Among these, two Senas, namely, Lorik Sena and Bhoomi Sena, are defending and working for the landlords. They are going hand in hand with Government administration. They are patronized by the politicians, rulers of that State. Sir, they are given gun licences, they are provided with police protection and police collaboration. The police and the private armies are going hand in hand and harassing and ki'.ling poor people, mostly Harijans, Girijans and Adivasis.

Discussion concluded

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Raping women.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA; ST, there is another thing. I need not £ive the statistics, but there is much surplus Government land there >n the = State and, if not the entire land, at least 90 per cent of it is encroached upon by the landlords and for the protection of their encroachments they have been maintaining these private armies. The Government is not coming forward to evict the encroachments and distribute the land to the landless poor in the State. These private armies are not only protecting the properties of the landlords—these feudal* -hut they are also creating and fomenting communal sentiments there. TTiey are working up communal sentiments and communal violence is alse taking place there.

There are six districts in Bihar, namely, Patna, Bhojpur, Rohtas, Gaya, Nalanda and Aurangabad. declared as disturbed areas. They declared these areas as dlv tnrbed areas on!v to kill Harijans there, only to kill the poor people there, those • who raise their voice against the oppression and suppression by the feudals. Otherwise, what is the fun of giving gun licences to landlords and their agents and what is the fun of allowing reomitment

Discussion concluded

Puttapaga Radhakrishna] maintenance of these private armies? In these disturbed areas anybody whom they want to kill they will kill and afterwards call them as Naxalites. What is Naxalism? We know what is Naxalism, where it did come from.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): please conclude.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA; Let me speak, Sir. What ii there? I will take only two more minutes.

We do not know how many peop'e were killed in this particular incident. The S. P. of Jahanabad himself has declared that 20 people were k'lled there. And some voluntary organisations have declared that a hundred psople were killed. The former Chief Minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra himself, it has appeared in the pres?, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister stating that seventy persons were murdered in the incid»nt. Anyhow,, it may be 70,100 Or 20, whatever it may "be, it is a big number of persons who were killed by the police. The incident, the harassment was sponsored by the Government. It was not a clash between one community and another. It was Government sponsored. The Government sponsored the police to kill the Harijans to put down the workers there. These offenders, these feudals will have to pay for this. Sir, I am sure that one day or the other...

1.. VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAJ^HIK); Please take yoar seat.

*nFrRT PtmrAPAOA RADHAKRISH-NA: Only one minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): No please.

"JHRI PUITAPAGA RADHAKKISH-NA: I am sure, one day what Karl Marx..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): He will not go on record. Please sit down.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISH NA:*

.*Not iNJOfded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Dr. Kailash Pati Mishra. I will not be able to give you more time. Please be careful.

श्री कीलाञ पति मिश्र (विहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महादय. इसी राज्य से जाने की कारण...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): I cannot help you. The Opposition has already taken more time than allotted to them.

SHRI V. G0PAI.5AMY: Today you are ijj a very serious mood.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): I cannot help it. Everybody has to go. The time allotted is only two-and-ahalf hours. Practically two hours are over.

Please take six minutes and conclude. Sir speakers plus the Minister are there. I cannot help it. Only three persons have spoken from the Treasury Benches. The rest of the speaker^ have been from the Opposition side.

श्री कीलाश पीत मिश्र : मैं ने बोलना ही श्रू नहीं किया, आपस में चर्चा हो तो मैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. पी. काँशिक) : 6 मिनट दूसा, नो इन्टरप्शन ।

उपसभाधाका (थी एम. पी. व्यक्तिक): एक बात कहना चाहता हूं, एक हरिजन का ल्निंगरे, एक किसान का स्न पिरे, एक विद्यार्थी का खुन पिरे, एक प्रोफेसर की हत्या हो तो यह मानकर चलना चाहिए कि हर सन भारतमाता के बांचल को कलंकित करने वाला खुन है। दुर्भाग्य है कि आज जो अवस्था विहार में पदा हो गई है हम उसके इलाज की ज्यादा जिन्ता नहीं कर रहे हैं। अरवल की घटनी कई मित्रों ने बताई. मैं उसका विवरण नहीं दोना चाहता । एक साथ कितनी घटनाएं हे गई है, किसी घटना पर पदी नहीं डाला जा सकता । अरवल में घटना घटी, पटना जिले के नौबतप्र प्रसंड के डेरापर गांव में घटी, छपरा जिले के नवादा में घटना घटी । इसके साथ ही यह

बर्जाना चाहता हूं कि जिस अस्मेंडल, सब डिबीजन की यह घटना है उसके सर्वाडजीज-नल हास्पिटल की दो साल की पोस्टमार्टम रिपोर्ट देख लीजिए। एक सास की रिपोर्ट मैंने दोनी, 395 हत्याकों का पांस्टमाटांम चस छोटे से सवडिबीजन में हाजा था । मही-दय, में इसे दलगत सीमा में नहीं बांधना चाहता, कोई आक्षेप भी नहीं लगागा चाहता। लेकिन सरकार को साहस करके एक रिपोर्ट के साथ आना होगा कि उस राज्य में काम करने वाली सरकार कितनी सक्षम हो, कितनी इस परिस्थिति को संभालने में कामयाब है। एक-वो हत्यानों के बाद जडीशियल इन्वन-यरी कमीशन वैठ जाता है। जहां इतनी हत्याएं हो यर्ड ही-- मीं कहना चाहता हा कि एक महीने के अन्दर बिहाएं में सा छ। उत्पर हत्याएं हाई है, में किसी के उपर बारांप नहीं खगामा चाहता कि उन्होंने हत्याएं की, उन्होंने की, पुलिस में कर दी, हरिजन ते कर दी. बड़ी ने कर दी, छोटों ने कर दी, सब की हत्याएं हो रही है, हरियन की हत्या हो रही है, द कानदार की हत्या हो रही है, कालेज के अन्दर विकाशी और 8 00 P M प्रांफेसर की हत्या हो रही है। सड़क पर चलने वाले नागरिक की हत्या हो रही है। मैं करकार से एक ही मांग करता हां और उस के बाद अपना भाषण समाप्त करूंगा कि आप अरवल से ले कर, बास कर जरवल और उस को साध-साथ एक महीं के अन्दर विहार में जिसनी घटनायाँ घटी है जाप उस को लिये हाई कोर्ट या सप्रीम कोर्ट के एक जन नहीं, विन्क गर्मों का एक पैनल बिठाइये और जडिलियल इंक्बायरी कराइट । इस की जाप घोषणा करिये और फिर उन्हें समाय शास्त्रियों से संबद्ध करिये और राज्य सरकार से तो नहीं हो सकेंगा, केन्द्रीय सरकार इस दायित्त्व को ले और बड़ां भीन की सीलिंग नहीं हुई है. उचित भीम वितरण नहीं हाजा है और अरा-जकता निर्माण करने के लिये दर्जनों सेनाएं वहां पैदा हो गयी हैं। एसी सेनाओं को सामाजिक इलाउता नहीं ही जा सकती । कोई एसी सेना हाथ में हथियार से कर जिस की बाही हत्या कर दो इस की इजाबर नहीं वो जा सकती, चाहे फिर वह सेना दवीं की से या छोटों की हो या गश्रीलों की हो **या हरि**जनों की हो या सादबों की हो स भिष्ठारों को हो या राजपतों को हो । तो

इत सेनाजा को दोशद्रोही की संज्ञा दंकर उन पर प्रतिविध लगाया जाना चाहिए और उन का जडमल से सफाया करने की करिश्च करनी चाहिए । आज विहार को तोड़ने की क्षेत्रिक हो रही हैं। साड़े सात करोड़ का विहार अगर टाट गया तो मैं पहले भी कह चाका हुं और बोहराना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन यह भारत के लिये संकट खडा हो रहा है. व के लिये संकट खड़ा हो रहा है। गरीबी से ग्रस्त विहार आज परोशान है। वहां भीम-हीन परेशन हैं, वहां हरिजन परेशन हैं. वहां के किसान भी उतने ही परेशान है। उह^{्र} की भी कमर टट गयी है। काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता परेकान है, कर्मचारी परेकार हैं और हर तरफ भसमरी दिखायी वे रही है। इन सब समस्याओं को सिमेट कर किश्वियल डांक्यायरी हो। और जो। निर्णय दिवायी दोता है उस को लाग की जिए। मभी याद है-नाम लांगा तो हांगामा हो जायेगा, राजस्थान सरकार ने एक ही साथ जज को ले कर एक्जीक्यटिव बफसर को ले कर. कांनिंग अफसर को लेकर वकील को ले कर 6 महीने को अंदर 90 प्रतिशत खेतों की सी-लिंग करा दी हदवंदी करा दी और हर छोटों स्तर तक की किसान के खेत तम करा दिये। डाङ दिहार को एस की आयरयकता है। अभी तक लैंड सीलिंग वहां लाग नहीं हुई है। इस प्रतिकत हदबंदी भी नहीं हुई है बार परिणाम यह है कि पैसे की ब्वादी जलग होती है, बादिमयों का हैरेसमेंट बलग होता है हाँर कदम कदम पर अराजकता की स्थिति पैदा हो रही है। आए उन हत्याओं की गांच करात्रये और भयभीत मत होइये । मांह मत शांतिये और फिर जो निवान बावव्यक विनाही दोता हो बाप हिस्सत को साथ उस को अपना-इसे । विवार के मण्ट मंत्री को आप सिर पर रहाँ, कंधे पर रहाँ, जेव में रहीं या नाक पर रतों, जी चाहीं सो करी, लेकिन बाज का वलां का मंत्रिमंडल विहार करे बर्बाद कर रहा है। भै कहना चाहता है कि यह मामला चितार तक ही सीमिता बन्नी है। विनार में हो रहा गर सेंहार, वहां की अराजकता की स्थिति से आज सारा विद्वार विद्वार जल रहा है। जाज थोडी सी प्रमन्तरा है कि कम से कम विहार आज समान रूप से बड़ां लोगों के मानसाटल पर दिखाड़ी पड़ा और नरेगों है स्याका कि बिहार आज संकट में फांसा पड़ा 큔 1

शी राम नर्रेश काशबाहा : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महादेख, मीने दोनों और की बातों को सना । म एक ही बात कहना चाहता हंकि:

हम आह भी भरते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम. वह कत्ल भी करते हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होता।

अाज हालत क्या है। अरवल में 50 आदमी कम से कम जान से मार दिये गये। किसने मारा, कौन मरा । गौर करिये। पटना विले में पलिस ने जमीं दारों की शह पर 2 अदिस्यों को गोली से उड़ा दिया । छपरा जिले में नवादा गांव मी, भाई रामानंद जी कह रहेथे, सैर मैं तो उत्तर प्रदेश का हु लेकिन बार्डर पर हां, क्वेबल चार मील का अंतर है। तो मान्यवर, वहां पर एक वर्ग के लोगों पर इसरे वर्ग के जो कि उलंबी जाति की कही जाते हैं, होली को दिन उनको मारा. शील भंग किया और गांव को जला दिशा । एक सरकार जो कि घोषित सरकार है तसो अरवल में किया, सहरसा, पटना में किया और दसरी सरकार जो जिसको आप संविधान में मान्यता नहीं देते हैं, उसने नवादा में किया ।

एक मीन रिय सदस्य : वह कौन है ?

धी राम नरेन का बाबाहा : वह सेना है. द⁴ साद्र नव⁶- लेग चादता हु^न । तसी सर-ज्यार ने दल्लिया जैतपरा में, हरिजनों का वनारम जिले में सिकरौरा में 7 अदिमियौं को एक परिवार की इत्या की । बात बहुत इन जाएगी यदि मैं नाम लूंगा तो, लेकिन केंसरी जी समकारी ---

सात पांच लडका एक संतोष । गदहा सरले तिनको न दोष ।।

जिल्ला आप सफार्ड दीजिए, पेलिस मनोबल के नाम पर, लेकिन यही खतरनाक हुआ पिलस मनोबल बढाने का कि उसने सरज बाब की हत्या की, जगदेव प्रसाद की हत्या की और लसी पलिस ने प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या की, केसरी जी आप भी नहीं छुटेंगे, यह मैं जापसे कहना चाहता हुं।

आज दो शब्द चल रहे हैं---माफिया और नक्सलाइट । माफिया कौन है ? सद लोकदल में हैं, उसका बड़ा भाई कांग्रेस में है, उसका मामा कंम्यनिस्ट पार्टी में है. बहन भारतीय जनता पार्टी में है, साले का साला अन्य किसी पाटी में है। यानि जिस पार्टी की गवर्नमाँट बनेगी, उन्हीं की होगी. काम उन्हीं का होगा। उसी जाति को अफसर, उसी के एम. एल. ए., उसी के मंत्री हैं। दिन दहाड़े अपराध करके खलें-आम जो घमते हैं वे माफिया गिरोह के हैं। जो नाती पाते सहित सत्ता प्रतिष्ठान से वंचित है, जिनका न थानेदार है, न एम. एल .ए. है, न मंत्री है, वे नक्सलाइट हैं। ये मारीं, मरवायोंगे, बदला लोंगे, जवाब दींगे तो थानेदार उनको मलिजम बना दींगे और वें नक्सलाइट हो जाएंगे। ऐसा मत सम्क्रिए, मैं तो कहता हूं कि अगर आप हीमानदार ही तो इस नपांसक सरकार को उकाड फेंकिए । जितने हथियार लोहार बना सकता हो उनको बनाना, रखना फ्री कर दो. कल से दोशों कि एक भी हरिजन बस्ती नहीं फांकी जाएगी । आप समय दोते तो इसकी व्याख्या कर दोता, लेकिन आप घंटी बजा दंगे।

उपसभाष्यकः (भी एम. पी. काँविक)ः घडी नहीं राकती, मैं क्या करूं ?

श्रीरामनरेत कदबाही: अभी राजा राइड डोल रहे थे मैं क्या कहां ? पलिस को डिफॉड करना ही हैं तो आप भी कहाँगें कि-क छ मसलन, क छ मजब्रन, कातिल को मसीहा कहते हैं। मभो एक शेर याद आ रहा है ---

अमर शहीदों की करनी पर नाहे जो भी

मगनयनी को बगल में विठाकर चाही नैनीताल घमा ले।

गरीबों का नाम लेना आसान है लेकिन गरीवों पर क्या बीत रही है, उसको आप नहीं समझते, बचपन में समभते होंगे। मिर्धा जी भी समभते होंगे क्योंकि वह भी गरीब घर से जाते हैं। लेकिन जब हम यहां जाते हैं तो कसम गरीबों की खाते हैं—

कौमी लीडर डिनर खाते हैं हुक्कामों के साथ, और रंज लीडर को बहुत हैं मगर आराम के साथ।

जब तक गरीवों को आप हर जगह बैठाएं गे नहीं, कानून का कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। कानून का कोई अर्थ नहीं होता। जो लागुकरता है उसी के मन के मृताबिक अर्थ देता है। ये लोग गद्दी पर है हम को जेल भेज देते हैं। हम गद्दी पर बाते हैं तो इन्दिरा जी को जेल भेज दोते हैं। गददी पर जो बैठता है उसी के मन के मुता-विक कानून अर्थ देता है। ये जो गरीव के बुश्मन हैं थानेदार, क्लक्टर या दूसरे बड़े आदमी हैं ये सब जगह बैठे हुए हैं । ये अपने मन के मुताबिक कानून की व्याख्या करते हैं। और अपने मन के मताबिक व्याख्या करके गरीवों को मार रहे हैं। अगर आप इमानदार है तो मंडल कमीशन की रिपोर्ट लागू करिए । हरिजनों का कांटा प्रा कीजिए, उनको उनकी जगहों पर बैठा दीजिए ताकि उनके मन के मताबिक कानन का अर्थ लग सकी। अभी कम्युनिस्ट पाटीं की बात चल रही थी। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने गरीबों के लिए कानन का अलग अर्थ लगाया । हर एक गरीब का लडका गुंडा कहलाता है। मेरे जैसा आदमी, जब किसी गरीव आदमी को, पिछड़े वर्ग को, हरिजन को सामंत आदमी गुंडा कहता है तां गौरवान्वित होता है। यह उनका हक है। उनको उजाड फॉकना इनका जन्मसिंदध अधिकार है। अगर हम यह बात कही तो हम अधिष्ट हैं। सामाजिक ऋांति का बिगुल जब तक नहीं बजेगा तब तक आप कछ नहीं कर सकते। आप देखते ही विहार को अखबार में कोई स्थान नहीं मिलता क्योंकि वहां पिछड़ा वर्ग मरता है, गरीव लाग मरतें हैं, मजदूर लोग मरते है, मसलमान लोग मरते हैं। वहां पर लोग मार जा रहे हैं। इनका कहीं कोई जिक नहीं होता । इन गरीबों की कोई बात चन्द शब्दों के साथ में यह आशा करूंगा कि

ये जो प्राने लोग हैं जिन को अभी भी इस देश में कुछ लज्जा हैं, शैर्म है और जो गांधी के नेतृत्व में कसम खाने में विश्वास रखते हैं वे इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करेंगे और नहीं तो हथियार सब के लिए फ्री कर होजिए। लोहार का हथियार फ्री कर दोजिए, उसका रजिस्ट्रेशन कर दीजिए तब आप देखेंगे कि ये हिप्पी लोग कितनों को जाकर करल करते हैं। इतना ही कह कर में बत्म करता हुं।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (.Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the question is of very serious type and it is not a matter of one P^rty or the other but it is really a national issue which we are discussing-'Atrocities on Harijans'. The entire national press has said, the story of encounter with outrage given by the Bihar Police is not re.iabie and is totally wrong. What happened on 19th April at Arwal village in the Jahanabad iubdivis.on of Bihar's Gava district Was a deliberate attempt to kill the people to deprive them of their legitimate right. The Harijan group had gathered to protest against their eviction from a plot of land in ttie village and that shows the theory of encounter Was totally wrong. Not only that people are killed there but the estimate of the national press shows that more than 100 persons are butchered every month in the nine districts of North Bihar which are particularly prone ^o this kind of violence. Apart from this estimate, the primary reason for this carnage appears to be because they are asserting their rights for minimum wages and get their land. That i- why atrocities are taking place. In the 20 point economic programme a'so, the Government is committed to it. The Government has pledged this thing to the woikers but it has not created infrastructure for implementation of it or about landless so that such things can be avoided. Similar th'ng is happening in the land reforms. We talk of land reforms but here too, it is a question of implementation. There is no political will to implement the safflg and these contradictions are tailing place and Harijans are killed. As said by late Dr. Lohia, it has been always the practice that wherever

[Shri S. W. Dhabe] killings take $P^{\wedge}e$, there must be a judical iaquu-y but tpd^V. it ii said thai oiunoer oi Mi's have made a representation to the President ot India that a juoicjai inquiry shouid be set up but nothing has nappene^i sO iar. 1 would like to ask the hon'oie Minister whether the Uoverument ot india wdl direct a judicial inquiry to be set up in this Harijans lul.ing.? 1 would also like to know from h.m as to what version is correct? Then alone the people will be able to know about it. Secondly, if the police is res-ponsioe for th's, if the otficers are responsible, what action has been taken against them by the Bihar Goveriuiient? It seems that no positive action no stringent action has been taken again-t them. At least thiy should have bfen suspended or dismissed from service for these atrocities which they have committed on ^ Harijans.

Thirdly, these incidents have become a day-to-day occurrence. It is happening in many parts of the country. Especially in the Hindi belt, where the feudal system still exists, there are more atrocities on Harijans. When such incidents are occurring, why should it be a matter of debate every time in the House? Has the Home Ministry is-ued any guidelines to the State Governments at to what should be done whenever such incidents, such atrocities on Harijans, t\^k\^ place, whether an enquiry should be made or cot? Do you get reports on this matter or not?

Lastly. I would like to know whether there is any monitoring in the Home Mini try On such incidents occurring in the country. especially arising out of the implementation of their own 20-point programme, of giving la:id (o the landless and ensming payment of minimum wages. The national press has said that this incident took p'ace not only because of the eviction from the plot but also Because or their demand for getting minimum wages. If this is the price that tliese workers have to pay simply because they are asking for higher wages, T think the Govem-mem has a greater responsibility to be strict in this matter. I would like to ^T\ow from the Home Minister. who is a

very experienced administrator, what guidelines have been issued to the State Governments and whether there is any monitoring on this aspect. Thank you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to condemn the unjustifiable, barbarous, criiel police firing in wiich more than 50 innocent Harijans were killed. The birth-place of Buddha and Mahavir has been turned into & slau-gherhouse of. Harijans. Sir, like the Mafia gangs o^ t^e United States originating from Sicily in Italy, the feudal lords in Bihar are operating their private armies to crush, to massacre innocent agricultural labourers, particularly Harijans. It is like the days before Sun Yat Sen when the warlorcfs were doing the same thing in China. It is a shame. Now in Bihar if you say that they wanted to grab land, are you going to justify that when they want to grab a j)iece of land to earn their bread and butter, the State Government til rough its machinery can grab away their precious livis? Sir. Naxaiism is not crimi-xiiiUty, It is a socioeconomic phenomenon. an outburet due to their socio-economic conditions. When the Harijan youths are being looked down upon, when they are not treated like human beings wherever they go, when they are treated like dirt, worse than cattle, due to frustration, justifiable frustration, they take up arms. This problem cannot be solvfed by bullets. In the name of fake 'encounters', these youths are being killed not only in Bihar but in many parts of the country. Therefore, may I ask the Government; why do you hesitate to order a judicial eiqu'ry by a sitting Supreme Court judge, if you are innocent? I charge that the Government run by the Congress Party is supported by these feudal lords who are operating private armies. On the 22nd of July, 1977, the Congress (H Members of Par-lament thundered on the floor of this House demanding the rcMgnation of the Janata Party Government over Be'chi incident. In the same State of Bihar now this massacre has taken place. What is happening today? And when the Belchi massacre took place. Madam Ind'ra Gandhi went there, sitting on the back of an What for? Mr. Ramanand elephant.

Yadav said, "Just to make political capital". Who? Madam Gandhi exploited the situation to make political capital out of it. If you are really sincere, why then has the Prime Minister not visited Arwal to console the bereaved families? when the Belchi incidents took place in the sairie State of Bihar, Madam Gandhi went there. What prevents you now to take action, to go there and console the bereaved families? So, you had only shed crocodile tears in 1977. Therefore, if you are innocent, if you are interested in protecting the Harijans, then take action to instruct the State Government to order a judicial inquiry by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court. (Time bell rings) Since you have rung the bell, okay, I am concluding.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Arwal massacre is an unprecedented, premeditated, brutality unleashed and perpetrated by the Bihar Police. This is nothing short of a killing spree by the trigger-happy police of Bihar. This massacre. I am sure the House will agree, and whether the House agrees or not. I would expect the hon ourable Home Minister to agree, far ex ceeds the enormity of the brutalities per petrated i" Belchi, perpetrated in Parasbigha, perpetrated in Narayangarh. It was, if you go into the facts of the case, a pre-med'tated action: it was well-orchest rated and it was in cold blood. I do not like to narrate the incidents, how the moTders took place gt Jahanabad speed. This should be an eve-opener. I appeal to the Government that this massacre should be taken as an eye-opener and the Government should study the matter in its correct perspective. The' root causes for this kind of a massacre should be id entified. According to me. the root cause of thinkind of a massacre is the much vexed problem of land distribution in Bihar, not fO mention others. Feudalism exists in its ugliest form in Bihar. 1 can give fo many instances. I^and reforms aiven a decent burial in that State. T hav» eot in my possession a report where T find fome of the rul'ng party Ministers -I do not mention the names-are still In possiBSsIon of more than 2000 acres of 376 RS—11

land; some Congress members who contested the last election are in possession of several thousands of acres of land. Xtoes it not constitute a decent burial of land reforms? Does it not say a goodbye to the 20-point programme which includes land reforms? That is the basic problem. The Home Minister might be knowing, there was a report prepared by the late lamented Shri Yashwantrao Chauhan, the then Home Minister of this country. It is a very significant report. I would request the Minister to bring out that report. Here 's another report by one Uttar Sen Gupta published in the *Telegraph* of 1-5-86. Here, Sir, there are hints to say that this massacre was "the outcome of a high-level conspiracy hatched to eliminate the peasant organisation in Bihar," It has further hinted to say that "the Chief Minister had promised the landlords of Patna-Gaya districts to get rid of the Naxalites and the peasant revolt in the region". This is enough now. What in conclusion, I would like to ask is this: Is it impossible for the Goverrunent to ban the so-called Senas? Does the Government not possess the necessary laws in this respect? When they can ban many other organisations, when they can declare strikes as illegal, what prevents the Government from declaring the Senas as illegal organisations?

Discussion concluded

Then, Sir, the second important point, a very important point, which has been raised in this debate is the collusion between the private tccmy and the police administration. That means total State violence. State violence has got a meaning and that meaning, I think, the Home Ministry should take note of. Do you want to unleash State violence and thereby suppress the legitimate struggle of the pea.sants and the agricultural workers? If that is so, then it is you who are inviting a greater disaster and this House should take note of it. The question of instituting a judicial inquiry has got much importance in the. sense that there are guidelines in respect of Harijans. The National Integration Council had discussed it and it has a'so framed certain guidelines wherein it jirovides that immediate inquiries are to be held wherever there are atrocities on the Harijans of this

[Shri Chitta Basii]

nature. If the Government does not agree to these proposals, il it does not agree to having a judicial inquiry, does the Government then purpose or accept the proposal to have a Houie committee for this purpose? After all, Members belonging to different parlies, different shades of opinion, can go and visit the place, im< derstand the problem, find out who was responsible and who wer© the culprits, bring those offenders to book and jecom-mend some long-term measures also. Would the Government agree to this very simple proposal of having a committee of this House constituted for this purpose?

Lastly, Sir, I would only say that banning of these Senas is very important and the declaration of the IG of Police that he will suppress these people with the help of the private army is wrong and it is illegal. If he has said this, he has done an Ulegal thing. A Government of B-cal or a police official cannot make such illegal utterances. He cannot make such an utterance that the police administration in Bihar would take recourse to the private armies to deal with these people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Now, the Minister.

' SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I woilld like the Minister to tell us first whether there is going to be a judicial inquiry by a Supreme Court Judge. We want a clear-cut reply from th« Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down. I have called the Minister to teply w>w.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Sir, according to the information received from the Government of Bihar, there was a dispute over a piece of land in Jehanabad in the district of Gaya in Bihar between one Shri Ram Prasad Rajak and one Shri Bharat Sahn. The dispute over the land was settled in favour of Shri Rajak, a member of the Scheduled Caste, by the SDO,

Jehanabad in 1985. Shri Bharat Sabu, an $^{\circ}$ cttre member of $t^{\circ}s$ Kisan Mazdoor Sanghram Samiti, was, however, not sati*-fied with the settlement and he proclaimed that he would not able by the verdict of the Government of Bihar, but would respect the decision taken by the Kisan Maz-door Sanghram Samiti. The Kisan Mazdoor Sanghram Samiti, the extremist fact-tioa, had given a call...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to know whether the inquiry, on the basis of which he is reading out now, was conducted by a Central agency or by the State Government.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA; Please listen to me.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is nothing new in it.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA:... (/nterruptions) The Kisan Mazdoor Sangram Samiti, an extremist faction had given a call for grabbing the land by force on-19-4-86. To meet the situation, the Administration had, therefore, made necessary arrangement"! for checking aggicssio.i and for maintenance of peace. Section 144 was promulgated in ths area. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Jehanabad and a senior Magistrate from Jehanabad along; with a posse of latlii|tear gas and armed force was deputed. Preventive arrests were also made around noon on 19-4-86.

At about 2.30 p.m. on J 9-4-86, about 600 — 700 activists of Kisan MaZdoor Sangram Samiti, armed with lethal weapons, violated section 144 anj organised themselves in demolishing the boundary wall erected by Shri Rajak, Despuic warning, they indulged in brick-batting and attacking the policemen. (Interruptions)

भी हुक्मदोत्र नाराभण सादवः सह विल्काल गसत है।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is he reading? Let us know. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER. H[^] is holding a brief for ...{Interruptions}

SHRI DIEPN GHOSH: It is not expected of a Union Minister 3f State for Home Affairs to read out a statement written by zamindart in connivance with; the police.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: You can talk anything you like. But please bear.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: la that case, will the hon. Minister agiee to constitute a Parliamentary Conunittee? (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please hear him.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The bursting of tear gas shelh and fire of two rounds ordered by th© Magistrate on duty proved ineffective, police re-inforce-ment were requested and the police force came back to the Thana premises with eight arrested persons.

The Superintendent of Police, JShatnr-bad, together with re-inforcement jeached the place around Library at about 4 p.m.

SHRI GJ RUDAS DAS GUPTA; How many policemen injured?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SHAU): Let him finish, Mr. Das Gupta. You cannot interrupt always. Please sit down.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: While he was trying to control the situation, some persons from the mob attempted an assault by axe but the Superintendent of Police escaped by ducking. Sensing threat to the life of the Superintendent of Police, the Armed Police opened lire resulting in otje casualty. The rumour that the SP has been killed, however, gained prominence and the mob surroimded the Thana and, while demanding the release of the arrested persons, attacked the Thana siemises,

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Basically wrong. Absolutely false.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: They resorted to firiiig through illegal arms causing Immediate danger to public property and peace. On Magistiate's order, the notice returned the fire resulting ia 11 deaths.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We are not prepared to listen to bunkum. This is all bunkum. (Interrupttom:)

भी राम नर देश क दशवाहा : हम इसका सनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।

भी हुनैसबेच नारायण बादव : यह सुठ है। हरिजनों की हत्या करो, भाठा इल्जाम

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA; He is givmg a police report

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): On a point of ordei. 2ir, when the Minister has beard the speeches of different speakers from this House, he is expected to give replies to the various points raised by the Members. But he is reading.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now, 1 may leli you that let him finish it. How can you say whether he has replied to your pointi or not? Please have the patience.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Twenty persons were injured who were rushed to Patna Medical College Hospital. Later, 10 more died in Hospital. Nineteen police personnel were injured, two of wliom re ceived gun-shot injuries. Forty-four pe* sons weie arrested and a large number of traditional weapons, one illegal rifle and 3 country-made pistols and a number of live ammunition were recovered. A casfif has been instituted against 47 persons un der sections 147|148|149|1881337|3231 324] 447|379|511|307| and 353 IPC and Section 25-B|27 of Arms Act. It is imder investi-

Out of 21 persons who died, 14 have been identified and 7 are yet to be identified. (*Interruptions*)

मिका: जडीशियल लिए . . . (ब्यवधान) SOME HON. MEMBERS? W« are not prepared to hear all this. (Interruptions)

THE VrCE-CHAIRMAN (SHRf SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU J: After ih«s speech you can ask for clarifications, *iInterruptions*)

(At this stage, some hon. Members leif the Chamber)

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA:
Amonsst the dead, six are Harijans and
eight non-Harijans with extremist background. Amongst the dead, one is also a
Muslim. The State Government have"

also ordered an inquiry into the incident by the Member, Board of Revenue, Bihar. It is not a case of Harijan atrocities. It is basically a law and order problem, which is the concern of the State Government. Therefore, nothing needs to be done on the part of the Government of India.

THE VTCE-CHATRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU)- llie House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House adjourned at thirty five minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the citwk on Thursday, the 8th May, 1586.