

### Chapter: III

#### **The Contours of Adivasi Consciousness: A Study of *Lo Bir Sendra***

*The contours of Adivasi consciousness: A study of Lo Bir Sendra* is the topic of my dissertation which has two terms. It is pertinent to understand the literal meaning of this chapter's title. Here, the terms, *Adivasi Consciousness* and *Lo Bir Sendra*, are used in Adivasi context. The term, *Lo Bir Sendra*, is used for an autobiography of an Adivasi person, whereas *Adivasi Consciousness* is another term which is used for the consciousness and awareness of a particular class or category. First of all it will be good to have a general overview of *Adivasi consciousness*. The term *Adivasi consciousness* is generally used to understand the surface meaning of the *Adivasi* term. Therefore it needs an explanation to understand the term *Adivasi* instead of consciousnesses. The first chapter of this dissertation is focused on the term *Adivasi*, *Adivasi consciousness* and its similar concepts like *Adivasi literature*, *Adivasi class*, *Adivasi philosophy* and *Adivasi culture*. It is widely discussed with authentic references in the first chapter. The term *Adivasi* was coined by Jaipal Singh Munda who used this term in his autobiography and debates of Constituent Assembly of India.

*Lo Bir Sendra* is an autobiography of Jaipal Singh Munda. He was an *Adivasi* leader of India. His time period expanded from 1903 to 1970. He was born in Jharkhand and was the most important face of *Adivasi* politics. Munda was not only a world statesman in *Adivasi* politics but also in Indian politics and sports. Though he was a famous leader of an indigenous group of India but still there were some reasons that he did not get the place in history for which he was claimant. Whatever had happened is really a matter of wide research. Some days before his death in 1970, he wrote this book and gave it to a professor in England for publication. But it still could not get printed at that time, lastly in 2004, it got published for the first time by *Prabhat Khabar publication*, in Ranchi. It was published with full authenticity under copyright of Jayant Jaipal, son of Jaipal Singh Munda.

Jaipal Singh Munda's autobiography has Adivasi consciousness. He was very well educated teacher, literary person and politician and knew every aspect of the life of Adivasi people. The focal aspects of Adivasi consciousness are Adivasi class, culture, philosophy, languages, literature, nationality, politics and economics. Here are some points which define Adivasi consciousness:

### **Separate Class of Adivasi in *Lo Bir Sendra*:**

Adivasi community is a native community of our country. Its struggle and protest to sustain their identity was very old but other communities destroyed their efforts in Indian history. Jaipal Singh Munda was the only orator of Adivasi community in the twentieth century. He struggled throughout his life for their rights. He tried to establish a different identity for Adivasis when India got independence. When National Freedom Movement was on its peak and everyone was struggling against exploitation and aspiring for freedom, Munda struggled hard to better the conditions of Adivasi. Before independence, Munda was mistreated with racial discrimination many times. He knew that his community is also suffering from same discrimination. So he joined Adivasi movement and made a particular identity and class of his community. He provided the power and motion of the Adivasi movement that was suffering and struggling for their privileges. He was not only leader of Adivasi of Chota-Nagpur but also leader of all *India Adivasi Mahasabha*. He published weekly Adivasi magazine *Adivasi Sakam* availed free of cost for their people. He was mobilising all India's Adivasi and succeeded. Finally, he was elected for Constituent Assembly as a speaker of Adivasi where he keeps his favour. First time, he cleared everything about Adivasi in the Constituent Assembly Debates. He says that:

Sir, I rise to speak on behalf of millions of unknown hordes yet very important of unrecognised warriors of freedom, the original people of India who have variously been known as backward tribes, primitive tribes, criminal tribes and everything else, Sir, I

am proud to be a Jungli, that is the name by which we are known in my part of the country. Living as we do in the jungles, we know what it means to support this Resolution. On behalf of more than 30 millions of the Adivasis ..., As a Jungli, as an Adivasi, I am not expected to understand the legal intricacies of the Resolution. But my common sense tells me, the common sense of my people tells me that every one of us should march in that road of freedom and fight together. Sir, if there is any group of Indian people that has been shabbily treated it is my people. They have been disgracefully treated, neglected for the last 6,000 years. The history of the Indus Valley civilization, a child of which I am, shows quite clearly that it is the new comers most of you here are intruders as far as I am concerned it is the new comers who have driven away my people from the Indus Valley to the jungle fastnesses. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19/12/1946)

Again, Jaipal Singh Munda spoke on Adivasi society. He knew that Adivasi class is very democratic, because they have senior decision maker in their community. They treated equally to everyone. Farther, he says that:

This Resolution is not going to teach Adivasi democracy. You cannot teach democracy to the tribal people; You have to learn democratic ways from them. They are the most democratic people on earth. What my people require, Sir, are not adequate safeguards as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has put it. They require protection from Ministers that is position today. We do not ask for any special protection. We want to be treated like every other Indian. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19/12/1946)

Jaipal Singh Munda raised the matters of every Adivasi in the Constituent Assembly. There he raised issue of Rajasthan which was divided in many princely states at that time. Rajasthan's population was near ninty lakhs and where Adivasi population was around seventeen lakhs. Constitutional Assembly took the candidates from every princely state but

they completely ignored Adivasi candidates who could raise the voice of Adivasi in the Assembly. He knew that Adivasi are totally ignored by the National Congress Party and Constituent Assembly. He demanded to increase Adivasi members in the Assembly. His demands were turned down by the Assembly every time.

The Ever since my return from British West Africa, I have been traversing a lot amongst the Adibasis in the Adivasi Tracts and, in the last 9 years, I have traversed 1,14,000 miles and it has given me an idea of what the Adibasis need and what this House is expected to do for them. There are, in Indian India, in Rajasthan, the Princely India, where you have a population of a little of 90 million people, you have 17 million Adibasis, 17 million tribes. Sir, I suggest that with such a large population, there should be an Adivasi in this Negotiating Committee. I think he will be able to help the Committee. I am not obstructing the work of the Committee but I want that an Adivasi should be there to fight for the Adibasis. You need an Adivasi when you fight for Adibasis and he will fight along with the authors of this Resolution that they do include an Adivasi and make it 'We Are Seven'. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19/12/1946)

Jaipal Singh Munda raised the issues of every Adivasi in the Constituent Assembly because he was the man who had the knowledge and understanding of all conditions of Adivasi life. National Congress Party elected Takker Bappa as an Adivasi representative in the Constituent Assembly, who did not raise the voice for Adivasi rights. Takker Bappa was only a stooge of congress party who established *Aadim Janjati sheva Shang*. Its work was converting of Adivasi communities into Hindu communities. Congress Party had such candidates in the Constituent Assembly who know nothing about Adivasi. They were only stooge of Congress. Munda was international personality of Adivasi community who knew everything about Adivasis. He had the knowledge about internal plans and conspiracy of Hindus and National Congress Party. He knew that all Adivasi of our nation were a

community and a class in ancient time and they are generation of Sindughati and Mohenjo-Daro. So he strongly kept the favour of Adivasi. He was greatly depressed when he listened about the Adivasi of Utter Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh who were converted into Adi-Hindu. But, they accepted that they are Adivasi, so they invite him in the conference. He writes about their conference that:

In the United provinces of Agra and Oudh, now Utter Pradesh, the Adivasi changed to Adi-Hindu. I was invited to the first conference held in Lucknow. I stayed in Carton Hotel, the rendezvous of snobs. This rather shocked my Adi-Hindu admirers. They made elaborate arrangement for the conference. They printed a small pamphlet, Adivasi Danka; 'Tribal Drum' with my photograph on the front page...In the Madhya Pradesh there was little progress away from the adjacent districts of Chota Nagpur. The area was too large and most of the rulers, aborigines, assumed titles of different descent from the sun, moon, and so forth. Suryabansi, Chandrabansi, Rajbangsi! In Gondwana, they declared themselves as Rajputs; only the Raja of Sarangarh was proud of his ancestry. His totem was the same as mine, a turtle which adorned all his correspondence. He was shikari and his annual bird shoot was enviable. (Jaipal Singh Munda 102-103)

It is clear from this conference that Adivasi were also aware of their rights and Jaipal Singh Munda wanted to unite all of them under a flag. He went everywhere and collected information about Adivasi. He accepted that Adivasi were a class that has a separate philosophy and culture from other classes. He raised the matters of minorities and depressed classes and their rights in the Constituent Assembly Debates. He said on the female members that we should increase the female candidates in the Constituent Assembly. He raised the issues of Nagpur, Punjab, Assam and other Adivasi places in front of the Assembly, but there was making only Hindu constitution, there was no place of Adivasi and others classes. Munda kept the matter and rights of minorities in the front of Constituent Assembly; because

in many states Adivasi were kept in such categories. He raised the voice for minorities and backward categories in states such as Haryana and Punjab.

Angami Zapu Phizo was another Adivasi leader. He is considered to be the father of Naga Adivasi movement. He demanded for full independence from Indian government. He wanted separate Naga land and Adivasi nation. He got a chance to meet Jaipal Singh Munda but Munda did not want separation of country, hence, he did not unite with him. But, Munda put forward all rights and matters of north-east in front of the Constituent Assembly. Phizo also accepted that Adivasi is a separate class, as he mentioned:

The Angami Nagas, with their honourable martial tradition and record of fighting outsiders (the British included), thought it should mean a fully independent state: 'a government of the Nagas, for the Nagas, by the Nagas'. On the other hand, the Aos, who were more moderate, thought they could live with dignity within India, so long as their land and customs were protected and they had the autonomy to frame and enforce their own laws. (Ramchandra Guha chapter 13 N.P.)

Jaipal Singh Munda was so much worried about Adivasi community. He knew that Phizo's demand was totally useless, because Phizo was thinking about only north-east Indian Adivasi. But Munda was thinking about all communities of Adivasi of the world, so he thought about Nigerian Adivasi when he went to Europe and America tour. He knew that Adivasi were native and very innocent people of this world. They were treated shabbily from the ancient time. He writes about Nigerian Adivasi in the autobiography that:

It is July 4<sup>th</sup>, a big day for Americans. From Mombasa to Costanza was a big Ostracism from mother earth. Everyone wanted to go ashore. I was only interested in getting news... The Nigeria/ Biafra civil war news upset me. I know Nigeria and it was horrible tribalism that the outside world could not stop. The International Red Cross

have difficulty in getting across to Biafra to feed the starving millions. There is no remedy against tribalism. (Jaipal Singh Munda 167)

Here raises the question that why all Adivasi were converted into other communities which is a big question of research. They never accepted other religions. In the present, we saw that Adivasi class has a different identity in the philosophy, culture, traditions, literature, music and life-style from other classes. But all Adivasi communities have many similarities. We also consider about all related terms to Adivasi that has used for these classes throughout the world. Jaipal Singh Munda also knew about it. So he talks about Nigerian, Kenyan, and American Adivasis. He always wanted that Adivasi class and identity should be constructed as a global issue. So he wanted a separate identity for Adivasi. Adivasi are still struggling with mainstream group of the society that called them 'Vanvasi', 'Girijan', Uncivilized, Schedule Tribe and others. But now Adivasi discourse has got its position by the efforts of Munda. Today Adivasi are known as a particular class or group of the society. In the present time, Adivasi discourse has become a subject of academic inquest. It has become possible through the efforts made by Munda.

### **Question of Adivasi Culture and Philosophy in *Lo Bir Sendra*:**

*Lo Bir Sendra* is the name of Jaipal Singh Munda's autobiography. It also signifies Adivasi culture and philosophy. He has written three chapters, in his autobiography about the Adivasi culture; *Lo Bir Sendra*, *Era Sendra* and *Marriage by Capture*. These are present culture and philosophy of Adivasi. If we want to understand a particular community and its people, then first we should understand its philosophy, languages and culture. Culture and philosophy are soul of all Adivasi communities, so he gave the important place to these aspects. He had knowledge of Adivasi culture, philosophy and traditions. He had spent a long time living outside yet he did not gave up his culture and tradition. He always wanted to save his people and his culture, languages and identity.

Jaipal Singh Munda was a global reputed personality who visited Africa, America and Europe. Many times, he visited in many countries and he noticed every moment of such country that have a particular identity. He writes about the India that it has many varieties among religions, languages, communities, life-styles, Gods and Goddess and philosophy of nature. It is not our fault rather these are our cultural assets. We have such diversities and varieties in our nation. He writes about every part of country, north to south and east to west, he writes about the Indian culture, Harijans, untouchability, Banaras devdasis, woman prime minister, tradition of Purdah, rivers, valleys and others aspects and features India. Jaipal Singh Munda explains this in his autobiography:

The subcontinent, that India is a labyrinth of immense varieties and puzzling contradictions. The highest snow clad mountain ranges of the Himalayas, the city of Calcutta; the torrid desert of Rajasthan, the wettest Cherapunjee in the world; fabulous Maharajas, their 'khana Gani' worshippers; head-hunting Nagas, locust-protecting jains making crossing for destructive invaders; fertile river valleys, most-of-the-year dry streams; dense jungles for wild life, deforested Himachal Pradesh; hydro-electric dams, flooding rivers; women in purdah, matriarchy; sturdy, stalwart Punjabis, puny Oriyas; Kumbakonam Brahmins, omnivorous and almost naked Jerangs; beef-eating Muslims, strict vegetarians, polygamists, monogamists; literates, illiterates; holy temples, devadasis; filthy Benares, civil Bombay; airlines, bullock carts; Hindi, Hindi North India, No Hindi, No Hindi South India; prohibition, Ganja and Opium for sadhus; Christian missionaries, Arya Samajists, Gurukuls, Municipal schools, languages galore, no national language yet; uproarious legislatures, decorous village panchayats; woman prime minister, untouchable Harijans; astronomical cabinets, multipurpose political parties; public sector, private sector, cremation, burial and exposure to nature; stupidity, dignity. All these are there and many more, India is the place for shocks and surprises. (Jaipal Singh Munda 137)



It is culture and tradition of our country that living in the many different communities and classes. In the present, our country has great importance in such fields. Unity in diversity is fundamental of our country.

Jaipal Singh Munda is a real protector of Adivasi culture. He explains the Adivasi life, cultures and their philosophy. He himself has gone through such circumstances and situations which helped him in putting forth their situations in his autobiography. He writes that their communities refuse Caste System and the process of untouchability. In the Adivasi communities male and female are equally treated. There is no gender discrimination in Adivasi class. Their marriage system is also different; love marriage is common feature of their class. They contradict the mythical phrase of 'marriage fixed in the heaven' and denies accepting the theory of heaven and hell. They are living practical and natural life. Their marriage traditions are very simple without dowry system in practice. Various types of marriage system exist in these communities. Love marriage as a common marriage practice where boy and girl meet at carnage/fairs/markets and decide their future life. They reject the Hindu marriage practice of vermilion and did not show much hypocrisy and artificial elements which are common features of Hindu marriage practice. He explains in the autobiography:

Marriages in Adivasi, aboriginal society, do not any heavenly dispensation. It is wrong to think marriages are arranged by parents only. The boy and the girl have their say. They meet in markets, melas and if they near enough, in trysting hide-outs by day or by night under excuses of collecting firewood from the jungle, or shepherding. The parents must, of course, come into the picture. They are naturally careful that the bride is from the acceptable clan. But if the boy and girl decide to short-circuit their parental ruling, they just live together. The boy has only put the vermilion on the girl's forehead and the marriage is complete! Runway marriages are not common... Tribes are casteless and yet the totems do matter. News does go around that this boy wants to marry that

girl, of course, with the blessing of the parents. The preliminaries are interesting. (Jaipal Singh Munda 124)

Jaipal Singh Munda writes in detail about Adivasi marriage system, further he describes that parents also plays a pivotal role to decide marriage of their wards. Parents visit home of girl and ask ‘we have lost our cow. Can you tell us where it could possibly be?’ (Lo Bir Sendra 124) Their reply is common. Bridegroom himself invites his friends and relatives. Bridegroom and his relatives go to bride’s house. Whole marriage procession is guided through paddy fields, friends of bridegroom (barati) relish the delicious dishes offered by groom. Barber plays central role to complete their marriage ceremony. Their marriages are less expensive without any demands. Villagers of groom’s cook the ceremony. There are no such practices of teasing and other such events. Rice and beer are usual food for marriages. The wedding ceremony is very interesting. Bride hides stone in little water and then both are supposed to search that stone. Their marriages are completed by the vermillion and sindur. Bridegroom is takes vermillion and put on his bride’s forehead. Adivasi marriage ceremony is very good, simple and not expensive. Munda gives the details about it in his autobiography:

An Adivasi marriage is not expensive. Every guest brings a goat, rice and cloth. Trenches are dug in the garden and the goats are slaughtered by the bridegroom. All the young men of the village do the cooking and the girls do the serving. Pots after pots of rice-beer are served to everyone. The drummers drum incessantly, drunk as they become later... The wedding ceremony starts with a frolic when the bride hides a stone in a small water dish and the bridegroom repeats the game. Then the ‘goswami’, called gosain, appears. He does nothing. He only hands vermillion to the bridegroom to put on his bride’s forehead. The ‘sindur’, the vermillion line, consummates the marriage. (Jaipal Singh Munda 126)

After marriage culture, Jaipal Singh Munda focuses on Adivasi hunting culture or forest culture. Munda gives details about it in two chapters of his autobiography; *Lo Bir Sendra* and *Era Sendra*. These are two terms used in his autobiography and these terms are two different chapter of same book. Here, Munda already clears these terms. *Lo Bir Sendra* means the annual hunting by the men folk of the village and another is *Era Sendra* which means the annual hunting by the women folk of the village. It is a part of their culture. They have bows, arrows, lathies and guns for hunting and their protection. In the summer season of the year, they go for hunting and women stay at home. Whole night is spent with singing and dancing. Women also go to hunting in every seven years and men stay in home. There is no difference among men and women. They enjoy such traditions. Munda writes in the autobiography about these traditions that:

Every year, at the hottest time of the year, just before the rains, Adivasi have their annual hunt. Village join. Only the males, old and young join. Females must stay at home. The usual bows and arrows, axes, lathis and gun, if any, are the weapons for the hunt. To drive the animals out of their haunts, drums and canisters and blow horns of every type are used... obviously, no drinks for hunt. The men return home. The women ask what luck the men had. They, the women, wash the feet of the men and oil them. Then rice beer is served. Practically the whole night is spent singing and jargoning... (Jaipal Singh Munda 132)

As well as, women have same process of hunting in every seven years. Men stay at home. Here we can see that they give equal opportunity to females. Jaipal Singh Munda writes about women culture of Adivasi that:

Every seventh year, the Adivasi women's turn comes. They dress as men! Men must stay at home. They, the women are a queer sight. They collect all manner of masculine outfits and use rough manly words. The men have to do the cooking that day. In recent

years, the jungle has not been their only quarry. In the villages they catch whatever animal is at large. A popular villager becomes the victim of the pillage but he is helpless against the aggressive women. Before sunset the hunt is over and they return home and shed their masculine attire, wash the feet of the men folk and become women again. Whatever they have been able to kill in the hunt, they cook and the whole night is a jamboree with rice beer a plenty. (Jaipal Singh Munda 138)

Again, Jaipal Singh Munda raises the voice for the rights of Adivasis to save their culture in the beginning of debate on secularism in the Constituent Assembly. Munda has favoured Adivasi culture and favoured the consumption of alcohol that was used in Adivasi religious programs. He said that we cannot ignore of most important and ancient people of our country and their dishes like rice and beer. It is healthy for their body and not harmful for their body. He says that it is used in medical department. Adivasi use it to remove their tiredness after hard work. Many speakers raise the question on the Munda's demand but all accepted this. Maulana Abul Kalam said that 'Kya yah mazhabi chij hai'. 'Is it really a religious right?' it is acceptable, because all religious communities keep its matter in front the Assembly. Munda said that it is my religious privileges and it cannot forgive by the Assembly. It is secular debate, so keeping everything that connected with religion is essential. Munda further says:

Here, Sir, I submit, by the back door we are trying to interfere with the religious rights of the most ancient people of this country. You may laugh. Excess in everything is wrong. If you eat too much rice, it is bad for you. There are so many other things that you take in excess. But, if you take anything in its right quantity, it is good for you... Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was pleased to put a direct question to mean it was this - 'Kya yah mazhabi chij hai'. Is it really a religious right? On that occasion,

Sardar Patel gave me an opportunity to explain what the position was. Now, as far as the Adibasis are concerned, no religious function can be performed without the use of

rice beer... These ill clad men, without even their barest wants satisfied, have to work knee-deep in water throughout the day, in drenching rain and in mud. What is it in the rice beer that keeps them alive? I wish the medical authorities in this country would carry out research in their laboratories to find out what it is that the rice beer contains, of which the Adivasis need so much and which keeps them against all manner of diseases. Well, Sir, I am not opposing this amendment because I want drink to increase in this country. I am all for seeing to it, and, seeing vigorously to it, that the Adivasis do not injure themselves by this drink habit. But that is quite apart from the religious needs and religious privileges; we shall educate them to lead a life of temperance. I am all for that. But this amendment is a vicious one. It seeks to interfere with my religious right. Whether you put it in the Constitution or not, I am not prepared to give up my religious privileges. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 24/11/1948)

After all, Jaipal Singh Munda wrote everything about Adivasi culture in his autobiography. His political party's symbol was cock with a symbol of fight because the fight of cock is an interesting game of Adivasi community. He has much knowledge of Adivasi culture and he accepts that their culture and traditions are better from others. There is neither discrimination nor rape cases. They treat everyone equally and never occurred any religious problem. Their literature is mostly oral appears in ballads only on some particular occasions. Their literature and history was oral, not written and that's the reason today Adivasi culture and philosophy are near devastation. Munda was only person in the Constituent Assembly who wants to protect their culture, traditions and philosophy.

### **Question of Adivasi Language in *Lo Bir Sendra*:**

Jaipal Singh Munda knew more than fifteen languages both Indian and foreign which shows that he knows the importance of languages. He knew very well that Adivasi languages were totally different from Non-Adivasi. It was the main reason that Adivasis were separate

from mainstream culture. He understood their identity very well and that was the reason he associated himself with Adivasi movement. He became leader of people to save their languages. Hindi and Sanskrit were unknown languages for them as well foreign languages. They speak and understand only their mother tongues. But some Adivasi were educated, so they knew Hindi and English language. It is evident that language is a bridge of knowledge.

Jaipal Singh Munda knew the importance of education. So he demanded a degree college, but government denied his proposal. After affiliation with Adivasi movement, he publishes a magazine *Adivasi Sakam*. It was written in English, Hindi and Mundari. Here he used mother tongues for the communication in magazine because he knew that maximum readers were Adivasi. He spoke and addresses the audience in his Mundari and local languages. He wrote about first speech on Adivasi conference that “About one lakh people attended the conference. I spoke first in English, written speech for the pressmen, then in Hindi, Sadani and in my mother tongue Mundari.” (Jaipal Singh Munda 99)

Jaipal Singh Munda became member of Constituent Assembly in 1946. He understood the importance of Constitution so he raised his voice for their rights. Munda was versatile and intelligent person. He did strong debates with other members of the Assembly. In the debate, when India was becoming Independence it has to be decided the national and regional language of our country; Munda raised voice that Adivasi people do not know any mainstream language and their population was near eight percent of our country. We should not leave them. He gives the suggestion to Constituent Assembly that we should keep their languages in the list of regional languages. Everyone learns and read easily Adivasi Languages. But there was full majority of Hindus in the Assembly. They only wanted Hindi and similar of Hindi in the list. There was a total ignorance of Adivasi languages spoken by major communities in major areas. Five Adivasi members were elected for Constituent Assembly by National Congress Party and other parties, but Munda was only single candidate

who raised the voice for Adivasi rights and identity. He was a good orator and debated strongly in the Assembly. Munda raised the matter of Adivasi languages that these languages should be added in the list of official regional language of the country. Those languages were Mundari, Gondi and Oraon. Jaipal Singh Munda said that:

Mr. President, Sir, I feel that I would not be discharging my duty properly if I did not plead with the House that in Schedule VIIA some of the Adibasi languages that are spoken, not by a few, but, literally, by millions, should also be included. My amendment No. 272 says: 'that in amendment No. 65 of Fourth List, in the proposed new Schedule VIIA, the following new items be added -

14. Mundari,
15. Gondi,
16. Oraon (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 24/9/1949)

Jaipal Singh Munda provides the details of Adivasi languages. He has facts of their languages in front the Assembly. He has 176 names of Adivasi languages in the list. But he selects only three languages for the official regional languages list. He says:

Sir, if you look at the list of Scheduled Tribes in the last Census, you will find there enumerated 176 of them. Of course there are not 176 languages. There may be dialects, in patois form, and the same language may be a shade different in different areas. You might ask me why I have singled. Our only three out of 176. Sir, I do not wish that the Schedule should be overburdened with numerous languages and that is why I have selected only three important one. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Jaipal Singh Munda spoke favouring these languages in the debate. He put forward the details of Munda, Gond and Oraon communities and their population. They were major

communities of Adivasi of our Nation. These languages are spoken in Middle and North-East India. He keeps the matter very authentic and powerfully in the Constituent Assembly Debates. He explains about the dialects of these languages. We can understand that Munda knows importance of languages, so he favours these languages to be added in the list of regional languages of our country. Munda says in the debate that:

To deal first with the Mundari language, the first in my amendment, I may say that I have not mentioned Santhali because Mundari is the generic term given to the family of languages sometimes called Austric and at other times called Mon-Khmer. I find that in the last census, forty lakhs of people have been recorded as speaking the Mundari language. In the list or the Schedule as it is. I find that there are included in it languages spoken by fewer people than the Mundaris. Similarly my reason for including Oraons is that the Oraons are not a small group in our country. There are as many as eleven lakhs of Oraons. Of course, this language finds a place in the Schedule under the language called Kanarese; so, actually, if Kanarese were to embrace Oraon, and if my Friend Mr. Boniface Lakra who speaks that language is satisfied that it do I would withdraw item 16 Oraon. I have asked also that Gondi should be one of the languages as it is spoken by 32 lakhs of people. My main reason toy asking the House to accept these three languages is that I feel that by accepting them we will be encouraging- the cause of unearthing ancient history. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Jaipal Singh Munda strongly attacks on the Devnagri Hindi. When debate turns on the National language, everyone favours their languages like Hindi (Devnagri) and English. He gives the suggestion on the national and official regional languages that we have to focus on the particular areas and particular communities. But here was majority of Hindu, so Hindi became National language and other thirteen languages were added as official regional languages in the constitution. He had deep understanding of languages, so he says about



virtues and losses of Hindi as a National language. First of all he defines, what is language? And then he speaks that we should be bilingual and trilingual and learns more languages. Munda says about languages that:

The, House, somehow or other, finds itself divided into two groups-the Hindi purists and others who are generous enough to accept that it should be left to time to evolve a language. Let me confess that I am prepared to accept whatever the House decides. But I do feel very strongly opposed to the puritanical fanaticism that has gripped many people. What is a language? A language is that which is spoken. I think we are taking a retrograde step in trying to think that we can enrich the language that is spoken to-day by sanskritising it one hundred per cent for sentimental reasons. I am a great admirer of Sanskrit. I do speak Hindi as it is spoken in my province of Bihar, but that is not the Hindi which my friends want me to accept here. Let Hindi be the language as it is spoken everywhere. Let it enrich itself by taking words from other languages. Let us not think that, if other words are brought into Hindi or Hindustani, we shall be impoverishing it. A language grows and is enriched because it has the courage to borrow words from other languages. I do not mind whether you call it Hindustani or Hindi. Whatever, you decide I will readily learn. The Adibasis will learn it. They are bilingual or trilingual. In West Bengal, the Santhals speak Bengali as well as their mother-tongue. Wherever you go you find that the Adivasi has accepted the language of the area in addition to his mother-tongue. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Here, Jaipal Singh Munda speaks on Hindi language. He also says that Adivasi learn everything that you decide for them, because they are bilingual and trilingual. Further, he gives an example in front of the Assembly. Here, he takes the backgrounds of Adivasi languages and their relevance. He says about Adivasi languages that:

There is not a single Member here from Bihar who has had to learn an Adibasi language. Does my Friend Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla tell me that although there are 32 lakhs of Gonds in the, Central Provinces he has tried to learn the Gondi language? Has any Bihari tried to learn Santhali though the Adibasis are asked to learn the other languages? It is a matter of pride with us that we can talk in other languages also.

I think there should be some reciprocity. There should be some spirit of accommodation, and the provinces that speak Hindi should make it a Point to learn another language. That is the spirit that should be shown by us. We should not move in a groove and say that the rest of the country must learn our language because we ourselves shall not learn anything else. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Jaipal Singh Munda talks about languages and he said; language is a way of knowledge. It is true that we can know about our ancient history by ancient languages. Adivasi languages are very ancient languages of the Earth. It is essential to add our ancient languages in the list. But many members have difference over his point. They thought that Munda wants to establish an Adivasi republic state through these languages. He gives the speech in the Constituent Assembly and clears that he does not have such plan. He has interest of learning others languages. He adds:

Sir, as I said, we have yet to unearth the hoary antiquity of India. We know very little of ancient India and there is only one way of learning about ancient India and that is by learning the languages that existed in this country before the Indo-Aryan hordes came into this country. Then alone shall we know what India in ancient days was like. I know my Friend, Mr. Munshi, has the idea that every time I use the word "Adibasis" I think in terms of Adivasi republics. He thinks perhaps that by this amendment I am trying to create three linguistic republics. Sir, that is not the case. Take Santhali. If my

amendment is accepted, it is going to affect West Bengal, Assam, certainly Bihar and Orissa. Take the case of...

Gondi: Gondi exists mainly in the C.P. but it stretches to Hyderabad a little bit to Madras and a little bit to Bombay also. Not one of these is an isolated area. They spread over distant should get the better of us. Wherever I have been, it has been a pleasure to learn the language of the place I provinces. All that I want is that these languages should be encouraged and developed so that they themselves can become enriched and by their enrichment they enrich the Rashtrabasha of the country. I do not want that linguistic imperialism have had to live in. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Again, Jaipal Singh Munda attacks on the script of Devnagri and he refuses Hindi as a national language on the basis of commercial purpose and phonetics. He gives the example of printing machinery. English can be printed easily than Hindi and other Indian languages. We should develop our languages and printing machinery. It is true that Munda had good and deep knowledge of languages. He had weakness of Hindi and other languages in front of the Assembly. He said in the Assembly about it that:

So far as the script is concerned, I have very strong views and for practical reasons. I feel that we are making a wrong choice in accepting Devanagari. I belong to that school of thought which has been led, for the last thirty years by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee who has advocated international phonetics for all the Indian languages. By international phonetics, I can pronounce Tamil as a Tamilian speaks it. I can speak Kanarese as a Kanarese speaks it. Without knowing a language, I can read and pronounce it as a person whose language it is pronounces it, but I know that the House is not in a mood to accept it. So long as my friends suffer from a complex, the fear complex, I am afraid it is useless to appeal to them to have. A script that is practical not only for the purpose

of teaching others or teaching oneself. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

Further, Munda compares Hindi and English language on the basis of typing and printing. Devnagri script was a headache for typists and printers that time because it was very typical language for typing than English. English was an international language and it has its typing machine so it can be typed easily. His comparison was very authentic. Further, He said:

There is the commercial aspect of it also. It is a well-known fact that the Devanagari script has given headache to all the producers of printing machinery. In the time you can print something like fifteen thousand copies or twenty thousand copies in English, you cannot print even one-tenth of this number in Devanagari. Now, that is the commercial and practical aspect of it. I am not being sentimental. I think the country would have been wise to have done nothing which would retard its progress. By accepting Devanagari, we are impeding ourselves; we shall not be able to move fast enough, until such time as my friend's car. Produce machinery that will move as fast as the international alphabet or something which is only slightly less speedy. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

In the last part of debates Munda requests the Constituent Assembly to respect Adivasi languages and protect the rights of most important people of our nation while they can learn our languages so in return we should learn their languages too. Munda explicates that we should not quarrel with each other on this matter. He adds:

Sir, there is not very much more that I want to say. All that I plead, is that the languages of the most ancient peoples of this country should find a place of honour in the Schedule,. I need not say more. I want to assure the Members on both sides that I do not wish to be drawn into this quarrel about language and script. Whatever the House

accepts, I and my people will readily accept, and it is in that spirit that I ask the House also to show a spirit of accommodation in accepting my amendment. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14/9/1949)

On February 10, 1948, Munda addressed Adivasis about the ongoing discussion of Constituent Assembly. In the speech, he puts forward the issues raised by him and the reaction by the committee members that it has been already decided that Adivasi languages are not placed in the list of Constitution. His demand has been turned down by Assembly. But it is essential to prepare dictionary of our languages. Munda forms a committee of Adivasi scholars to collect Adivasi folk-tales and songs in the Adivasi languages. It is the consciousness of Adivasi to make effort to gain their rights. Munda opened many schools and hostels for Adivasi students to provide them quality education. He keeps powerfully his favour in front of the Assembly but he could not achieve it. In order to save their languages he decided to collect their existing literature and various dialects of Adivasi. Bihar government was also against their work. In the beginning, Munda focused on only major spoken Adivasi languages with sufficient number of speakers. He basically focused on three languages, Mundari, Gondi and Santhali. He gave very knowledgeable speech, Munda said in the speech that:

I have already made reference to the importance of our social customs. I shall say a few words about our languages. People are so ignorant about the Adivasi in general that they make irresponsible statements about their culture and languages and even religious beliefs... I would say that they should have a look at the 14 volumes of the Mundaris Encyclopaedia, at the monumental works published by Bodding on the Santhals, at the Oraon tomes published by Grignard, at Gondi and Bhil literature and then say whether Adivasi folklore can enrich our thoughts or not. It is criminal of the Bihar Government to attempt to destroy the santhal language. By all means, let us have the Rashtrabasha, but, let us also develop our own mother tongues. I would ask the members of the

Adivasi student's fellowship, they are all young, enthusiastic and energetic to collect all folk-tales and folk songs, they can get before these die out. The impact of civilisation threatens to annihilate some of the aboriginal languages and, before it is too late, we should unearth the linguistic wealth of those languages... I am thinking of education which will enrich the villages. We have experimented with the Adivasi Dhumkuria in Ranchi, giving in it a bias of Adivasi culture, of Adivasi songs and dances. This Dhumkuria is struggling against the heavy odd of poor finances. But we must carry on despite difficulties and open many more Adivasi schools throughout the country. (Ram Dayal Munda 12)

Jaipal Singh Munda stands with them but we can see that Hindus and others communities were not in favour. His demand was totally ignored by Constituent Assembly. In the present time only Santhali language has its place in the list of twenty two languages while most of major Adivasi languages were ignored. In the present scenario India has around one thousand languages. According to 2001 census, India has 122 major and 1599 other languages. At present twenty two languages are in the list of official regional language of India which has been increased time to time. It is current affair of the Indian languages:

Until the Twenty first Amendment of the Constitution of India in 1967, the country recognised 14 official regional languages. The Eighth Schedule and the Seventy First Amendments provided for the inclusion of Sindhi, Konkani, Meiteilon and Nepali, thereby increasing the number of official regional languages of India to 18. The Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, as of 1 December 2007, lists 22 languages, [44]:330 which are given in the table below together with the speaking population and the regions where they are used. (< [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_India)>)

Our most important and ancient people were ignored in the constitution who were the natives of this country. But in the late twentieth century Adivasi discourse emerged with

more energy that established its identity and raised the question of their rights. At present, it is necessary for us that we have to identify their culture and traditions that are natural, because their philosophy is based on nature not on materialism. Today it is compulsory for us that we shall study their languages, literature and philosophy. In the present context, Adivasi languages are very good subject of research because these are oldest languages of the world that have a natural and real philosophy of life.

### **Question of Adivasi Politics and Economy in *Lo Bir Sendra*:**

Jaipal Singh Munda was an Adivasi leader. He was not only Adivasi but also he was leader of all Indians like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He was very honest and intellectual leader, but he faces racial discrimination in his whole life. Munda was only person in the Constituent Assembly who taught lesson of respect for Adivasi. Second Chapter of the dissertation explains Munda's politics and his efforts that had been made by him for Adivasi. It is pertinent to know his political and economical consciousness.

Jaipal Singh Munda went to Oxford University for his higher education which is one of the reputed institutes in the world. He was qualified of ICS exam and won Oxford Blue award in the game's field by Oxford University, then he became first captain of Indian Hockey Team. Then he got high rank jobs in the colonial India like professor of Achimota (Africa) college, Principal of Rajkumar College (Raipur), Foreign Minister of Bikaner princely state etc. But every time, he had suffered racial discrimination. Finally he decided to leave everything and joins Adivasi movement in 1939. He became president of Adivasi Mahasabha and after some years, it converted to *Jharkhand Party*. It was beginning of Adivasi politics.

When Jaipal Singh Munda had left his many jobs, he was considered as the reputed leader of Adivasi in India. He thinks his teacher's advice to 'do something for your people'.

So he decided to join politics. He joined Adivasi movement in 1939 by help of his friends Maurice Hallet (Governor of Bihar) and Robert Russell (Chief Secretary of Bihar). He met with many Adivasi leaders as Rai Sahib Bandiram Oraon, Igenes Beck, Paul Dayal, Theble Oraon, Theodore Surin, Julius Tigga and a dozen others were there. He became president of *Adivasi Mahasabha* and Adivasi Movement. He writes about his meeting with Adivasi leaders that:

De moulder had collected Adivasi leaders to meet me. Rai sahib Bandiram Oraon, Paul Dayal, Igenes Beck, Theble Oraon, Theodore Surin, Julius Tigga, and a dozen others were there. They requested I become president of the Adivasi Sabha they had just started. 'Adivasi ki jai; jai Adivasi' was the salute. I agreed to preside over the conference on January 20<sup>th</sup> 1939. (Jaipal Singh Munda 98)

Jaipal Singh Munda and other Adivasi leader understood that a political party is compulsory for Adivasi identity. So they established their own political party. Munda did not take much time to establish himself as a political leader. He put up candidate for District Board Elections in Ranchi and Singhbhum. They got major seats in both Districts. Munda writes about this election in the autobiography that:

The District Board Elections came two months later. We decided to put up candidates only for Ranchi and Singhbhum districts. We won in both handsomely. In Ranchi we won 16 of 25 seats; in Singhbhum 22 of 24. Lakshmi Narayan Manki became president of the Board in Singhbhum, but in Ranchi, the congress ministry nominated useless characters to reduce our majority. Rai Bahadur P.K. Benerji became president of the Board and Paul Dayal his Deputy. (Jaipal Singh Munda 100)

It was first victory of Adivasi movement and it does provide them a consciousness and confidence. Now Munda had knowledge of politics so he considered about the parliament election that do selection in Constituent Assembly. He knew that nobody has raised the issues



of Adivasi in the Constituent Assembly. Adivasi were not a big issue for Congress Party. In 1946, Jaipal Singh Munda put up his candidates for election of legislatures. He won four seats that were enough to enter in the Constituent Assembly; even he has lost his seat. After this election, the Adivasi cause became all India issue. He was selected as Adivasi representative for the Constituent Assembly. He writes about this election that:

In 1946 came the election to the legislatures. I put up candidates and we did well. I myself lost. Rajen Babu's henchmen murdered seven Adivasi at Tapkara on March 2<sup>nd</sup> on a market day as they were going home. The polling was a few days later. I could have won. But I retreated from the fight. We had however, more than enough M.L.As to send me to the Constituent Assembly and the provisional parliament. I have been in parliament ever since 1946. The Adivasi cause became an all-India affair. (Jaipal Singh Munda 104)

In the Constituent Assembly, Jaipal Singh Munda put up all affairs of Adivasi, where his some demands were accepted and some turned down by Assembly. He provides an identity for Adivasi. So he said that we are native and six thousand years old people of this country. Our culture, philosophy and life style is different from mainstream people. It was Munda's awareness and consciousness that Adivasi got their identity. *Adivasi* term used first time by Munda in the Constituent Assembly and in his autobiography. He was closely associated with Subhash Chandra Bose, Dr. Ambedkar, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Phizo, English Viceroy and other scholars and nationalists of India.

Jharkhand Party has won good seats, more than thirty seats of M.L.A. and four-five seats of M.P. in the 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967. He became first Deputy Chief Minister of Adivasi in 1963. Jaipal Singh Munda was only person who brought all Indian Adivasi under the one flag. He went to U.S.A as a representative of India to address American Adivasi and Non-Adivasi students in the twenty-two Universities.

In the economic field, Jaipal Singh Munda has started many associations and organizations which help people to provide their rights. He wrote a chapter on *Poor labour federation/association* in his autobiography. He was the president of this association and wanted to eradicate poverty among Adivasi and depressed classes; in order to do so start many schools and hostels for Adivasi students. But he said that Adivasi people were much innocent, so they fall under the *DIKU'S* (Bandit or Corrupt People, It term used by Adivasi's for outer people of their land) conspiracy. He writes that all businessmen were with the Congress Party, because it was the largest party of India than others. So dikhus had only congress union workers. Jaipal Singh Munda succeeded in his plan, but could not stand more time. He writes about organization that:

I ramified the labour organization to mines and quarries where Adivasi labour was overwhelmingly preponderant. This made little difference. The management recognized only the congress union of the congress party, and then in the throne of the administration... something like forty percent got jobs on my recommendation. (Jaipal Singh Munda 110)

Jaipal Singh Munda knew about professions of Adivasi which were agriculture, hunting and labouring. Through these ways, they were earning their bread and butter. Jharkhand was rich in the natural resources, so every businessman had their eyes on Jharkhand. Jharkhand's Adivasi went to tea plants in West Bengal as labours to earn for livelihood. But they did not know that *DIKU* come in Jharkhand for their rich land. Munda understands the importance of that land; so he started spreading awareness in masses of the land. He knew that he reside on the richest land and forest of India and much aware of the economic factors of the land. His speech published in Ram Dayal Munda's book. He said about the Jharkhand that:

To my mind, the greatest problem in Chota Nagpur is the land problem. Nearly 10 lakhs of Chota Nagpuris have been crimped away to the tea gardens of Assam and

Bengal and settled there more or less permanently. Chota Nagpur is littered with coolie-catching organisations and every year thousands of men and women go to the tea gardens on short contracts...

We all know that Chota Nagpur is one the richest mineral areas of the world. Singhbhum District alone is estimated to have 3,000 million tons of high-grades iron ore. Lohardaga has vast bauxite deposits, a very important mineral in modern times. There is copper in Dhalbhum. In Manbhum there is practically three quarters of the coal deposits of India. (Ram Dayal Munda 13)

After 1938, Jaipal Singh Munda's life was devoted to political movement. He had knowledge of politics and understood its importance. So he wanted to establish Adivasi political Party which can represent Adivasi identity. In the present time many Adivasi political leaders and parties has been established which are result of primarily struggle of Munda's political consciousness. Shibu Saran, Arjun Munda, Kariya Munda, Nandlal Meena, Hemant Soren, Babulal Marandi, Dr. Kirodi Lal Meena, Namonaryan Meena, C.K. Janu, P.A. Sangma and other many politicians are now in the mainstream politics because of Munda's effort. In the present, many universities, organizations, institutes do work for Adivasi. Today, Adivasi condition has been a little changed. However, today it needs wide research on Adivasi economic and political condition.

### **Question of Nationality in *Lo Bir Sendra*:**

Jaipal Singh Munda was an honest nationalist like Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, Dr. Ambedkar, Sardar Patel and others. But they led different classes like Gandhi and Nehru were leading Hindu class, second was Muslim community that was led by M.A. Jinnah, third was Dalit that led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and forth and last was Adivasi led by Jaipal Singh Munda. Indian society was divided into these four classes. All nationalists have great importance in freedom movement of India and Indian history. But, Munda was ignored by

Indian historians. We have already discussed about Munda's achievements. But, question has raised that how Munda was a true nationalist?

First off all, it's clear that Jaipal Singh Munda was an Adivasi. It is fact that Hindu community is divided in four categories Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vesya and Sudra by the Manu. Here raise a question that Adivasi could not mention in this separation. It means Aryans do not accept Adivasi as a human being or class. Hindus called them by names as such Danavs, evils, jungli, and men-eater and uncivilized. In the present scenario, many Adivasi communities are suffering on these bases. Munda also belongs to such community. He was only Adivasi candidate who went to Europe for higher education. He achieved award of *Oxford Blue* in the Oxford University. It was best award for sports field. Meanwhile Munda has been selected for ICS training and on the other side, he was elected as a Captain of Indian hockey team in Amsterdam Olympic in 1928. He knew that he is a good player and he had already played on all grounds of London. When he heard news of his selection in Indian team, he had to take leave from ICS office. Eventually they did not allow him to go. He decided to leave this job and join games to represent India. Finally, India became world champion and won first time gold medal. It was nationalism of Munda for whom he left ICS for the nation. He was first Adivasi and third Indian who left the ICS for our nation. He writes two lines about lost his ICS that, "I would have to get leave from the Indian office for absence during term time. I did not get leave! I decided to defy the ruling and take the consequences." (Jaipal Singh Munda 36)

After won the gold medal, Jaipal Singh Munda's condition was totally different. He was jobless and didn't have sufficient money. He writes about his condition after Olympic that, "I returned to Oxford. I was told that as I had 'broken' term I would have to stay one more year. Captaining India to world championship was no prize for the British. I resigned from ICS and refused to pay back 350 pounds. I was not put in gaol." (Jaipal Singh Munda

38) It was first event of Jaipal Singh Munda that was fulfilling of nationalism. It was great sacrifice of Munda for our country, because he belong middle class family and he needed job for his livelihood.

On the second event, Jaipal Singh Munda went to Bikaner state as a Foreign Minister. That time, Bikaner was a princely state where Kailash Haksar was the Prime Minister. He was the relative of Ratan Nehru. Munda met with K.M. Pannikar, Sikandar Hyat Khan (C.M. of Punjab), Andhataji Maharaja Ganga Singh and Tejbhai. He saw the condition of Bikaner and its farmers. Everybody was involved in corruption. He took the matter in his hands and informs to Andhataji about this matter. There was loss of three crores, Munda collected two crores rupees in one year. He was honest man so he decides to open all the relevant files related to malpractice. He saw water of canal and collection files of Bikaner. K.M. Pannikar later became member of Constituent Assembly who was involved in corruption. He writes about this corruption that:

I wrote to all of them; not one replied. I went to Bikaner to consult the Prime Minister before resuming their land. He asked me to see his highness. 'Forget the fourteen cases and go ahead with the others'... I asked Tejbhai to give me the relevant file. 'The file is missing; perhaps, it has gone to Andhataji.' I knew he was telling lie. I suspected him. A telephone message from the palace commanded me to see Andhataji. Before going there, I saw sir Kailash. 'You are right, but do not forget you are in a princely state. (Jaipal Singh Munda 88-89)

Jaipal Singh Munda thinks about the country and decides to open all matters related to this. He was much aware of the condition of farmers. Farmers were suffering of several tax and exploitation of high class. He visited villages and listen their problems, but finally had to lose his job from Bikaner.

Jaipal Singh Munda was in favour of uniting India. So he had demanded for the separate Adivasi state in front the Constituent Assembly. But he did not keep the demand of separate nation like Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Phizo. Jinnah who was president of Muslim League met him and discussed the matter of separate nation but Munda denied Muslim League's proposal. A.Z. Phizo was other Naga Adivasi nationalist who had demanded separate nation for Adivasi. Phizo established Naga Nation Council (NNC). Phizo was a revolutionary person but very cruel. But, Munda denied every proposal of theirs. Munda said to Phizo that we have a demand of separate state, where we can save our culture, tradition, literature and philosophy. He met Phizo several time and others who wants separate nation from India. At present, Naga accord is main problem of India. Munda keep issues of Adivasi in front the Constituent Assembly. He raises voice in favour of separate Adivasi State in the Assembly. He speaks that:

Sir, the Tribes inventory that is in this Draft Constitution is most unsatisfactory. I will exemplify one or two cases. Sir, you yourself come from West Bengal. It has been carved into three provinces, Bengal united, now West Bengal, Bihar and then Orissa. The British had their own arguments for their territorial boundaries. At the present moment, you know it only too well that none of these three provinces seems to be satisfied with the boundary alignment. West Bengal wants something of Bihar; Bihar also wants something of West Bengal. Orissa also is clamouring for some more territory from Bihar. That is the present political situation, but, how does it affect the Adivasis? Now the Tribal Sub-Committee in a way has been outmoded to this extent that lakhs and lakhs of States people have been integrated into provinces. Take the question of Orissa. When the Tribal Sub-Committee went to Orissa it had to deal only with those areas that were excluded or partially excluded. The present position is that about 24 States have been integrated into Orissa and several others into the Central

Provinces. Most of these States are overwhelmingly populated by Adibasis. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19/12/1946)

It is his nationalism that he had not wished of any separate nation. He knew that Adivasi people are very innocent and they did not understand of others conspiracy. He does believe that one day his people will be aware of their rights. He has many logics and facts about the Adivasi state. He addressed Adivasi many time in the Chota Nagpur. It was Jaipal Singh Munda's consciousness that Adivasi started understanding their position now.

Jaipal Singh Munda had full faith in Indian constitution and he had full respect for Draft Committee and others committees of constitution, he delivered excellent speech on the National Flag when design of National flag has to be decided. He said to committee that thirty million Adivasi favours National Flag and they have respect for it until their last breath. He was only representative of Adivasi. Further, he said that Adivasi know importance of flags. He gives the example of Adivasi *Melas* (festival) where every village come with their flag. Their flag represent their village so they had much respect for their flags. He said that Adivasi were struggling from past six thousand years for freedom, but now we stand with freedom so we accept this flag and respect it forever. Munda says about National Flag in the Constituent Assembly that:

Mr. President as I listened to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I thought no speech would be necessary, but since various groups in this House have severally tried to acknowledge their acceptance of and allegiance to the Flag which we are going to adopt as the National Flag of this country. I thought I would also say a few words on behalf of the 30 million Adivasi, the real owners of this country, the original sons of the soil, the most ancient aristocracy of India, who have been fighting for freedom for the last' six thousand years. On behalf of these my people, I have great pleasure in acknowledging this Flag as the Flag of our country in future. Sir, most of the members of this House

are inclined to think that flag hoisting is the privilege of the Aryan civilised. Sir, the Adibasis had been the first to hoist flags and to fight for their flags. Members who come from the so-called province of Bihar, will support me when I say that, year after year, in the melas, jatras and festivals in Chota Nagpur, whenever various tribes with their flags enter the arena, each tribe must come into jatra by a definite route by only one route and no other tribe may enter the mela by the same route. Each village has its own flag and that flag cannot be, copied by any other tribe. If any one dared challenge that flag, Sir, I can assure you that that particular tribe would shed its last drop of blood in defending the honour of that flag. Hereafter, there will be two Flags, one Flag which has been here for the past six thousand years, and the other will be this National Flag which is the symbol of our freedom as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has put it. This National Flag will give a new message to the Adibasis of India that their struggle for freedom for the last six thousand years is at last over, that they will now be as free as any other in this country. I have great pleasure. Sir, in accepting and acknowledging on behalf of the Adibasis of India the Flag that has been presented to us by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 22/7/1947)

It was the great speech of Jaipal Singh Munda about National Flag. He was true nationalist and freedom fighter of our country. He stands forever with nation as well as Adivasi movement. Now it is a matter of research that why he has been ignored in Indian history, politics and literature. Today we need of a wide research on Munda's consciousness, politics, history and his life. He has great importance in the Indian history and society.

\*\*\*



### Work Cited

Munda, Jaipal Singh. *Lo Bir Sendra*, Ed. Rashmi Katyayan. Ranchi: Prabhat Khabar Publications (Jharkhand), 2004. Print.

Munda, Ram Dayal. *The Jharkhand Movement, Indigenous peoples' struggle for Autonomy in India*, Copenhagen: IWGIA, 2003, Print.

#### Internet Source:

Guha, Ramchandra, India after Gandhi, chapter-13, Link-<http://www.simplydecoded.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/India-after-gandhi.pdf>

Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1946, Volume-1, Link-  
<<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>>

Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 19/12/1946, Volume-1, Link-  
<<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>>

Debates of Constituent Assembly of India July 22, 1947, volume-1, Link-  
<<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>>

Debates of Constituent Assembly of India 14<sup>th</sup> September, 1949, volume-9, Link-  
<<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>>

Language of India, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_India)>