

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Maoist attack on 62nd Battalion of CRPF at Dantewada

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the request of the Government of Chhattisgarh, 141 companies of Central Para Military Forces (CPMFs) have been deployed in that State for anti-naxal operations over a period of time. The 62nd Battalion of the CRPF was deployed in March-April 2009 to replace the 55th Battalion. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let's hear the statement. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Earlier, the 62nd Battalion had been deployed in Bihar and had gained experience in anti-naxal operations.

A joint decision was taken by IG (Bastar) Shri Longkumar, DIG (Dantewada) Shri S.R.P. Kalluri and DIG (CRPF) Shri Nalin Parbhat to undertake an Area Domination exercise (AD Ops), including night halts, over three days. The actual deployment was left to be decided by SP (Dantewada) Shri Amresh Mishra and the Commandant of the Battalion. An 81-strong force, drawn from platoons belonging to the 'A', 'C' and 'G' companies of the 62nd Battalion was instructed to undertake the exercise between April 4 and April 6, 2010. It is reported that the force undertook the exercise. A Deputy Commandant and an Assistant Commandant accompanied the force. A Head Constable of the civil police also accompanied the force.

At about 0550 hours on April 6, 2010, the force came under heavy fire from the naxalites. Upon receiving a wireless message of the attack at about 0600 hours, the Commandant of the 62nd Battalion along with 30 men rushed to the place of the incident. They also came under fire three kilometres short of the actual place of the incident. Simultaneously, another party led by Inspector Wagdi of the 62nd Battalion moved from Chintalnar with reinforcements towards the place of the incident but that party also came under fire, just outside Chintalnar.

Preliminary enquiries have revealed that the deaths were caused largely due to bullet injuries, crude bombs and grenades. Seventy-four men of the CRPF, one Head Constable of the civil police and one driver of the reinforcement party lost their lives. Seventy-five weapons were also lost to the naxalites. Only the post mortem reports and a thorough inquiry, including debriefing of the injured jawans, would fully establish the sequence of events and the facts.

The three companies concerned had undergone pre-induction training before they were inducted in that area.

Anti-naxal operations are being conducted in accordance with the policy deliberated and agreed upon at several meetings with Chief Ministers of the affected States. The two pillars of the policy are calibrated police action and development. Central Para Military Forces have been provided to the affected States, including Chhattisgarh, to help the State Governments carry out

counter-insurgency operations, regain control over areas dominated by the naxalites, restore the civil administration and re-start development work. The State Governments, therefore, have the primary responsibility. The Central Government stands ready and willing to assist the State Governments and to coordinate inter-State operations. I may point out that, because the security forces are deployed in areas populated by the Scheduled Tribes, a number of restrictions have been placed on the operations of Central Para Military Forces.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, let us not forget that the goal of the naxalites is to overthrow the established authority of the Government through armed liberation struggle. The State has a legitimate right to deploy its security forces to resist, apprehend and, if necessary, neutralize militants who are determined to strike at the very roots of our nation.

Call to the CPI(Maoist) for talks was made in the hope that there will be a sincere response from them. I visited Chhattisgarh on April 7, 2010. I paid homage to the brave jawans and officers who had laid down their lives. Upon my return, we have instituted an inquiry into this grave incident. Shri E.N. Ram Mohan, IPS (Retd.) has been appointed as the one-man Inquiry Committee. He has been requested to submit his report in two weeks. I would submit to the House that we should await the report of the Inquiry Committee before reaching any final conclusions.

Sir, on an earlier occasion, I had said that to counter the menace of naxalism we need a 'strong head, a stronger heart and enormous staying power.' I believe that the Government has all three qualities. Even as we grieve the loss of lives, I appeal to this House- and through this House to the people of India- that we should remain calm, hold our nerve and stay on the course that we had carefully chosen since October 2009.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): What about a copy of the statement?

MR. CHAIRMAN: A copy of the statement will be made available.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Either, they should have adopted the same position as has been adopted in the Lok Sabha, that is, without a statement, or they should have provided a copy of the statement. The normal procedure is, when a Minister makes a statement, a copy of the statement is made available to the Members of Parliament... (*Interruptions*)...

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): It is not available to us... (*Interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will be made available... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, the point is, the Members of Parliament have given a notice, and subsequently, the Government has come forward to make a *suo motu* statement. If they are coming forward to make a *suo motu* statement, they must come prepared with a copy of the statement. That is what is minimum required.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF EARTH SCIENCES, THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI PRITHVIRAJ CHAVAN): Sir, we have come with a statement on the demand of the House in the morning. The house wanted a statement.

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Where is the copy?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: In the world of computer era, you say like this. How can we discuss it without a copy?

MR. CHAIRMAN: One Member at a time, please.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: He made a statement. We heard him. At the same time, to remember the sequence and all, we need a statement on hand. How can we discuss it without a copy being made available to us for going into the details? That is what is required. Well, the rule also says the same thing. That has been the practice in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is a practice...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Yes, we are happy that the statement has been made. We had asked that the statement be made. I am happy that the Chair agreed and the Government has also agreed that there will be a structured discussion after the statement. Now, if the copies of the statement are available, a structured discussion is possible. But they have not reached us...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: This is not the responsibility of the Secretariat to make copies. No, no. This is the responsibility of the Government to provide adequate number of copies.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Copies have been made. Why it has not reached this House, I do not know. I have given...*(Interruptions)*... Copies will come in a minute or two. Please start the debate.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Please take it seriously. The practice has always been that when a Minister stands up to make a statement, simultaneously, copies are made available. The Minister said: Let me complete my statement. Fine. We heard it. Now he is saying that the copies have been made available, but they are not reaching us. Does it require another inquiry why the copies have not reached? It is a very serious matter....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I understand the concern of the hon. Members. Now, whatever the reason might be for the copies not being here immediately, let us start the discussion...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Let the copies be made available to the Members. Till that time adjourn the House. What is this? This is too much. The Government is taking everything casually...*(Interruptions)*... It is a matter of concern for everybody. They were aware of the fact that the incident took place on 6th. Give the copies.

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Let the House be adjourned for 15 minutes till the copies are made available. What is this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: If that is the sense of the House...*(Interruptions)*... I understand the matter is of urgency that requires immediate discussion. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S.AHLUWALIA: The Government has been so callous. This the way the House should be treated! Please adjourn the House for fifteen minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The copies are here.

श्री एम. वेंकैया नायडु : चार-पांच लोगों को कॉपी मिली तो क्या मिली?

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सर, चार-पांच लोगों को कॉपी देने का क्या मतलब है?

श्री सभापति : अभी सबको मिल जाएगी, आप क्यों चिंता कर रहे हैं?

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आप मजाक मत कीजिए, विप्लव जी!...*(व्यवधान)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is all right. Ahluwalia Sahib, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: This is the right of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

AN HON. MEMBER: And your right also! ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : अभी आप खड़ा होकर कहेंगी कि इसकी हिन्दी की कॉपी क्यों नहीं आई? आप यह भी मांग सकती हैं!...*(व्यवधान)* Then, he will say, "We could not translate." ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Would you listen to me? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, is it a matter to be taken in a casual manner?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, with due respect to the Minister, the Minister has committed to the House that he wants to give a statement. Agreed upon. In the morning, Prithvi said, "The Minister is making a statement in the other House. He will make the statement here in the afternoon." Agreed, because of the sensitivity of the matter. Now, the Minister has come; he made a statement. Then, we made a request: what about the copies? He said, "They will be made available." Now, he has just given four, five copies. Is it to be taken in a casual manner? Moreover, he said that copies are already made available. Then, who is at fault? What is happening? The House is taken in a very casual manner on such a sensitive issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let me put it to the hon. Members.

श्री विनय कटियार (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, इसकी हिन्दी कॉपी नहीं आई।...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do you wish to conduct the discussion immediately or do you want to take a 15-minute adjournment? ...**(Interruptions)**...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: A 15-minute adjournment. ...**(Interruptions)**...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Sir, we want a 15-minute adjournment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: A 15-minute adjournment.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: If the copies will be made available to everybody.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In Hindi? ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री कमाल अख्तर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, इसकी हिन्दी कॉपी नहीं आई है।...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us take a 15-minute adjournment so that the Hindi copies are available with the Members. Is that agreed?

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ CHAVAN: Sir, it will be the convention. This is a demand which was made in the morning; the Minister has immediately complied with the demand. In Hindi, copies will be coming. Anyway, English copies are available. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री विनय कटियार : सभापति जी, यह हमेशा होता है।...**(व्यवधान)**... हिन्दी की कॉपी जल्दी नहीं मिलती है।...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ CHAVAN: This has been made only after considering the demand made by them in the morning.

श्री सभापति : अब इसके लिए adjourn मत करवाइए...**(व्यवधान)**...

What would you suggest, Mr. Jaitley? Shall we adjourn for 15 minutes or do you want to start the discussion?

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Sir, I want to start it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that we shall start the discussion. The hon. Leader of the Opposition.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we just have the opportunity to, herein, in the little time that has been provided to us, go through the statement of the hon. Home Minister. Sir, the incident, at Dantewada, is, actually, a culmination of the process which has been going on for the last several years. We, in this House, are all one with the Government in condemning this brutal attack on our security forces in which 75 of our security personnel have died and a large part of our weaponry has been seized by them. Chhattisgarh, as a State, is one of those States in this country, which, for the last several years, has been seized of the Maoist problem. When the Government in Chhattisgarh showed determination to fight the Maoists, initially, they

were alone and, in their approach, were being criticised by many, including my friends in the Treasury Benches. Regrettably, Sir, the first five years of the UPA Government, in the *avatar* of UPA-I, were, in fact, wasted, while not realizing as to what the seriousness and the enormity of this problem was. Every time, we discussed this issue, we got an uninspiring reply from the Government that it is only social and economic development which will take place, which will eventually resolve the problem, not realizing that besides the social and economic development of these areas, there has to be even an ideological battle against the Maoists. Additionally, the militarization of the Maoist movement in this country will also have to be responded adequately with a security action. Five years of UPA-I saw Maoists across the country gaining strength, and, today, unless I stand corrected by the Home Minister, there are, at least, 220 districts in this country, which have a Maoist presence; in 90 of them, they have an effective Maoist presence.

A situation of this kind is, particularly, alarming because when we look across the country we find that the first five years were wasted not even knowing or realizing what the problem was or how the problem was to be dealt with. Though there was some sign of hope in the last one year when the Home Minister, at least, gave indications of realizing the extent of the problem and suggesting though a very difficult solution for it but possible to respond to it, what had happened in the last few days is disgusting. Look at the conduct of the entire Opposition on this entire issue. We could have all got up and said, “We want the Home Minister of this country to resign”. The entire Opposition of this country, even one man, is not willing to speak in that language for the reason that we don’t want a reason for the Maoists to smile and for the Maoists to rejoice the victory. Therefore, even though there was a monumental lapse on the part of a section of the security forces — and I quite concede that battles like this will be won many a time and lost many a time, but these are battles which are to go on — the curse of Maoism has to be eradicated and this is a battle that this country can’t afford to lose. The entire Opposition was speaking in one voice for this country. We were constrained by the issues within our own organizations as to the extent of which we must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Government and fight against Maoism.

The Home Minister, Sir, in fact, became a victim of his own idiom. He had used a particular phrase against the Chief Minister of West Bengal. When I read the response of the Chief Minister of West Bengal after this incident, I saw that from BJP to the CPM everybody was speaking the same language on the Maoists issue. We didn’t want to respond by snide remarks against the Government or the Home Minister. Suddenly what we find today is that the country wants to speak in one language, the Opposition wants to stand with this Government and the Home Minister has made a very encouraging statement when he says, “to counter the menace of naxalism, we need a strong head, a strong heart and an enormous staying power”. We agree with the hon. Home Minister. But what we don’t need is a Government which tries to pull down

its own Home Minister; what we don't need is a divided Government; what we don't need is half the Maoists in the Treasury Benches who try and pull down the Government by saying that the fight against Maoism must be diluted and that is what seems to be going on in the last few days. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): Sir, this remark should be expunged. He said that half the Treasury Benches... *(Interruptions)*... It is a wrong statement. *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please. ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, look at the response. ... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please. ... *(Interruptions)*... Please allow the hon. Member to continue. ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Sir, you please assure us that the statement that he has made is not going on record. *(Interruptions)*... In a hurry he has made a wrong statement. *(Interruptions)*... Please see the record. *(Interruptions)*... Please give us an assurance that you will see the record. *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seats. *(Interruptions)*... Please resume your seats. *(Interruptions)*... Please continue. ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Sir, you please give us an assurance that you will see the record and if he has made a statement which is not right, it will be expunged. *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please. ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Why don't you give an assurance, Sir? *(Interruptions)*... He said that half the Treasury Benches... *(Interruptions)*... He has stated that. *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, compare the statement which my party spokesman and my colleague in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Rudy, made with the response that the hon. Chief Minister of West Bengal made. After being at the receiving end of a snide remark, he showed statesmanship. The BJP showed the statesmanship when the country was under the attack of Maoists. What is the ruling party and the Home Minister's own party doing? You are a senior leader of the party writing a signed article and I quote from that article two lines and I deal with the content of that article.

He says, "I have known P. Chidambaram since 1985 when we were both elected to Parliament. He is extremely intelligent, articulate, committed and a sincere politician, but extremely rigid once he makes up his mind. I have been a victim of his intellectual arrogance many times. But we are still friends. He is treating it purely as a law and order problem without

taking into consideration the issue of the Tribals”. Then he goes on to further attack him. In the last paragraph he says, “We should be paying more attention to the issues of livelihood and governance rather than converting the serene and calm environment of Bastar into a battle field. Ultimately, when the bullet is fired from the Naxal’s gun or the policeman’s, the victim is an ordinary Indian citizen”. If a satyagraha before the Maoists could resolve this issue, we will all join this great author and Office Bearer of the Congress Party. If development activity was possible when 75 policemen were being slaughtered when they entered that area; if it is possible to enter that area and start building roads, start setting up industries, start building hospitals and nothing will happen to them, if somebody was to narrate such a fairy tale to us, it may sound very impressive, but then that someone is not living in the real world. Not to be undone, we now have one of the Ministerial colleagues of the hon. Home Minister, a Ministerial colleague from West Bengal, who says, I am quoting the statement of last evening, “There is not a single Maoist in Lalgarh or to be precise in West Bengal. The CPI (M) cadres are unleashing a rein of terror in the garb of Maoists.

The operation of the combined forces is indirectly helping the CPI (M) there. We were always against the joint venture operation of West Bengal. We demand that the operation be stopped immediately. Only innocents are being subjected to torture”. Here is the statement which we are expected to take seriously. And that statement of the Home Minister says, probably rightly, that the States will have to fight the terror of Maoism. The Centre will stand behind them, will supply them the weaponry, will supply them the security forces, will conduct joint operations because we collectively have the strength to do that. I consciously used the words that there are Maoists who indulge in violence and there are those who do not indulge in violence but these are half Maoists when they speak this language. You don’t see a single Maoist in Lalgarh, you don’t see a single Maoist elsewhere and you say that the Joint Operation, which the Government of India and the States have launched — I hereby defy the collective responsibility principle — should be called off! Not satisfied with this, the next part of the statement is, I think such a Minister should be called to the Bar of this House and asked to explain the statement which defies all federal principles, “Ms. Banerjee also demanded the arrest of the Chief Minister, Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, for misusing his powers under the Constitution and for engaging in the undemocratic and unconstitutional activity”. So we are to fight Maoism, we are to fight that violence by saying that political parties have shown a great amount of maturity and statesmanship by saying we stand with the Government in this entire operation and your own Ministerial colleague, your own party colleague say, “Which is this direction you are taking the country into! There is not a single Maoist.

The Home Minister is day-dreaming; he is elucidating. There is no Maoist in Lalgarh and there is no Maoist elsewhere. It is cadres of other political parties on whom operation is being

done". Is this the manner in which this menace of Maoism is going to be fought? You certainly need a strong head and a strong heart, but you also need a strong Government, you also need a strong party and what is fatal to this operation is the fact that you don't have the support of that party or that Government in carrying on this operation and if you are isolated in this, which the effort seems to be, then certainly you can lose this battle even before the battle has actually begun. We now have one other distinguished colleague who today has been sworn in as Member of this House, Shri Mani Shankar Aiyer. He says, "Digvijay is not hundred per cent right, he is not even one thousand per cent right, he is one lakh per cent right".

It is not one; it is not two; it is not some isolated statement. The pattern at the national level is that the whole country is saying, the whole Opposition is saying, "Let us strike this menace of Maoism." And it is obvious that there is nothing ingenuous which has been said in the statement. This will have to be fought. Militarised movement of the Maoist will have to be fought as a law and order problem. For a long-term solution, you will need social and economic development of the region. And, seeing the spread of these Maoist activities, you will have to fight them ideologically. But now, we are being told, "Forget this larger consensus on this issue, this great threat to India, should the battle against this now be abandoned and the approach which has been adopted is, completely, wrong." The Government seems divided; the Ruling Party seems divided; the battle is on... *(Interruptions)*

श्री जनार्दन द्विवेदी (राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र, दिल्ली) : सभापति जी, नेता विपक्ष ने बार-बार पार्टी के व्यू की बात की है, तीन बार मैंने, सुना, चौथी बार मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ individuals की बातों को, पार्टी की राय की तरह पेश नहीं किया जाना चाहिए... **(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is conceding... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD (Bihar): He is the General Secretary of the Party... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: There has been an established procedure that if the hon. Member, who is speaking, has conceded... *(Interruptions)* Let him complete... *(Interruptions)* This is taking us nowhere... *(Interruptions)* Let him finish so that the Leader of the Opposition can speak... *(Interruptions)*

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA (Rajasthan): Under which rule is he speaking? *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jaitley, please continue... *(Interruptions)*

श्री विनय कटियार : सभापति जी, इतने लोग खड़े हो रहे हैं, यह साबित करता है कि गृह मंत्री जी के साथ कितने लोग हैं... **(व्यवधान)**...

श्री सभापति : आप बैठ जाइए... **(व्यवधान)**...

श्री विनय कटियार : इनके खड़े होने से यह मालूम हो रहा है... **(व्यवधान)**...

श्री सभापति : आप इनकी बात सुन लीजिए... **(व्यवधान)**... Mr. Katiyar, it is not your turn to speak... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I am sorry; there has never been this practice that a Member gives a clarification unless it concerns him. If Janardhanji's name has been taken, then, we would have been happy to get clarification from him. But he is answering on behalf of the party...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Leader of the Opposition has conceded...*(Interruptions)*

श्री एम. वेंकैया नायडु : पार्टी को समय मिलता है, उसमें बोलिए...(व्यवधान)...

श्री जनार्दन द्विवेदी : जो इस हाउस का मेंबर नहीं है, उसका नाम नहीं लिया जाना चाहिए ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्रीमती माया सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : सच्चाई को स्वीकारिए...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सभापति : आप लोग बैठ जाइए, प्लीज ...*(व्यवधान)*... Mr. Jaitley, please continue.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, this is, paradoxically, the situation we are confronted with. The nation and the Opposition want to fight the Maoists. The Home Minister, at least, says that he wants to fight the Maoists. And, you have completely conflicting voices coming from the Government and the ruling party. I, now, look back to the last 10 days. In the middle of a battle, does somebody have to say, "I accept responsibility and I am willing to go"? Generals don't walk out of a battle. They don't give an enemy the reason to rejoice. If this is the condition of the ruling party,...*(Interruptions)*

श्री जनार्दन द्विवेदी : आप रूलिंग पार्टी का व्यू तो सुन लीजिए...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Let the Leader of the House come and say. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why are you wasting the precious time of the House?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Let the Leader of the House come and say that this is the view of the Government or the party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ahluwaliaji, please. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, how can you allow this when the LoP is on his legs? What is this?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the LoP speak.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: I read, at times, in newspapers and I listen to statements on television channels, that in operations of this kind, security forces may even need air support, air support not for attacking anyone but air support for the purposes of surveillance and for the purposes of adding to the strength of the security forces. Even before statements have appeared, from the parallel department of the Government you find statements coming out saying that it shall not be provided. It appears that the Home Minister, in his approach, is under gherao from his own Party, under gherao from his own colleagues in the Government. At some stage, while he decides the future course of action, he will have to choose whether his

commitment to the cause of eradicating maoist violence in this country, his loyalty to the country, will prevail or his discipline towards his party, where he succumbs to the pressure and says, let a crippled battle against the Maoists go on. It is a Hobson's choice which he will have to make. If that is the kind of approach, then my advice and suggestion to my good friend, the Home Minister, is, "You are responsible for this country's security. The Home Minister is responsible for this country's internal security. This was a set back. But after a set back, Home Ministers do not behave like injured martyrs. Circumstances within the party can compel you to take that position, but your commitment to the country should not allow you to adopt that position". Therefore, this battle, as I said, is a battle which India cannot afford to lose, and, therefore, this battle must be led and we in the Opposition stand shoulder to shoulder with this Government in order to fight Maoism, provided the Government is willing to do so.

What is this problem all about, Sir? Let us look at the enormity of this problem and let us be very clear that these are not some ideologically misled people who have a grievance and, therefore, they are trying to voice it. This country, after Independence, started from a position where, probably, we had one of the largest number of people living below the poverty line. That figure has been, gradually, coming down. We have been trying to grow. Is this only about economic disparity and poverty? If it is only about economic disparity and poverty, and then, if every citizen who considers himself a 'havenot' goes and picks up a gun, we can stop that thinking about the idea of India, we can stop in terms of thinking about keeping this country together, we can stop thinking in terms of saving our parliamentary democracy; let us be very clear; this is a political movement led by ideologically hard individuals, committed individuals, who want to overthrow India's parliamentary democracy by the use of violence. This is, in fact, the Maoist movement. Now, when they want to do so, they want to do so with a particular strategy and that strategy appears to be, which you have seen decades ago, and that emanated in other countries of the world, that for this purpose they must have one group that is an ideologically trained group that would go about indoctrinating people, set up a guerilla army, involve people who would go and work in some areas which are deprived areas, mislead the people, get them into this and, then, establish a political system with the help of violence in which there is no ballot, in which there is no free economy, in which there is no economic development; they may have a few thousands of these ideologically trained people who through the use of violence would, then, say, the whole country should be under an ideological dictatorship of this kind. It is their ultimate goal to establish this and from the literature I read, 2060 seems to be the deadline by which they would establish this kind of a regime in this country.

Go in for the developmental approach. They built up a wall; they built up secluded areas of dominance. They created islands of their influence. Your armed forces and security forces will not be able to enter there. And, of course, some groups will go there, and start building roads,

setting up industries, setting up schools and hospitals and suddenly everything will become all right. Is it conceivably possible that this will happen? What is their approach? The approach and I read a lot of their literature, Sir, is this. I was reading on how they get their money. In these areas, which are their secluded islands, which are under their control, areas of their domination, most of these 220 districts, particularly those 90 districts under their strong control, every employee who earns the salary has to give them a tax; every shopkeeper has to give them a tax; every farmer has to give them a tax; every contractor has to give them a tax. If you go to areas like Jharkhand or northern areas of Bihar on the border, it is opium and poppy cultivation which is their source of revenue, and you end up collecting Rs.1,500 crores every year. On the strength of this money, you start hiring cadres; it is no longer ideological. You find young unemployed youths, some of whom are frustrated for lack of opportunities. The report seems to be indicating that in Rs.3,000 a month, you keep one or two such youths, arm them and put them in the villages. What their approach is, how do they get these arms? Unquestionably, some of the arms are coming from across the border. They have been buying arms. Some crude arms are manufactured by them. But, bulk of their arms are not coming from across the border or manufactured by them.

They work on their own Maoist slogan, 'the enemy's armoury is our armoury', and the enemy being the security forces. So, every time a police station is looted, a security force is looted, for instance, these security personnel were attacked, and the Home Minister said that 75 weapons were taken away, and these are taken away on each occasion. In each such attack, they snatch away the arms and take them away. The Government's armoury becomes their armoury. Earlier it was class enemies. Now, it is none of their class enemies, it is only informers. So, anybody who is to be killed or intimidated is the informer. That is the approach you follow. You start encircling the cities. I read some of their recent literature. That is an area where they are weak. Mr. Home Minister, if this goes unchecked, and if you follow the advice of any of your three colleagues, who have turned counter-insurgency consultants in the last three days, the consequence will be the next step where the cities will be encircled, and, probably, two to three years from today you will have to put some 50 or 100 districts of this country under Army's administration, without the civil administration. This is not how battles of this kind are going to be fought. Therefore, Sir, how do we fight this battle?

Certainly, everybody is entitled to livelihood. I may be very critical of some schemes of the Government. There are some schemes on which there is a larger national consensus, they have been continuing Government to Government. After all, our economy is growing by nine per cent. We want it to trickle down. You collect revenue from those who can afford to give it; you use it for poverty alleviation schemes. Please check up, even the money under these schemes reaches

some of these secluded areas; the Government's money which is meant for the poor is extorted and taken out and used in order to perpetuate the Maoist Movement. Your party colleagues, Mr. Home Minister, are seriously mistaken. Maoism is not a poverty eradication scheme. It is a democracy elimination scheme. And, those misconceived advisers who tell you to stop halfway and give up this battle and turn to a situation where you only keep trying and failing and not being able to achieve the required figures of development, then, probably, you will never be able to do so.

These will become secluded areas and slowly their areas of influence will keep expanding. Who are these people? I think, this country is also entitled to know who these people are. As I have said, you have one category which is ideologically well trained. They are willing to go to any extent. There is a second category which is trained in a military battle, which is the militarization of the Maoist movement. There is a third category which is the poor and innocent, that is, the rural people who come under their influence who are used by them in order to shield their operations, because security forces understandingly being humane, the Governments being humane and are unwilling to take the poor people on who are put by the Maoists as a shield in front of them. I thought, I would only end with the fourth category. The fourth category, Sir, is this new breed of human rights activists. I remember the human rights movement in the country picked up during the freedom struggle; it picked up on the eve of the emergency, during the emergency and thereafter. In the last ten to fifteen years, I have seen, there is no liberal human rights movement left in this country. What is left is really an overground face of the underground movement.

Most of the people who appear on our television channels before the media under the garb and name of human rights activism, are actually the overground face of the Maoist movement. They will all start with the favourite argument, 'Well, let me first tell you that I am opposed to violence. But, the Maoists have a point because there is a social espouse which is responsible. The State is indulging in violence. The policeman has a gun, so the Maoist is also entitled to have a gun.' For a policeman to have a gun is a part of his legitimate duties. For a State to have police or military is a part of its normal protective duties. If there is an insurgency, what does a citizen do except depend on the State for protection? But, for a private militia to go and say, 'We will carry our own military because the State also has a military', then if we are going to rationalize such arguments, we are moving towards an anarchic situation. That is an argument these destroyers of human rights, these gentlemen who are giving human rights a bad name, are now appearing to be giving.

Sir, I thought I would end with these four categories. But, then, within the democratic society, I have come across a category of people, whom I earlier described as half-Maoists. They certainly do not indulge in violence, there is no military approach. But, their one point

approach is rationalize the Maoists' cause and somehow weaken the fight against Maoism. Therefore, it is because of this reason that these kind of newly emerged advisors on how to fight Maoism have to be really taken with a pinch of salt and their advice, perhaps, in larger national interest will have to be ignored.

Sir, I clarified earlier that the Home Minister has referred to two areas of approach on how the Maoism is to be fought with. You certainly need economic development, you need jobs, you need to end inequalities, and you need to end disparities. We have covered a huge distance as a society. We still have a long distance to cover. If we continue to grow like this, I think, the first right on the national resources will be of these backward areas. These can be areas under Maoists' influence. We must remember our national resolve that we have absolutely no battle against the poor people in those areas who are either quiet or joined them because of submission and who are otherwise inflicted with the curse of poverty. Our first national responsibility is to serve them. Our first share of national resources must go to them. But, then, that alone will not solve the problem.

Our resources will not even reach them, our roads will not reach them, our schools and hospitals will not be built there unless this iron wall which the Maoists are building in these secluded areas is demolished. This has been built up by the militarized operations of the Maoists and this can only be demolished by a militarized operation of the State. Therefore, the State will also need security. To that an extent, it will have to be looked at merely because a political problem or a social problem also has a violent content, the law and order component does not disappear.

It will always remain a law and order problem along with the social problems which needs to be resolved. Then, Sir, since the last two categories I referred to, this new brand of over-ground faces of the underground movement, and this half a Maoist categories, which are increasing in numbers, it is important that we remember that besides social and economic activity, besides the security action, we also need to fight them ideologically. We have to go and tell the poor people. When they used the same tactics in China what eventually happened that the course of the economic planning had to be changed, otherwise, China would have remained backward. What happened in other economies of the world where this kind of violence was thrown up, after all, a large number of their colleagues, in many parts of the world, have come back to the political mainstream and said that they will use the democratic process. And we make them to come back in the democratic process.

This entire effort that whenever you are under pressure, give an offer for talks, and offer for talks can put the Government off guard, and offer for talks will give you time to regroup, and then, you can again strike back. Last time, when they gave an offer for talks and the Government said that we will watch your conduct, during that period you had a series of attacks. This, Sir, is the enormity of the problem. The Government, the State Governments, the Home

Minister have an onerous task that these secluded islands have to be recaptured back. They have to be recaptured back so that the economic resource can go into them. Without recapturing them back, if you put the economic resource, nothing will reach there. You need a huge amount of coordination between the Centre and the States. You do not need merely allegations flying at each other, you do not need to embarrass each other. And interpersonal relations need a huge amount of humility on both ends. The States may be ruled by different parties, the Centre may be ruled by different parties. This is one issue on which these ideological barriers between democratic parties will have to fall.

Therefore, we need to certainly coordinate this entire action. I think there is a special responsibility on the Home Minister to improve these interpersonal relations with the States with the Chief Ministers. Lastly, Sir, I am sure that the opposition will be forthcoming, all opposition Chief Ministers will be forthcoming, opposition parties will be forthcoming, but, I think, where we cannot help him is to improve the interpersonal relations within his own party. That seems to be at low ebb. In the middle of the battle we have never seen the person in front is being pulled down in this manner. I think, those who are doing it, are neither performing a patriotic duty nor a service to the country. They must reconsider their stand. Sir, I repeat what I told the Home Minister that this battle cannot be fought half-heartedly, this battle cannot be fought by saying that all right if I do not succeed I will go out. We cannot afford to do that. You cannot behave like an injured soldier. This battle has to be won. The Government has to be in the front and, therefore, the Government must stand up.

If the Government is divided, then your own strong mind, strong heart and your ability to stay on do not help you because there are lot of people who are creeping down and who are pulling you down. Unless you can fight that situation and the Prime Minister comes here to clarify that such sort of a situation will not come, even with our support and the country's entire goodwill against this battle, I am not so sure what the present party in power can really do out of the battle of this kind, Sir. Thank you very much.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next Member, Mr. Janardan Dwivedi wishes to give some personal explanation. ...*(Interruptions)*... Just a minute.

AN HON. MEMBER: No personal explanation. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: There is no such convention. ...*(Interruptions)*... It will create a bad precedent in the House, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not personal, his name was not mentioned. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, there is a procedure for personal explanation. ...*(Interruptions)*... He cannot give a personal explanation like this. ...*(Interruptions)*... His name was not mentioned. Only the leader of the Opposition can...*(Interruptions)*... Don't create a bad precedent in the House. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us proceed with the discussion. Dr. Keshava Rao.

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: The Government is the Home Minister.
...(Interruptions)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: We can do without these interruptions. ... (Interruptions)

डा. राम प्रकाश (हरियाणा) : All India Party के General Secretary ... (Interruptions)...

श्री सभापति : आप बैठ जाइए, प्लीज़।

DR. K. KESHAVAL RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I rise with all seriousness. Having heard my friends, this has been a fight for many last centuries — right from Aristotle days to Hobsonian — when we considered the man as a social animal or was made social and since then this issue had been coming. Let us make it very clear. The hon. Leader of the Opposition said that it is ideological. At the same time, he wanted to insulate ideology from economic and social order. He said, 'we can understand the social conditions of this country. We can understand the economic conditions of the country and the promises that we had made as a tryst of destiny.' All this can be there; yet, we must have the ideological moorings built into that. Let me tell you that there cannot be an ideology without this thing being made innate and inherent in them. If that be not so, that is the difference between us and you, hon. Leader of the Opposition. It is because I know how you look at violence which we also see. If communal violence is something which you can tolerate we don't like it, while we condemn any kind of violence. But, at the same time, we would like to see why this violence at all.

Since we talked about ideology, let me remind you, I am not trying to join issues with you on polemics nor political theories in this. The two parties are to be blamed. Let not the hon. Leader of the Opposition again come up and say that there are differences in your own party. There is a difference between a policy, evolution of policy and formulation of a policy. This party ours which is totally committed to the poor, this party which is totally committed to tribal welfare, this party which is totally committed to the work as the under dog, this party is committed to Mahatma Gandhi who wanted to wipe the tears of the last man in the rung. So, our ideology and our commitments differ from you. It is all right. But, at the same time, if we have united view, we need to take up polemics, we need to take credit frit. After Independence what did we do? It is we, all of us, Mr. Leader of the Opposition, started adding a new content to our meaning of Independence. When we won political independence, it is we who vied with each other to tell people. Independence has no meaning unless there is economic and social content. Having fed the people for 60 years on that, having seen today something like five per cent in this country are not even reachable by us, let alone our going to their help, yet continue in their name for power. What has happened? It does not in any way mean, I am trying to support violence or those who come and indulge in such things. I say we are to be blamed simply for two reasons.

I start with Naxalites. I want Naxalite friends to understand. Do they really think that they have the capacity and capable to overtake the potential of their State power? Is their moral for revolution not sometimes being distorted with that of criminal violence. These things they must understand. When they cannot do it and if they would only like to talk for talks sake as the Leader of the Opposition said it will be turtle. If they are trying to talk about economic and social content of the programmes and their Movement, we are prepared to take them as partners. We in, Andhra Pradesh, have been tackling this issue. The Union Home Minister is the first man who went on record to say he was prepared to talks, which everybody says, but he did not on giving up arms or anything. He said, shun violence, abjure violence.

In Andhra, when we were fighting, we were insisting that they must give up arms and come to table. But, what had happened here? Having said that, if they still have not come and the Minister has an alibi saying that they had not responded — they really did not respond. It becomes is a critical issue. This is a very sensitive issue. This is a national issue. What is needed is, as a responsible individual and party man, I think, we need to persuade and go after and bring them to table so that we, as responsible rulers or the representatives of this country, are able to solve the problem. That is what we need to do. That is what we have done in Andhra. It took two years for us to go after them.

Sir, when the talks failed on a small issue, I went on *padayatra* to sixteen districts in forest as President of the PCC. I am not saying that I had attained anything big. But, nonetheless, it did see its moral affect on them and there was not much violence. What did we do? Today, I would not like to go into all the issues. We must look into only two issues. I want the hon. Leader of the Opposition also to look into these. Sir, Dantewada is one issue and Naxalism, *per se*, is entirely a different issue. Sir, Dantewada, people have said, is the most cowardly and dastardly act that we have seen. After all, we need to condemn it. But the reasons for that are also analyzed by Professors of strategic studies or whoever it be. The Home Minister now says that there is a Committee which is going into it. All these have to be looked into. We know that there was lack of coordination. We know that the forces were ill-trained or ill-equipped and that will have to be looked into.

The hon. Leader of the Opposition has thrown light on more issues. And, I deal with only two issues. The first one is violence and the other is ideology. He finds fault within our party people differing on this. Let me tell you, there cannot be a greater issue than ‘man.’ Any issue or political theory has to have the ‘man’ at the centre stage. If that is the theory that we are trying to evolve in the Congress Party, we are concerned of ‘man.’ Who is this ‘man’? This ‘man’ is not wandering or sitting in this hall. He is a ‘man’ whom we have not seen but about whom we always talk. This ‘man’ is the one who does not have access to development. So, this is

3.00 P.M.

something like this man's delayed response to development. There is development in the country and he has been tolerating all this for years even though it had not reached him. This delayed response, ultimately, sometimes, leads to violence which has to be met with. How do we meet this? To counter ideology, we must have outreach efforts. What are those outreach efforts? The hon. Leader of the Opposition did say that we need to educate people, we need to help them. How do we do this?

Sir, I have always been insisting right on the Floor of this House and outside that talks are necessary which the hon. Minister has called for and asked for. If he had asked for talks and did not get a positive response, tomorrow, they will say, 'why did you ask for talks?' Immediately, my friends from the BJP might say, 'How do you talk to this kind of coarse enemies? For me, they are no enemies. If they are under the garb of some wrong notions, we need to remove them and talk to them. How do we do that? To me talks are important for simple reasons the first one is, we have been attaining a great growth in this country. We have a committed heart to reach out to these people. We have committed policies to see that all our development reaches them. But the ugly face of our distributive justice, today, is something which cuts us off from the real intention. What is that we are trying to do? The talks, to my mind, are important. The moment talks begin, the entire remote areas of which you have talked about — 83 districts where they have an effective control, while they have presence in something like 220 districts — and the 220 districts would be looking at you. Their ears and eyes will be glued to the office or room where you are talking.

Thus they would come to know that this Government has given the NAREGA, the RTI, and all other development programmes. They would realise that all that had been said, all that had been told against govt. programmes was wrong and they could have reaped the fruits of development. This is the outreach of ideology. The ideological outreach is one where we go and tell the people that what they want is not different from any our talk. But, unfortunately, what is happening is, it is the strategy of a few groups, strategy of a few political parties here, could be to indulge in violence in other names, in the name of revolution, change, religion, caste or region or whatever it is to attract alteration. They do it. We all know that. Even if we call them and meet all their agenda, we are sure and the Home Minister is also sure that the Communists are not going to pull down their shutters and say from tomorrow there is no Maoist party. They are going to continue. We realize this; we are conscious of this, yet we need to do it because it is our responsibility, we have been elected for that. Let us ask our own hearts, are we really responding to the restlessness in our own self to the oppression or injustice in the society? Are we not only waking up whenever some kind of violence crops up or something wrong goes in the society? Why? As the Leader of the Opposition, in the very beginning, rightly said that it is a culmination of the process. What is this process, right from 1947 to this day? It is the uneven

planning and progress. That is why I am always tempted to quote Rahulji. Rahulji said, "The Government has not reached these areas." He said this when I was also going along with him in the Jharkhand areas. He never said that the development has not reached. I would like the Home Minister to understand the subtlety of this. You might take development to rural areas, but unless you empower them, unless they have access to the development as right, which we are enjoying, nothing can be done.

That is why when Rahulji said that the development has reached that area, I told him that it was right up to that village; we might built up roads and all these things but without empowerment. Why I am saying is that we must have some kind of sympathy for those sections of people who brought us to power. It is no rhetoric. I will not try to explain what the ideology of naxalism or of the Congress is. When Mahatma Gandhi was asked in 1942 as to what should be the agenda for free India, he did not hesitate, he replied in one word, "Land to the tiller". Can there be a greater revolutionary ideology than this? I was asking this in my talks with the naxalites. Even Ramakrishna told me that distribution of land was their first demand. I said that "you were not even born when Congress wanted to give land to them". The Marxists were not even born when Congress thought of giving land to them. *(Interruptions)* I agree with you. *(Interruptions)* All those who understand the CPI(M)'s ideology know this. I know why exactly did it go wrong. It is because of these ideologies. We have failed somewhere. The link is missing somewhere.

We have failed to implement to a satisfactory level. How do we meet? Only finding an alibi by saying that so and so is stopping us from doing it won't help. Are we not acting in Gujarat when violence comes up, when genocide takes place as a hurdle.? Are we not acting in other States when worst kind of violence takes place? Did we look to that? Like that, here also we need to go all hog. Sir, I would not take much time, but I would like to stress that today the strategy seems to be to send Central Forces, give money to State Governments to modernize State police, attend to the developmental works, etc. This is the Government. This issue falls within the framework of the party. Nonetheless, the party has a right. Let our Leader of the Opposition understand this.

The Party has a right to decide what its priorities should be. Some might say that let us look at development first. After getting involved in the development process, let us talk to them as to how they should reach the people; then as far as law and order is concerned, if there is any failure, the Government of the day knows its job, and it will do its job. We need not proclaim in the House as to how much of modernization we are taking up and how many forces we are sending. The duty of the Government is, without any compromise, to see that the law and order is maintained and that would be maintained. Sir, one thing I would like to add is that this issue

needs to be understood properly. For last 40 years, we have been talking about this issue. We have used all kinds of brave words, we have said many things, yet it is continuing. Let us understand as to why it is continuing in spite of the best of our efforts, in spite of our total will, in spite of our words, in spite of our programmes and in spite of our strategy. There is something somewhere missing. There are some elements.

I would not blame the Opposition Party for that, but there are people who think in those terms that development must reach to a particular section and should not reach to a particular section. It might be a heinow to us. There could be some bottlenecks. I am not blaming anybody. But it is the party formulators, it is their system which is to be understood, so that their policy is understood. Mr. Yechury is looking at me. If only the Communist Parties had not been divided after learning the lessons from the armed struggle in Telangana, things would have been different. But what did we do? I am talking about Budhan issue relating to Nalgonda. Let us understand that whenever we talk about, this particular issue it must transcend party lines. Though ideologically, the Congress Party is with it because our moorings are in the people and our feelings are for the people. That is why, we want to win all the people who are thinking on the same line. It can be achieved without violence. Threat perception is different from violence itself. As the Leader of the Opposition said we have unemployment. They are recruiting the people. The strategy should be like this. Why not we have all these forests guards appointed in the rural areas. We have appointed 17,000 Forests Guards in Andhra at one go, we have distributed 5 lakh acres of land in Andhra at one go and we have appointed something like 7,000 to 8,000 Road Guards at one go in tribal areas. We did so not because there was a need, but this is how we are tried to divert the frustrated youth who would have otherwise been attracted to misguided. So, I think that the strategies the Central Government is adopting are very good, notwithstanding Dantewada.

As far as Dantewada incident is concerned, as we all know, if something goes wrong, we have to look into that. But let not Dantewada overshadow our perception, our understanding of the basic issue. So, this is my view. What I am trying to submit to the hon. Minister is that the strategy need not be changed. The strategy of the Party is the same. It should be, first, let us ask for talks, persuade friends, pursue the path, go after them; it is a difficult task but we need to do it. First, get into development, remote areas' development through big packages, whatever it is. First, take the remote area development programmes. After that, call them for talks and give them a message as to what we are trying to do and what we are doing to reach the people and the stakeholders in those areas; thus, there will be better appreciation of us.

As far as the third aspect is concerned to which you always give the first preference perhaps under the influence of the BJP, let us not totally give it up. Our attention, our alertness to law

and order, our response to law and order situation are always there. Let us not talk about it. The Police or the Military whosoever, will take care. But, unfortunately, whenever we talk about Naxalism in this House, all that the Minister would get up to say is as to how much money the Government has given to the State Government for modernization or how many battalions have been sent to the affected State. This is not going to help. What is required is and where answer to it lies is : strategies like how many acres have been distributed, how many areas have been covered under the Welfare Special Package Scheme. Once we take up this, things will slowly start improving. Let us understand it. It is not that the moment you do it, these incidents will start coming down from tomorrow. As I warned earlier also, our trying to solve all these problems will not bring down the shutters of the CPI(Maoists). But it is our duty to see that the issues are solved whether they close down the shutters or not, bring down the shutters or not. That is why I don't see anything wrong in the...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT (West Bengal): Sir, we are in the darkness not only because...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: What to do?

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall attain light.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, these are the kind of strategies. Then, Sir, the Home Minister must also have a look at the 5th Schedule. I am saying it because of strong reasons. Let us go to Jharkhand. You have given the land to the forest dwellers. ...*(Interruptions)*... The Rules have not come as yet. But I think I am as much an activist as you are. The moment you give it, what happens is that within one week, some rich fellow from somewhere comes and claims that there is coal beneath and so that belongs to Centre and stakes claim. The question here is, does the land belong to the tribal or does the coal belong to him? This question has to be decided first. There are coal mines beneath. You are trying to tell us today that in the tribal areas there are few difficulties. We need not talk about these difficulties. It is the duty of the Government to solve these difficulties and this Government is doing it. They have opted for the 'common man' '*aam aadmi*'. It has opted for a policy and this policy is a policy of reaching them, percolating down to the last man. This is overall strategy of the Congress Party. How do we reach them?

We need to revisit the policies, midcourse and time and again. It is not necessary that we put a full stop at the end of the entire matter. It is dynamic We are doing this. Now to find fault with a strategy, which tries to revisit the development, which tries to review it, is wrong. I think, Sir, it is not a correct approach. That is our policy. We would like to see that while we are for development first, we are for taking all people along and talking to every kind of friend

as long as he is not our “nation’s enemy” While talking to them, we would deal with the law and order situation as it becomes necessary. There is a Department — the Home Ministry — and it will deal with it. It is not a political process or it is not that the politicians have to do it. We try to tell all the political parties how important it is that this progress must reach to the people.

With these few words, I conclude and I thank you for having given me this opportunity.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I must compliment the Treasury Benches for fielding my learned friend, Keshava Rao, before I stand up to speak because it is indeed a double task that I have to do to come back to the topic, with all due respect.

We are discussing right now, Sir, the statement that the hon. Home Minister has made on the Dantewada massacre. We have heard the statement; we have read the statement; and at the end of that statement, he said that let us wait for the Inquiry Committee Report to come and then we can take stock of what actually happened in this particular incident in Dantewada. We agree with that; we shall wait for that. But the point that I would like to highlight right now is that the Dantewada incident is not an incident in isolation. This is happening as a part of a policy, as a part of developments and activities that have intensified since the UPA-II Government has come. Since the General Elections in 2009, Sir, according to the figures of the Home Ministry itself, 993 lives have been lost due to Maoist violence, of which 340 are security personnel.

Only yesterday, in West Bengal, two more of my party’s cadre were hacked to death by the Maoists, taking the total to 176 in the months since May last year. This is something which only demonstrates very, very eloquently, but chillingly, with murderous assaults and attacks, that the Maoist menace is mounting. Now, taking this as a general figure, looking at it in a general way, we entirely agree with the fact that this is not an issue or menace which can be tackled by apportioning blame. If you look at the States that are involved, apart from the Central Government, you have West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Bihar, all these States where this current problem is persisting are States that are run by Governments led by different political parties. So, unless we have a unified approach on how to tackle this issue, we cannot succeed and that is something we must actually keep in mind and not be bothered about where the buck stops. The buck stops with India. The buck stops with the Government and the buck stops with all of us here in the Parliament. Are we going to break up the parliamentary democracy that we have built up so laboriously? Are we going to change it for the better for the people or not? That is where the buck should stop. Let us not pursue these bucks and let us actually try in right earnest to come down to how do we try and solve this problem.

The point that was made by the hon. Leader of the Opposition, a point that I have been making and we from the Left have been making in this House for the last nine months or so, is that there is a fundamental contradiction that is feeding the growth of such Maoist violence in our country and that contradiction lies within the Central Government and the Union Cabinet of Ministers itself. I have repeatedly stated that on three occasions, the hon. Prime Minister has drawn the attention of the country stating, 'Maoist violence represents the gravest threat to India's internal security.' Now, having said this, how can you have members in the Cabinet, the same Union Cabinet, who not only say things to the contrary but actually act to the opposite? How can you have Union Cabinet Ministers — it has been read out by the hon. Leader of the Opposition and I do not wish to read out those statements again — demanding the arrest of the elected Chief Minister of a State under our Constitution? Hon. Chairman, you would have to assure us; we are the Council of States. If this is the way in which members of the Union Cabinet deal with elected Chief Ministers of the States and ask for their resignation openly in the media, can the Government keep quiet? Is the Government not answerable to the country? How is it that on the one hand, the Prime Minister, the leader of the Cabinet, says that this is the gravest threat to India's internal security and on the other, you have members who not only say that it is not the gravest threat but also that there are no Maoists operating in Bengal at all.

They say there are no Maoists operating in Bengal at all and ask for the withdrawal of the Central forces. How can you co-exist with these contradictions? If you are co-existing with these contradictions, I am sorry to say that it is the height of political opportunism. Just for numbers in the Lok Sabha, if you are going to allow the country's internal security to be compromised, then this Government is doing a very big disservice to the country, just for the sake of its survival. Governments may come and Governments may go. But, what is of concern is the nation; what is of concern is the country; what is of concern is this institution called Parliament and parliamentary democracy. Don't play with it. Don't, for the sake of your political survival, allow such forces to feed and provide sustenance for this Maoist violence to spread. And that is my point. Why is it that 30 years after this Movement came into existence, the Maoist violence has reared its head in Bengal again.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

That is the point this country must understand. You have the re-entry of Maoists into Bengal behind political flags and banners of legitimate political parties operating within parliamentary democracy. Maoists are being used in order to serve petty electoral purposes and petty electoral ambitions in a particular State. Can we allow such indiscriminate use, such despicable use of methods in order to somehow wrest power in a particular State?

Please remember, Naxalbari is a village that exists in Bengal today. It existed in Bengal always and the uprising that took place in Naxalbari in 1967 from there the term 'Naxalites' has arisen. After that uprising there in 1967, there was a big debate within the Indian Communist Movement. I need to refer to this because sometimes there have been references saying that we, CPI(M), are after all cousins of Maoists or, at one point of time, we had allegedly supported them and this only can come from those people who have not really understood our history. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was divided in 1967 by a small group of people who had argued that Naxalbari uprising was the way for revolution and emancipation of India. We had disagreed with them. We had told them that it was only through the combination of parliamentary means and extra parliamentary means that we could achieve social transformation. But with an erroneous understanding that the Indian ruling classes are comprador in the sense that they do not have their own social base and all that is required is to arm the people, they armed the people and, therefore, by arming the people the slogan of People's War emerged. The slogan of People's War was 'Arm the people' so that they can capture power. It was all easy because the ruling classes do not have a social base. That was the wrong ideological understanding and that understanding had to be combated and that was combined with the policy of individual annihilation, individual annihilation of originally class enemies and now, as it is being pointed out, individual annihilation of all those who are opposed to them.

It is the combination of this which is ideological and the ideological strain which we think is completely wrong both in terms of understanding Indian reality and in the methods employed to achieve a social transformation in our country and it is an ideological battle that we, CPI(M), have been in the forefront for the last forty years. We have lost thousands of our people in this ideological battle and it is because of this ideological battle that we succeeded in isolating them in West Bengal. So, today if we think of combating Maoism without an ideological battle, it can never succeed. The question of ideological battle rests on the basic fact that social transformation in India is necessary, but what are the means that you will apply and adopt for achieving such a social transformation and what is the concrete analysis of the concrete conditions that you are living in?

This ideological battle is as important as re-establishing the writ of civic administration in these areas and re-establishing of the writ of civic administration is not negotiable. On that, there is no dispute among all of us. But it has to be combined with a political battle or political offensive against this, particularly the ideology which we think is undermining the foundations of modern India. That is why whenever such problems have occurred in West Bengal, in order to resolve these problems, we have repeatedly adopted the approach where an All-Party Meeting

is called in these affected areas. Twenty-eight All-Party Meetings have been called since the last General Elections to tackle this Maoists' violence in these areas, but not one of them was attended by the ally of the Congress Party who is now sitting in their Cabinet. The reason for not attending is not to legitimize this process but to allow or use the Maoists in order to create terror in a particular area and use the terror to browbeat people into politically supporting them. So, this is a tactic of terror.

This is politics that is being operated through terror. And it is this politics of terror that needs to be fought today. I think what is required is a combination of measures required by law and order and ideological political struggle against the Maoists and Maoism itself. Unless this combination is adopted, I don't think we can actually succeed. Therefore, I would sincerely urge the Government at the Centre and I sincerely urge the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House, to please come here and explain to us how he has Members in his own Cabinet who think completely opposite of what he has been telling the nation as far as Maoists violence is concerned and do not compromise the interest of our country for the sake of continuation of your Government.

You may be happy, like once Winston Churchill famously remarked during the Second World War, "Let the Communists and Fascists kill each other and then we shall enter.", and he delayed the second front. If that is the thinking of the Congress Party today, I am sorry, it will only lead to a sort of devastation that the world had seen during that time. If they think that let the Maoists and the Marxists fight each other out and let them deplete themselves, and then, they will enter in order to restore the peace in that region, then they will destroy the very basis and the foundations of the parliamentary democracy in our country. So, they have to be extremely clear. In this, what is required by the Central Government, as I mentioned earlier, in these five States that you are talking about right now with five different Governments, but unless you take on board all the political parties — and that requires a complete non-partisan approach — and the Central Government co-ordinates these activities, you cannot really solve this problem.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you come from a State that was also infamous for having bandits like Veerappan. For two decades, you could not catch him because whenever Karnataka Police moved, he would move into Tamil Nadu; whenever Tamil Nadu moved, he would come back into Karnataka, or go into Kerala. And, in this way, between the three States, he managed for two decades. You require a co-ordinated approach between all these States if you want to solve this problem. And, that requires a strong political will. That requires a strong political will to be able to co-ordinate between all these State Governments. That is required, and my appeal would be to all other political parties also who are running Governments in the States that this is not something on the basis of which, we should calculate our electoral fortunes for the future. This is a threat that needs to be met squarely. Otherwise, you will have series of actions that will

continuously undermine the foundations of a modern parliamentary democracy in India. And, that is why, Sir, when my learned friend, Dr. Keshava Rao, was talking about the method employed in Andhra Pradesh and he was talking about negotiations or talks as the way in which the problem was solved, please remember, the biggest thing that was undertaken by the Andhra Government then was Operation Grey Hound.

Therefore, it is a combination that will have to be done. In fact, we have to learn from our own States which have actually tackled extremism in a very successful way, and one of those States from which we have to learn is the tiny State in the North-East called Tripura. In Tripura, they have tackled it by a combination of a political approach, a political will using the law and order measures and addressing the most important issue of development. And, addressing that issue of development can only be with a combination of this that you could actually control the growth of these extremists activities. And, the development issue is the third arm of this tripod. You require a tripod approach, and in that tripod approach, one leg is the law and order; the second leg is the political will and the political battle; and the third leg is to address the developmental concerns. Look at the area where all these activities are taking place. This is one of the richest areas in terms of mineral resources in our country. You have, through the years, successively in the Government, privatized mining. And, all of us know what havoc private mines have been playing in other parts of the country. But, here, privatization of mining activities in the areas which are predominantly inhabited by tribal people has only added to the woes of the people there.

The private mafias that come with the private mines and their activities, had only caused further miseries to the tribal population there who already could not have the benefits of development reach them. Therefore, what is required is to also look into the policies, re-look into the policies, and, at least, try and understand why we oppose the privatization of these mines. You are creating situations of over-exploitation and extra burden being imposed on the people there. That is also adding to the backwardness of the people there apart from the traditional backwardness of the tribal areas. Therefore, what is required if you really, sincerely want to tackle this problem is a combination of this tripod. You will have to address all the three - law and order, a political will and a political battle against them, and address the developmental issues of the concerned population there. Unless this holistic approach is undertaken, we cannot really tackle this problem. The Home Minister, in his statement, said that there are two pillars of the policies that the Central Government has adopted. One is that of calibrated police action, and the other is that of development.

And, then, he goes on to say, the State Governments, therefore, have a primary responsibility. Sir, I find it completely contradictory. Now, you are saying that the State Governments have a primary responsibility. Yes; law and order is a State subject, and, the State Governments have a primary responsibility. There is no doubt about it. But when a law and order

problem spreads beyond the borders of a particular State and goes into the borders of other States, then, of course, the concerned State Governments have that responsibility, but the task of the Centre in coordinating these actions of the State Governments become important.

I hope that instead of the Central Governing standing ready and willing to assist the State Governments, and, to coordinate the inter-State operations — I am quoting it from the statement of the Home Minister — this coordination of inter-State operations and willingness to assist the State Governments, should come in right earnest. There is no political scoring of points. The Home Minister is not here; perhaps he has gone to the other House. It is very, very ironic that he said to the Chief Minister of West Bengal, “the buck stops with you”, and, then, within 48 hours, he had to say to the country, “the buck stops with me”, after the Dantewada incident took place. Today, you may try and score a political point saying that the buck stops with him. Tomorrow, the developments will tell you that the buck stops with you. Finally, as was said in the beginning, the buck stops with the country, buck stops with the nation, and the buck stops with the Government, which, at the moment, is given the responsibility to run the country.

Sir, I would also want to just touch upon one point, which, in this ideological battle against these forces, we also have to understand. We have made one appeal to the naxalites since they started and formed their party in 1969. They started work in 1967; splintered into various groups; got regrouped, and, in 2004, they came together and formed this party, the Communist Party of India (Maoists), and, since then, there is this growth in violence. Since then, we have always been saying, if you have a difference of opinion, come forward and put that difference before the people; let the people decide whether we are right or you are right. That is the approach, which we will have to adopt even now; and, in that ideological battle, we have to say this very clearly.

Unfortunately, Sir, — I wish; I don’t believe in such things — but if there is a grave and if there is a Mao, then he would be turning upside down in his grave because his name is being grossly misused by these forces, I mean, when they call themselves as Maoists. Poor Mao was the man who said, no communist can survive unless he mingles with the people like a fish takes to water. It was Mao, who said, let a hundred flower bloom, let a thousand thoughts contend, and, it is only then that you know what truth is. You have to seek the truth from the facts, and, that is what Mao taught us. They misused the name of Mao; anyway, that is their democratic right, and, we can take on them ideologically. But, Sir, we have to realize that in this battle, we will have to be united in taking on them, on the basis of this tripod understanding.

Finally, Sir, I would like to recollect, with some degree of anguish, the warning that Dr. Ambedkar gave to all of us and the country when he presented the final draft of the Indian

Constitution to the Constituent Assembly for consideration and adoption. Yesterday was his 120th birth anniversary. When he commended the Constituent Assembly to accept it, in his speech, he said, ‘but this Constitution that we so laboriously have constructed, and, this structure that we so laboriously want to build, is beset with contradictions.’ And, he defined the contradictions, I think, very, very well. I can’t find a better way of defining it. It is that the Constitution provides one man with one vote, and, one vote with one value. But our social conditions have not created one man with one value, and, as long as you have this contradiction that one man does not have one value, but you have one man having one vote, and, a vote having the same value. (*Interruptions*) We have created a system where you have given one man one vote, and, each vote has same value — one vote, one value — but one man does not have the same value.

So, unless you create a society where all men are equal, he warned that, Sir, and I quote, “What we have so labouriously built will be blown asunder by the very people who are suffering from this contradiction”. And, if you really want to tackle the problem of extremism, the problem of anarchy, you will have to have a very serious re-look on the trajectory of this neo-liberal economic reforms that we are adopting because that is generating this sort of a situation where it is easy for an unemployed, insecured youth to take to arms and take to militancy because that is the only security life offers. Therefore, Sir, finally in conclusion, while waiting for the inquiry report on this specific Dantewada massacre, we will urge upon the Government to immediately inform us what is their decision with the people within their Union Cabinet who are providing both protection and patronage to the Maoists. Unless you take a firm, decisive step in that direction, we cannot succeed in combating this menace. Thank you, Sir.

श्री नरेश चन्द्र अग्रवाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, आज मैं पहली बार देश के सर्वोच्च सदन में बोल रहा हूँ, अगर मुझसे कोई गलती हो जाए, तो मैं पहले ही क्षमा मांग लेता हूँ। मैं आपको धन्यवाद दे रहा हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

महोदय, अपने तीस वर्ष के राजनीतिक सफर में मैंने जो थोड़ा बहुत सीखा है, मैं उसको यहां रखना चाहता हूँ। श्रीमन् दांतेवाड़ा की समस्या केवल दांतेवाड़ा की समस्या नहीं है, यह धीरे-धीरे, पूरे देश में फैलती जा रही है और अगर हमने इसका समाधान न किया, इसको सीरियसली नहीं लिया और एक दिन यह समस्या अगर आतंकवाद के साथ जुड़ गई, तो सरकार के लिए यह नासूर हो जाएगा, इसलिए सरकार को कोई न कोई निर्णय लेने की स्थिति में जरूर खड़ा होना चाहिए। मैं यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा दल, हमारी नेता बहन मायावती जी का बिल्कुल यह कहना है, उनकी स्पष्ट नीति है कि हम माओवाद के पक्ष में नहीं हैं, हम नक्सलवाद के पक्ष में नहीं हैं, लेकिन सरकार कोई निर्णय तो ले। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार की इसी तरह की लचकर नीति बनी रही, अगर समझौतावादी नीति बनी रही, अगर सरकार ने निर्णय लेने की क्षमता नहीं दिखाई, क्योंकि अभी माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने जो बयान सदन में पढ़ा, उसमें कोई भी स्पष्ट नीति, जैसा कि अभी सीताराम येचुरी जी बोल रहे थे, अभी तक सरकार ने कोई स्पष्ट नीति घोषित नहीं की है। यह कोई

एक दिन का नहीं, केवल 6 तारीख का कांड नहीं है, यह देश में दसियों साल से चल रहा है, श्रीमन्, अकेले 2009 में कश्मीर में आतंकवाद से सिर्फ 133 लोग मारे गए, जबकि पूरे देश में माओवाद में करीब 908 लोग मारे गए। 2010 में भी जो मार्च तक की figures आई हैं, बड़ी alarming figures हैं।

श्रीमन्, यहां पर दो चीजों में निर्णय लेना है, जैसा अभी हमारे आंध्र प्रदेश से कांग्रेस के माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे, अगर यह गरीबी की वजह से है या बेरोजगारी की वजह से है या वहां पर डेवलपमेंट नहीं हुआ है, तो हमको एक फैसला लेना चाहिए कि आखिर ऐसा क्यों है? इतने वर्षों से शासन में बैठने के बावजूद हम उन नीतियों को लागू क्यों नहीं कर पाए? क्या कमियां रह गईं? हम तो कहते हैं, हमारा दल समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ है कि आप कठोर निर्णय लीजिए, हम आपके साथ खड़े हैं। सदन में कोई भी व्यक्ति ऐसा कहता हुआ नजर नहीं आया, जो सरकार के साथ खड़ा न हो, लेकिन सरकार ऐसी स्थिति तो लाए, सरकार यह बात तो करे। जो राज्य प्रभावित है, अभी उनके मुख्य मंत्री जी को बुला कर आखिर वार्ता की गई और बयान दिया गया कि राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री इसके लिए जिम्मेदार हैं, तो यह तो राजनीतिकरण कर दिया गया है। अगर राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री को आप जिम्मेदार ठहराएंगे, तो हम भी केंद्र की सरकार को जिम्मेदार ठहराएंगे। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में भी चार-पांच जिलों- चन्दोली, मिर्जापुर, सोनभद्र और भदोई में नक्सलवाद फैला था। हमने उत्तर प्रदेश में उस पर काबू पा लिया और उत्तर प्रदेश में नक्सलवाद समाप्त हो गया, क्योंकि सरकार ने वहां गरीबी दूर की, social reforms किए, हमने वहां पर रोजगार के अवसर प्रदान किए और बहनजी की नीतियों को लागू किया, इसलिए उत्तर प्रदेश में आज नक्सलवाद नहीं है। अभी येचुरी जी कह रहे थे कि आपके प्रदेश में बीस साल तक एक डकैत का राज रहा, तीन राज्यों की पुलिस के अटकाव के कारण, तो हमारे प्रदेश में भी बहुत दिनों तक रहा - चित्रकूट, बांदा में डकैतों का एक साम्राज्य था। जब तक उनका राजनीति उपयोग किया जाता रहा, तब तक वे नहीं मारे गए। जिस दिन राजनीतिक उपयोग बंद हो गया, उस दिन वे समाप्त हो गए। आज उन डकैतों का पूरी तरह से सफाया हो गया है।

इच्छाशक्ति तो हो। गृह मंत्री का बयान आया कि इस समस्या से निपटने के लिए बुद्धि, चातुर्य, मतबूत हृदय तथा अतिरिक्त सहनशक्ति की आवश्यकता है। मैं मानता हूं कि सरकार के पास ये तीनों गुण हैं। अगर तीनों गुण हैं तो समस्या का समाधान क्यों नहीं हुआ? अगर नहीं हैं तो सरकार अपना failure माने। बिल्कुल साफ दिख रहा है कि इंटेलीजेंस की failure के कारण वे 76 लोग शहीद हुए। तीन बार प्रयास किया गया और तीनों तरफ से जब फायरिंग हुई, तब वे लोग मारे गए। आखिर इंटेलीजेंस की कमी किसके कारण है? राज्य सरकार के कारण? ये दोषारोपण जो हो रहा है, मैं इससे बिल्कुल सहमत नहीं हूं। यहीं पर, सदन में, अखबारों में, मीडिया में आपस में इनमें एकता नहीं है। एक मंत्री ने कोलकाता में जो बयान दिया, हमने यह पढ़ा। उत्तर प्रदेश में तमाम मंत्री जाते हैं, क्या बयान देकर आते हैं। कांग्रेस के एक महासचिव ने क्या बयान दिया, दूसरे महासचिव भी बोलना चाहते थे। उनमें आपस में एकता नहीं है। जब प्रधान मंत्री जी को केबिनेट सेक्रेटरी के माध्यम से यह लेटर मिनिस्टर्स को भिजवाना पड़ा कि कोई मिनिस्टर इस पर जवाब नहीं देगा, केवल प्रधान मंत्री का सचिवालय एवं गृह मंत्री बयान देंगे तो इसका मतलब यह है कि इनकी आंतरिक स्थिति गंभीर है, इनमें निर्णय लेने की क्षमता नहीं है। अगर निर्णय लेने की क्षमता होती तो आज गृह मंत्री जी सदन में घोषणा करते कि इस नक्सलवाद से निपटने के लिए सरकार की यह नीति है। तब हम लोग उसका समर्थन न करते तो आप कहते कि राजनीति की जा रही है। हम उसका समर्थन करना चाहते हैं, हम माओवाद और नक्सलवाद से लड़ना चाहते हैं, हम चाहते हैं कि इस समस्या का समाधान हो। अगर सत्ता पर कब्जा करने का उनका इरादा है - जैसा बयान आया, जैसा कहा गया है कि माओवादी सत्ता पर कब्जा करना चाहते हैं - तो मुझे डर है कि कहीं हिन्दुस्तान नेपाल न हो जाए। इस पर भी विचार कर लेना चाहिए। नेपाल हमारा पड़ोसी देश है। आज माओवाद के नाम पर नेपाल में किस तरीके से कब्जा किया गया है।

महोदय, यह भी न्यूज आई है कि ऐसे खनन के इलाके, जहां पर माओवाद है, वहां पर खनन बंद कर दिया गया। लेकिन माओवाद का खनन अब भी चालू है। अगर वे आर्थिक रूप से मजबूत होकर शक्ति के साथ

सरकार से लड़ना चाहते हैं तो सरकार को भी एक इच्छाशक्ति के साथ उनसे लड़ने के लिए आगे आना चाहिए। अगर नहीं आएं तो सदन में हम एक-दूसरे पर केवल आरोप लगाते रहेंगे और उन आरोपों से कोई फादा नहीं होगा। देश के सामने स्थिति वैसे भी बहुत गंभीर है, रोजाना यहां पर कोई न कोई समस्या खड़ी रहती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस चर्चा को कल भी किया जाए ताकि प्रधान मंत्री जी आकर सदन में कोई घोषणा कर दें। हम सुनना चाहते हैं कि सरकार क्या निर्णय ले रही है। यह समिति बनाने की घोषणा ऐसे कर दी गई है जैसे मजिस्ट्रेटी जांच के आदेश कर दिए जाते हैं। चीजों को linger on करना, चीजों को लटकाना ठीक नहीं है। निर्णय राजनैतिक होता है निर्णय अधिकारियों से नहीं होते। अगर अधिकारियों के निर्णय होते तो हमारी आपकी जरूरत ही क्या रह गयी होती, इस सदन की जरूरत ही क्या रह गई होती, देश में सरकार की क्या जरूरत रह गई होती?

इस देश में तमाम समिति और आयोग बनाए गए। हमने देख लिया कि आयोग और समिति के निर्णय कभी निर्णय नहीं होते हैं - निर्णय राजनैतिक होते हैं। जब राजनैतिक निर्णय लिए जाते हैं, तभी समस्याओं का समाधान होता है - कभी अधिकारियों के निर्णय से समस्या का समाधान नहीं होता। हम चाहते हैं कि एक राजनैतिक निर्णय यहां पर लिया जाए। माननीय गृह मंत्री जी शायद दूसरे सदन में चले गए हैं। मैं उनसे अनुरोध करता कि पलायन की नीति न अपनाएं। एक दिन हमला हुआ, दूसरे दिन बयान आया कि हम वार्ता के लिए तैयार हैं। तीसरे दिन बयान आया कि हम सेना की मदद लेंगे। सेना का बयान आ गया कि हम मदद देने को तैयार नहीं हैं, वायु सेना को इसमें इनवॉल्व नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। फिर गृह मंत्री जी का बयान आ गया कि मैंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है और प्रधान मंत्री जी का बयान आता है कि हम इस्तीफा स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। यह सब क्या है? देश की जनता इसको गंभीरता से ले रही है क्योंकि उसकी सुरक्षा का सवाल है। अभी तो यह केवल पांच-छः राज्यों की बात है लेकिन धीरे-धीरे अगर यह फैलता चला गया और माओवाद को सत्ता पर कब्जे के इरादे से उन्होंने मजबूत किया - क्योंकि बंगाल में एक बार वे पार्टी बना ही चुके हैं- अगर एक बार उन्होंने सत्ता का स्वाद चख लिया तो इस माओवाद की समस्या का कभी समाधान नहीं होगा। willpower होनी चाहिए। हम भी उत्तर प्रदेश में ऊर्जा मंत्री रहे हैं। वहां पर विद्युत कर्मचारियों से हड़ताल की थी। उनकी हड़ताल सबसे विकट हड़ताल कहलाती थी। लेकिन हमारी इच्छा शक्ति थी, हमने उस हड़ताल को तोड़ा था और उस हड़ताल को तोड़कर विद्युत विभाग का trifurcation किया था जिससे ऊर्जा के क्षेत्र में सुधार हो सके।

क्यों नहीं इच्छा शक्ति से निर्णय लिया जा सकता। श्रीमन, यह कहने के लिए मैं यहां खड़ा हुआ हूं और मैं अपने दल की तरफ से, बी.एस.पी. की तरफ से मैं आश्वासन देना चाहता हूं कि स्पष्ट नीति के साथ सदन में आइए, हम आपके साथ खड़े हैं, हम आपका साथ देंगे, क्योंकि हम माओवादी हिंसा के खिलाफ हैं, हम अलगाववादी ताकतों के खिलाफ हैं। इस देश की रक्षा और इस देश की सुरक्षा का हमारा सबसे पहला कर्तव्य है, हम उस कर्तव्य में साथ खड़े हुए हैं, जनता के साथ हैं। लेकिन अगर लचर नीति, समझौतावादी नीति, निर्णय न लेने की क्षमता से चले तो हम इसका विरोध करेंगे और आए दिन हम आपको माफ भी नहीं करेंगे। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

श्री वृजभूषण तिवारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, दंतेवाड़ा की घटना ने पूरे देश को झकझोर दिया और सुरक्षा बल के मनोबल पर भी इसका बहुत असर पड़ा है। अभी माननीय सदस्यों ने इस समस्या पर बोलते हुए यह बताया कि यह कोई एक दिन की समस्या नहीं है, यह काफी वर्षों से फल-फूल रही थी, पनप रही थी और जिस तरीके से हमने इस समस्या को सुलझाने की या इससे निबटने की कोशिश की उसका कोई नतीजा नहीं निकला। अभी माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में कहा है strong mind, stronger heart and enormous staying power. मेरी राय में खंडित दिमाग, दोमुही जुबान और मुर्गी दिल से नक्सली समस्या का कोई समाधान नहीं किया जा सकता। हमने पूर्व गृह मंत्री सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल जी के बारे में सुना है। वे

बहुत कम बोलते थे और वे एक्शन में, कर्म में, निर्णय में ज्यादा विश्वास करते थे और इसलिए जब कभी बोलते थे तो लोगों को यह आभास हो जाता था कि कुछ होने वाला है।

परन्तु जो हमारे मौजूदा गृह मंत्री जी हैं, उनके बारे में यह बहुत ही आम राय है, मीडिया में भी है तथा उनके जो घनिष्ठ मित्र हैं, उन्होंने भी उनके बारे में कहा है कि वे बहुत ज्यादा बोलते हैं और इस बोलने का खामियाजा, क्योंकि वे भारत के गृह मंत्री हैं, उनके हर एक-एक शब्द का मतलब होता है और अगर वे कोई ऐसी बात, गैर जिम्मेदारी की बात, प्रोवोकेटिव बात कह दें तो उसका असर केवल उन्हीं पर नहीं पड़ता, पूरे देश पर पड़ता है। अब यह जो उन्होंने अपने बयान में कहा, सरसरी तौर पर कहा है और अंत में कह दिया कि उसकी जांच करने के लिए एक कमेटी बना दी गई है, वह अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश करेगी तब सही बात आएगी। अब जो बातें छन-छन कर आ रही हैं, उसमें दो-तीन बातें तो बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं। एक तो यह है कि यह जो पूरा एक्शन, ऑपरेशन हुआ, जो कार्रवाई हुई उसमें जिस प्रकार से तैयारी करनी चाहिए थी, वह तैयारी नहीं की गई, क्योंकि वहां पर हमारी जो फोर्स गई और जिस तरीके से वे लोग ट्रैप में फंस गए, उससे यह बात साफ होती है। सेना के पूर्व जनरल का भी बयान आया, पुलिस के जो पुराने अधिकारी हैं उनका भी बयान आया और इन सब के बयानों में यह बात बहुत साफ तौर पर थी कि जिनती ट्रेनिंग की उनको जरूरत थी, खास तौर से वहां जो घने जंगल हैं, उन जंगलों के माहौल में जो प्रशिक्षण होना चाहिए था, वह प्रशिक्षण उनको नहीं हुआ। मुझे तो यह मालूम हुआ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के रामपुर में जहां पर इनका हैडक्वार्टर है, वहां की पूरी बटालियन वहां पर भेज दी गई। उनको वहां का कोई प्रशिक्षण नहीं था। इसीलिए उत्तर प्रदेश के और बिहार के सर्वाधिक लोग वहां पर हताहत हुए हैं। दूसरी बात वहां पर यह है कि हमारा जो लोकल इंफॉर्मेशन था, जो सूचना का स्रोत था वह भी ठीक नहीं था, क्योंकि वहां पर भाषा की भी एक समस्या है, क्योंकि यह जो इलाका है यह आंध्र प्रदेश से मिल हुआ इलाका है और वहां की जो बोली है, जुवान है वह दूसरे प्रकार की है। तो वहां जो हमारे लोग थे उनकी भाषा भी नहीं समझ सकते थे, उसकी भी दिक्कत पड़ी।

यह भी सुनने में आया है कि उनको किस प्रकार के हथियार सप्लाई हुए, वे भी ठीक तरीके के नहीं थे और उनके ट्रेनिंग भी नहीं दी गई थी। ले देकर कुल मामला यह समझ में आता है कि अगर हमारा को-ऑर्डिनेशन नहीं है, हमारी ठीक से तैयारी नहीं है, तो जैसा कि हम यह कहते हैं कि हम इस नक्सली समस्या का या हिंसावादी समस्या का पुलिस एक्शन के जरिए समाधान कर पाएंगे, तो यह बात ठीक नहीं लगती है। क्योंकि अगर यह करना है, तो इसके लिए तैयारी करनी पड़ेगी। हमें उनको सभी संसाधनों से लैस करना पड़ेगा और बाकायदा उनको ट्रेनिंग देनी पड़ेगी। मैंने अभी एक जगह पर पढ़ा है कि बंगाल के जिस इलाके में हमला हुआ है, वहां पर जो सिपाही इंजर्ड था, उसकी एक डायरी लोगों के हाथ लगी और वह मीडिया में आया। उसमें लिखा है कि *There is a threat to our lives at all times here. Anything can happen at any time. And further, the party politics of few has endangered the existence of the country, and we also suffer.* जैसा कि अभी कहा गया है कि जो यह रूलिंग पार्टी है, सरकार है, इसके विभिन्न लोगों की अपनी-अपनी जुबान है। मैंने भी इसको दोमुही जुबान कहा है। एक वह नेताओं का वर्ग है और जिनकी सिमपेथी वहां के *ultras* के पक्ष में है। दूसरी तरफ सरकार यह दिखाना चाहती है कि देखिए, हम कितनी सख्ती से इनसे निपटना चाहते हैं। आप जिसको बहुत ही तुच्छ राजनीति कह सकते हैं, क्षेत्रीय स्वार्थ या तात्कालिक स्वार्थ के जरिए भी हम इस समस्या का निदान करते हैं, तो इस सिपाही ने अपनी डायरी में लिखा है और हमको इससे नसीहत लेना चाहिए कि जहां पर देश का सवाल हो, देश की सुरक्षा का सवाल हो, देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा का सवाल हो, वहां पर आपसी वैमनस्य या, आपसी जलन सा आपसी स्वार्थ से प्रेरित होकर अगर हम बयानबाजी करेंगे, तो उससे हमारे ऑपरेशन को, हमारे इस कदम को गहरा आघात लगेगा।

हमको दूसरी बात यह भी देखनी है कि हम डेवलेपमेंट की बात तो करते हैं, मगर डेवलेपमेंट हुआ कैसे है। अभी हमने एक इन्टरव्यू पढ़ा। उसी इलाके की एक लड़की जो अखबार में काम करती है, उसने लिखा है कि वहां पर घोर अशिक्षा है, अज्ञानता है। उनको कुछ पता ही नहीं है। उनको मालूम ही नहीं है कि देश का प्रधान मंत्री कौन है। उनको यह मालूम नहीं है कि देश में और भी कौन-कौन से इलाके हैं और वहां पर कौन-कौन से लोग हैं। हमने एक बड़ा पुराना मुहावरा रट लिया कि *विविधता में एकता। विविधता में एकता* के जरिए, हमने अपने देश के जो विविध लोग हैं, उनको उसी रूप में रखने की कोशिश, ताकि 26 जनवरी को जो परेड हो, उसमें हम यह दिखाएं कि ये आदिवासी हैं, ये गरीब हैं, ये गिरिजन हैं। हम यह भी दिखाएं कि भारत कितना महान है कि इसने *विविधता में एकता* को स्थापित कर दिया। इससे यह मालूम होता है कि ये हमारे कमजोर टर्गेट्स हैं। अगर वहां पर शिक्षा नहीं है, अगर वहां पर विकास नहीं है, तो आप देखेंगे कि उस इलाके में नौकरी का कोई साधन नहीं होगा। वहां पर चीजों का अभाव है और अनाज नहीं है। मैंने पढ़ा है कि जो वहां पर छत्तीसगढ़ के चीफ मिनिस्टर रमन साहब हैं, वे उस इलाके में ज्यादा लोकप्रिय हैं। वे क्यों लोकप्रिय हैं, क्योंकि उनके बारे में यह मशहूर हो गया कि वे दो रुपए किलो चावल लोगों को देते हैं। आप कल्पना करिए कि जिनकी जीविका का कोई साधन नहीं है, जो कुछ जानता नहीं है, जो अबोध है और जहां पर विकास की कोई बात शुरू ही नहीं हुई है, वहां के लोगों पर कोई भी हमला कर सकता है। उनको कोई भी फुसला सकता है, उनको कोई भी बहका सकता है। जो हमारी राजनीति है, वह राजनीति भी elitist हो गई। हम गरीब से कोई रिश्ता नहीं रखना चाहते। आज आदिवासियों के नाम पर काफी NGOs चलते हैं। सरकारी विभागों में उससे पोषित संस्थाएं चलती हैं और उनके नाम पर लूटती हैं। उनके बड़े-बड़े शहरों में कार्यालय हैं और जिनका कागजों में विकास होता है। आखिर हमें इसका खामियाजा तो भोगना ही पड़ेगा। दूसरी बात यह भी है कि जिन इलाकों में आज ये नक्सलपंथी या इस तरह की जो चीजें हो रही हैं, वे कौन से इलाके हैं?

वे इलाके वे हैं, जो खनिज संपदा से संपन्न हैं, जहां जंगल है, जहां कोयला है। इन इलाकों का जो शोषण होता है, इसलिए होता है कि वहां बाहरी ठेकेदार आते हैं, सरकारी अफसर आते हैं। आप जानते हैं कि अभी माननीय नेता प्रतिपक्ष अपना भाषण कर रहे थे कि ये जो नक्सलपंथी या इस टाइप के लोग हैं, इनकी जो आर्थिक शक्ति है या आर्थिक ताकत है, वह कितनी बड़ी ताकत है, वह ताकत अरबों में है, खरबों में है, क्योंकि दस किलोमीटर या पचास किलोमीटर के एरिया पर, जहां पर उनका राज चलता है, जहां उनका कानून चलता है, जहां भारत सरकार का राज या भारत सरकार का कानून नहीं चलता है, वहां पर वे प्रति व्यक्ति टैक्स वसूलते हैं। वहां पर जो ठेकेदार होता है, वे उससे पैसा लेते हैं, जो अफसर होते हैं, जो डेवलेपमेंट के कामों में लगे रहते हैं, उनसे पैसा लेते हैं, और उसी पैसे से, वहां पर जो गरीब, अबोध नौजवान हैं, उनसे कहते हैं कि तुम्हारे पास खाने के लिए नहीं है, तुम्हारे पास पहनने के लिए कपड़े नहीं हैं, आओ हम तुम्हें नौकरी देते हैं। उनको दो हजार, तीन हजार या चार हजार की नौकरी दे दी, वर्दी पहना दी, बंदूक थमा दी और ट्रेनिंग दे दी। मेरे पास यह भी सूचना है कि वे कुछ लोगों को विदेश यात्राएं भी करा देते हैं। जो आदमी खाने के लिए मोहताज हो, जो उपवास करता हो, अगर उसको हर महीने तनखाह मिलने लगे, अच्छा कपड़ा पहनने लगे, बंदूक लेकर चलने लगे, तो वह यह कार्य करेगा। मीडिया में इस प्रकार की सूचनाएं भी आई हैं कि उनका जो रहन-सहन है, वह भी संपन्न तरीके से बहुत पॉश हो गया है, यह कमाई का एक बहुत बड़ा जरिया भी हो गया है। मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता हूं कि इसमें बहुत ही है, ideological indoctrination है, क्योंकि दुनिया में यह बात नहीं चल रही है। इस प्रकार से आज जो ताकत है, सत्ता में या सरकारों में जो ताकत बढ़ रही है, आप इनमें हथियारी आंदोलन से कोई बदलाव नहीं ला सकते हैं। हथियारी आंदोलन तभी कारगर होगा, जब पास-पड़ोस के देश मदद दें और वहां से हथियार लाएं। आप यह भी देखें कि हमारे पड़ोस के देश, चाहे बर्मा हो, नेपाल हो,

4.00 P.M.

चाहे चीन हो, ये जो देश हैं, आप यह समझिए कि वहां पर जो इस प्रकार के आपराधिक तत्व हैं, आपराधिक समूह हैं, जो विभिन्न प्रकार के अपराधों में लिप्त रहते हैं, उसके जरिए भी इन नक्सलपंथी गतिविधियों को ताकत मिलती है, इसी नाते वे हमारे यहां पर इस प्रकार की हरकत करते हैं, इसलिए इसमें हमारी दृष्टि बिल्कुल साफ है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि एक तरफ तो सरकार की पूरे तरीके से, प्रशासनिक स्तर पर और पुलिस स्तर पर उनसे निपटने की तैयारी होनी चाहिए, इसके साथ ही साथ सरकार की ऐसी नीति भी हो कि वहां की जो लोकल जनता है, जो आम नागरिक हैं, उन आम नागरिकों को और इन अल्ट्रा के लिए, ये जो हिंसा परक चरमपंथी हैं, उनको इनसे अलग करने की भी कोशिश करनी चाहिए। जब तक आप उनको अलग नहीं करेंगे, कार्य नहीं होगा, क्योंकि इनकी ताकत क्या है, इनकी ताकत ले-देकर वहां की आम जनता है। ये आम जनता को भड़काते हैं।

मैं आपको उत्तर प्रदेश के सोनभद्र इलाके की दस-बारह साल पहले की घटना बताना चाहता हूँ। मैं वहां पर गया था। मेरे एक मित्र ने बताया कि ग्लूकोज की एक बोतल, वहां के जो डॉक्टर हैं, वे वहां के आदिवासी को आधा बोतल चढ़ाते हैं। उनके पास रुपया तो होता नहीं है, वे बकरा पालते हैं, आधे बोतल की कीमत एक बकरा है और फिर आधी बोतल दूसरे को लगा देंगे, तो एक बोतल ग्लूकोज की कीमत हो गई दो बकरे और दो बकरे की कीमत करीब आठ हजार, नौ हजार या दस हजार रुपए हो गई। इस प्रकार का वहां पर शोषण हुआ है, हमारे लोगों ने भी उनका शोषण किया है। वहां गरीब के प्रति, वहां के आदिवासी इलाके के प्रति, वहां आम जनता के प्रति इतनी संवेदनहीनता रही है। जो नेता है, कभी जो पुराने नेता थे, देश के नेता थे, वे उन इलाकों में जाते थे, संपर्क करते थे, राजनीतिक प्रशिक्षण करते थे, लेकिन आज पूरी राजनीति मर गई है। आज राजनीति केवल चंद, जो खाते-पीते लोग हैं, जो संपन्न लोग हैं, उलटा-सीधा धंधा करने वाले लोग हैं, चमक-दमक से रहने वाले लोग हैं, उन्हीं तक सीमित हो गई है। अगर हमारी सारी राजनीति उन्हीं तक सीमित हो जाएगी, तो मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ, मैंने एक जगह पढ़ा था कि एक ऐसा समय आएगा कि जब यहां के नेता और संपन्न लोग जेल में होंगे और जितने लुटेरे हैं, वे सड़क पर घूमेंगे।

आज यही स्थिति आ गई है, जिस तरीके से हम अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए सरकारी मशीनरी या गैरसरकारी मशीनरी का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। इसलिए इस समस्या से निपटने के लिए चौतरफा प्रयास की आवश्यकता है। हमें आर्थिक प्रयास भी करना है, हमें सामाजिक प्रयास भी करना है और उसी के साथ-ही-साथ जो शैक्षणिक प्रयास है, राजनीतिक प्रयास है, जब तक हम वे सारे चौतरफा प्रयास नहीं करेंगे, इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। केवल एक-दूसरे के ऊपर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप करने की बात करना ठीक नहीं है।

अभी इसी में यह कहा गया कि राज्य सरकारों की भी एक सीमा है, यह भी सही है। अभी CAG की रिपोर्ट में यह बात आई है कि बहुत सी राज्य सरकारों के पास जो फंड्स हैं, पुलिस की ट्रेनिंग के, पुलिस की weaponry के, पुलिस की vehicles के, जितना फंड है, उस फंड का भी सही तरीके से इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया। पुलिस का भी ठीक तरीके से इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया। आज पुलिस फोर्स का जिस तरीके से राजनीतिक द्वेष के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाता है, वह भी एक खतरनाक बात है। अगर हम पुलिस बल को, सुरक्षा बल को इस प्रकार से train नहीं करेंगे, अगर उनके दिमाग में यह बात बिठाएँगे नहीं कि तुम्हें न्याय के लिए लड़ना है, तुम्हें देश के लिए लड़ना है, तो वे लड़ेंगे नहीं। अगर सुरक्षा बलों का मनोबल गिर गया, तो हम किसके सहारे यह लड़ाई लड़ेंगे? इसलिए हमें हर स्तर पर सुरक्षा बलों के प्रशिक्षण पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

इसी के साथ-ही-साथ हमें उन इलाकों के चतुर्दिक विकास पर भी ध्यान देना होगा और विकास का जो concept है, वह भी हमें बदलना पड़ेगा, वह विकास का concept यह है कि जब तक हम local

लोगों को उन विकास के कार्यों में सम्मिलित नहीं करते, केवल अफसरों के जरिए, दलालों के जरिए, ठेकेदारों के जरिए अगर विकास की प्रक्रिया चलेगी, तो कभी विकास नहीं होगा और इस प्रकार के कमजोर target हमेशा हमारे लिए रहेंगे, जो हमारी आंतरिक सुरक्षा और देश की एकता के लिए खतरनाक साबित होंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को चतुर्दिक प्रयास की तरफ कोशिश करनी चाहिए। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. V. Maitreyan. You have seven minutes.

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. On behalf of my party, the All India Anna DMK, and my party General Secretary, Puratchi Thalaivi, I condemn strongly the gruesome murder of the CRPF jawans in the Dantewada area of Chhattisgarh State. We offer our deep condolences to the bereaved families.

Sir, the attack has brought the issue of naxal problem, our development model and our response into direct spotlight. The origin of the naxal movement can be traced to certain political developments in West Bengal in the sixties. From West Bengal slowly it has spread to several parts of the country where the development has been much less than the other parts, particularly, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Their growth in the past few years, however, has been alarming, particularly, during the UPA regime. As of 2009, the naxals are reportedly active in more than 200 districts across 20 States of India. This accounts for approximately 40 per cent of the geographical area. They are, especially, concentrated in areas known as “red corridor” where they control approximately 1,00,000 square kilometres. In fact, the Union Home Secretary has gone on record that 40,000 square kilometres of area in the red corridor is out of bounds for the Government. Therefore, naxals are the most serious internal threat to India’s national security. The minimum thing that needs to be done is to equip our security forces so that the common man is protected. Interestingly, the CRPF is intended to tackle the naxal menace, but they have been found to be sitting ducks for the naxals. The Press reports in the last couple of days suggest that the CRPF jawans were not only ill-equipped but also not even equipped to tackle the attack.

The recent statement by the Home Minister about where the buck stops and his symbolic offer to resign do not amuse anyone. The buck may stop at Buddhadeb or the buck may stop at Chidambaram, but definitely the buck does not stop, as far as the naxals are concerned. When the Central Government and the State Governments are engaged in fighting this battle together, the statement of the Railway Minister and her demand to arrest the Chief Minister of West Bengal lacks political decency and should be condemned by one and all.

Sir, in fact, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a letter written by the Cabinet Secretary under the directions of the Prime Minister. This letter is dated 10th April. It says, “I am writing in continuation of my DO letter dated January 28, 2009 conveying the decision of the Prime Minister that in respect of issues considered to be sensitive by him, one Ministry or Department will be designated as nodal Ministry, as a single point, for interaction with the media with accurate articulation”.

It goes on further. At the end it mentions, “The Prime Minister has now desired that regarding all matters relating to Left-Wing Extremism, including the recent incidents in Dantewada, the Ministry of Home Affairs will be the nodal Ministry for interaction with the media and articulation of the Government position”. The Cabinet Secretary has purportedly written a letter to all the Ministers on 10th April. The statement by the Union Railway Minister subsequently, whether it involves collective responsibility of the Cabinet at all, raises a big question. Does the Home Minister share the views of his Ministerial colleague that there are no Maoists in the Lalgarh area or even in West Bengal? The Home Minister should categorically clarify this once and for all.

There is an economic angle to the Naxal problem. Our 8 per cent and 9 per cent growth, they all have turned out to be a mirage. Even assuming that they are impressive, it means very little for the vast population of our country. With estimates being made out by the Government that over 77 per cent of our population lives at less than Rs.20 per day, surely there was a disaster waiting to happen. Naturally, this calls for revisiting our economic policies.

On the whole, the Naxal problem is an economic challenge, a law and order issue, more than that, the issue of terrorism - the Red Terror and a political problem. We need to tackle it to preserve the unity and integrity of the country.

The Minister in his statement has mentioned about the need for a strong head, a stronger heart and enormous staying power. What is more important is the iron hand and the strong political will to tackle the Naxal menace which is lacking in the UPA Government. Thank you.

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी (बिहार) : धन्यवाद, उपसभापति महोदय दन्तेवाड़ा में जो कुछ हुआ, हमारी पार्टी उसकी घोर निन्दा करती है और मृतक परिवारों के प्रति हम अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट करते हैं। मैं अपने उन साथियों से सहमत हूँ, जिन्होंने यह कहा कि दन्तेवाड़ा की घटना कोई अचानक घटित नहीं हुई है। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ और मुझे याद है कि वहाँ पर 1970 में नक्सलवाद की पहली घटना हुई थी। सहार थाने के चौरी पुलिस आउटपोस्ट पर नक्सलवादियों ने हमला किया था और वहाँ से वे हथियार लूट कर ले गए थे। हमारा राज्य पिछले 40 बरसों से नक्सलवाद की आग में झुलसता आ रहा है और हम लोग उसका मुकाबला करते आ रहे हैं।

नक्सलवाद के पीछे कारण क्या है और यह बिहार में कैसे पहुंचा, इसके जन्म के संबंध में मैं आपको एक घटना बताना चाहूँगा। 1969 में बिहार में असेम्बली का मध्यावधि चुनाव हुआ था। 1967 में बिहार में संयुक्त विधायक दल की सरकार, पहली सरकार के रूप में सत्ता में आई। कुछ ही समय में वह सरकार गिर गई और उसके बाद 1969 में चुनाव हुआ। बिहार विधान सभा की सरकार में हमारे यहाँ सीपीआई (एमएल) के एक मੈम्बर हैं, श्री पारसनाथ राम, जो सहार से विधायक हुआ करते हैं। सहार रिजर्व कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी है। वे 1969 के चुनाव के समय सीपीआई(एम) की ओर से चुनाव लड़ रहे थे। एक बूथ पर उनके एक पोलिंग एजेंट थे - जगदीश महतो, श्री जगदीश मास्टर के नाम से जाने जाते थे। एक आदमी जो बोगस वोट डालने का प्रयास कर रहा था, जगदीश महतो ने उसको चेलेंज किया, जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ पोलिंग बूथ के बाहर पेड़ से बांध करके उनको बुरी तरह पीटा गया। उनकी हालत बहुत खराब थी इसलिए उन्हें आरा के अस्पताल में भर्ती किया गया। उस अस्पताल से वह निकल भागे और बंगाल पहुंच गए, जहाँ उन्होंने नक्सलवाद का प्रशिक्षण लिया। जब वह लौट करके बिहार वापिस आए तो पहले नक्सलवादी नेता बने।

बिहार में नक्सलवाद कैसे पैदा हुआ, यह बताने के लिए ही मैंने आपको यह उदाहरण दिया है। नक्सलवाद पैदा हुआ - अन्याय के कारण, जुल्म के कारण। हमें याद है, जगदीश महतो पर महाश्वेता चटर्जी ने एक उपन्यास लिखा है - “मास्टर साहब” आप उस उपन्यास को पढ़िए। उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि किस तरह वहां गरीब मजदूर और खेतों में काम करने वाले लोग हैं रात में पत्नी अपने पति के साथ सोई हुई है और कुछ दबंग लोग, मजबूत लोग आए और खटिया पर से उसकी पत्नी को उठाकर ले गए। खेत में एक तरफ कटनी हो रही है और दूसरी तरफ उनकी औरतों के साथ वहीं पर बलात्कार हो रहा है। इसी स्थिति ने बिहार में नक्सलवाद को जन्म दिया।

उपसभापति महोदय, हमें याद है कि जब 1974 में लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण जी का आन्दोलन चल रहा था, उससे पहले मुजफ्फरपुर का मुशहरी इलाका नक्सलवाद से प्रभावित था। वहां उन्होंने गरीबों के बीच कुछ काम किया और उनको नक्सलवादी प्रभाव से निकालने की कोशिश की। एक दिन जयप्रकाश जी ने हमें बुलाया और हमसे कहा कि सहार में तुम हमारी मीटिंग अरेंज कराओ। हम लोग सहार गए थे। हमारे साथ 1974 के आन्दोलन के आरा के साथी भी थे। हम लोग एक हफ्ता तक उस इलाके में घूमते रहे और जहां-जहां हिंसा की घटनाएं हुई थीं, उन इलाकों का हमने दौरा किया। हमने देखा कि जहां-जहां हिंसा की घटनाएं हुई थीं, उनके पीछे वहां गरीबों पर जुल्म था, गरीबों पर अत्याचार था और उसी के प्रतिकार में नक्सलवादियों ने वहां पर अपना प्रभाव बढ़ाया और वहां हिंसा की घटनाएं हुईं। वहां जयप्रकाश जी की एक सभा हुई थी। उस सभा में इंडियन एक्सप्रेस के एक बहुत बड़े पत्रकार और एडीटर अजीत भट्टाचार्या, प्रभाष जोशी जिनका हाल ही में इंतकाल हुआ तथा श्री सुमन दुबे जी, ये तीनों वहां गए थे। हम खुद उनको जीप पर लेकर वहां गए थे। वहां सोनाटोला हरिजनों का एक टोला था। वे लोग गांव से निष्कासित कर दिए गए थे और वहां पर रह रहे थे।

महोदय, मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हम जानते हैं कि हमारे लोकतंत्र पर, हमारे सिस्टम पर नक्सलवादी लोग यकीन नहीं करते, लेकिन हमें भी अपने भीतर झांक कर देखना चाहिए कि क्या हमारा लोकतंत्र या हमारी डेमोक्रेसी हमारी समस्याओं का समाधान कर रही है? आज भी इस देश में 46 परसेंट बच्चे कम भार वाले पैदा हो रहे हैं। इसी सदन में सरकार ने एक प्रश्न के जवाब में बताया कि इस देश में 69 परसेंट औरतें Anaemic हैं। हमारे देश की आज यह हालत है। आजादी के 62 वर्षों के बाद हमने यही कुछ हासिल किया है। लोगों को कहीं भी इंसाफ नहीं मिला रहा है, न्याय नहीं मिल रहा है और उनको मानवीय गरिमा के साथ जिन्दगी गुजारने का कोई साधन नहीं मिल रहा है। जब तक आप इस स्थिति को कायम रखिएगा और आप कहिएगा कि हम नक्सलवाद और माओवाद को मिटाएंगे तो यह मिटने वाला नहीं है।

अन्याय के ही कारण इस देश में आतंकवाद भी पैदा हो रहा है। आतंकवाद इस देश में कैसे पैदा हुआ? अगर आप उसके इतिहास को देखिएगा तो आपको यही दिखाई देगा कि वहां अन्याय हुआ है, जुल्म हुआ है और उसके फलस्वरूप यह आतंकवाद पैदा हुआ है। इसलिए मैं इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं कि मिलिट्रिज्म माओवादियों का है और उसका मिलिट्रिज्म से या स्टेट मिलिट्रिज्म से जवाब देना है। इससे यह मामला निपटने वाला नहीं है। अगर यह मामला इसी से निपट गया होता तो 40 वर्ष - 42 वर्ष पहले 1967 में पहली दफा बंगाल में नक्सवाड़ी आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ था और इतना बड़ा स्टेट पावर आज तक उसको मिटा नहीं सका। वह उसे क्यों नहीं मिटा सका? वह इसलिए कि जिन परिस्थितियों ने नक्सलवाद को जन्म दिया है, वे परिस्थितियां आज भी कायम हैं और जब तक आप उन परिस्थितियों को बनाए रखिएगा, नक्सलवाद को आप नहीं मिटा सकते हैं। इसमें कहीं पर कोई सुबहा नहीं है। इसलिए महोदय, दिग्विजय सिंह जी ने इकोनॉमिक टाइम्स में जो लिखा है और मणिशंकर अय्यर जी ने जो कुछ कहा है, उसको आप बिल्कुल सीधे

outright खारिज कर दीजिएगा जो हमको जो देश का भविष्य दिखाई दे रहा है, वह बड़ा भयावह है। मैं मानता हूँ कि यह एक गंभीर समस्या है। इसमें हमारे सिस्टम को चुनौती दी जा रही है, मैं इस बात को भी मानता हूँ। वहां स्टेट पावर का इस्तेमाल ऐसे समूह के खिलाफ होगा, जो हमारी सिस्टम को चुनौती देता है, इससे भी मैं सहमत हूँ। लेकिन, सिर्फ एकमात्र स्टेट पावर एकमात्र पुलिस पावर ही इस समस्या का समाधान करेगा, मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता हूँ। आज जो भाषण सुना, उससे मेरी चिन्ता बहुत बढ़ी है। मुझे डर लगता है कि यह जो संकट है वह आगे किस तरह का रूप लेगा, यह कहना मुश्किल है।

आदिवासी इलाके की बात हुई। मैं 1964-65 में रांची में एक विद्यार्थी था और समाजवादी आन्दोलन से जुड़े रहने के कारण मुझको आदिवासियों के बीच भी आने-जाने का मौका मिला था। मैंने देखा है कि किस तरह से आदिवासियों का शोषण हुआ है। उन्हें अचार खिलाकर उनसे जमीन लिखवा दी गई। 50 हजार रुपये में जमीन खरीदने की बात हुई और एक-एक रुपये के नए नोटों की गड़्डियां उसके गमछे में डाल दी गईं। सारे नोट उसमें फैल गए। वह बेचारा जानता भी नहीं कि वह क्या चीज है। उसको कहा गया-भागो, भागो, नहीं तो लोग तुम्हें लूट लेंगे। वह उसे गमछे में पकड़े हुए वहां से भाग कर चला गया। इस तरह से उनका शोषण हुआ है और इस तरह से उनकी लूट हुई है। विकास के नाम पर वहां क्या हुआ है? विकास के नाम पर वहां जितनी योजनाएं गई हैं, चाहे वे पनबिजली की योजनाएं हो या माइंस से संबंधित योजनाएं हों, उनसे उनका जो विस्थापन हुआ है, क्या आज तक उनका सेटलमेंट हो पाया है?

आप दूर की बात छोड़ दीजिए, अभी कुछ दिन पहले नर्मदा घाटी परियोजना के बारे में अखबार में छपा था। सुप्रीम कोर्ट में एफिडेविट देकर जो वादा किया गया था कि इन विस्थापित लोगों को पुनर्स्थापित करने के लिए हम फलां-फलां काम करने जा रहे हैं, उनमें से कोई काम पूरा नहीं हुआ। एक अंदाजा यह है कि इस तरह की योजनाओं से इस मुल्क में कम से कम पांच करोड़ लोगों का विस्थापन हुआ होगा। आपने इनमें से कितने लोगों को इज्जत के साथ जिन्दगी गुजारने के लिए पुनर्वासित किया है? क्या आप अपनी ज्यूटी सिर्फ यही मानते हैं कि कोई भी अगर हमारे कानून को नहीं मानेगा, इस MoU में जिसे शामिल किया गया है, अगर उसको कोई काम करने नहीं देगा तो वहां जाकर हम उसको गोली मार देंगे? **(समय की घंटी)** आप देखिए कि उड़ीसा में क्या हो रहा है? अभी तीन-चार दिन पहले The Economic Times में वहां के वेदान्त की पूरी कहानी छपी है। वहां एक पहाड़ के ऊपर जो समतल जमीन है, जिसे आदिवासी अपना भगवान मानते हैं, उसको तोड़ने के लिए वेदान्त लगा हुआ है। इसमें स्टेट तो मदद करेगा ही कि नहीं साहब, ये विकास में बाधा डाल रहे हैं।

महोदय, हमको तो कभी-कभी यह लगता है कि अगर MoU पर इतने दस्तखत नहीं हुए रहते और अगर वहां mines and minerals खोजने की बात नहीं होती तो शायद उस ओर हमारा और सरकार का ध्यान नहीं जाता। आज हमारा ध्यान वहां इसलिए गया है कि वहां लाखों-करोड़ों रुपये के प्रोजेक्ट्स इस बात की परवाह किये बगैर कि पर्यावरण का क्या होगा और वहां के रहने वाले जो मूल निवासी हैं, उनका क्या होगा, आने वाले हैं। वहां योजनाएं चल रही हैं, उन योजनाओं से विस्थापन हो रहा है और उस विस्थापन के विरोध में जो लोग खड़े हैं, उन्हीं को आज माओवादी अपना सिपाही बना रहे हैं। इसलिए महोदय, मैं बहुत ईमानदारी और शिद्दत के साथ आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि आज यह समस्या कोई हल्की समस्या नहीं है।

यहां अभी बृजभूषण तिवारी जी ने ठीक कहा। गृह मंत्री जी, आप पुलिस के दरोगा नहीं हैं, बल्कि आप एक राजनैतिक व्यक्ति हैं। जो समस्या है, उसे आपको समग्रता के साथ देखना पड़ेगा। आप पुलिस के एक दरोगा की तरह नहीं देख सकते हैं कि नहीं साहब, यह law and order की समस्या है और उसके पास बन्दूक है,

इसलिए हम भी बन्दूक उठा कर चला देंगे। यह approach किसी पॉलिटिकल आदमी का approach नहीं हो सकता है। एक शब्द 'strong headed' कहा जाता है। मुझे नहीं लगता कि यह कोई पॉजिटिव शब्द है। Strong headed का यह मतलब होता है कि ऐसा व्यक्ति, जो कोई नई चीज या बात ग्रहण करने या समझने के लिए तैयार नहीं हो। मुझे तो यह लगता है कि आज के जमाने में होम मिनिस्टर की कुर्सी पर strong headed आदमी की जरूरत नहीं है। Strong heart का क्या मतलब जब खून की नदी बह जाए और हमारे दिल में दर्द न हो, कसक पैदा न हो? क्या हमें इस तरह का strong heart चाहिए? नहीं, यह पॉलिटिकल आदमी का, डेमोक्रेसी में यकीन रखने वाले आदमी का, जिसके बारे में सीताराम येचुरी जी ने कहा कि हमारे संविधान के निर्माता अम्बेडकर साहब ने संविधान को पेश करते समय कहा था, उन्होंने भविष्यवाणी की थी कि हम "एक आदमी और एक वोट"...(व्यवधान)...(समय की घंटी)

श्री उपसभापति: समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी: लेकिन, हमारे समाज में जो आर्थिक और सामाजिक गैर-बराबरी है, अगर उसको हमने नहीं पाटा तो हमारा लोकतंत्र नहीं चल पाएगा, हमारे लोकतंत्र पर खतरा है। आज उस आदमी को भविष्यवाणी सही दिखायी देने जा रही है। हमने कल ही उनका जन्म दिन मनाया है। महोदय, हम आपको कहेंगे कि इस मामले में सरकार इस समस्या के पूरे इतिहास और कारण को समग्रता और सम्पूर्णता से जाने और उसका निदान करे।

मैं एक अंतिम बात कहना चाहूंगा। अभी हमारे साथियों की ओर से कहा गया, सीताराम येचुरी जी ने भी कहा कि बंगाल में एक चुनी हुई सरकार है। मैंने यह देखा है कि इस सरकार के जो मंत्री हैं, वे यूपीए-1 में भी थे और यूपीए-2 में भी हैं। Federalism जो इस संविधान की आत्मा है, उसका ध्यान नहीं है। हम यह मानते हैं कि हमारे देश में खास परिस्थितियों में संविधान का निर्माण हुआ। सन् 1935 का जो एक्ट था, अगर उसके आधार पर संविधान बना होता तो भारत सरकार के पास वे अधिकार नहीं होते जो आज हैं, लेकिन देश का विभाजन हुआ और उस समय हमने जो देखा, उसके चलते संविधान की आत्मा unitary बन गयी। महोदय, federalism आज भी है, लेकिन आज की हालत यह है कि दिल्ली में किसी और पार्टी की सरकार है, पटना में किसी और पार्टी की सरकार है और बंगाल में किसी दूसरी पार्टी की सरकार है। यहां जो दिल्ली में बैठे हुए मंत्री हैं, अगर ये संयम और अनुशासन नहीं रखेंगे तो क्या होगा?

हमारे होम मिनिस्टर कोलकाता गये थे, वहां उन्होंने मिटिंग बुलायी थी, लेकिन वहां हमारे मुख्य मंत्री नहीं जा पाए। किसी काम में उनकी व्यस्तता थी और उसके लिए इसी मंत्रि-मंडल के एक सदस्य हैं, खाद्य प्रसंस्करण उद्योग मंत्री, मुझे यह नहीं मालूम कि वे स्टेट मिनिस्टर हैं या कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर हैं, लेकिन वे हमारे साथी हैं, बिहार के रहने वाले हैं, 74 के आंदोलन में वे भी जेल गए थे, उन्होंने चीफ मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ ऐसा कसकर भाषण दिया जैसे कि वे मास्टर हों और चीफ मिनिस्टर उनके disciple हों। तो इस तरह का व्यवहार राज्य सरकारों के प्रति ठीक नहीं है। कैसी सरकार आप चला रहे हैं, मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहूंगा?

इसलिए, उपसभापति महोदय, मैं अपनी बात खत्म करने से पहले सरकार से बहुत नम्रता से गुजारिश करूंगा कि जिन कारणों ने नक्सलवाद को या माओवाद को पैदा किया है, आप उन कारणों को दूर कीजिए। आप बुखार को दवा से ठीक कीजिए, लेकिन बुखार का कारण क्या है अगर आप उसको ठीक नहीं करेंगे तो रोग का निदान नहीं होगा। आप Calpol खिला-खिलाकर, हथियार का इस्तेमाल इसी तरह से है, बुखार को दबाते रहेंगे और एक दिन जान पर आफत आ जाएगी। इसलिए धीरज के साथ, लेकिन बुद्धिमानी के साथ, बड़ा हृदय रखकर इस समस्या का समाधान कीजिए, देश आपके साथ है, हम आपके साथ हैं। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset, my Party, the Communist Party of India condemns the killings of CRPF Jawans in all possible strongest terms. My Party extends its sympathies to the kith and kin of those victims. Sir, the Home Minister's Statement is a specific statement on the incident in Chhattisgarh. Sir, I want to be very specific. The tribal people in Chhattisgarh today are increasingly getting alienated. They are subjected to unimaginable tortures. In the name of mining operations, in the name of projects, in the name of developments they are being evicted from their place of living. The forest wealth is being handed over to the corporate sector and to the multinational corporations. These Neo Liberal Policies which are imposed on the tribal people of Chhattisgarh have created a kind of situation there. This has to be understood firstly. And, I appeal to all political parties that this issue needs to be discussed dispassionately. Here, I would like to quote Dr. Ambedkar. Sir, Dr. Ambedkar in his last speech in the Constituent Assembly said, "If we fail to use the Constitution as an effective instrument to address the concerns of the people and solve their problems, then it can unleash a grammar of anarchism". This is what Dr. Ambedkar warned. Now, what Left-Wing Extremists are doing is nothing but implementing a grammar of anarchism.

As Communists, we deplore, we disapprove the method followed by the Left-Wing Extremists, and we don't agree with their method. That is why even at the time of Lenin, Lenin called Left-Wing Extremism, Left-Wing Communism as an infantile disorder. Left-Wing Extremism is a trend in polity. It has to be fought ideologically; it has to be fought politically, and it has to be tackled at law and order level. In order to deal with it, the strategy of the Government should be appropriate. Now, I find the strategy of the Government is a flawed one. It is a wrong strategy, and the Government should rework its strategy. The Government should rethink of its policies, as far as Chhattisgarh is concerned.

Sir, in this House, I have raised several times the issue of Salwa Judum. I am raising this issue today because we are discussing the situation in Chhattisgarh. The Statement is related to the incident that took place in Chhattisgarh. So, on an earlier occasion also, I have raised this issue of Salwa Judum. What is happening today in Chhattisgarh? The failure to give justice and rehabilitate the Salwa Judum victims has increased recruitment to Maoists.

The victims of Salwa Judum have not got justice and they have not been given rehabilitation. This has led to more recruitment to the ranks of Maoists. According to intelligence figures, I quote, "Recruitment to Maoists has gone up by at least 22 per cent since Salwa Judum began." If I am wrong, the Home Minister can correct my statement. Here, the Government of India should not do politics. It should not do politics in Chhattisgarh, it should not do politics in West Bengal. Neither the Home Minister nor the Railway Minister should do politics on this issue. If that is done, we are damaging the very democratic polity of our country.

Having said that, Sir, I must point out that the Chhattisgarh Government has agreed on 17.10.2008 that it would rehabilitate and compensate villagers affected by Salwa Judum burning their houses. It has done nothing so far for two years. It is a fact. Then, Sir, on the contrary, the Union Government, despite acknowledging in court that Salwa Judum has burnt houses and committed illegal acts continues to glorify and praise Salwa Judum. One cannot be silent on violence committed by vigilante's and security forces because poor adivasis were caught between two types of violence. Salwa Judum is also a threat to our Parliamentary democracy. If you say Left-wing extremism is a threat to Parliamentary democracy, Salwa Judum, a non-State player, is also a threat to the democratic politics.

Sir, on 18.2.2010, the Supreme Court asked petitioners. I name the petitioners because it is before the Supreme Court—Nandini Sundar and others, Kartram Joda, Manish Kunjam—our own party leader, CPI leader of All India Adivasi Mahasabha—and others; the Supreme Court asked the petitioners to file a comprehensive rehabilitation plan. The State Government in Chhattisgarh took two weeks to file a response but has not done anything even now. The main aspects of this rehabilitation plan are: (a) to identify affected persons through survey, (b) to hold sittings of district judges in block headquarters, etc., (c) to deal with heinous crimes like rape, murder and restore essential services in the villages. All this has to be supervised by a senior retired judge or retired secretary to Government of India. The only way to bring peace is to restore civil administration and provide justice.

Sir, basic services cannot wait because they are all poor adivasis, tribal people, and they are subjected to such unimaginable miseries and sufferings, I am telling you. Their plight is so miserable. But, the basic services cannot wait. The people are in 3rd grade malnutrition stages. I am saying, Sir, you listen to anybody coming from Chhattisgarh, who happens to be a tribal or who happens to work among the tribal people, you will come to know that third-grade malnutrition is present. The Food Commissioners have said it to the Supreme Court, it is not my version. The Food Commissioners have made this point to the Supreme Court. Markets have shut down and there is a need to open up markets. There is a need to restore public distribution system. That is the only channel for tribal people to get some foodgrains.

But all your shops remain closed along with schools. Schools also remain closed. Sir, now how to tackle this problem? The Maoists have said that they are agreeable to some kind of a ceasefire and they are agreeable to see that the Public Distribution System functions in these villages. It has been reported in the *Hindu* on 14.4.2010. Maoists have also indicated that they are willing to simultaneous ceasefire. Can the Government remain adamant? Government say that if the they abjure violence, then only they can speak. But ceasefire or giving up violence has to be a matter agreed upon by two sides. The Government should also be with an open mind.

We have the experience how we tackled the situation in Nagaland. Now there is an indication, it is again reported in the *Hindu* on 14.4.2010. Now, Sir, I draw the attention of this House to some of my own experiences. I do meet people; there are people who believe in non-violence, they work among the tribal people in Chhattisgarh. They are not being allowed to work there, they are being harassed, cases have been filed against them and they are being evicted. Now they are outside Chhattisgarh. How can we win the confidence of tribal people if we do not have a kind of democratic channel to reach out the tribal people and win the confidence of the tribal people? Sir, it is impossible, I understand, to distinguish between Maoists and ordinary villagers. It is extremely impossible but police response will only increase the killing on both sides.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair]

Sir, life is very precious. The life of a CRPF Jawan is precious, the life of a villager, a poor tribal is also precious, Sir. We will have to think of these tribal people. That is the primary issue on which we will have to concentrate. Sir, there is a continuous violation of Fifth Schedule, of the Panchayat extension to Scheduled Areas and of all other rights guaranteed to the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution. Why this violation is continuously taking place that is what I am trying to ask. This is not a one-party issue. I am asking all parties why our tribal people should live in such a pathetic, wretched condition in our country even after more than sixty years of Independence. Who is responsible for that? Is it not the failure of the State Governments? Is not the failure of the Union Government? Is not our collective failure? I am appealing to the conscience of every one sitting in this House; I am appealing to the conscience of the entire Parliament. Is it not our collective failure? Why our Tribal people should live a wretched life? This is the primary issue, Sir, and this issue needs to be addressed and there, I think, the strategy pursued by the Union Government is not correct, it is a wrong one. I do not get into the politics of polemics and the statements made by the Home Minister outside Parliament. I do not want to get into polemics because it is not the way the Home Minister should conduct himself. He speaks one thing in Bengal; he speaks a different thing in Delhi. What is this happening in our country? Home Minister is the Home Minister of the entire country. If buck stops at the Chief Minister's table in Bengal, why does it not stop in Chhattisgarh? Finally he says that he takes the moral responsibility and the buck stops at the Home Minister's table in Delhi. So, why there should be this type of statements, and, then, he declares that within two to three years he will wipe out Maoists in India. What is the strategy about that?

I would like to know from the Government. Can you do that? What is the strategy? Unless we win the confidence of tribal people, Sir, unless we stop encouraging the non-State players who divide the tribal people to pitch one section of the tribal people against the other, we cannot win this battle against Left Wing extremism. It is a trend. That trend will continue. As long as

we have unprecedented inequalities, disparities in our country, you will always come across Left Wing extremism. We cannot wish away, but, how to fight it? As a democracy we must think of people at large. In Chhattisgarh, it is a question of tribal people and their livelihood. It is the question of livelihood and their future. We cannot understand the feelings of tribal people. We cannot obviously understand the spirit of democracy. Then, what is the meaning of democracy if democracy cannot protect the tribal people in this country? Protection of tribal people is the only safeguard for Parliamentary democracy, democracy in our country. The Government of India should readdress all these issues and re-work its strategy and Home Minister has said that he will come up with some Inquiry Report. Let us see what that Inquiry Report is going to tell us. The Inquiry Report should not tell us what the Home Minister has been speaking. It is a serious issue and the whole House should take serious note of this. What has happened, in fact should be condemned and should not recur in the coming days for which we need a proper strategy by the Union Government. Whether the Union Government has that political will to re-work its strategy is a question before us. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT (Maharashtra): Sir, as I stand here, my head hangs in shame as we have lost 73 valuable lives of our brave soldiers. Sir, I will not take much of your time. The only thing is, I was surprised and shocked with the statement given by the Home Minister. I am not trying to politicize the issue. But the Statement says that the State Government therefore, has the primary responsibility. The Central Government stands ready and is willing to assist the State Government. Sir, here I think, it is a game of passing the buck. The Naxalite issue is primarily not one State issue. Many States have been engulfed by Naxalite terrorists. Here, particularly in this area, part of Maharashtra, *i.e.* Vidharbha, Chhattisgarh, part of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, all these areas called traditionally the Dandakaranya area has been affected by Naxal activities. So, it is a multi-State issue.

When the State of Andhra Pradesh tightened, the Naxals ran away to Maharashtra. When there is action against them in Maharashtra, they go to Chhattisgarh. From there they move to Orissa. So, there is no point in just holding the State Government responsible for this. There has to be a mechanism by which the Centre takes the lead, the initiative in controlling the Naxal issue. Having said that, I wish to bring some other issues in this regard. Sir, the Naxal issue cannot be resolved by just attacking the Naxals. Yes, there has to be multi-pronged, a two pronged programme by which on the one hand the Government takes them on with heavy hand, with iron hand and just destroys the terrorist movement, but, on the other hand, there should be some respite, some help, some assistance provided to the tribals who have been deprived of the

basic minimum amenities of being a human being. I, as a journalist, have been travelling in Naxal town areas of these States from 1988. Ever since one MLA from Chandrapur was kidnapped and a Sarpanch was beheaded, from that time on, I have been travelling very regularly in this area and what I find is, a tribal villager, if at all he has to reach the district headquarters, has to travel 120-150 kms. and that too without any mode of transport! If a person fell ill and if he has to be taken to hospital, all the villagers have to travel 150 kms. running! Sir, they actually run. This House, perhaps, will not be able to imagine the plight of these people. So, unless we address those issues, the naxal issue cannot be resolved.

Another point I would like to raise here is the problem relating to naxal-prone areas. The first issue is, illegal cutting of forest in the area. The tribals live on forest. Some people, who have political patronage, illegally cut wood and that is a major issue. Unfortunately, nobody is concentrating on this issue. No Government machinery, whether the State or Central Governments — I am not talking about any political party — are not at all looking at this major issue.

Another issue is the illegal trade of Tendu leaves. I don't know how many hon. Members know about the trade of Tendu leaves which are used for making bidis. It is a big and lucrative business. The Tendu leaves are illegally traded from this area. Tendu leaves are the livelihood of the tribal villagers. The Government machinery has failed. Hon. Minister of Civil Aviation is sitting here comes from that area. He would, perhaps, tell you more things about how illegal Tendu leaves trade is taking place in Vidarbha region.

Another thing is the menace of paper mill owners. In this area, there are paper mills. I do not want to name them. From where do they get material for paper mills? This is again another illegal trade. In this business, the poor tribal is penalized. Therefore, taking advantage of this, the Naxal Movement penetrates into the interior of Dandakaranya. If at all we are serious about controlling the issue, yes, you have war against naxalite. You should have. If you want to use Air Force, use Air Force. But, that air cover will not be sufficient unless you know the ground reality. If you do not know the ground reality, the air cover will not serve the purpose.

Sir, one issue which I would like to raise and the Government has to look into is, we should send efficient Civil Servants and police officers to this area to control the situation. Now, what is the situation? I can talk only about Maharashtra. The appointment in this area — Gadcheroli, Chandrapur, Bhandara, Chinnore — is considered as punishment transfers. They are called *Kala Pani*. If the officer is not liked by the higher officers or by the politicians or if that official is inefficient or corrupt, he or she is transferred to the tribal areas. Sir, same is the case about police officers, IAS and other civilian officers. And, it is also the same thing about teachers. The

moment a person is transferred to this area, from the very next day he will come to State headquarters and would try to work for his transfer to other area. When do they work? I think, the Government has to consider, if it wants to send efficient officers to these areas, for rewarding them properly.

If a good officer has to go to naxalism-affected area, he should be assured that he would be rewarded and this is going to be a plum position because, after all, he would be going away from his family; he would be risking his life; he would be putting in three-four years there. Therefore, there should be equal reward for being posted in that area then only the good officers, the young officers and the efficient officers would go there. But, at present, that is not happening. And, that is the crux of the issue. Because of the loose Government mechanism, because of corrupt Government mechanism and because of inefficient Government mechanism, the tribals are suffering. And, if tribals are suffering, there are other Gods for the tribals when the Government does not come to them as a God, as a saviour, they look at someone else, and that someone else is the youth, believing in naxal philosophy. He has arms in his hands, but, at the same time, he has something to give. (*Time-bell rings*) And, when he gives something, definitely people go to him and shelter him. And, if there is a shelter from the local population, no machinery, no Army, no Air Force can actually eradicate the naxalism. We must eradicate naxalism, and for that that this two-pronged programme has to be done. There is no point in politicizing; there is no point in passing the buck to the States and just throwing your hands up.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर (महाराष्ट्र) : महोदय, आज इस समस्या पर बहुत चर्चा हुई है, लेकिन मैं चार-पांच बिन्दु और मांगें रखना चाहता हूँ। अगर नक्सलवादियों के खिलाफ हमें लड़ाई जीतनी है तो पांच चीजें करने की जरूरत है। पहली चीज यह है कि किसी भी राजनीतिक लाभ के लिए नक्सलियों का साथ नहीं लेना चाहिए और यह निर्णय करना पड़ेगा सत्तारुढ़ गठबंधन को। नक्सलियों का साथ लेने के बहुत सारे सबूत और बहुत सारी लम्बी चर्चा आंध्र के चुनाव में, छत्तीसगढ़ के चुनाव में लगातार होती रही कि किस तरीके से नक्सलवादियों की मदद लेकर चुनाव जीतने का एक प्रयास हुआ और उसके कारण नक्सलवादियों को कई कंसेशन दिए गए। तो यह भी नहीं होना चाहिए। आंध्र में तो यहां तक हुआ, क्योंकि आज समय नहीं है, लेकिन आंध्र में बाकायदा एक समझौता हुआ चुनाव से पहले...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री जेसुदासु सीलम (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : सर, यह ऑब्जेक्शनेबिल है।

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : मैं वही बतला रहा हूँ।

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: This is wrong. (*Interruptions*) This is wrong.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : ऑब्जेक्शनेबिल नहीं, मैं बतला रहा हूँ, You are not the judge. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please sit down, Mr. Seelam. (*Interruptions*)

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : आंध्र में और छत्तीसगढ़ में चुनाव से पहले क्या हुआ, यह केवल मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ उस समय के सैकड़ों समाचार पत्रों के विश्लेषकों के लेखों को देखो और सभी सबूत मौजूद हैं, विस्तार से चर्चा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mabelji, please sit down. You are the next speaker. You can react then. *(Interruptions)* Please do not disturb now. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: He must substantiate whatever he says. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is up to him. *(Interruptions)* Please sit down. *(Interruptions)* You can speak when your turn comes. *(Interruptions)*

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : मैं सब्सटेंसिएट भी करूंगा। आंध्र में जिस तरीके से चुनाव के तुरन्त बाद सीजफायर की घोषणा हुई। आज जो दंतेवाड़ा में हो रहा है उसका मूल वहां है, क्योंकि एक साल का सीजफायर और उस सीजफायर में सारे नक्सली वहां रि-ग्रुप हो गए और उन्होंने दंतेवाड़ा में डेरा जमाया। यह सब उसी समय हुआ और आंध्र सरकार की नक्सलियों के साथ चर्चा हुई और चर्चा के समय नक्सली नेता अपनी यूनिफार्म में बंदूक लेकर गए थे जिसके चित्र छपे हैं, चाहें तो मैं सब दिखाने के लिए तैयार हूं। यह है और इसलिए मैं अभी पीछे नहीं जा रहा हूं, कम से कम आगे नक्सलियों का सहारा मत लो चुनाव जीतने के लिए। यह पहला काम करना पड़ेगा।

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: Sir, he is casting aspersions. *..(Interruptions)..*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, please. *..(Interruptions)..* I do not allow these interruptions. *..(Interruptions)..*

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: Sir, this is objectionable. *..(Interruptions)..*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Nothing will go on record. *..(Interruptions)..* That will not go on record. *..(Interruptions)..* I am not allowing these interruptions. *..(Interruptions)..*

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I am not allowing these interruptions. *..(Interruptions)..* Take your seats. *..(Interruptions)..* No, no. I am not allowing these interruptions. *..(Interruptions)..* Please take your seats. *..(Interruptions)..* आप लोग बैठिए *...(व्यवधान)...* Take your seats. *..(Interruptions)..*

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : महोदय, मैं आज की बात कर रहा हूं। *...(व्यवधान)...*

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप लोग बैठिए।

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : कांग्रेस के एक वरिष्ठ नेता *...(व्यवधान)...* बात कर रहा था। *...(व्यवधान)...*

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, *(Interruptions)..*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Javadekar, are you yielding to Dr. Keshava Rao?

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: No, Sir, I am not yielding. *..(Interruptions)..*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay, then, Dr. Keshava Rao, you sit down. *..(Interruptions)..*

*Not recorded.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : महोदय, मैं आज की बात कर रहा हूँ। कांग्रेस के पूर्व मुख्य मंत्री, कांग्रेस के वर्तमान महामंत्री और वरिष्ठ नेता, जिन्होंने तीन दिन पहले अपने नाम से लेख लिखा है। उसमें उन्होंने आरोप लगाया है और बहुत गंभीर आरोप है। दूसरे सदन के सदस्य और छत्तीसगढ़ के सांसद बलिराम कश्यप जी, जो स्वयं आदिवासी हैं और आदिवासी नेता भी हैं। वह लगातार नक्सलियों से लड़ रहे हैं। उनके बेटे की निर्मम हत्या हुई है। उनके बेटे की निर्मम हत्या नक्सलियों ने की है। एक महोदय ने अपने लेख में लिखा है कि बलिराम कश्यप का नक्सलवादियों को जो पैदा देना था, वह नहीं दिया इसलिए उसके बेटे की हत्या की गई है।...(व्यवधान)... क्या ये नक्सलियों के वकील हो गए।...(व्यवधान)... लेख लिखा है, मेरा यह कहना है कि अगर ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: Sir, we object to this. He has to substantiate this. ..(Interruptions)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please sit down. ..(Interruptions)..

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : इकोनोमिक टाइम्स में लिखा है। मैं सभी को कोपी देता हूँ।...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Javadekar, if you are quoting from a newspaper, then you have to authenticate it.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: Yes, I will authenticate it. I will give you immediately. ..(Interruptions).. मैं दे रहा हूँ, Authenticate कर रहा हूँ।...(व्यवधान)...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I want to know whom he is referring to. Let us understand that.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : मैं आपको क्लिपिंग दे रहा हूँ।...(व्यवधान)... एक लेख है।...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: Sir, he is referring to a person who cannot come here and defend himself. ..(Interruptions)..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : एक मिनट, एक मिनट। बैठिए।...(व्यवधान)... Mr. Javadekar, the only problem is, you referred to a newspaper and said something. ..(Interruptions)..

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: Sir, I am giving this and authenticating this. ..(Interruptions)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): If you are quoting ..(Interruptions)..

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM: Sir, he cannot refer to a person who cannot come here and defend himself. ..(Interruptions)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please take your seat. ..(Interruptions).. Please take your seats. ..(Interruptions).. Please. ..(Interruptions).. Now listen to me. There are two issues raised here which I have to consider. Number one is that you quoted. If you have quoted something, you have to authenticate it. Number two, is this.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: Sir, I will authenticate this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, it is not to be said here. Number two is, hon. Member has raised that you have mentioned a name.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: No, Sir, I mentioned the designation. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Let me complete. If you have made some charges against a person who cannot come here and defend himself....

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: That is why I did not take his name. ...*(Interruptions)*..I have not taken his name. ...*(Interruptions)*..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): If such a reference is there, I will go through the records and that will be expunged.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: Okay, Sir. मुद्दा है मानहानि का मुकदमा हम मानहानि का मुकदमा उस पर दायर करेंगे, तब आपको नाम भी पता चलेगा। मुद्दा दूसरा है... **(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ (Orissa): If you say, somebody has written an article which is a published material, it was an allegation. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Even then it should be authenticated.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: I will authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): If you are quoting*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: I am authenticating. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am authenticating. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am authenticating and submitting. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA (Rajasthan): Sir, the Leader of the Opposition mentioned the same article ...*(Interruptions)*... He did not say a word. The name was asked by them. They asked to give the name. So, he gave the name. He was not volunteering to give the name. ...*(Interruptions)*... They said, you give the name and authenticate it. ...*(Interruption)*... They asked for it.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR: Yes, I will authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*... सर, मेरे पास तीन मिनट का वक्त है, इतना तो बोलने दीजिए ...**(व्यवधान)**... मुझे तीन-चार मिनट का वक्त मिला है, मुझे मुद्दा तो बोलने दीजिए...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Najmaji is very experienced ...*(Interruptions)*... I will only say that if he quotes something, he should authenticate it. That is all. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing more.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा पहला मुद्दा यह है कि किसी भी सूरत में नक्सलियों का सहारा लेकर, उनकी सहायता लेकर चुनाव की राजनीति नहीं होनी चाहिए, यह बंद होनी चाहिए। दूसरी बात, नक्सलवाद को सहयोग देने वालों, कौन-कौन सहयोग देता है, पर तुरंत कार्रवाई करनी चाहिए। म्यांमार बॉर्डर से चाइना का सारा असला और गोला-बारूद वहां से आ रहा है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से उत्तर चाहता हूं कि आपने आज तक कितने लोगों को पकड़ा है? आपने नक्सलवादियों को असला और गोला-बारूद देने वाले

5.00 p.m.

कितने लोगों को, कितने गैंग्स का समाप्त किया है, यह बताने का कष्ट करें? उनको जो धन मुहैया कराते हैं, जो एक्सटॉर्शन बिजनेस करते हैं, उस एक्सटॉर्शन के लिए क्या कभी किसी को पकड़ा है, यह बताइए? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको आश्चर्य होगा, दो महीने पहले, लैटिन अमरीकन कंट्रीज से नक्सलवादी, माओवादियों के सहयोगी दंतेवाड़ा के जंगल में आए थे और वहां एक इंटरनेशनल नेटवर्क कायम करके, यहां वाइलेंस के जरिए तख्ता पलट कैसे करना है और लड़ाई कैसे करनी है, इसके मसूबे से सारी तैयारी के लिए दंतेवाड़ा के जंगल में कोलंबिया और अन्य वाहक देशों से नक्सलियों के सहयोगी आए थे। उनको कैसे आने दिया और क्यों नहीं पकड़ा, यह मुद्दा बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। दूसरी बात यह है कि उनकी भर्ती होती है। आदिवासी युवाओं को लेते हैं, उनका प्रशिक्षण होता है। सरकार को एक बात नहीं दिखाई देती कि वे मैदान में आकर लड़ रहे हैं तथा उनके और बहुत समर्थक हैं। जब तक इन सब पर कार्यवाही नहीं करोगे, और केवल शहीद होने के लिए जवानों को जंगल में भेजोगे, तब तक वे शहीद होते रहेंगे और हम उनको श्रद्धांजलि देते रहेंगे। हम ऐसी चर्चा करते रहेंगे, लेकिन विजय नहीं पा सकेंगे, क्योंकि जब तक पूरी चेन को डिस्ट्राय नहीं करेंगे, तब तक कार्य नहीं होगा।

सर, तीसरी बात यह है कि लड़ाई की पूरी तैयारी होनी चाहिए। आज कोई खुफिया तंत्र नहीं है। नक्सलियों को पता चलता है कि जवान कहां से जाने वाले हैं, लेकिन जवानों को पता नहीं चलता कि नक्सलवादी कहां जमा हुए हैं। क्या बात है? सबको पता चलता है, लेकिन सैनिक, सी.आर.पी.एफ. हो या बाकी दूसरी फोर्सेज हों, उनको पता नहीं चल रहा है, क्योंकि समन्वय नहीं है, जिसका उल्लेख अभी हमारे वक्ताओं ने किया। अनेक राज्यों में अगर यह प्रश्न है, एक राज्य से दूसरे राज्य में भाग रहे हैं, तो समन्वय चाहिए। माननीय आडवाणी जी, जब गृह मंत्री थे, तब उन्होंने यह किया था कि व हर महीने, एक बैठक करते थे और उस बैठक में सभी नक्सल प्रभावित राज्यों के गृह सचिव मिलकर, वहां के आई.जी. बैठकर बात करते थे, लेकिन आज यह बैठक बंद हो गई है। यह बैठक पुनः शुरू होनी चाहिए। आज मोरेल बढ़ाना है, लेकिन उनके पास सुविधा नहीं है। हर चैनल पर दिखाई दे रहा है कि जो जवान वहां पर जंगल में लड़ने के लिए जा रहे हैं, उनके लिए कोई भी सुविधा नहीं है, तब उनका मोरेल कैसे बढ़ेगा? उनका सारा एटमोस्फियर ऐसा है कि वे डीमोरलाइज हो रहे हैं और इसलिए यह भी बदलना चाहिए। चौथा मुद्दा है कि प्रशासन का तंत्र बदलो। मैं आखिर में आ रहा हूं, सर, अभी मेरे मित्र भारत राऊत जी ने कहा कि we have done this. हम देखते हैं कि नक्सलवादी इलाकों में सरकार के कौन अधिकारी रहते हैं। जो सबसे बदतर होते हैं, उनको पनिशमेंट पोस्टिंग के जरिए भेजा जाता है। एक दिन मैंने चीफ सेक्रेट्री को बुलाया और पूछा कि भाई साहब, आप सभी बदतर अधिकारियों को पनिशमेंट देकर अगर नक्सलवादी इलाकों में भेजोगे, तो वे सारे लोग नक्सलियों के साथ और जाएंगे, क्योंकि उनको ऐसा प्रशासन मिलेगा, जो बद से बदतर होगा, यह नहीं चाहिए। Bad districts need best officers. उनके लिए अच्छे ऑफिसर्स चाहिए और अच्छे ऑफिसर के लिए अच्छा reward भी चाहिए। जब हम प्रशासन में ऐसा करेंगे और मानसिकता बदलेंगे, तब जाकर यह होगा। **(समय की घंटी)** अगर हमें people friendly प्रशासन चलाना है, तो जल्द विकास भी चाहिए, जल्द न्याय भी चाहिए, जल्द सेवाएं भी चाहिए, लेकिन एक political प्रण चाहिए कि हम नक्सलवादियों को लड़ाई में खत्म करेंगे और उनका राजनीतिक साथ नहीं लेंगे और नहीं देंगे? बस यही मेरा कहना है।

Ms. MABEL REBELLO (Jharkhand): Sir, I share the grief and concern...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): There are three more speakers.
(Interruptions)

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Sir, I think you should take a sense of the House whether we should sit beyond five.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Yes, yes. (*Interruptions*) I think the House agrees.

Ms. MABEL REBELLO: Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. I stand here to share the concern and grief expressed by the entire House. The incident that has taken place at Tademetla in Dantewada is really tragic. It has not happened just like that. For the last nine months, in the entire Bastar region, there was a sense of security and not a single major incident had taken place, particularly, in Dantewada. The Administration was trying to get closer to the people. Sir, as you are aware, the place in Dantewada where this incident took place is known as Chintalnar. The Naxals consider this place as their capital of Dandakaranya, the state that they are trying to form. This is an area which the administration just cannot enter; they can remain just on the periphery. Now, what happened on that particular day?

Some CRPF officer had been posted there on 29th March. He did not know the area and he just gave orders to his CRPF subordinates to go into the area for 72 hours. Only one State Police official accompanied them. Somebody leaked the information to the villagers that these people were going to be there for three days. That is how, on the second day, they mustered the support of the villagers and all Naxal leaders who had come from Andhra Pradesh, because this place is hardly sixty kilometers away from the border of Andhra Pradesh. They grouped themselves; they had arms; they laid landmines and took positions. Some of them climbed the trees with Light Machine Guns and waited there for the CRPF people. The CRPF personnel came there around three o'clock morning. They were lying down there on the ground. As soon as there was light, these people started firing. This is what happened. The State administration did not know; the IG, the DIG of the State didn't know about it. This is a mistake on the part of the CRPF officers. It is not a mistake of the State Government, nor that of the Central Government. But the Home Minister, Mr. Chidambaram, was gracious enough to own the responsibility. It is not his failure at all. For the last six months, since November, 2009, he has been going around collecting a lot of intelligence and giving a lot of support to the State Governments to fight Naxalism and contain them. I would rather congratulate him for his efforts over the last six months because of which we in Jharkhand have been able to travel almost fearlessly in every part of the State. Otherwise, we could never travel on certain routes, which we can do now. Those people are almost fleeing; they are on the run.

Sir, Bastar has a history. United Bastar district, which is one district, is larger than the entire State like Kerala. It has just one Collector, one S.P. and one Executive Engineer and all that. It has only one National Highway coming from Raipur to Dantewada and going off to Andhra. There is no physical infrastructure at all. Yesterday I was talking to somebody at Dantewada. He

told me now there are five districts. Although Dantewada district has produced a few graduates, not one of them got into the Government service. That is the quality of education that is being given. Even though there are a few colleges, they produce unemployable youth. People are extremely frustrated. What has the BJP Government done? They brought in Salwa Judum and vacated about 650 villages and brought them to Salwa Judum camp. Tribal people lost their land, their cattle, their chicks and lost all that they had. Because they had land in different villages, they used to go on to collect minor forests produce. They sell minor forest produce to make money. There was a lot of exploitation there. Minor forest produce like chiraunji is very valuable here. It costs almost Rs.500 to Rs.600 per kg, but in Bastar, in Dantewada and in Bijapur, they exchange it for salt. They fool the tribal like that. This type of exploitation is rampant there and it is prevalent even today. Sir, just now Shri Sanjay Raut and Javadekarji have said that officers do not want to go there and they consider it punishment posting. I do know about it. But once the officers go there, they do not want to come back from there. Do you know why? They make solid money there. While going there, they are hesitant but they buy peace by giving money to naxalites and rule there. It is the politicians who don't go there. That is the problem. Traders exploit them, moneylenders exploit them and officers exploit them. Javadekarji was saying about Andhra Pradesh. But I can tell you that in that Vidhan Sabha election that finished two years ago in 2008, what they had done was that * also gave money to naxalites and won 11 seats in Bastar out of 12 seats. ...*(Interruptions)*... I will tell you, Sir, * gave money to naxalites and promised some more money to naxalites. But what happened? ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Can she substantiate that * paid money? ..*(Interruptions)* .. You have to prove it. ...*(Interruptions)*... You cannot make wild allegations. ..*(Interruptions)* .. You are quoting a newspaper. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MS. MABEL REBELLO: I have got newspaper cuttings. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have plenty of newspaper cuttings. ..*(Interruptions)* ..

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: It is all fake news. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Hon. Member, don't make such a blanket allegation against a party. That is what she is saying. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MS. MABEL REBELLO: Sir, if they can allege the Andhra Pradesh Government and Congress Government in Andhra Pradesh, don't they give me a right? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There is some substance in what Najmaji has said. Here in this House we do not make such allegations. ...*(Interruptions)*...

*Withdrawn by the hon. Member.

MS. MABEL REBELLO: I withdraw the name of the party. I don't want to hurt you all.

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री अजय माकन) : एक मिनट ...(व्यवधान)... सर, जब प्रकाश जावडेकर जी बोल रहे थे ...(व्यवधान)... एक मिनट ...(व्यवधान)... सर, जब प्रकाश जावडेकर जी बोल रहे थे तब उन्होंने आन्ध्र प्रदेश के अन्दर और छत्तीसगढ़ के अन्दर यू.पी.ए. के बारे में निश्चित तौर पर आरोप लगाए कि इन्होंने नक्सलियों के साथ समझौता किया। उस वक्त उनको नहीं रोका गया, लेकिन इस वक्त इनको क्यों रोका जा रहा है?

सुश्री मैबल रिबेल्लो : वही मैंने कहा।

श्री अजय माकन : उन्होंने क्या उस वक्त substantiate किया? अगर इसको एक्सपंज करने के लिए या इनको विदड़ों करने के लिए कहा जा रहा है, तो जब उन्होंने कहा था तो उस वक्त ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया गया? जो आप इनके साथ ट्रीट करेंगे वैसे ही उनके साथ भी ट्रीट करते।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I did not expunge anything(Interruptions)....

श्री अजय माकन : पर जैसे आप इनको यह यह कह रहे हैं, वैसे ही उस वक्त आपको उन्हें भी कहना चाहिए था।...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Minister, I will tell you. I did not expunge anything from what Ms. Mabel has spoken. I have only given advice that don't make wild allegations against a political party. That is only an advice...(Interruptions). It is applicable to everybody...(Interruptions).

SHRI AJAY MAKEN: Sir, the same allegation was made from their side, and especially in case of Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh...(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): If all of you speak, what can I do?... (Interruptions).

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : कांग्रेस पार्टी का नाम नहीं लिया था।...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI GIREESH KUMAR SANGHI (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, when chance was given to a Member from BJP, he quoted the Andhra Pradesh Government, that they colluded with the naxalites. Can he substantiate?

सुश्री मैबल रिबेल्लो : उन्होंने बोला है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is on record. You raised that issue and that is on record. That is enough.

SHRI GIREESH KUMAR SANGHI: But, that was not withdrawn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is on record. That is enough. Now, Ms. Mabel Rebello, please proceed.

MS. MABEL REBELLO: Sir, my submission is that those, who live in glass houses, should not pelt stone at others'. So, first look at your conscience and see whether you are associating

yourself with anti-social elements, and if you don't, then you pelt stones. Then, you have got every right to do so. Otherwise, you should not do so. This is my request.

Sir, I will confine myself just to Bastar and Dantewada. Sir, I have got the records that for the last five years, there is hardly any developmental activity in Bastar, and that is not because of any Government; that is because of naxalites, particularly in South Bastar. It is said that Rs.3700 crores have been siphoned off from various schemes. This has been done not only by naxals but by various other people. From where are naxals getting money? From every road that is built, every bridge that is built, every building that is constructed, do you know how much they take? Contractors give them 7-10 per cent. Engineers again give them some money so that they can live in peace. This is what is happening and that is how naxals in Chhattisgarh alone have collected money to the tune of Rs.3700 crores which is a huge amount and that is why, they are able to go to all the States and manipulate people and engage people. And, what are they giving to the youth? They hardly give them Rs.2500 or Rs.3000. What happened in Bastar? When there was action against naxals in Andhra Pradesh, they came to Dantewada, they came to Bijapur, and they came there to hide in the forests.

But, eventually, they befriended themselves with poor tribals. Then, they manipulated them. They told them that the Government was not able to deliver; the Government was keeping them poor; we will look after you. This is how they tried to win them over. Now, what is happening there? These big leaders, who have come from other States, they are the first-rung leaders, and even second-rung naxal leaders are all Andhra naxals. These tribals are only small tools in their hands. As I told you, they are the ones who have to cut the trees, they are the ones who have to go and remove the land mines. They use them to destroy the area and then, because they know that area, they go and stay in their houses.

They actually manipulate them for their vested interests, and, these gullible, innocent tribal people fall a prey to their machinations. Sir, in the last five years, they have destroyed around 248 Government buildings. Among these buildings, 74 are school buildings, 24 are ashram schools, and, 15 are anganwadis. Sir, they have dug up and destroyed 72 roads so that the officers, politicians and the para-military forces might not be able to move. Similarly, 128 other Government buildings have been destroyed. This way, in total, they have destroyed 248 Government buildings in the last five years. Sir, the Government of Chhattisgarh wanted to construct 329 roads but these people did not allow them to do so. Almost 2,020 km. road construction has been stopped. In case of 146 roads, tenders were floated, people offered their bid, but even after the agreements were signed, they have not allowed the contractors to construct those roads. Similarly, in case of 83 roads, they did not allow even tenders to be floated, or, anybody to offer bids. Sir, 90 roads are still half-done.

Sir, if you see the National Highway that goes to Andhra Pradesh; it is NH-201, I suppose. I want to show you the map. This is known as Konta, the last point of Chhattisgarh. If you go beyond that, you enter Andhra, and, Andhra has got a four-lane highway. And, the same road in Dantewada is a village road, having hardly 3-meter width. Recently, the Planning Commission has prepared some sort of a report of 33 LWE Districts, and, they have shown as to how the money was used in the year of 2009-10. Only 7½ per cent people have access to drinking water. Hardly 15 per cent have access to electricity. Similarly, hardly 15-20 per cent have rural connectivity. This is the state of affairs. The money which is meant for the people is not spent on them. Of course, there are constraints for the State Government. They are not able to spend it because of, what shall I say, naxalite problems. They are not able to go there. So, these people do not get any benefit. See their houses; they are staying in those mud-houses of pre-independence days. You might have seen people of Chintalhar and Tadimetla. They all have run away. They could not even lock their houses. This is the poverty, this is the misery. What is this?

We are talking about NREGA, we are talking about Indira Awas Yojana, we are talking about clean drinking water, we are talking about total sanitation; do they ever get anything, Sir. We are talking about the financial inclusion of the tribal people. We are talking about tribal Sub Plan. Where is that multi-crore money that goes from Government of India. Where does that money go, Sir? It does not touch them at all. They are still living in the 18th century. And, that is why, when these people, the smart naxal leaders go and tempt them, these people because of their utter poverty and misery fall prey, and, go along with them. Afterwards, these people are used by them to create problems in the area. That is why, Sir, — hon. Home Minister is sitting here — we need to use the gun. Along with the gun, we have to see that there is development, both physical infrastructure development and human resource development. These people should be given good education, quality education. The teachers are not there; the doctors are not there. The teachers and doctors should be given safe housing there. They should be given double the salary which is drawn by them in Raipur or Bilaspur. You should motivate them and send them there so that these people get good education and good health.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude it now.

MS. MABEL REBELLO: Okay, Sir, I am concluding it. I don't want to flout your rule because you have been quite indulgent to me. So, Sir, I once again appeal to the Home Minister, the course of action that he has taken, is an excellent course of action. He should first step into it and deal with these Naxals with heavy hand. At the same time, he should motivate the State Governments to do infrastructure development and human resource development so

that these tribals could lead a better life. Actually, Sir, I want to raise one more issue. Salwa Judum have vacated 650 villages. People are saying that these villages are vacated in order to give these villages to the corporate sector to build large industries there. If that happens, Sir, people of that area will suffer. Therefore, we should not play with the lives of the tribals. *(Time-bell rings)* If you take their land for development, for industry, you should give them adequate compensation. Without giving them adequate compensation, just fooling them and giving their land to others to make money is not fair. *(Time-bell rings)* So, when we bring industry there, we should ensure that relief and rehabilitation package is adequate, one member of the family is given employment and all of them are looked after well so that they can also lead a better quality of life. Thank you.

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे पहले तो मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

महोदय, नक्सलवाद की समस्या के बारे में इस हाउस में बहुत बार चर्चा हो चुकी है और जिन लोगों ने भी इस चर्चा में भाग लिया, उन सभी लोगों ने समस्या के समाधान के बारे में यही कहा कि समस्या का समाधान बुलेट से नहीं हो सकता, बंदूक की नली से नहीं हो सकता।

महोदय, जो लोग वहां पर मारे गए, जितने लोग मारे गए, वे नौकरी करने वाले लोग थे, नौकरी करके अपने परिवार को चलाने वाले लोग थे। वे इसलिए मारे गए क्योंकि उनको कोई दिशा-निर्देश नहीं था कि कहां जाना है, कैसे जाना है, आपका इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो ठीक नहीं था। अगर आपका इंटेलिजेंस ब्यूरो ठीक होता, उनको दिशा-निर्देश होता कि कहां जाना है, कैसे जाना है, कैसे उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान करना है या उनके लोग कहां खड़े हैं, तो वे लोग मारे नहीं जाते। वहां कोई एनकाउंटर नहीं हुआ, जितने आदमी थे, 75 आदमी थे, सबको नक्सलवादियों ने एक साथ मार दिया।

सर, मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यह नक्सलवाद की समस्या है यह कोई ग्रुप की समस्या नहीं है, बल्कि माइंड की समस्या है, जो गरीबी से, बेकारी से, बेरोजगारी से और कुपोषण से पैदा हुई है। इसलिए, अगर इनको हम ठीक नहीं करेंगे तो नक्सलवाद की यह समस्या बढ़ती चली जाएगी, इसको हम रोक नहीं पाएंगे।

इसलिए, सर, मैं बहुत आदरपूर्वक आपके माध्यम से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या के समाधान के लिए कोई उपाय निकालिए। आप अगर मिलिट्री ऑपरेशन से या पुलिस एक्शन से इस समस्या का समाधान करना चाहेंगे, तो इससे इस समस्या का समाधान होने वाला नहीं है, बल्कि इससे और भी समस्या बढ़ेगी। अभी यह कुछ इलाके में हुआ है, इससे यह समस्या और भी कई इलाकों में बढ़ेगी। इसलिए, कोई उपाय निकालना चाहिए, उनसे कोई ऐसी बात करनी चाहिए, उन लोगों की समस्याओं को देखना चाहिए। सर, अभी अखबार में निकला है कि कुपोषण से कितने ही बच्चे पांच साल की उम्र से पहले ही मर जाते हैं। एक तरफ तो बहुत गरीबी है और एक तरफ बहुत अमीरी है। अगर इन दोनों के बीच में समता नहीं होगी, तो यह नक्सलवाद की समस्या और बढ़ेगी।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इस समस्या का समाधान किसी भी मायने में बुलेट से नहीं हो सकता, किसी ऑपरेशन से या मिलिट्री के ऑपरेशन से नहीं हो सकता, इनकी समस्याओं की तह तक जाकर, उनसे वार्ता करके उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान करना चाहिए और इसी से समस्या का हल हो सकता है। धन्यवाद

श्रीमती मोहसिना किदवई (छत्तीसगढ़) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे वक्त दिया। मैं आपका बहुत समय नहीं लूंगी, क्योंकि इस मुद्दे पर जितना भी अफसोस का इज़हार किया जाए, वह कम है। जिन लोगों की जानें गईं, उनके कनुबों के साथ, हमारे दिल की गहराइयों से हमदर्दी है और पूरे हाउस की हमदर्दी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह देश की सिक्योरिटी के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। मैं समझती हूँ कि हमें इस समय above the party lines उठकर बात करनी चाहिए और दयानतदारी के साथ, ईमानदारी के साथ इस मसले का हल ढूँढना चाहिए। मैं दो-चार सजेशंस होम मिनिस्टर साहब को देना चाहती हूँ। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने पिछले 6-7 महीनों से नक्सलवादियों के खिलाफ लड़ने का एक प्रोग्राम बनाया है, हम सब पूरी तरह से उनके साथ हैं। यह जो घटना घटी है, मैं समझती हूँ कि जो CRPF की टुकड़ी गई थी, उसका इतना कसूर नहीं है, क्योंकि यह जो नक्सलवादियों का मामला है, इसमें सबसे बड़ा रोल इंटेलिजेंस का है, जो वहां की लोकल इंटेलिजेंस है, जो सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेंस है, उनका सबसे बड़ा रोल है। मैं समझती हूँ कि हमारी इंटेलिजेंस में बड़ी जबर्दस्त कमी रही है, क्योंकि आज जब टेक्नोलॉजी इतनी advance हो चुकी है, इतनी devices आ चुकी हैं, तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जहां इतनी बड़ी तादाद में नक्सलवादियों की activities हों और इंटेलिजेंस को यह भी पता न लगे कि कहां पर क्या हो रहा है, यह बहुत बड़ा फेल्योर है और इसमें स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का भी फेल्योर है। यहां से जो CRPF के नौजवान जाते हैं, वे अपने नक्शे से और अपने विवेक से पता करते हैं, लेकिन जो असल इंटेलिजेंस का काम है, वह लोकल सरकार की तरफ से और उनकी पुलिस की तरफ से होता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं दो-चार बातें इस संबंध में कहना चाहती हूँ। पहले जब इस हाउस में बहस हुई थी, तो मैंने कहा था कि नक्सलवाद के कारण जितनी स्टेट्स affected हैं - उड़ीसा, आंध्र प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र का हिस्सा, मध्य प्रदेश का हिस्सा, छत्तीसगढ़ और झारखंड, जब तक ये सारी स्टेट्स मिलकर war footing पर काम नहीं करेंगी, तब तक मैं समझती हूँ कि इस देश को इस मुसीबत से निज़ात मिलना बहुत मुश्किल है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपने स्टेटमेंट में कहा है कि सारी स्टेट्स के DIGs, IGs और चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की मीटिंग होती है, लेकिन मैं समझती हूँ कि जब तक उसका कोई सही निष्कर्ष न निकले, वह मीटिंग बेमानी है। वह जो एरिया है, जहां यह हादसा हुआ है, वहीं पर सारी स्टेट्स की सरहदें मिलती हैं। जहां तक हमारे आदिवासियों का मसला है, वे बहुत गरीब हैं, उनके पास जमीन नहीं है, उनके पास खाने को नहीं है और पिछली छत्तीसगढ़ सरकार के समय जो हुआ कि करीब 60,000 आदिवासी सड़कों पर थे, उनको सरकार ने दो-तीन साल तक खाना खिलाया। मैं समझती हूँ कि उनसे, उनके गांव खाली करा लिए गए, यह एक बेसिक गलती थी और उनके गांव खाली करवाकर, उनको सड़कों पर शरणार्थियों की तरह डाल दिया गया, न वे कोई काम कर सकते थे, न कहीं जा सकते थे। गरीबी, एक ऐसी बला है, जो इंसान को गुनाह करने पर आमादा करती है। बेचारे गरीब आदिवासियों की जो आर्थिक हालत है, उसके चलते यह समस्या ज्यादा बढ़ रही है, क्योंकि जब उनको पैसा दिया जाता है, lure किया जाता है, तो वे उन नक्सलवादियों के साथ हो जाते हैं। अगर आप याद करें, तो कश्मीर में जब Extremists की वबा चली, तो वहां के लोकल लोग उनको मदद देते थे, लेकिन आज रफ़ता-रफ़ता उन्होंने यह realize किया कि हम गलत काम कर रहे हैं और आज वे इससे पीछे हटते हैं। इसके कारण कश्मीर में बड़ी हद तक यह समस्या सुलझी है। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए केवल सरकारी तंत्र से काम नहीं चलेगा, इसमें हमें NGOs को involve करना चाहिए, local informers को

involve करना चाहिए, ताकि दूसरी तरफ से उनसे बातचीत करके, खास तौर से जो नौजवान बहक रहे हैं, उनको सही रास्ते पर लाया जा सके। जहां तक डेवलपमेंट के काम का सवाल है, अगर आप देखें, तो पाएंगे कि हमेशा नक्सलवादियों की, Extremists की activities वहीं हैं, जहां mining है और जहां और भी ऐसे काम हो रहे हैं।

ये जो इलाके हैं, ये घने जंगल से होकर जाते हैं और उसी के अंदर ही उनकी सारी activities हैं। इस पूरे एरिया को cordon off किया जाए। अभी जो विकास के काम के बारे में बात हो रही है, मैं उसे दोहराना नहीं चाहती हूं, कि कितनी सड़कें, कितने पुल और कितने विकास के काम रुके हुए हैं और नक्सलाइट भी यही चाहते हैं कि विकास का कोई काम न हो। जहां कोई accessibility नहीं होगी, तो वहां उनको काम करने में आसानी होगी। एक तरफ विकास का काम चलना चाहिए। और दूसरी तरफ जो 6-7 राज्य हैं, वहां पर war-footing पर विकास का काम होना चाहिए। अभी एक बात कही गई कि वहां वही officers जाते हैं, जो disgruntled होते हैं या उनको punishment के तौर पर वहां भेजा जाता है। मैं समझती हूं कि आज ऐसा मौका है कि अच्छे officers के साथ ट्रेनिंग की भी जरूरत है। आज नक्सलाइट के पास इतने sophisticated हथियार हैं और हमारी पुलिस या हमारी फोर्स उस तरह के arms से लैस है या नहीं है? इसमें अच्छे officers के साथ ट्रेनिंग की भी जरूरत है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपने बयान में कहा है कि प्रोपर ट्रेनिंग के साथ उनको भर्ती किया जाता है, Induct किया जाता है, लेकिन मैं समझती हूं कि इसमें अभी कमी है। इस ट्रेनिंग को और up-to-date किया जाना चाहिए और जो नए devices हैं, जो नए arms हैं और जो नए ammunition हैं, उनके आधार पर उसकी पूरी ट्रेनिंग होनी चाहिए।

आपकी जो Intelligence का मुद्दा है, उसमें बहुत जरूरी है कि उसमें बहुत strong infrastructure लोकल का भी हो और intelligence का भी हो। मैं सीधी बात कहना चाहती हूं, आज मुझे यहां की बहस को सुनकर बहुत अफसोस हुआ कि आज हम above the party line नहीं सोच रहे हैं। यह डेमोक्रेसी है, यहां कभी आपकी सरकार है और कभी हमारी सरकार है, लेकिन यह जो मसला है, चाहे किसी की भी सरकार हो, उसको face करना पड़ेगा। इसलिए इसको above the party line सोचना चाहिए। कौन क्या कर रहा है और किसने क्या किया, अगर इल्जाम दर इल्जाम लगाने पर आएंगे, तो कोई अछूता नहीं बचेगा। मैं किसी पार्टी के बारे में नहीं कहना चाहती हूं, लेकिन क्या यह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि वह अपने intelligence के तंत्र को और मजबूत करे, क्योंकि बाहर की सीआरपीएफ के जवान उतना नहीं जान सकते हैं कि वहां के लोकल हालात क्या हैं और किस तरह से वहां situation को handle करना चाहिए।

मैं दो चीजों पर ज्यादा जोर देना चाहती हूं - एक तो ट्रेनिंग होनी चाहिए और दूसरा विकास का काम जोर से चालू होना चाहिए, चाहे उसमें हमको कितनी भी दिक्कतें आए।

अब मैं सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात कहना चाहती हूं, जिसको हमारे और साथियों ने भी कहा है कि very strong coordination between the affected States. स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से strong co-operation होना चाहिए ताकि हम इस लानत से निजात पा सकें। इसमें reformers की बहुत जरूरत है और इसमें एनजीओ की मदद लेनी चाहिए। जो बात करने की बात है, होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है कि नक्सलाइट से बात भी की जाए, तो मेरा ख्याल है कि इसमें कोई बुराई नहीं है। लेकिन इसकी शुरुआत informers और एनजीओ के through की जाए। इसके बाद स्टेट गवर्नमेंट देखे। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी बहुत आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे इतना वक्त दिया। धन्यवाद।

†]محترمہ محسنہ قدوائی (چھتیس گڑھ) : آپ سبھا ادھیکش مہودے، میں آپ کی

بہت ابھاری ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے وقت دیا۔ میں آپ کا بہت وقت نہیں لوں گی، کیوں کہ اس مدعے پر جتنا بھی افسوس کا اظہار کیا جائے، وہ کم ہے۔ جن لوگوں کی جانیں گئیں، ان کے کنبوں کے ساتھ، ہمارے دل کی گہرائیوں سے ہمدردی ہے اور پورے باؤس کی ہمدردی ہے۔

آپ سبھا ادھیکش جی، یہ دیش کی سیکورٹی کے لئے ایک بہت بڑی سمسیمہ ہے۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ ہمیں اس وقت above the party lines اٹھ کر بات کرنی چاہئے اور دیانتداری کے ساتھ، ایمانداری کے ساتھ اس مسئلے کا حل ڈھونڈنا چاہئے۔ میں دو-چار سجیشنس ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو دینا چاہتی ہوں۔ ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے پچھلے 6-7 مہینوں سے نکسلوادیوں کے خلاف لڑنے کا ایک پروگرام بنایا ہے، ہم سب پوری طرح ان کے ساتھ ہیں۔ یہ جو گھٹنا گھٹی ہے، میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ جو سی۔آر۔پی۔ایف۔ کی ٹکڑی گئی تھی، اس کا اتنا قصور نہیں ہے، کیوں کہ یہ جو نکسلوادیوں کا معاملہ ہے، اس میں سب سے بڑا رول انٹیلی جینس کا ہے، جو وہاں کی لوکل انٹیلی جینس ہے، جو سینٹرل انٹیلی جینس ہے، ان کا سب سے بڑا رول ہے۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس میں انٹیلی جینس کی بڑی زبردست کمی رہی ہے، کیوں کہ آج جب ٹیکنالوجی اتنی ایڈوانس ہو چکی ہے، اتنی ڈوائسز آچکی ہیں، تو میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ جہاں اتنی بڑی تعداد میں نکسلوادیوں کی activities ہوں اور انٹیلی جینس کو یہ بھی پتہ نہیں لگے کہ کہاں پر کیا ہو رہا ہے؟ یہ بہت بڑا فیلور ہے اور اس میں اسٹیٹ گورنمینٹ کا بھی فیلور ہے۔ یہاں سے جو سی۔آر۔پی۔ایف۔ کے نوجوان ہیں، وہ اپنے نقشے سے اور اپنے وویک سے پتہ کرتے ہیں، لیکن جو اصل انٹیلی جینس کا کام ہے، وہ لوکل سرکار کی طرف سے اور ان کی پولیس کی طرف سے ہوتا ہے۔

†] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

اپ سبھا ادھیکش جی، میں دو-چار باتیں اس سمبندھ میں کہنا چاہتی ہوں۔ پہلے جب اس ہاؤس میں بحث ہوئی تھی، تو میں نے کہا تھا کہ نکسلواد کے کارن جتنی اسٹیٹس affected ہیں - اڑیسہ، آندھرا پردیش، مہاراشٹر کا حصہ، مدھیہ پردیش کا حصہ، چھتیس گڑھ اور جھارکھنڈ، جب تک یہ ساری اسٹیٹس مل کر war footing پر کام نہیں کریں گی، تب تک میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس دیش کو اس مصیبت سے نجات ملنا بہت مشکل ہے۔ ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے اپنی اسٹیٹمینٹ میں کہا ہے کہ ساری اسٹیٹس کے DIGs، IGs اور چیف منسٹرس کی میٹنگ ہوتی ہے، لیکن میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ جب تک اس کا کوئی صحیح نشکرش نہ نکلے، وہ میٹنگ بے معنی ہے۔ وہ جو ایریا ہے، جہاں یہ حادثہ ہوا ہے، وہیں پر ساری اسٹیٹس کی سرحدیں ملتی ہیں۔ جہاں تک ہمارے آدی واسیوں کا مسئلہ ہے، وہ بہت غریب ہیں، ان کے پاس زمین نہیں ہے، ان کے پاس کھانے کو نہیں ہے اور پچھلی چھتیس گڑھ سرکار کے وقت جو ہوا کہ قریب 60,000 آدی واسی سڑکوں پر تھے، ان کو سرکار نے دو-تین سال تک کھانا کھلایا۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ ان سے، ان کے گاؤں خالی کروا کر، ان کو سڑکوں پر شرنارتھیوں کی طرح ڈال دیا گیا۔ نہ کوئی کام کر سکتے تھے، نہ کہیں جا سکتے تھے۔ غریبی ایک ایسی بلا ہے، جو انسان کو گناہ کرنے پر آمادہ کرتی ہے۔ بیچارے غریب آدی واسیوں کی جو آرتھک حالت ہے، اس کے چلتے یہ سمسیہ زیادہ بڑھ رہی ہے، کیوں کہ جب ان کو پیسہ دیا جاتا ہے lure کیا جاتا ہے، تو وہ ان نکسلوادیوں کے ساتھ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اگر آپ یاد کریں، تو کشمیر میں جب Extremists کی وباء چلی تو وہاں کے لوکل لوگ ان کو مدد دیتے تھے، لیکن آج رفتہ رفتہ انہوں نے یہ realize کیا کہ ہم غلط کام کر رہے ہیں اور آج وہ اس سے پیچھے ہٹے ہیں۔ اس کے کارن کشمیر میں بڑی حد تک یہ سمسیہ سلجھی ہے۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس سمسیہ کو حل کرنے کے لئے صرف سرکاری تنتر سے کام نہیں چلے گا، اس میں ہمیں NGOs کو involve

کرنا چاہئے، local informers کو involve کرنا چاہئے، تاکہ دوسری طرف سے ان سے بات چیت کر کے، خاص طور سے جو نوجوان بہک رہے ہیں، ان کو صحیح راستے پر لایا جا سکے۔ جہاں تک ڈیولپمنٹ کے کام کا سوال ہے، اگر آپ دیکھیں، تو پائیں گے کہ ہمیشہ نکسلوادیوں کی، Extremists کی activities وہیں ہیں، جہاں mining ہے اور جہاں اور بھی ایسے کام ہو رہے ہیں۔ یہ جو علاقے ہیں، یہ گھنے جنگل سے ہو کر ہیں اور اسی کے اندر ہی ان کی ساری activities ہیں، اس پورے ایریے کو cordon off کیا جائے۔ ابھی جو وکاس کے کام کے بارے میں بات ہو رہی ہے، میں اسے دوبرنا نہیں چاہتی ہوں، کہ کتنی سڑکیں، کتنے پل اور کتنے وکاس کے کام رکے ہوئے ہیں اور نکسلانٹ بھی یہی چاہتے ہیں کہ وکاس کا کوئی کام نہ ہو۔ جہاں کوئی accessibility نہیں ہوگی، تو وہاں ان کو کام کرنے میں آسانی ہوگی۔ ایک طرف وکاس کا کام چلنا چاہئے اور دوسری طرف جو 6-7 راجہ ہیں، وہاں پر war-footing پر وکاس کا کام ہونا چاہئے۔ ابھی ایک بات کہی گئی کہ وہاں وہی officers جاتے ہیں، جو disgruntled ہوتے ہیں یا ان کو punishment کے طور پر بھیجا جاتا ہے۔ میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ آج ایسا موقع ہے کہ اچھے officers کے ساتھ ٹریننگ کی بھی ضرورت ہے۔ آج نکسلانٹ کے پاس اتنے sophisticated ہتھیار ہیں اور ہماری پولیس یا ہماری فورس اس طرح کے arms سے لیس ہے یا نہیں ہے؟ اس میں اچھے officers کے ساتھ ٹریننگ کی بھی ضرورت ہے۔ ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے اپنے بیان میں کہا ہے کہ پروپر ٹریننگ کے ساتھ ان کو بھرتی کیا جاتا ہے، induct کیا جاتا ہے، لیکن میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس میں ابھی کمی ہے۔ اس ٹریننگ کو اور up-to-date کیا جانا چاہئے اور جو نئے devices ہیں، جو نئے آرمس ہیں اور جو نئے ammunition ہیں، ان کے ادھار پر اس کی پوری ٹریننگ ہونی چاہئے۔

آپ کی جو انتیلی جینس ہے، اس میں بہت ضروری ہے کہ اس میں بہت strong infrastructure لوکل کا بھی ہو اور انتیلی جینس کا بھی ہو۔ میں

سیدھی بات چاہتی ہوں، آج مجھے یہاں کی بحث کو سن کر بہت افسوس ہوا کہ آج ہم above the party line نہیں سوچ رہے ہیں۔ یہ ڈیموکریسی ہے، یہاں کبھی آپ کی سرکار ہے اور کبھی ہماری سرکار ہے، لیکن یہ جو مسئلہ ہے، چاہے کسی کی بھی سرکار ہو، اس کو face کرنا پڑے گا۔ اس لئے اس کو above the party line سوچنا چاہئے۔ کون کیا کر رہا ہے اور کس نے کیا کیا؟ اگر الزام در الزام لگانے پر آئیں گے، تو کوئی اچھوتا نہیں بچے گا۔ میں کسی پارٹی کے بارے میں نہیں کہنا چاہتی ہوں، لیکن کیا یہ اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹ کی ذمہ داری نہیں ہے کہ وہ اپنے Intelligence کے تندر کو اور مضبوط کرے، کیوں باہر کے سی۔آر۔پی۔ایف۔ کے جوان اتنا نہیں جان سکتے ہیں کہ وہاں کے لوکل حالات کیا ہیں اور کس طرح سے وہاں situation کو handle کرنا چاہئے۔

میں دو چیزوں پر زیادہ زور دینا چاہتی ہوں - ایک تو ٹریننگ ہونی چاہئے اور دوسرا وکاس کا کام زور سے چالو ہونا چاہئے، چاہے اس میں ہم کو کتنی بھی دقتیں آئیں۔

اب میں سب سے اہم بات کرنا چاہتی ہوں، جس کو ہمارے اور ساتھیوں نے بھی کہا ہے کہ very strong coordination between the affected States. اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے strong coordination ہونا چاہئے تاکہ ہم اس لعنت سے نجات پا سکیں۔ اس میں reformers کی بہت ضرورت ہے اور اس میں این۔جی۔اوز کی مدد لینی چاہئے۔ جو بات، کرنے کی بات ہے، ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے کہا ہے کہ نکسلانٹ سے بات بھی کی جائے، تو میرا خیال ہے کہ اس میں کوئی برائی نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اس کی شروعات اور این۔جی۔اوز کے through کی جائے۔ اس کے بعد اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹ دیکھے۔ آپ سیما ادھیش مہودے، میں آپ کا بہت آभاری ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے اتنا وقت دیا۔ دھنیاوا۔

(ختم شد)

श्री मंगल किसन (उड़ीसा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दंतेवाड़ा में नक्सलवादियों ने पारा मिलिट्री फोर्स की जिस तरह निर्दयतापूर्वक हत्या की, मैं उसकी निन्दा करता हूँ। नक्सलवाद आज की पनपी हुई घटना नहीं है। यह 40-41 साल पहले से पश्चिमी बंगाल और आंध्र प्रदेश में शुरू हुआ। यहां शुरू होने के बाद हमारे देश की सरकार और Provincial Government ने उस पर राजनीतिक तौर से विचार किया और उसको पनपने दिया। आज 41-42 साल बाद देश के कम से कम 6-7 राज्य इसकी चपेट में आ चुके हैं।

नक्सलज्म और टेररिज्म को मिला देने से पूरे देश में ये terrorist activities फैली हुई हैं। इस समस्या के लिए भारत सरकार शुरू से ही राज्य सरकारों पर दोषारोपण करती आ रही है। यह समस्या इतनी बड़ी है, इतनी strong है कि राज्य सरकारों के पास इसको कंट्रोल करने के लिए उतनी फोर्स व शक्ति नहीं है। इसके लिए भारत सरकार की सहायता अनिवार्य है, मगर भारत सरकार बहुत सोच-विचार करने के बाद सहायता देती है। जिन राज्यों में अपोजिशन पार्टी की सरकार है, उस राज्य के चीफ मिनिस्टर बार-बार सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से सहायता मांगते रहे हैं, मगर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट किसी न किसी कारण से उनकी सहायता नहीं करती है, जिसके चलते आज यह नक्सलवाद की समस्या देश की एक बड़ी समस्या में परिणत हो चुकी है।

सर, दूसरी बात यह है कि House और सरकार की यह धारणा है कि यह ट्राइबल्स की मूवमेंट है, मगर आप एक भी नाम बता दीजिए, कौन सा ट्राइबल लीडर इस मूवमेंट को चला रहा है, कौन सा ट्राइबल लीडर इस मूवमेंट को फाइनेंस कर रहा है और कौन सा ट्राइबल लीडर इसको प्रोटेक्शन दे रहा है? जो नक्सली लीडर हैं, वे untraceable हैं। वे लोग या तो दिल्ली में रहते हैं या हैदराबाद में रहते हैं या फिर चेन्नई, बंगलौर या कोलकाता में रहते हैं। वे गांवों में तो रहते नहीं हैं, ट्राइबल्स के साथ तो रहते नहीं हैं। वे लोग शहरों में रहकर इस आंदोलन को चला रहे हैं। इनके ये लीडर, जो दिल्ली, कोलकाता, मुम्बई या चेन्नई में बैठकर इसको चला रहे हैं, उनको पकड़ने के लिए भारत सरकार अपनी इंटेलिजेंस को क्यों नहीं लगाती है? इससे पता चलता है कि भारत सरकार जान-बूझकर इस आंदोलन को आगे बढ़ा रही है, जो कि बंद होना चाहिए।

एक और बात हुई कि इनके पास 60 हजार से 70 हजार फोर्स को चलाने के लिए, उनके खाने के लिए कहां से इतना पैसा आ रहा है? उनकी इनकम का सोर्स कहां है, भारत सरकार को इसको ढूंढना पड़ेगा। छत्तीसगढ़ में ऐसा हो रहा है, उड़ीसा में ऐसा हो रहा है, झारखंड में ऐसा हो रहा है, पश्चिमी बंगाल में ऐसा हो रहा है। वहां कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं है, इसलिए हम लोगों को चिंता करने की जरूरत नहीं है- अगर इस ढंग से भारत सरकार सोचेगी, तो आगे चलकर यह डेमोक्रेसी के लिए सबसे बड़ा खतरा होगा, इसलिए सरकार को ट्राइबल्स के बारे में सोचना चाहिए।

सर, मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि ट्राइबल्स जंगल में रहते हैं, उन लोगों के 25 घरों के, 50 घरों के छोटे-छोटे गांव होते हैं। नक्सली रात में आकर उनको चारों तरफ से घेर लेते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ शामिल हो जाओ, नहीं तो तुम मरने के लिए तैयार रहो। डर के मारे वे बेचारे हां बोल देते हैं। जब सुबह होती है और पुलिस के पास खबर जाती है कि इस गांव में नक्सलियों की मीटिंग हुई है, तो पुलिस आती है और उनसे कहती है कि तुम लोग नक्सलियों का समर्थन क्यों करते हो, अब पुलिस स्टेशन चलो। उसके बाद उनके साथ torture किया जाता है। Tribal people have got no other way. They want to go either with police or with naxalists. They are unnecessarily being blamed. They are the poor people. There is no employment opportunity in the tribal areas. There is an acute unemployment problem. They have no source of livelihood. Those who are coming in support to their livelihood, they are bound to

go to their side. इसलिए जिस एरिया में नक्सलिज्म है, कम से कम उस ट्राइबल एरिया में unemployment problem को solve करने के लिए भारत सरकार को एक ठोस कार्यक्रम तैयार करना पड़ेगा।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ट्राइबल एरिया में एक ऑल राउंड प्रॉपर डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम चालू करना पड़ेगा और ट्राइबल एरिया में अच्छे एजुकेशनल इंस्टीट्यूशंस लाने होंगे ताकि वे लोग अच्छे से पढ़ सकें। And what is good and what is bad, they could also realize. They have to understand all that. इसके लिए एजुकेशन बहुत जरूरी है। ट्राइबल एरिया में जो हेल्थ सर्विस नहीं के बराबर है, इस हेल्थ सर्विस की भी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। Even after 63 years of independence, there is, today, no drinking water facility. They are taking water from the natural sources, and they are dying out of this bad water. इसीलिए कम से कम पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। वहां पर गांवों में इलैक्ट्रिफिकेशन नहीं है। वे लोग 63 साल पहले जैसे थे, अभी भी वे गांव में वैसे ही रहते हैं। उड़ीसा में ट्राइबल एरिया में जो राजीव गांधी इलैक्ट्रिफिकेशन प्रोग्राम 18 महीने में खत्म होना चाहिए था, 17 महीने खत्म हो गए हैं और 18वें महीने में वह कम्पनी जिसने लीज पर और कांटेक्ट में काम लिया है, इस महीने में वह काम शुरू कर रही है। Sir, 17 months have passed. ऐसे काम होने से कैसे चलेगा? वहां पर लोगों के पास घर नहीं हैं। ट्राइबल एरिया में बाढ़ आ जाने से भारत सरकार बाढ़ अफेक्टिड होमलेस फैमिलीज के लिए स्पेशल इंदिरा आवास प्रोवाइड करती है। उसी तरह से ट्राइबल एरिया में रहने वाले आदिवासी परिवारों के लिए एक कमरे के घर के लिए जो सरकार की स्पेशल इंदिरा आवास योजना है- जो needy हैं, जिनको घर की जरूरत है, उनके लिए उस योजना में sanction होना चाहिए। आज दांतेवाड़ा में कोई रोड नहीं है। मिलिट्री बाउंड होकर एक ही रास्ते पर चलती है। अगर रोड का जाल बिछा होता तो वे लोग आल्टरनेटिव रास्ता खोजते और दूसरे रास्ते से भी जाते। लेकिन एक ही रास्ता है इसीलिए आप भी उस रास्ते से जाएंगे, मिलिट्री भी उसी रास्ते से जाएगी। इसके चलते माओवादियों को पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्स को उड़ाने के लिए प्रोग्राम बनाने में सुविधा हुई जिसके चलते, unnecessarily, 76 valuable paramilitary lives have been lost by this country. I request, through you, Sir, to the Government that, since this tribal area of the country has continuously been neglected by this Central Government, this negligence should not continue further.

With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you very much. Now, discussion over, and reply later.

Now, I have to make an announcement.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I have to inform the House that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held on the 15th April, 2010, allocated time as follows for Government legislative and other Business:-

BUSINESS	TIME ALLOTTED
(1) Consideration and passing of the Seeds Bill, 2004.	Four hours