

ly engaged in the production of the film.

As I have already said, with the first prize, the President's gold medal awarded to the producer, a cash prize of Rs. 20,000 is awarded to the Producer and a cash prize of Rs. 5,000 is awarded to the Director. The second prize is awarded with Rs. 10,000 to the Producer and Rs. 2,500 to the Director. Then, for the third prize a certificate of merit is given. Shri Tangamani has raised the point as to why a cash award is also not included with the certificate of merit. I hope that in the next awards this question will be fully considered. Three prizes of the same category are also given for the production of children's films.

15 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri said that on cash prizes were given to the producers of the children's films. My information is that the same prizes as are awarded to the feature films Rs. 20,000 and so on are also awarded for the children's films.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

The Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel (Sardar Swaran Singh): I-guillotine to be applied?

Mr. Speaker: I think some hon. Members want to take part in this debate.

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. K. Bhagat): I will take only one or two minutes. All the points have been covered by the other speakers and I will finish in a minute or two.

Sardar Swaran Singh: We can finish in two or three minutes, if you can give time now; there is not much to be said. But we are in your hands.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Speaker: They would like to finish this and they say they are not going to take long. He has concluded.

Shri A. M. Tariq: He has not concluded, Sir. We are anxiously waiting for the speech of Shri Joshi.

Shri Tangamani: He has a few more points to cover.

Mr. Speaker: I will call him tomorrow. Let the hon. Ministers answer everyone of those points that have been raised... (Interruptions). Shri Mathur.

15-03 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE: STATEMENT  
 MADE BY PRIME MINISTER RE-  
 GARDING PUNJABI SUBA;

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pa'l): Mr. Speaker, Sir. I beg to move the motion standing in my name and that of other twelve hon. Members of this House regarding the statement made by the Prime Minister in Lok Sabha on the 28th August, 1961 regarding Punjabi Suba and fasts undertaken by Master Tara Singh, Swami Rameshwaranand and Yogiraj Suryadev.

Mr. Speaker: Before he proceeds further, I would appeal to all hon. Members here who decide to take part in this debate to take account of the seriousness of the situation. While their arguments may be very convincing and forceful, as far as possible the language should be moderate. No heat need be caused and no excitement or emotion or sensitiveness, exhibited. I am not accusing any hon. Member. I know all of them are peaceful but sometimes on account of the subject they are likely to forget these things. Therefore, I am trying

[Mr. Speaker]

to say, by way of caution, that all arguments, whatever are necessary to convince one side or the other, may be laid. The country is also watching us. So, in the matter of expression, let the language be as moderate as possible.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Mr. Speaker, you have given a very correct advice in this matter. When passions run high and regional and sectional interests are there to blur our visions and certain electoral considerations weigh heavy on us, we are likely to lose sight of reason and realities and our visions are likely to be blurred very much. We are speaking on a subject which is of very grave concern to all of us and it is only correct and proper that this House should have taken note of this statement.

Mr. Speaker, uninfluenced by this agitation and even by the statement laid on the Table of the House by the hon. Prime Minister I wish to submit that I hold very strong views in this matter. When, for the first time, the question of the reorganisation of the States was discussed, when I was not even a Member of the Congress, in the Rajya Sabha, in 1955, I stated very clearly:

"I am fully aware of the very strong opinion in favour of the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis and this opinion, coming as it does from persons whose patriotism is above suspicion, I respect, but I have also not the least hesitation in saying that I do not share that view. The phantom of linguism and the clan consciousness which it has aroused and which it proposes to keep alive are to my mind a great danger to the unity of India. The unity of the country demands that while giving a proper place to different languages in this country.

of States on that basis and ignore the need for a free flow of population in this development era."

I hold fast to those views. In this particular matter, I have not yet been able to see whether it is only the linguistic State which is demanded or it is something else. Again I submit that I have the greatest respect for those people who have different view on this matter but it is absolutely necessary in the best interests of the country that we have an objective analysis of the entire situation. When an agitation is on, passions run high and all sorts of statements are made. It would be refreshing to see what was said by the States Reorganisatic Commission itself and see whether those factual premises are still there or whether there has been any need for a change and whether the conclusions drawn by the S.R.C. hold good today or whether through passage of time and the events that have taken place there are reasons for us to change our views and our opinion. The people had gone into this matter very thoroughly, had collected all the necessary factual information and had come to certain conclusions. The distinguished citizens of this country uninfluenced by any class or political considerations, gave a particular opinion. Let us examine those and then see whether certain situations have developed which compel us to come to different conclusions. I would like to draw the attention of the House to only two or three paragraphs of that report. On page 144, they say

"A peculiar feature of the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State has also been that, while other demands for separation from existing composite States have had the backing of an overwhelming majority of the people of the language group seeking such separation, the demand for a Punjabi speaking State is strongly opposed by large sections of people speak

constituted into a Punjabi-speaking State."

Here is a distinct feature. We are told that we discriminate against Sikhs, against Punjabi; we are not following the same formula about linguistic States which we follow elsewhere. Here are certain very special features to which the S.R.C. wanted to draw our particular attention. Here is something which is very different, and which will compel anybody to take a particular decision in respect of the Punjabi Suba. So, it has got its own peculiar problems. They further say as follows:

"The problem, therefore, is *sui generis*. It has to be examined against its own peculiar background."

They go on to say as follows:

"... This is so because the Punjabi and Hindi languages as spoken in the Punjab are akin to each other and are both well-understood by all sections of the people of the State. Nobody has seriously argued before us that the present set-up presents any difficulty so far as the communicational needs of the people are concerned."

The report further says:

"The Akali Dal memorandum itself states that the Punjabi-speaking people carry their culture and language with them. Quite clearly, with this widespread dispersion of the Punjabi language in recent years the intermingling of Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking people, it would be impossible to create a compact unilingual State."

Let us clearly understand this. If it was another ground, if they want the State on some other ground, that would be a different matter. But if the State is wanted only on the basis of language, as is the present position,

and if it is not a homeland for the Sikhs, a separate State for the Sikhs, and if it is only on the basis of language, then, the Commission has made a pertinent observation in this regard. It says:

"The creation of a Punjabi-speaking State would offer no solution to the language problem, the present arrangements for the recognition of both Punjabi and Hindi could not be done away with, and the controversies would not in all probability come to an end, and while no major problem would be solved, both the languages might suffer."

That is, they would not gain anything.

The report further says, as follows:

"The case for a Punjabi-speaking State falls firstly, because it lacks the general support of the people inhabiting the area, and secondly, because it will not eliminate any of the causes of friction from which the demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking State emanates. The proposed State will solve neither the language problem nor the communal problem and, far from removing internal tension, which exists between communal and not linguistic and regional groups, it might further exacerbate the existing feelings."

So, these distinguished persons, absolutely disinterested in all respects, have given a clear and objective analysis.

**Shri Surendramath Dwivedy (Kandrapara):** As if all recommendations of S.R.C. have been followed!

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathar:** We have to see whether the recommendation is reasonable or not. Let me tell my hon. friend that if I were to deal with the entire gamut of the question, I will be able to convince him that all reasonable recommendations have been followed almost to the core. But

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

let us not stray away. Let us confine ourselves to the issue before us and let us at least try to be reasonable in this matter. Let us have an objective study of the whole situation. I want to know whether my hon. friend has any arguments against the points which I quoted, whether he disputes the factual summing up of the situation. I am not quoting any further, and I do not consider it is necessary to go into details. The Commission has gone into the details of what you consider to be a Punjabi-speaking State or area, and it has given the factual information regarding the student population also, which opted for Hindi examinations. About 70 per cent. of the students in those areas which you now want should be earmarked as a Punjabi-speaking area, want the examinations to be conducted in Hindi. They are the student population who had nothing to do with our politics, who had no eyes on the elections. They have opted for, and have asked for the examinations should be conducted in Hindi. I am not here propagating the cause of Hindi or the cause of Punjabi or any other language. I only say that all these facts, and the factual position as stated earlier, should be taken into consideration.

Sir, I would like now to draw the attention of my hon. friends sitting over there to the utterances which have been made by those very leaders who are today asking for the Punjabi Suba. What do they say? Sant Fateh Singh, speaking only in March last, somewhere near Karnal, while explaining his demand for the Punjabi Suba, stated something which demands the attention of the House. Let us see what conclusions we can draw from that. He said, in regard to the Punjabi Suba, that there was no alternative but to grant Punjabi Suba, and why? Because it was to save the honour and protect the interests of the Sikh community; not the language. He explained why he wanted Punjabi Suba. It is because that it was required to save the honour. I do not

know what honour he means. I do not know whether he feels greatly honoured by being a citizen of India or by getting himself shrunk to a particular area and to protect the interests of the Sikhs! I cannot understand it. He possibly does not realise that he means to identify this demand with the demand for a Sikh State. When he says like this, you cannot come to any other conclusion.

Even Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, for whom these leaders have very great respect, says that "you must please remove this stigma of communalism from Punjabi Suba issue and try to woo the Hindus in favour of it".

Even Sant Fateh Singh said the other day that "I care much more for the goodwill of the population, for the better relationship of the Hindus and the Sikhs than for the Punjabi Suba". But are we going to do that? I want to know whether these fasts are directed towards that end. I want to know whether these things are not creating bad blood, creating communal feelings, or creating goodwill. That is the question. It is not only the testimony of these three distinguished persons who had written this Reorganisation Report and who had nothing to do with politics, but persons who take an objective view of these things have themselves time and again repeated these things, namely, against a separate area for the Punjabi-speaking people.

I do not say that this demand is only on the communal ground. The resistance also is made on the communal ground. Both cancel each other out. One does not justify the other. If there is a real, blatant Sikh communal feeling, then, from both the sides, there is resistance. There is resistance from the Hindu side also. Both are communal. I have no hesitation in saying that. But one does not justify the other. Each cancels the other, and we come to the conclusion that we could not adopt in this case any course but the course that has been adopted by us so far in this matter.

Let us see what these fasts are going to lead to. I would appeal to every Member of this House who takes part in this discussion and others on this occasion to appeal to the great friends of ours, our respected leaders for whom we have respect, to see that they give up their fasts. We want to save their lives. We want them to give up their fasts. But, when we ask that Master Tara Singh should give up his fast, does it mean that Swami Rameshwaranand should continue his fast? All of them should give up their fast. It is not a democratic way of dealing with the situation. It is obvious and clear.

What are the grievances which they bring, in respect of the working of the regional formula? The Prime Minister was more than generous and good enough to say that the Government will enquire into the working of the regional formula if they think that it is not working satisfactorily. If they bring in any grievance that the regional formula is not working well, we are prepared to probe into the matter. The other thing was about discrimination of the Sikhs. What is the discrimination? Let us have something specific. Instead of making a general complaint, let them give a specific thing. In spite of our requesting them and in spite of inviting them to give us instances of specific grievance or discrimination, specific grievances are not handed over. If the grievances are pointed out, and handed over, they will be enquired into. And then nothing remains. I do not think that that is the way in which we can proceed in this country.

Another unfortunate thing is this. I am a deeply religious man myself (*laughter*). I do not know why there should be laughter; that is because obviously we have got strange conceptions of a secular State. But I do not see how religious places should be made the storm-centres of all political activities and agitation,—whether it is a temple, mosque or gurdwara. I think this is something which is seriously objectionable. It is not the

Government which can give sanctity to these places. It is those people who are in charge of these places, who manage these places, that can give sanctity to them. I was, as a matter of fact, really surprised when Shri Tyagi raised this question, today that the writ of this Government would not run into these temples, mosques and gurdwaras. I think it is a most understandable situation. These are not foreign territories; the writ of the Government will definitely run all over the country. It is our duty to see that these gurdwaras, mosques and temples are utilised for no other purpose than religious purposes, for emanating love and affection and for bringing the people together, rather than making them the storm-centres of agitations, to sit there and spread agitation from there or to harbour the criminals there. That is absolutely fantastic.

Another thing which has come to my notice during these discussions is about the Government's distrust of the Sikhs. I cannot conceive of anything more fantastic than this. The Sikhs are as good patriots as anybody else. As a matter of fact, we have always held the Sikhs in very high esteem and the Sikhs are in a position of pride in the army. We would not have in the army people in whom we have any distrust. Certainly I cannot understand what is the origin or the basis for such a vicious thought, which is being spread. I do not know whether it is only for the sake of propaganda or for what purpose it is meant.

We have the greatest respect for all these leaders. We are very gravely concerned about them. But I think we are more concerned about the toiling masses of Punjab. Are the general masses interested in these problems, or are these problems the creation of us, most of us? The toiling masses, who are interested only in the developmental activities are not very much concerned about the bifurcation. See what happened in Rajasthan. In the first Plan, we could do absolutely nothing, simply because we could not come together; we could not take the

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

impact of the reorganisation. The Planning Commission has been explaining to the country how the developmental works could not proceed satisfactorily because of the reorganisation, the problem regarding the services and all that. So, I cannot simply understand how Punjab or anybody is going to gain by this.

My firm conviction is, if the advice of Shri Jaiprakash Narain is heeded, if goodwill is created, if this feeling of communalism is permitted to subside and if the agitation is stopped, I am sure there would be absolutely no difficulty about Punjab. They will discover that with this change, they have already got the Punjabi Suba. There would be no trouble.

Lastly, I would like to submit that this Government should be absolutely fair and firm. Firmness is all right, but it is also very necessary that we are very fair. But once we are convinced that it is a very fair attitude that we have taken, then the Government must be very firm.

I submit that the statement of the Prime Minister is acceptable, well-reasoned, faces all the realities, accommodates most of the viewpoints and yet is couched in most conciliatory terms. I hope full advantage will be taken of the attitude of the Government and the Prime Minister and this House will speak in a tone that will persuade these fasting leaders to give up their fasts and try to create a better climate and goodwill among all people residing in that State, about which we are all proud. After partition, it was one of the deficit States, but its toiling people have turned it into a surplus State. Today the per capita income of Punjab is the highest and they are the people who have been working hard.

How has this linguism stopped their development? It has not stopped their development. The development has been going fast. Let us not do anything which will jeopardise or which

will affect this development. We pay a tribute to the toiling masses of Punjab and we hope that a new climate will be created, so that all these agitational feelings may subside.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta-Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we meet today in the context of certain events that have a potentiality of political danger and are also emotionally surcharged, events which are serious in themselves and which, if not properly tackled, might produce consequences which are terrible to contemplate. That being so, I had expected, though it was hoping against hope that my friend, Shri Mathur, would speak in a temper which would contribute to easing the tension, which exists today not only in the Punjab, but also in contiguous territories.

The Prime Minister, is leaving tomorrow, but he has not, I am sorry to note, ostensibly relaxed the rigidity of the stand which he has taken up on the question of Punjabi Suba and Master Tara Singh's fast. It might sound trite, but the statesmanship, the generosity and understanding which it connotes continue to be potent and I do say that it is being given the go-by. I notice from the correspondence which the Prime Minister laid on the Table of the House how he has described Master Tara Singh as a person who makes highly irresponsible statements. But what is more important to the country, whatever Master Tara Singh might or might not do, is that the Prime Minister shows a greater sense of responsibility in regard to what is going to happen to our country.

What everybody wants in this country is that normalcy and harmony return to the life of the Punjab. But what we see from day to day, as Master Tara Singh's fast continues—he is a very old man and one never knows what might happen; even as we speak, there is perhaps an element of danger—is that these tensions, far from being resolved, are being aggra-

vated. We find tensions and uncertainties are being aggravated. The situation remains grave and yet, we do not see Government displaying a real anxiety and political prudence and that is why I am very sorry that the Prime Minister's statement laid on the Table of the House yesterday is so unsatisfying.

The Prime Minister dismisses the demand for Punjabi Suba. I have noticed also a tendency in many quarters even to refer to the words Punjabi Suba in a slighting manner. I do not understand it. Suba is just as good a word as Pradesh. We have Andhra Pradesh and if the Punjabis call for a Punjabi Suba, it is a very good way of expressing their claim. But in any case, that is not a matter about which we are quarrelling.

With regard to the formation of a linguistic State for the Punjabi-speaking people, as far as we are concerned, our stand has been communicated urgently and personally to the Prime Minister; and that is that we support in principle the formation of a linguistic State where Punjabi is the principal language. In principle we support the formation of the State and we desire that the Government makes an announcement to that effect. I say so because, I may tell my hon. friend, Shri Mathur, the people of Punjab are keenly interested in regard to this matter. If most of them happen to be Sikhs, it is not any crime on their part. I do not know; it might be found on a proper delineation of the Punjabi-speaking areas that the Sikhs perhaps will not be in a majority. But majority or minority—if the Sikhs do happen to be in a majority, that is no crime. That is not an offence on their part. And, you meet Sikhs wherever you go, in India, in Delhi or anywhere-else, you talk to Sikhs of any persuasion, political or any other, and you will find how deep down in their heart the Sikhs today have accepted the idea of Punjabi Suba as something which they ought to have, and I do desire the Prime Minister to make an effort to get into the skin of the other

fellow. That is why he has been our national leader, not particularly because of some intellectual attainments but of a capacity which surely we have discerned, of his being able to find out what the other man feels.

What about the Punjabi-speaking people? Perhaps some Punjabi-speaking Hindus are opposing Punjabi Suba. I would not like to say any word which you have advised us to avoid—because I was going to say it is vulgar—but it is undesirable. When the Punjabi-speaking Hindus repudiate their own language there must be some peculiar communal motivation behind their repudiation—of many Punjabi-speaking Hindus—of their own mother language. But that has happened. So what are we going to take as a criterion of the wishes of the Punjabi people? Are we going to take only the opinion of those people who can go even so far as to repudiate their own mother language, or are we going to take the opinion of those who really and truly are Punjabi-speaking people? And, if the Punjabi-speaking people are asking for something, we have got to understand that and it is no good taking up a bureaucratic view of the matter.

I notice that in contrast with the parts before independence, because the Congress has formed the Government of the day, an executive view of the matter is being taken about everything, an administrative slant is given to every thing. Here is a demand. Is it going to disturb law and order of a particular area and the Home Ministry will be up in arms against it? But it is necessary not to pursue in this matter, not to have a purely executive and administrative view of the matter when the sentiments, the deep emotions of the people are involved. And, that is why I say, that if the Punjab was such a very happy family today, if the toiling masses of the Punjab, as my hon. friend Shri Mathur described them, are so very happy about the shape of things there, then surely the movement of Punjabi Suba would not have

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

taken on the huge shape as it has done today.

I do not like many of the aspects of their movement as it is being conducted today, but it is neither here nor there. The basic demand of a Punjabi-speaking State is a demand which is underlined with our tradition, and that is why it is our duty, it is our responsibility, it is a matter of principle for us to accept the idea of a Punjabi Suba. I say, therefore, accept the principle because it is just and proper.

I say also, at the same time, that the implementation of that principle will have to wait, and I say that because I know that for a variety of reasons which are very undesirable the Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus by and large perhaps do not agree in the manner in which they should. That is why it is necessary to have some time after announcement of the acceptance of the principle to say that the implementation of the principle will naturally take some time. The Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus have got to remain together. The artificial animosities which have been whipped up by certain communal organisations have got to be resolved. The Hindi-speaking areas will have to have somewhere special provisions and they will have to have the necessary safeguards. Naturally, this process will take some time. But the principle should be immediately recognised, because without that you cannot win the heart of Punjab and unless you win the heart of Punjab, all this talk of national integration which is going on everywhere—wherever I go I am hearing this talk—will produce a mouse, all this talk will be found to be so much moonshine and not sunshine.

I know the Akalis who are so very much in the picture have been communal. We ourselves, the Communist Party, have had to fight the Akalis so many times. We are against the idea of the mixing up of religion with politics. Like my hon. friend Shri

Mathur we have openly come out against the misuse of Gurdwaras and whenever and wherever communal passions have been roused we have tried to fight it with all the resources at our command in order to restore the normalcy and harmony in the life of our people. So, as far as the Akalis are concerned perhaps we can produce a bill of charges against them. Who does not know that the Akalis have often behaved in a very communal manner? But is it necessary, is it statesmanship in the year 1961 to rake up those things about Master Tara Singh and other Akalis? Are there only Akali communalists? Is not Hindu communalism also very much in the picture? That is why I say, let us take a principal stand and then ultimately you will rectify these things.

The Prime Minister in his statement has argued the matter, and he speaks as if the linguistic States principle was not a national decision to be implemented, the idea being that the linguistic States idea was possibly arrived at in the pre-independence days for some opportunistic purpose. I do not think so. The idea of having linguistic States in this country was a national decision whose rationality has not gone by the wall; it continues still to be a rational and rightful thing. And it is a pity—I am sorry to have to say that—even from recent experience he seems to learn nothing and to forget nothing. In 1952 he resisted the idea of an Andhra State. He said on those days that it was not a viable State. He said that a separate Andhra State would hurt India's unity. But he was proved to be wrong. Andhra Pradesh was set up and it is functioning since then. Of course, Sriramalu had to die, a great many other people had to suffer and a very high cost had to be paid for the achievement of Andhra Pradesh.

Then again, only a few years ago, when we were Members of Parliament, in 1956 he was fighting to the last ditch and he was being supported

by large numbers of Members of Parliament belonging to different parties in the House, against the bifurcation of Bombay. All Members of Parliament who stood by him—they always do that—signed memoranda arguing how Bombay should not be split up at any cost. But the people of Maharashtra and the people of Gujerat—whatever the Members of Parliament in 1956 might have thought—thought differently and they had their way. But a very heavy price in struggle had to be given, a price in lives lost and sufferings undergone, and it was Government which was responsible for this because of its obstinate resistance which ultimately proved to be not only futile but foolish. Anyhow, Maharashtra and Gujerat are there today happily working and, paradoxically, Congress claims credit for the formation of those States—Maharashtra and Gujerat.

Now, following upon our experience in 1952 and 1956, in 1960-61 we have had this demand for a Punjabi Suba. Again the idea is being revived in the old manner. By all means, as I said before, let us point out the wrong way in which the Akalis pose it and fight for it. But is it because a rightful principle is being posed wrongly by a wrong set of people we should not accept it? Since that appeals to the emotions of our people and if, not only that, it really and truly makes for effective administration, administration in conformity with the interests of the common people whose language has got to have a certain position as far as the Government is concerned? Now, just because the Akalis are a kind of people whom we wish to malign, perhaps for good reasons, we try to adopt this attitude. That is why, because of this executive approach to this matter those who are in charge of the administration are trying to repress all trouble. That is why the Punjab State Government is trying only to adopt this kind of attitude which is completely wrong. I cannot go into any detail about what the State Government is doing, but the

administration as a whole is entirely dependent on the governmental machinery of repression. They can control the situation for a time, but they cannot for all time heal the wound in the Punjabi heart. But if something happens, if something tragic happens—I do not know, the Prime Minister will have gone tomorrow, and if something very bad happens, and it might very well happen the wound in the Punjabi heart will take a very long time to heal, and that would be something damage which you do to the integrity of our country. That is why I say, please do not take recourse to bureaucratic and administrative and repressive methods in order to put down a demand which appears from all the available facts to have captured the imagination of the people not merely in a sentimental fashion but also from the point of view that linguistic States are the principal medium for linking the administration with the lives of the people. And Punjab is the only area in the country which has been deprived of the application of that linguistic principle. The Punjabis have a sense of discrimination, only because of that, not because of the fatuous charge which, we think, is completely fantastic that Sikhs are not getting sufficient jobs. Sikhs, of course, are getting very good jobs, and why not? They are a very good set of people and they are getting jobs also. It is not discrimination of Sikhs in regard to employment, but it is discrimination against the Punjabi language. It is discrimination against the Punjabi-speaking people, it is discrimination against those people who are out of the Punjab.....

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Will he point out where that discrimination against the Punjabi language is? Give us some instances (Interruptions.)

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: This is a major language scheduled in the Constitution, a language spoken by the

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

majority of the people in a certain area which is contiguous, and this is a language which is not being given its rightful position.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** What does he mean by that?

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I know the Prime Minister has said "We do not have unilingual States only". I shall come to that point. He said "We do not have unilingual States only". Of course, we do not have unilingual States alone; but our States are delimited on the basis of a language being the language spoken by the majority of the people there in that area. You make the amplest provision for linguistic minorities, and it is terribly important, as events in Assam and other places have shown, but do not quibble words like "unilingual", "linguism" and that sort of thing. Do not merely say that we do not want unilingual States. Who wants unilingual States? And where in the world do you find a completely unilingual State? Does not France contain people near the frontier who speak something like Spanish, a sort of patois and more or less a mixture of German and French? You cannot find that anywhere. In our own country, in every State naturally, there will be people speaking other Indian languages, and no particular province will be a completely unilingual State. Punjab would not be a unilingual State because Punjab have got a very large Hindi-speaking minority. You must so demarcate the area that the Hindi-speaking minority would be lesser, they might perhaps go to other areas, or there may be special safeguards for their own language and they might remain inside Punjab, but the point is... (*Interruptions.*) If Punjabi is not a majority language, that is a different matter, but Punjabi is the majority language, and, surely, Punjabi is being kept out of the arena, as far as the rightful application of the principle is concerned.

I have seen also in the statement the Prime Minister asking Master Tara

Singh to give up his fast. We all ask Master Tara Singh to give up his fast, because fasting perhaps leads nowhere. But the Prime Minister goes on to argue that it is a wrong and anti-democratic method of doing things. I wish to remind the Prime Minister of the saying that father ate sour grapes and the teeth of the children were sitting on the edge. The Congress ate a lot of sour grapes and the teeth of the children of the Congress have been sitting on edge. You started this business of fasts. You cannot say "heads I win; tails you lose". You have made fasts a method of political campaigning and instrument of popular mobilisation. I do not like it myself and you may not like it in your personal capacity, but you have, in your political career, over and over again utilised the method of fasts in order to mobilise the people. Until you change this context of things do not blame your political opponents for taking recourse to a method which you yourself were pleased in adopting before. But I say this, we want Master Tara Singh to give up his fast, because merely fasting is no good. Besides, the principle has to be established and propagated fairly and truly, and that would be achieved if Master Tara Singh gives up his fast. But I think it is up to the Government, at the same time, to make a generous and statesmanlike gesture, and that is to say that the linguistic principle, being something which the whole country has adopted, should also be applied in the case of Punjab.

In regard to the regional formula, the Prime Minister has stated certain things at page 8671 of the Uncorrected Debates where he said that he was fully prepared to have the matter of the regional formula examined by the representatives of the region and the Punjab Government. It is a good thing, but it is very unhappy that wisdom dawned on the Prime Minister so late. If only he had said this thing some time ago, some two or three years ago, the whole face of the Punjab might have been changed, but he did not do so, and the wisdom came too late, and

that too in small instalments so grudgingly, so gradually, that he seems to be losing his grip, and that is why it is necessary that something is done about it.

Punjabi-speaking people and the Punjabi language are not supplicants at anybody's door. The Prime Minister says "We shall do these things for the language; whatever your claims, some of them have been conceded; we shall give some more things". They are not asking for favours, they are not asking for a little more of encouragement and that sort of thing. They want what the rest of the country has got, as a matter of right, and they alone cannot be singled out for this kind of discrimination, and that is why I repeat that you have to accept the principle of linguistic States in regard to Punjab and you have to work out the details very carefully and without any hurry.

We have to make sure of Sikh and Hindu harmony and co-operation and, for that purpose, the Sikhs also, after they have been properly approached, would have to make the right kind of response and, I am sure, they will, if properly approached, generously approached, the Sikhs would make the right kind of response. The Sikhs and Hindus are both Punjabis and they have to live together in their own country by creating a strong Punjab which will be not only the soul of India, as in the past, but very much more, an agency of reconstruction, economical, industrial, technical, cultural and in so many other ways, and that is why in our own emerald country, this wonderful country where there is so much of distinctiveness, we want that distinctiveness should flourish and separation should never come into the picture. Let that distinct quality of the union of this country be recognized, and then they will come together and integrated, properly and truly, in a kind of real unity of the whole of India. That was the kind of vision which was brought out in our national anthem—

पंजाब सिन्धु गुजरात मराठा द्राविड़  
 उत्कल बंग विन्ध्य हिमाचल यमुना गंगा.....

The whole concept of the unity of India is emblazoned in our national anthem. That can only be achieved when you have understood the desire of the Punjabi people and acted generously like a statesman and not with a footling little mind of a bureaucrat ruling the administration. Approach the Punjabi heart in that spirit and you will win the Punjabi heart and that will really make a contribution to the national integration.

Shri P. S. Daulta (Jhajjar): Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Prime Minister that at least for once in the administration of the country he was not inelastic and he was not rigid. I have seen in India labour leaders striking, or going on hunger strikes. For instance, Shri Gopalan was on fast in Kerala. But the Prime Minister did not write to him, even though certainly his contribution in public life to India is not lesser than that of anybody who has undertaken any fast. Let me make it clear that my leader started negotiations and it was he who wrote the first letter: breaking all rigidity of the governmental tradition, he wrote "please do not go on fast" and he started the negotiations in such a way that some people had grouse that this way the administration cannot work. He did it because he was not rigid and he was not inelastic and he simply wanted to save the life of Master Tara Singh. So, there is no doubt about it: that so far as the Government is concerned, the ruling party is concerned, we are very much concerned to save the life of Master Tara Singh. I must say that it is very clear from the way in which the negotiations have been conducted. My Prime Minister, who is the leader of the party which is ruling in all the States, who is the leader of the party which has absolute majority here, a leader of a party in which nobody can aspire to be his rival, a man who is so popular and who has so much strength, he goes

[Shri P. S. Daulta]

right at 2 A.M. to meet a person to solve this problem. This is a compliment to him. I know my hon. friend, Shri H. N. Mukerjee, knows what he thinks of communal approaches, what he thinks of those people who have got communal approaches. He buried his own prejudice within him and, over and above that, he rose and he wanted to persuade that person to give up his post and he has gone to the extent that nobody in a democratic state, no Prime Minister of such a democratic Government, is prepared to go.

So, if any untoward thing happens, if Master Tara Singh and these two gentlemen consequently die, the responsibility will not be that of Government, neither of Shri Nehru, but of those who have first asked him to lie down in a place where Government cannot go for forcible feeding.... (*Interruption*) and of those who have done it simply for political ends. I do not know whether the hon. Prime Minister forgot something or did not get a new idea. But I can certainly say that the Communist Party do not gain or lose anything so far as this question is concerned.

I was the only speaker here out of the 500 M.P.s., here and 250 there to ask that there should be a Punjabi Suba at a particular stage and that there should be a Haryana Prant. Then I was charge-sheeted in the Party meeting and was told, "You are creating a difficult situation". The Communist Party cannot stop me and ask me that. That is on record. I was saved by Shri Dange with great persuasion.

The Communist Party made a mistake in 1947 in supporting the Muslim Leaguers over the partition of India. The Party had to make a statement to the Committee. They said, "we were just supporting it on principle. We did not know that these will be the consequences. It was an error of judgement". If their wishes are carried out, after a year these gentlemen will say in another statement, "It

was an error of judgement. We supported the principle. We do not know the practical results of it."

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): What was Shri Mukerjee's attitude then?

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Rohtak): He wanted it.

Shri P. S. Daulta: So far as the Communist Party, the Praja Socialist Party and other opposition parties are concerned,.....

An Hon. Members: Swatantra Party.

Shri P. S. Daulta: It is very Swatantra. It is neither supporting it nor opposing it. These Opposition Parties always opposed this idea of Punjabi Suba. They were right. Now I realise it when I am sitting here in saner atmosphere..... (*Interruption*).

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): Are you sure that you are in saner atmosphere?

Shri P. S. Daulta: Certainly.

To be a bit serious, I want to say that what we are facing in the Punjab is not the demand of a linguistic State. We are facing a thing which is quite different from it. With folded hands I went to Master Tara Singh and said, "Masterji, retire from public life". He said, "what for, my boy? I want Punjabi Suba." I said, "So long as you are here, you are the greatest hurdle. You will not let it have it." I gave it in writing to their committee through Pandit Sundar Lal that so long as the communalists are there in the Punjabi-speaking and Hindi Speaking areas and so long as they associate this demand for a linguistic State with their religion and make their speeches from Gurdwaras, they are complicating the position. That secular demand for a linguistic State has been buried by the communalists so deep that it is not coming up.

What is the situation that we are facing today? We are facing a good-intention gentleman, Master Tara Singh and a political party. But what they want is this. They do not want a Punjabi-speaking State as such.

which Shri Mukerjee wants, which I want and which many other gentlemen want. He says: "Give me a Punjabi Suba." What for? For removing grievances of Sikhs for protection of Sikh religion his programme will start after it is given. Shri Mukerjee's work ends as soon as it is conceded; so of others. But he says that he does not want it for the protection of the language. The Punjabi language is being taught from Kangra to Bahadurgarh. Under the regional formula, we all learn the Punjabi language, even where Punjabi is not spoken. We have not that unreasonable stand like those in Cachar who say, "Do not accept the Assamese language as such." That is not our attitude. What Masterji says is: Please do not teach Punjabi in all districts; confine it to five districts.

An Hon. Member: Nine districts.

Shri P. S. Daulta: So, it is not a question of language. That gentleman is not a retired Judge of a High Court or a leading lawyer. He is a good-intentioned man. He says what he feels. He wants a homeland for the Sikhs where some of the grievances of the Sikhs can be removed. So, his programme will start after getting this. How those grievances are to be removed? He does not say that. But history speaks. I want to tell all good-intentioned man that history speaks. In 1947 Mr. Jinnah did not say this. He said, "First accept the principle of Pakistan, then I will let you know the details." Punjabis know what happened afterwards. My hon. Leader must be knowing it. Before the 15th August 1947 Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan presented a petition to the then Governor-General saying that in a particular area Muslims were being murdered by a particular party with the help of the army of a certain Maharaja. He asked them to be saved. After partition, all Sikhs were rehabilitated in that particular area by a Minister who was Master Tara Singh's nominee. It is no stage where the demand on language base is made.

1948 (A) LSD—8.

Now, they say, "The walls are there, have the roof." I do not want to go into all that. But one thing is clear: they want to utilize existing regional division for furthering this communal programme.

A Punjabi Hindu says, "How will Master Tara Singh remove the grievances of the Sikhs?" In Punjab, the Chief Minister is a Sikh; the IG is a Sikh; the Speaker is a Sikh. All responsible posts—not bureaucratic posts—which Shri Nehru could give here at the Centre he has given to the Sikhs. So, Punjabi Hindus are afraid that if after being given this much Master Tara Singh is not satisfied, what does he want? Then he looks up the history of 1947 and says, "God save us from Punjabi Suba." It is a painful thing to deny one's mother tongue—nobody likes it—but one knows that a particular religious person or a particular communal party says, "Look here, Gurmukhi is part and parcel of my religious and you Hindus will have to learn it." Naturally, Hindus react to it unfavourably. I told Shri Prakash Vir Shastri and the Jan Sangh Wallas that if they take this very attitude about Hindi and say that Indians shall have to learn Hindi, which is the national language, and if this championing of the cause of Hindi comes from Arya Samaj mandirs, nobody in India will learn Hindi. In Punjab, Punjabi language was sabotaged by Akalis who associated it with their religion and forced the Hindus to dissociate from this. That is the crux of the situation.

That is not all. My hon. friend says that the Sikhs are in a majority but how does it become communal? Who says that it is communal? The other day, Shri Asoka Mehta issued a statement. If Muslims are in a majority in Kashmir, how is Kashmir a Muslim State? So, how will it be a Sikh State? What an analogy! Kashmiri Muslims do not want to use this State for protection of Islam. Punjabis are not prepared to take risks. They have learnt a lesson from 1947. The Communist Party might not have learnt it.

[Shri P. S. Daulta]

Let them support another Muslim League in another form. But the situation is like this.

What is the solution? I have great respect for all leaders who are fasting here and there. I have no grouse except that they push economic issues to the background. But what was their role in 1947? I do not mean to tell you that. It is up to the Central Intelligence men to say as to what was the role of particular individuals who are being sought today for mediating and are talked of as peace-makers. Let it be examined by Government and let it be made public as to what was their role in 1947. I want to say only this thing. My colleagues, hon. Members of Parliament and my respected leaders on the Government Benches are all having a wrong approach. It is not an approach to appeal to a leader every day. We should ignore these leaders and should go to the masses. We should tell the masses that people who were active in 1947 are again active; beware of them. This approach of appealing every day not to fast is not good. To fast is their fundamental right. They have chosen that. But we should go to the masses.

I may tell you with due respect that in Punjab everything is okay. People in the Punjab are busy with their Samiti elections. These papers and the other people in some lobbies believe that something will happen. In Punjab it cannot happen, because I know what is Punjab. There can be a quarrel if Hindu jats and Sikh jats are there in one district. Fortunately, where there are Sikh jats there are no Hindu jats and where there are Hindu jats there are no Sikh jats. So, they will not quarrel. These classes are now agitating for these things which have nothing to do with the demands of the man-in-the-street. They have nothing to do with water-logging; nothing to do with the peasants. They have identified the Punjab problem with the problem of language which does not

exist. In Punjab everything is okay. The law and order situation is under control. The leaders should not make appeals to communal leaders but reach the masses like Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, who works in the office in the morning and addresses the masses in the evening.

I want to say one thing more. I do not want to take much time. Grant the Punjabi Suba today. Is this the solution? Will Master Tara Singh and the Akali party be satisfied? Akali is a communal party. The difference between the Congress and the Opposition is this. We want to save the lives of these gentlemen who are fasting. The Communists think that unless Master Tara Singh dies, communism cannot grow in the Punjab; let him die at the cost of Pratap Singh Kairon; either he will die or this man will be removed from office. So far as the Congress is concerned, we want for our own betterment that these lives should be saved.

What I want to say is this. The approach should be this. Reach the masses. Ignore these leaders. I want to tell you one thing more. Let it be clear. Out of all the M.Ps., who are the constitutional representatives of Punjab, not a single M.P., is today for any change. Myself and the Deputy-Speaker and Shri H. N. Mukerjee—we are all agreed in principle. But Punjabis know what today it means. We are not fighting for linguistic States. We are fighting for communalism. The solution is not appeasement. Reach the masses. Expose these leaders and their role in 1947. Expose the role of these political parties who for five years do not support a particular idea. When the iron is hot, keeping in view the coming elections, they tell the people "We want Punjabi suba". They should be exposed. Along with this, this demand for a Punjabi Suba should be opposed at this stage by all sections of the House.

सरदार इकबाल सिंह (फ़ीरोज़पुर) :  
जनाब स्पीकर साहब, प्रधान मंत्री जी के

भ्राज उस पर बहस हो रही है। लेकिन उस पर कुछ कहने के पहले मैं पंजाब में पिछले दस पांच साल में जो कुछ हुआ है उस की तरफ आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

पंजाब में हमेशा से यह हालत हा है कि जो लोग ठीक ढंग से वहाँ की पालिटिक्स में अपनी जगह नहीं बना सके और ताकत हासिल नहीं कर सके उन्होंने एजीटेशन किया है। उस एजीटेशन को अगर आज एक आदमी खत्म करता है तो कल दूसरा शुरू करता है। पंजाब की सरकार ने इन तमाम एजीटेशन्स का बड़ी मजबूती से मुकाबला किया है। और वहाँ की सरकार से ज्यादा मैं वहाँ के लोगों को मुबारकबाद दूँगा कि उन्होंने इन दस सालों में कभी इन एजीटेशन्स की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया और अपने मूने को अपनी मेहनत से खुशहाल बनाने में लगे रहे। अगर यह एजीटेशन असली होता तो पंजाब का मूया कभी खुशहाल नहीं हो सकता था।

वहाँ कैफियत यह है कि अगर एक आदमी अपना असर बढ़ाने के लिये कहता है कि मैं पांच हजार लोगों को गिफतार कराऊँगा तो दूसरा कहता है कि मैं १५ हजार लोगों को गिफतार कराऊँगा। लेकिन इसके बावजूद पंजाब के लोगों पर इन बातों का कोई असर नहीं पड़ा। आज पंजाब की खुशहाली का थर्मामीटर यही है कि आप देखें कि न सिर्फ वहाँ के लोगों ने पंजाब को अपनी मेहनत से खुशहाल बनाया है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के जिस हिस्से में भी वे गए हैं वहाँ उन्होंने अपने आपको अपनी मेहनत से खुशहाल बना लिया है।

जहाँ तक पंजाब के मामले का ताल्लुक है वह कोई इतना सस्ता मसला नहीं है जितना प्राफेसर एच० एन० मुखर्जी ने पेश किया।

उन्होंने कहा कि ग्रान्ध में यही हुआ, लेकिन ग्रान्ध में एक ही भूल हड़ताल हुई थी लेकिन जहाँ तक पंजाब का मसला है तीन भूल हड़तालें हो रही हैं। एक कहता है अगर मानोगे तो मैं मरूँगा, दूसरा कहता है कि अगर नहीं मानोगे तो मैं मरूँगा। इसलिये पंजाब का मसला कोई इतना साफ नहीं है और इतना आसान नहीं है कि एक आदमी ने कह दिया कि यह प्रिंसिपल है और दूसरे ने उसको मान लिया : जो लोग पंजाब के बारे में इस तरह की बातें करते हैं उनकी वहाँ कोई ताकत नहीं है और वह बड़ा अपना असर कायम करना चाहते हैं। कुछ पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं, जैसे कि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी, जिसका पंजाब में एक मेम्बर नहीं है। ये लोग सही ढंग से वहाँ नहीं पहुँच सकते तो कोशिश करने हैं कि किसी गलत आदमी के जरिए वहाँ अपना असर कायम कर लें। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि पंजाब का मसला बहुत कम्प्लीकेटेड है। आज उस के लिये तीन भूल हड़तालें हो रही हैं, एक दिल्ली में और दो पंजाब में। इसलिये यह मसला इतना आसान नहीं है कि यहाँ पर एक प्रिंसिपल लागू कर दिया जाए तो मसला हल हो जायेगा मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कहना सही नहीं है और मुझे लगता है कि जो लोग ऐसी बातें कहते हैं वे इस मामले की गरहाई तक नहीं पहुँचे हैं या पोलिटिकल बज्रहात से उनकी गरहाई में जाना नहीं चाहते।

जहाँ तक मास्टर जी का मसाल है उन्होंने सबसे पहले रीजनल फारमूले को माना और बाद को कह दिया कि वह ठीक काम नहीं करता। पहले तो उन्होंने उस फारमूले को दिल्ली में मान लिया लेकिन अगुत्तर जाकर कह दिया कि वह ठीक नहीं है। आज वह कहते हैं कि रीजनल फारमूला ठीक तरह काम नहीं करता। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांस्टीट्यूशनल गारंटी बीरे बीरे हो रही है और कन्वेंशन आहिस्ता आहिस्ता बनते हैं। यह रीजनल फारमूला सन् १९५७ में बना और पंजाबी रीजनल कमेटी

[सरदार इकबाल सिंह]

की ३३ मीटिंग हुई और हिन्दी रोजनलज कमेटी की ५७ मीटिंग्स हुई और सारे फैसले यूनानिमस हुए सिर्फ एक को छोड़ कर जिसका फैसला गवर्नर ने किया। इस फारमूले के जरिए पोलिटिकल बैलेंस रह सकता है, जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है, लेकिन मास्टर जी तो पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल करने के लिये इस फारमूले को नहीं मानना चाहते। अब वह पंजाबी सूबे की बात करते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के आजाद होने के पहले वह आजाद पंजाब की बात करते थे उसके बाद पंजाबी सूबे की बात करने लगे। कुछ दिनों के लिये इस चीज को उन्होंने छोड़ दिया था, अब फिर उसको करने लगे हैं। इस तरह से वह अपनी पोलिटिकल पावर बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और प्रोफेसर मुखर्जी कहते हैं कि उसूल ठीक है और उसको मान लेना चाहिये चाहे वह गलत आदमी की तरफ से ही क्यों न आए। उनका कहना है कि उसूल ठीक है इसलिए उसे मान लेना चाहिये लेकिन मैं कहना हूँ कि पंजाब के लोग उसको मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं।

आज पंजाब में हालत यह है कि जो लोग पंजाबी सूबे का नारा लगाने हैं वे गुरुद्वारों से यह आवाज बुलन्द करते हैं और जो उनकी मुखालिफत करते हैं वे भी मंदिरों से उसकी मुखालिफत करते हैं। यह सिर्फ फिरकापरस्तों की मांग है जो कि इस तरह अपनी पोलिटिकल पावर बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इन हालात को नजर-अन्दाज करते हुए आज यह कहा जा रहा है कि जो उसूल बाकी जगह लागू किया गया उसको पंजाब में भी लागू किया जाना चाहिये। यह मांग फिरकापरस्त लोगों की तरफ से की जा रही है और इसकी मुखालिफत भी दूसरे फिरकापरस्त कर रहे हैं। वे इस तरह से एक दूसरे को मजबूत कर रहे हैं। आप देखें कि जो लोग पंजाबी सूबे की मांग करते हैं वे फिरकापरस्त हैं और जो कांस्ट्रैट एजीटेशन चला रहे हैं वे भी फिरका-

परस्त हैं। अगर इन फिरकापरस्तों की मांग को मान लिया गया तो पंजाब को फिरकापरस्ती के समुन्दर में डुबो देने के बराबर होगा।

जो पंजाब की पालीटिक्स को जानते हैं वे कह सकते हैं कि वहां पर एक फिरकापरस्त जमाअत दूसरी को मजबूत करने की कोशिश करती है। जनसंघ मास्टर जी की पार्टी को मजबूत करने की कोशिश करता है और मास्टर जी जनसंघ को मजबूत करने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूँ कि पंजाब के आम लोग इस एजीटेशन से अलग हैं और अपने सूबे की तरक्की में लगे हुए हैं। ये फिरकापरस्त जमाअतें कोई न कोई एजीटेशन जारी रख कर अपने को मजबूत करना चाहती हैं, लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि जब तक पंजाब में लड़ाई नहीं होती तब तक न अकाली मजबूत हो सकते हैं और न कोई दूसरी फिरकापरस्त जमाअत।

अगर मास्टर जी पंजाबी सूबा बनाना चाहते हैं तो उनको इस के लिए मही दरोंके से कोशिश करनी चाहिये थी जो कि उन्होंने पिछले १५ वर्षों में एक बार भी नहीं की। अगर वह पंजाबी सूबा बनाना चाहते थे तो लोगों को अपने साथ लेते लेकिन वह ऐसा नहीं करना चाहते। यह उनका मकसद नहीं है। पिछले ४० सालों में मास्टर जी ने निगेटिव पालिटिक्स को अपनाया है। जो चीज हो उसकी मुखालिफत करते हैं और इसी तरह से अपनी पोलिटिकल पावर बनाना चाहते हैं। और अपनी पोलिटिकल पावर पंजाब में कायम करने के लिये कुछ दूसरी पार्टियां जैसे स्वतंत्र पार्टी, पंजाब के मामलों में दखल दे रही है। मास्टर जी की पंजाबी सूबे की मांग फिरकापरस्ती पर बेस्ड है और वही उनका एगेंड है। इसकी मान लेने से न सिर्फ पंजाब का नुक्सान होगा बल्कि इसको मान लेने से सब से ज्यादा से ज्यादा सिद्धों को नुक्सान होगा। मैं ने कभी मास्टर जी की पार्टी की राय से इतिफाक नहीं किया, न उस पार्टी का मेम्बर बना,

लेकिन पंजाब के मंगले को दो किस्म के घ्रादमी दो तरह से देखते हैं और इसी से यह एजीटेशन हो रहा है।

जहां तक सिखों का सवाल है मैं तो समझता हूँ कि पारभियों को छोड़ कर हिन्दु-स्तान के दूसरे लोगों में सिख सबसे ज्यादा खूबहाल हैं क्योंकि वे मेहनती हैं। वैसे तो पंजाब के सब लोग ही मेहनती होते हैं और उनमें भी सिख खास तौर से ज्यादा मेहनती हैं और इसी लिये वह अपने लिये कोर्ट प्रोटेक्शन नहीं चाहते। किमी तरक्की यापना कम्प्यूनिट के लिये किसी प्रोवैजेशन की मांग करना उसूल के खिलाफ होगा। यह कहना सही नहीं है कि सिखों के साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन किया गया है। इस का सबूत यह है कि जिन चीजों में कोई पाबन्दी नहीं है उनमें आज सिख हिन्दु-स्तान में सबसे प्रागे हैं। जिन कामों के लिये लाइसेंस नहीं है उनमें सिख सबसे प्रागे हैं। जब से छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज पर से लाइसेंस हटा है प्राग देखें कि सिखों ने सब से छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज लगायी है। यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है कि किसी क्षेत्र में सिखों के साथ किमी भी तरह का भी भेदभाव किया जा रहा है। कंट्रैक्टर्स, प्रोफेसर्स या किसी भी लाइन को ले लीजिये किसी भी कम्पीटीशन में सिखों के साथ किसी किस्म का भेदभाव नहीं होता है। मैं तो यह कहने को तैयार हूँ कि सिख हर एक स्फियर में फारवर्ड हैं और कम्पीटीशन में किमी से भी पीछे नहीं रहते हैं। अब ऐसे लोग जो इस तरह का एतराज करते हैं कि सिखों के साथ इंसाफ नहीं किया जा रहा है और यह कि उनके साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन बर्ता जा रहा है दरअसल उनके मन में कुछ और चीज है और वह यह चीज अपनी पोलिटिक्स पावर बनाने के लिये कहते हैं और मोली माली जनता को इस तरह गुमराह करने की कोशिश करते हैं। अब जो उनसे कहा जाता है कि वह अपने इस चार्ज के सबूत में स्पेसिफिक इस्टेंस दें तो वह तो बने बाने नहीं हैं क्योंकि उनको

पिछले ४० साल की पालिटिक्स इस इंग से चली है कि एक प्राबलम पंदा कर दो और उसको कभी एक्सप्लेन न करो। अब स्पीकर साहब, हम उनके साथ लड़े हैं, हम उनके साथ रहे हैं और हम उनकी पालिटिक्स से बखबी वाकिफ हैं और इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मास्टर तारासिंह ने जो यह कहा है कि सिखों के साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन किया जाता है वह सिर्फ इसलिये कहा जा रहा है ताकि पंजाब के सीध सादे देहाती सिखों को वह बहका सकें और वह समझने लगे कि वाकई हमारे साथ इंसाफ नहीं हो रहा है। अब उन बेचारे देहाती भाइयों को न भ्रामाम का पता है और न बम्बई के हालात का पता है। मास्टर तारासिंह का यह चार्ज बिलकुल गलत है और मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सिखों ने अपनी हिम्मत से हर एक लाइन में काफो तरक्की की है और सब जगह अपनी एक खास पोजीशन बनाई है और उन्हें किसी किस्म के रिजरवेशन या सेफगाई की जरूरत नहीं है। उनको इस बारे में किमी किस्म की इनक्वायरी बैठाने की भी जरूरत नहीं है। मास्टर तारा सिंह और प्रकाली पार्टी जो सिखों के साथ भेदभाव होने का प्रोपेगंडा कर रहे हैं वह महज जनता को गुमराह करने और पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल करने के लिये कर रहे हैं। यह सब बातें एलेक्शंस जीतने के लिये की जा रही हैं। अब मास्टर तारासिंह की पंजाबी सूबे की मांग डिमांड और एजीटेशन के खिलाफ जो घन-घन चलता है और स्वामी रामेश्वरानंद का फास्ट चल रहा है तो उसके पीछे भी वही एलेक्शंस जीतने और पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल करने की मंशा है। वह सोचते हैं कि स्वामी रामेश्वरानंद मर जायें तो हम हरि-याणा में चुनाव जीत लेंगे।

प्रकारियों की पंजाबी सूबे की मांग के बास्ते ब्रूस हड़ताल और उसके बरखिलाफ जो ब्रूस हड़ताल चल रही है उसके पीछे वही कम्प्युनल एप्रोच काम कर रही है और पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल करने के लिये काम में आई

[सरदार इकबाल सिंह ]

जा रही है। अब मुझ यह कहने दिया जाय कि यह दोनों पार्टियां निगेटिव पालिटिक्स पर जिदा रहना चाहती हैं।

अभी मेरे भाई श्री मुकजी ने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से पंजाबी सूबे की हिमायत की और सरकार से अपील की कि इंसफ का तकाजा है कि सिक्खों को पंजाबी सूबा दिया जाय। मैं उनसे सिर्फ यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि अगर वाकई वह समझते थे कि भकालियों की पंजाबी सूबे की मांग ठीक है तो यह सिक्ख स्टेट और पंजाबी सूबे की मांग कीई आज की मांग थोड़े ही है आज से १० साल पहले उन्होंने यह चीज क्यों नहीं कही कि उनकी सिक्ख स्टेट की मांग जायज है लेकिन आज जब मास्टर तारासिंह भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं और कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने यह समझ कर कि मौका अच्छा है और इसका फायदा उठा कर पंजाब में पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल की जा सकती है उन्होंने आज पंजाबी सूबे की हिमायत करनी शुरू कर दी है। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई हमेशा ऐसे मौकों की तलाश में रहते हैं कि जैसे भी हो उलटे सीधे पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल की जाय और पंजाब में पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल करने के लिये उन्होंने मास्टर तारासिंह जब भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं तब पंजाबी सूबे की उन्होंने हिमायत करनी शुरू कर दी है और वह यह समझ रहे हैं कि अगर मास्टर तारासिंह इसमें मर भी गये तो उनकी तो पोलिटिकल पावर पंजाब में बढ़ेगी ही।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम पंजाब में इक्युलिब्रियम कायम रखें और पंजाब के सब बाशिन्दों में एक अंडरस्टैंडिंग हो। आपस में भाई-भाई का माहौल हो। पंजाब लिगविस्टिकली तकसीम नहीं हो सकता पोलिटिकली तकसीम नहीं हो सकता क्यों कि पंजाब में हरियाना रीजन भी है

जहां कि हिन्दू काफी तादाद में हैं। हकीकत यह है कि पंजाब लिगविस्टिकली, पोलिटिकली या एकोनामिकली किसी भी तरह से तकसीम नहीं हो सकता है। अब हालत यह है कि एक ही घर में एक भाई सिक्ख है तो दूसरा हिन्दू है। अब मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी हालत के रहते यदि पंजाब को तकसीम किया जाता है तो यह मुल्क में सब से बड़ी टूटनी होगी। अब जब एक ही बाप के दी लड़कों में एक सिक्ख है और दूसरा हिन्दू है तो उनको कैसे तकसीम किया जा सकता है? वक्त का तकाजा यह है आज जो इस तरह की फिरकापरस्ती की बातें करते हैं और निगेटिव पालिटिक्स चलाते हैं उनके जहरीले अमर से अवाम को बचाया जाय। इस मौके पर मैं आपके जरिये और इस हाउस के जरिये पंजाब के लोगों से अपील करना चाहता हूं कि वह यह पोलिटिकल ट्रेजिडी न होने दें और जो इक्युलिब्रियम पालिटिक्स में मौजूद है उसको और इम्प्रूव किया जाय।

मैं तो समझता हूं कि पंजाब की लैंग्वेज का सही हल वही है जो कि सन् १९४८ में बना था और जो कि सच्चर फारमूला के नाम से मशहूर है। वह इस पंजाब की लैंग्वेज प्राबलम का सही हल था और उसमें कहा गया था कि माइनारिटी और मैजोरिटी लैंग्वेज दोनों पढ़ाई जायें। आज के माहौल में मैं समझता हूं कि यह सबसे बेहतर हल है और इससे कुछ अंडरस्टैंडिंग आयेगी। इस अंडरस्टैंडिंग को इम्प्रूव करने के लिये जो भाई कोशिश करेंगे वह पंजाब की सेवा करेंगे लेकिन जो भाई ऐसा नहीं करके उलटे प्रोवोकेशन करेंगे वह पंजाब का अहित ही करेंगे। आज हर एक देशवासी का और पंजाबी का जो कि फिरकापरस्ती के खिलाफ है उसका वह फर्ज हो जाता है कि वह आज जो बहकिस्मती से फिरकापरस्ती की जंग चल रही है उसका मुकाबिला करे और उस पैर न अमाने

दे। प्रलबता अगर कोई प्रंडरस्टैंडिंग दोनों की म्युचुअल गुडविल से हो सके और जिसमें कि पंजाब के लोगों, पंजाब और देश का भला हो तो वह कर लेनी चाहिये। मैं एक बार फिर इस बात का ऐलान करना चाहता हूँ कि हम सिक्ख लोग किसी किस्म का प्रोटेक्शन या सेफगार्ड नहीं चाहते हैं और न ही कोई इस बारे में इनकवारी चाहते हैं कि सिक्खों के साथ डिस्ट्रिबिनेशन हो रहा है।

मैं और ज्यादा न कहते हुये प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने पंजाबी सूबे के बारे में जो स्टेटमेंट दिया है उसका मैं पूरे तौर पर समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री अजित सिंह (भटिण्डा-रक्षित-मनु-सूचित जातियाँ) : जनाब स्पीकर सहाब, बहुत सारी बातें जो मैं कहना चाहता था वह मेरे भाई दौलता जी और सरदार इकबाल सिंह ने कह दी हैं। अब मैं केवल कुछ थोड़ी सी बातों की तरफ हाउस का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा।

आप ने ठीक ही कहा है कि कोई प्रोवोकेटिव बात नहीं होनी चाहिये जिसमें कि किसी किस्म की गलतफहमी बड़े मगर जनाबवाला जो फेक्ट्स हैं और हिस्ट्री है वह मैं आपकी इजाजत से यहां ब्यान करना चाहता हूँ। सब से पहली बात तो यह है कि अकाली पार्टी ने मास्टर तारासिंह की लीडरशिप के मातहत जिस तरह मुस्लिम लीग ने मिस्टर जिन्ना की लीडरशिप के मातहत पाकिस्तान बनाया उसी तरह से यह अकाली पार्टी एक सिक्ख राज्य अथवा पंजाबी सूबा बनवाने के लिये प्रंदोलन कर रही है। अकाली पार्टी ठीक मुस्लिम लीग के कदमों पर चलती हुई अहम को गुमराह कर रही है और उनको सिक्ख स्टेट के स्थापक दिखा रही है।

पीछे दो मर्तबा गुफ्तारा इलेक्शंस हुये और हासार्कि बहु धार्मिक इलेक्शंस वे

लेकिन उनमें उन्होंने यह पंजाबी सूबे का ईश्यु बुसेड दिया और इस तरह से पंजाबी सूबा जो कि एक पोलिटिकल ईश्यु था उसको उन्होंने गुफ्तारा इलेक्शंस जो कि धार्मिक थे उसमें शामिल कर दिया। अब इस से साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि यह लोगों में कम्युनल सैटीमेंट राइज करने और उनको कम्युनल बनाने को एक चाल थी। पिछले छः साल से गुफ्तारों में दो बफे मोर्चे बाजी शुरु की गई। अब गुफ्तारे में इस तरह की मोर्चेबाजी जमाना और बहां से एजिटेशन चलाना सिक्ख रबायात के खिलाफ है लेकिन इस तरीके से बहां यह बात और फास्ट्स रखे गये। सिक्ख रिजिजन और ट्रेडीशंस तो यह कहते हैं :—

“छोड़े अन्न करे पालंड, न सुहागन न घो  
रंड”

गुफ्तारे और गुरु ग्रंथ साहिब जिस की कि हम पूजा करते हैं और उससे जो हमें शिक्षा मिलती है मास्टर तारासिंह ने ऐन उसके खिलाफ अमल किया है।

अब मैं आपको थोड़ी सी पंजाबी सूबे की बैकग्राउंड बतलाना चाहता हूँ। यह तो बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है कि वह यह आलिस कम्युनल डिमांड है।

मन् १९४२ में मास्टर जी की लीडरशिप के मातहत आजाद पंजाब का मतलब किया गया था और उसको करने का मतलब यह था कि जैसे मुस्लिम मैजोरिटी ऐरियाज के बास्ते पाकिस्तान बनाया जाये उसी तरह से हम पंजाबी सूबा बनायें, और बहां पर अकाली पार्टी का बोल बाला हो।

१९४६ में जब कैबिनेट मिशन हिन्दुस्तान आया और सर स्टेफर्ड क्रिष्ण और सर पैथिक जारेंस हिन्दुस्तान आये पार्लियामेंटरी डेनिगेसन को लेकर तब अकाली पार्टी ने “हिन्दु स्टेट की डिमांड वेज की और वह इस बचह वे की कि पहले वाली जो

[ श्री अजित सिंह ]

उनकी डिमांड थी एक "आजाद पंजाब" की, उसको किसी ने स्पोर्ट नहीं किया और उम चीज को उन्होंने खत्म कर दिया। वह चीज जो थी वह अपनी मौत खुद मर गई। अब इन्होंने डिमांड पेज की कि एक मिक्चर स्टेट चाहिए। अगर हम नारे को वे आज भी कायम रखते तो कोई मुगालिते में नहीं रहना और हो सकता है कि इनको सिख स्टेट मिल जाती। लेकिन चूंकि इन्होंने गड़बड़ी की, पदों के पीछे रह कर कुछ और ही किया, किसी और ही ढंग की बात बनाई, इस वास्ते कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। थोखेबाजी और ठगी की बिना पर ही वे यहां तक पहुंचे हैं।

२४ मार्च, १९४८ को लुधियाना में एक कांग्रेस हुई और उसके म.स्टर जी प्रधान थे। वहां इन्होंने एक नई स्कीम निकाली जिसका नाम रखा गया पंजाबी सूबा। पहले उन्होंने यह कहा था कि सैपेरेट "आटोनोमस यूनिट" हमको चाहिये और इस मांग को बाद में पंजाबी सूबे में तबदील कर दिया गया। नया सूबा भाषा के आधार पर बनना चाहिये। अब उन्होंने अपनी डिमांड को लैंगुएज की शकल में तबदील कर दिया। यह सब इतिहास है जो मैं दोहरा रहा हूँ। लैंगुएज की शकल में यह डिमांड कुछ ऐसी शकल धारण कर गई जिससे हिन्दू और सिक्खों में कुछ फर्क पड़ने लग गया।

१९४९ में गवर्नमेंट ने यह बात मान ली कि पंजाबी बोली को जरूर तकबियन देने चाहिये और तब सच्चार फारमूला अमल में आया। १९४९ में यह सच्चार फारमूले के मातहत पंजाबी जवान को काफी ताकत मिली और गवर्नमेंट ने पंजाबी जवान के मुताल्लिक तकरीबन तकरीबन सारी बातें मान लीं। अभी अभी हमारे नेता ने इस पार्लियामेंट में बयान दिया है कि पंजाबी

के मुताल्लिक लैंगुएज के मुताल्लिक अगर कोई शिकायत हो या कोई बात हो तो वह उसको कंसिडर करने के लिये और मानने के लिये तैयार हैं। इसके बारे में कोई भी भाई चाहें अकाली भाई हो या कम्युनिस्ट भाई हो या कोई दूसरा हो इस किस्म की बात को ले कर पंडित जी के पाम आ सकता है और वह उमको कंसिडर कर लेंगे।

इन बातों से साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि सूबा कहां से चला था। १९४२ से चलकर अब यह १९६१ में आ गया है। यह बोली की बात थी। बोली की बात खत्म हुई। अब मैं आपके सामने मन्त फतेह सिंह की स्टेटमेंट को पढ़ कर मुनाना चाहता हूँ जो कहते हैं कि बोली पर क्यों हम लड़ रहे हैं और इसको लेकर वह लोगों में बोलते और प्रचार करते हैं कि जो हमारी मातृ-भाषा है उसको यह कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट नुकसान पहुंचा रही है। मन्त फतेह सिंह महाराज कहते हैं :—

"We do not wish to foist Punjabi on Hariana or on the Hindi-speaking area, for we wish them to develop their own language and culture as an autonomous State".

जैसे दौलता साहब ने कहा है कि नौ जिलों में वह इस भाषा का स्कोप लिमिट करना चाहते हैं। मैं ऐसा कांग्रेसमैन नहीं बल्कि बतौर सिख सोचता हूँ कि इन्होंने सिक्खों को बहुत नुकसान पहुंचाया है, पंजाबी बोली को वे बहुत नुकसान पहुंचाना चाहते हैं यह कह कर कि इसको नौ जिलों में लिमिट कर दिया जाये। यह बोली हमारे सारे पंजाब में रायज थी, सब जगह पढ़ी जाती थी और इसको इन्होंने हलाल करने में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी है।

मैं अर्थ करना चाहता हूँ कि हम पंजाबी सूबे की डिमांड को अपोज क्यों करते

हैं ? हम इसको इस वास्ते अपोज करते हैं कि यह प्योरली कम्युनल डिमांड है । सिर्फ़ अकाली पार्टी ने इसको उठाया है ।

The principle of democracy is that the will of the people will be the first consideration.

पहला कंसिड्रेशन लोगों की बात का होना चाहिये । जब हिन्दू सिख और वहाँ के रहने वाले सभी लोगों की तरफ से यह डिमांड की जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्न-मेंट विल नाट स्टैंड इन इट्स वे ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि पंजाबी सूबे की जो बैकग्राउंड है वह भी साउंड नहीं है । यह पता चलता है कि यह प्योरली कम्युनल डिमांड है । इकोनोमिकली, पोलिटिकली और कलचरली हमारा बहुत नुकसान होगा । मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सिख ऐडवेंचरस और प्रोग्रेसिव कौम है, जफाकश और मेहनतकश कौम है । यह कौम इतनी ताकतवर और मजबूत है कि वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं बल्कि सारी दुनिया में फैल गई है । मैं चाहूँगा कि आप मुझे बतायें कि क्या कोई भी प्रांश्र में हमारे पंजाब में आदमी आया है और वहाँ आ कर बिजनेस करता है या गाड़ी का ड्राइवर है या किसी ने वहाँ आ कर इंडस्ट्री लगाई है ? मैं समझता हूँ कोई भी आपको ऐसा आदमी नहीं मिलेगा जब कि पंजाबी सभी जगह छा गये हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि मुसलजी साहब भी मुझे इसके बारे में कुछ बतायें जिन्होंने पंजाबी सूबे की हिमायत की है । . . .

अरबखत महोदय : कई लोग हैं ।

श्री अश्वि सिंह : नहीं जी । सिख साता पीता है, बैल-टु-डू आदमी है और इस बजह से मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बाहर बिजनेस में चला गया है, बाहर उसने जमीन ले ली है, बाहर उसने ट्रांसपोर्ट बिजनेस शुरू किया है । सरकार बसदेव सिंह ने जमशेदपुर में बड़ा मोहे का कारखाना लगाया है । अगर आज पंजाबी सूबा बन जाता है

तो क्या असर होगा इस पर भी आप जरा विचार कर लें । नैचुरली गांव में जो रहने वाला है, जो अनपढ़ है, जो बेसमझ है उसका सोचने का ढंग बिगड़ जायेगा और इस हद तक बढ़ जायेगा कि वह समझने लग जायगा कि पंजाबी सूबा उसी तरह से बना है जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान बने थे । उसके दिल में आज यह है कि हमें खुशी से किस बनिये की दूकान कब लूटनी है, कब घास पास के फलां बनिये की लड़की को उठाना है, और किस हरिजन की बीबी बेटियों को तंग करना है । इस तरह की बातें उनके दिलों में हैं । इस वास्ते भी हम इसका विरोध करते हैं और हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि यह चीज हो ।

जनाब स्पीकर साहब, मुझे इजाजत दीजिये कि मैं थोड़ा सा मास्टर तारा सिंह जी का शार्ट स्केच आप लाइफ बता सकूँ । २०-२५ साल से उन की लीडरशिप को हम देख रहे हैं । बहुत सी बातें हैं जिनसे उनके रिगेशनरी होने का पता चलता है । उनका रोल कम्युनल रहा है, एंटीनेशनल रहा है और फुल आफ कंट्रेडिक्शन अपनी बातों में बह रहे हैं । ये चार बातें हैं जिन बातों की सपोर्ट में मैं तफसीलबाइज आपके सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ ।

१९४२ में सारे हिन्दुस्तान में जब कि लोग अंग्रेज इम्पीरियलिस्टों के खिलाफ लड़ रहे थे और उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई छेड़ रखी थी उस वक्त मास्टर जी ने नौजवानों को और सिखाओं को हुकम दिया कि लड़ो और फौज में भरती हो जाओ और ब्रिटिश हुकमत की मदद करो । यह मैं समझता हूँ उनका एंटी-नेशनल रोल था ।

आर० एन० ए० और २१ नम्बर रखाने वाले देवभक्त जिन्होंने देश के लिये कुर्बानियाँ कीं, देश के लिये जोरदार लड़ाई की, उनके खिलाफ मास्टर जी ने बयान दिये और कई मोर्चों को फाँसी हुई और कद्यों को कात्ने पानी भेजा गया ।

[ श्री अजित सिंह ]

१९४२ में ही अंग्रेजों के साथ मिल कर इन्होंने कांग्रेस की मुखालिफत की और सर सिकन्दर हयात खां की यूनियनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट के साथ मिल कर काम किया। सूबा सरहद में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ मिल कर एक मिनिस्टर अपना कायम किया और वह आज यहां बंटे हुये हैं और वह हैं सरदार अजित सिंह जी सरहदी।

१९४७ में इसके एवजाने के तौर पर मास्टर जी को अंग्रेजों ने एक बहुत बड़ी दावत दी ११ नम्बर प्लैटून नौशेरा कैट में। १९४७ में जब कि सब नेशनल लीडर्ज पर बैन लगा हुआ था और कोई आदमी किसी कैट में नहीं जा सकता था, किसी छावनी में नहीं जा सकता था तो मास्टर जी का उन्होंने स्वागत किया और इसके सबूत के तौर पर मैं ये फोटो पेश करना चाहता हूँ। इस फोटों में मास्टर जी को तलवार भेंट की गई। ये तीन चार जो फोटो हैं ये अखबारों की हैं और मैं इनको टेबल पर रखने के लिये तैयार हूँ। यह है १ मार्च, १९४७ का "फौजी अखबार", दूसरा है सन् १९५० का। जब सारा हिन्दुस्तान बड़ा खुश था कि हमने कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाया है, और सारे देश में दीवाली मनाई जा रही थी जब कि मास्टर जी ने और अकाली पार्टी ने ८ जनवरी को उसका बायकाट किया और कहा कि हम तो इस दशत मातम करते हैं क्योंकि हमें नुकसान पहुंचाता है यह इंडियन कांस्टिट्यूशन। उनका यह मूव एन्टी नेशनल था।

"एक होर मले राहीं संगता पास अपील कीती गई के ओ २६ जनवरी मनाये जा रहे आजादी दिवस त्रिब कोई हिस्सा न लेण। संगों उस दिन अपने जजवान दसन लई प्रोटेस्ट ब जू जससे करण अवे प्रगट करण कि कांग्रेस ने साडे नाल कीते करार नूं छीके ते टंग देता।"

यह है वह बयान जो उन्होंने कांस्टिट्यूशन के विरोध में दिया। सन् १९५४ में अब मास्टर

तारासिंह विलायत गये तो जो उनका एक निजी और खास अखबार है उसके एडिटर को उन्होंने एक चिट्ठी लिखी :

"मैं अपने देश दे हाकमां विरुद्ध प्रीपैगेंडा करण नहीं जा रेया, पर परदेसियां नाल किधरे गल्ल तां करनी ही पवेगी। इस करके मैं सोच रया हां किस तरह दी गल्ल बात करां जिस नाल साडे मौजूदा हाकमां दे ह्य ता कमजोर होन।"

"मौजूदा हाकमां" का भाव नेशनल गवर्नमेंट से है, उसके हाथ कमजोर पड़ें। यह वह चिट्ठी है जो कि उन्होंने १९५४ में अपने एडिटर को लिखी। सन् १९५५ में कुछ मुस्लिम लीगी प्लेअर्स पाकिस्तान से आये। उनको पोस्टर बांटे गये जिन में यह कहा गया कि जो हमारी हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट है वह तो सेकुलर है, मगर तुम खबरदार रहना, कहीं तुम सेकुलर न हो जाना क्योंकि यह बहुत बुरी बात है।

१३ अप्रैल, १९६० के दिन मास्टर जी पाकिस्तान में पंजा साहब गये। वहां पर जा कर वे कहते हैं उन लोगों से कि तुम को जो पुरानी बातें हैं, पुरान गुस्ते और गिले हैं, उन को भूल जाना चाहिये और अपने आप को नजदीक लाना चाहिये और जो हमारा डिफेन्स है उसको हमें साम्रा कर लेना चाहिये। इस हाउस में इतने लोग हैं, लेकिन किसी ने भी जो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की फारेन पालिसी है उस का अपोज नहीं किया और यह नहीं कहा कि हमारा डिफेन्स किसी के साथ भी साम्रा हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर कोई आदमी इस हाउस के फैसेले के खिलाफ किसी बाहरी आदमी से बात करता है तो वह बीज हमारे मुल्क के खिलाफ जाती है और उसको मैं एन्टी नेशनल कहता हूँ।

अब मैं हिन्दू सिक्क कम्युनिटी की बात को लेता हूँ। वे कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दू

सिख यूनिटी के बड़े झलम्बरदार हैं। जब हिन्दू लीडर्स के साथ बात चीत होती है तो कहा जाता है कि हम हिन्दू हैं, हमारा बाप हिन्दू था, लेकिन जब उन की पार्टी में कोई ऐसा कहता है तो वे उसको गद्दार कहते हैं। सात सात पुस्त पहले के जो सिख हैं उन को गद्दार कहते हैं। कहते हैं कि वह तो सिख ही नहीं है और खुद अपने प्राप को सिख धर्म के वाहद तर्जमान बताते हैं। हिन्दू सिख यूनिटी के बारे में जो वह कहते हैं उसको यह पोस्टर बयान करता है वे कहते हैं :

“अंग्रेज सानू बरतना चाउंदा सी, मुकाना नहीं चाउन्दा सी, ए “पंजाबी हिन्दू” सानू मुकाना चाउंदा हन ।”

अंग्रेज हमें इस्तेमाल करना चाहता था, खत्म नहीं कहना चाहता था, लेकिन हमारे पंजाबी हिन्दू हमें खत्म करना चाहते हैं।

श्री त्यागी : ए की लिख्या सी।

श्री अजित सिंह : यह बातें हिन्दू सिख यूनिटी की हैं।

“डेली टेलिग्राफ” एक अंग्रेजी का अखबार है जो लन्दन से निकलता है। उस ने भी कहा कि मास्टर जी और उनकी पार्टी जो दलीलें देते हैं कि हम फास्ट रल्ल रक पंजाबी सूबा मनवाते हैं, यह कोई अक्ल की दलील तो है नहीं, कोई रीजनेबल बात तो करत नहीं, सिर्फ फास्ट कर के और घोट कर के ऐसी बातें मनवाना चाहते हैं, जैसा कि उन्होंने किया भी।

आगे चल कर मैं डिस्क्रिमिनेशन की बात लेता हूं। वे कहते हैं कि सिखों के साथ डिस्क्रिमिनेशन होता है, एज इफ बी आर नाट रिक्क। पंजाब क सिखों की गिनती कर ली जाय और देखिये कि कितने पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि लोक सभा में पापुलेसन के लिहाज से कहीं ज्यादा सिख होंगे।

एक जालजीब सबबष : एम० एल० ए० भी ज्यादा होंगे।

श्री अजित सिंह : एम० एल० ए० भी ज्यादा हैं। सबसेज में भी देख लीजिये। जैसा पंडित जी कहते हैं कि डिस्क्रिमिनेशन कहा है अगर कहीं पर डिस्क्रिमिनेशन हो तो चपरासी से लेकर चीफ मिनिस्टर तक जो डिस्क्रिमिनेशन हो रहा है उस को देखा जाय।

यहां हिन्दुस्तान में एक लड़ाई चल रही है। वह क्या है पहले तो हिन्दुस्तान में लड़ाई भी अंग्रेजों के साथ। फिर लड़ाई चलने लगी गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये, बीमारी को दूर करने के लिये, जहालत को दूर करने के लिये। अगर कई लोग समझते हैं कि लड़ाई चल रही है मास्टर तारा सिंह और नेहरू जी की, कोई समझते हैं फतेह सिंह की और प्रताप सिंह कैरो की और कोई समझता है लाला जगत नारायण और सरदार दरबारा सिंह की। यह बातें नहीं हैं आज अगर कोई लड़ाई है तो वह है फिर्कापरस्ती यानी कम्यूनलिज्म के खिलाफ सेकुलरिज्म और नेशनलिज्म की। अगर आप सब लोग चाहते हैं कि नेशनलिज्म और सेकुलरिज्म हो तो आप को इस तरह का कबेगन नहीं बनाना चाहिये कि जिस का जो चाहे वह कहीं भी फास्ट करले किसी बात के लिये, किसी कन्वेंशन में और हमारी गवर्नमेंट या कोई भी गवर्नमेंट कोई ला फ्रेम न करे उन को निकालने के लिये और अगर मेरे जैसा आदमी भूख हड़ताल कर ले प्रधान मंत्री की कोठी पर तो उस को कैद कर लिया जाय। यह जो बातें हैं वह नेशनलिज्म और सेकुलरिज्म को खत्म करती हैं। इस को डिस्क्रिमिनेशन कहा जा सकता है कि गवर्नमेंट उन के मामलों में इतनी मजबूत क्यों न हुई। उसको पकड़ना चाहिये हर एक आदमी को चाहे वह सिख हो, मुसलमान हो या किसी दूसरे रिलीजन क हो

[Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

Places of worship should not be used for political achievements or political purposes.

**Shri Balraj Madhok** (New Delhi): Sir, I rise to welcome the statement made by the Prime Minister regarding the Punjab situation. I wish the firmness that he has shown in this case were the general policy because, so far, the impression has gone round that the Prime Minister can succumb to pressure and the heavier the pressure the easier he will succumb to it. This impression must go. And I do hope that in this matter the Prime Minister will continue to show the firmness that he has shown so far.

I welcome the suggestion he has made about appointing an enquiry committee. But that Enquiry Committee should not go into discrimination against our Sikh brethren only. It should also go into discrimination against other people living in the Punjab. Things as they are in the Punjab, if there is any discrimination it is against the non-Sikh Hindus, the people of Haryana and the people of the hill areas.

I need not go into the figures. My friend Sardar Iqbal Singh has already referred to them. There are two Ministers here in this House from the Punjab. They are all our own. But the question is is there any Punjabi Minister who is a non-Sikh. Of course, Shri Khanna is there; but he is not from the Punjab he is from the N.W.F.P.

**An Hon. Member:** He is from Delhi. (Interruptions).

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** That however, is not the question. If all the Ministers come from one community, we do not mind. If there is any discrimination against the Sikhs, I would welcome the appointment of an enquiry committee which will go into this question. If there are any grievances of any community or any section of people, they must be removed.

But I do not agree with the suggestion made about the regional committees being given more powers. I am not against regional committees as such. There is one in Telangana; it was a backward area. Its people wanted some kind of protection and special treatment. Similarly, in Punjab too there are certain backward areas. Take Haryana, for instance. It had been kept deliberately backward by the British Government and it was not given its proper share. Till 1947, there was only one college upto the intermediate. The people in this region played a big role in 1857 freedom struggle and so they were kept like that. After freedom, naturally people expected that justice should be done to them. If a regional committee had been set up for Haryana to look after its special needs or for the hilly areas, I would have welcomed it. But the regional committees that have come in Punjab have come in the wrong way. They were created after dividing Punjab artificially and arbitrarily. This wrong division of Punjab into these two regions lies at the root of the present Punjab problem.

Some hon. Members have tried to attack Jana Sangh. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh is the only party that has taken a consistently national attitude towards this problem. . . . (Interruptions.) Our stand, since the beginning of this problem, has remained the same; we have not changed that stand. This stand which was supported by the SRC as well is that the whole of Punjab is a bilingual State. Different dialects are spoken in Punjab—Doabi, Multani, Landua, Jatu etc. They are all different dialects. You may call it Punjabi or Hindi. There is no distinction. There is no language problem in Punjab as there was a problem between Gujarat and Maharashtra to which my friend Shri Hiren Mukerjee referred to Maharashtra and Gujarat. He does not know the problem in Punjab. There is no analogy; there is no problem in Punjab in the sense in which there

was a problem between Gujarat and Maharashtra. The problem here is different. (Interruptions.)

Now, it has been said that the Punjab Hindus have repudiated their mother language. It is absolutely a false and wrong statement. They never repudiated Punjabi; they love their language. This does not mean that they should say that Hindi is not their language. In U. P. they speak Braj and Avadhi. They are very developed languages. But the people there say that their language is Hindi. A person speaks Braj at home but for official purposes says that his language is Hindi. A Rajasthani speaks Rajasthani but for official purposes his language is Hindi. Similarly, in Punjab there are so many dialects. For official purposes their language was, formerly, Urdu and now Hindi. If it is not wrong for a man from Braj or Avadh or Chattisgarh who speaks Braj, Avadhi or Chattisgari, to say, that for official purposes his language is Hindi, how is it wrong for a Punjabi who speaks one of the many dialects mentioned by me, to say that he speaks Hindi? These things should be clearly understood. It is not that I am opposed to Punjabi; it is a great language and forceful language and I love it. If anybody says that a Punjab Hindu repudiates it, it is a mischievous statement which I repudiate very strongly.

The real problem is this. Punjab is a State in which there can be no further division. Formerly, the area known as Haryana area was inhabited by people speaking Jatu dialect. That was before the Partition. After Partition, the situation has completely changed. In this area, out of a total estimated population of 45 lakhs according to the 1941 census, 18 lakhs were Muslims who have gone away to Pakistan and refugees from West Pakistan have come and settled in their place. Today, if you go to Rohtak, Bahadurgarh, Faridabad, Sonapat or Gurgaon, you will find that these are predominantly Punjabi-

speaking town. They speak Punjabi at home. Therefore, for anybody to say that this is Punjabi-speaking region and that is Hindi-speaking region is a travesty of truth. It is against facts. It is a most arbitrary thing. It was this division of Punjab into two regions—the so-called Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking—that has been at the root of the whole trouble. I want this division to be scrapped. The whole of Punjab from Gurgaon to Kangra is a bilingual State. That fact should be accepted, and that is the factual position. Anybody can go round and see for himself.

Take the SRC Report. There was no Jansangh representative there! There were three distinguished men—Shri Fazl Ali, Shri Hridayanath Kunzru and Shri Panikkar. The Commission went round the country. About 400 memoranda were submitted to them. They toured round Punjab for one month and met a number of witnesses. After that, they said in the report that there was no distinction as such between the Punjabi and the Hindi spoken in these regions. I want to read the relevant observation because it is very important for us to understand what they said. I quote:

“The line of demarcation between the Punjabi and the Hindi spoken in the State has, therefore, been more theoretical than real. In recent years, moreover, with the large-scale influx of Punjabi-speaking people from Western Punjab into all the districts of the State, this line has been further blurred.”

I, therefore, ask, how this line was drawn?—the line between the Hindi speaking and the Punjabi-speaking areas. Actually, this line was the this appeasement policy towards the this appeasement policy towards the Akalis which has encouraged them to make further demands. If you read the statement of Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh, they both say that “you have already demarcated the Punjabi-speaking area. Punjabi

[Shri Balraj Madhok]

Suba means that area which has been demarcated as the Punjabi-speaking region." Actually, I had a talk with Shri Bhimsen Sachar, the then Chief Minister of Punjab. He said that they had made this division not on a linguistic basis but purely on an administrative basis. That is what he said. I do not know whether he was right or wrong. But that is what he told me, namely, that division was made purely on an administrative basis. It is wrong to assert that division on the basis of language.

Therefore, my submission is this. The whole of Punjab is bilingual in which both Punjabi and Hindi are spoken, are understood. Both are used throughout the length and breadth of that State. Therefore, the right policy should be to say that Punjab is a bilingual State with both Hindi and Punjabi as regional languages. There should be arrangements made to see that anybody entering Government service knows both the languages. All the people must know both the languages. The parents should be given the option to start the education of their wards either in Punjabi or in Hindi and read the other language, as the case may be, after a particular stage.

Actually, the greatest disservice to the Punjab has been done by the Akalis themselves. I want to make a distinction between the Akalis and the Sikh community as such. The Akalis alone are not Sikhs. The Sikhs are an important community. They are a Panth or sect of Hindus. As Guru Gobind Singh said:

सकल जगत में खालसा पं र गाजे,

जगे धर्म हिन्दू सकल भंड भाजे ॥

He never considered the Khalsa as something opposed to Hinduism. He said, "let Hindu Dharma awake." Khalsa is a Panth. Hinduism is a Dharma. The former is part of Hinduism. Hinduism is a commonwealth. In this commonwealth, there are the

Arya Samajists, the Sanatanists, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Sikhs. There are many *Sampradayis* in this commonwealth. Therefore, to pit the Sikh against a Hindu is wrong. It is a wrong terminology. The Akalis are only a political community. That political community was the creation of the British as the Muslim League was the creation of the British policy of divide and rule. After the British had gone, this creation should have gone. Actually, when in 1947 the blood of these communities—the *Keshdharis* (Sikhs) and the *Sehjdharis* (Hindus) was spilt in the streets of Amritsar, Lahore and Sheikhpura all this division should have gone. But unfortunately, it was the Congress Government of the Punjab, the people who claim to be secular and nationalists, which created this poison once again. (*Interruptions*). These are facts and they cannot be repudiated. After partition the Akalis joined the Congress. After joining the Congress, they used Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Shri Bhimsen Sachar one against the other, and began to make a new demand, and that demand was "Punjabi means Punjabi written in the Gurumukhi script alone". It was a most fantastic demand.

Punjabi was never tied to one script. It was written in Persian, Devnagari and in Gurmukhi. scripts. But the Persian script was the most popular. Some of the greatest writers of Punjabi like Waris Shah, Bulleh Shah and Qadar Yar wrote their works in Persian script. I am not against any of these scripts. They are equally suited to write Punjabi. But to say that, "Punjabi means Punjabi in Gurmukhi script alone is wrong". Gurmukhi is our script. It is not a foreign script. It came from Sharda script which was used by the Dogras and the Kashmiris. It was really Braj, and the script was mainly in Braj. This Gurmukhi script was looked upon by the people of Punjab as a sacred script, coming from the *mukhs* of the Gurus. The Akalis have accepted this. In 1940-41, when the Akalis first joined the Ministry of Sir Sikan-

der, there was a pact known as the Sikander-Baldev Pact. In that pact, it is clearly written that Punjabi in Gurmukhi script will be given a proper place as the scriptural script of the Sikhs. Anybody can see that pact. They said, it should be recognised as the scriptural script of the Sikhs, but today they say Punjabi means Gurmukhi script alone. It was this thing which made many of the Punjabi Hindus, who speak Punjabi, who love Punjabi, inimical to it.

As I said, the real problem of Punjab is not the problem of language; it is the problem of script. If this unnecessary, illogical and irrational thing had not been accepted by the Congress Government in Punjab, all this trouble could have been avoided.

Many say it is a problem of communalism and they have dragged the name of Jana Sangh here. I want to say clearly that the Jana Sangh does not look upon the Punjabi problem from a communal angle. We have only one angle i.e. the national angle. We look upon all problems from the country's point of view. Our great leader, Dr. Mukerjee, was the first great martyr who died for Indian unity. We stand for Indian unity.

We oppose the division of Punjab on the basis on which Master Tara Singh wants it, because we are convinced that it is anti-national. It will harm the people of Punjab; it will harm India; it will harm the Sikhs themselves. There is no animosity in our minds about Sikhs as such. I consider myself a Sikh. I am a better *Shishya* of the Gurus than many of the Sikhs can claim to be. In my own home, *Guru Grantha Sahib* is read every day. There are lakhs and lakhs of people in India in whose homes *Guru Grantha Sahib* is read every day and who look upon Guru Nanak Dev as their Guru and leader. They are all Sikhs. But today by tying Sikhism to a particular script, the Akalis are doing a disservice to the Sikhs themselves.

Look at the census figures. In Punjab, Sikhism has grown fast but at whose cost? Not at the cost of the Christians or Muslims. In 1901, the Sikhs—the *kesdhari* Hindus—were only 7 per cent of Punjab's population. In 1911, they went up to 10 per cent, in 1921 to 13 per cent and in 1931, they were 17 per cent. As the number of *kesdharis* increased, the number of Hindus went on decreasing. That means Sikhs came entirely out of the Hindu society. In West Punjab, there was a tradition that every family would give the eldest son to the Gurus, so that he might be made a soldier for the cause of the nation and for the cause of dharma. That is how the number went on growing. It is wrong for any Sikh to say that we are not Hindus, that we are separate and our religion is separate.

Some Muslim papers in Pakistan have been saying that the Sikhs are nearer to Islam, because both believe in one God, as if the concept of one God is the gift of Islam to the world. The concept of one God is as old as *Rig Veda*. Therefore, it is this approach that the Sikhs are not Hindus which is creating all kinds of mischief.

The real problem of Punjab is neither the problem of religions nor the problem of languages; it is a political problem. Recently one important Punjabi leader, Dewan Alakhdhari, met Master Tara Singh at Amritsar and said to him, "You want a Sikh State. But Punjab is a Sikh State. The Chief Minister is a Sikh; The Chairman of the Assembly is a Sikh; the Chairman of the Council is a Sikh; the I. G. is a Sikh. There are Sikhs in all important posts. Why do you say there is no power given to Sikhs?" Master Tara Singh replied—it was published in the papers also—"I want power in the hands of Akalis." He wants an Akali State, in which the Akalis could dominate. It is a pure and simple communal demand. Not even that. It is a demand for political power not only for a community, but for a section of that community. It is very harmful. As my friend, Sardar Ajit Singh point-

[Shri Balraj Madhok]

ed out, in the villages, the people feel that we are going to have a separate State and they have their eyes already on the property of the non-Sikhs. That kind of thing is there. That is a hard reality, though nobody wants that that should happen.

Here are our communist friends who join every anti-national cause. In Aligarh University, they have made common cause with the communal elements. In 1947, they made common cause with the Muslim League and now they have made common cause with Master Tara Singh. It is this anti-national character of the C.P.I. which is the real bane of this party. That is why this party has not grown and it will not grow in this country.

Therefore, I say that the real problem of Punjab is the problem of political power. Some people want to have political power in their own hands. Master Tara Singh has been in the public field for a long time. His nominees have become Ministers in the State as also in the Centre. Sardar Swaran Singh has become a Minister in the Centre. Giani Kartar Singh is a Minister in Punjab. Sardar Hukam Singh is the Deputy Speaker here. He is nowhere. He wants to become the founder of a new State. He is nowhere. He wants to become the founder of a new State. His model is Jinnah. He is following his footsteps and his policies. He knows that his demand is illogical and irrational, and also that a majority of the people who speak Punjabi are opposed to it. Therefore he has now taken to the most undemocratic type of pressure, and that is 'fast'. I feel that fasting has no place in a democratic set up. This kind of fasting to achieve political ends is a wrong thing. We should condemn it. Fasting in temples and mosques is still worse. In the 12th century in Europe we had the right of sanctuary, whereby a criminal after committing a crime could go into a church and he would not be arrested. There was a movement against it and ultimately it was given up. What England and other

European countries gave up in the 13th and 14th centuries, we are adopting today. I ask, what prevents the government from arresting a criminal whether he is in a gurdwara, a mosque or a temple. Today it is gurdwara; tomorrow mosques may become centres of political and anti-national activities as they are fast becoming. Would you tolerate it? I say, therefore, that we must face the problem in its grim reality, and I think all democratic people, all freedom loving people will be with the Government if they take a firm stand on this matter.

I want to say one thing more before I conclude. We are showing too much importance to the fast by Master Tara Singh. There are two other people who are on fast—Swami Rameshwaranand and Yogiraj Suryadev. But we find that the Prime Minister is writing letters to Master Tara Singh, he is replying to them and parleys go on even though he is on fast for a wrong thing, for an anti-national demand, for an undemocratic demand. On the other hand, Swami Rameshwaranand is an equally great man, an equally respected man, who has kept fast for a national cause, a good cause, a right cause, for maintaining the unity of Punjab. You do not give as much importance to Swami Rameshwaranand as to Master Tara Singh. This shows a communal outlook. This must go. Simply because there is some kind of pressure from one quarter, we should not submit to it. We should adopt a rational and national approach. At the same time, we should have enough firmness, and only then this problem can be solved.

So I conclude, Sir, by saying that I welcome the Enquiry Commission. Appoint an Enquiry Commission to find out if there is discrimination but do not encourage regional committees. Division of Punjab into two regions is the root of the trouble. It must be scrapped. Any further power given to regional committees would create a very bad precedent.

The Telangana Committee will then ask for more powers. The Cachar and other areas in other States would ask for similar regional committees. It will be dangerous. India is already a federation. Are you are now going to make every State a new federation? That will be a wrong thing. I would request you not to adopt this kind of appeasement policy. Appeasement will only create more problems. You divided Punjab into two regions and created regional committees. Have they satisfied the Akalis? They have only whetted their appetite. Now if you give more power to the regional committees, it will be another step towards the achievement of their real objective of partitioning Punjab.

Therefore, I request that the *status quo* should be maintained. The regional committees should go. If they can't go immediately, the *status quo* should be maintained and no change should be made in their power under pressure from any quarter because any change—some hon. friends said, at this moment—is not good. Why at this moment? If something is bad it is bad for all times. If something is bad today, it is bad tomorrow, it is bad the day after. Therefore, any change, anything which may divide Punjab on any basis would be wrong. Already Punjab is a truncated province. They say in Hindi:

बूझ का जला छाड़ फूक फूक कर पीता है ।

We have seen what partition means. Many assurances were given to us before partition of 1947. But what happened? Ten million people were killed, property worth arabs was lost, thousands of our mothers and sisters were dishonoured. We do not want that thing to repeated in Punjab. Therefore, in the national interest, in the interest of Punjab, in the interest of the people of Punjab, do not submit to any pressure and maintain the unity of Punjab at all costs.

1948 (a1) L.S.D.—2.

Shri Siva Raj (Chingleput-Reserved Sch. Castes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will follow your advice not to import heat into my speech. Even if I wanted to I could not do so, not being a Sikh or a Hindu. The time for argument and for discussion is past, according to me, and the time for action has arisen. Indeed, I cannot be a party for such mock heroics as our hon. friend, Shri Daulta, is displaying here today. We all feel what an unfortunate situation it is and the way it has arisen at a time like this when our country and also our Prime Minister is busy and engaged about much more serious problems that affect not merely the safety and security of India, but also of the peace of the world. At a time like this, one would have thought that a statesman-like attitude would have been adopted by our Prime Minister and with the reputation that he has got as a person of integrity, intelligence and, above everything else, of gentlemanliness, one would have thought that he would have made a different approach from the one that seems to have been taken in his statement. That statement, according to me, has made him to put himself out of action, which is what is wanted at the moment.

17 hrs.

It is easy to say that the demand for the Punjabi Suba is a communal demand, and it is easy for some one else to say that the opposition by the Hindi-speaking Hindus of the Punjab to the Punjabi Suba is equally communal, if not more communal than the Sikh demand for the Punjabi Suba is.

It is unfortunate no doubt that this demand for Punjabi-speaking area, which is a perfectly legitimate, understandable and accepted principle, has resulted in the fact of probably the Sikhs being in a majority of that area. That does not, however, as my hon. friend, Professor Mukerjee has pointed out, dislodge the claim for the Punjabi Suba of the Punjabi-speaking area. I feel that in a situation like this, the Prime Minister was not entirely

[Shri Siva Raj]

conceding the demand, as made by the Akalis or the Sikhs of the Punjab. I hope he will still open up his mind to a further consideration of this question and not take the stand merely on the ground that this demand for the Punjabi Suba is a communal one.

In our country—at any rate, I have got the honesty to say so—what is a demand which is not communal? You might call it linguistic, or you might call it political, or you might call it regional but, by and large, reduced to realities, every demand is a communal demand. And, if I may say so, if the Sikhs are afraid in the Punjab, and that is my reading of the situation there, if they are afraid of what they call an integrated Punjab or a bilingual Punjab, it is because they feel that factually and actually the economic power and the political power will pass into the hands of the Hindus. Though the Prime Minister stated that the Punjab State had advanced, far in advance of other States, both in its economic progress and also in other respects, the fact remains that the majority of the people, and especially the Sikhs, are really working class. They are working agricultural labourers or industrial workers. They are very hard-working and very enterprising people.

If in spite of the handicaps that they suffered from they have come to the top, it is due to their entire personal merit. I do not know to what extent Master Tara Singh represents the Sikh community as a whole, but I do know this that he has been able to be in the public eye not merely of the Punjab but of the whole of India for such a long time—probably even for a longer time than our Prime Minister, Shri Nehru.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): No, no; absolutely wrong.

Shri Siva Raj: I said 'probably'. Merely five years, this side or that does

not make any difference at all. That shows the command that he has over the people and the confidence that he gets from the people whose cause he seeks to represent. It does not matter to which political party we belong, we must respect a gentleman or a person who commands the support and confidence of large masses of population. The Sikhs are not a small population and even if they are a small population they are not a weak or cowardly population. They are a brave, strong people.

I remember some years ago when Sir Malcolm Hailey was the Governor of Punjab he resorted to very repressive measures against the Sikhs for reasons best known to the British Government, perhaps at the instance of the Central Government or the Viceroy. After about two or three years he found that the Sikhs were a very irrepressible people; nevertheless a very strong, brave and useful people. So he wrote to the Viceroy, "If I want to serve my King, my advice to the Viceroy is that we must drop these repressive measures." He revised his opinion and thereafter took to encouraging the Sikhs in their development. I wish our Prime Minister will have the capacity to realise that the Sikhs are a very useful element of the Indian population. That is a matter of fact. In the history of India they might play a very great part occupy as they do the border areas between India and Pakistan or between India and China even. I cannot disregard the value of the Sikhs as a population from that angle. It is far better that we keep them as friends rather than risk making them against us by denying this demand.

Shri M. C. Jaha (Kaithal): What is your concrete proposal in this regard?

Shri Siva Raj: My concrete proposal is for the Prime Minister to state that the demand for the Punjabi Suba is not a communal demand, that this is a demand which can be consi-

dered from other angles. Will your Prime Minister have the courage to say so? Will he have the strength of mind to say so, unless he is forced to say so by supervening circumstances like those that happened in Maharashtra and elsewhere?

My other feeling is that the one person who seems to thrive on the situation is the Chief Minister of Punjab. He does not seem to contribute a solution to the difficulty at all. For instance, in Maharashtra Chief Minister Chavan contributed his best. Down in Madras during some kind of a dispute between Andhras and Tamils, Kamraj contributed his best. Here we find that the Chief Minister, Shri Kairon, seems to thrive on the situation. I am told that he has taken recourse to repressive measures which cannot be maintained.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will request the hon. Member not to refer to the Chief Minister. Each State has got an Assembly. They may say similar things about us. All Assemblies under the Constitution are privileged. All hon. Members in any Assembly or in Parliament are privileged people.

**Shri Siva Raj:** I bow to your ruling.

**Mr. Speaker:** What I urge upon hon. Members is not to refer to people who cannot defend themselves. The Chief Minister could possibly say, "The very fact that I am keeping quiet though I am myself a Sikh clearly shows that there is no such problem in the Punjab. Why does the hon. Member think of the others cause?" Therefore it is wrong to say that he has not intervened, as if the hon. Member from Madras knows that there is so much trouble and he is trying to fish in troubled waters. He is not here to justify himself. There are always two things. He can possibly say when he comes here, "There is no trouble. The hon. Member from Madras is trying to create trouble. He finds some trouble though he says he does not know the situation." Therefore I would urge upon the hon.

Member not to refer to that. We do not know exactly why he is keeping quiet. He may proceed to other things.

**Shri Siva Raj:** I am sorry, I did not make my point quite clear. I really wanted to say....

**Mr. Speaker:** Two opinions can be held about it.

**Shri Siva Raj:**...while other Chief Ministers are contributing from time to time, in this great State, the Chief Minister of Punjab has not devoted his time attention to the solution of this problem.

**Mr. Speaker:** Possibly he feels there is no problem there. Therefore, there is no good referring to him because he is not here to defend himself.

**Shri Siva Raj:** That is right.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may proceed to something else.

**Shri Siva Raj:** Nothing else, except through this House and through you to appeal to these unfortunate people who have taken to fasting as a means of enforcing their demands. I have bitter experience of this ugly sight of fasting when I was present at the fast unto death by Mahatma Gandhi to get rid of separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes. That is why, with all the vehemence that I can command, I appeal to these friends who are fasting, to give up the fast by such means as we can enforce upon them.

With these words, I thank you very much.

**Mr. Speaker:** Sardar Hukam Singh.

**Shri Rajendra Singh (Chapra)**  
rose—

**Mr. Speaker:** He need not come to their rescue.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शर्मा : (बुधवार) :  
पंचायत के सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस पार्टी की ओर से

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

चार शक्तियों को बोलने का आपने अवसर दिया है। पंजाब के विरोधी दल के किसी व्यक्ति को भी अवसर दिया जाना चाहिये ताकि वह भी पंजाब की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में अपनी बात कह सके।

श्री नरेश प्रसाद (मयूरा) : मुझे भी कई विशेष बातें कहनी हैं और ऐसी अच्छी बातें कहनी हैं कि जिससे मेल हो जाएगा और कोई सवाल नहीं बच रहेगा। इस वास्ते मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मुझे भी बोलने का मौका दिया जाए।

**Sardar Hukam Singh (Bhatinda):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, as soon as the announcement was made that there would be discussion of this topic, I felt apprehensive whether it would bring out any useful results at all. I am convinced that my fears were true. We have not dealt with this subject which is serious, with that seriousness which is demanded. It was really a critical moment. We might differ from Master Tara Singh. I have my own differences; I do not agree with his. But, in a democracy, it must be admitted that he is the leader of the masses. Can we shut our eyes to that? When dealing with this should we deal with him so lightly as has been done by some hon. friends? He might be anything. Whatever you may call him. I may agree with you in certain respects, this is not the way how we should have dealt with this subject at a moment when we find three of our venerable men are on fast and their lives are at stake.

It has been said that this demand for Punjabi Suba was communal from the very conception, and the Sikhs have been demanding this even before the Partition. If really there is a villain of this activity, I am here, and if he is to be hanged, let me be hanged. The question is not that. It was the latter portion that should

have been given greater attention—the situation that has arisen as a result of these facts.

Punjabi Suba—some hon. Members want that—I had been on the floor of this House advocating this cause. Many a time, I have stood and pleaded for it. But, there are other reasons that out-weigh at this moment. I consider Hindu-Sikh harmony is more important than getting this demand conceded at this moment. If, by proceeding in this manner, we create tension and a permanent gulf is to be created between the Hindus and Sikhs, I would rather not have this Punjabi Suba at this moment. Communal harmony between Hindus and Sikhs is more dear to me than any demand for a linguistic State. If once that is going and the chances get remote, certainly, I would not go in for that demand.

There is another consideration also. I oppose this fasting as a means of achieving any political ends. This is not the method. It is coercion and exerting of undue pressures. In a democracy, it does not fit in. This is no argument at all that earlier it had yielded results or that Government had been succumbing to those pressures. At the same time, it should not be decried at all, as was done here by many hon. friends, because it has been resorted to by many virtuous souls; and even after Partition, some of our venerable friends have resorted to it.

**Shri Tangamanj (Madurai):** Including the Finance Minister.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** That would be for my hon. friend to say.

It has been undertaken by many venerable friends. So, we should not decry it in such a manner.

Then, I should say, that the old things are again raked up. It has been said that even before Partition,

there had been in the Akali Dal a desire to have a separate Sikh State. It was before the Sapru Committee that it was put up. I agree there. But the context should be realised. The real position which was given in the memorandum was as follows. I shall just read out four or five lines from that.

"The position of the Sikhs—and that has remained till the end—*vis-a-vis* the Muslim League demand for Pakistan is well known. They are irrevocably opposed to any partition of India on a communal basis. Their opposition is based on considerations which are also well known, some of them being that the demand is unnatural, reactionary and is in opposition to the best political and economic interests of the country as a whole, as well as of the portions and regions sought to be partitioned off."

That is the real position that the Sikhs have taken in an authoritative memorandum that they filed before the Sapru Committee, and that has always been appreciated. It was in a different context. Here, I might point out another thing. The memorandum further says:

"We have been asked as to whether we have any views to express in case the Pakistan scheme is imposed on us by an authority whose power we cannot hope to challenge successfully and which may be the British Government or the agreed will of the Hindus and Muslims of India."

That was where we were cornered. If such a situation arose, where the Hindus and the Muslims and the British Government had all agreed to the partition of India, then, had the Sikhs any proposals to make? That was the question before them. It was under these circumstances that they said:

"In that case, we would insist on the creation of a separate Sikh

State which should include the substantial majority of the Sikh population and their important sacred shrines and historic places."

These things should not be dragged in now, because they had to be said in different context; now, to dub the community for any activities or statements that they might have made at that moment, would not be proper or relevant at all.

Some of my hon. friends perhaps have taken it so lightly that they said that immediately after the Partition, Master Tara Singh was saying this and that. I would only read from this publication by the Government of India entitled *India's Minorities* which is the Government of India's statement. I am not talking of Master Tara Singh, but the statement quotes Master Tara Singh: It says:

"The Sikhs also have expressed their confidence in the union and its leaders. In a press conference on November 29, 1947, Master Tara Singh, the leader of the Akali Party which is the premier organisation of the Sikhs said 'We shall continue to support the Congress and the Union Government in its task of reconstruction.'"

So, there was no case at all.

But my hon. friend Shri Bal Raj Madhok has referred to the fact that the trouble started when the two regions were made? Why were the regions made? Why had the Sachar formula to be brought in? Where was the trouble at that time? We had not yet unburdened ourselves of the load that we had carried on our heads, when the Jullundur municipality, in spite of the fact that 99 per cent of the people, or rather, every 9999 persons out of every 10,000 persons spoke Punjabi in that district, passed a resolution that Hindi would be the medium of instruction under the Jullundur municipality. The district board, at

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

the same time, passed a resolution that Punjabi would be the medium of instruction. The clash started. The commissioner just cancelled or threw overboard both the resolutions? Was there anything to be done like that?

Anyhow, I only draw the attention of this hon. House to the fact that the trouble started when the mother tongue was disowned. Today it might be said, as Shri Bal Raj Madhok has said, that no Punjabi Hindu has disowned his mother tongue. It is tragic that this should come from Shri Bal Raj Madhok. Here is the case of the Arya Samaj by Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta. He has given the figures of Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking people. How does he arrive at them? He says:

"For reasons given in the previous paragraph, I have presumed that the Sikh population is going in for the Punjabi language and the Hindu population is going in for the Hindi language".

This is really the rub, where it is created.

Now, is this Parliament going to accept this position that the Hindus are Hindi-speaking and the Sikhs are Punjabi-speaking? Is this acceptable to anyone here?

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Never.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** Should we proceed on the assumption that this is the basis of all argument?

Then it is said that the whole of the Punjab is bilingual. It is bilingual. It consists of two regions, linguistic regions. One is Hindi-speaking—predominantly of course—and the other is Punjabi-speaking. But they are both there.

I am not pleading just at present for the creation of a Punjabi Suba. As

I have said already, there are other considerations that must be taken into account just at present. Before me, there are two things that are very weighty. One is—and I have said so earlier also—that fasting is not in consonance with the Sikh tenet. It is against Sikh religious beliefs, and one who does it, sacrifices all the principles of the Sikh religion. It is prohibited in our religion. I had asked: let the religious heads of the Takht gather together and give a dictum, a decision, and then it would be clear. I can confidently say here that Master Tara Singh himself has been telling us that really this is not in accordance with the Sikh religion and fasting is not permitted. I have it on his authority and I say it here. If we have sacrificed the Sikh religious beliefs and the principles that we cherish so much, would it be worthwhile to have a Punjabi Suba—at the sacrifice of those things?

I would plead with those who are going on with this that this is not the method of achieving the objective that we have got. It would do us harm. Then, Master Tara Singh has pleaded so many times that Hindu-Sikh unity is dear to him. If that is dear to him, his continuing this fast is rather creating greater gulf. That is, the cherished goal is receding from sight; it is not approaching.

Therefore, if he really loves Hindu-Sikh unity, if he has any regard for the religious beliefs of the Sikhs, if he really feels that communal harmony is of paramount value and we must achieve it—as he has said so many times—my appeal to him is that he should give up this fast, allow conditions to become normal; let the Hindus and Sikhs have some time when they can think over calmly; let the tensions that have been created, lessen. Then alone we can sit together and come to an agreement, as he has been saying for the last few years. He has appealed to the Hindus as well. He says, "I now look forward"—he does not look towards the Congress—

"to the Hindu leaders". If he has that in mind, really it would be an easy thing for him, after giving up the fast, to sit with the Hindu leaders. Then if they can agree, probably there may not be as much opposition at that time.

But so long as the present tensions exist, so long as the atmosphere is surcharged with these doubts, mistrust and all those things, I am sure that even if an immediate advantage might be obtained by recourse to this fast, ultimately the Sikhs themselves would not benefit by this achievement. It might be a sentimental or psychological thing that he might get even if he succeeds—and there is no hope under the present circumstances, because it is a fact that I also do not believe, as I have said earlier, that a Punjabi Suba can be conceded at this moment. I appeal to him with all the sincerity that I have that he should, even at this stage, in the interests of Hindu-Sikh unity, in the interests of the preservation of those Sikh principles and in the interests of the country, break the fast, allow some time to elapse, and then perhaps he might be able to sit with the Hindus and the Congress or other bodies, and a way might be found by mutual agreement, not by the will of one party, which might be acceptable to all, and then alone the Punjabi Suba would be of some use if it is achieved.

I have also to appeal to our leader the Prime Minister. He has said on more than one occasion that Punjabi is the dominant language. In this statement also he has said:

"I would even say that the Punjab as it is represents linguistically a homogeneous State with certainly some linguistic minority groups."

If really this is a fact which is believed by the State Government also, and the State Government works on it, then I am sure most of the difficulties would be removed. This, I again say, is a passage on which hopes

can be pinned, and if this policy is pursued in accordance with this statement of the Prime Minister, probably we will find a way out this mess.

**Shri Goray (Poona):** We are meeting under the lengthening shadows of a crisis, and the tragic backdrop to this discussion has been provided by Master Tara Singh and other two leaders who are on fast.

Let it be made plain at the very beginning that I hold all these persons who are on fast in high respect. At the same time, I would like to make it clear that as a political weapon I do not consider a fast to be a proper one.

I should have thought that the arguments that were put forth here by my hon. colleague, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, and others would convince no one. Shri Mathur referred to the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. I thought this report had become a dead letter by now. So much water has flowed down the Jumna during the last five or six years that hardly anything remains of the SRC report.

As one who was intimately connected with the movement in Maharashtra for the bifurcation of Bombay, I would like to point out that the SRC had been very definite that Bombay city should not go to Maharashtra because, if it was given to Maharashtra, the economy of that city would be ruined. When we came to this House and pleaded for the bifurcation of the bi-lingual State of Bombay, not once or twice but every time we were told that Parliament had passed a legislation and it could not be changed.

Sir, you were a witness to the fact that the same people who always clapped the former hon. Home Minister, the late Pandit Pant—when in their shouts our small voices were drowned—were the same people who clapped him again, and perhaps louder, when he came with the legislation bifurcating the State of Bombay. And I

[Shri Goray]

do not give up hope because I know how flexible the mind of our Prime Minister is. He was the man who went to Bombay and took a leading part in the inaugural ceremony of the Maharashtra State.

Here is our Minister for Food and Agriculture, a very successful Minister who had told us that we may wait for 500 years and Bombay will not go to Maharashtra. And, I know that he is one of the most popular leaders of the Congress in that city. Therefore, I am not unnecessarily pessimistic.

I would only say that the Prime Minister should not go by the advice of people like Shri Daulta who are birds of passage and of those people who always obey the party whip. We must go to the fundamentals of the problem. (Interruptions). You will profit much if you listen to my advice. I would say that this principle was accepted and implemented throughout India that the prominent linguistic groups will have their own States. It does not matter that a particular community is putting forward that particular plea. Somebody has to take the lead and others follow. Because in the Punjab it is the Akali party or the Akali Dal that is taking the lead, it does not mean that we should brand this whole affair as a communal demand.

What pained me most was that in this statement made by the Prime Minister he has used such words which create a sort of gloom. He has talked of partition. Where is partition? It is reorganisation of a State; it is not partition. And because he has used the word 'partition' so many times because he has talked about the division and break-up of families, he has said that not only the Punjabis but the Sikhs themselves will have to suffer, people have begun to think in terms of the partition that was there in 1947. I was very sorry that in this House, when we are discussing

such a grave matter which is likely to affect the future not of the Punjabis and the Sikhs alone but of the whole nation, people can afford to be a sort of jovial and wisecracking. I was very much sorry when I heard that people went to the extent of calling Master Tara Singh anti-national\*\* and what not. (Interruptions). Is this the atmosphere to be created? You appealed to us . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I am appealing to him also. Whatever has been said, that word has not been used. Therefore, the hon. Member may not agree with what another hon. Member has said who has referred to various instances to say that he is not a leader of those people and that he has been changing. That was his idea. It is open to the hon. Member to refute it. But the other hon. Member did not call him that. Let it not go on record. I would ask the hon. Member to withdraw it.

**Shri Goray:** Then, did he not call him anti-national?

**Mr. Speaker:** Whatever he has said he has said. But that word will be expunged.

**Shri Goray:** I have withdrawn it.

**Mr. Speaker:** It will go out of record. I do not want the Press to report it; it would create disturbance.

**Shri Goray:** You appealed to us all to see to it that in this delicate situation we do not say anything which will a sort of disturb the balance and sanity of the people. I agree with it. But I would like to ask Shri Madhok and other people what is to be our attitude towards the Sikhs. Simply because they want a Punjabi Suba are we going to say that the Sikhs are anti-national? Are we going to say . . . (Interruptions). Here Shri Madhok said that the Sikhs

\*\*Expunged, as ordered by the Chair.

are not at all non-Hindus, that they are Hindus, that they are a sect of the Hindus; and then he went on to say, if they came into power they would have their eyes on our property and....

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** I said the Akalis. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Goray:** Who are Sikhs? Who are Akalis?

**An Hon. Member:** There is a lot of difference.

**Shri Goray:** Why is it that the Prime Minister of this country meets Sant Fateh Singh if he knows that the person he is to meet is not worth meeting?

**Shri Tyagi:** Because he is the Prime Minister of the whole country.

**Shri Goray:** Therefore, I am saying that if that is the attitude with which we are going to look at the Sikhs, let us say firmly that we shall have nothing to do with them. This is not the attitude with which you will be able to solve this problem. I know that I am a minority in this House.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** What is your stand? What do you want to say?.... (*Interruptions*). Tell us frankly what is the policy of the P.S.P.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Shri Goray started by saying that we must on this occasion be as calm as possible. I found in some of the speeches a reference made being extended to cover a larger community. I do not think that anyone said here like that or anyone condemned the whole community of Sikhs as such. All that he said was that Master Tara Singh alone had been changing from time to time and then said that the Akalis had been anxious and not the generality of Sikhs. In trying to settle this difference, let us not create more differences.

**Shri Goray:** I object very emphatically to this statement that the Akalis

also, as a group or a community, are such persons without character or morals; it is not correct.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Nobody from this side said so, it is from the Opposition itself..... (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody said that Akalis are immoral.

**Shri Goray:** Yes, Sir.... (*Interruptions*). If he wants to expunge my remarks, then some other remarks will have also to be expunged because they reflect very badly on the procedures of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** Has anybody said that Akalis are immoral?

**Shri Balraj Madhok:** Never.

**Mr. Speaker:** The misfortune is this. If these words were used, I would have expunged them. All that I understood Shri Madhok to say was that such things which occurred in Pakistan, when feelings between two communities were high, may happen. That is how I understood him. It is not that he said that under all circumstances a particular community is bad. To avoid further misunderstandings, it is good to understand what other hon. Member has said first..... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Members have said worse things.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let him come to the point.

**Shri Goray:** I would like to draw your attention to this fact. The whole point was developed like this that this demand for a Punjabi Suba is only the thin end of the wedge and once it is granted it will be Sikhistan and in Sikhistan Hindus will not be safe. If Hindus will not be safe, it means that their property, their women will not be safe.

**Mr. Speaker:** No, no.

**Shri Goray:** If you look into the records, Sir, I am more than sure that I will be vindicated. What exactly are your relations going to be with the Sikhs? You doubt everybody. You doubt the Muslims; you doubt the Buddhists; you doubt the Adivasis, people like the Nagas; you doubt the Sikhs..... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** It is absolutely wrong.... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** What does the hon. Member mean by saying "you"? Let him refer specifically. At least many of us who have spoken including myself have spoken in high praise of the Sikhs. Let him also mention that fact. What does he mean by saying "you"? (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Goray:** If the Sikhs are good, what is the harm in their having a separate State? (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let the hon. Member proceed. He need not say "you".

**Shri Goray:** I have read the Prime Minister's statement very carefully. I do not find any convincing argument as to why the Sikhs should not be given a State, or rather, why the Akali demand for a Punjabi Suba should not be granted. A separate State has been granted to every linguistic group. I would like to say this: that we are talking amongst ourselves. Why is it that our people here, who are so much convinced about the people's opinion in Punjab do not go out and face the masses? (*Interruption*).

**An Hon. Member:** We have faced them.

**Shri Goray:** I too have been able to ascertain the opinion of the ordinary Sikhs, and as far as I know, they stand solidly behind the demand of Master Tara Singh, namely, the demand for a Punjabi Suba.

**Some Hon. Members:** No no.

**Shri Goray:** That is exactly your attitude! It had been your attitude every time when the demand for a linguistic State was made. And then you had to retrace it and take it back. The demand had to be conceded later. I do not want this Government to be on record to the effect that they first denied a certain thing and then they retraced it. Therefore, if past experience is any guide, I would say that the Prime Minister, when he made the statement, should have considered what is going to be the effect of this particular statement. From the speeches that have been made here, it is seen that the Sikhs are a vital part of our community; they are doing wonderful work in the frontier; they are in the army and in the factories, and everywhere. Therefore, I would appeal once again to the Prime Minister to go deeper into this aspect and not be guided by those people who always say "Yes" to whatever he says.

My last appeal to the Prime Minister is this. He is leaving this country within a day or two. Once he goes out, and if this fast of Master Tara Singh continues, and the other two fasts also continue, and if they culminate in events—which nobody wishes to take place—then I suppose there will be a catastrophe, and in the Prime Minister's absence, there will be nobody to handle the situation. I would appeal to him now. He is going to attend a summit meeting, but let him not neglect the base; the summit may wait but if the base gives way, this nation will be riddled with communal disharmony and communal factions and then all that we have worked for in the past will be lost. Therefore, I would even go to the extent of appealing to the Prime Minister to cancel his visit and stay here and see that this crisis is handled properly and in the right manner.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain):** May I seek one clarification, Sir? I should like to say only one sentence. (*Interruption*). The hon. Member just now referred to an aspect, by saying

that the Government deny one thing first and then they retrace the steps; that was, I think, with reference to Bombay. May I say that it was Shri Asoka Mehta who first pleaded the cause of a bilingual Bombay State, and then the Members of the Opposition also supported him, and thereafter, the Government took it up. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Several Hon. Members —rose

Mr. Speaker: Ch. Ranbir Singh.

श्री० रणबीर सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सुबह हमने देखा कि प्रजा सोशलिस्ट वाले भाई और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्यगण मुस्तलिफ रास्तों पर चल रहे थे लेकिन कुछ घंटों के वकफे ने उनको तबदील कर दिया और इस मौके पर हम देख रहे हैं कि वह एक साथ चल रहे हैं। श्री अशोक मेहता जो कि इस घबसर पर यहां हाउस में मौजूद नहीं हैं और जिन्होंने पंजाबी सूबे के निर्माण की हिमायत में बयान दिया है, यह वही श्री अशोक मेहता थे जिन्होंने जब कि स्टेट्स रिफॉर्मेशन बिल के ऊपर विचार हो रहा था तो वे सारे देश के अन्दर द्विभाषी सूबे चाहते थे और वह यूनीलिगवल स्टेट के खिलाफ थे। जहां तक हमारे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के भाइयों का ताल्लुक है मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब की बदकिस्मती से जब सन् १९४७ में भारत को स्वाधीनता मिलने के घबसर पर पाकिस्तान का निर्माण हुआ तो वह यही हमारे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के भाई थे जिन्होंने कि मुस्लिम लीग की पाकिस्तान की डिमाण्ड के साथ अपनी आवाज मिलाई थी और इतिहास इस बात का गवाह है कि विभाजन के परिणामस्वरूप इस देश को और पंजाब को काफी नुकसान हुआ। एक दो लाख नहीं करीब चार लाख के करीब पंजाब के रहने वाले भाइयों पर जो कि प्रायः हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर या पाकिस्तान के अन्दर उनके जीवन पर वह बदकिस्मत तयुर्बा हुआ और वह बड़े

घफ्तोस की चीज है कि प्रायः फिर यह सोशलिस्ट पार्टी वाले भाई उनके साथ मिश्र कर इस तरह की कम्युनल डिमाण्ड का साथ दे रहे हैं जो कि देश के वास्ते और पंजाब के वास्ते अहितकर है . . . . . (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : श्री० रणबीर सिंह बिल्कुल गलत चीज कह रहे हैं। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने कब ऐसा कहा है ?

श्री० रणबीर सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माफी चाहता हूँ। वास्तव में मेरा मतलब प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी से है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बिना जाने यदि इस तरह से कहते हैं तो उनको माफी मांगनी चाहिए।

श्री० रणबीर सिंह : मैं दरअसल सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लिए न कह कर पी० एस० पी० और कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों के बारे में कह रहा था। मैं अपने सोशलिस्ट भाइयों को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि पहले की तरह फिर वे न बहक जायें। मेरी ममझ में यह नहीं आता कि जो भाई यह कहते हैं कि पंजाबी सूबे की मांग कम्युनल मांग नहीं है वह हकीकत से क्यों कतराते हैं ? मैं गोरे साहब की सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर दो घाम चुनाव हुए और वह घाम चुनाव पंजाब के अन्दर भी हुए और जहाँ सिक्ख लोग आबाद हैं वहाँ भी हुए। अब हमारे गोरे साहब जो प्रकाली पार्टी को सिक्खों की बाह्य नुमायन्दा जमात समझते हैं और जो समझते हैं कि शायद तमाम सिक्खों का नाम ही प्रकाली पार्टी है मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सन् १९४२ के घाम चुनावों के अन्दर पंजाब में प्रकालियों का बड़े से बड़ा नेता कांग्रेस के सिपाहियों के खिलाफ हारा। क्या उनको यह भी मालूम है कि घाम जो हमारे एक मन्त्री हैं वह सन्

[श्री० रणवीर सिंह]

१९५२ के ग्राम चुनावों में अपने सूबे के कांग्रेस के एक छोटे से सिपाही के मुकाबले में हारे थे ? उनका नाम जानी करतारसिंह है। आज पंजाब प्रमेम्बली के अन्दर १५४ मेम्बरों में से जहां ६२ आदमी सिक्ख हैं, उन ६२ सिक्ख मेम्बरों में से सिर्फ १० मेम्बरस ऐसे हैं जो कि पंजाबी सूबे के हक में आवाज उठाते हैं तो मैं अपने श्री गोरे से पूछना चाहूंगा कि बाकी ५२ सिक्ख मेम्बर जो कि पंजाबी सूबे के हक में नहीं हैं उनको वे सिक्ख मानते हैं या नहीं ?

(Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

श्री० रणवीर सिंह : यहां पर दस सिक्ख मेम्बरस हैं और वह जो पंजाबी सूबे के हक में नहीं हैं तो क्या आप उनको सिक्ख नहीं मानेंगे ? इसलिये गोरे साहब जितनी जल्दी यह चीज समझ जायें कि अकाली पार्टी नाम नहीं है तो बेहतर होगा। अब जहां तक सिक्ख जाति का सम्बन्ध है वह एक बहादुर कौम है और उसके प्रति हमारे दिलों में आदर का भाव है और बहुतेरे सिक्ख हमारे साथ में हैं और जो कि इस कम्युनल डिमाण्ड के हामी नहीं हैं। पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों हमारे साथी हैं और उन्होंने मास्टर तारासिंह को कहा है और प्यार से हाथ जोड़ कर कहा है कि मेहरबानी करके वे यह भूल हड़ताल न करें और उसको सनाख कर दें।

मैं अपने उन भाइयों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सन् १९५७ के ग्राम चुनावों के दौरान हमने मास्टर तारासिंह के साथ जो सिक्ख लोग थे, जानी करतार सिंह और सरदार हुकमसिंह के साथ नहीं थे, लोगों ने सिक्ख मैजिस्ट्रीट हलकों से मास्टर तारासिंह के उम्मीदवारों को हराया। खुद सिक्ख वोटर्स ने मास्टर तारासिंह के उम्मीदवारों

को चुनावों में हराया। छै महीने के अन्दर फिर ग्राम चुनाव होने को हैं और सरदार प्रतापसिंह कैरों के चुनाव क्षेत्र में सिक्ख टोटल एलेक्टोरेट का ८५ फी सदी हैं और इससे यह साबित हो जाता है कि कितने सिक्ख अकालियों के साथ हैं। उनकी समझ में यह चीज क्यों नहीं आती कि अकाली और सिक्ख दो जुदा हैं। अब जो पंजाबी सूबे की मांग गुरुद्वारे से उठे और गुरुद्वारों के चुनावों से उठे उसके लिए उनका यह समझना कि वह मांग ग्राम सिक्खों की है सही चीज नहीं है। पंजाबी सूबे के निर्माण की मांग के वास्ते हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा है कि यह एक कम्युनल डिमाण्ड है और मैं एक हिन्दू के नाते नहीं पंजाबी के नाते यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब को दो हिस्सों में नकसीम किया था। एक को हिन्दी रिजन माना था और एक को पंजाबी रिजन माना था। बावजूद इम बात के कि हिन्दी रिजन की भाषा सरकारी तौर पर हिन्दी है, वहां के हर एक उस बच्चे को, जो कि तीसरी जमाअत पास करता है, चौथी जमाअत में पंजाबी लाजिमी तौर पर पढ़नी होती है। यही नहीं, आज पंजाब में अगर कोई सरकारी नौकर होना चाहता है, चाहे वह हिन्दी रिजन से हो और चाहे पंजाबी रिजन से, उसके लिये पंजाबी का इम्तिहान पास करना लाजिमी है। अगर कभी ऐसा दिन आयें, जबकि ऐसी स्टेट बने, जैसी कि वे चाहते हैं—वह बदकिस्मती होगी इस देश की और पंजाब की तो होगी ही—तो मुझे बताया जाये कि उस स्टेट में इससे ज्यादा और क्या होगा। मराठी-भाषी लोगों का एक सूबा है और दूसरे भी सूबे हैं। हमारे देश में पच्चीस छोटी बड़ी रियासतें हैं, जिनमें सैंद्रुषी एडमिनिस्ट्रैट एरियास भी हैं। उनमें से सिर्फ़ नौ सूबे ऐसे हैं, जो कि उबान की बिना पर बने हुए हैं। अगर देश में सूबे बनाने की सिर्फ़ भाषा ही कोई बिना होती, तो फिर बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, दिल्ली, पंजाब का हिन्दी रिजन, हिमाचल प्रदेश और राजस्थान

का एक सूबा होता। ये किस तरह लोगों को बहकाते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये लोग वे हैं जो मास्टर तारासिंह का बलिदान चाहते हैं, अगर वह दिन देखना पड़ता है, तो इस की जिम्मेदारी उन लोगों पर होगी, जो गलत तौर पर लोगों को बहकाते हैं कि सब सूबे जवान की बिना पर बने हैं। (Interruptions).

जहाँ तक पंजाबी की तरक्की का सवाल है, हमारे पास इस बारे में सरकारी धाँकड़े हैं। पंजाबी रिजन में जो भाई पंजाबी को फस्ट लैंग्वेज लेकर मिडिल परीक्षा में अपीयर हुए थे, १९५९ में उनकी तादाद ४१,०३३, १९६० में ४१,६३२ और १९६१ में ४६,०८८ थी। इस के मुकाबले में पंजाबी रिजन में जिन लोगों की सैकण्ड लैंग्वेज पंजाबी थी, जिन्होंने मिडिल का इम्तिहान दिया, उन की तादाद २७,८२१ थी १९५९ में, और १९६० में २९,१३६ और १९६१ में ३०,४५० थी।

इसी तरह से हिन्दी रिजन में, जहाँ की सरकारी भाषा इस सभा ने हिन्दी मानी है, जहाँ क मध्यम धाम तौर पर हिन्दी रखा गया है, वहाँ पर जिन लोगों की पंजाबी सैकण्ड लैंग्वेज थी, जिन्होंने घाठवीं जमाअत का इम्तिहान दिया था, उन की तादाद १९६१ में ४७,६५५ थी। इन हालात में हम को कोई बताये, कोई ईमानदारी से सोचे कि क्या इस से यह जाहिर नहीं होता है कि पंजाबी जवान की तरक्की के लिये पूरी कोशिश की गई है और की जा रही है।

मुझे मालूम नहीं कि अगले चुनाव में, जो कि छः महीने के बाद हो रहा है, क्या नक्शा होगा और उन को कोई एक भाव मेम्बर मिल सकेगा या नहीं, लेकिन इस वक़्त तो पी० एस० पी० के दो मेम्बर हैं। (Interruptions) उन में से एक तो कांग्रेस में आ चुका है और दूसरा कब आवेगा, या नहीं आवेगा, यह मुझे मालूम नहीं है। लेकिन उन का कोई नामलेबा पंजाब में नहीं है। आज

पंजाब के सियासी जीवन में प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और श्री प्रशोक मेहता का कोई नामलेबा नहीं है। बेशक वे मास्टर तारासिंह को गलत रास्ते पर ले जायें, उन को गलत धारणाएँ दें, लेकिन पंजाब में उन का कोई नामलेबा पैदा नहीं हो सकता। (Interruptions).

जहाँ तक कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी का सवाल है, मेरे जो साथी मुझ से पहले बोले थे, वह हमारे ही जिले में हम को हरा कर कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के टिकट पर यहाँ धाये थे और इसी तरह दो साथी कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के टिकट पर प्रसेम्बली में हम को हरा कर धाये, लेकिन वे लोग अब कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी से टूटते आ रहे हैं, क्योंकि वे समझते हैं कि चाहे पंजाब का सवाल हो, चाहे हिन्दुस्तान और चाइना का सवाल हो, उस पार्टी की सियासी समझ भारतीय या पंजाबी के नाने नहीं है।

जैसा कि मैं कह रहा था, यहाँ पर लोक सभा में दस मेम्बर हैं, जिन को लोगों ने चुन कर यहाँ भेजा है। वे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की कांग्रेस पार्टी के टिकट पर चकर धाये हैं, लेकिन जिस तरह से हमारे विरोधी भाई अपने हल्कों से हम को हरा कर धाये हैं, उसी तरह ये लोग भी अपने हल्कों के नुमायंदे हैं और चुनाव जीत कर धाये हैं। इन दस मेम्बरों में से एक भी भाई, जो कि सिख धर्म, मजहब, से नाल्लुक रखता है, पंजाबी सूबे का नामलेबा नहीं है। (Interruptions). आज की हालत में कम से कम इन दस भाइयों में एक भाई भी ऐसा नहीं है, जो कि पंजाबी सूबे की मांग करना हो। मुझे बतायें श्री प्रशोक मेहता और उन के हमायती कि किस तरह से पंजाबी सूबे की मांग कम्यूनल नहीं है। वह डिमांड नीचे तौर पर गूढ़ारों से पैदा हुई है और गूढ़ारों के चुनावों से पैदा हुई है।

मैं अपने इन भाइयों का ध्यान एक और तरफ दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि जाने दीजिये हमारे हिन्दी रिजन के इसाके को, छोड़ दीजिये कि हम क्या चाहते हैं। इन नौ मेम्बरों

## [श्री० रणवीर सिंह]

ने लिख कर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को और देश को यह बताया है कि हरियाणा के चुने हुए भाई यह चाहते हैं कि हम पंजाब का हिस्सा रहें और पंजाब मिला-जुला रहे, यह हमारी स्वाहिश है। क्या मैं मास्टर तारारसिंह और उन की माफत उन के हवारियों को यह बताऊँ कि १९५६ में एक जमाना था, जब हमारे में से कुछ भाई इस ख्याल के थे कि दिल्ली को मिला कर कोई अलाहदा सूबा बनाया जाये, लेकिन पिछले पांच-छः सालों में जिस ढंग से और जिस तरीके से गुरुद्वारों के जो चुनाव हुए और पंजाबी सूबे के नारे लगे, उस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज हमारे यहां जो हमारे मुखालिफ हैं, जो कांग्रेस के खिलाफ हैं, वे दिन से बाहें यह चाहते हैं कि कोई अलाहदा सूबा बने, लेकिन वे खुले तौर पर यह कहने का हौसला नहीं कर सकते कि हमारा सूबा अलाहदा कर दिया जाये।

यही वजह है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सही तौर पर यह कहा है कि यह कम्पूनल डिमांड है और अगर कम्पूनल डिमांड हो, तो कुदरती तौर पर दूसरी-जातियों पर सीधा या टेढ़ा असर पड़ेगा। जो लोग हमारे खिलाफ हैं, जिन पर हमारा व्हिप नहीं चलता है, उन्होंने इस सिलसिले में आवाज नहीं उठाई। यहां पर व्हिप का जिक्र किया गया, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि व्हिप तो किसी पार्लियामेंटरी पार्टी का एक सब से बड़ा गुण होता है। अगर कोई पार्टी व्हिप को मानती है, तो यह उस का गुण है। इन लोगों की तो कोई चलती नहीं है, कोई किसी की मानता नहीं है और इसी वजह से इन के पास कोई राज्य का शासन नहीं है और न ही ये टिक सकते हैं। सारे वेस में जो हालत ये पैदा करना चाहते हैं, वह नहीं घाले दी जायगी।

(Interruptions) इस बात को वे जितनी जल्दी समझें, उतना ही अच्छा है।

अब मैं पंजाबी रिजन की तरफ आता हूँ। पंजाबी रिजन की आवादी का ४४ फ्रीसदी हिन्दू हैं और एक एक हिन्दू पंजाबी सूबे की मांग के खिलाफ है। मैं मानता हूँ कि गुरुद्वारों के इन्तजाम के लिये जो इलैक्शन का तरीका है, वह गलत है। श्री अशोक मेहता जो यह मानते हैं कि अगर पंजाबी सूबे की मांग को मान लिया गया, तो अकाली राजनीति में हट जायेंगे, यह भी गलत है। मैं मानता हूँ कि अकाली गुरुद्वारों पर राज करने के लिये पैदा हुए थे—अकाली पार्टी का जन्म हुआ था गुरुद्वारों का इन्तजाम महस्तों में छीनने के लिये और जब तक गुरुद्वारों के इलैक्शन का यह तरीका रहेगा, तब तक अकाली राजनीति में हट नहीं सकते हैं, चाहे इस बारे में मास्टर तारारसिंह १९५७ में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को यकीन दिलाये और चाहे १९६१ में श्री अशोक मेहता को यकीन दिलाये कि वे मियामी जिन्दगी में हट जायेंगे। जिन तरह मद्रास में मन्दिरों का इन्तजाम होता है, जब तक वैशा ही इन्तजाम पंजाब में गुरुद्वारों का नहीं किया जायेगा, उस वक्त तक पंजाब की आप्रत, जिस में दो करोड़ रुपये पिछले पांच सालों में खर्च हुए, नहीं हट सकती है।

जिस इलैक्शन की वह इहाँ देते हैं, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि वह इलैक्शन गुरुद्वारों के इन्तजाम का था। इस साल ही नहीं, इससे पांच साल पहले भी जब चुनाव हुआ था, उस वक्त भी हम हारे थे। लेकिन चुनावों में हम १९५२ में भी जीते और १९५७ में भी जीते। उस की क्या बखह थी? वजह यह है कि गुरुद्वारों के चुनावों में सिर्फ सिख वोटर थे और उन में से भी नेशनलिस्ट सिख ग्राहयों की राय को कटवा दिया गया, उन को राय का मत का अधिकार नहीं था। लेकिन जिन लोगों को अधिकार था, उन में से ३३ फ्रीसदी लोगों ने मास्टर तारारसिंह के पंजाबी सूबे के नारे के खिलाफ राय दी। यहां यह कहना कि सरकार प्रत्यक्ष सिख वोटों के

हाथ में पंजाब की बागडोर है, वह पंडित नेहरू जो हिन्दू हैं और उनके साथी जो हिन्दू हैं, उनके हाथ में इन गुरुद्वारों की चाबियां भी देने जा रहे हैं और नेहरू का परमिट होगा कि गुरुद्वारे में कौन दाखिल हो और किस वक्त दाखिल हो। अगर नेशनलिस्ट सिख गुरुद्वारा इलैक्शन में जीते तो कैसे जीते और अकारना जीते तो कैसे जीते, मैं चाहता हूँ इस पर आप विचार करें। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मंदिरों का भी कोई इलैक्शन हो रहा हो और वहां पर इस तरह का प्रचार किया जाए तो हमारे में से अगर बड़े से बड़ा आदमी भी इलैक्शन के लिए खड़ा हो जाए तो वह जरूर हारेगा। ३३ परसेंट सिखों की आवादी है। ५६ परसेंट का एक तिहाई लगाया जाए तो वह १८ परसेंट पंजाबी रोजन की आवादी का होता है। ४४ और १८, ६२ परसेंट ही आते हैं। ६२ परसेंट आदमी पंजाबी रिजन के ऐसे हैं जो इन चीजों के खिलाफ हैं। मैं अनुमान के मुताबिक तो २५ से ३० परसेंट ही इतने हक में है। लेकिन उनका हिसाब में ६२ परसेंट आदमी पंजाबी रिजन के आज नहीं चाहते हैं कि पंजाबी सूबा बने।

हमारे गोरे साहब ने गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र का मवाल उठाया है। मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वहां हालात बिल्कुल दूसरे थे, वहां के हालात पंजाब से बिल्कुल जुदा थे और उनका और पंजाब के हालात का कोई मुकाबला नहीं है। पंजाबी रिजन की ४० परसेंट से ज्यादा आवादी है जो यह चाहती है कि धर्म के नाम पर पंजाब की जवान पंजाबी हो। वहां तक सियासी लीडरों का तास्मुक है मैंने अभी किया कि ६२ में से सिर्फ दस पंजाब असेम्बली के मੈम्बरों ने मुश्किल से कुन्ने तीर पर वह कहा है कि पंजाबी सूबा दिया जाए। इन हालात में मैं मुकर्मि साहब से तथा दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट साथियों से, जिन्होंने इस देश में पाकिस्तान बनवाया, पंजाब का पार्टिकल करता, अपने सूबे का पार्टिकल करता, जो बोर्डर के बारे में हिन्दुस्तान के हितों के खिलाफ

अपनी राय देते हैं और चीन के साथ मेक दिखाते हैं, पूछता चाहता हूँ कि वे क्या चाहते हैं? क्या वे पंजाब के अन्दर फिर से कूनरेजी कराना चाहते हैं। मास्टर तारासिंह जो २५ परसेंट या ३० परसेंट आदमियों के नेता हैं पंजाबी रिजन के, उनको वह अगर नेता मानते हैं तो मानें। मैं तो उनसे यही प्रार्थना करता हूँ और भगवान से यही प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह उनको सद्बुद्धि दे और वह अपनी भूखहड़ताल को तोंड दें और इस तरह से जब मैं कहता हूँ तो इसकी वजह यह है कि यह चीज बिल्कुल गलत है, सिख धर्म के खिलाफ है, सिख गुरुद्वारों की जो रखायात हैं, उनके खिलाफ है और साथ ही साथ सिखों के हितों के खिलाफ है, पंजाब के हितों के खिलाफ है। हो सकता है कि कुछ भाई जो उनके चारों तरफ फिरते हैं वे यह स्वपन देखते हों कि शायद पंजाब के अन्दर ये मुख्य मंत्री बन जायेंगे या वजीर बन जायेंगे। मैं उन्हें बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के अन्दर वह दिन कभी नहीं आया जब कि उनके ये स्वपन पूरे होंगे फिर चाहे वे कम्युनिस्ट भाई हों या प्रजा सोशलिस्ट भाई हों या कोई और हों और बेशक उनके साथ हाथ मिलाते रहें उनको वह दिन देखना नसीब नहीं होगा। अगर सारे पंजाब को लिया जाए तो २० परसेंट क्या १६ परसेंट आदमी भी आपको ऐसे नहीं मिलेंगे तो पंजाब का पार्टिकल चाहते हों।

कुछ लोगों ने इसी बात पर आपत्ति की है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कैसे यह कहा कि पंजाबी पंजाब की प्रिबामिनेट सैगुएज है। मैं जानता हूँ कि संसद के दौरान में हिन्दू गो वे चरों में पंजाबी बोलते हैं, लेकिन उनमें से कइयों ने अपनी जवान हिन्दी सिखाई है। मेरी उनके साथ हमदर्दी भी ही सक्ती है और अफसोस भी ही सक्ती है। लेकिन एक बात सही है कि पंजाब में जो पंजाबी रिजन है और सिखों की आवादी का एक करीब २० लाख के करीब है, उसकी

[श्री० रणवीर सिंह]

सरकारी जवान पंजाबी है और जो मेरा इलाका है और जो दूसरी भाषा बोलना है उसकी आबादी ८० लाख है, उसकी भाषा १ करोड़ २० लाख के मुकाबले में कैसे प्रिडोमिनेंट हो सकती है यह सोचा सा सवाल है। हमारे में से कुछ साथी हैं जिनकी समझ में यह बात नहीं आई है और कुछ भाई हैं जो आज रोहतक में एक दूसरा मोर्चा लगाने की फिक्र में हैं। मैं प्रार्थना करूँ कि पहले अकाली मोर्चे के अन्दर दस हजार आदमी जेल गये थे और जब हिन्दी वालों ने रोहतक में मोर्चा लगाया तो कहा कि जब तक तेरह हजार आदमी जेल नहीं जायेंगे तब तक हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार हिन्दुओं की बात को नहीं सुनेगी और सिखों के आगे हथियार डाल देगी। मैं जानता हूँ कि क्या हुमा है। चक्रवर्ती साहब ने भूख हड़ताल की नई दिल्ली के अन्दर तो उनके खिलाफ कौन बैठे भूख हड़ताल करने, यह मैं आपको बताता हूँ। दो साधु बैठे भूख हड़ताल पर, एक आदमी वह जो कांग्रेस की मूवमेंट में जेल गए थे और दूसरे आदमी रोहतक जिले के जाट जिनका पंजाबी सूबा बनने पर कोई असर नहीं हो सकता था। इसी तरह से आज मास्टर तारासिंह के खिलाफ भूख हड़ताल करने पर दो आदमी बैठे हुए हैं और दोनों स्वामी हैं, साधु हैं, आर्य-समाजी हैं। लेकिन जन्म से वे भी जाट हैं, एक रोहतक जिले के और दूसरे करनाल जिले के।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनके विभाग में कोई परेशानी नहीं है इससे कि पंजाबी सूबा बनता है या दिल्ली का सूबा बनता है।

धन इसका हल क्या है? इसका हल नहीं है जो मैंने कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली के सामने पेश किया था। पंजाब के साथ नई दिल्ली को छोड़ करके दिल्ली का इलाका जोड़ दिया जाए क्योंकि दिल्ली की जो भाषा

आबादी है उसका ५० फी मदी नहीं बल्कि ६० फी सदी हिस्सा पंजाबी है। नई दिल्ली को छोड़ करके बाकी दिल्ली को पंजाब के साथ मिला दिया जाए। हिमाचल वाले जब तक न चाहें तब तक उनको पंजाब के साथ न मिलाया जाए। और अगर वह राजी हों तो उनकी भी पंजाब के साथ जोड़ दिया जाये। यह एक सही हल होगा और इससे पंजाब जो पहले से ही सभी प्रान्तों से आगे चलता आ रहा है, आगे से भी आगे चलता रहेगा और उसकी और भी तेजी से तरक्की होती रहेगी।

श्री बजरत्न सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी सलाह थी कि इस विवाद में गर्मी न आने पाए लेकिन गर्मी लाई गई और मैं समझता हूँ जान वृद्ध कर लाई गई। हम देखते हैं कि इस मामले को हल करने में शुरू से ही कुछ गलतियाँ की गई हैं और गलती को अगर और आगे बढ़ाया गया और पंजाबी सूबा बना दिया गया तो भी समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

हम याद करें सन् १९५० को जबकि विधान निर्माण परिषद ने पंजाबी बोली को पंजाबी भाषा स्वीकार करके कांस्टिट्यूशन में उसको स्थान दे दिया था और चौदहवीं भाषा इसको बना दिया था। असल में गलती वहाँ से शुरू होती है। अगर गलती शुरू हो जाती है तब फिर आज यह कह कर उसको टाला नहीं जा सकता है कि हम पंजाबी को एक भाषा नहीं मानेंगे। मैं मानता हूँ कि पंजाब के बहुत बड़े हिस्से की भाषा पंजाबी है। जब उनकी भाषा पंजाबी है तब श्री रणवीर सिंह जी या दूसरे हिन्दू यह कहें कि जनगणना में उन्होंने यह लिखाया है कि उनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी है पंजाबी नहीं तो मैं समझता हूँ यह बहुत ही बसत दृष्टिकोण है। सारी समस्या को हिन्दू और सिख की समस्या समझ कर हल करने की कोशिश की जा रही है . . . . .

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब (हिसार) :  
हरियाणा की भाषा पंजाबी नहीं, हिन्दी  
है ।

श्री बजराम सिंह : पंजाबी न हो लेकिन  
जब हिन्दू अपनी मातृभाषा हिन्दी होने के  
नाते चाहते हैं कि सारे भारत वर्ष में हिन्दी  
चले लेकिन यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं  
कि हम पंजाबी को सीख लें तो मैं कहना  
चाहता हूँ कि यह बहुत बड़ी गलती है और  
यह गलती हिन्दुओं में शुरू होती है। अगर  
हिन्दू गलती करते हैं और अल्पमत वाले  
यह कहते हैं कि हमें परेशान होना पड़ता है  
और चाहते हैं कि पंजाबी सूबा बने, तो मैं  
समझता हूँ कि वे बदले की भावना में यह  
चीज चाहते हैं ।

मैं मानता हूँ कि पंजाब की समस्या का  
हल पंजाबी सूबा नहीं है । पंजाबी सूबा  
देकर हिन्दुस्तान में इस समस्या को और भी  
उलझा दिया जायेगा । हमने बार बार  
निवेदन किया है और आज फिर निवेदन  
करना चाहते हैं उन लोगों से जो भूख हड़ताल  
किये बैठे हैं कि उनका भूख हड़ताल करना  
गलत है । मास्टर तारासिंह ने जो भूख  
हड़ताल कर रखी है वह गलत है और मैं  
उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपने चालीस साल  
के राजनीतिक तथा धार्मिक जीवन में उन्होंने  
जो शक्ति ग्रहण की है, उसको वे बरबाद न  
होने दें, हिन्दुस्तान के सामने और भी बहुत सी  
बड़ी समस्याएँ हैं और उन समस्याओं को  
हल करने के लिए वे आगे आये । मैं यह भी  
कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनका पंजाबी सूबा प्राप्त  
करने के लिए भूख हड़ताल करना गलत है ।  
स्वामी रामेश्वरानन्द और योगिराज सूर्यदेव  
का भूख हड़ताल करना और भी ज्यादा  
बड़ी गलती है । सिर्फ इसलिये कि मास्टर  
तारा सिंह भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं इसलिए  
हिन्दुओं में से भी कुछ को भूख हड़ताल करनी  
चाहिये, इससे और बड़ी गलती दूसरी नहीं  
हो सकती है । ऐसा करके हिन्दू-सिख भावना  
को और भी भड़काया जा रहा है ।

मैं मानता हूँ कि पंजाबी सूबे की जो मांग  
है वह आज एक गलत मांग है और शायद  
आगे चल कर एक सिख राज्य की मांग  
वह बन जाए । लेकिन उसका विरोध करने  
के जो तरीके निकाले जा रहे हैं, वे तरीके भी  
बहुत गलत हैं और उन तरीकों के रहते हम  
सिखों को और कम से कम अकालियों को  
यह विश्वास नहीं दिला सकते कि तुम्हारे  
साथ न्याय किया जाएगा । मैं निवेदन  
करना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले १५ सालों के  
अन्दर, खास तौर से इन १३ सालों के अन्दर  
जब कि देश के अन्दर यही सरकार रही है  
कुर्सियों पर, उस ने मास्टर तारा सिंह और  
अकालियों के साथ कौन सा व्यवहार किया  
है ? माना कि मास्टर तारा सिंह गलत बातें  
भी कहते रहे, लेकिन गलत बातें कहते रहे तो  
भी उनको पूरा करने के लिए विश्वास क्यों  
दिलाया गया, आश्वासन क्यों दिलाया गया ?  
एक तरफ आप आश्वासन दिलाते हैं और  
उसे पूरा नहीं करते हैं, इसका नतीजा यह  
हुआ है कि वे समझते हैं कि उनके साथ  
सब कुछ धोखा किया जा रहा है । लेकिन  
इस संसद के द्वारा मैं उन लोगों से, जो कि  
भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं, निवेदन करना  
चाहता हूँ कि यह तरीका समस्या को हल  
करने का नहीं है । मैं अपने डिप्टी स्पीकर  
साहब की इस राय से पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ  
कि राजनीतिक प्रश्नों को हल करने के लिये  
कभी भूख हड़ताल नहीं करनी चाहिये, ।  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान  
की सभी सरकारों के प्रतिनिधि इस बात के  
गवाह हैं कि पिछले सवा चार सालों में,  
भले छोटी शक्ति के मुताबिक सही, हमने  
हिन्दुस्तान की सरकारों के खिलाफ सत्याग्रह  
किये हैं, जेलों में गये हैं, इस सरकार की  
नीतियों का विरोध किया है । लेकिन हम  
आज यहां पर यह घोषणा करने के लिये  
तैयार हैं कि राजनीतिक समस्याओं को हल  
करने के लिये हम कभी भी भूख हड़ताल का  
सहारा नहीं लेंगे । कोई नहीं कह सकता कि

[श्री ब्रजराज सिंह]

हम से अधिक विरोधी इस सरकार का कोई और होगा। हम मानते हैं कि यह सरकार असफल सरकार है, निकम्मी सरकार है और इस सरकार को पलटा जाना चाहिये, लेकिन फिर भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार को पलटने के लिये भी मैं कभी भूख हड़ताल का सहारा नहीं लूंगा। मैं मानता हूँ कि राजनीतिक प्रश्नों को हल करने के लिये कभी भूख हड़ताल का सहारा नहीं लिया जाना चाहिये। इसके लिये हम जन शक्ति को जगायें। जब मास्टर तारा सिंह के साथ जन शक्ति है, या हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे लोग हो सकते हैं, जिनके साथ जन शक्ति हो, तब फिर वे भूख हड़ताल का सहारा लें, यह मैं समझता हूँ कि एक कमजोर अस्त्र है और वे इस अस्त्र को जितनी जल्दी छोड़ दें उतना वह उनके लिये अच्छा होगा, पंजाब के लिये अच्छा होगा और देश के लिये अच्छा होगा।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब की समस्या का असली हल यह होगा कि वे सिख जो पंजाब में रहते हैं, मान लें कि अब जिस भाषा को हमने माना हुआ है, अर्थात् हिन्दी, वही गुरुओं की भाषा थी, पंजाबी तो उनकी बोली थी। इसी तरह से हमारे यहां ब्रज भाषा है, इसी तरह से छत्तीसगढ़ी है, इसी तरह से भोजपुरी है, इसी तरह से मैथिलि है, यह सारी की सारी हिन्दी की रूपान्तर हैं। अगर हम इन बोलियों को भाषा मानना शुरू कर दें तो हो सकता है कि आज से दस या बीस या पचास साल पश्चात् वे भी अलग भाषायें बन जायें और शुरू में जो गलती हुई थी भाषाओं के अनुसार विभाजन की, वह जोर पकड़ जाये। तो हर पंजाबी का कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि उन लोगों के दिमाग में यह भावना न पैदा होने दें कि हमारा घर हिन्दी का अंगड़ा है, हिन्दी और जो हिन्दुस्तान की अन्य भाषायें हैं उनका कोई अंगड़ा नहीं हो सकता। जिन

लोगों ने पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दी रक्षा समिति के नाम से हिन्दी के हितों की रक्षा के लिये आन्दोलन चलायें हैं, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी कुसेवा, जितनी हानि उन्होंने हिन्दी के हितों की है, उतना हिन्दी के हितों की कुसेवा और किसी हिन्दुस्तान के निवासी ने नहीं की। हिन्दी रक्षा समिति की ओर से आन्दोलन चलाये जाते हैं, सारे देश के लोग इकट्ठा कर के जेलों में भेजे जाते हैं। उसी तरह से आज या इससे पहले जो अकाली आन्दोलन चलाये गये उनके लिये सारे देश से पैसा इकट्ठा हो कर आता है और पंजाब के अन्दर उनके द्वारा आन्दोलन चलाया जाता है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सारा दृष्टिकोण गलत है यह सारे काम काज चलाये जाते हैं अंग्रेजी भाषा के द्वारा। जो पंजाबी भाषायी आन्दोलन चला वह अंग्रेजी द्वारा चला, हिन्दी रक्षा समिति द्वारा जो आन्दोलन चला वह अंग्रेजी द्वारा चला। आश्चर्य की बात है कि हम इस स्थिति में पहुंचा दिये गये हैं कि गुरुद्वारों पर, जिन दिनों यह आन्दोलन चल रहा था, उन दिनों कितने आदमी गिरफ्तार हुए, यह पंजाबी भाषा में लिखा होता था, अंग्रेजी में लिखा होता था, लेकिन जिसको सरकारी भाषा कहा जाता है, या देश के पैमाने पर एक तरह से जिस को राष्ट्र भाषा कहा जाता है, उस में वह नहीं लिखा जाता था। मैं मानता हूँ कि इसके लिये पंजाब के हिन्दू भी जिम्मेदार हैं। पंजाब के हिन्दुओं ने जो लोग अकाली या सिख हैं उनके दिमाग में एक तरह से यह भावना पैदा कर दी है कि वे पंजाबी भाषा को सहन करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। इस समस्या का हल यह है कि पंजाब के हिन्दू यह मान लें कि इस छोटे से इलाके में वे दोनों भाषाओं को सीखेंगे। यदि वे दोनों भाषाओं को पंजाब में नहीं सीख सकते तो जो लोग तमिल भाषी हैं, जो लोग मलयालम भाषी हैं या जो दूसरी भाषायें हैं

जो कि संस्कृत में नदी निकली हैं, उन के भाषाभाषी हैं, उन को हम कैसे विश्वास दिला सकते हैं कि उन के साथ न्याय करेंगे ? इसलिये हम पंजाबी को उसी शकल में छोड़ें। हम मानें कि पंजाबी का एक दर्जा है और उस का जो दर्जा प्राप्त है उस पर बह रहेगी। यह शिकायत करना न शुरू कर दें, ऐसा चिल्लाना न शुरू कर दें, त्रिम को प्राप्त पंजाबी रीजन कहा जाता है उस के रहने वाले भले ही अपने घर में पंजाबी बोलते हों, लेकिन यह कहना न शुरू कर दें कि उन की मातृ भाषा पंजाबी नहीं है, हिन्दी है। जो भी हमारे पंजाबी भाई पंजाब के उस हिस्से में से आये हैं जो कि हमारे हिस्से में नहीं रहा, हिन्दुस्तान में न हो कर पाकिस्तान में है, वे अपने घरों में पंजाबी ही बोलते हैं उत्तर प्रदेश में, हिन्दी नहीं बोलते हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि जब पार्टिशन के १३ सालों के बाद भी वे पंजाबी भाषा को अपनी भाषा मानते हैं, मातृ भाषा मानते हैं, तो कौन सी दिक्कत आती है उन हिन्दू भाइयों को जो कि पंजाबी रीजन में रहते हैं, यह मानने में कि हमारी भाषा पंजाबी है और हम उसे स्वीकार करेंगे।

अगर यह दृष्टिकोण अपनाया जाये तो मैं मानता हूँ कि सारी समस्या हल हो जायेगी। दुर्भाग्य है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के द्वारा इस तरह की गलत नीतियां बनाई जाती हैं जिस से कि समस्याएं कभी हल नहीं होतीं। हमेशा समस्या को उलझाने की कोशिश की जायेगी। कभी मौखिक रूप से उस का हम सोचने की बात नहीं की जायेगी।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वे सभी लोग जो भूल हड़ताल कर रहे हैं वे उस को छोड़ देंगे और सभी राजनीतिक दल इस बात की घोषणा करेंगे कि राजनीतिक प्रश्नों को हल करने के लिये वे कभी भी भूल हड़ताल का सहारा इस देश में नहीं लेंगे। वे इस बात से अपने को बांधें कि भले ही कितने ही विच्छेद हों किसी

बीज के, लेकिन राजनीतिक प्रश्नों को हल करने के लिये वे भूल हड़ताल का सहारा नहीं लेंगे और यह कोशिश करेंगे कि वे हर एक भाषा के प्रति प्रेम रखें। जैसा मैं ने कहा हिन्दी का तो कभी झगड़ा ही नहीं सकता किसी देशी भाषा से। अगर हिन्दी का झगड़ा हो सकता है तो वह अंग्रेजी से है। जब तक सारा काम अंग्रेजी द्वारा चलेगा तब तक पंजाबी हिन्दी का झगड़ा चलता रहेगा, दूसरी भाषाओं का झगड़ा चलता रहेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री मान लें कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजी नहीं जाती है तब तक लगातार इस तरह के झगड़े कराये जायेंगे और लगातार हमारे सूबों का बटवारा होगा। जब तक यह झगड़ा चलता रहेगा तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी। इस लिये मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में जिन्होंने भूल हड़ताल कर रखी है वे उस को वापस लेंगे। पंजाब की जो स्थिति है उस में यह आश्वासन दिया जाना चाहिये कि पंजाबी भाषा को कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा, लेकिन पंजाब का और विभाजन मुल्क के हित में नहीं है, सिन्धु के हित में नहीं है, पंजाब के हित में नहीं है। पंजाब का विभाजन यदि हम प्रकार से मान लिया गया तो हम इस बीज को रोक नहीं सकते कि प्राप्त नहीं तो १०, २० या २५ साल बाद जितनी बोलियां हिन्दी की रूपान्तर हैं वे भाषा बनें। पंजाबी भाषा का अलग राज्य बनाने से देश की एकता कायम नहीं होगी। मैं देश की एकता को सर्वोपरि मानता हूँ। अगर देश की एकता नहीं रहती है तो देश के हिन्दू, सिख, ईसाई और मुसलमान कहीं के नहीं रहेंगे।

श्री प्रकाश शेर काल्सी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में सब से बड़ा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण दिन वह था जिस दिन भाषावार प्रान्त बनाने का निर्णय किया गया, दूसरा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण दिन वह था जिस दिन श्री रामून् के देशवासन के बाद आन्ध्र प्रदेश का निर्माण हुआ, तीसरा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण दिन भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में वह था जब कि हम इतने बड़े आन्दोलनों में

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

पहले तो दृढ़तापूर्वक यह कहते रहे कि गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र का निर्माण नहीं होगा, लेकिन फिर गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र का निर्माण किया। अब ही फिर जब कांग्रेस महा समिति का अधिवेशन पूना में हुआ, उस समय हमारे देश के जो उच्च कोटि के कुछ नेता थे उन्होंने निर्णय लिया कि आज के पश्चात् भाषावार प्रान्त बनाने के अध्याय में अन्तिम रेखा खींची जा रही है, लेकिन फिर परिस्थितियों से विवश हो कर कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिये नागा प्रदेश की घोषणा की। इन सारी बातों का दुष्परिणाम यह हुआ कि मास्टर तारा सिंह आज यह कहते हैं कि अगर नागा प्रदेश बन सकता है तो पंजाबी सूबा क्यों नहीं बन सकता है।

18-18 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

मैं अपने वक्तव्य को पुष्ट करने के लिये संक्षेप में दृढ़ भाषा में यह प्रारम्भ में कहना चाहता हूँ कि मास्टर तारा सिंह का नारा पंजाबी सूबा बनाने के लिये केवल भाषायी नारा नहीं है साम्प्रदायिक है। सन् १९४६ में जो ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट का एक कैबिनेट मिशन यहां पर आया था उस समय अकाली पार्टी की ओर से जो मेमोरैण्डम दिया गया था उस के शब्दों को पढ़ कर मैं सुनाना चाहता हूँ। अकाली पार्टी ने ब्रिटिश कैबिनेट मिशन को यह लिख कर दिया :

"The Sikhs have as good a claim for an independent Sikh State as the Musalmans. The claim for a Muslim Pakistan should not be conceded without at the same time conceding the claim for an independent sovereign State for the Sikhs"

"In 1947, speaking at the All-Party Conference held at Rawalpindi, Giani Kartar Singh said:

"The Sikhs should be allowed to form an independent State of their own in North India."

In a statement published in the Press on April 4, 1946, Master Tara Singh declared:

"We want a Sikh State in United India. Such a State will belong to the Sikh Panth"

On June 19, 1947, a declaration was made on behalf of the Akali Party in a public meeting at Amritsar to the following effect:

"The Sikhs have demanded and they reiterate that they should get East Punjab as a Sikh State."

इन शब्दों को सुनाने का मेरा केवल मात्र अभिप्राय यह है कि जो लोग यहां आ कर पंजाबी सूबे की मांग को भाषायी मांग कहते हैं उनके मस्तिष्क में यह बात निकल जानी चाहिये।

एक बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से भारत सरकार को कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जिस समय भारत सरकार के गृह मंत्री सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल ५ मार्च, १९४९, को पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय में दीक्षान्त भाषण देने गये थे उस समय उन्हें वहां डाक्टरेट की धानरेरी डिग्री भी दी गयी। सरदार पटेल ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि मैं डाक्टरेट की डिग्री लेने नहीं आया हूँ अपितु इस बहाने आप सब से दो शब्द कहने आया हूँ। मैं आज गवर्नमेंट को उस पुस्तक में से जो कि गवर्नमेंट की ही पब्लीकेशन है और जिसमें सरदार पटेल का वह पूरा भाषण छपा है, कुछ शब्द पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ ताकि उस व्यक्ति के शब्दों से सरकार अपना मान साफ कर सके, जिसने सन् १९४९ में पंजाबी सूबे के सम्बन्ध में ये शब्द कहे थे :

"विभाजन का जन्म हिन्दुस्तान के शरीर पर बहुत गहरा लगा। अब

हालत यह है कि जख्म से खून घाना तो बन्द हो गया है लेकिन जख्म ठीक नहीं हुआ। पहला काम यह होना चाहिए कि नया खून न निकले फिर आहिस्ता आहिस्ता जख्म ठीक हो जायेगा, पर हैरानी है कि मा० तारासिंह उम जख्म पर टोकर लगा रहे हैं। इससे तो जख्म में फिर से खून बहने लग जायेगा।”

सरदार पटेल ने अपने भाषण में उन सिद्धों से जो पंजाब का पृथक राज्य चाहते थे और जिन की ओर से मास्टर तारा सिंह यह मांग कर रहे थे, कहा था :

“मैं पूछता हूँ कि सिद्ध आखिर कहाँ से आये ? वह पहले कौन थे और वह हम से क्यों अलग होना चाहते हैं ? हमारी कमजोरी में भी आपने बहादुरी से काम किया। बहुत प्रच्छा किया लेकिन अब तलवार का जमाना नहीं है, अब कहीं दुनिया में तलवार नहीं चलती। हमारी फौज में जिनने आफीसर हैं उन में से सब से ज्यादा आपकी कौम के हैं। हम ने जानबूझ कर उन्हें रखा है। छोटी सी कौम के हाथ में हम ने अपनी तलवार दे दी क्योंकि आपकी तलवार पर हमें पूरा भरोसा है। आज के जमाने में कोई कौम यह दावा नहीं कर सकती कि बड़ी मांगल है। वह दिन चले गये जब इस तरह की बातें सोची जाती थी।”

लेकिन जो विशेष बात मैं आपको सुनाना चाहता था वह यह है कि सरदार पटेल ने अपने भाषण में पंजाब के सिद्धों से अपनी की थी कि वे मास्टर तारासिंह को समझाएं कि वह इस प्रकार का कदम न उठावें। अन्त में उन्होंने एक बात अपनी गद्दी के उत्तराधिकारी के लिए कही थी। उन के उन शब्दों को मैं वहाँ बाल बूझ कर कोट करना चाहता हूँ।

सरदार पटेल ने मास्टर तारा सिंह की गिरफ्तारी के सम्बन्ध में बहुत दुःख प्रकट किया था। मास्टर तारा सिंह की गिरफ्तारी पर सरदार पटेल ने कहा :

“मैं ने अपने हाथ से मास्टर तारा सिंह को जेल भेजा है जिसका मुझे बहुत दुःख हुआ, लेकिन मेरी जगह पर जो कोई भी आयेगा वह भी यही करेगा। अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करेगा तो मृतक तबाह हो जायेगा।”

ये सरदार पटेल के अपने शब्द हैं जो उन्होंने सन् १९४९ में कहे थे। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह भी यहाँ पर सरदार पटेल की गद्दी के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में बैठे हुए हैं अतः इन शब्दों को ध्यान में रखते हुए अपने दायित्व को निभाये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मुझे आज्ञा दीजिये कि इन शब्दों को कहूँ कि पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों ने भी साबधानी से अपना काम नहीं किया कि जैसे एक बार पहले पंजाब की परिस्थिति को संभालने के लिये मास्टर तारासिंह को यथासमय गिरफ्तार किया था, उसी तरह जब मास्टर जी ने ऐलान किया था कि १५ अगस्त मे मेरा अन्तगण दृढ़ होने जा रहा है, उस समय उनको गिरफ्तार कर लेना चाहिए था।

श्री चौधरी रणवीर सिंह ने कहा कि पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने गुच्छारों के इन्क्विरियों में भाग लिया। मैं नहीं समझता कि ऐसा कर के उन्होंने कोई बुद्धिमत्ता का काम किया। वह सब से बड़ी नासमझी की बात हुई कि पंजाब के जिम्मेवार मिनिस्टर्स ने गुच्छारों के इन्क्विरियों में हाथ बंटाया। उन्हें इन से दूर रहना चाहिये था। वह समझवारी का काम नहीं हुआ।

पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री का वह कर्तव्य था कि जैसे ही मास्टर तारा सिंह ने अन्तगण का

[श्री प्रकाश व.र शास्त्री]

ऐलान किया था, उन को पंजाब की स्थिति को संभालने के लिये मास्टर तारासिंह गिरफ्तार कर लेना चाहिये था। कल प्रधान मंत्री जी हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ कर विदेश जा रहे हैं। अगर कल शाम तक मास्टर तारा सिंह का अनशन समाप्त न हुआ तो उन के दिल में इस का दुःख रहेगा और वे इस दुःख को लेकर बाहर जायेंगे। पर इस की जिम्मेवारी से पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों नहीं बच सकते। जिस समय मास्टर तारा सिंह ने अनशन का ऐलान किया था अगर उसी समय उन को अरेस्ट कर लिया जाता तो आज देश में यह परिस्थिति पैदा नहीं हो सकती थी, इस प्रकार का दूषित वातावरण नहीं हो सकता था।

एक बात और मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ। कल यहां के कुछ हिन्दू नेता मास्टर तारा सिंह से मिलने गये थे और उन से कहा कि हम आप से हिन्दुओं की ओर से आग्रह करते हैं कि आप अपना अनशन त्याग करें ताकि देश में हिन्दू और सिखों में तनाव का वातावरण पैदा न हो। कल उस समय जो कुछ मास्टर तारा सिंह ने उन नेताओं से कहा वह आज समाचारपत्रों में प्रकाशित हुआ है। उन्होंने एक बात तो यह कही कि मेरे अनशन को तोड़ने का एक बहुत बड़ा आधार तो यह हो सकता है कि पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति का शासन हूँ जाये। उन्होंने कहा कि यह जो मिनिस्ट्री है यह परेशानी पैदा करती रहती है और कहीं न कहीं पर छड़छाड़ बनाये रहती है। मैं नहीं समझता कि मास्टर तारा सिंह के इस कथन में वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में कहां तक गम्भीरता है। एक समय ऐसा था जब कि मैंने स्वयं इस प्रकार की मांग की थी, लेकिन आज की परिस्थितियां कह रही हैं कि यह ऐसा समय नहीं है जब कि पंजाब की गवर्नमेंट को जरा सा भी हिलाया जाये। इस समय तो पंजाब की गवर्नमेंट को ज्यों का त्यों रखना चाहिये।

लेकिन, उपाध्यक्ष जी, एक बात जो मास्टर तारा सिंह ने उन हिन्दू लीडरों से कही वह यह थी कि आज गवर्नमेंट हिन्दुओं के हाथ में खेल रही है।

आप हाई पावर कमिशन बनाने जा रहे हैं बनायें और पूरी जांच दोनों ओर करें। मुझे शायद इन शब्दों को दोहराने की जरूरत आज न होती, लेकिन उधर से जो चैलेंज फेंका गया है इसलिये मुझे ये शब्द आप को सुनाने पड़ रहे हैं कि पंजाब में सिखों की संख्या केवल ३० प्रतिशत है पर आप देखें कि उस को देखते हुए उन को कितना अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व वहां हर क्षेत्र में मिला हुआ है। मुझे पता नहीं कि इस से और कितना ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व मास्टर तारासिंह चाहते हैं। मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं लेकिन इन को विस्तार से सुनाने के लिये मेरे पास समय नहीं है। कुछ मोटी मोटी बातें मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ। पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर सिख, पंजाब असेम्बली के स्पीकर सिख, चेयरमैन पंजाब काउंसिल सिख, चेयरमैन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन सिख, जो दो मिनिस्टर पंजाब का प्रतिनिधित्व सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में करते हैं वे दोनों सिख, और हमारे डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब सिख। इस के अलावा पंजाब के आई० जी० पुलिस सिख, डी० आई० जी० सी० आई० डी० सिख।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के द्वारा प्रधान मंत्री जी से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ। आज पंजाब की जनता में एक खोभ व्याप्त है कि क्या कारण है जब पंजाब का प्रतिनिधित्व सेंटर में दो सिख मंत्री कर रहे हैं, जिन में एक कैबिनेट रैंक के हैं और दूसरे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैं, तो वे आज तक क्यों मौन बैठे हैं। पंजाब की जनता में इस बात पर सन्देह फैला हुआ है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी अपने भाषण में इस का भी स्पष्टीकरण करें।

एक बात धीर कह कर मैं अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त कर घोर ले जाना चाहता हूँ। विशेषतः मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय जब कि इस प्रकार का वातावरण विघात हो गया है कुछ लोग अपनी प्रहमियत धीर महत्व दिखाने में लगे हैं। धीर वे एक विशेष प्रकार का पार्ट भ्रदा कर रहे हैं। आप के पास ऐसे लोग भी पाये होंगे जो कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दी क्षेत्र के प्रतिनिधि हैं, हम हरियाणा के प्रतिनिधि हैं। धीर साथ ही यह भी कहते हैं कि मास्टर तारासिंह की डिमांड ठीक है धीर रीजनल कमेटीज को मन्त्र-लेजिस्लेचंस के अधिकार दे दिये जायें। ये वही लोग हैं जिन्होंने कल परसों हरियाणा प्रान्त का नारा लगाया था, धीर बाद में जिन्होंने दिल्ली प्रान्त के एक नेता के साथ मिल कर महा दिल्ली प्रान्त बनाने का नारा लगाया था। ये तथाकथित नेता हरियाणा का, गुडगांव का, करनाल का, रोहतक का या हिसार धीर महेन्द्रगढ़ का कोई प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं करते लेकिन एक हल्का वातावरण पैदा करते हैं।

अन्त में एक धीर भी बात कह कर मैं अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त करता हूँ धीर वह यह है कि आप एक बात गम्भीरता के साथ सोच लीजिए। मास्टर तारा सिंह ने अन्तर्गत किया है धीर उनके अन्तर्गत के सम्बन्ध में मेरी हादिक अभिलाषा भी है कि उनका देहावसान किसी प्रकार नहीं होना चाहिए। परमात्मा उनको दीर्घायु प्रदान करे। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी भी ऐसा उचित वातावरण पैदा करे कि जिससे उनका अन्तर्गत हो जाए। इससे अच्छी कोई बात नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन एक बात ध्यान में रखें कि मास्टर तारा सिंह का अन्तर्गत छुटाने का वातावरण बनाते समय अगर दुर्भाग्य से कहीं स्वामी रामेश्वरानन्द जी या योगिराज सूर्यदेव का देहावसान हो गया तो बड़ा अन्तर्गत ही जायेगा, क्योंकि आप कल्पना नहीं कर सकते कि स्वामीजी के पीछे देश का कितना

बड़ा बहुमत है। दिल्ली के बगल के जो इलाके हैं उनके बहुत से नौजवान हर घर में से एक या दो मिलिटरी में काम करते हैं। जब से उनके कानों में यह खबर पड़ी है कि स्वामी जी पंजाब की सुरक्षा के लिए अपने प्राणों की बाजी लगाए हुए हैं तब से उनके मन में उथल पुथल पैदा हो गयी है। आपका यह कर्तव्य है कि दोनों धीर समदृष्टि से सोचें अंत में यह कहकर मैं अपना स्वागत लेता हूँ कि अच्छा हो अगर सुबह का भुला शाम को घर आ जाए।

आपने बहुत बड़ी भूल उस समय की जब भाषावार प्रान्त बनाने का निर्णय लिया। आज समय है कि उस भूल को आप सुधार ले। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह अकाली आन्दोलन अपने प्रकार का कोई अन्तिम आन्दोलन नहीं है। अगर इसमें कुछ भी सफलता उन्हें हो जाती है, अगर इसमें आपकी धीर से कुछ भी बिनाई हो जाती है तो कल बिदम तैयार है, मिथिलावालों का आन्दोलन तैयार है, झारखंड वालों का आन्दोलन तैयार है धीर फिर भी न जाने कितने तैयार हैं। अगर इन सारी बातों को रोकना है तो वह एक ही प्रकार हो सकता है कि देश में संघीय शासन की स्थापना की जाए, देश को चार छह क्षेत्रों में बांट दिया जाए धीर प्रान्तों की चारदीवारी को समाप्त किया जाए।

राजा गुरुदेव प्रसाद : मैं एक दो जद्दरी बातें कहना चाहता हूँ।

उपस्थित गुरुदेव : माननीय सदस्य बैठ जाएं। अब बक्त नहीं है। आठर, आठर।

राजा गुरुदेव प्रसाद : आप पंजाब में जून बहाना चाहते हैं धीर जो मैं तुमह की बात कहना चाहता हूँ उसकी आप जून नहीं चाहते। जून अक्टूबर के लिए प्रधान मंत्री बिम्बेवार होंगे।

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, yesterday in the forenoon I made a statement in this House about recent developments in regard to the Punjab situation. I welcome this discussion in the House on that statement and surrounding facts. I shall frankly say that at first I was not very anxious to have a prolonged discussion here because behind these facts lie other facts and I was simply afraid that in the excitement of the moment some hon. Members may say something which might hurt others and hurt not only people here but hurt people outside. Because, this subject has drawn a great deal of attention—and rightly so—not only in Punjab where it was inevitable but elsewhere also and it has to be tackled with some care because, whether we want to or not, it cannot be easily dealt with by reason and logic alone. There is a tremendous deal of sentiment, even passion attached to it, as it does when large numbers of people are moved by anything. And when passions are excited, then words have to be chosen with some care lest they may further increase those passions and cause hurt to people, though it does not help in the solution of any problem.

Now, Sir, in my statement yesterday, I stated briefly, I hope concisely, some of the reasons that were before me in rejecting the request or demand for a further division of the Punjab in the name of Punjabi Suba. This subject, in a sense, has been before us for a number of years. Some hon. Members have gone back to pre-Independence days. I do not want to go back to past history. It was before us about five years ago, just before the last general elections came up and as a result something happened later the regional formula was devised and so on and so forth. It has been intimately before me, occupying my mind almost daily for the last year or eleven months or so. I have given to it such thought as I was capable of doing. I have naturally been constantly consulting my colleagues here in the Central Govern-

ment, in the Punjab Government and our other important colleagues from other parts of India. So, whatever has been done, has been done after the closest consultation and a great deal of thought had been given to it not only because there were some principles involved but even more, as one must, because we had to think of the possible consequences of every decision that we might take. It is all very well for some hon. Members opposite to talk of high principles. I am prepared to discuss those high principles with them in so far as they might apply but whatever principle you may follow, you have to think of the consequences of that when you have to deal with human beings, large numbers of human beings, who could be roused to passion. So, we have thought of the consequences a great deal and the decisions we arrive at are after giving thought to every possible consequence. I cannot talk of the distant future but I cannot see, myself, any possibility arising, any consequence arising—which will make us change this decision.

Now, Sir, we have been discussing this matter here and sometimes it is not surprising that there was a little excitement in the course of the discussion. I am not complaining of that. But there is a rather interesting fact emerging from this discussion here: that out of, I think, fourteen hon. Members who have spoken on the subject, three hon. Members gave their support to the principle of the formation of the Punjabi Suba. They had of course every right to express their opinion. But it is still interesting to note that out of hundreds of hon. Members present here, no Member coming from Punjab or near Punjab—any neighbouring province or State—no Sikh or semi-Sikh has supported this demand for a Punjabi Suba. In fact, they have objected to it strongly for various reasons which they gave. Those who supported this demand—they had every right to do so and I do not challenge them—nevertheless came from places far away from the Punjab. I say so be-

cause this indicates to me that their knowledge of what Punjab is and what is happening there appears to be very, very limited. It is not an intimate knowledge which does not come from reading newspapers or reading long thesis or books, but a knowledge which comes from the contact with the people so that you have your hands on their pulses and know what is passing in their minds. Otherwise, you live in a kind of rarefied atmosphere where you think you are following a certain principle which has no bearing on the aspect whether it applies to the circumstances there or not. It is I think important to note that everyone connected with the Punjab or with the Sikhs, has,—whoever has spoken—given strong support to the policy which the Government have adopted in regard to this matter.

**Shri Rajendra Singh:** A whip has been issued.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** But some people are in the habit of going wrong even without the whip. That is more unfortunate. However, it is not a question of whip. If voting comes, hon. Members will vote. But no whip has been issued for people to speak in a particular way and even when issued it is not easy to speak unless one has some feeling and some knowledge of the subject.

After all, this issue in the Punjab today is a big issue even from the point of view of all India and, of course, of the Punjab. It is right that we consider every aspect of it and the possible consequences that may flow from any step that we might take. I have welcomed hon. Members who have expressed their disapproval of Government's policy in this matter. I had hoped, however, that in the speeches they delivered they would point out logically, reasonably, the arguments against that step. I am sorry to say—and I regret—that though what has been said has been said with force no doubt, I have not been able to even grasp a point of reason or logic there.

They have started with false analogies, saying, "We have accepted the principle of linguistic provinces; we have applied it in spite of difficulties and trouble in Maharashtra and Gujarat and even in Nagaland and so on; and therefore why not apply it here?" That is completely a false analogy. I am not going into past history about the principle of linguistic provinces. It is true we accepted it and we in the Congress accepted it 40 years ago, in the early twenties, and we accepted it for a very good reason, which reason applies today also not in the administrative sense, but because we felt,—who was I then? for I was a young man—our elders felt that it was essential for us to function in the language of the people. That was the object, whether it is education or whether it is our public conferences and congresses or other things. That was the motive. We wanted to reach the people and get out of that organisation, whether it was the National Congress or the old Liberal League, which confined itself to speaking in English, to people who understood or sometimes even did not understand English but who appeared in frock coats and top hats and the rest. That was the big revolution that came to India through Gandhiji forty years ago or more. As a result, we attached importance to this language question and therefore, we said that linguistic areas would be able to develop more. Nobody than thought in terms of power politics. It was the approach to the people educationally and administratively in the language of the people, so that they might know what is happening and they might associate themselves with it. There was a deliberate attempt to break from the English Raj or the British Raj, where some Englishmen and some Indians speaking the English language, writing the English language, were functioning, cut off from the rest of the people. You can understand very well, it was not particularly easy for me in those days even to speak with great fluency before large audiences, but I compelled myself to do that because of this

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

conviction. That was the beginning of the linguistic idea.

In 1921 I think, or may be 1922, because of this, the Andhra Province as a linguistic area was accepted by the Congress not today, not because of that gentleman's fast, but in 1921 it was accepted. In the Congress constitution, it was made into a separate province. So, it was an old idea. I cannot go into all these details. We may have gone wrong here and there and taken some wrong steps, but so far as the constitution of the Andhra Province was concerned, it had been decided in 1921.

But the difficulty came because of a dispute about the city of Madras, which both the Tamil area and the Andhra area claimed. All that we could say was, "You settle this difficulty; we cannot compel you. We have no power to hand over Madras to Tamil area or Andhra area. You come to an agreement." It was about that time that that gentleman started the fast. It so happened—it was a curious coincidence—that just before the fast, an agreement was practically arrived at between the Andhra leaders and the Tamil leaders and our difficulties were removed. They were working it out in detail and this fast occurred. Even before the unfortunate tragic death of that gentleman..

Some Hon. Members: Potti Sriramulu.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: .....the question was decided. It was not decided—I want to make it perfectly clear—because of the fast; in fact, that fast rather came in the way of a decision. The decision had been taken previously and when the Madras question was solved, the only thing that remained was the detailed working out. That was taking place and that fast came in the way of it, of course not ultimately, because we had decided it.

Take this question of Maharashtra and Gujarat; to which reference has

been made. Some hon. Members' memories are short. That is a tragic episode. Maybe we are guilty of it; maybe some of us are and the Government is guilty of it. I want to remind this House that the Government's decision in regard to the problem of the Bombay State was this. We drafted a Bill and it was actually introduced which actually said that there should be three States—the Maharashtra State, the Gujarat State and the city of Bombay State. That was the Bill which was introduced by the Government; that was our decision.

Some Members of this House—many of them—were not quite happy with this. Almost at the last moment, I got a memorandum signed by, I think, 272 Members of this House. I think I am right in saying that the initiative for that memorandum was taken by Shri Asoka Mehta and others agreed. In fact, every group in this House signed it, excepting I think the communist party. 272 was a large number. When I got that, and that included, please remember, the Gujaratis, the Maharastrians and others in this House—at least some of them—I was put in a state of quandary because we had decided and we had put forward a Bill here. At the same time, I was not very happy with that Bill, I must confess it, and when 272 Members of Parliament of all parties except one came forward with a proposal to have one State of Gujarat, Manarashtra, Bombay etc., all together, well, in my heart I welcomed the idea. I welcomed it because I thought it represented the general consensus of opinion of the House. It was a false judgment, I confess that, because after that trouble occurred in Gujarat and Maharashtra. But I never expected that, after this consensus coming in. Another difficulty arose, because this sudden change in Parliament rather upset the people who did not understand what had happened here—people in Gujarat and people in Maharashtra—and trouble came.

My whole point was, originally the Government had decided on a Maharashtra State, a Gujarat State and a City of Bombay State. Further, the City of Bombay was kept apart on this understanding that later if it chose it could join the Maharashtra State. The idea was that after the municipal corporation elections etc., if the majority wanted they could join it. At that time we did not want to push it and we were not quite sure of it.

I merely referred to it. That is no analogy here. As everyone knows, whatever the argument there was about the City of Bombay, in the whole of Maharashtra it was a homogeneous unit and there was not a single person in Maharashtra who did not hold to that opinion, that he should have a separate State. Some may for other reasons prefer something else, but they were all in favour of that. So also Gujarat was a homogeneous unit. There was no question of a group in Maharashtra being wholly opposed to that or a group in Gujarat being wholly opposed to that.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Do not include the people of Vidarbha also in that statement.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member Dr. Aney is completely right. Vidarbha or a part of Vidarbha, anyway, had always put forward a different demand.

However, I am trying to explain this, that if you compare that with this Punjab issue you will see that there is no comparison at all. There is no comparison for a variety of reasons. First of all, I do not wish to go into linguistics, but the whole of Punjab, whether it is in regard to language, whether it is in regard to the ways of living, whether it is the food you eat and so many other things, it is a unity—whether it is Hindu or Sikh or, I may add Muslim—now there are not many Muslims there. There are not those differences due to religion or due to language

which you find elsewhere in India. It is true.

We talk so much about language. There nobody previously talked about language. Punjabi was the language—of course, in Hariana and parts of it Hindi was the dominant language. Punjabi was the language and no argument ever arose. The argument arose recently on the question of script. That is the only argument there, please remember. There is no argument about the spoken language anywhere. About script, yes. What script? All this time there was neither Hindi nor Gurmukhi. It was the Persian script that was widely used. That was the official script, that was the popular script, that was the script taught in schools there. All our friends, the leading Akali leaders, if I may say so with great respect, if they had to write anything, wrote it in Urdu. That is the script they learned. They also wrote Gurmukhi, I do not deny that; but suppose they talked to me and took notes they always wrote in Urdu, I have noticed that. That is the language everybody in the Punjab has learnt all this time. But poor Urdu, if I may say so, was not treated very well in the Punjab or elsewhere—in Delhi or in UP. It is a different matter. It is a different story. Here is something which was in common use and in common parlance. Even today, I believe, the newspapers, both of the Akalis and of the Punjabi Hindus, that are most successful are in the Urdu language and Urdu script. It is an extra-ordinary thing. They both hit each other and argue against each other but in the Urdu script and in the Urdu language. This is their heritage in the Punjab. It is somewhat forcibly being pulled out of that position, that groove into different grooves and into that controversy. Anyhow, script apart, this language is not only the dominant language of the Punjab but, apart from the Hariana Prant, it is the predominant, the most important and the most known language. No doubt about it, script apart.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

When I say it is a dominant language, I refer to it rather moderately. It is something more than a dominant language, I would say, so far as the Punjabi homes are concerned. It may vary as sometimes dialects vary. But every man understands it just as a very large number of people understand Hindi too. The difference between the two is not very great. If I stay for a fortnight in the Punjab, I begin to pick it up—I mean the nuances and the sounds of the language. As I get accustomed to them, I pick it up, partly because in the childhood I was visiting the Punjab. I may well call myself half a Punjabi.....

Shri Tyagi: No, no; I protest.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ...in the sense that my mother came from Punjab. She came not from our present Punjab but from what is Pakistan Punjab, from Lahore. I easily pick it up. I am sure anybody can pick it up easily. It is partly Hindi—it sounds slightly differently. The moment you get hold of those different sounds, you pick it up. So, really and essentially Punjabi and Hindi are the common languages there and Punjabi is a home language which is the real test. It is not that you write it in offices, it is a home language of innumerable people.

As has been repeatedly said here, in the Punjab it is very difficult for you to divide the Sikh from the Hindu. There are innumerable families which are half-Hindu and half-Sikh. The Hindus go to Gurdwaras and revere the Sikh Gurus and the Guru Granth Sahib. They are interwoven like warp and woof of a garment. What troubles me, apart from these arguments and principles, is that we will tear that garment if this principle comes in and is applied in this way. We talk of Punjabi Suba and all that, but if you separate them you will tear a finely woven tapstry into two bits and spoil it. It is a very

basic thing. Unfortunately, as things have developed that is the danger.

Sardar Hukam Singh said that you must consider the position as it is today. Whatever it was in the past and apart from the past, whatever one's views may be in the present it has become almost inevitable that if any such thing is done in the present circumstances it will be the tearing up process with awful consequences. That is the consequence. Shri Goray talked about the consequences. No doubt, he has consequences in view, thereby perhaps meaning some civil troubles, rioting and all that. But the kind of consequences I have been thinking over are something far more vital, namely, the tearing up of the integrated community into two. It is a very basic and a terrible thing. That is what I have in view and that has caused me concern. That is why I have resisted this idea. Hon. Members think and rightly—I accept that—that I am soft and give in to pressures. I accept that. I want to give in to pressures wherever I can. That is, I want to win over people to my side. I do not want to stick out like a rigid stick which cannot bend. I am pre- of principle, I hope, not in matters of principle, I hope, not in matters which I consider important. Otherwise, I am always prepared to bend. You cannot deal with this country without flexibility and trying to bend and trying to win over people.

But, with all my desire to bend, I found it impossible to adapt myself to this idea of tearing up this woven garment of Punjab social life. Because, it means the tearing up of the social life of Punjab. Perhaps, this question has arisen now more particularly because, unfortunately, five or six months later, elections are coming. I attach greater importance to this integration of the Punjab than to the general elections and all that. What is the good of winning a few seats this way or that way in the general elections if, in the process, you tear up

something which has been wrought through the ages? Over 100 years now, this State of Punjab or the Province of Punjab is continuing and has developed its own life, its own culture and its own language, of course, superimposed by the British Raj, by English, by Persian and all that. Nevertheless, it has developed in the village, in the town, everywhere. What is more, wherever a Punjabi goes, a Hindu or a Sikh, he carries that with him. If you meet them in London, two Punjabis will always talk in Punjabi. If you meet them anywhere else, in America, in Singapore—they have gone far and wide—they have got the Punjabiness with them. You cannot divide. There is the Sikh Punjabi; there is the Hindu Punjabi. It is a good thing. Sometimes, this Punjabiness is slightly irritating, because they stick together as Punjabis. That is a good thing so far as the Punjab is concerned. All this would lead to the breaking up of the thing built through the ages. I think it is very serious. Talking vaguely about the principle of linguistic states and all that simply shows that they have no conception of what Punjab is. It is a linguistically integrated area, as integrated as any part of India, socially integrated, by habit, by custom, by living, by meeting. In every way it is an integrated area. You want to break it up. Really this thing shocks me.

Reference was made right at the beginning to the States Reorganisation Commission's report. Shri Goray swept it aside saying that it is dead and gone. It may be dead or gone. I do not know. The whole point is that the States Reorganisation Commission considered this matter of Punjab before passions had been roused to this pitch as they are now. They had some pressure as pressures come; nothing very much. What is important is the argument that they have put forward calmly after full discussion, after meeting everybody there. After that argument, they are coming to this firm decision that any breaking up of the present Punjab is

undesirable and harmful to everybody. That is important. Otherwise, they have not passed a decree which binds us. They were three able thinking persons who enquired into this matter at a time when pressures were not so great from any side and they came to this conclusion. I would advise hon. Members, if they have a little time, to read that chapter. It will take 10 or 15 minutes to read. Because, it is a very reasoned chapter showing what the Punjab is, how the life of the Punjabis, of the Hindus, of the Sikhs and others is inter-laced and intertwined. You cannot separate it. That is the important thing. All that has happened—not merely the question of the Punjabi suba now—unfortunately, all that has happened in the last few years has put a great strain on that unity among the Punjab people. People talk about the necessity of Hindu-Sikh unity and all that. But, the fact is that they have been behaving otherwise. I do not wish to accuse anybody. But, the fact of the matter is that both the Akali party on the one side and certain Hindu organisations on the other are equally guilty of putting strain on this. Both of them, in the name of language or something else, have raised slogans and roused passions against each other which has been very painful. And this has ended in, and this has led to, this present position of this demand, on the one side, of the Punjabi Suba and an equally emphatic and strong rejection of that demand by the others, thus creating a situation that whatever the principle involved, linguistic or other, you cannot do it today. It is a patent fact; you cannot do it. In spite of what Shri H. N. Mukerjee might think or say or Shri Goray may think or say, you cannot do it, I mean in the sense that you cannot do it without creating trouble everywhere in the Punjab. There may be trouble otherwise too, and you may balance the two troubles. That is a different matter. But it is obvious that this case is entirely different from a homogeneous

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

Maharashtra, from a homogeneous Gujarat. Here is a place where every family is hit, or many families are hit. Here is a place where every village is hit, where you have not got a homogeneous population; you have got a homogeneous Punjabi population, I admit that, but I include the whole of the Punjab in that. I say, from that point of view, the Punjab is a linguistic area as good as any in India, and better than some with certain minority languages; like minority languages is the Hindi language which is the home language of many people there in the Harijana Pranth. I admit that. But, broadly speaking, the whole of the Punjab is a linguistic area and it follows even the linguistic principles that we have laid down as closely as it can; you cannot separate every village or every family like that. Apart from that, it is, as I have said, a socially integrated area, which is far more deep, which goes down deeper into the people.

So, these passions have been roused. Now, at this stage, apart from the other reasons at any stage, at this stage, to try to do this is to invite trouble. I do not know, if a Punjabi Suba was formed, I certainly would not like to be in that Punjabi Suba, or, for that matter, a Minister or any person in authority, because he will have to face the opposition of a very large part of the population; in terms of statistics, it may be 45 per cent; or it may be more or it may be a little less. How could he function with 45 per cent of the population not agreeing with him, mind you, not on the question of language, because 45 per cent itself would be speaking Punjabi, but because the way it has grown up,—there is no doubt about it that it has grown up not as a linguistic issue but as a communal issue; I have no doubt about it—because it has grown up as a communal issue, other communities take objection? And they oppose it, and they will go on opposing it, for, Punjabis have

many virtues, but yet they are very quarrelsome people. They quarrel amongst themselves. How any person, any thinking person, whatever his original views might have been, could possibly say 'Do this or agree to do it now or six months later' surprises me, because it cannot just be done.

Shri Goray repeatedly talked about statesmanship and generosity, addressing the Government. I should like to request him to apply his statesmanship to this problem and see how this can be done. I say that it is inviting disaster, and disaster to the poor Punjabi State or the Suba that might be formed, absolute disaster to it, trouble all the time; and possibly—I do not say that it will happen, but to some extent even it may happen people may start moving out from one place to another; there may be small migrations here and there. Are we going to live through this experience again? It was conceivable, whatever the consequences, good or bad, it was conceivable to split up the Punjab; you can do anything you like; Parliament can do anything, but it can only be done, even so, peacefully and by widespread agreement among the people concerned. You cannot do it because the moment you do that, you invite tremendous trouble and, if not bring ruin, at least do great injury to the Punjab anyhow, and create conditions and injuries which will take a long time to heal, economic injuries, social injuries and other injuries deep down to the heart of various communities, which will take a mighty long time to heal. Look at the consequences.

So, I should like hon. Members to see this background. I do not wish to go into details, to repeat the various arguments raised.

19.05 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri H. N. Mukerjee said something about the State functioning in its prin-

cipal language. That is what is exactly happening there. He does not know the facts, he does not know what is happening there.

Take the Regional Formula. It may be good or bad; I am not going into that matter. It was in a sense good; in a sense, it was bad also, in that it encouraged some wrong tendencies. By itself it is a good thing. It is an extraordinary thing that when the Regional Formula was passed, at that time and after, the leaders of the Akalis, and Master Tara Singh, said quite clearly, 'No more Punjabi Suba'. He wrote, and he told us publicly, not in private, 'No more Punjabi Suba; we are satisfied'. Within two or three months of that, out came opposition and disagreement. I was amazed and astonished because I had gone all out and tried to bring about a settlement.

Shri Tyagi: Did he publicly say 'No more Punjabi Suba?'

Ch. Ranbir Singh: They amended the Constitution of the Akali Party also to that effect.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I speak from memory, but I think he publicly said so too. And as part of it, it had been decided that the Akali Party would give up its political aspect, and it actually amended its Constitution.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: Yes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I say so because now it has been repeated. Shri Asoka Mehta made a statement. A promise was made. This is exactly what happened five years ago. Now we have come back. Within two or three months of the promise, it was not kept.

As I was saying, the Regional Formula was devised. I went all out with such flexibility and softness as I

possessed to win over Master Tara Singh and his colleagues. Temporarily, I believe, I had produced some impression on him too. But it was not enough. Then followed this break very soon. The elections came and there was a break.

Apart from that, the Regional Formula, in so far as language was concerned, gave everything that you could conceive of. They made the Punjabi region and the Hindi region. A large number of subjects were allotted to the Regional Committees to deal with. The persons who formed the Regional Committees were members of the Punjab Legislature coming from that region. So that the Punjab Legislature became two Committees.

First of all, a rather odd thing happened. For months and months, the Regional Committees would not function at all. Why? Because they were carrying on an argument about their status—what were they? Were they statutory organisations or were they Committees of the Assembly or what were they? Their Chairmen claimed that they were independent statutory organisations with nothing to do with the Punjab Assembly, although they were all Members of the Assembly. The Speaker of the Punjab Assembly could not accept this. Ultimately, the matter was referred to us. The Speaker wrote to me. I am no lawyer. *Prima facie*, my own view was: How could they be independent organisations? They were Committees of the members of the House, presumably connected with the House. Anyhow, I sent it to our Law Minister. He sent me, as is his custom, a long, long note of about 20 pages on the subject, which seemed to be very simple. In the note there were lots of quotations from text-books and what not. It said, 'They cannot be independent. They are only Committees of the House'. I

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

passed it on to the Punjab Speaker. That was one thing which the Regional Committees did not like, because they wanted a higher status and certain other privileges, all kinds of privileges, which would have gone with that higher status. There it was.

Now, about the powers given to the Regional Committees. The subjects given to them were quite substantial. I think they numbered 14—I have not got the list. A large number of subjects were given to them, specially dealing with languages and other things. And it had been decided that in the Punjabi region, the primary language would be Punjabi and the secondary language would be Hindi; in the Hindi region, the primary language would be Hindi and the secondary language Punjabi.

There was some delay in this. When I asked the Punjab Government about this delay, they said: there has not been delay, but in actually giving effect to it, because we have to get about 40,000 or 50,000 teachers to learn Punjabi and Hindi, both; we cannot produce them; the schools have to be taught in Punjabi, we just have not got enough people; we have put them to school, that is the teachers, to learn Punjabi, and some to learn Hindi. I have got the figures. About 50,000 teachers were sent to the schools to learn Punjabi, and to teach Punjabi and Hindi to quite an adequate number. There was delay, therefore, in turning over to teaching Punjabi or Hindi as the case may be, in this initial couple of years which was made much of. It is possible they might have been slightly hustled, but it is not easy by hustling to teach a person a language, to teach a teacher a language which we can teach. Anyhow, after two or three years, this started functioning properly.

In this period, the idea was that if the regional committees made any recommendations about legislation or other matters, that would normally be approved by the Assembly. If the Assembly did not approve of them,

they would send it to the Governor, whose decision would be final. The Governor only got this if there was a dispute between the Regional Committee and the Assembly. You will be interested to know that throughout this period, there were many recommendations sent by the regional committees. In only one case, so far as I remember, the Assembly did not accept it; in every other case the Assembly accepted the recommendations, both of the Hindi and the Punjabi regional committees. In one case the Assembly did not accept it. It was sent to the Governor, and the Governor rejected that recommendation. That one case, I might add, came from the Hindi regional committee, not from the Punjabi regional committee.

**Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur):** There were two cases.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Perhaps there were two cases.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** Both were from the Hindi region.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Anyhow as was pointed out, they both came from the Hindi region, not from the Punjabi region. That is there was no obstruction or difficulty before the Punjabi region so far as the Assembly or the Governor was concerned, except, as I said, originally about their status and privileges and payments to them and all that.

Now, if you examine this position from the language point of view, there was no further question of language left. I may add that it had been decided that in the Punjabi region, Punjabi should be used for administration purposes up to the district level, and in the Hindi region Hindi should be used up to that level. That is being done.

Educationally, and from the point of view of administration at the lower levels, and progressively

in the higher levels, all this was done. Every State employee in the Punjab Government, I believe, has to learn both Punjabi and Hindi, because he has to deal, he may have to deal, with papers in both. All this has been done.

I should merely like to know where any obstruction has come in the promotion of the Punjabi language, what difficulty in its promotion has come, because, apart from the subjects that had been agreed to, many other things have been done. A Punjabi university is being started. That was not referred to then. It is an additional thing. When people talk about functioning in Punjabi, that is exactly what is happening there. You cannot have it more. No question of Punjabi arises, of language arises there, that is to say in the Punjabi region which presumably would become the Punjabi Suba. It has full command over the language. Punjabi is the primary language, and Hindi is the secondary language; and in the Hindi area, Punjabi is secondary, and everybody has to learn it, while Hindi is the primary language; with the result that vast numbers of people outside the Punjabi area have to learn Punjabi today. And some object to it—I think they object wrongly to it, but they do object to it—and the influence and the spread of Punjabi has been much greater than at any time. Punjabi has made more progress in the last eight or ten years than in the last hundred years.

All this has happened. So that, it is said that it is a language issue, an issue of a linguistic province, I just want to understand where Punjabi does suffer, how it suffers. It will suffer under Punjabi suba, that is to say it will suffer taking the whole of Punjab into consideration. Maybe that in the Punjabi region alone it may flourish. Possibly. Even so it would not flourish more than it is flourishing today. I cannot see what linguistic principle is involved.

You may say it is a contradiction of my own argument that actually

today, linguistically, we have got a Punjabi region. And, I say the whole of Punjab is a linguistic one; and you may say it is a contradiction. It is partly a contradiction, not wholly. But the question has arisen because of this argument.

I would much rather that we had no regions at all and everyone in the Punjab were made to learn both Hindi and Punjabi and be done with it. And there it is and both the languages would flourish. In a sense this is happening though in a slightly inverted way. So no question of language can arise now.

I must submit to the House that there is some criticism of the way the regions are working, or in the way Punjabi is being encouraged. Let us consider it. I have given my word. Let us sit down and consider it and remove that obstruction. I cannot remove it. I suggested that this cannot be done by a fiat from Government. Let representatives of the region sit down, representatives of the Punjab Government and representatives of the Central Government; also if you like add some educationists to it. These things are educational questions—the question of language. And we shall remove the obstruction.

So, the point I wish to impress upon this House is that there is no question of language which comes up anywhere. If it is not a question of language then what is it—all this business? Obviously, as some hon. Members have pointed out, it is a communal question. It does not necessarily mean that a communal question must be a wicked question or a bad question although it may be coming in a bad garb and with bad associations. Nevertheless, it may have some virtue in it. But I do not know what the virtue is so far as this matter is concerned.

Now, there is one matter which I should like to mention here. I heard today, only about an hour ago from some Members of Parliament who saw

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh that Sant Fateh Singh said that in my statement yesterday I had said something which was not true. I was rather surprised. I asked, what is it? He is reported to have said: 'I never said that there should be 3 legislatures'. You will remember I had said that Sant Fateh Singh wanted the Punjabi Suba or in the alternative two sub-legislatures, both regional committees becoming legislatures, which meant to me 3 legislatures. So, he said: 'I never wanted three; I only wanted two'. If he wanted only two, it means Punjabi Suba again. It means nothing else. And the word sub-legislatures was used. So, sub-legislature means that there is some other legislature somewhere else. He explained, those friends told me, that what he was thinking of was two legislatures, not full-blooded, not having all the subjects. For instance, finance may not be in it; or maybe law and order may not be in it; but the remaining things would be there. Finance and law and order were not to be dealt with by any other government or legislature but should be the direct responsibility of the Governor.

It is a novel conception. The whole thing is quite novel; two legislatures and a third. It is a novel thing and not provided by our Constitution. When I pointed out that I was told, 'Change the Constitution'. Of course, the Parliament can do that or anything it likes but it is not easy to change the Constitution, and this kind of change particularly. I am sorry if I misunderstood Sant Fateh Singh and gave a wrong impression in my note. But that was the only reasonable explanation I can make of what he said. If it meant only two, it means really going back to two truncated legislatures.

I would like to point out one thing worth bearing in mind. Since Partition, that is the Big Partition, as every one knows, large numbers of people came from Pakistan to India and went

from India to Pakistan; large numbers of Punjabis went and Punjabis came and a good number of these people who have come from Pakistan, Punjabis, have been settled in the Hindi-speaking area of our Punjab so that you have got a new integration—Punjabi-speaking people in the Hindi-speaking area. I do not quite know but I am told that it runs into lakhs. Some people gave me a very big figure; I will not mention it; it is not right. All these Punjabi-speaking people, Hindus mostly, are settled in the Hindi-speaking area and naturally they are picking up Hindi. That does not mean that Punjabi ceases to be their language. Unfortunately, an agitation was carried on before the last general elections among these people to declare in the census that their language was Hindi and not Punjabi although they spoke Punjabi in their homes. What was the purpose of it I do not know. But it was not a truthful statement and it did a lot of harm. It increased these tendencies for separation and the frictions and, as I pointed out, it was a bad thing. Because, the whole thing behind all this is—maybe power politics and all that—ultimately lack of faith of each other, lack of faith of Sikhs of Hindus and of Hindus of Sikhs. There was fear and lack of faith. This business certainly created an impression among the Sikhs: look at these people; their language is Punjabi but they want to deny their birthright in this way; how are we to trust them? It was a legitimate complaint; it was a bad thing to do. I think many of these people have gone back to Punjabi, many people who had put down Hindi at that time; now they were going back to Punjabi because that was their language. How many have gone, how many not. I cannot say. Perhaps the next census will show.

One thing more. I have not referred to it but other Members have. That is about hunger-strike to enforce political demands or any demand. Some hon. Members said that this

was a legacy for which the Congress is responsible or for which Gandhiji is responsible. Well. That is partly correct. Of course Gandhiji indulged in hunger-strikes and did so for very special reasons, for special objectives but never for a political objective of this type. But I admit that anyhow, we cannot judge these things from that point of view and the time of the struggle and all that. But I think that we should make it perfectly clear that hunger-strikes will not be recognised as legitimate in the solution of any problem and there has also been a peculiar difficulty, apart from the others that I have pointed out in this particular case, Master Tara Singh's hunger-strike and previously Sant Fateh Singh's hunger-strike, because if that impression grows that the hunger-strike has succeeded in achieving a certain object, then there will be no end to trouble in India. In every problem, in everything somebody may go on hunger strike and it is quite impossible. Just today we are told of what happened in Andhra and therefore it is said we must have it in this case. We have always referred to Andhra, Gujarat or Maharashtra. All these cases are completely different. We will always be told about this. Therefore, both on principle and on practical considerations, we cannot accept this method, and it must be made perfectly clear to all concerned. I hope that the hon. Member sitting opposite will not indulge in his usual habit of hunger-strike too.

**Mr. Speaker:** He goes on hunger-strike to improve his health!

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** You are completely right, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have always found him better after a hunger-strike.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** He must have learnt the art of getting better after a hunger-strike! Anyhow, I submit that, looking at this problem from any point of view, whether it is on the ground of principle, whether it is on the ground of practical application, and more especially from the point of view of things as they are today and the dangers of any step being taken which will have fatal consequences from the point of view of the whole of India and especially of the Punjab, the policy that the Government have followed is the right policy.

As the House knows, and as may be seen from the correspondence that I exchanged with Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh. I met them, I have spoken to them and I have written to them. I pleaded earnestly, and deferentially. There was no question of my ordering anybody. But I pleaded with them and I shall go on pleading, if necessary, but pleading does not mean giving up something which I consider vital. Therefore, I hope it will be clearly understood by everybody outside this House that the policy which the Government is pursuing is not only a firm policy but a right policy, and any marked deviation from it would be very injurious to the country.

19:28 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, August 30, 1961/Bhadra 8, 1883 (Saka).*