

Mr. Speaker: Yes; Dr. Lohia.

14.25 hrs.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Now, I request you....

PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY
MEMBER (UNDER RULE 357)

Mr. Speaker: I thought he had finished.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: No, Sir. I request you to ensure that Ministers, the Prime Minister and all her colleagues, should not make statements in the House unless they are sure of the facts, because it creates a bad impression not only in India but also abroad—look at the repercussions that it might have had on the other Commonwealth countries and the British Government also. I had said that day that we have got two heads: one, the constitutional head, the President, and the other, the symbolic head of the Commonwealth, the Queen. He is apparently not aware of India having two heads.

I would, therefore, appeal to the Ministers particularly not to betray their ignorance here in the House too often.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद):
नहीं मैं इस संबंध में एक अर्ज करूँ, जो गलती बतायी है मधु लिमये ने, हेड आफ दि यू० के० गवर्नमेंट की, वह भी सफाई करवा दें। वहाँ की रानी हेड आफ दि गवर्नमेंट नहीं है। विल्सन हेड आफ दि गवर्नमेंट हैं। अगर स्वर्ण सिंह साहब इसकी सफाई दे दें तो अच्छा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: वह कहते हैं कि हेड आफ दि यू० के० गवर्नमेंट भी वह नहीं हैं।

Shri Swaran Singh: Sir, as you know, and as the House also is aware, there is no written constitution for the British Government, but by convention, the Queen is the head of the State. It is true that according to parliamentary system, a convention has for a very long time been built that the Prime Minister is the head of the Government.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद):
मानव-जाति के इतिहास की बहस में मुझ को उत्तर देने का मौका न मिला, इसलिए (एक) अकृतज्ञता हो गयी, और (दो) देशी-परदेशी के मामले में बड़ी गलतफहमी हो गयी जो दूर की जा सकती थी। अब मैं निजी सफाई देना चाहूँगा।

मैं श्री विनायक पुरोहित का आभारी हूँ जो यूनेस्को की उस पुस्तक की भूलों की आलोचना अपनी पुस्तक "भारतीय कला" में कर रहे हैं, और जिन्होंने पुस्तक के प्रकाशन के पहिले ही मुझे अपनी सामग्री दिखाई।

सवाल देशी और परदेशी इतिहासकारों का नहीं है, बल्कि दृष्टि का है। रूसी इतिहासकारों, प्रोफेसर दिया क्नोफ और प्रोफेसर इलियन ने ग्रन्थ की दो बड़ी भूलों पर टिप्पणियाँ दी हैं, हरप्पा में परदेशी राज और पाटलीपुत्र वास्तुकला में विदेशी प्रेरणा। डा० मजूमदार ने ऋग्वेद संबंधी भूल पर अपनी टिप्पणी जरूर दी है, लेकिन वह सिर्फ एक राय है, जबकि अब कौसाम्बी खदाई से प्रमाण मिल चुका है। कौसाम्बी हरगिज सिन्धु घाटी सभ्यता का अंग नहीं माना जा सकता और यह वेदिक सभ्यता का अंग होते हुए साढ़े तीन हजार वर्ष पहले तक जाता है। मैं ने इस संबंध में डा० गोवर्द्धन राय शर्मा की टिप्पणी को सदन पटल पर रखने की इजाजत मांगी थी। वह आपके पास पहुँच चुका है।

भारतीय इतिहास शास्त्र रोग-ग्रस्त है। प्राचीन संस्कृति इस को काव्य का रूप दे देती है। फरिस्ता से लेकर विसेंट स्मिथ

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

तक इतिहास के परदेशी क्रीडा छोकरे भारत पर प्रायः हर विजय को अनिवार्य और लाभकारी समझते हैं। सबके सब देशी इतिहासकार, जिनकी शास्त्र चर्चा में गणना है, सब के सब परगाछी हैं जो इन परदेशियों की लीक पर चलते हैं। मुझे एक भी देशी शास्त्रीय इतिहासकार का पता नहीं जो इस लोक से बाहर निकल पाया हो।

सवाल केवल यूनेस्को की पुस्तक का नहीं है। भारत सरकार द्वारा प्रकाशित 1857 उससे भी ज्यादा दूषित असत्य और अशास्त्रीय है। भारत के शास्त्रीय इतिहासकारों की दृष्टि वही है जो यूनेस्को वालों की, चाहे इधर या उधर की तफसील में मतभेद हों।

अब जरूरत ऐसे इतिहासकारों की है कि जो लीक छोड़ कर चल।

The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla): I would not have intervened in this matter but for the last paragraph in Dr. Lohia's statement, and which has nothing to do with the subject-matter of the half-hour discussion. It was a book published by the International Commission, set up by the UNESCO. Dr. Lohia has cast a serious reflection upon the author of 1857 *India*, who was a very distinguished man. He is no longer with us. I cannot allow this to pass unchallenged. I have got the book, 1857 *India*. Dr. Lohia has said that it is untrue and unclassical. Dr. Sen is the author of this book; he was the head of our archives. He became the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University; he was given an honorary doctorate by Oxford in token of his services to history. Dr. Lohia is saying that the book is distorted, untrue and unclassical.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): He had made many mistakes.

Shri M. C. Chagla: A historian must have both intellectual freedom and

intellectual integrity. I do not believe, and I am sure that the majority of the hon. Members of this House do not believe, that a historian should write history according to a particular way, that we must regiment our historians and ask the historians to write history in a particular way.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): What is wrong in expressing a differing view?

Shri M. C. Chagla: What I object to is the words....

Shri Nath Pai: Historians should not be regimented, but are the readers to be regimented? I have read that book; with great respect to Dr. Sen I must say that I have found that it is wrong; Dr. Sen has not caught the spirit of the War of Independence of 1857. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: No discussion. I have asked the hon. Member to make his personal explanation and the Minister is replying.

Shri M. C. Chagla: This book was published by the Government of India. It is true.

Shri Ranga: He wrote under the orders of Government.

Shri M. C. Chagla: I will read one paragraph from the Foreword written by Maulana Azad, then Minister of Education.

Shri Ranga: At that time we took exception to that book.

Shri M. C. Chagla: I would request Shri Ranga to allow me to proceed.

Shri Ranga: He has become the Education Minister now. But long before this, Sir, when you were the Deputy Speaker, this book was discussed and so many comments were made by different speakers in this House.

Mr. Speaker: On the Half-an-hour discussion that took place, Dr. Lohia wanted some personal explanation. Now The Minister wants to say a few words on that.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मुझ को उस दिन बोलने दिया जाता तो आज यह इस तरह से बोल नहीं पाते। उस दिन कायदे के खिलाफ मुझ को नहीं बोलने दिया गया था।

Shri M. C. Chagla: This is what he has said:

"The present book is the result of the work that Dr. Sen has undertaken at the commission of the Government of India."

Shri Ranga: That was the gravamen of our charge.

Shri M. C. Chagla: Then he says:

"The only directive I issued was that he should write a book from the standpoint of a true historian."

I emphasise that.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : जरा शेखी कम कर के और ठंडे होकर चागला साहब बोलो।

Shri M. C. Chagla: Then he says:

"Beyond this general instruction there was no attempt to interfere with his work or influence his conclusions. The responsibility for the selection and interpretation of events is, therefore, exclusively his. The Government of India are not in any way committed by any expression of his opinion."

I have got a book here which Dr. Lohia may read in his leisure time. It is called 1857 India. Here I have got a collection of opinions of different historians who have taken differ-

ent views about 1857. There is Savarkar who has taken....

Shri Nath Pai: Why don't you re-publish Savarkar's book. It was re-published by Bhagat Singh and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Shri M. C. Chagla: That is not the question.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया। वह इति-
हासकार बिल्कुल गलत है . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वह सही हो या और कोई सही हो बाकी जो आपने कहा और जो अभी मंत्री जी कह रहे हैं दोनों ही चीज रिकार्ड में आ जायेंगी। उनको खत्म करने दीजिए। इस वक्त कोई कन्ट्रोवर्सी नहीं उठाई जा सकती है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं नहीं उठा रहा बल्कि वह उठा रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप ने एक स्टेटमेंट दिया है तो उन्हें भी तो मौका देना चाहिए।

Shri M. C. Chagla: Last but not the least, Shri Mazumdar, one of the most distinguished historians of our country, who is still alive—Dr. Lohia has quoted him in his support—has taken that view. I have also got here a quotation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*, where he takes the same view as Dr. Sen.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): That is not the last word. (Interruptions).

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): Sir, it has become difficult for us to follow the proceedings because of these continuous interruptions from the other side.

Mr. Speaker: Has the hon. Minister of Education concluded?

Shri M. C. Chagla: Yes, Sir.