

have been planted about 100 or 150 years back have been mercilessly cut and nobody has been paying any attention to preserve these avenue trees even though many of the VIPs pass by that road.

Our population has been growing at an annual rate of 2.5% and taking this factor into consideration, it is a good thing that a new awareness has come and especially, I congratulate Mr. Sanjay Gandhi who has given a call for plantation of trees and there has been a circular issued to all the State Governments and even to the district level and the Panchayat level so far as social forestry is concerned. I think some steps will be taken in this regard and all co-operation should be taken from the authorities concerned.

I want just two assurances from the Minister. (1) He should be firm regarding the preservation of the avenue trees and he has been very categorical that the contract system should be stopped. But I know for certain that for the sake of revenue these forest coupes are being auctioned every year and given to the highest bidder.

Various contractors go and steal from the adjoining areas. That is how contractors are primarily responsible for destruction of our forests. Even though the Minister said that there will not be a contract system, I doubt this very much. For the sake of their revenue, State Governments will continue to indulge in such a practice of leasing out forests on yearly basis to various contractors. Now there is emergency and in view of this, I hope that very strict measures will be taken by the Government to implement their afforestation programmes. Unless the forests survive humanity cannot survive. I conclude with a quotation from Mr. Arnold Toynbee, who said :

‘The Himalayas have a message to give to man in an age when he is being menaced by the backfire of his latest technological achievements. The message is one of hope. It is still possible for man to regain his original concord with Nature and this will bring him salvation from his present Man-made plight.’

With these words, I think, my purpose has been served, public attention has been drawn, Government has become aware of the fact. So, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is an amendment by Mr. Daga. Although he is not here, it has to be put to the vote of the House. We cannot dispose of the original motion unless the amendment is disposed of. So, I will put Mr. Daga's amendment to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 1 was put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it the pleasure of the House to allow Shri P. K. Deo to withdraw his Resolution moved on the 14th May, 1976 ?

HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

17.34 hrs.

#### RESOLUTION RE. PROVISION OF FACILITIES FOR WEAKER SECTIONS OF MUSLIMS

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Telli-chery) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful for this opportunity to move my Resolution. I beg to move the following Resolution :—

“This House resolves that in order to further strengthen national integration and promote secularism and ensure that socio-economic and

[Shri C. K. Chandrapan]

cultural rights of muslim minorities are adequately protected, Government may take the following measures :

- (i) provision of credit to weaker sections of muslims at par with other backward classes for purposes of education and employment ;
- (ii) provision of house sites for poor muslims dwelling in urban slums and rural areas ;
- (iii) fixing quota for recruitment of muslims to jobs in Government, quasi-Government services and public sector undertakings;
- (iv) official recognition to Urdu under article 347 of the Constitution in States where a substantial Urdu speaking population exists;
- (v) appointment of a Commissioner for muslim minorities at the Centre and cells in the States to supervise and ensure their welfare and protection of their rights."

Sir, while moving this Resolution, I am very certain that all sides of the House, every section of the House, will support the idea of providing better facilities for the muslim minority in our country.

I move this Resolution by making it very clear that our approach to the problem of Muslim minority in this country is not from any communal angle. We take it as a national question; the problem of Muslim minority is to be considered a national question that this nation has to tackle if it has to achieve national unity and integration and if it has to achieve secularism in a meaningful manner.

I am very confident that this House would extend its full support to the resolution because of another reason also that we are going to discuss very soon in this House the amendments to the Constitution whereby it would be inscribed in the Constitution and to make it clear once again that this country is a secular country. The goal of this country will be secularism. It has already been proclaimed by the Government, by the nation. But, we decided still that it should be inscribed in the Constitution itself that this country is secular.

It is in this context that I felt that it was necessary that this House should discuss this matter of the weaker section of the Muslim minority in our country and the House should come forward with concrete suggestions and concrete proposals so that it can put forward before Government those suggestions for action. That is the purpose of this Resolution.

When we say that our country adopts secularism and we stand to protect the interests of the Muslim minority, there are certain facts which are very vital to our country which should also be taken into account. Our country is the third biggest nation in the world where large numbers of Muslims are living, the first and second being Indonesia and Bangladesh. Of course, India is not a Muslim nation in that sense ; it is a country with a big population of Muslims. To put it differently, I can say that we have got 67.2 million Muslims in our country which constitutes 11.2 per cent of our population. That is the significance. It is not a question of a small minority that we are dealing with; it is a question of a big minority and the question of the people's wellbeing and for whose satisfaction lies the secular character of the State, the security of the country and in which also lies the bringing about of a bright future to our nation and the people. That is the significance of

giving a fair deal to the Muslim minority. When I say this, even for a single moment, I do not doubt that Government has not been doing anything. Government is trying because protection of Muslim minority interests is the deep conviction of the national movement in this country, the ideal cherished by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and even to-day by our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, all the democratic parties in this country. All the forces in the country, all of us, cherish that India should be a secular nation in which hundred per cent justice should be given to the Muslim minority. Government is trying, but the fact remains that even today we have not reached that extent where we should have reached. We could not do every thing possible for the Muslim minority in this country. That is why specific measures are suggested in this Resolution.

Before I come to the specific measures, I would like to draw the attention of this House to the fact how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru looked at this problem, the problem of tension between Hindus and Muslims. He looked at it as a problem of tension between the exploiter and the exploited. There is a socio-economic background for the kind of communal situation, which none of us would like, which is being created in this country. There are people who are trying to exploit that situation. There are people who are seriously thinking that it is not necessary to do justice to Muslims because they consider that Muslims do not belong to India. There are two aspects, two sides, to the picture.

Take, for example, how Golwalkar, one of the stalwarts of the RSS, looked at this problem. He said :

“They came here as invaders to destroy us, to establish their own supremacy and to enslave the local people.”

If we start on this premise, one can understand why the RSS is so mad and so desperately fanatic about fighting Muslims. But is it a fact? It is one of the distortions of history. It is not a fact. The Muslims have not come to this country as invaders. Their history does not begin with Mahmud of Ghazni. Their history began, according to the well-known historian, Sirdar K. M. Pannikar, who wrote the History of Kerala, in this way.

“When Islam swept over Arabia, its influence was felt immediately over Kerala also. In fact, according to a fairly ancient tradition the last Perumal himself became a convert to Islam. That is, Islam began to spread in Malabar early both by conversion and by settlement of the Arab traders. It is clear from a Muslim inscription Pantalayani Kollam in of the North Arcot dated Hajra 166”.

They came as traders. They settled in Kerala. There are so many instances one can cite to debunk this argument of the RSS.

There is an article written about the Moplas of Kerala. I am quoting from that.

“They came to the Malabar coast as traders even before the emergence of the Moghuls...”

As traders, not as invaders. This is from “Mopla Muslims of Kerala: A study in Islam trends” by Rolland E Miller, an English writer. So the Muslims in this country came and settled in Kerala at least seven centuries before the Moghuls came to India. Kerala is a State in this country known for communal harmony. You do not have much

[Shri C.K. Chandrappan] problem in Kerala between the Muslims and Hindus. You may also understand what is the meaning of the word 'Mopla'. 'Mopla' in Tamil means 'bridge room'.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam: In Malayalam also it has more or less the same meaning.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN : Yes, in Malayalam also we use that word to mean 'bridegroom.' Historians say that it derived from the fact that traders who came there from the Arab world settled in Kerala coast in Mangalore. Ibn Batuta a famous historian says that large settlements of Muslims were in Mangalore and they married the people of Malabar; without forcibly converting anybody they become part and parcel of the coastal life in that part of the country and they became part of India. This is the tradition of Muslims in India. When we speak of our culture, can we forget that Taimahal is part of Indian culture ?

If we take the view that Muslims are part and parcel of this country and therefore they are part of our people, their wellbeing becomes the responsibility of the entire nation. In an article entitled 'Brief resume of the nationalist organisation.' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote before Independence :

"Muslims were generally poor. Most of the weavers who had gone to war on account of the British destruction of Indian industries were Muslims in Bengal which has the biggest Muslim population of any Indian province. They were poor tenants or small land holders. Landlords were usually Hindus, as were the village banias who were money lenders and owners of the village stores. Landlord and the bania were this in a position to oppress the tenant and exploit him and they took full advantage of that

position. It is well to remember this fact for in this lies the root cause of tension between Hindu and Muslims".

The exploitation of the poor tenants by landlords who happened to be Hindus—that is what Nehru says. My friend Shri Dharnidar Das had written a book, Economic Base of Communalism, in which he had quoted the concept of Gandhiji on this problem. He writes.

"On the eve of independence, when India became a ghastly scene of mass killings and communal frenzy, Mahatma Gandhi entered the Muslim areas of Noakali and asked Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose to submit to him an economic survey of the area. The survey revealed a population composition of 18 per cent Hindus and 82 per cent Muslims. But the 18 per cent Hindus were in possession of 75 per cent property of the area and the 82 per cent of the Muslims shared the 25 per cent of the property. They were extremely poor and many of them were landless masses and the Hindu owners were absentee landlords."

The problem of communal tension comes from poverty ; it is used by the exploiters to exploit the masses. That is why Mahatma Gandhi came to the conclusion that the root cause of the conflict lay hidden in the conflict between the exploiter and the exploited.

I have quoted extensively ; coming to the present position, poverty is the problem and exploitation is the problem. Whenever you talk of this, what happens to the biggest minority in our country ? Knowingly or unknowingly they are the worst exploited section in our society ; in the field of education they are the most backward ; in the field of employment, they are the most discriminated and in the field of culture I am sorry to say they are

badly neglected. If things do not improve, what happens? They turn to organisations like Jamiat E Ulema who try to take the Muslim masses out of the main stream of Indian life and put them on communal lines and try to create communal madness and frenzy among them by telling them : You are being exploited by Hindus ; you are to fight for your rights against the the Hindus", This being the case, the Government will have to act with a sense of urgency. It will have to come forward in a big way to help them. The problems I am posing in the resolution have been answered in the other House. The government took the position that there are constitutional guarantees given to avoid discrimination. I fully appreciate the fact that articles 16(1) and (2) provide these guarantees. But is that enough? I think it is not. Even the framers of the Constitution took the view that merely stating or re-stating the fact that there will be no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, community or religion or sex was not enough. That is why they added sub-clause (4) to article 16 which reads thus :

"Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

So, if in the opinion of the State any section of the population is not adequately represented, the State can declare that section as backward. That is our demand. I am not making the unreasonable demand that the entire Muslim community should be declared backward. I only demand that if certain sections have been declared backward communities in any State, their counterparts amongst the Muslims should also get that benefit. For example, a Hindu sweeper, chamar or cobbler or a weaver is a backward class. Why

not Muslim sweepers, Muslim cobblers, Muslim weavers, be treated at par? When we speak of secularism, if we categorise certain sections as backward classes on the basis of certain standards, the same standards should apply to the same sections which belong to another community.

SHRI B.V. NAIK (KANARA) : Do you want to introduce *chaturvarna* among Muslims?

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN : We are not bothered about *chaturvarna* among Muslims. We are bothered about our secularism.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please address the Chair.

SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN : Nothing should stand in the way of our secularism. The weaker sections like weavers, rickshaw-pullers, biri workers, etc. of the Muslim community should be given adequate financial assistance and their interests should be adequately protected. They should not feel by any chance that they are being neglected, because they do not belong to Hinduism. This is not a Hindu State. That is why we say that the weaker sections among the Muslims should be treated at par with the backward community.

The second demand is about distribution of housing site. When we distribute housing sites for poorer people in the countryside, we reserve a certain portion for the harijans. But there is not reservation for the Muslim community there. The poorer Muslims, who really belong to the counterpart of harijan or backward community, should get reservation in the matter of housing sites.

Even in the cities, for reasons well-known to everybody, the poorer Muslims live together. They cluster together and live together. In those days when communal riots were so frequent in our country,

the Muslims wanted to live together so that there will be some protection. As a result of that, today, there are Muslim slums in the cities, where the Muslims are in majority. When you clear those slums, there should be special consideration given.]

In this context, I want to refer to the Turkman Gate area, which was cleared recently. I would like the Minister to give an assurance that without delay you will provide housing facilities for the Muslims who lost their housing and that they will be resettled. Since this demand for resettlement is in accordance with the Master Plan of Delhi, this area should not be utilised for any purpose other than resettling those Muslims. I hope the Minister will give an assurance on those lines.

**SHRI MD. JAMILURRAHMAN (KISHANGANJ)** : Since there are a large number of members who want to speak on this, the time allotted to this Resolution should be increased.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : In any case, it will not be over today. We will see when it is taken up next. It will depend upon the mood of the House.

**SHRI C.K. CHANDRAPPAN** : Coming to employment, I want to [quote from a speech made by Shri P.D. Abdul Ghafoor, President of the All India

Muslim Education Society. He is not a Muslim-leaguer or a communal man. In fact, he is sympathetic to the Congress. When he went to Calicut to address the Muslim Education Society meeting, he made certain observations. According to the press :

"He pointed out that the Muslim community, which formed 11.2 per cent of the population of this country; its representation in Government services was as low as 5.2 per cent in IAS, 4.3 per cent in IFS and 3.2 per cent in IPS."

18.00 hrs.

What a plight!

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: Please conclude.

**SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN**: I think I will take ten minutes more. It is an important subject.

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: Then he may continue his speech on the next day.

18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, August 23, 1976/Bhadra 1, 1898 (Saka).*