

[Shri M. Malaichami]

gone down mainly due to the failure of monsoons. But the Government was able to tide over the crisis, prevent starvation deaths, by pursuing a vigorous policy of intense procurement.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does he want more time?

Shri M. Malaichami: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He might continue on Monday.

14.31 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
SEVENTY-EIGHTH REPORT

Shri Hem Raj (Kangra): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): In today's list of private Members' business, item No. 5 is a resolution by Shri Karni Singhji.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are not on that. Have you got to say anything on the resolution?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I want to say something about the time allotted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You can do it when we take up that resolution.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: If the House is serious about that resolution, I sug-

gest that the other Members should withdraw their resolutions and it should be discussed. I also request Government to come forward with some announcement about the pension.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are any of the Members withdrawing their resolutions? No.

The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Seventy-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 23rd February, 1966."

The motion was adopted.

14.33 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. NATIONAL AND EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION—
contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: One hour was allotted, 20 minutes have been taken. Forty minutes are left.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): The time should be extended.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find that there are 8 or 9 members who want to speak. Is it the desire of the House that the time should be extended?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): By half an hour.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): At least an hour.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagao): It requires the whole day.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Somebody may move.

Shri P. K. Deo: I beg to move:

"That the time allotted for this

Resolution be extended by one hour."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the time allotted for this Resolution be extended by one hour."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri P. K. Deo. The Members should be as short as possible.

Shri P. K. Deo: India is a rich tapestry with beautiful fabrics of cultures, races, religions, ethnic groups interwoven to make a beautiful whole. That is India. Unity in diversity is the characteristic feature of India and its continuity is the distinguishing mark of Indian history. Apart from modification of details, it retained its substantial identity throughout the ancient, medieval and modern epochs of Indian history.

Though there are many languages, religions, races, their fundamental attitude towards the oneness of the country and nation has persisted throughout the centuries. The conception of *व्या सेतु हिमाचलम* India from Rameshwaram to Himachal has been always there. The Vishnu Purana says:

उत्तरे यत् समुद्रस्य हिमद्रिश्चैव दक्षिणं
वर्षं नद भारतं नाम भारतीयव संततिः

Every time there was a new contact, either religious or cultural, it was enriched by its new addition which left a permanent impact and at the same time the newcomer got itself assimilated in the mainstream of Indian culture.

To strengthen and quicken the progress of integration, wise men in the past took effective steps. The foot-prints left by them on the sands of time are to be followed in its true spirit by posterity.

The edicts of Asoka preaching tolerance and kindness spread in the various nooks and corners of this country. Shankaracharya established four mutts in the four corners of the country, at Jagannath, Rameshwaram, Dwaraka and Badrinath, and at Badrinath only a nambudri from down south can perform the puja.

Akbar's synthesis of the various religions can be seen in Din Ilahi. All these go to prove that all these steps were very correct steps. Further it is a fact that the British system of administration and the English language helped further integration.

But, alas! the partition of this country gave a big blow to all that had been achieved and the Congress was a party to it. At the call of Sardar Patel over 600 States merged in the truncated India, and the new map of India was redrawn. We played our part in that process of integration, and we cannot reconcile ourselves when we see forces of disintegration raising their ugly head. When we get such distressing reports, we should analyse the cause and try to remedy and we should not crush it by brute force of the party in power.

When something is thrust upon or forcibly given effect to and not left to the national process of assimilation, when the minority is dominated by the decision of the brute majority, when promises and pledges under the Constitution are broken at convenience, when social justice is denied, when two square meals a day are denied to the people, when decisions are made on political considerations and not on merits, then the forces of disintegration are let loose.

14.38 hrs.

[SHRI SHAMLAL SARAF in the Chair]

If Hindi is left to the process of evolution, in due course it would be a national language of this country, but if it is thrust by brute force, it sows the seeds of disintegration. Why should there be a commotion? If in Israel they can take Hebrew as the national language, we can have Sanskrit and all trouble will cease, but it

[Shri P. K. Deo]

may not be possible at this moment, but it is worth considering.

We should try to examine the various problems in our country in a dispassionate way and not on party considerations. The demand for a Punjabi Suba is a genuine demand. If people of their own on the basis of language, it would be wrong to deny the Punjabi-speaking people their Punjabi Suba. It is a matter of great concern to us that such questions are being considered on political grounds. There has not been a dispassionate approach to this problem. Punjabi Suba is being delayed till the coming general elections so that political advantage could be gained by the party in power. Why not allow all ideas, religions and political thoughts and cultures to flourish in their natural way? I like this particular phrase of Mao and so I am making use of it. "Let a thousand flowers bloom". In the process of evolution, all will merge in the main stream of Indian nationalism.

When a proper diagnosis is made of the malady, all figures point at the party in power which, with only 43 per cent of popular backing, comes out in artificial majority in this House, and, being intolerant of the views of the minority, tries to force its decisions, without realising the various reactions and consequences that will follow.

That is why there was such an uproar and commotion in this House this morning because people have started losing faith in this parliamentary democracy as scant attention is being paid to the opposition. That is why quorum bell is being rung so often. Political leaders in the country who could build up effective opposition to the party are being lured away by the offer of jobs, ministerial and gubernatorial, vice chairman of the planning commission, Deputy-Speakership, Rajya Sabha tickets, etc. in order to weaken the growth of opposition in this country. The conference of national integration in 1961 pre-

scribed a code of conduct for the various political parties. This code of conduct was never followed by the party in power.

Mr. Chairman: How much time will the minister take?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri V. C. Shukla): Fifteen minutes.

Shri P. K. Deo: You can look at the way in which various objectionable posters and party literature were profusely used in the 1962 election and in the last Orissa elections. The depth of meanness and indecency and the length and breadth of falsehood resorted to is beyond the imagination of anybody. All these things were brought to the attention of the Home Ministry; but they fell on deaf ears. Party tickets, we all know, are often distributed by the party in power on the basis of castes, community. This gives fresh fillip to the process of disintegration. Even though there are constitutional safeguards for linguistic minorities and there is a commissioner for them, scant attention is paid to the genuine demands of the minorities. I would draw your attention to the state of affairs of the Oriya in Seraikella Karswan in Bihar: in his report the Commissioner for linguistic minorities says:

"The State Government have not also explained the circumstances under which the number of Oriya medium pupils was reduced by more than 10,000 during the course of one year and the number of Oriya schools were reduced from 57 to 11."

In spite of the assurances in the Constitution, no attempt has been made to safeguard their interests. The Goa question also is there hanging fire. Till now no decision has been taken in this regard even though the verdict of the people in that State has been very clear. The introduction of the zonal system for food distribution is another impediment in the process of national integration. These food zones creating every district as

a unit of its own strikes at the very foot of the integration of this country. Why not have an all India common market where the usual law of demand and supply could decide the distribution of foodgrains to meet the requirements of the people. To me the seeds of disintegration are sown in this country not by any religion or caste or creed but by the party in power which has been persistently following the British policy of divide and rule.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Question.

Shri P. K. Deo: With these words I beg to submit that though I support the spirit of the resolution, I oppose its language.

Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxer): You oppose the Resolution? . . . (Interruptions).

Shri P. K. Deo: It is not religion or caste, but you people, who are responsible for it.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I think the most absorbing problem that is facing India today, the most critical phase through which India is passing today is highlighted by this resolution but it is a pity that the Treasury Benches are again empty except for one deputy minister. I believe that the cause of national integration is a cause to which each Indian should be wedded, and each Indian should be wedded, and each Member of this House should be wedded. But you can take it what value or importance is attached to the resolution if they have sent my friend Shri V. C. Shukla to represent the whole army, battalion and council of ministers that we have got.

Shri Khadilkar: He is the youngest representative of the Cabinet; you have to welcome him.

Shri D. C. Sharma: My friend over there was very paradoxical in his speech. All the time he was speaking against communalism. Every minute of his speech was devoted to the

condemnation of casteism; he was very much opposed to regionalism; he did not favour the idea of linguism but after having made that speech he said that he opposed the resolution. If you permit me I will say that I appeal to Philip sober and not to Philip drunk. I appeal to the person who made that speech and not to that person who arrived at that wrong conclusion towards the end. What is the problem facing us today? There are so many walks of life, political, social, educational, business, industrial and commercial. If I am appointed a minister, my first choice would be to have that gentleman as my private secretary or as my secretary who comes from my State; my second desire would be that I should have that man as my secretary or private secretary who belongs to my caste.

Shri Khadilkar: Lady secretary?

Shri D. C. Sharma: If I fail in that also, I would like to have that person to act as my secretary who belongs to that linguistic group to which I belong. You look at the ministerial map of India; I am not talking of the ministerial map of this Central Government. You will find that the worst example is set by the council of ministers in the States; they want to appoint a person who is nearest to them in terms of language, community or caste. When they want to have some officer who would stand shoulder to shoulder with them and think in terms of these ills to which my friend Mr. Sidheshwar Prasad has referred.

It is said that the fish rots at the head and not at the tail; this is a proverb. If our State cabinets set such examples in the choice of ministers, in the choice of officers, in the choice of Chief Secretaries, I do not know what kind of a future, I can visualise for India.

Mr. Chairman, you remember there used to be an hon. Member in this House; he is no more; he was Feroze Gandhi.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order; hon. Members should not cross the floor.

Shri A. P. Sharma: I am sorry, Sir.

Shri D. C. Sharma: He is privileged to do so; he is the leader of the labour party? Now, I submit that there was a very distinguish friend of mine by name Feroze Gandhi, and one day he made a speech at the Congress Parliamentary party meeting, and he said that the Chief Minister of a State happened to belong to one caste, and the Chief Secretary of the State also came from that caste; the Inspector-General of Police also came from that caste; the Director of Industries also came from that caste, and he found that most of the Commissioners in that State came from that caste and many Deputy Commissioners also came from that same caste.

Mr. Chairman: There may be other reasons also.

Shri D. C. Sharma: You are right, and that is why you have come here—for other reasons.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): I think that remark in respect of the Chair is not good.

Shri D. C. Sharma: There may be other reasons. I do not deny that. But how can you think that those other reasons can become the rule and the real reason becomes the exception? That was my humble submission. Therefore, we have to take into account the fissiparous tendencies that are prevailing in our country at this time. Those tendencies are listed in this resolution—communalism and so on. Can anyone deny, whether it is this State or that State, for any other reason excepting for the reason that one particular community should have a dominant voice there that "we want to have new status"? Can we deny that when we have one big person belonging to one caste, we do not want that all the persons who surround him like the ballet girls surrounding the Prima Donna should also belong to that caste? Can we deny that a person somewhere wants to give top priority to a person for a

particular thing for regional consideration? I know a gentleman, a very big person, a Chief Minister of a State, who wanted that all the good jobs should go to the place from which he came. If any industry was to be set up, it should be set up in his home town, and if any person should be appointed he should come from his home town. Therefore, I request that the report of the National Integration Committee over which we spent so much time and money, and in whose discussion so many minutes of ours and our nation's time were taken, should be fully implemented and before it is implemented in the political field, it should be implemented in the educational field in the business field; more so in the educational field. What do the people of Bengal know about the people of Punjab? What do the people of Punjab know about the people of Orissa? The difficulty with our country is this. We are a big country; a country consisting of 480 million people. We are composed of so many linguistic groups and composed of so many caste groups. We have so many different kinds of minorities, and to weld all of them into one national, integrated unit, is the task of our Government. Our Government has not been able to do so and I think this task should start at the Schools—the elementary schools, the secondary schools, at the colleges and at the universities.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I shall finish now. Do you know that in one of the States of India, the persons of a community cannot join a technical college, cannot join a professional college, cannot get into any service? The result is that as soon as they are born, their mothers pray that those boys and girls should go to Delhi. Delhi, of course, is a good paradise for job-seekers and for every kind of employment. I am glad that they come here. But I may tell you that a committee should be appointed to go into

the grievances of the minorities regarding language, caste and other things, and that committee should give its findings and those findings should be implemented in this country. Unless that is done, I do not know which way our country would be going; whether we would be going towards unity or disunity, towards integrity or towards disruption; towards unity or towards fissiparousness. I say that this is a very admirable resolution and we should give it our wholehearted support.

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर) :
सभापति महं दय, सब से पहले तो मुझे यह ख़ुशी है कि आपके सभापतित्व में मुझे पहली बार बोलने का मौका मिल रहा है। दूसरी बात यह है कि श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद जी बघाई के पात्र हैं, जो इस प्रस्ताव को लाये हैं। किन्तु समस्या यह है कि प्रस्ताव भाते हैं, चर्चा होती है, लेकिन उनपर अमल कुछ नहीं हो सकता। इसके कारणों में हमें जानना चाहिये और जब इस के कारणों में हम जाते हैं तो सहसा इस नतीजे पर हम पहुँचते हैं कि इस की सब से बड़ी जो जिम्मेदारी है, जो दोष है, वह सत्तारूढ़ दल का है, इसकी सरकार के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी है, क्योंकि ग्राहिस्ता ग्राहिस्ता इसकी कबनी और करनी में अन्तर बढ़ता ही जा रहा है, वह घटने का नाम नहीं लेता है, यही जड़ है इन सब खराबियों की। इस के लिये दूर जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। वह कितनी कमजोर होती जा रही है, यह दो-कीन बातों से ही जाहिर हो जायेगा

एक समय जब इमी सदन में कुछ बर्ष पहले और सदन से बाहर कांग्रेस पार्टी ने यह निर्णय लिया था कि जो भी कोई कौन्सिल मिनिस्ट्र होगे, उस स्तर के मन्त्री होगे, वे सब लोकमभा के होंगे और वही से नहीं होंगे, किन्तु ग्राहिस्ता ग्राहिस्ता यह स्थिति बदलने लगी और यह स्थिति आगई कि मन्त्री जो भी हों, वह दाखिल राज्य सभा के जरिये से होने लगे और आज तो हमारे

प्रधान मंत्री भी राज्य सभा से हो कर आये हैं। यह सब क्यों हो रहा है? यह इस बात का लक्षण है कि अन्दर ही अन्दर घुन लब रहा है, कमजोरी आती जा रही है, इसलिये देश का इन्टीग्रेशन करना तो दूर है, उनका दल, सत्तारूढ़ दल अपना ही इन्टीग्रेशन नहीं कर सका है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि उनका इन सब कमजोरियों से हमारी कोई भी समस्या हल न हो कर, जटिल होती जा रही है। उदाहरण के तौर पर हिन्दी की राज भाषा की समस्या को ही लीजिये। हिन्दी की राज भाषा समस्या जितनी साधारण लगती है, आज उतनी ही जटिल होती जा रही है। आज नौजवान, जो लोग दक्षिण के हैं, उनकी स्थिति यह बन गई है कि वह यह आवाज उठाते हैं कि हमको हिन्दी नहीं चाहिये, केवल अंग्रेजी चाहिये और जो अंधर के लोग हैं, हिन्दी भाषी लोग हैं, उन में जाकर देखिये, एक ऐसा वर्ग पैदा हो गया है, जो अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से पढ़ाना अच्छा मानता है और हिन्दी के माध्यम से अच्छा नहीं मानता। सरकार की भी यही हालत है कि अपना काम-काज हिन्दी में करने से हिचकती है और कठिनाई महसूस करती है। एक समय था जब 15 वर्ष की अवधि रखी गई थी, आज वह अवधि 15 वर्षों की समाप्त होने पर कोई अवधि रही ही नहीं, और उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि दिन प्रति दिन ऐसी भावना बनती जा रही है—मैं पिछले दिनों मद्रास की तरफ गया था, उस समय मौका मिला लोगों से बात करने का और हमारे यहां के माननीय सदस्य श्री मोहम्मद इम्माइल मुझे रास्ते में मिल गये, उन से चर्चा हुई तो पता लगा कि लोग यह सोचते जा रहे हैं कि इस देश में हिन्दी को कभी राज भाषा बनना ही नहीं चाहिये था। संविधान में तो यह है कि हिन्दी राज भाषा बनेगी। लेकिन इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए कोई पग नहीं उठाये जा रहे हैं। कांग्रेस पार्टी जबानी

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

जमा खर्च करने में ही विश्वास रखती है। भीतर से, इस कारण, वह खोखली होती चली जा रही है। अगर आपके भीतर कमजोरी आ ग है और आप समझने लग गए हैं कि किमी भी भारतीय भाषा को राज भाषा के पद पर आसीन करना ही नहीं है, उसको राज-भाषा के पद पर बिठाना ही नहीं; केवल अंग्रेजी ही इस पद को ग्रहण किये रहेगी तो उस कमजोरी को आपको चाहिये कि आज ही प्रकट कर दें। यह आपके और देश के हित में भी होगा।

इसके अलावा और भी कई समस्याएँ पैदा हो रही हैं। प्रान्तों की बदला बदली को चर्चा रोजाना हो रही है। यह बदला बदली जिस तरीके से आ कर रहे हैं, वह आप दबाव में आ कर यों कर रहे हैं जो कि ठीक नहीं। दबाव का तरीका बहुत बुरा है। आपका किसी भी समस्या के प्रति निष्चयात्मक रख होना चाहिये। जो भी बात आप करें सूझबूझ के साथ करें। जो भी निष्चय आप लें उस पर आप दृढ़ता से अमल करें। अन्यथा जो समस्याएँ हैं वे बढ़ती चली जायेंगी। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि आप पंजाबी सूबा दें या न दें। देना है तो दीजिये, खूश से दीजिये, जल्दी से दीजिये। लेकिन सूझबूझ के साथ आप कोई निष्चय लें और फिर उस पर अमल करें। इस तरहसे दबाव और टालमटोल से काम नहीं चलेगा

15 hrs.

अब आप यह भी देखें कि आपका राजनीतिक स्वरूप क्या हो गया है। किसी तरह से आपने पार्टी के हित की बात सोचनी शुरू कर दी है। आज जहाँ भी वही हालत आपने पैदा कर दी है जैसी हालत प्रदेशों में है। वही दशा, प्रान्तों की सी दशा केन्द्रीय सरकार की होती जा रही है, यह भी उसी

दिशा में चलने लग गई है जिस दिशा में प्रान्तीय सरकारें चल रही हैं। आहिस्ता आहिस्ता यहाँ भी वही बात हो रही है। यह भी सोचने लग गई है कि इस पार्टी को तोड़ना है और उस पार्टी को तोड़ना है। इस पार्टी के आदमी को मंत्री बना दिया जाए, इस महाराजा को लेना है, इसको कुछ और बना दिया जाए, इस पार्टी के आदमी को लेना है, इसलिए इसको कहीं एम्बेसेडर बना कर भेज दिया जाए। यह जो दृष्टिकोण आपने अपना लिया है, यह दृष्टिकोण इस देश को खत्म कर देगा।

इंटरप्रेशन का भी सवाल आता है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस इंटरप्रेशन बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। यदि हम चाहते हैं कि इंटरप्रेशन लाने वाली बातों पर अमल हो, यदि हम चाहते हैं कि जातिवाद खत्म हो, यदि हम चाहते हैं कि सम्प्रदायवाद खत्म हो तो हमको अमली कदम उठाने होंगे। आज हम में से कितने हैं जो इस हेतु अमली कदम उठाते हैं। आज हम में से कितने हैं जिन्होंने बड़ी बड़ी जातियों को तोड़ा है। जातिवाद को तोड़ने की बात तो दूर उपजातियाँ और बनती हुई चली जा रही हैं, नई नई बिरादरियाँ बनती हुई चली जा रही हैं। खाने पीने का न्योता अगर देंगे तो भी राजनीतिज लोग हैं वे राजनीतिजों की जो अलग में बिरादरी हैं, उनको देंगे। लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में हम जो लोग हैं, इनकी एक अलग बिरादरी बन गई है। जब वभी हम में से किसी के यहाँ किमी का विवाह होना होता है तो हम अधिक से अधिक लोक सभा और राज्य सभा वालों को बुलाने की कोशिश करेंगे। यही सब का दूसरों का हाल है। पहली बिरादरियाँ तो हैं ही ये और बिरादरियाँ बनती चली जा रही हैं। इस वास्ते हम

को यह देखना होगा कि भ्रमल में क्या हो रहा है। भ्रमल में वही हो रहा है जो रातदिन पहले से होता आया है। गरीब जो भ्रादमी हैं वे पिस रहे हैं। गरीब लोगों का तो हाल यह है कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी सी दो सी रुपया महीना तनखाह पाता है, जो अपनी लड़की का विवाह करना चाहता है उससे कोई विवाह में पांच हजार की मांग करता है तो कोई सात हजार की मांग करता है। कहां से वह बेचारा गरीब भ्रादमी यह धन लायेगा।

यह सब कुछ क्यों चल रहा है? इसका कारण यह है कि हम कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं। जो हम कहते हैं उस में हम विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। जातीयता तोड़ी जा सकती है, इस में हमें विश्वास नहीं होता है। साम्प्रदायिकता समाप्त की जा सकती है, इस में हमें विश्वास नहीं होता है। हम ऐसा करना नहीं चाहते हैं। सत्तारूढ़ दल और दूसरे जो राजनीतिक दल हैं वे सब कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ और हैं। जो राजनीतिक दल हैं वे बाहर कुछ नहीं करते हैं। पहले वे बिया करते थे। इसका परिणाम यह है कि सरकार से भी कुछ नहीं होता है (इंटरप्रॉक्) हमारे मिश्र जी खुद दिल पर हाथ रख कर देखें अन्दर क्या हो रहा है और उनका दिल क्या बह रहा है। मुझे मालूम है कि मिश्र जी भी महसूस करते हैं कि कांग्रेस भी वह कांग्रेस नहीं रह गई है जो आजादी के पहले हुआ करती थी। दूसरे दल भी वैसे नहीं रह गए हैं जैसे पहले हुआ करते थे। आज किसी राजनीतिक दल में कोई नौजवान आता है तो यह सोच कर आता है कि उसका अपना उसके अन्दर क्या बनेगा। उसके अन्दर यह भावना नहीं होती है कि उसे देश के लिए कुछ करना है। यह जो प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती जा रही है, यह देश के लिए बहुत खतरनाक है और जब तक इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति पर अंकुश नहीं लगेगा तब तक श्री मिश्रेश्वर प्रसाद जी ने प्रस्ताव रखा है, उस पर भ्रमल नहीं हो सकेगा।

Shri Khadlikar: Sir, this is a very important resolution, because there

are tendencies growing in this country which if properly analysed and diagnosed, one feels whether the unity that we see has any strength or deeper foundation. At the same time, when there is aggression or threatened aggression from outside, we have seen on two occasions that all these tendencies submerge and the people as a whole stand together to face the aggression. This is a most healthy sign, because we should never exaggerate these tendencies. When the Chinese aggression came, the DMK, which was all the time thinking in terms of secession gave up that slogan and all over the country party divisions and other divisions completely disappeared from the scene and with one voice we stood up. That is a very healthy sign to that extent and it has been demonstrated.

But, when we look at the federal life of this country, unfortunately I must confess that those of us who give some serious thought to social and political events in this country feel that the government try to evade it. Not because they have no mind, but all the time there is somehow or other an attempt to evade a decision and the ground is left where petty quarrels will assume bigger dimensions. To give an instance, about a year ago, the late Prime Minister, recognising that these petty quarrels between States regarding their borders or water disputes should not remain lingering for long and should not provide a point of agitation by the people of the respective States, boldly stated that we will soon set up a high-powered judicial committee to which all these disputes will be referred for immediate disposal. I might refer here to the unfortunate border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore. I am not worried whether a particular area remains in Maharashtra or Mysore; I am not looking at it from a narrow angle. But in this country when the question of reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis was taken up, sufficient ground preparation was not

[Shri Khadilkar]

made and it was taken up in a sort of emotionally surcharged atmosphere. In Andhra, somebody died during the course of his fast; and all the former decisions were set aside, a decision was taken and a chain of events started. Ultimately, the Centre had to bow before the popular feeling.

There is the border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore regarding Belgaum and adjoining areas. My hon. friend there referred to some dispute between Orissa and Bihar or Andhra. All these disputes should be expeditiously settled and steps must be taken in time. This is a caste society and at the initial stage of getting into power, certain pulls are bound to come up. We cannot ignore them. In some States, democracy becomes a caste democracy. Unfortunately, it is bound to happen for some time to come. You cannot evade the issue. It is the responsibility of the central leadership to see that all these tendencies are kept under check and they do not get the upper hand at the highest level—I mean the level of the highest tribunal of the ruling party.

My first submission is all these steps must be taken according to the resolution and some tribunal should be set up to dispose of the cases. There is another grave danger. Now the State leadership is feeling that every State is economically also going to be a separate entity. Yesterday some hon. member quoted what happened in the Bihar Legislature, where the Chief Minister stated that he is not amenable to the jurisdiction of the President or anybody else outside the State. These utterances are very symptomatic and if the Centre does not take immediate steps to check this war-lordism in the States, it will break the economic and, ultimately, the political unity of this country. These are issues where administrative steps can be taken immediately. Then alone we can think in terms of emotional integration. Today, emo-

tional integration has become a slogan, beyond that nothing has been done. Unless you take steps to eradicate the grounds where there are fissiparous tendencies, divisions, conflicts and mutual rivalries, and check the tendency at the State Level, that type of war-lordism which destroyed Chinese unity and paved the way for communism, unless serious steps are taken with democratic ruthlessness at the centre, unless the Government is prepared to take such steps, I do not think the mere passing of a pious resolution will have any effect whatsoever.

Shri Balakrishnan (Kollpatti): Mr. Chairman, we all want to have national and emotional integration in this country. If we want to achieve the objective of democratic socialism we have to abolish casteism first, because it is casteism that is creating all other evil forces like provincialism, linguism etc. Therefore, casteism is the root cause of all these evils. First of all, you have to cut the trunk of the tree and then all its branches will automatically fall down.

In our country, unfortunately, casteism is deep-rooted. No Indian, nobody in this country, no person is free from this caste feeling. No political party, no religion is devoid of this caste feeling. Even in the elections, when candidates are selected they are selected on the basis of caste. If the majority of voters are Aggarwals, then the candidate selected is also an Aggarwal. If the majority of voters are Naidus, the candidate selected is also a Naidu. No party is an exception to this. Take the example of occupation and work. Occupation and works were allotted on the basis of *varnasrama dharma*. Nobody so far has been able to change that pattern of occupation and work which was originally allotted on the basis of *varnasrama dharma*. Even after 18 years of our independence nobody has tried to change it. If anybody tries to change this system of occupation and work, if anybody tries to change his occupation

or work, he fails in that attempt. He is never successful in what attempt. For example, if a Harijan, a low caste man, wants to run a tea shop, the caste people will not go and take tea from his shop.

Shri A. P. Sharma: I will take

Shri Balakrishnan: You will take, but what about your community? I know what amount of difficulty we face in the villages. Even now this sort of thing is going on in my village. What I say is, casteism is such a force, to remove which it is very difficult.

Take the case of private industries. If the industry belongs to a marwari you will find that from the management to the watchman all are marwaris. If the industry is owned by a brahman, you will find that almost all the employees from the management to the watchman are brahmans. This sort of thing goes on. Then, where is the equal opportunity of employment for other citizens. Only a few sections of the people belonging to higher castes, because they are fortunate enough in having a few of their persons as industrialists, enjoy all the opportunities of employment. What about the other major section, the poorer section of the society? If at all some low caste people are given jobs in any industry, they are only given scavenging or chaprasi's work. Is it difficult, I ask, to make it a condition in the licence, when it is issued by the Government, that recruitment to posts should be done only through the Employment Exchange or through the Department of Labour of the Government? They go on issuing hundreds of licences to a particular man and he goes on recruiting his own people for the work. Where is the opportunity for the other people?

Therefore, what I want to say is, unless casteism is abolished, there is no chance of our achieving national integration or democratic socialism.

2530 (ai) LS—12.

I want to say a word about untouchability. Unfortunately, untouchability happens to be the pet child of casteism. These two evils co-exist in the country, supporting each other, dividing the people into several classes like depressed classes, backward classes, higher classes and so on. These are the two evils that divide the people, and that is why there is no national integration or democratic socialism. Unless casteism and untouchability are abolished we cannot hope to achieve national integration or democratic socialism in our country.

श्री बड़े (खारगोन): सभापति महोदय, श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद का जो प्रस्ताव है उस की कुछ बातों पर तो मैं उन का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ खास तौर पर इस लिये कि वह इंटिग्रेशन के लिये यहाँ पर मोशन लाय। लेकिन यहाँ पर डाइवर्सिटी में यूनिटी है यह तब प्रतीत हुआ जब कि पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई हुई। यहाँ पहले से ही इस तरह की बात चल रही है कि :

“नर्मदा सिन्धु कावेरी गोदावरी सरस्वती पंचनद्या स्वरेत् नित्यं महापातक नाशनम् ।
नर्मदा भी हमारी है, गोदावरी भी हमारी है। फिर प्रागे भी देखिये :

“जम्बूद्वीपे आर्यावर्ते भरतखण्डे”
इस प्रकार का मंत्र है। इस प्रकार की बातचीत चलती है कि मध्य प्रदेश में चूक नर्मदा है इस लिये वह तुम्हारी माता नहीं है, गंगा तुम्हारी माता है। वहाँ पर गंगा का जल पवित्र नहीं माना गया। गंगा यू०पी० में है इस लिये मध्य प्रदेश में उस को कोई नहीं मानता है।

सभापति महोदय : कृपया श्रीर गोदावरी भी हैं।

श्री बड़े : यह सब फर्क तब आता है जब पार्लियामेंट आता है। तब महाराष्ट्र

[श्री बड़]

वाले कहते हैं कि नर्मदा का जल महाराष्ट्र के लिये नहीं है। लेकिन मैं तो कहता हूँ कि सब जगह का जल सब के लिये लिये है। इसमें पालिटिक्स को नहीं लाना चाहिये जब पालिटिक्स को अलग रक्खा जायेगा तब इस तरह का कोई झगड़ा नहीं होगा। माननीय सदस्य का कहना है कि यहाँ पर कास्टीज्म है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कास्टीज्म कहीं नहीं है? क्रिश्चियनिटी में देखिये कैथोलिक्स हैं, प्रोटेस्टेन्ट्स हैं, प्यरिटेन्स हैं। ब्लडी मेरी सेंट ग्रान दि थोन ग्राफ इंग्लैंड। तब 300 लोगों का बस्ल हुआ था। इसी तरह हर जगह झगड़ा होता है जाति पांति के ऊपर।

मेरे मित्र श्री मधु लिमये साहब ने यहाँ पर संशोधन रक्खा है कि चोटी, दाढ़ी, जनेव को निवाल देना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं उन से एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ एक हिन्दू मुसलमान में लड़ाई हो गई। हमारे यहाँ एक ग्रानरेरी मैजिस्ट्रेट थे जिन को अनाड़ी मैजिस्ट्रेट कहा जाता है। वहाँ जा कर मुसलमान ने कहा कि हिन्दू ने मेरी दाढ़ी पकड़ी और हिन्दू ने कहा कि मुसलमान ने मेरी चोटी पकड़ी। अनाड़ी मैजिस्ट्रेट ने कहा कि यह दोनों दाढ़ी और चोटी का झगड़ा ले कर आये थे, यही दोनों लड़ती हैं इस लिये उन को काट दो। दाढ़ी और चोटी काट डाली गई।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैजिस्ट्रेट बड़ा क्लमन्ड था।

श्री बड़ : इस के बाद यह हुआ कि बाहर जाने के बाद फिर लड़ाई हो गई और बगैर दाढ़ी और बगैर चोटी के हुई। इस लिये दाढ़ी और चोटी का कोई सवाल नहीं है। लोगों का दिल पलटना चाहिये। मुसलमान सुन्नत न कराये फिर भी वह हिन्दू से लड़ेंगे। इस लिये श्री लिमये ने जो चिन्तित्सा सुझाई है वह ठीक नहीं है। आज हजारों

सालों की हमारी संस्कृति है। उस से उलटे हम कैसे जा सकते हैं। आज मेरे चोटी नहीं है लेकिन बीज रूप से तो मेरी चोटी है। हिन्दू धर्म जो है उस से कास्टीज्म और रीजनलिज्म को निवालना चाहिये जो कि एक स्टीलफ्रेम बन चुका है। आज कांग्रेस ही इस रीजनलिज्म को लेकर खत्म हो रही है। दक्षिण के सूबे अलग हैं, पश्चिम के सूबे अलग हैं, गुजरात का सूबा अलग है। कांग्रेस के खत्म होते होते सभी सूबे अलग हो जायेंगे। आज जो चीफ मिनिस्टर सूबे का बन जाता है वह बहता है मैं सब कुछ हूँ। जिस कास्ट का चीफ मिनिस्टर होता है उसी कास्ट की बात वहाँ चलती है। और वह फिर चीफ मिनिस्टर को कोई दोष मैं नहीं देना चाहता। अभी इनका जो चुनाव हुआ यू० पी० में उस वक्त भी वहाँ के एक मिनिस्टर जो पंजाब के आज गवर्नर हैं उनको वहाँ भेज दिया था लड़ने के लिए इसलिए कि वह मुसलमान थे। तो कांग्रेस की जो यह गलत पालिसी चल रही है कि लिग्विस्टिक पालिसी करना और उसी जाति का खड़ा करना इसलिये कि उनकी गद्दी बनी रहे, यह ठीक नहीं है। इसके अन्दर पालिटिक्स घुसने से ऐसा हुआ है। इसमें कोई कास्टीज्म या रीजनलिज्म का सम्बन्ध नहीं है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि यह कास्टीज्म और रीजनलिज्म यह सब खत्म करके क्या आप चाहते हैं कि ट्राइबज पर आ जायें, कम्यून्स पर आ जायें।

जहाँ कामन वाइफ थी, 25 साल तक एक वाइफ, 50 साल तक दूसरी वाइफ इस प्रकार से सब समाज खत्म करके आपको नीचे स्टोन एज और हूटर एज पर जाना है क्या? मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि इंडीपेंडेंस जरूर होना चाहिये। लेकिन वह इस भावना से उसका प्रचार करना चाहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाले, आर्यावर्त में रहने वाले सब एक हैं। इस प्रकार का पाठ्यक्रम सभी स्कूलों

में रख दिया जाये और लड़कों को बचपन से यह पढ़ाया जाये, उनके मन में डाला जाये कि वह चाहे हिन्दू हों, चाहे मसलमान हों, कोई हों लेकिन आर्यावर्त में रहते हैं और गंगा को पूजते हैं तो वह सब एक हैं। इस प्रकार से इन्टीग्रेशन हो सकता है। लेकिन जिस तरह से कांग्रेस सरकार करना चाहती है उस तरह से नहीं हो सकता। आज यह कांग्रेस का मकान जो है वह जलता जा रहा है, यह डिस्मैटिलिंग हाउस है। इसके टुकड़े टुकड़े हो रहे हैं। इस कांग्रेस के टुकड़े हजार हुए, कोई यहां गिरा कोई वहां गिरा। इस प्रकार की हालत हो रही है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि डाइवर्सिटी में यूनिटी जो है वही कायम रखनी चाहिये। वह जो अनाडी मैजिस्ट्रेट साहब थे जिनको लाजवाब मैजिस्ट्रेट और फिर उल्लू लजवाब मैजिस्ट्रेट कहा जाने लगा, ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। यह चोटी दाढ़ी और जनेऊ निकलवाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री १० प्र० शर्मा : सभापति महोदय मैं भाई सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद को तहे दिल से धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने यह प्रस्ताव-सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया। मेरे पहले जितने वक्ताओं ने इस विषय पर सदन के सामने अपने विचार रखे हैं, सबसे पहले मैं राजा साहब, देव साहब के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं कि आरम्भ में जो बातें उन्होंने मानी, अच्छी कहीं, आखीर में उसका निष्कर्ष बिलकुल उसका उलटा निकला।

Shri P. K. Deo: I oppose the language but I support the spirit.

श्री ४० प्र० शर्मा : अगर उन्होंने स्पिरिट का समर्थन किया तो मैं समझता हूं कि प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करना चाहिए। लैंग्वेज तो असल चीज इनमें नहीं है। असल चीज तो स्पिरिट ही है। उसके बाद प्रोफेसर पी० सी० शर्मा ने जो बातें पर सदन के सामने अपना वक्तव्य दिया मैं उनकी एक-एक बात का समर्थन करना

चाहता हूं। मैं समझता हूं कि यह सदन भी तो यह सरकार इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेगी जो आज के समय में एक बहुत ही मुनासिब प्रस्ताव है। जबकि देश के अन्दर सूबों के बीच में और आपस में वैमानस्य फैल रहा है भाषा के आधार पर और जाति के आधार पर या धर्म के नाम पर, मैं समझता हूं कि इसका उन्मूलन नहीं तो कम से कम इसके अन्दर में कमी आरम्भ हो जायेगी अगर यह प्रस्ताव सदन स्वीकार करेगा और इसको हम कर्मान्वित करेंगे तो मैं सदन के सामने यह कहना चाहता हूं हमें इस बात को भूलना नहीं चाहिए कि यह भारत जो हमारा देश है जो अखंड भारत था पाकिस्तान बनने के पहले यह साम्प्रदायिकता का ही शिकार बनकर के आजाद तो हुआ लेकिन फिर भी खंडित भारत हुआ। मुझे आश्चर्य मालूम हो रहा था जब हमारे भाई बड़े साहब बोल रहे थे। कुछ बातों का तो उन्होंने समर्थन किया लेकिन कम्युनिज्म का विरोध किया कि कम्युनिज्म तो रहना ही चाहिए। मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि देश का बटवारा अगर हुआ तो इसलिए हुआ कि देश में मुस्लिम लीग और हिन्दू महा सभा जैसी साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाएँ थीं और जो देश के दो बड़े बड़े सम्प्रदाय थे उनको वह विरोधी विचारधारा में खींच रही थीं और इसी वजह से हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजों ने दो सौ वर्ष तक राज्य किया। तो मैं कहता हूं कि साम्प्रदायिकता देश से मिटनी चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं जाति पानि के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूं कि जो सुभाष प्रोफेसर शर्मा ने दिये, मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चाहे वह केन्द्र ही चाहे सूबा हों, अगर एक जाति का मिनिस्टर हो तो उसका डिप्टी मिनिस्टर दूसरी जाति का होना चाहिए और उसका सेक्रेटरी तीसरी जाति का होना चाहिए; जैसे प्रवेश जब हुकूमत आता है तो उनकी और नीतियाँ का चाहे जितना हम विरोध करते थे लेकिन एक

[श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा]

बात उनमें थी कि हिन्दू मुसलमानों के बीच में झगड़े बहुत काफी न फील पायें या सबको ज्यादा इन्साफ मिल सके इसलिए एक एक पुलिस स्टेशन पर एक हिन्दू दरोगा रखते थे तो दूसरा मुसलमान दरोगा रखते थे। तो मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए और जहाँ तक भाषा का सवाल है सभापति महोदय, आज तो हम आँखों देख रहे कि आज देश में क्या हो रहा है। कोई हिन्दी का समर्थक बन जाये तो दुर्भाग्यवश कोई अंग्रेजी का समर्थक बनता है और लोग बड़ी बड़ी बातें करते हैं। हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा माना और फिर अंग्रेजी का समर्थन करते हैं और वह इसलिए कि हमारे देश में अंग्रेजी के वगैर काम नहीं चल सकता। Let me complete this point, only this point जो अंग्रेजी का समर्थन करने वाले हैं वह यह कहते हैं कि टेकनिकल साइंस वगैरह का हमारे देश में विकास नहीं हो सकेगा। लेकिन आज रूस में इतना बड़ा साइंस का विकास हो रहा है, अमेरिका में इतना विकास हो रहा है। तो रूस में क्या अंग्रेजी भाषा है? यूरोप के देशों में अंग्रेजी का कोई इतना महत्व नहीं है। अंग्रेजी का इंटरनेशनल फोरम पर तीसरा नम्बर है, तीसरे नम्बर की भाषा मानी जाती है और अंग्रेजी उन देशों में बोली जाती है, यह उन देशों की भाषा है जो अंग्रेजी की कालोनी थे जहाँ अंग्रेजों का राज था। इसलिए भाषा के आधार पर जो झगड़े होते हैं उनको भी खत्म करने के लिए एक राष्ट्रीय भाषा होनी चाहिए, ऐसा विधान में है और इसलिए मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि प्रस्ताव खाली पास ही नहीं होगा बल्कि सरकार उस पर अमल भी करेगी।

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंजर) : मुझे सात आठ मिनट दीजिएगा। मुझ खुशी है कि सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद जी ने यह प्रस्ताव रखकर

मुझे मौका दिया राष्ट्रीयकरण तथा भावात्मक एकता के बारे में अपने विचार रखने का।

सभापति महोदय : पांच मिनट में आप खत्म करिएगा।

श्री मधु लिमये : सात मिनट करीजिए इनके प्रस्ताव का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इनका प्रस्ताव निर्गुण निराकार ब्रह्म की तरह है। उसको जरा सगुण निश्चित और ठोस जामा पहनाना चाहिए और इसी दृष्टि से मैंने अपना संशोधन दिया है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि ऐसी साधारण बात न करके कोई ठोस बात हमारे प्रस्तावक महोदय करेंगे और मैंने जो तरकीब पेश की है उसको स्वीकार करेंगे। एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे संसद में, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में और शासन में जब तक अंग्रेजी चलेगी इस देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता और भावात्मक एकता पैदा नहीं होगी। लेकिन साथ साथ मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी की मैं कोई वकालत नहीं करना चाहता। इस सदन में और सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में भी जब बंगला में तमिल में तेलगू में और मलयालम आदि भाषाओं में लोग भाषण करने लगेंगे, अपनी दलीलें देने लगेंगे, पैरवी करने लगेंगे तभी जाकर देश का प्रतिनिधित्व यह संसद और सर्वोच्च न्यायालय तथा सरकार कर पायेगी। मैं रूस गया था। वहाँ मैंने देखा कि रूस की संसद में 14-15 भाषाओं में बोलने की इजाजत है और उनके अनुवाद का इन्तजाभ है। यहाँ अगर हिन्दो का अंग्रेजी और अंग्रेजी का हिन्दो में अनुवाद करने की व्यवस्था है तो 14 भाषाओं में अनुवाद करने की व्यवस्था भी की जा सकती है। तो हिन्दी किसी के ऊपर आप लादो नहीं। गैर हिन्दी भाषा भाषियों के ऊपर इसको छोड़ दो। लेकिन अगर

कोई बंगला का इस्तमाल करना चाहता है और मैं चाहूंगा कि हीरेन मुखर्जी साहब और रेणु चक्रवती बंगला में बोला करें और इसी तरह मनोहरन साहब हैं, मैं निश्चित रूप से समझता हूँ कि उनको तमिल में बोलने की इजाजत दी जावे तो अंग्रेजी की बनिस्वत तमिल में वह अपनी बात ज्यादा अच्छी तरह कह पायेंगे ।

एक तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय और भावात्मक एकता के लिए 14 भाषाओं का इस्तेमाल जारी किया जाय और अंग्रेजी को खत्म किया जाय

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो गया है ।

श्री मधु लिमये : क्या एक मिनट में हो गया ? खैर मैं खत्म किये दे रहा हूँ ।

अब जहाँ तक प्रान्तीय झगड़ों और धार्मिक झगड़ों का सवाल है मुझे लगता है कि सरकार ही इन झगड़ों को उकसाती है । अभी बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी का विधेयक लाया गया, लड़कों को समझाया नहीं उन को पहले भड़काया और जब आग लगी तो आग बुझाने के बजाय रघुनाथ सिंह जी और उनके सत्तारूढ़ दल के अन्य लोग भाग गये और इस विधेयक को उन्होंने वापिस लिया । इस तरह से पहले आग लगाना, उकसाना और फिर भाग जाना . . .

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : हम लोग भाग नहीं गये थे, हम बँठ रहे ।

श्री मधु लिमये : पहले आग लगा कर उकसाना और फिर मौके से भागना ठीक नहीं है । यह हम लोगों को शोभा नहीं देता है ।

एक राष्ट्रीय एके की बात हम करते हैं लेकिन हमारी जो सारी प्रक्रियाएँ हैं वह झलगाव वाली हैं । हमारे संविधान में शायद

44 धारा में लिखा है कि एक समान "सिविल कोड" सारे देश भर के लिए होगा, सभी जाति और धर्म के लोगों के लिए होगा लेकिन हम लोग हिन्दुओं के लिए बना रहे हैं, किसी जाति विशेष को लेकर यह काम होता है । उस से जो बहुसंख्यक जमात है उन के मन पर यह असर होता है कि सब काम हमारे खिलाफ होता है । इससे अल्पसंख्यक लोग और बहुसंख्यक लोगों में जो दीवार इस वक्त बनी हुई है वह खत्म होने के बजाय, टूटने के बजाय वैसे ही कायम रहती है इसलिए मेरा निवदन है और मैंने अपने सशोधन में कहा है कि अन्तरजातीय और अन्तरप्रान्तीय विवाहों को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय, जब तक यह नहीं होता है तब तक जाति व्यवस्था कायम रहेंगी । अब तो नई नई जातियाँ बन रही हैं । अब देखिये सरकारी नौकरों की चार जातियाँ हो गई हैं और उन के लिए जो मकान बनाय जाते हैं उन में भी 5-6 जातियाँ हो गईं तो इस से मुझ को एसा लगता है कि झलगाव वाली प्रवृत्ति जारी रहेगी और समानता के लिए कोई गहल नहीं हाँगी ।

अन्त में एक ही बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त तरह तरह की परियोजनाएँ बनाई जा रही हैं, प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाये जा रहे हैं । नदी के पानी के बँटवारे के झगड़ों के बारे में विभिन्न प्रदेशों में और राज्यों में झगड़े हैं । हमारी यह खाद्य समस्या जो इतनी पेचीदा बन गयी है उस का भी कारण यह है कि पूरे देश को हम एक मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं और एक दूसरे की तकलीफों को समझने और कम करने के निय प्रयास नहीं करते हैं ? इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के द्वारा कोई ऐसी अदालत, कोई ऐसी मशीनरी या समिति बनाई जाय जो इसका फैसला करे जब प्रादेशिक झगड़े आ जाते तो उनको उकसाने के बजाय, जैसे कि पंजाबी सूबे का सवाल है, गोवा का है, पाँडिचेरी का है, तो उन झगड़ों को प्राप्त क्यों उकसाते हैं । उनका निबोड़ निकालने के लिए कोई ऐसी समिति, या निष्पक्ष पक्षों

[श्री मधु लिमये]

की व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं करते जिनके कि जरिए इन झगड़ों का निचोड़ हो और देश में एक राष्ट्रीय ऐका स्थापित हो सके और सब को समान रूप से सामाजिक न्याय मिल सके। मेरी आप से प्रार्थना है कि मेरी तरफ़ीम को स्वीकारा जाय।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : सभापित महोदय, श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद ने यह जो सुन्दर प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है उसके लिये वे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। जहाँ तक जातीयता का सम्बन्ध है। जातीयता एक अभिशाप है। भारतवर्ष में प्राचीन काल में जातीयता नहीं थी। अगर आप वेद का अध्ययन करते तो वेद में आप को जातीयता नहीं मिलेगी। जिस समय जातीयता ने हमारे बांगमय में प्रवेश किया देश का पतन आरम्भ हो गया। जैसे मैं आप को उदाहरण दूँ। अशोक के समय से लेकर स्कन्दगुप्त तक, बौद्धों का, हिन्दुओं का, दोनों का सन्तुलन था। जैसे आज जातीयता है, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री, वैश्य, और उसके अन्दर भी उपजातियाँ हैं, इस प्रकार का कोई भेदभाव नहीं था। हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर बाहर से हूणों का आक्रमण हुआ, शकों का आक्रमण हुआ और हम लोग जो उनका प्रतिकार करने में सफल हुए तो उसका कारण यह था कि हम लोगों में भेदभाव नहीं था। हम लोग एक स्वर से खड़े होते थे। लेकिन स्कन्दगुप्त के पश्चात् जब कि हम में संकीर्णता आई हम में जातीयता का असर होने लगा। जब कोई विदेशी सेना देश के ऊपर हमला करती थी तो ब्राह्मण सोचते थे। वैश्य सोचते थे। और शूद्र सोचते थे कि युद्ध करना तो क्षत्रियों का काम है, वे युद्ध करें, हमें क्या करना है। इस प्रकार से भारतवर्ष में ऐसी प्रतिक्रिया हुई कि भारतवर्ष के करीब 80 सैकड़ा लोग, 80 प्रतिशत जो आबादी थी उसको भारतवर्ष की रक्षा के सम्बन्ध में या भारतवर्ष के राजनैतिक उत्थान पतन के सम्बन्ध में कोई हिस्सा नहीं रहा। अगर राजपूत लोग दिल्ली में हार

गये तो सारा देश पराधीन हो गया। अगर युद्ध किया तो क्षत्री लोगों ने किया। बाकी ब्राह्मणों का उस से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। वैश्यों और शूद्रों का उस से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। इसलिए आप देखेंगे कि जैसे भारतवर्ष में जातीय संकीर्णता का उद्भव होने लगा वैसे वैसे धीरे धीरे भारतवर्ष पतन की ओर चलता गया। महात्मा गांधी पहले एक ऐसे आदमी हमारे बीच में आये जिन्होंने कहा कि जातीयता को हटाना चाहिए। हम लोग भारतवासी हैं। अगर हम लोग हिन्दू हैं तो हम सब लोग हिन्दू हैं। उस में उपजातियों का कोई स्थान नहीं है। इसी प्रकार जैसा कि हमारे एक भाई ने कहा महात्मा गांधी ने बड़ा अच्छा सिद्धान्त रक्खा कि स्वर्ण लोग भी जो अस्पृश्य हैं, हरिजन लोग हैं उनके साथ शादी करें, व्याहृ करें, रोंटी बेटी का व्यवहार करें। इसका अर्थ यह था कि अगर हम लोग सभी एक हैं तो एक होकर रहना भी चाहिए।

अगर हिन्दुस्तान में भी कोई ब्राह्मण यह समझे कि मैं ब्राह्मण होने के नाते श्रेष्ठ हूँ, कोई क्षत्री समझे कि मैं क्षत्री होने के नाते श्रेष्ठ हूँ, तो उस हालत में दूसरी जो बाकी जनता है, 80 परसेंट, उस जनता का उसमें क्या योग रहेगा। वह जनता अपने को कैसे भारतवर्ष के लिए उत्तरदायी समझेगी। इसलिए मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ। अगर इस देश की 45 करोड़ जनता को जाति और उपजाति आदि में विभक्त कर दिया जायगा तो भारतवर्ष की शक्ति का नाश होगा, हास होगा। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो प्रस्ताव आया है इसके सिद्धान्त बड़े अच्छे हैं। हम को जातीयता को त्यागना चाहिए। हम लोग अगर हिन्दू हैं तो तमाम के तमाम एक दृष्टि से हिन्दू हैं। कोई भी हो जो राम और कृष्ण का नाम लेने वाला है और वेद में आस्था रखता है। वह हिन्दू है और हम लोगों की एक जाति है। इस आधार पर हम चले।

यह जातिपाति का रोग मुसलमानों में भी घर कर चुका है। जब यवन हिन्दुस्तान में आए थे। वे एक स्वोयग लेकर देश में आये थे कि हम एक जाति के हैं लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में आने के बाद उनका भी शोख, सैय्यद, पठान और दुनिया भर की जातियों में बंटवारा हो गया। मुसलमान कौम भी उप जातियों में विभक्त हो गई। उन में भी ऐसा समझा जाने लगा कि सैय्यद का काम तो युद्ध करना नहीं है। युद्ध करना तो पठानों का काम है, वह क या नहीं करें। उनमें जातीय संकीर्णता की भावना उत्पन्न हुई अंग्रेज इस देश में आये। उस समय इन मुसलमानों के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान का शासन था और इस जातीयता और भ्रमगाव के अभिशाप के कारण वे भी विदेशी का सामना नहीं कर सके। इसलिए अंगर विदेशियों का सामना हमें सफलता पूर्वक करना है और हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को बरकरार रखना है तो सारे देश को हमें एक करना चाहिए, ऐक्य स्थापित होना चाहिए यह इस जाति व उपजाति के अभिशाप को हमें अपने बीच में से दूर कर देना चाहिए।

Shri Mohammed Koya (Kozhikode):
Mr. Chairman, I am against communalism—real communalism. But I do not know what meaning the Mover of this Resolution or friends like him give to the word "Communalism" which is being used frequently by a class of politicians. So far as I can find out, the word "communalism" is applied to a mental attitude which prompts one group of people to dominate over another group which happens to be smaller. This mental attitude and action prompted by it cannot in the nature of things be indulged in by a small group of people in relation to a larger group. But we often find that a certain class of politicians, not of course the generality of the majority community, wrongly blame the Muslim community also of communalism. The Muslim community, if anything, is the victim of the communalism practised by this set of politicians.

The Muslims in India are a minority because of a distinct culture and religion they are following. Every man and group of men have got the natural right to follow his and their religion and culture, which is a matter of conscience. This is the position of the Muslims of India. Their natural right is clearly and unambiguously recognised and conceded by the Constitution of India. When exercising this natural right recognised by the Constitution the Muslim Minority, as every other minority, wants to be treated with the same honour as the members of these communities.

This equal honour in actual practice means a share in the benefits afforded as in the duties provided by the State in keeping with their strength. Such equal treatment is necessary for the contentment of the people concerned which, in turn, is indispensable for the balanced and all-round progress and development of the country and the people as a whole. To ask for such a treatment is a very just and natural demand and it cannot be dubbed as communalism. But when a minority claims this very just right, politicians because of their own selfishness and aggrandisement become perverse and call this by all sorts of names, carry on adverse propoganda creating ill-will amongst unsuspected people, rousing a spirit of intolerance in their minds.

My amendment refers to this intolerance which is inimical to the advancement, development and the fair name of our country. I, therefore, want that such intolerance should be eliminated from the general body politic of the country. For the present purpose, I do not think one need speak about the holocaust and orgies of violence enacted as a result of evil propoganda and intolerance....

Mr. Chairman: If you are to read all this, why don't you lay it on the Table?

Shri Mohammed Koya: I am consulting my notes. But there is no

[Shri Mohammed Koya]

harm even in the reading of the notes.

I know, even in the British Parliament, Mr. Churchill used to write and re-write several times and read his notes. There is no harm in that.

Shri A. P. Sharma: The reading of the notes is not permissible.

Shri Mohammed Koya: This is not exactly reading of the notes. Even in the British Parliament, Mr. Churchill used to read his notes very frequently. I know something about the procedure of Parliament and I refuse to learn any lesson from Mr. Sharma.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may conclude now.

Shri Mohammed Koya: I am concluding.

It is often ignored that the existence of minority and majority communities based on such factors as religion, race, language, etc. is a common, invariable and accepted feature of all the nations and countries of the world. As long as live conscience and freedom of thought exist, minorities and majorities will also exist.

Shri Muthiah (Tirunelveli): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I moved my substitute motion on the 10th December, 1965. I would like to say a few words on this Resolution that is before the House.

National integration is most essential to our country today in view of the threat within the country, that is, from the pro-Peking communists and the threat from without, that is, from China. China has become the greatest menace to India, to South-East Asia and to the entire world. China believes in war and force and is trying to create sabotage, subversion and revolt in the various countries of South-East Asia. Therefore, at this time, all the people of our

country have to stand united and have to feel their oneness in view of this great danger. Mere physical unity is not enough. Unity on the emotional plane is necessary and vital. Emotional integration is more essential and more vital than any other thing. Real integration can be achieved only by the upliftment of all the people of the country, of all the sections of the Indian society, at all levels, political, social, economic and educational. A nation is comparable to the human body. If the human body is to be healthy and strong, all the parts of the body have to be healthy and strong. Similarly, if the nation has to be healthy and strong, all the sections of the people have to be healthy and strong and have to be contented and happy.

At the political level, the Constitution has given equality before the law and equality of opportunity to all the people of this country. It has prohibited all kinds of discrimination on the basis of caste or religion or race or sex. It has also provided for adult franchise which gives the voting right to every adult of India. Since India is the biggest democratic country in the world and since adult franchise has been given to every Indian, it is absolutely necessary that political education should be provided to every Indian and the people should be taught how to exercise the voting right in the best interests of their country and they should not be moved by any other consideration. Political minorities should be protected and all safeguards and all steps should be taken to protect the legitimate interests of linguistic minorities, racial minorities and religious minorities.

At the social level, we find great inequalities. We find undesirable distinctions between the higher castes and the lower castes. Crores of people still suffer from social backwardness. The scheduled castes suffer most today. Untouchability is still prevalent in the country particularly

in the villages. In spite of the prohibition of untouchability in the Constitution and in spite of the Anti-untouchability Act, untouchability has not vanished from the country. The Government should take every step to eradicate untouchability as early as possible in the best interests of our democracy.

To achieve real emotional integration, all the classes and castes should mingle freely in their daily lives and should have a common national outlook and a patriotic approach in all matters. Inter-dining among all castes, high and low, should be promoted. Inter-caste marriages should be encouraged by Government and the public. Preference should be given to candidates who marry outside their castes in recruitment to Government services and public undertakings when they have the necessary qualifications.

Mr. Chairman: He may conclude now.

Shri Muthiah: I am concluding in a minute.

At the economic level, there is a great disparity between the rich and the poor. There are a few people at the top who are getting crores of rupees per year and there are the poor people at the bottom who are getting, on an average, only Rs. 300 per year. This wide gap between the rich and the poor should be eliminated if India is to have a real democracy and socialistic society. Government should immediately take all necessary steps to bridge this gap and to create an egalitarian society in the country.

At the educational level, the upliftment of all the people is necessary. Illiteracy should be wiped out. Full and free educational facilities should be given to all the people, especially the backward classes and the scheduled castes and tribes. National unity and integration should be promoted in all educational institutions. In all schools and colleges,

all boys and girls should be imbued with the spirit of patriotism and with the feeling of national oneness that all the people of India, belonging to different provinces and castes, different religions and languages are one nation. The boys and girls in schools and colleges should sing the National Anthem in chorus with devotion every day before the classes begin and they should salute the National Flag on all important occasions with reverence.

Mr. Chairman: He should conclude now.

Shri Muthiah: To achieve real integration and unity, all the evils of casteism, communalism, regionalism and linguism should be eradicated. Communal conflicts should completely cease. Communal organisations should be discouraged and communal parties should not be allowed to put up candidates for elections. The Government and the country should stand by secularism at all times. Conflicts between one province and another should cease. All border disputes and water disputes should be peacefully settled. All backward areas should be developed. There should be no discrimination between State and State in the matter of the supply of essential commodities.

Mr. Chairman: He must conclude now.

Shri Muthiah: All right, Sir, I wanted to speak on two more points. But there is no time.

श्री श्री ना० बिद्यालंकार (होशियारपुर) : सभापति जी, यह विषय बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसके लिए ज्यादा समय दिया जायेगा। आपने इस को इतना महत्व नहीं दिया और आपने यह आशा रखी कि माननीय सदस्य पांच पांच मिनट में इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर अपनी सब बातें कहें। मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से भी इस को अधिक महत्व नहीं दिया गया है क्योंकि सिर्फ चन्द मिनिस्टर इस समय हाउस

[श्री अ० ना० विद्यालंकार]

में हैं। मुझे यह भी अफसोस है कि प्रस्तावक, महोदय ने भी एक बिल्कुल बेजान सा प्रस्ताव रख दिया है, जिस में उन्होंने कहा है कि नैसे-सरी स्टैप्स लिये जायें और कोई ठोस सुझाव नहीं दिया।

मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री मधु लिमये, की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि इस वषट हिन्दुस्तान में सब से बड़ा डिस-इन्टेग्रेटिंग फ़क्टर हिन्दुस्तान को बांटने का सब से बड़ा कारण अंग्रेजी भाषा है, जिस ने हिन्दुस्तान की पढ़ी-लिखी दो परसेंट जनता को, जो कि रूनिंग क्लास है, और साधारण जनता को बांट रक्खा है।

मैं इस बात से भी सहमत हूँ कि स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के अठारह बरस बाद भी हमारे देश में कम्यूनल आर्गनाइजेशन का रहना देश की एकता के लिए घातक है। हमारे यहां आज भी जनसंघ जैसी कम्यूनल आर्गनाइजेशन है, जिस के एक मेम्बर अभी बोले हैं जो भारत में हिन्दू राष्ट्र कायम करना अपना ध्येय मानती हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन कम्यूनल आर्गनाइजेशन्स पर बैन लगाया जाना चाहिए। हम अब तक भारत माता के विराट स्वरूप के दर्शन नहीं कर सके हैं। हमारे यहां कहते थे, "एकं सद्भिः बहुधा वदन्ति"। बहुतों में एकता देखने की भावना अभी तक हम लोगों में नहीं आ पाई है।

भावनात्मक एकता के मार्ग में एक और फ़क्टर, हमारी वर्तमान शिक्षा है। आज भी हमारे देश में ऐसा इतिहास पढ़ाया जाता है, जो अंग्रेजों के द्वारा लिखवाई गई किताबों पर आधारित है, जिन में इतिहास को डिसटॉर्ट किया गया है। मेरे पास समय नहीं है, वरना मैं आप को इस बारे में डीटेल्स बताना, और मिसालें देना कि हमारे देश के स्कूलों में २० वर्षों को इतिहास के माध्यम से क्या क्या बातें पढ़ाई जाती हैं, जिन के कारण उन में यह

भावना पैदा होती है कि हम अलाहिदा अलाहिदा हैं। हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री ने कई दफ़ा कहा है कि इतिहास को नये सिरे से लिखवाना चाहिए। लेकिन अठारह बरस के बाद भी हम इतिहास को नये रूप में नहीं लिख सके और आज भी पुरानी टैक्स्टबुकस चल रही हैं।

हमारे उप-शिक्षा मंत्री बैठे हैं, मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतिहास की पढ़ाई को बदलने के लिये इन 18 वर्षों में क्या किया? क्योंकि इतिहास और भूगोल हमारे देश की भावनात्मक एकता को बनाने वाले हैं और आज हमारी भावना एक दूसरी तरफ़ जा रही है। मैं इससे समहत हूँ कि भावनात्मक एकता के लिए एट्र्यूड और मनोवृत्ति है, हमारे अन्दर भावना है, किस तरह से हम सोचते हैं, परन्तु यह डिपेण्ड करता है हमारी शिक्षा पर और शिक्षा हमारी भावनात्मक एकता बनाने वाली नहीं है, विशेष रूप से इतिहास की शिक्षा।

दूसरी बात जो बनाती है वह है आर्थिक एकता—दे आर मेटिरियल बेसेज आफ यूनिटी—हमारा जो आर्थिक ढांचा है उस से बनती है। लेकिन आज हम डिस्पैरिटी को कहां दूर करते हैं। मैं, सभापित महोदय, कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आर्थिक विषमता रहेगी, आर्थिक विषमता व्यक्तियों के अन्दर, आर्थिक विषमता इलाकों में, इम्बैलैसिग इलाकों में रहेगा, तो किसी न किसी रूप से जो अर्नैतियता की भावना है, यह आती रहेगी। यह इसका बेसिस है, इसका मेटिरियल बेसिस है, हमारी यूनिटी नहीं बनेगी, हमारे देश के अन्दर यह एकता नहीं आयेगी। इसलिये मैं यह समझता हूँ, सभापित महोदय, यह प्रस्ताव बहुत महत्व का है। इसकी तरफ़ जब तक हम ध्यान नहीं देंगे, हमारे देश के अन्दर एकता नहीं आयेगी। यह एक ऐसा प्रस्ताव है जिसके ऊपर हमारी गवर्नमेंट को

ठोस स्टैपलेना चाहिए, लेकिन प्रस्तावक महोदय ने कोई ठोस स्टैप नहीं बताया है। यह विषय वास्तव में बहुत महत्व का है, नहीं तो हमारी डिस्इन्टीग्रेशन की भावना, फलहदा होने की भावना बढ़ती जायेगी, इसको रोकना हमारा कर्तव्य है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Shinkre: There is no doubt that the Resolution brought forward by my hon. friend, Shri Sidheswar Prasad, is most welcome, but this Resolution is too ineffective to merit serious consideration. Under these circumstances, I welcome your allotment of only five minutes.

Mr. Chairman: All the same, I have accommodated the hon. Member.

Shri Shinkre: I do not think that, by adopting such a Resolution, we will be going forward or farther from where we are. Instead of moving this Resolution, if he had met his own Party bosses and tried to convince them of the necessity of emotional integration in the country and of placing the country before the Party, he would have not only achieved his purpose but also rendered yeomen service to the country as a whole. What we saw very recently in Jaipur is the most glaring illustration of the fact that this ruling Party does not want a national or emotional integration in the country but only wants to hang on to power, no matter in what manner. (Interruption). Why did the AICC not pass any Resolution regarding abolition of food zones. They say that Madras will get angry and Andhra Pradesh will get angry. Andhra has got surplus rice to give to some one but will not give to Kerala. Madras has surplus rice to give to some one but does not give to the starving people of Kerala. The AICC or the Centre does not step in and tell the Madras or the Andhra Government that they must do it. They say that

Andhra will be displeased and Madras will be displeased. What will happen if they are displeased? To whom will it be a loss? It will not be a loss to the nation, but to the Party. Neither Andhra Pradesh nor Madras have ever said that they would go out of this country if the food zones are abolished. Only because the Congress Government do not want that eventually Andhra or Madras, on account of the abolition of food zones, should vote the Congress out of power, they want to placate them and they see that Kerala is starving there.

The same thing is happening regarding several other provisions. I am coming from a small territory, Goa, which has seen only one General Election. The people there want to merge with Maharashtra but the Central Government do not want to take any decision. They say that Mysore will be displeased. If Mysore is displeased, what will happen? Will Mysore try to go out of India? Mysore will be displeased and lost to the Congress Party in the elections.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर): कामराज का नुकसान होगा।

Shri Shinkre: कामराज का नुकसान होगा। just as Mr. Limaye points out. The uppermost need of the country today is for the Government to realise that they have to care for the country first and the Party next and only then the national and emotional integration can become a reality in this country. (Interruptions).

An hon. Member: He is not moving it on behalf of the party. You may accept it or reject it. (Interruptions).

Shri Shinkre: They want to combine everything and present the country with a Russian salad that we are seeing in the Cabinet. You can see how divided the Cabinet is. What the country witnessed very recently regarding the election of the Prime Minister is now an example and

[Shri Shinkre]

illustration of the fact that we can never expect any real and sincere effort on the part of this ruling Party regarding national or emotional integration.

Shri B. K. Das (Contai): Mr. Chairman, our national life today is suffering from certain ills and if we want to remove them, there should be an all-out effort and endeavour on the part of every individual and every political party and other groups. It is no good laying the fault at the door of others. If we look not only to the ruling Party but to other Parties also, we will find that they are also doing the same thing, when they give the tickets, they also look to caste religion and all that. So, it is the duty of every political group and every individual to see to it that all our actions conform to the national interests. Even where we go astray, there are certain methods of doing things by which our national interests may be safeguarded.

We have given to ourselves a Constitution which enjoins on us certain duties. If we follow that Constitution properly and give effect to them, we shall be able to do something in that respect. This Resolution reminds us of those ills that are there, but, of course, there were committees—National Integration Committee, Emotional Integration Committee and all that—to remind us of the steps that should be taken to remove those ills. But we have not yet been able to give effect to the findings of those Committees. Those Committees wanted that our work should begin with an educational process. It might be a slow process but we should look to our education first. If we take up our educational problems first where we have to deal with different things, where we have to deal with different sections of people, and if we guide our education in a way that all sections of people can think that they belong to one nation, and if we can inculcate in them the

feeling of our national heritage, of our common good and the common goal that we have to attain as Indian nation, then, of course, the nation will grow and we shall be able to move as one nation.

At every step when we are thinking of religion, when we are thinking of caste, we are going astray, but when we are thinking of a national goal, of common interest as a nation, we are coming together.

16 hrs.

Mr. Khadilkar, while speaking, has pointed out that whenever there is an Emergency, whenever there is a common danger before us, we unite ourselves, we act as one nation; but in normal times we forget that and other personal interests take the upper hand. To live as a nation, we should see that good-will and toleration become a way of life for us. We should accustom ourselves, and mould our character in such a way that we are always able to think of the national interests first and all other interests only afterwards. Of course, it is not that everybody will give up his religion. It is not that everybody will give up his own language. It is not that the other things will disappear. But if we take them too far, then we go away from the national interest. Therefore, I would submit that we should cultivate those things which would help us in this respect and make us think of the national interest first and forget those ideas which make us indulge in groupism, regionalism etc.

So, the first and foremost duty is to guide our educational system and mould our educational system in such a way that we are able to function as one nation. In other respects also, such as when an attempt is to be made to remove economic disparities, or remove untouchability and so on, we should take very strong steps, and a constant endeavour should be made

so that we can find ourselves as one nation and function as such.

Shri V. C. Shukla: I am very thankful to Shri Sidheshwar Prasad for having brought forward this resolution so that we could have a chance of discussing this all-important subject in this House again. Nobody can dispute the salutary spirit behind this resolution, as we all realise that national integration is one of the most important tasks facing the nation today.

The House would recall that for the first time at the Bhavanagar session of the Indian National Congress, this question of national integration was agitated and a committee was formed then to force the means and to suggest ideas to promote national integration. Before that, the framers of our Constitution had also paid attention to that. If you go through the Constitution, you will see that they have taken ample care to see that the scheme of law in our country and the constitutional provisions in our country all aim towards one nation, thereby forging a spirit of national solidarity.

One of the glaring examples is the constitutional provision relating to abolition of untouchability from this country. The same thing is repeated also in the provision regarding official language for the whole country. The same thing is again amplified in the provision of fourteen national languages for our country. So, it is very apparent that right from the beginning the leaders of this nation have been careful and even very thoughtful about this matter of national integration.

Shri Shinkre: In the beginning only, not now.

Shri V. C. Shukla: Even now, they are.

Shri Shinkre: Question.

Shri V. C. Shukla: I shall try to point out that even now they are.

Even now, whatever national unity we see, whenever there is any threat to our integrity, is not by accident; whenever there is a threat to our country's integrity, we see our people rising as one man.

Shri Shinkre: That is because the danger is common.

Shri V. C. Shukla: Nor is it a strange phenomenon; it is something. . . .

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Deputy Minister may please address the Chair.

Shri V. C. Shukla: I am addressing the Chair.

It is not an accident that this kind of thing happens. I claim that all this happens because the administration of this country has been carried on in a national manner and it has been carried on with great care. . . .

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Question.

Shri V. C. Shukla: . . . and particularly with the care to keep the unity of this country intact. This has been the corner-stone of the national Government's policy.

Shri Ranga: Question.

Shri V. C. Shukla: If I had time, I could have given several instances to prove this.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to enumerate the various measures that have been taken by Government to inculcate the feeling of national integration and to promote this feeling in the country.

The House would recall that in June, 1961, the Chief Ministers' Conference first talked about this question. Two months later, again in the Chief Ministers' Conference, this question of national integration was considered and it was decided that later on, in October, 1961, a national integration conference would be call-

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ed for which it was decided to invite eminent educationists, social workers, scientists and various important people from other walks of life. This national integration conference met under the chairmanship of the late Prime Minister and it took some very important decisions.

Shri Ranga: Then it went into oblivion.

Shri V. C. Shukla: Actually it decided to form two sub-committees, one on communalism and the other on national integration and regionalism. These two committee met several times they examined several witnesses and came to certain important conclusions. This committee on national integration did not make any specific recommendations, because a year after that, there was the Chinese aggression on our country and there was such a demonstration of national solidarity and national cohesion that they thought that it would not be necessary at that particular time to make any recommendations to promote those very things which were so manifest at that time. But the second committee had suggested a few things. One was regarding the amendment of article 19 of the Constitution and certain other things like taking the oath of allegiance to the Constitution in the case of anyone contesting any elective office in our country. By the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, Government gave effect to these recommendations of the committee, and they have been accepted by the House and by the country in general.

Then, there were other questions that were considered by this committee. I would like to repeat them so that hon. Members may appreciate what steps have been taken or what efforts have been made by Government in this regard. Then, they gave attention to the question of language. As everybody knows, it is a very volatile question. It is also a very

delicate question, and unless it is tackled in a proper and considerate manner, it is likely that instead of promoting the integration of the country it may give rise to all kinds of disintegrating forces. The sub-committee's recommendations regarding English, Hindi and regional languages were carefully considered and were given effect to in the Official Languages Bill that was passed in 1963.

Shri Ranga: And so wrongly.

Shri V. C. Shukla: After that, whenever this question has arisen or whenever any language dispute has arisen, the formula devised by the national integration conference has come to be of very great help.

After that, several codes of conduct were devised. Some of them were put down on paper, and after that the concerned parties have accepted them. For instance, the code of conduct for political parties is there. There were several discussions about it, and I am glad that most of the political parties have accepted the code of conduct and most of them are adhering to the main rules.

Shri Ranga: What are those rules or what are those items of the code of conduct which are being implemented by the Congress Party? There is no code of conduct for the Congress Party at all and they are observing it more in the breach.

Shri V. C. Shukla: I would say that the Congress Party is the only party which has implemented all the rules in this regard.

Then, there was the formation of a code of conduct for the press. I am glad to say that our press has not only accepted it, but the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference also considered this code of conduct that was laid down by the national integration conference, and they also accepted it. I must say that by and

large during this national emergency, on both the occasions when there was aggression, the press has behaved and conducted itself in the most exemplary manner, and that has also promoted the cause of national integration.

Shri Ranga: It has become a *jo hukum* press. The press is at their feet now.

Shri V. C. Shukla: I would request you to protect me from this running commentary which has no meaning. It is a very unkind kind of parliamentary practice. The hon. Member should not interrupt me unless I yield. But I am not yielding.

Shri Ranga: My hon. friend need not yield ground; he has already gained ground.

Shri V. C. Shukla: There were some tendencies towards restricting admissions in technical institutions as well as in universities in various States. At several places, there were local demands to see that only local students got admission into those technical institutions and universities. Because of the formulae devised and efforts made by the Central Government, now good progress has been made in tackling this problem and more and more universities and technical institutions in the country have been opened up for admission on the basis of merit only and conditions like local domicile and other things which were hindering the question of admission being considered on merit, most of them, have been removed. I am sure that in future this process will gain further momentum.

As is well known, this movement of national integration is a psychological and educational process which involves development of a feeling of unity, solidarity, cohesion, common citizenship and loyalty to the nation. This can be brought about not only by our own conduct but also by

proper publicity, propaganda and education. This is being done through various media available to Government.

In the field of administration also, several measures have been taken, particularly in the formation of all-India services. Previously these services were limited to a few fields, administrative fields. But in the last few years, several new all-India services have been created, e.g. All India Forest Service, Indian Service of Engineers, Indian Medical and Health Services, Indian Agricultural Service, Indian Educational Service and several other services. Some of these have been created already, some are in the process of being formed, and some more will be constituted in the future. What I am trying to point out is that this process has started and all efforts, notwithstanding difficulties, have been made and are being made to see that more and more integrating trends are generated in this country which will lead the country towards full national integration.

I am quite aware that a lot has to be done. It is not a small problem; it is a very grave problem. A lot of work will have to be done and it will be done in a continuous manner. We have started on it and Government are alive to this problem. It is very uncharitable to say that Government are trying to tackle this question on a party basis or regional basis or on other petty considerations.

Shri Ranga: What other basis?

Shri V. C. Shukla: It could not be in the interest of any Government; it would be contrary to the interest of any government to tackle any matter in this manner, and if hon. Members who have made criticism think deeply about it, they will know that this criticism arises out of lack of information or out of insufficient information or due just to prejudice

[Shri V. C. Shukla]

I would appeal to hon. Members to keep this matter of national into integration above party considerations.

After saying all this, I would appeal to Shri Sidheswar Prasad to see and appreciate the work that has been done by Government and to withdraw the Resolution.

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नालंदा) : सभापति जी, राष्ट्र की भावात्मक एकता सम्बन्धी मेरे संकल्प पर 14 माननीय सदस्यों ने भाषण दिये और अभी सरकार की ओर से उप मंत्री श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल ने उत्तर दिया। 14 में से स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और जनसंघ के प्रवक्ताओं ने इस का विरोध किया। इस विरोध को सुन कर मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ ? ऐसी स्थिति में जो कुछ सरकार की ओर से कहा गया उसको सुनने के बाद दो तीन चीजें हैं जिन के सम्बन्ध में मैं स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ। पहली बात यह है कि क्या सरकार इस बात का अनुभव करती है कि पिछले बीस वर्षों में हमारे देश में साम्प्रदायिकता में वृद्धि हुई है, जातीयता में वृद्धि हुई है ? प्रदेशवाद की भावना में वृद्धि हुई है, संकीर्ण भाषावाद की भावना में वृद्धि हुई है ? जब ऐसी स्थिति है तो सरकार को क्या कठिनाई है कि इन्हें समाप्त करने के लिये एक तरफ तो आवश्यक कदम उठाये और दूसरी तरफ इसकी जांच करने के लिये एक आयोग नियुक्त करे ?

अगर सरकार इस संकल्प की भावना से सहमत है तो कोई कारण नहीं दिखता है कि सरकार इस संकल्प को वापस करने के लिये कहे। अभी अभी जनसंघ के सदस्य ने जिस प्रकार से विरोध किया है वसी स्थिति में बड़ी कठिनाई है। क्योंकि संकल्प में तो एक भावना व्यक्त की गई है। जब सरकार को उस से कोई असहमति नहीं है, सरकार इस काम को करना चाहती है, तो सदन के द्वारा इस प्रस्ताव के समर्थन से कांग्रेस सरकार को और भी

शक्ति मिलेगी। इस लिये मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि सरकार इस संकल्प को स्वीकार करेगी।

श्री मधु लिमये : क्या मेरा संशोधन प्राप्त नहीं स्वीकारेंगे ?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Defence Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Hathi): I was just hearing the arguments and the speech of my colleague.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): This is something abnormal.

Shri Ranga: This is much better.

Shri Hathi: I think this Resolution is really in complete consonance with the policy of Government....

Shri Ranga: Which is not being followed by Government.

Shri Hathi: Which is being followed.

Shri Ranga: No, no.

Shri Hathi: Therefore, it was not necessary again to pass a Resolution in those terms. But if the hon. Mover wants to have it put before the House, and would not withdraw it, we have no objection to accepting the Resolution.

Mr. Chairman: There are some amendments by way of substitute motions.

I shall first put substitute motion No. 1 by Shri P. R. Chakraverti to the vote of the House. The question is:

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

"This House is of opinion that with a view to creating healthy atmosphere congenial to the

growth of national integration, stringent measures be taken against all fissiparous tendencies arising out of perverse outlook based on communalism, casteism, regionalism, narrow linguism etc."

(1)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Chairman: Now I shall put substitute motion No. 2 by Shri Yashpal Singh to the vote of the House. The question is:

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

"This House is of opinion that with a view to bring about emotional and national integration in India, the States of India be reorganised and divided into five or six units, so that elements like regionalism, communalism and narrow linguism etc. could be eradicated." (2)

Mr. Chairman: What about substitute motion No. 3 by Shri Balakrishnan? Is he pressing it?

Shri Balakrishnan: Yes. I want to emphasise the need to abolish untouchability.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put this substitute motion to the vote of the House. The question is:

That for the original resolution; the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that with a view to make India nationally and emotionally integrated and to achieve the objects of democratic socialistic society, drastic steps be taken to eradicate

casteism, untouchability, regionalism and linguism." (3)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

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

This House is of opinion that with a view to make India integrated the following steps nationally and emotionally be taken:—

- (a) 60 per cent. of jobs in all sectors should be reserved for persons of backward classes including Harijans, Adivasis, low castes of Hindus, backward sections of minorities like christians, Muslims, women etc.;
- (b) Programme like inter-caste and inter-religious feasts, and festivals like Raksha-Bandhan should be encouraged on a wide scale;
- (c) Educational and cultural institutions having the religious or caste denomination should not be given Government aid directly or indirectly;
- (d) Social campaign should be launched on official and unofficial levels against sacred thread, choti, beard etc.;
- (e) Special opportunities should be afforded in Government services to those who marry in a different caste or community; and
- (f) Inter-State disputes regarding plans, borders etc.,

[Mr. Chairman]

should be decided by an
impartial tribunal on the

principles of justice and
equality.' (5)

Lok Sabha divided:

Division No. 2:]

[16.28 hrs.

AYES

Banerjee, Shri S. M.
Limaye, Shri Madhu

Mate, Shri]

Warior, Shri

NOES

Akkamma Devi, Shrimati

Alva, Shri Joachim

Aney, Dr. M. S.

Balakrishna, Shri

Bhakt Darshan, Shri

Bhanja Deo, Shri L. N.

Chaudhry, Shri Chandramani Lal

Chaudhuri, Shrimati Kamala

Chavda, Shrimati Johraben

Chuni Lal, Shri

Daljit Singh, Shri

Das, Shri B. K.

Deo Bhanj, Shri P. C.

Dubey, Shri R. G.

Harvani, Shri Ansar

Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas

Jaggiwan Ram, Shri

Kajrolkar, Shri

Kappen, Shri

Kedaria, Shri C. M.

Khadilkar, Shri

Khanna, Shri P. K.

Kindar Lal, Shri

Kripa Shankar, Shri

Lalit Sen, Shri

Laskar, Shri N. R.

Malaviya, Shri K. D.

Maniyangadan, Shri

Matcharaju, Shri

Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari

Mishra, Shri Bibhuti

Mukane, Shri

Muthiah, Shri

Pattabhi Raman, Shri C. R.

Ram Sewak, Shri

Ranga, Shri

Ranga Rao, Shri

Rao, Shri Jagenatha

Samanta, Shri S. C.

Sharma, Shri A. P.

Shashi Ranjan, Shri

Shinkre, Shri

Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan

Sidheswar Prasad, Shri

Sinha, Shrimati Ramdulari

Sinhasan Singh, Shri

Snatak, Shri Nardeo

Subbaraman, Shri

Swamy, Shri M. P.

Thengal, Shri Nallakoya

Tiwari, Shri K. N.

Tiwari, Shri R. S.

Vidyalankar, Shri A. N.

Wadiwa, Shri

Mr. Chairman: The result of the
division is: Ayes 4; Noes 53.

The motion was negated.

Mr. Chairman: There is another
substitute motion No. 6 which has
been moved by Shri Muthiah. Shall
I put it to the vote of the House?

Shri Muthiah: I withdraw my
motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the hon. Mem-
ber leave of the House to withdraw
his substitute motion?

*The substitute motion was, by leave,
withdrawn.*

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put
amendment No. 4 to the vote of the
House. The question is:

That in the resolution,—

after "communalism" insert—
"intolerance towards mino-
rities."

The motion was negated.

Mr. Chairman: Now, I put the re-
solution to the vote of the House.
The question is:

"This House is of opinion that
with a view to make India nation-
ally and emotionally integrated,
necessary steps be taken to eradi-
cate all disintegrating forces,
namely, communalism, casteism,
regionalism, narrow linguism, etc.,
from every walk of our life."

The motion was adopted.

16.31 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतिहारी): सभापति
जी, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

"इस सभा की राय है कि देश में तत्काल
समाजवाद लाने के लिए और पंच-
वर्षीय योजना के सफल निष्पादन के
लिए सरकार को अपने प्रशासनिक