

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder]

teachers to tide over the present difficulty. And, as understand, the NCERT books are the cheapest available in the market. They are published and priced are at a 'no profit, no loss' basis.

RESOLUTION RE. REORIENTATION OF THE STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING CULTURAL AND EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have the honour to move the following resolution for the consideration of this House:

"This House is of the opinion that the main factor retarding cultural and emotional integration of the Indian people is the communal interpretation of the medieval Indian history and its distortion by the British historians, while India was under British Rule, portraying the Hindus and the Muslims as being divided into two warring camps with little in common between them, and that this distortion paved the way for the emergence of the two-nation theory, and therefore recommends that the Government should take immediate steps for the reorientation of the study of the Medieval Indian History so as to—

(i) bring out points of contacts and understanding between different Indian communities; and

(ii) serve, in the words of Gandhiji, the purpose of creating a sense of Indian-ness and to help in promoting concord in place of discord, peace in place of strife, progress in place of retrogression and mutual faith in place of hatred."

Sir, in this vast land of ours have dwelt since time immemorial people of different races and cultures and into this land entered races from beyond the mountains and seas.

But the old inhabitants and the newcomers, after they had struggled and fought, forgot eventually their enmities, made peace and joined in their common endeavour. Each epoch of such a fusion was marked by an efflorescence of culture in which the different elements were so cunningly mixed as to make one whole.

This unity of spirit has ever been conveying to the different groups and communities which form part of the whole known as India, the fundamental realisation that although the waves upon sea are many and play of winds upon its surface gives rise to varied and even contradictory phenomena like calms and storms, yet the substance of this multiplicity and variety is the unchanging sea.

The socio-economic continuity is the distinguishing feature of Indian history. The harmony found in the many-sided culture of the people of India stems from this source. Thus, although India has many religions, many languages, many races, its fundamental attitudes towards life have persisted through centuries and millennia. It is a remarkable fact that the socio-economic structure of India, which originated in the settlements of the Aryans and their assimilation of the pro-Aryan inhabitants of India, continued without any radical change till the nineteenth century.

This unity of her history, her ideals and of her humanity is the living spirit of India. It is greater than any of its particular manifestations in time or in type. It underlies the multiplicity of our creeds and sects, customs and institutions, and art and philosophies. It underlies our historic failures and successes, our struggles and triumphs. It abides in the midst of these changes. It is this spirit which fused the pre-Dravidian, the Dravidian and the Aryan into that ancient social organism which found utterance in the sublime philosophies, beautiful crafts, the stirring arts, which make up the first chapter of our history. Rama and Krishna, Mahavir and Buddha, Chandragupta and

Ashoka, Valmika and Vyaṣ worthily represent the spirit of this culture. The monuments of Sarnath and Sanchi, and paintings of Bagh and Ajanta, and the temples of Khajuraho and Bhuvneshwar, the dramas of Kalidas and Bhavbhuti constitute the living memory of this glorious age.

The close of this epoch saw the impact of new races—Arabs, Turks and Moghals. The ancient culture of India came into violent conflict with the newcomers, but even before the political struggles had ended, our construction had begun. Islam and Hinduism, which appeared at the start, so antithetical, at last intermingled, each one stirred the profoundest depth of the other and from their synthesis, grew the religion of Bhakti and Tasawwuf, the religion of love and devotion, which swept the hearts of millions following different religions and sects of India. The currents of Islamic Sufism and Hindu Bhakti combined into a mighty stream which fertilized old desolate tracts and changed the face of the country. It was this spirit of India which achieved apparently an impossible task of reconciling the puritanical severity and awe-inspiring transcendence of Islam into the luxuriant fullness and abundance of forms and the intuitive perception of their imminent unity of Hinduism, and created those monuments of architecture and painting, music and poetry and love inspired religion which are the heritage of Indian history during the middle ages. A harmonious study of Indian History, a study both wide and deep, seems urgently called for now more than ever before. The question arises: Can we cut up history into little bits, and say: this is ancient history, this is medieval and that is modern history? The Central doctrine of the modern scientific study of history, according to the great Oxford Professor Freeman's teaching is, the unity and continuity of history. This theory is supported by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who says—I quote—"We cannot divide history of India into the three water-tight com-

partments, namely the Hindu period, the Muhammadan period and the British period. Nothing can be more absurd. In the first place they should be either Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian, or ancient, medieval and modern. The first is a communal division of Indian history and should be banished from all history books for ever. The second classification may be resorted to for convenience of study, especially for the study of culture. But it should be invariably borne in mind that although in the world of thought there may be a temporary division of history for the sake of specialisation, in the world of action history ought to be treated as having a continuous sequence. This, in fact, is the basic idea of history, as any student of historiography will tell us."

Let us consider the factors that are responsible for continuously aggravating disunity, disharmony and disintegration between communities. The underlying primary cause is misunderstanding. This misunderstanding takes many forms and expresses itself in numerous ways. It inspires the interpretation of India history and makes it possible for extremists on both sides to press the distortion of historical facts and movements into service to uphold their different theories. The distrust affects our judgement of men and their motives and exaggerates every intentional or unintentional neglect into a deliberate piece of oppression, and every petty incident of a quarrel or suppression of a breach of law and order into a calculated piece of atrocity. This suspicion colours the whole outlook upon life; every little difference of customs, manners, modes of speech and dress, ways of living and of vocational pursuits is magnified into a profound difference of culture—of economic, social, political and spiritual ideals. Is there any wonder that every clash of personal and of group ambition is regarded as a symptom of deep social cleavage and of communal and cultural disharmony?

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The task is not easy, because unfortunately the histories of India which have been taught in our schools and colleges for generations past were originally compiled by European writers. And Indians have not yet succeeded in shaking off the biases inculcated by their European teachers. These so called histories have produced indelible impressions on the minds of their readers and corrupted the springs of national life. They have laid emphasis on differences, drawn pictures in which the relations between Hindu and Musalmans bear most prominently the marks of violence, conquest, rapine and religious bigotry. They have presented the Muslims as destroyers of Hindu culture and traditions; despoliers of Hindu temples and palaces; and brutal idol-breakers who have offered to their Hindu victims the terrible alternative of conversion or the sword.

It is hardly surprising that educated men in India drugged with such poisonous stuff from the most impressionable period of their lives grow up to suspect and distrust each other. The Hindu has been brought to believe that the Muslim period of Indian history which extends over eight hundred years and more is a nightmare. Not only does he feel no pride in it, but when he turns back his mind to find inspiration in the past he skips over this long interval and draws highly idealised pictures of the golden past which lies beyond. The Muslim on the other hand having lost the power built up by his co-religionists to a Christian nation from the West and being regarded as a mere intruder by the Hindus, naturally feeds his self-respect upon deeds by which he won conquest and glory and completely ignores the remoter past which moulded his cultural achievement of which he ought to be justly proud. How British historians have used these sentiments would be clear from the following quotation from the well-known compilation, Sir, H. M. Elliotts "History of India as told by its own historians". The passage occurs in the general preface to Volume I. I quote—

"We behold kings... sunk in sloth or debauchery and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus.

"Under such rulers we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted: that the state revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers, that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoils of plundered provinces, and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. The few glimpses we have even among the short extracts of this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions worship or ablutions and other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations of murders and massacres and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged."

A glimpse into official British records will show how this policy of Divide-et-Impera was taking shape. Secretary of State Wood in a letter to Lord Elgin said: "We have maintained our power in India by playing off one part against the other and we must continue to do so. Do all you can, therefore to prevent all having a common feeling." (Wood Papers: Wood to Elgin, March 3, 1862). At another occasion Wood remark: "We cannot afford in India to neglect any means of strengthening of opposition. Depend upon it, the natural antagonism of races is no inconsiderable element of our strength. If all India was to unite against us, how long could we maintain ourselves." (Wood to Elgin, May 19, 1862).

George Francis Hamilton, Secretary of State of India wrote to Curzon, "I think the real danger to our rule in

India not now, but say 50 years hence is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation, organisation, and, if we could break educated Indians into two sections holding widely different views, we should, by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our system of government. We should so plan educational text-books that the differences between community and community are further strengthened (Hamilton to Curzon, 26th March 1888).

Cross informed the Governor-General, Dufferin, that "This division of religious feeling is greatly to our advantage and I look for some good as a result of your Committee to Inquiry on Indian Education and on teaching material". (Cross to Dufferin, 14 January, 1887).

Thus under a definite policy the Indian history text-books were so falsified and distorted as to give an impression that the medieval period of Indian history was full of atrocities committed by Muslim rulers on their Hindu subjects and the Hindus had to suffer terrible indignities under Islamic rule. There were no common factors in social, political or economic life.

Now let us briefly examine the truth of these allegations. Let us see what the contemporary Muslim historians say Qazi Mughis-ud-Din laments:

"Although in the medieval period the head of the State in India was a Muslim, the State was not Islamic. The State did not follow the injunctions of the holy scriptures—The Quran, the Hadith, or the laws elaborated in the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence. It is a mistake to call medieval state in India, theocratic, for it did not function under the guidance of the Muslim theologians."

Almost everyone of the Muslim monarchs of India from the 13th century onwards expressed his inability and indicated the impossibility of con-

ducting Government in accordance with Shariat. Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Mohammad Tughlak were among the pre-Moghal sovereigns on India who questioned the suitability of applying Muslim law to India, Zia-ud-Din Burni a historian in his *Fatawa-i-Fahandari*, says:

"True religion consists in following on the foot-steps of the prophet. But royal Government, on the contrary, can only be carried on by following the policies of Khusro Parvez and great emperors of Iran."

He admits that—

"Between the traditions (Sunnat) of the Prophet Muhammad and his mode of life and living and the customs of the Iranian emperors and their mode of life and living there is a complete contradiction and opposition."

But he pointed out that the Shariat, which is the command of God, could be followed in State matters only in exceptional times. Muhammad succeeded in enforcing Shara because he was directly inspired by God, the first four Khalifas did so because they had been the associates of the Prophet. But prophethood is a perfection of religion and the Kingship is the perfection of worldly fortune. These two perfections are opposed and contradictory to each other, and their combination is not within the bounds of possibility.

Nizam-ud-Din, observes:

"Bulban gave precedence to the affairs of the State over religion."

(*Tabquat-i-Akari* (Vol. I, p. 82)

Burni states:

"In the matter of punishment and exercise of royal authority he acted without fear of God and whatever he regarded to be in the interest of Government, irrespective of whether it was in accord with Shara or not, he carried into action."

(*Tarikh-i-Shahi*)

Alauddin Khalji's discussion with Quazi Mughis-ad-Din is well known. His parting reply to the Quazi was:

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"Whatever I consider to be in the interest of Government, and find to be the requirement of the time. I order. I do not know what the exalter God will do to me on the day of resurrection."

Prof. M. Habib says:

"It is true that Muslim kings, mostly of foreign extraction, sat on Indian thrones for some six or seven centuries. But they could only do so because their enthronment was not the enthronment of the Muslim rule. Had it been otherwise they could not have lasted for a single generation."

(Medieval India Quarterly, op. cit p. 5)

Socially the Musalmans of India developed an organisation similar to that of the Hindus. Muslim societies in India unlike Muslim societies in other countries became divided into castes comparable with the Hindu caste system. These distinctions also became heredity.

In every social system woman holds a characteristic position. Arab and Turkish societies differ considerably from Hindu society in this matter. Yet in India the Muslims followed not the customs of Arabia and Turkistan but those of India. In toilet, dress, ornaments, ways of social intercourse, and daily routine of life, they adopted Indian ways and manners. The Muslim marriage ceremonies were adopted from Hinduism Nisbat, Haldi, Menhdi, Tel. Mandwa, Barat, Jalwa, Kanghan etc. were Muslim adaptations of Hindu ceremonies. The only difference that remained was that in the Hindu marriage bride and bridegroom went round the fire to the chanting of Vedic Mantras while in the Muslim marriage they were joined together in bonds of matrimony by the Qazi who read appropriate verses from the Quran. Early marriage of girls, prohibition of widow marriage, dependence and subordination of woman and the use of the veil were common to the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Muslims adopted many Hindu funeral ceremonies, for example, the

Tija, the Daswan etc. Then ceremonies concerning pregnancy and childbirth like he seventh month, satmasa sixth day of childbirth chhathi, the shaving of the child's head (Mundan Aqiqa), licking of Khir Khir chatai bonning of ears, kanchhedan birthday anniversary Janamdin etc. were common to both. Even such purely Hindu practices as the immolation of the widow on the death of her husband and Jauhar were occasionally resorted to by the Muslims. Ibn Batuta relates the story of the defeat of Ainul Mulk by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and tells how his wife plunged into death after her husband. Again, the Zafar Namah describes the Jauhar committed by Kamaluddin, Governor of Bhatnair, when he proceeded to fight against Timur. Amir Khusro's admiration is evident from his famous lines:

“चू जने हिन्दी केश दर
आशकी दीवाना नेस्त,
सोखतन वर शमा शोहर
कार हर परवाना नेस्त।”

Dress is the most outstanding expression of the inner character of a society, of its grades and classes, of its psychological values, taboos and reticences. From this point of view, it is important to notice how the Muslims in India discarded the garments worn in Arabia, Iran and Central Asia and mainly adopted the Indian costumes and clothes. The use of Arab Amama, Jubba, Rada, Tahmad, and Tasma, and the Central Asian Kulah, Nima, Moza, etc disappeared, giving place to Hindu pagari and Chira, Kurta and Agarakha, Patka and Dupatta, Pajama and Juta.

Now, let me illustrate how historical facts have been distorted. In 1928, while I was doing research on Tippu Sultan at Allahabad, some school students came to me and invited me to inaugurate their History Association. They had directly come from the school with their textbooks. Incidentally, I glanced through their history textbooks. I opened the chapter on Tippu Sultan. One of the sentences

struck me deeply and it was this: "Three thousand Brahmins committed suicide because Tippu wanted to convert them forcibly into the fold of Islam". The author of that book was Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Har Parshad Shastri, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University. I immediately wrote to Dr. Shastri as to the source of his information. After many reminders came the reply that he had taken that fact from the Mysore Gazetteer. The Mysore Gazetteer was not available either at Allahabad or at the Imperial Library, Calcutta. So, I wrote to Sir Brijendra Nath Seal, the then Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University, seeking a confirmation of the statement of Dr. Shastri. Sir Brijendra Nath Seal forwarded my letter to Prof. Srikantia, who was then busy editing a new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer. Prof. Srikantia informed me that the episode of the suicide of 3,000 Brahmins is nowhere in the Mysore Gazetteer and he, as a student of history of Mysore, was absolutely certain that no such incident had taken place. He further informed me that the Prime Minister of Tippu Sultan was a Brahmin, named Purnea, and his Commander-in-Chief was also a Brahmin, named Krishna Rao. He supplied me with the list of 156 temples to which Tippu Sultan used to pay annual grants. He sent me 30 photostat copies of Tippu Sultan's letters addressed to the Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Sringeri Math with whom Tippu had very cordial relations. Tippu Sultan, as was customary with the rulers of Mysore, daily visited the temple of Lord Ranganatha, located inside the forth of Srirangapatnam, before taking his breakfast. Prof. Srikantia suggested that Dr. Shastri might have based his narrations on the so-called "History of Mysore", by Col. Miles. Col. Miles claimed to have translated his "History of Tippu Sultan" from a Persian manuscript which was then in the personal library of Queen Victoria. On investigation, it was found that there was no such manuscript in the library of Queen Victoria. Most of the facts in Col. Miles's history book were con-

cocted and absolutely false. Dr. Shastri's book was approved as a course book of history for high schools in Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan. I approached Sir Ashutosh Chaudhary the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and sent him all the correspondence that I had exchanged with Dr. Shastri the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Seal, and Prof. Srikantia, with the request to take proper action against the offending passages in the textbook. Prompt came the reply from Sir Ashutosh Chaudhary that the history book by Dr. H. P. Shastri has been put out of course. But I am amazed to find that the same description about Tippu Sultan is still existing in the history textbooks which have been prescribed for junior high schools in U.P. for the students of VI, VII and VIII Classes.

Similarly, when I was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality a case of *Dakhil Kharij* came up for my consideration. It was the case of a dispute over the property dedicated to the temple Someshwar Nath Mahadev. After the death of the Mahant, there were two claimants for the property. One of the claimants filed some documents which were in the possession of the family. The documents were the *farmans* issued by Emperor Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb conferred a *jagir* and a cash gift on the temple. I felt puzzled. I thought that the *farmans* were spurious. I was wondering how Aurangzeb, who was famous for breaking temples, could confer a *jagir* on a temple with the words that the *Jagir* was being conferred for the *puja* and *bhog* of the deity. How could Aurangzeb identify himself with idolatry? I felt sure that documents were not genuine. But before coming to my conclusion, I decided to take the opinion of Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Dr. Sapru was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. I put the documents before him and asked for his opinion. After examining the documents Dr. Sapru said that these *farmans* of Aurangzeb were absolutely genuine. Then he asked his *Munshi* to bring the file of

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the case of Jangum Badi Shiva Temple of Varanasi, the case of which was lying in the Allahabad High Court for the past 15 years. The Mahant of the Jangum Badi Shiva temple was also in possession of various *farmans* of Aurangzeb granting *Jagir* to the temple. That was a new image of Aurangzeb appeared before me. I was thoroughly surprised. As advised by Dr. Sapru, I sent letters to the Mahants of various important temples of India requesting them to send me photostat copies of the *Farmans* of Aurangzeb, in their possession, granting them *Jagir* for their respective temples. Another big surprise was in store for me. I received copies of *Farmans* of Aurangzeb from the great temples of Mahakaleshwara Ujjain. From Balaji Temple Chitrakut, Umanand Temple, Gauhati and the Jain temple of Shatrungai and other various temples and Gurdwaras scattered over northern India. I also received copies of *Farmans*. These *Farmans* were issued from 1065 AH (1659) to 1091 AH (1685).

Though these are the only few instances of Aurangzeb's generous attitude towards Hindus and their temples, they are enough to show that what the historians have written about him was biased and is only one side of the picture. India is a vast land with thousands of temples scattered all over. If proper research is made, I am confident, many more instances would come to light which will show Aurangzeb's benevolent treatment of non-Muslims.

But there are instances which prove beyond doubt that Aurangzeb did order demolition of Vishwanath temple of Varanasi and the Jama Masjid at Golkunda and the reasons that were given out for the demolition of the temple and the mosque may give benefit of circumstances to Aurangzeb. The story regarding demolition of Vishwanath temple is that while Aurangzeb was passing near Varanasi on his way to Bengal, the Hindu Rajas in his retinue requested that if the halt is made for a day, their Ranis

may go to Varanasi, have a dip in the Ganges and pay their homage to Lord Vishwanath. Aurangzeb readily agreed. Army pickets were posted on the 5-mile route to Varanasi and all the Ranis made a journey on the *Palkis*. They took their dip in the Ganges and went to the Vishwanath temple to pay their homage. All the Ranis returned except one, the Maharani of Kachh. A thorough search was made of the temple precincts but the Rani was to be found nowhere. When Aurangzeb came to know of it, he was very much enraged. He sent his senior officers to search for the Rani. Ultimately, they found that the Statue of Ganesh which was fixed in the wall was a movable one. When the statue was moved, a fleet of stairs led to the basement. To their horror, they found the missing Rani dishonoured and crying. The basement was just beneath Lord Vishwanath's seat. The Hindu Rajas expressed their vociferous protests. They demanded justice. The case was very grave. Aurangzeb ordered that the sacred precincts have been spoiled. Lord Vishwanath may be moved to some other place. The temple be razed to the ground and the Mahant be arrested and punished.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, in his famous book "The Feathers and the Stones" has narrated this fact based on documentary evidence. Dr. P. L. Gupta, former Curator of Patna Museum has also narrated this incident.

Now, about the Jama Masjid: The Ruler of Golkunda, the famous Tanashah, after collecting revenues of the State, did not pay his dues to Delhi. In a few years they were accumulated into crores. Tanashah buried this Khazana and erected a Jama Masjid over it. When Aurangzeb came to know of it, he ordered the demolition of the Mosque. The buried Khazana was seized and utilised for the benefit of the people. These two examples are sufficient to show that Aurangzeb did not make any distinction between a temple and a mosque in coming to a judicial finding.

Now, about Shivaji: Many muslim Historians have paid tributes to Shivaji's secular policy. Khafi Khan has written the life of Shivaji. His father was a contemporary of Shivaji. He has paid glowing tributes to Shivaji's generous religious policies towards Muslims, and the holy Quran. Another historian, Bashiruddin Ahmed, has corroborated this fact. A.F.M. Abdul Ali has also recorded that Shivaji was generous towards his Muslim subjects. Hindu and the

Muslims had the same rights 3 P.M. in his reign. He never made any differentiation between his Hindu subjects and Muslim subjects. Sheikh Haider Qazi was his Private and Confidential Secretary. He kept all his records and drafted his correspondence. Siddi Hambal and Siddi Billal were his Generals and one of his Naval Rear Admiral was a Muslim. Shivaji was not against the Central Delhi power. His correspondence with Aurangzeb, preserved in Parasnis Library amply proves this. But he wanted certain rights—the right to collect *Chauth* and the right to Mint his currency.

It may be noted that Shivaji's Grand father was a great admirer of the Muslim Saint Shah Sharafudin. He named his sons after the Saint. He named his eldest son as Shahji and his younger son as Sharafji. Shahji was the father of Shivaji. Shivaji himself had great reverence for a Muslim saint Baba Yakut of Kalsi.

Take the case of Rana Pratap. His war with Akbar on the battle-field of Haldighati is characterised as the religious war. Facts are that the army of Akbar consisting of 40,000 Rajputs and 60,000 Mughals was commanded by Raja Man Singh. Likewise, the army of Rana Pratap included a large contingent of Pathans commanded by Hakim Khan Sur. Taj Khan, the Pathan Raja of Jalaur, joined the army of Rana Pratap with his one thousand cavalry regiment. Rana Pratap's army had nearly 40,000 Rajputs in the battle-field of Haldi Ghati. Rajputs were fighting Rajputs and Pathans were fighting Mughals without giving any quarter to anyone. How could this battle be described as

the battle between Islam and Hinduism? It was a battle between a Central Power and the Regional Power. We salute Rana Pratap for his bravery and for his love of freedom, but in no sense of the term his war can be described as war between Hinduism and Islam.

Let us take the case of Guru Gobind Singh. Amongst his followers were included hundreds of Muslims. The area where Guru Gobind Singh established his political seat was commended by a number of Hill Rajas. The people used to pay taxes to the Rajas. With the growth of power of Guru Gobind Singh, the peasants began to pay their revenues to Guru Gobind Singh instead of the Rajas. This was the cause of the conflict between the Guru and the Rajas. Rajas sought help from the Subedar at Sirhind, who sent his army to help the Rajas. The combined army of the Nawab of Sirhind and Hindu Rajas proved ineffective. Then, help was sought from the Emperor at Delhi. Thus indirectly it became the conflict between Delhi and the Guru, resulting in great hardships to Guru Govind Singh. Two of his sons were betrayed to the enemy by his personal cook named, Gangaram, in lure of the reward. The regional council on behalf of the Delhi emperor was running the administration of this region. There were three members of the regional council—The Nawab of Sirhind, his Hindu Vazir and the Nawab of Maler Kotla. By two votes to one, the sons of Guru Govind Singh were put to death. The Nawab of Maler Kotla pleaded in vain that the sons be allowed to go free. Afterwards, Guru Gobind Singh felt so thankful to the Nawab of Maler Kotla that he issued an injunction that no Sikh would enter the territory of Malerkotla with arms on. Incidentally, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's army inadvertently passed through the territory of Malerkhotla. Someone reminded the Maharaja of the injunction of the tenth Guru. Maharaja felt sorry and ordered his army to put down their arms. He sent a messenger to the Nawab of Malerkotla with a message "Myself and my army has committed a crime of passing through

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your territory with arms. We have violated the injunction of the tenth Guru and we stand here as your Mujrim and seek punishment from you." Nawab replied, "You are a great Maharaja and I am a humble Nawab, how can I punish you?" But on the insistence of the Maharaja he accepted a fine of Rs. 100.

Nabi Khan, Ghani Khan and General Syed Beg along with their thousands of Muslim followers fought on the side of Guru Gobind Singh in those delicate years. Pir Badruddin of Sadhaura along with his two brothers, four sons and a thousand strong army fought for the Guru and sacrificed their lives.

Relations between the Sikh Gurus and the Muslims were very cordial. When the Golden Temple of Amritsar was being built, the Sikh Guru invited the great Muslim Saint, Sain Miyan Mir, to lay down the foundation stone of the famous golden temple. A batch of prominent Sikh Sardars went to Lahore from Amritsar and brought the Muslim saint on a Palki carried on their shoulders.

During Ranjit Singh's reign, Muslims enjoyed equal rights. His Prime Minister was a Muslim and two of his favourite queens were Muslims. Till his death, the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs lived in perfect harmony.

In the light of the above facts, it is imperative that the teaching of history should be reoriented so that future generations of the country may be saved from entertaining bias and hatred with each other. I am sorry, Sir, these facts are not mentioned anywhere in the text-books of History.

Sir, I conclude with the words of Gandhiji. Sir, I quote:

"We have Chapter and Verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Mussalman historians to say that we were living in the medieval period in comperative peace and harmony. It was not like that as has been shown to us in the British history."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I place these facts before the Education Minister, through you, for consideration, and I am sure he would take note of these and try to amend and reorient our History text-books...

AN HON. MEMBER: He is a professor of History.

SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE: I am glad that he is a professor of History. It is all the more convenient for him to go through the History text-books and get them examined and see that proper text-books are issued by the various State Governments, the Government of India, the NCERT and others, so that a proper atmosphere is created in the country. We have been divided, we have been separated. The country had been divided. But we do not want this thing to continue any more. Let our hearts be united. They are still divided. We must do something so that a new Indian community emerges from the debris of partition and we shake off all our differences and our suspicions from now on. Thank you, Sir.

The question was proposed.

श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, बहुत जल्दी-जल्दी और बहुत ज्यादा इस सदन में बोलने की मेरी आदत नहीं है। जब भी आवश्यकता होती है तब ही आप से अनुमति मांगता हूँ और इस प्रस्ताव के सम्मुख अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

मान्यवर, मैं पांडे जी को बधाई देने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। उन्होंने एक बड़ा सुन्दर प्रस्ताव, बड़ा आवश्यक प्रस्ताव और एक ऐसा प्रस्ताव जिसका संबंध इस देश के भूत से, इस देश के वर्तमान से और इस देश के भविष्य से है, इस सदन के सम्मुख उन्होंने प्रस्तुत किया है।

मैं पांडे जी को बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ, आज से नहीं पिछले 50 वर्षों से जानता हूँ। वह स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से सैनिक रहे हैं।

गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में देश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में हिस्सा लेते रहे हैं। इन्होंने यातनाएं भी सही हैं। इसके साथ-साथ भारतीय इतिहास के एक बड़े अचछे विद्यार्थी रहे हैं जिनका इतिहास के ऊपर बड़ा गम्भीर चिन्तन रहा है। जिस विषय को लेकर उन्होंने प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है उस विषय पर बराबर वह लड़ते भी रहे हैं और वोलेते भी रहे हैं। उनकी कई सभाओं और सम्मेलनों में जाने का अवसर मिला और उनके बहुत से लेखों को भी मुझे पढ़ने का अवसर मिला। आज इस प्रश्न को उन्होंने उठाया है। मुझे क्षमा करेंगे अगर अपने भाई नुरुल हसन साहब से मैं कहूँ कि जिस प्रश्न को उन्होंने आज उठाया है यह बहुत पहले उठाया जाना चाहिए था।

हमारी यह दुर्बलता रही है कि इस विषय को जानते हुए और अनुभव करते हुए कि भारतीय इतिहास को भ्रष्ट किया गया है, नष्ट किया गया है, उसको रंगने की कोशिश की गई है, जानबूझकर अवास्तविक बातें उसमें भरने की चेष्टा की गई है ताकि भारत में राष्ट्रवाद का उदय न होने पावे, फिर भी हम इस विषय की ओर पहले ध्यान नहीं दे सके। हमने इस बात पर विचार नहीं किया कि इस देश में पराधीनता के अभिशाप के रूप में साम्प्रदायिकता का जो विष फैलाया गया था उसको पूरी तरह से फेंक दें। हमारे एक बहुत बड़े नेता मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद थे। मुझे इस बात का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था कि सन् 1942 में इलाहाबाद के नैनी जेल में मैं उनके साथ रहा। वे बराबर हम लोगों की क्लास लिया करते थे और यही विषय था जिसके ऊपर वे विशद प्रकाश डाला करते थे और अनेक प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करते थे। पुराने विद्वानों और इतिहास के ज्ञाताओं की लेखनी से निकले हुए उद्गार हमारे सामने रखते थे और यह कहा करते थे कि इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता की आग भड़काना और इसका जहर फैलाना साम्राज्यवादियों की नीति रही है जिसने झूठे प्रश्नों को उठाकर और

अवास्तविक रंग देकर हमारे इतिहास को नष्ट करने की चेष्टा की है। मुझे स्मरण है, हमारे देश की कांस्टिट्यूट एसेम्बली की जब यहां पर बैठकें होती थीं तो इस विषय पर बड़ी चर्चा होती थी। मैं भी उसका सदस्य था। यह सन् 1946-47 की बात है। 30-31 वर्ष हो गये। उस समय भी इस विषय पर चर्चा होती थी। उसकी जो कमेटियां हुआ करती थीं उनमें मुझे शरीक होने का अवसर मिलता था। उस समय बार-बार यह प्रश्न उठाया जाता था कि हमारे इतिहास को शुद्ध किया जाना चाहिए। इस रूप में शुद्ध नहीं किया जाना चाहिए कि उसमें कात्पनिक बातें भर दी जायें। उसका शुद्धीकरण इस रूप में किया जाय कि उसमें वास्तविक बातें आ सकें। हमारे देश के जीवन और हमारी राष्ट्रियता को जो आघात पहुंचा है और जिसके पलस्वरूप हमारा देश पराधीन हुआ जिस पराधीनता का अभिशाप हम लोगों को भुगतना पड़ा, भविष्य में उससे इस राष्ट्र की मुक्ति हो, इस बात को देखना परम आवश्यक है। हम लोग इस प्रश्न को पहले नहीं ले सके। हमारे नुरुल हसन साहब इतिहास के विद्वान और विद्यार्थी रहे हैं और खास करके वे मध्यकालीन इतिहास के अध्यापक रहे हैं। सम्भवतः वे इस विषय पर बहुत प्रकाश डालेंगे। मुझे केवल इतना ही कहना है कि हमें बहुत पहले इस विषय को ले लेना चाहिए था क्योंकि इसका संबंध हमारे पिछले जमाने से है।

मान्यवर, जिस समय इस राष्ट्र का विभाजन हुआ और यहां पर दो राष्ट्रों के सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन किया गया, भारत की अखण्डता नष्ट की गई, हमारे भीतर साम्प्रदायिकता फैली, देश में उपद्रव हुए और हमारे देश की राष्ट्रियता का बहुत बड़ा ह्रास हुआ, आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस विषय पर पुन विचार : किया जायें। जो राष्ट्रियता इस देश में कांग्रेस के

[श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी]

माध्यम से आई थी, उसको बहुत बड़ा आघात पहुंचा है। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि अंग्रेज सरकार की साम्राज्यवादी नीति और औपनिवेशिक सत्ता की यह नीति रही थी कि इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता फैलाई जाये। वे इस बात को जानते थे कि अगर इस देश में कई हजार मीलों से आकर अपनी सत्ता स्थापित करनी है, इस देश के ऊपर शासन करना है, दृढ़ता के साथ, इतना बड़ा देश है, कन्या कुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक और उधर द्वारिका से लेकर कामाक्षी तक, इतना बड़ा राष्ट्र है, करोड़ों नर-नारियों का निवास है और इसके सिवाय हजारों वर्ष पुरानी संस्कृति है, उस संस्कृति का इनका इतिहास है। राष्ट्र के जीवन की एक धारा बहती रही है, हजारों वर्षों से, जिसमें कभी हमारा उत्थान हुआ, कभी पतन भी हुआ है। अच्छा युग भी देखा, बुरा युग भी देखा पर यह धारा बहती रही है। इसकी संस्कृति है, इसकी परम्परायें हैं, ट्रेडीशंस, हैं, जीवन के ऊपर उसका कुछ असर है। इस देश में आ करके शासन करना, मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजों के लिए तब तक सम्भव नहीं हो सकता था, जब तक इस देश के जीवन में किसी तरह का जहर फैलाने की कोशिश न की जाये। इनकी भावात्मक एकता, एक न होने पाये, देश अपने देश को न समझ पाये, राष्ट्र अपने को राष्ट्र न समझ पाये, अपने को सब भारत मां की सन्तान न समझ पायें, इसके लिए ऐसी शक्तियों का सृजन कर दिया जाये, जो आपस में टकराती रहें और तब अबसर मिलेगा, हमें शासन करने का, कभी इसका साथ देकर और कभी उसका साथ देकर। विना इसके हमारे साम्राज्य का विस्तार नहीं हो सकता। तो यह इतिहास की बात है। मैं केवल कल्पना की बातें नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं इतिहास का एक साधारण सा विद्यार्थी भी रहा हूँ और मेरा

यह सौभाग्य भी है कि मैंने आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जैसे महान पण्डित और व्यक्ति के अधीन इतिहास की शिक्षा ली है। यह इतिहास की बात है कि इस देश में अंग्रेजों का शासन स्थापित हुआ, तब जब कि उन्होंने देश की विभिन्न शक्तियों में फूट डाली। उन्होंने यहाँ पर अपने पैर जमाने के लिए यह नीति अपनाई कि, भारत औपनिवेशिक सत्ता में तब तक नहीं रह सकता, जब तक कि साम्प्रदायिकता को एक हिस्सा न बनाया जाये, और इसके लिए उन्होंने यहाँ साम्प्रदायिकता की आग फैलाई। इसके लिए एक सबसे सीधी सा उपाय था कि इस देश के इतिहास में साम्प्रदायिकता के जहर को बो दिया जाये और जिसका परिणाम यह हो कि बचपन से ही उनके ऊपर यह संस्कार पड़ने लगें कि हम हिन्दू हैं, हम मुसलमान हैं, हम सिख हैं, और हम इसाई हैं, ऐसी हमारी दृष्टि हो जाये। हमारे समाज में पहले से बहुत से दोष रहे हैं। मैं हिन्दू समाज की बात करना चाहता हूँ : इस समाज में पहले से ही यह दोष रहा है कि हम समाज में अपने को हिन्दू नहीं समझते हैं तो फिर क्या भारतीय समझेंगे? हम ब्राह्मण हैं, हम ठाकुर हैं, हम भूमिहार हैं, हम यादव हैं, इस तरह की दृष्टि हमारी रही है। मान्य-वर, इस दृष्टि का परिहार करने के लिए सबसे प्रथम प्रयास 1885 में कांग्रेस ने किया, जब एक मंच पर देश समस्त राष्ट्र प्रेमी और देश को समझने वाले एकत्रित हुये। वह पहला अबसर था, आज से 90-91 वर्ष पूर्व, जब कि यह आवाज उठी कि हम एक देश की सन्तान हैं, सारा देश हमारा है, सारा राष्ट्र हमारा है। हमारा धर्म व मजहब चाहे कुछ भी हो, हमारा रहन-सहन कुछ भी हो, हमारी भाषा कुछ भी हो, पर हम एक मां की औलाद हैं और मातृ-भूमि की सन्तान हैं। इस तरह की भावनाओं को उत्पन्न करने की चेष्टा की गई। उसमें खलल डालने के

लिए आवश्यक था कि बचपन में ही ऐसे संस्कार जोड़ दिए जायें जो हमें कभी एक न होने दे। इसका तरीका एक ही था कि हमारे इतिहास में इस तरह की चीजों का समावेश कर दिया जाये। इन बातों का जिक्र अभी हमारे पाण्डेय जी ने किया है। उन्होंने टीपू सुल्तान का जिक्र किया, औरंगजेब का जिक्र किया। उन्होंने जंगम-बाड़ी की उस कोठी का भी उल्लेख किया जो काशी में आज मौजूद है। विश्वनाथ के मन्दिर का भी उन्होंने उल्लेख किया। शिवाजी का, महाराणा प्रताप और गुरु गोविन्द सिंह का उन्होंने उल्लेख किया। तो हम लोगों के इतिहास को नष्ट करने की, ध्रष्ट करने की, अनुचित ढंग से उसको प्रदर्शित करने की चेष्टा बराबर की गई, और उसका विस्तार किया गया, इसकी ओर उन्होंने संकेत किया। तो यह उनकी नीति थी, मान्यवर। इस नीति के हम शिकार हुये हैं। यह हमारी पराधीनता का अभिशाप रहा है जिसे हमें भोगना पड़ा। यही कारण है कि दो शताब्दियों तक हम अंग्रेजों की गुलामी में पड़े हुये सिसकते रहे, उनके अन्याय, उनके अत्याचार सहते रहे और सारी दुनियां में हम अपमानित होते रहे तथा हमारी आत्मा मूर्छित होती रही। अब इस बात की तरफ उन्होंने ध्यान दिलाया है। मान्यवर मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ यह भारतीय संस्कृति जो है इसकी विचार-धारा को अगर देखा जाय तो एक विद्यार्थी के नाते मैं यह कहता हूँ असाम्प्रदायिक रही है। आज अपने प्राचीन इतिहास पर दृष्टिपात करने की आवश्यकता है। इस प्रस्ताव में लिखा है कि मिडीवियल पीरियड के इतिहास का दृष्टिपात करें, उसको संशोधन करें यह तो होना ही चाहिये लेकिन मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ अपने अतीत के इतिहास पर भी दृष्टि-पात कीजिये। कभी इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि रही ही नहीं है यह मैं चुनौती दे सकता हूँ। जो लोग इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता का प्रचार करना चाहते हैं

उनसे मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह दृष्टिकोण साम्प्रदायिक, फिरकापरस्ती का नुकतेनिगाह यह मान्यवर अ-भारतीय है। और अगर इसको संकुचित करना चाहें तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि अहिन्दू हमारी जीवनधारा में, विचारधारा में मान्यवर, हमारा ईश्वर भी असाम्प्रदायिक रहा है। गायत्री का जप हम रोज करते हैं। उसका अर्थ क्या है? ऐसी असाम्प्रदायिक प्रार्थना सारी दुनियां में कहीं नहीं मिलेगी। हम उस तेज का ध्यान करते हैं कि हमारी बुद्धि को बढ़ाओ, यही इसका अर्थ है। भारत में विचारों की स्वच्छन्दता रही है। मान्यवर, जैसे लोकतंत्र में विचार करने के लिए स्वतन्त्रता होती है, विचार अभिव्यक्त करने के लिए स्वतन्त्रता होती है लेकिन आचरण करने के लिए नियमों में बंधे रहना पड़ता है, एक कोड आफ कंडक्ट है। विचार आप कर सकते हैं, विचारों को प्रकट आप कर सकते हैं जैसे लोकतंत्र में वैसे ही भारतीय परम्परा रही है। भारत के आस्तिक दर्शन कितने है। लेकिन दर्शनों में कतिपय स्थानों में ईश्वर की सत्ता को सिद्ध नहीं माना। हिन्दू ईश्वर को माने या न माने इस देश की संस्कृति और इस देश में विचारों की परम्पराये बंधा रहे, जीवन की धारा में वह रही संस्कृति के प्रवाह में चलता रहे तो वह भारतीय है। मान्यवर किसकी पूजा नहीं करता हिन्दू? जानवरो की पूजा करता है, सांप की पूजा करता है, पत्थर की भी पूजा करता है। हम भी मूर्ति पूजन करते हैं। मिट्टी की मूर्ति बना कर पूजा करते हैं। आसमान के सितारों की भी पूजा करते हैं, नदियों की भी पूजा करते हैं। क्या कोई एक देवता है उसका? युधिष्ठिर से किसी ने पूछा कि कः पंथा? रास्ता क्या है। महाभारत में है कि उन्होंने जवाब दिया : श्रुति विभिन्नाः स्मृतयो विभिन्नः नैकी मुनिर्यस्य वचः प्रमाणम्। धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायाम् महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः।

[श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी]

भाई रास्ता तो यह है ? हमारे धर्म के जितने ग्रंथ हैं, वेद हैं, सबमें विचारों में भेद है, कोई एक विचार नहीं है। जितनी हमारी श्रुतियां हैं, वे भी भिन्न भिन्न विचार रखने वाली हैं : देवता भी हमारे 88000 हैं ; कोई भी ऐसा नहीं है जिसका वचन प्रामाणित माना जाता हो। तो इस झगड़े को छोड़कर समाज में बड़े लोग जिस रास्ते से चलते हैं, उस रास्ते से चलो। यही रास्ता है। इस दृष्टि में साम्प्रदायिक अथवा धार्मिक असहिष्णुता का कहा स्थान है ? रूचियों की विचित्रता से लोग अपने अपने देवता की पूजा करते हैं। जिस तरह से जल की अनेक धारायें चली जाती हैं समुद्र में उसी तरह से किसी की भी पूजा करो वह उसी को प्राप्त होता है, जो एक है सर्वत्र है। यह दृष्टि रही है इस देश में। इस देश में जैन रहे हैं, बौद्ध रहे हैं; वेदान्ती रहे हैं, कमवाद को मानने वाले रहे हैं। मान्यवर, कितने प्रकार के विचार हैं। नास्तिक रहे हैं जो ऋषि कहलाते रहे हैं जैसे चारवाक है, बृहस्पति हैं इत्यादि इत्यादि जिन्होंने, संसार का अस्तित्व है आज के बाद भी, यह भी नहीं माना था, नास्तिक रहे लेकिन हमारे ऋषि मुनि माने गये हैं। कभी उनका अपमान नहीं हुआ है। तो हमारे देश की दृष्टि असाम्प्रदायिक रही है। साम्प्रदायिक रही ही नहीं। साम्प्रदायिकता, यह आयी कहाँ से। स्वर्गीय डा० भगवान दास इस देश में परम विद्वान दार्शनिक रहे हैं। उनका नाम हम सब लोगों ने सुना होगा। उनका भी मैं विद्यार्थी रहा हूँ, वे दर्शन पढ़ाया करते थे। हम लोगों को। एक बार अपना उपदेश देते हुये उन्होंने कहा कि, भाई, अगर अंग्रेज यहाँ न आये होते और इतिहास की इस तरह से दुर्दशा नहीं की गई होती, तो यह हिन्दू और भारतीय समाज जो है यह हजरत मोहम्मद को

भी एक अवतार मान लेता। जैसे हमने बुद्ध को अवतार माना, जैन को अवतार माना, जिन्होंने वेदों की निन्दा की, कम-कांड की निन्दा की। मगर हमने उन्हें अवतार माना, अवतार में ले लिया। तो हिन्दू संस्कृति, उन्होंने कहा कि समन्वयवादी है, उनकी पुस्तक भी इसके ऊपर है। इसमें समन्वय के विचार हैं, विरोध के नहीं हैं। उन विचारों को लेकर अपने में पचाने की चेष्टा करना यह हमारी दृष्टि रही है तभी तो कारण है मान्यवर, यूनान से भी संस्कृति की धारा आयी हजारों वर्ष पूर्व, फारस से भी संस्कृति की धारा आयी, बुद्ध के भी पहले आयीं। तिब्बत और चीन से भी, मंगोलिया और कोरिया से भी धारायें आयीं और हमारे देश की सांस्कृतिक विचारों की धारा, हमारे समुद्रों का संतरण करती हुई, पहाड़ों का संतरण करती हुई, लांघती हुई दूसरे देशों में गयी। भूमध्यसागर तक गयीं। कैसे मान्यवर, हम इन धाराओं को पचाते चले गये और एक इधर से शाखा आयी, एक उधर से आयी, एक इधर से कोई नाली आयी कोई उधर से आयी। एक हमारी जीवन की धारा रही है सांस्कृतिक उसमें सब मिलती रही है। इसमें सारी शाखायें और प्रशाखायें निकलती रही हैं चाहे वह जैनों की हों या बौद्धों की हों लेकिन यह सब रही एक। संकुचित साम्प्रदायिकता, यह तो अंग्रेजों की प्रदान की हुई चीज है जो उन्होंने हमको इतिहास के माध्यम से हमारे इस देश को दी। बहुत दिन पहले की बात नहीं है, थोड़े ही दिन हुये सन्तों का युग रहा है इस देश में। उन्होंने समन्वयवादी की चेष्टा की। अमीर खुसरो का नाम अभी लिया गया, कितने सूफी महात्मा रहे हैं जिनका आदर के साथ स्वागत किया गया है। क्योंकि उनकी दृष्टि में वेदांत का जो तथ्य निकलता है, मान्यवर, उसके प्रति जितना आदर होता है कि सत्य की खोज करने जब चूकेंगे तो एक ही स्थान पर

पहुँचेंगे चाहे आप किसी भी मार्ग से चलें ।
“रूचीनां वैचित्र्यात् ऋजु कुटिल नानापथजुपां
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव एवं”
रचि के अनुसार इधर-उधर के रास्तों से
चलिएगा पर जाईयेगा एक ही जगह ।
दूसरी जगह है ही नहीं । सत्य है तो सत्य
तक ही पहुँचिएगा । अमीर खुमरो, रहीम,
कबीर तो बहुत वाद में हुए । यह तमाम
वह परम्परा रही है जिसने इस देश में एक
समन्वय और एक दृष्टि उत्पन्न करने
की चेष्टा की । हमारे प्राचीन संस्कृति में
वह दृष्टि रही है कि स्वयं जीओ और
दूसरो को जीने दो, उदारता का वर्ताव
रखो :

“पृथग् धर्मचरणाः पृथग् धर्म समाचरन्,
पृथग्मैः समर्चसि तस्मै धर्मात्मने नमः।”

यह श्लोक कहीं पढ़ा था बचपन में कि भिन्न
भिन्न धर्मों वाले जिस शक्ति की जिस
तेज की पूजा अपने अपने ढंग से अलग
अलग तरीके से करते रहते हैं
उसी तेज को मैं नमस्कार करता हूँ । यह
दृष्टि रही है मान्यवर, हमारे यहां। डा०
भगवान दास का जिक्र कर रहा था। उन्होंने
एक बार एक पुस्तक का नाम लिया था । उस
ग्रंथ का अल्लोपनिषद नाम है । मैं समझता
हूँ उनका कहना सही है कि यह भारतीय
संस्कृति के इतिहास पर दृष्टिपात कीजिए,
तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह जो इस्लाम की
धारा बाहर से आई वह पच-पुच कर एक
ही जाती अगर इस देश में अंगरेज न आए
होते । हम सब असर लेते रहे हैं, यूनान
की संस्कृति का अपर हमने लिया है, फारस
वालों की संस्कृति का असर हमने लिया है,
चीन की और तिब्बत की संस्कृति का असर
लिया है और अपना असर उन लोगों के ऊपर
भी डाला है, लेन-देन रहा है । एक बलवती,
सशक्त, सक्षम चिन्तन धारा रही है जिसका
अभाव बाहर जाता रहा है, हम प्रभावित करते

रहे हैं । और उनका प्रभाव हम लेते रहे हैं ।
इसमें संदेह नहीं, और यह हमारा
इतिहास बताता है कि इस्लाम का
हमारी कला पर असर हुआ है, हमारे
साहित्य पर असर हुआ है, हमारी कविता पर
असर हुआ है, हमारी चिन्तन धारा पर असर
हुआ है, हमारी मूर्ति कला पर असर हुआ है,
हमारे रहन सहन पर असर हुआ है ।
कैसे नहीं असर हुआ ? होता रहा है मान्यवर,
और हमारा असर उनके ऊपर होता रह है,
यह बहुत आदान-प्रदान रहा है, इस प्रकार
यह एक देश बनता रहा है । इतिहास
के जिस दुर्गुण ने या य् कहिए इतिहास के
जिस पाप ने हमारे अन्दर यह विष पैदा किया
उसको हटाने की आज आवश्यकता है ।

मान्यवर, मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ—अब
हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हुए हैं—हमारे
भाई विश्वम्भर नाथ जी ने आज जो प्रश्न
उठाया है वह किसी दल का प्रश्न नहीं है ।
इधर बैठे हों, उधर बैठे हों, सब देशभक्त
हैं, सब को अपने देश से प्रेम है, यह दलगत प्रश्न
नहीं है अपनी राष्ट्रियता से प्रेम है, अपने
देश के वर्तमान से प्रेम है । कैसे हम उस
भावात्मक एकता को उत्पन्न कर सकें कि जो
हमारे हृदय में इस विचार को प्रकट कर सके,
बल्कि ऐसी अनुभूति उत्पन्न कर सके कि हम इस
देश की संतान हैं; हमारी एक मां है और हम
उसकी संतान हैं ।

मान्यवर, दुनियां में कहीं भी धर्म
के आधार पर राष्ट्रवाद पनपा नहीं है ।
जब यह किया तो उससे सत्यानाश हुआ है,
उस से नुकसान हुआ है और इतिहास के पन्ने
खून से रंगे हुए हैं । हमारे देश में धर्म के,
मजहब के नाम पर दो राष्ट्र का सिद्धांत
प्रतिपादित किया गया । आज तक हम
उसका फल भोग रहे हैं । हमारे देश में अब
भी हमारे करोड़ों भाई हैं, जो इस देश के
निवासी हैं; धर्म उनका दूसरा है, महजब उनका
दूसरा है, परन्तु इस देश के निवासी हैं । उन
के भीतर और उन करोड़ों आदमियों के भीतर,

[श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी]

जो इस देश के निवासी हैं जिनका धर्म, जिनका भहजव, जिनके विचार की धारा दूसरी है, वे मिल कर एक भावात्मक एकता का, राष्ट्रवाद का सृजन करें, इसकी आज बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है । यह कैसे हो इसकी तरफ इध प्रस्ताव का संकेत है । मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि भारत का भविष्य इस बात की मांग करता है । आज हम स्वाधीन हैं और स्वाधीनता के युग में हम 30 वर्ष जीवन के यापन कर चुके हैं पर उस भावात्मक एकता का उदय अब तक न हो सका जिसके बिना इस राष्ट्र की वह सक्षमता, वह सबलता, वह दृढ़ता, वह एकरूपता और वह प्रभुता नहीं आयेगी जो भारत जैसे महान और संत देश के लिए आवश्यक है ।

मान्यवर, मैंने यह सोचा कि यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिस का संबंध दलगत राजनीत से नहीं है, जो हमारे भूत से भी संबंध रखता है, जो वर्तमान से भी संबंध रखता है, कल^हहमारे भविष्य से भी संबंध रखता है, कल के भारत का निर्माण इसी के आधार पर होना है, बिना उसके हमारी सारी योजनाएं, सारे विकास के काम सारा हमारा लोकतंत्र, हमारी राष्ट्रवादिता, सब के लिए खतरा हो सकता है । अगर इस भावना का उद्रेक न हुआ, गांधी जी ने जिसका परिपोषण किया हमारे अबुल बलाम आज़द ने भी इस का परिपोषण किया, उन शहीदों ने भी इस का परिपोषण किया जिन्होंने फांसी के तख्ते पर झूल कर अपने प्राणों का विसर्जन देश के लिये किया था और देश के लिये जिन्होंने अपना खून बहाया है । उन के कारण से ही इस देश में भावनात्मक एकता की स्थापना हुई और अगर इस के लिये हमारे इतिहास की शुद्धि आवश्यक है तो वह करना हमारा परम कर्तव्य है । राष्ट्र के भविष्य से इस का संबंध है और इस लिये इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है । मैं आप के माध्यम से एक बार पुनः विश्वम्भर नाथ

पांडे जी को, जिन को मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ और इस दिशा में उन का प्रयास बहुत दिनों से भरपूर रहा है, पुनः धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस प्रश्न की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से राष्ट्र को बहुत लाभ होगा । धन्यवाद ।

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

मान्यवर, माननीय त्रिपाठी जी ने और पांडे जी ने जिस ढंग से इस प्रसंग की पुष्टि की और इस तरफ हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया उस के लिये दोनों महानुभाव सचमुच मे वधाई के पात्र हैं । एक बात की तरफ मैं जरूर इशारा करना चाहत हूँ । हम को एक दूसरे दायरे में भी और गहराई से जाना पड़ेगा । अगर यह लक्ष्य हमारा है और होना चाहिए कि देश में भावनात्मक एकता को बल मिले तो उसमें एक तरफ और ध्यान देना होगा । सोभाग्य मेरा था कि मैं पिछले 18 महीने जेल में रहा । सौभाग्य इस लिये कह रहा हूँ कि वहां मुझे सौभाग्य यह हुआ कि एक मौलाना मिल गये । उन से मैं ने अरबी और फारसी सीखी । बंगाली, गुजराती और मराठी के साथ साथ इसका भी अध्ययन किया । पूरी कुरान शरीफ को देखने का मौका मिला । मैंने उसे समझने की कोशिश की समय थोड़ा था फिर भी । मुझे यह देख कर ताज्जब हुआ कि यह वैशम्य कहां से आ गया ? क्यों पैदा हुआ ? इस्लाम के प्रारम्भिक इतिहास से पता चलता है कि अरब में भी मूर्ति पूजा का वही दौर दौरा था कि जो हमारे देश में था और यह स्वाभाविक है इस लिये कि भर्तृहरि जी ने ईश्वर की जो परिभाषा दी है, अगर उसे मैं रख द तो बात साफ हो जायगी । उन्होंने कहा कि :

दिवकालादयनवच्छिन्ना नन्तचिन्मात्र मूर्तये । स्वानुमूत्येकमानाय नमः शान्ताय-तेजसे ॥ जो दिशा और काल की तरह से अनन्त है वह ईश्वर है । दिशा का कोई आदि नहीं, और काल का भी कोई आदि और कोई

अन्त नहीं। वैसे ही उस का अनन्त रूप है उस का छेदन नहीं किया जा सकता। फिर पूछते हैं कि क्या रूप है। उस का कोई रूप हो सकता है। तो उन्होंने कहा चिन्मात्र। जिस तरह की धारणा बना लो, क्योंकि आदमी की दृष्टि और शक्ति बड़ी सीमित है। वह बहुत दूर तक नहीं देख सकता। उसको किसी दायरे के अन्दर रहना पड़ता है और धीरे धीरे ज्यों-ज्यों उस की वृद्धि का विकास होता है त्यों-त्यों उसकी निगाह बढ़ती जाती है। एक-ब-एक हम 5 वर्ष के बच्चे को बी० ए० की तालीम नहीं दे सकते। पहले उस को हाथ पकड़ कर क ख ग घ सिखाना पड़ता है। मूर्ति पूजा का प्रारम्भ ही हुआ इससे कि जिस चीज को मनुष्यने शक्तिमान देखा उसको पूजा करना शुरू कर दी। भगवान कृष्ण ने बड़ी आसानी से समझा दिया इस बात को अर्जुन को कि अर्जुन यदि तुम इस को देखना चाहते हो तो

ईश्वरः सर्वभेदानां हृद्देशेर्जुन तिष्ठति ।

यह शक्ति तो सारे जीवों के हृदय में बैठी हुई है, लेकिन तुम्हें जल्दी दिखाई नहीं देगी। इसलिए इसको देखने का आसान तरीका यह है कि :

यद्यद्विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीःमर्दजितमेववा ।

तत्तदेववागच्छत्वं मम तेजोश संभवम् ॥

सूर्य को देखा जा सकता है वह बहुत प्रकाशवान है। उसको आसानी से समझा जा सकता है कि उस में कितनी शक्ति है। लेकिन जुगनू को नहीं समझ सकते। वह शक्ति जुगनू में भी है और सूर्य में भी है। हम उसे जुगनू में नहीं देख सकते साधारण आदमी, लेकिन सूर्य में देख सकते हैं। तो कहने का मतलब यह है कि अरब देश में भी मूर्ति पूजा प्रचलित थी। यह स्वाभाविक है मानव स्वाभाव के साथ क्योंकि बच्चा मां को देखता है, पिता को देखता है और उनको प्यार करके वह समाज को देखता है। तो उसके सामने कोई स्थूल होना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, एक बात और बता दू। भगवान कृष्ण ने कहा है—

येक्ष्व अरमर्दनि यूव्य जव्यक्त पर्यपासते,
सर्वत्र गम चित्तमं च कूटस्थे अचलं ध्रुवम
क्लेशोधिकतरस्तेषां ।

हे अर्जुन जो अव्यक्त की उपासना करते हैं वे भी उस महान पद को प्राप्त होते हैं। लेकिन यह रास्ता बड़ा टेढ़ा है, क्लेशमय है, जल्दी समझ में आने वाला नहीं है। हर आदमी उसको नहीं पकड़ सकता। इसलिए इस्लाम में भी मूर्ति खण्डन शुरू कराया लेकिन अन्त हुआ पीरों की पूजा में।

अब लोग गाते हैं :—

तेरे दर पे खड़ा हूं मुहम्मद,
न जाऊंगा दर से मैं खाली।

आप मुहम्मद को कृष्ण कर दीजिए, कन्हैया कर दीजिए, बात वही जाती है। कही न कहीं इन्सान को किसी न किसी को पकड़ना पड़ता है। तो प्रारम्भ हुआ यहां से।

एक चीज और मैंने देखी, मुझे पूरा याद नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आपको तमाम कोटेशन दे सकता हूं जो गीता से, हमारे धर्म-ग्रन्थों से कुरान-ए-शरीफ से बिल्कुल हबहु वही है। कहीं आपको अन्तर नहीं मिलेगा। मैं इसलिए इसको कह रहा हूं कि अन्तर हुआ कैसे। जैसे त्रिपाठी जी ने कहा कि यह अन्तर आया कहां से, धर्म-ग्रन्थों में अन्तर की भावना नहीं है। पूजा पद्धति में एक सामाजिक स्थिति को दूर करने के लिए हजरत मुहम्मद ने उनको हटाया लेकिन उसके बाद इस्लाम के इतिहास में आगे चल कर कहीं इसकी वजह से लड़ाई नहीं हुई। मैं एक कोटेशन देता हूं।

यह भगवान कृष्ण ने कहा है अर्जुन से, जब अर्जुन ने पूछा, भगवान अगर अच्छे काम करते करते कहीं कोई गिर पड़े तो उसका हाथ पैर टूट जाएगा। यही प्रश्न वहां भी उठा, वहां का जवाब सुनिए :—

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

मंथि यफालूखेरा ला यादमी जवाजे हि
लायज खुद उर्को बैनभा से वल्लाहे

ठीक तर्जुमा उसका गीता में यह आता है :—
पार्थ नैवेह नाम्द विनाशस्तस्य विघते
न हि कल्याण कृकाशित्त दुर्गति तात
गच्छति ।

हे अर्जुन, दुनिया में अच्छा काम करने वाला कभी दुर्गति को प्राप्त नहीं होता। वह इस संसार में भो और इस संसार के परे भी रहता है, नष्ट होने वाली चीज नहीं है। मैं इसको इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि जब कभी आप उसको ढूँढ़ेंगे तो जो मूल चीज है उसमें झगड़े का सवाल पैदा ही नहीं होता। तो जब मूल में झगड़ा नहीं तो सारा झगड़ा कैसे पैदा हुआ? आप इतिहास को दोष दे रहे हैं, बात सही है, लेकिन इतिहास की तरफ ध्यान सारा दे देंगे तो भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो पाएगा। इसलिए कि आज भी यदि एक हिन्दू युवक मुसलमान युवती से प्रेम करता है या मुसलमान युवक हिन्दू लड़की से विवाह करता है तो दंगे की नीव त आ जाती है, इसको आप छिपा नहीं सकते। इसलिए जहाँ इतिहास इसका दोषी हो सकता है वहाँ सबसे बड़ा दोष हमारा भी है। हमारा कहना यह है कि हम इतिहास में परिमार्जन करें बहुत सी बातें हुई हैं जो केवल रंग देने के लिए दी गई है। उसमें जैसा कि पांडे जी ने दिया है, इन बातों को इतिहास के रूप में बच्चों के सामने रखें तो उनकी मनोदिशा में बहुत परिवर्तन होगा। हम वगैर सत्य को छिपाए बहुत सी बातें को उनके सामने रख सकते हैं। हमले हुए, अत्याचार हुए। यह मैं कहूँगा कि राजा-महाराजाओं ने वादशाहीं ने, नवाबों ने अपनी सल्तनत के लिये, अपनी हुकूमत के लिये अत्याचार किये तो उससे मुसलमानों का हर जगह हिन्दुओं के साथ नाम जोड़ना गलत है। क्या हिन्दुओं ने अपनी प्रजा पर अत्याचार नहीं किये, लूट-पाट नहीं की?

— प्रा. प्रो. आर. ए. ए. ए. ए. ए.

क्या जब मराठों की फौज अनियंत्रित हो गई थी तो उन्होंने सारे देश को नहीं लूटा? क्या इसमें हिन्दू और मुसलमान का नाम आता है? नहीं, इसमें सत्ता का सवाल आता है। लेकिन अगर मुसलमान ने हमला किया और उसमें हिन्दू मारा गया या राजा ने हमला किया उसमें मुसलमान मारा गया तो क्या इसमें भी हिन्दू-मुसलमान का सवाल आता है? नहीं, इसको दूसरा रंग दे दिया जाता है। इस सच्चाई को इतिहास में दिया जाना चाहिये। सच्चाई को वगैर छिपाए हम उसका परिमार्जन दूसरे ढंग से कर सकते हैं। यह जरूरी है, इसको मैं मानता हूँ। इसके साथ-साथ यह भी है कि यदि अंग्रेजों का हजारों वर्षों का इतिहास देखा जाए तो तब उनके ऊपर दसवीं सदी में नार्मनों ने हमला किया तो बड़ी कड़वाहट रही है। लेकिन आप अंग्रेजों को देखें, यानी उनके इतिहास को देखें, फ्रेंच के इतिहास को देखें, यूरोप के इतिहास को देखें, एशिया के और मुल्कों के इतिहास को देखें तो मालूम होगा कि सब जगह यह दशा आई, हमले हुए। जो जातियां बसी हुई थीं, उनका उत्पीड़न हुआ। दूसरों ने कब्जा किया और कब्जा करने में श्रीमन कत्ल होते हैं, खून होते हैं, अत्याचार होते हैं, कोई चीज बाकी नहीं रहती है। नार्मन का हमला हुआ जब इंग्लैंड के ऊपर तो वहाँ के सैक्सन को क्या दुर्गति नहीं भोगनी पड़ी? इतिहास इसका साक्षी है लेकिन वह इतिहास दब गया और उसका एक धुंधला सा रूप रह गया, केवल स्मृति रह गई। क्यों? क्योंकि कोई समाजिक व्यवस्था इंग्लैंड में ऐसी नहीं रही जिसने नार्मन को, सैक्सनों को आज तक बांट न रखा हो। आप इसे क्यों भूल जाते हैं। जब तक बंटवारे का सामाजिक चीज हमारे अंदर है और यह दूर नहीं होती, जब तक उदारता हमारे समाज के अंदर नहीं आती तब तक इतिहास में उसकी पुनरावृत्ति होती रहेगी और जब कभी मौका आएगा, तो सारा इतिहास काले रूप में हमारे सामने खड़ा हो जाएगा। यही नहीं, मैं आपकी चेतावनी देता हूँ कि अगर आपने इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं

दिया इतिहास के अंदर हिन्दू मुसलमान का सवाल नहीं, देवासुर संग्राम के नाम का सवाल भी मानने आ सकता है। हजारों वर्षों के इतिहास के अंदर द्रविड़, आर्य, उत्तर और दक्षिण के सारे सवाल पैदा हो सकते हैं।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. M. Trivedi) in the Chair]

देश हिन्दू और मुसलमान के सवाल के लिये नहीं है वह तो एक है, यह सिव और ईसाई के सवाल के लिये नहीं है यह भी एक है। हमें सारे देश की इस व्यवस्था को और इतिहास को सही रूप देने के लिये और उसकी भावनाओं को तथा भूतकाल की चीज को मानने के लिये अगर कोई ज्यादातियां हुई हैं तो एक ही रास्ता है कि हम सामाजिक व्यवस्थाओं को उदार बनायें। जिसका आपने हवाला दिया है कि वामन, कुरमी, ठाकुर, गड़रिया, चमार, पासी सब अलग-अलग हैं, उत्तर और दक्षिण का सवाल है, मराठी और गुजराती का सवाल है, गौड़ में भी गौड़ हुआ है इसे हम और आप हजारों वर्षों से भुगने हुए हैं। इससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता। यह याद रखिये कि या तो इस देश में जनतंत्र और आजादी रहेगी या जात-पात वाली व्यवस्था रहेगी। जैसे अंधेरी और उजाला साथ-साथ नहीं चल सकता है वैसे ही देश की आजादी और जनतंत्र का सवाल इस जात-पात की व्यवस्था के साथ नहीं चल सकता है। आप इसको लिख लीजिए। पांडे जी ने जिस तरफ इशारा किया उसी की ओर मैं थोड़ा सा कहूंगा कि इतिहास को तो हमें परिष्कृत करना है ही साथ ही सच्चाई की भी हमें छिपाने की जरूरत नहीं। जिन्होंने हमला किया, जिन्होंने अत्याचार किये इसको छिपाने की जरूरत क्या है? इसमें एक खतरा है। फर्क करिये कि आपने किसी चीज को ढक दिया तो असलियत तो कभी बाहर आएगी ही। आएगी जरूर क्योंकि आगे जाने वाला उसको निकालेगा और जब त्रिद्वार्यी को इस बात का पता लगेगा तो उसके दिमाग पर इसका बड़ा आघात पड़ेगा। वह कहेगा

हम को इतिहास झूठा पढ़ाया गया। इसलिये जैसी आपकी शिकायत है कि इतिहास के पन्नों में जो गलत चीजें हैं उनको हटाना चाहिये, इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि इतिहास में जो सच्चाई है वह आनी चाहिये। सच्चाई के वावजूद भी हम देश की भावनात्मक एकता को अच्छे ढंग से ला सकते हैं। हमें उसकी चिंता नहीं करनी चाहिये, जो सच्चाई है उसको सामने आना चाहिये लेकिन उसमें जो गलत और झूठी चीजें भरी हुई हैं, जैसा आपने इशारा किया, उसका परिमार्जन होना चाहिये, जितनी जल्दी हो सके उतनी जल्दी होना चाहिये। माध्यम इसके साथ-साथ यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि राजा-महाराजाओं के इतिहास से वाम नहीं चलेगा, इस्लाम जत्र से आया हजारों वर्षों से इस देश में, उसका भी और हमारा भी मिल-जुल कर सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक विकास हुआ है। इसकी खोज होनी चाहिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि हमारे देश का जो सांस्कृतिक इतिहास है, वह एक बहुत बड़ी धरोहर है। हमारे देश में तानसेन एक बहुत बड़े संगीतकार हुए। इसी तरह से उज्जैन के एक बहुत बड़े मुसलमान संगीतकार हुए हैं जो रोज देवी की अराधना किया करते थे और उन्होंने अपनी बेटी की शादी एक हिन्दू शागिर्द से कर दी। मैं समझता हूँ कि जितना इस देश की राष्ट्रीयता को हमारा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास बढ़ावा दे सकता है उतना राजनैतिक इतिहास नहीं दे सकता है। राजा-महाराजाओं और नवाबों का इतिहास हमारे देश की एकता को अनुप्य बनाये रखने में उतना सहायक नहीं हो सकता जितना हमारे देश का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास हो सकता है। हमारे देश में सूफ़ी भावना किस तरह से आई, यह किमी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। कबीर एक बहुत बड़े धार्मिक समन्वयवादी थे। नानक साहब और कबीर हमारे देश के बहुत बड़े सांस्कृतिक नेता थे। इनका इतिहास हमारे विद्यार्थियों के सामने आना चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि अकबर ने कितन-कितन सूफ़ी को जीता और तैमूर ने क्या क्या मार-काट की, यह सब बातें इतिहास

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

में आती हैं। लेकिन आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जहां हम अपने इतिहास को परिमार्जित करें, वहां हमें अपना सांस्कृतिक इतिहास भी बच्चों के सामने रखना चाहिए।

तीसरी चीज मैं यह निवदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा अभी त्रिपाठी जी ने कहा, उस देश की दिशा को सुधारने के लिए हमें कई चीजें नये सिरे से आरम्भ करनी पड़ेगी तभी हम उन हजारों वर्षों के अत्याचारों को भूल सकते हैं। हमें अपनी पुरानी सामाजिक व्यवस्था को तोड़ना होगा। अगर हम किन्हीं बातों को छिपाने की कोशिश करेंगे तो इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि आज के युग का प्रबुद्ध समाज उनको सामने ला सकता है। हमें इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि क्या कारण है कि अगर एक मुसलमान लड़का किसी हिन्दू लड़की से शादी कर लेता है तो झगड़े की नौबत आ जाती है या अगर हिन्दू लड़का किसी मुसलमान लड़की से शादी कर लेता है तो लड़ाई की नौबत आ जाती है। ऐसी हालत में जब तक हम उदारता से काम नहीं लेंगे तब तक हम देश को नई दिशा नहीं दे सकते हैं और इतिहास का भी परिमार्जन नहीं कर सकते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पांडे जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ जिन्होंने इतना महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव इस सदन में रखा है। यह बहुत विचारणीय प्रस्ताव है। इस पर शिक्षा मंत्रालय को शीघ्र ध्यान देना चाहिए।

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to join Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi and Shri Varma in congratulating our learned colleague, Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande for having brought before the House such an extremely important resolution. I agree with the criticism of Shri Kamalapati Tripathi that this matter should have attracted the attention of previous Governments far more than it has till now. I would only submit that a review of text-books was undertaken precisely from the point of

view of national integration and a very large number of text-books were either withdrawn or modified as a result of the review that was undertaken. It is also a fact that a number of text-books as well as learned monographs and research papers in medieval Indian history have been published since India's independence which have rejected categorically the imperialist interpretation of medieval Indian history as being a period of continuous struggle between the Hindus and the Muslims. And I am very happy that in general a much more balanced interpretation of medieval Indian history is now being put forward in the learned works. But unfortunately we must admit—and that is where the importance of this Resolution of Bishambhar Nathji lies—that in a very large number of text-books and help-books not all of which are prescribed by Governments or by universities as well as in any number of newspapers, journals, and elsewhere, the old interpretation, the imperialist interpretation of Indian history is being put forward as a period of continuous struggle between the Hindus and the Muslims. There is one aspect of this problem towards which I would like to draw the attention of the House because we are not only dealing with our imperialist masters who ruled over us until independence, we also have to deal with the apologists of the imperialist two-nation theory who are writing in many other parts of the world in one way or the other justifying the two-nation theory as well as what Kamalapati referred to, even the interpretation of Indian national movement which is being put forward basically as a movement dominated by one caste struggling for supremacy against another caste. The struggle of Gandhiji is also being misrepresented in many of the so-called learned works that are coming out from various foreign universities today which have been putting forward such interpretation. Unfortunately from across the border there are many friends in Pakistan who still feel that the only way in which they can justify Pakistan's existence is by repeating the two-nation theory, and some able

scholars have allowed themselves to support this particular point of view. In our own country communal forces, particularly Hindu communal forces, have given full support to the two-nation theory by presenting a picture of India in which all the villains are Muslims and all the heroes are Hindus, and the process of cultural integration, of synthesis, all this process is conveniently overlooked. It is true that in our country where people belonging to different faiths, speaking different languages, belonging to different racial origins, have come to live together, there have been periods of struggle and periods of working together, of friendship as well as antagonism. Both trends and tendencies have existed side by side. Many a political struggle is sought to be justified not in terms of a mundane struggle for power and wealth but in terms of defence of the faith. Particularly, if the writers and historians belong to a particular class and that class has a way of looking at and interpreting data in a very orthodox way, then that orthodoxy is sought to be reflected in their account of what otherwise are mundane, worldly and temporal struggles. Even today it is not unknown that people who leave one political party to join another political party sometimes do that out of their conviction. But there are other occasions when the motive may be something else and it is always said that it is suddenly discovered that in the previous political party some basic ideological shortcoming was there. This we have seen in politics. We have also seen this in the history of our country in the matter of religion. For example, conversions have taken place, not always on the basis of an understanding of another religion, but for some obvious worldly gains. But having been converted, some justification has to be found for the conversion. And quite often it was that someone claimed to see a saint in his dream and as a result of the admonition of the saint he decided to change his faith. These incidents have taken place and interpretations have been given which are not necessarily true.

Medieval Indian society, as medieval society in all parts of the world, was an exploitative society and it was totally irrelevant as to what the religion or faith of the ruler or the ruled was. The concept of socialism is a modern one. It is a modern concept. Nationalism is a modern thought. The concept of nationalism was really introduced in our country by the Indian National Congress and the leaders of the Indian national movement in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. These are modern concepts and it would be wrong for us to look at these concepts as medieval concepts. Whether it is Europe or West Asia or China or India a medieval society was basically an exploitative society which, for want of a better word, has been called the feudal society. Feudal exploitation meant appropriation of surplus values or surplus wealth produced by agriculture, by a small section of the people. To use that in one context and to forget it in another context to show that one was exploitative and tyrannical while the other was not, is unhistorical. These struggles were going on—struggles for a greater share of agricultural wealth. These struggles were continuously going on. The struggles between the lords and masters and those who actually laboured and produced went on continuously. But they were not religious struggles nor struggles between two communities. On the other hand, within this broad framework of the feudal society, the process of cultural synthesis and cultural integration was going on. The genius of India—I would again like to quote Kamalapati—lies in the fact that it can absorb ideas and trends from various channels. This is the greatness of India and this is in some ways also a shortcoming of India, because nothing can be perfect and every good point has its own dark spot. But, basically, the genius of the Indian people has been that they have been continuously absorbing new ideas and this process of cultural synthesis is to be found equally among the Hindus as well as the Muslims. But, at the same

[Prof. S. Nurul Hasan]

time, there have been the opposite trends also. For example, Sir, we may refer to Akbar. Akbar's policy, a conscious policy, was the policy of "sulh kul", that is, "peace with all", recognising the equality of religions and recognising the right of the followers of all religions to an equal place in the State and in the political life of the country. This concept was resisted and was not acceptable to certain sections of the Muslims and it was also not acceptable to certain sections of the Hindus. We know that both these tendencies were there. If Indian history is to be presented in a manner as if only one trend is to be put forward and the other trend is to be totally ignored, then it would be a distortion. Sir, any historian has to select his facts. What facts does he select? In selecting his facts, does he present a total picture and also in a manner which conforms to the overall reality, or does he not? Sir, it cannot be denied that the overall reality of India was that here the Hindus and the Muslims had learnt to live together and that here they had a common cultural tradition, while retaining their own religious forms, beliefs and faith and that even in cultural matters, a great deal has been taken by the one from the other. And also, Sir, in political life, concepts like loyalty to salt had developed. People freely employed persons belonging to the other faith and they served their masters with complete devotion because the struggles were never looked upon as religious struggles. Sir, take even the eighteenth century. To the eighteenth century I am referring, because that was the time when the medieval situation was undergoing a change under the impact of the British. Sir, in 1753 when Orme came to Bengal, one of the things that he was unable to understand was how the Muslims and the Hindus had not fought against each other. The way they had been looking upon religion even before they established their empire was such that they found it difficult to believe that people belonging to different religions could

work with each other without fighting. Of course, Sir, we do not have the tradition of Harsha outside India. Long before the Muslims came to India, Harsha had followed a policy in which equal respect was shown to the followers of the various religions. But these European people could not understand this and they were surprised. Therefore, when the first political crisis came, the crisis of Tipu Sultan's struggle with Cornwallis, struggle against the British, Cornwallis wrote letters to any number of the Hindu princes seeking their help in fighting a Muslim who sought to dominate them. But, Sir, what was the response? Not even one Hindu prince took the slightest notice of this particular argument of Cornwallis. In fact, about the same time. Shah Alam was invited to issue a *farman*, which was a reaffirming *farman*, appointing the Peshwa as the *Vakil-e-Mutlaq*, and *Wazir-i-Azam*. This *Farman* was received in Poona by the Peshwa in the normal manner of the Peshwa coming out six miles to receive the *Farman*. Shah Alam had no political power. But the *Farman* was still issued by Shah Alam and so held in such respect and esteem by the Peshwa.

So, we see two sides of the question. One is the letter of Cornwallis; the other is the attitude of the Peshwa, for whom it did not matter at all whether Shah Alam was a Muslim or not. He, for political purposes, felt that the *Farman* of appointment as *Vakil-e-Mutlaq* would strengthen his political position.

Sir, I have just ventured to make a reference to a few of these incidents. Pandeji has given a large number of instances to strengthen this point. But my submission is that the danger which this country is facing as a result of the continuing support to the two-nation theory from abroad and the danger that we are facing because there are certain elements in our own country who have been continuously putting forward the same theory—this danger is

a very real danger. And, therefore, as Kamapatiji has correctly said, it is not only a question of our interpretation of the past but it is a question of the future of the country that its at stake. I have no doubt that our friends opposite led by the Education Minister would apply their minds most seriously to this new trend that that is threatening the unity and integrity of the country. We have fought under the leadership of Gandhiji as Indians the earlier two nation theory. We were not fully successful. Now in a new form we have still to face this theory in our own country and from abroad, and therefore it is necessary that the picture of the Indian society that is put forward before our children and before the layman in such as corresponds to facts. Basically, the concealment of facts will never help. But at the same time; what facts do we choose? Do we present the facts out of context or in their context? Is the reality being presented as a whole or in a distorted form? My submission, Sir, is that every effort has to be made to see that the reality is presented in its totality and in its correct form, because there are conscious forces which are interested in distorting the history of India, and if we allow the history of India to be distorted, then Indian will fight against Indian, and what we are noticing in some of the countries—in Ireland, in Cyprus and in many other places—that threat will certainly be a great threat to the future of our country. Thank you.

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद (उत्तर प्रदेश):
वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, मैं समझता हूँ और मैं इसमें आदरणीय पंडित जी की राय से बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ कि इस सवाल को बहुत पहले उठाना चाहिये था जो आज हमारे दोस्त विश्वम्भर जी ने उठाया। यह एक बड़ा अहम और महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है जिसको बहुत पहले उठाना चाहिये था। बहुत से लोगों ने उठाया मगर गवर्नमेंट की लेवल पर जितनी कोशिश और चेप्टा

होनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं हुई। वह पूरा कबाड़ जो साम्राज्यवाद ने हमारे दिमागों में डाल रखा था और जिसका असर आने वाली जनरेशन पर पड़ रहा था उस को धो देना, हटा देना वह एक राष्ट्रीय काम था, बड़ा भारी काम था। इस को करना चाहिये था लेकिन इस को 30 साल में जिस तरीके से मजबूती के साथ करना चाहिये था वह नहीं किया गया। इस हकीकत को आज हमें मानना चाहिये। आज हम आभारी हैं पांडे जी के कि उन्होंने इस सवाल पर इस सदन का ध्यान खींचा और मुझे यकीन है कि यह मामला यहीं नहीं रहेगा। यह आगे बढ़ाया जायेगा और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर जिस गंभीरता के साथ पंडित जी ने इस सवाल को पेश किया है और दूसरे माननीय सदन के सदस्यों ने इसका समर्थन किया है उतनी ही गहराई के साथ इसको देखेंगे और इस को उठावेंगे अब अग्रजों के जमाने के पहले, मिडिवियल पीरियड में क्या हालत था उस पर मैं क्या कहूँ। इतने बड़े-बड़े शास्त्री बैठे हैं, नुरुल हसन साहब बैठे हैं, हमारे दत्ता साहब बैठे हैं, हमारे पंडित जी भी बड़े हिस्टोरियन हैं, मैं उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। मानी हुई बात है कि हिस्टरी को डिस्टार्ट किया गया, हम में भेद पैदा किये गये, जान बूझ कर हमारी राष्ट्रीयता को, हमारी जो पुरानी कौमियत थी उस को खत्म करने की कोशिश की गयी। एक इंटाल-रेंट एटमास्फियर पैदा करने की कोशिश की गयी। जहर हमारे दिमागों में डाला गया, हमारे शरीर पर फोड़े पैदा किये गये और इस सब का नतीजा जहर हमारी राष्ट्रीय जिन्दगी पर पड़ा। डिवाइड एण्ड रूल, बांटों और राज करों, एक पुरानी बात है। मैं उस को नहीं दोहराऊंगा, लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि अग्रजों ने एक अपनी हेरिटेज पीछे छोड़ दी है जो आज तक कायम है। वह मिटी नहीं है।

[डा० जैड० ए० अहमद]

महात्मा गांधी की लीडरशिप में और जवाहर लाल नेहरू की लीडरशिप में हमारा एक कमिटी का जज्बा बना, हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता ने उस को मजबूत किया। हमने आजादी हासिल की, लेकिन वह विरासत अपनी जगह पर आज है। आज हिन्दुओं में, मुसलमानों में और दूसरे अल्पमत के लोगों में यह है।

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी (बिहार) :
अल्पसंख्यकों में।

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद : हां, अल्पसंख्यकों में और मुसलमानों में भी यह है और जैसा कि पंडित जी ने कहा कि जात पात का सवाल भी बड़ी तेजी से उठ रहा है। उठाया जा रहा है। राजनीतिक फायदा उठाने के लिये उठाया जा रहा है। तो यह जहर हमारी बाड़ी पालिटिक में है और इस को हटाना चाहिये। वैसे मैं तो कभी-कभी समझ नहीं पाता ऐसे लोगों को हम हिन्दु हैं, हम मुसलमान हैं। मेरे दिमाग में कभी यह बात नहीं आती कि मैं मुसलमान हूँ या हिन्दु। मैं तो इंसान हूँ और हर इंसान को इंसान समझता हूँ। आजादी की तहरीक में हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो गया और सारे इंसानों ने मिल कर इस को आजाद कराया और कल्चर में भी क्या फर्क है। यह बहुत बड़ा चढ़ा कर कहा जाता है। हमारे खून और खमीर में क्या फर्क है यह मैं समझ नहीं पाता। मैं तो उन लोगों में से हूँ कि मैं न बाहर से आया और न कहीं से। मैं न फारस से आया और न अफगानिस्तान से। हमारे दादा तो हिन्दू पैदा हुए थे और हमारे घर की परम्पराएं हिन्दू हैं। मेरी एक सगी बहन की शादी हिन्दू के घर में हुई है। मेरी बीबी की बहिन की शादी हिन्दू घराने में हुई है। तो तहजीब कल्चर, खाना पीना, सब एक है। किसी ने सब्जी लहसन के साथ खा ली और किसी ने जीरे के साथ पका ली। और अब तो सभी

लोग लहसन और प्याज खाने लगे हैं, तो यह बातें बड़ा चढ़ा कर कही जाती हैं। मुसलमानों को देखिये उन में 99.9 फीसदी हिन्दू थे। उन की कल्चर हिन्दू है। अभी तक उन के दिमागों पर इस का इतना जबरदस्त असर है कि उन के रस्मों रिवाज शादी के तरीके सब हिन्दू हैं। वे केवल नाम से मुसलमान हैं। कहीं-कहीं नाम है राम सिंह और है मुसलमान। एक की बहिन का नाम यशोदा था। मुसलमानों के नाम हिन्दू हैं। मैं भी जाट कम्यूनिटी में, ओरिजनली जाट हूँ, मेरा रिश्ता बिल्कुल हिन्दुओं से है, और रिश्तेदारी बिल्कुल नजदीक की है।

श्री भैरव चन्द्र महंती (उड़ीसा) :
उड़ीसा में तुलसी पेड़ के पाम मुसलमान महिलायें दिया जलाया करती हैं शाम को।

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद : तो मजमूई तौर पर इन मतभेदों को खड़ा किया गया है। वह भेद आज तक है कुछ तत्व ऐसे हैं, कुछ तबके ऐसे हैं जो उन भेदों को कायम रखना ही नहीं चाहते हैं बल्कि उनको बढ़ाना चाहते हैं।

अगर हमारी तालीम की हकूमत में उन लोगों का असर पड़ गया तो जाहिर है कि वरवादी की तरफ हम चले जायेंगे और अन्देशा यह है कि उनका असर बढ़े। मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि बड़ी मजबूती से कम्यूनल नान-सैक्यूलर जो तबके है उनके खिलाफ एक जद्दोजहद हमारी तालीमी दुनिया के अन्दर होनी चाहिए, शुरू की जानी चाहिए। अगर बच्चे के दिमाग में शुरू से ही यह असर डाला गया तो वह आगे चलकर क्या करेगा आप खुद समझ सकते हैं। वह जद्दोजहद अब तक नहीं हुई। मुझे अफसोस है कि हमारे कांग्रेसी भाइयों ने, मैं कहूंगा कि जितनी जद्दोजहद आपको करनी चाहिए थी क्योंकि आपकी विरासत आजादी की हैरिटेज है, वह आपने नहीं की। इनमें से कुछ लोग, पंडित सुन्दर लाल, मैं 10-15 नाम गिना सकता हूँ, जो हमेशा लड़ते रहे इस बात के लिए लेकिन आपकी

हुकूमत ने राजपाट के नशे में वह सब भुला दिया। बहुत से नशे होते हैं, उनमें राजपाट का नशा बहुत बड़ा होता है।

डा० विद्या प्रकाश दत्त (नाम-निर्देशित):
सिर्फ राज का, पाट का नहीं।

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद : हममें मैं अपने कांग्रेस भाइयों की आलोचना जरूर करूंगा और आज पण्डित जी ने जो कहा कि यह मवाल पहले उठना चाहिए था, बिल्कुल सही मेरे दिल की बात कही। मुझे याद है कि पहली नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन कांफ्रेस पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की रहनुमाई में हुई थी। उसमें यह सवाल मैंने उठाया घड़ी-घड़ी कि एजुकेशन के सवाल को आप लीजिए। उसको एजेण्डा में लाइयें। किस तरह से कम्प्यूनल फोर्सेज आज काम कर रही हैं। टैक्सट बुक्स अपने तरीके से लिखवा रहे हैं। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से वह आया ही नहीं एजेण्डा में। मैंने पंडित जी से हाथ जोड़ कर कहा, इन्दिरा जी से कहा, लेकिन 3 लेंगेज फार्मूला, दो लेंगेज फार्मूला, के अन्दर इतना वक्त हो गया कि नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन का इतना महत्वपूर्ण आसपेक्ट आ ही नहीं पाया। भूपेश गुप्ता यदि बोलेंगे तो वनायेंगे कि क्या हुआ। बहर-हाल आज हम जट्टोजहद को बड़ी मजबूती से कायम रखना है। हममें शक नहीं है कि यह रुझान नहीं है। जनता सरकार तो जैसे फारमी में कहते हैं कि आज आये हैं और कुछ दिनों के बाद भी आपको हम बर्जुग नहीं मानते, कुछ दिनों के बाद आप रंग में आओगे। अभी आप कह रहे हैं कि पुराना कूड़ा कभाड़ को झाड़ू दे रहे हैं, लेकिन आपके पास क्या है, यह कुछ दिनों के बाद मालूम होगा। लेकिन अदेशा यह है कि हम सरकार में ऐसे लोग शामिल हैं जो हम बात के खुद गनहगार रहे हैं। उन्होंने कम्प्यूनल नजरिये को मजबूत किया है, कम्प्यूनल संगठनों को बनाया है और कम्प्यूनल और फिरकापरस्त लडाइयों और दंगों

में भी उनका हाथ रहा है। मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूँ चाहे आप बुरा मानें या न मानें।

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी : मैं इस तरफ आपकी तबज्जोह दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जनाबे सरवरे कायनात मोहम्मद मुसतफा सलल्ला हो अलाए, वमल्लम जग इन्के इखलाक पर भी राशनी दीजिए।

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद : बहुत से मौलवी बैठे हैं मैं तो मौलवी हूँ नहीं। मैं तो एक साधारण सा पोलिटिकल आदमी हूँ। यहां पीछे मौलवी बैठे हैं उनसे पूछिये। वे ऐसे लोग हैं कि वे आज जो कुछ लिखते हैं चाहे वह आर्टिकल लिखें, चाहे वह किताबें लिखें उसमें उनका अपना नजरिया होता है, कम्प्यूनल नजरिया होता है। आज अदेशा इस बात का है कि आने वाले दौर में वे लोग शिक्षा में, तालीम में अपना असर फैलाएंगे। तालीम की तरफ खास तौर में उनकी निगाह है।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूंडावत (राज-स्थान) : आप माफ़ कृपिये कि कई राज्यों में इस तरह के लोगों की मन्त्री के पदों पर रखा गया है। इसको आप स्पष्ट कीजिए न।

डा० जैड० ए० अहमद : मवाल यह है कि तीन-चार महीने ही इनको हुए हैं, आप और हम सब जानते हैं इसको, लेकिन इसको अभी पब्लिक नहीं जानती है और न जानेगी। मुझे यकीन है कि हम लाइन पर ये बड़ी तेजी से चलेंगे। जो लोग जनता पार्टी के अन्दर बैठे हैं जो कम्प्यूनल नजरिये को फैला रहे हैं आज वे शिक्षा के मैदान में भी अपना असर डालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इन्होंने कहा है कि टैक्सट बुक्स को बदला जाएगा, नई लगा दी जायेंगी, पुरानी खत्म कर दी जायेंगी। मुझे अदेशा यह है कि जो मैक्युलर हिस्टोरियन्स हैं जिनसे किताबें लिखाई जाती थीं उनमें कहा जाएगा कि तुम बैठो हम दूसरों से लिखा रहे हैं। उनके

[डा० जैड० ए० अहमद]

खिलाफ कमेटियां मुकर्रर कर दी जायेंगी, जांच की जाएगी, उन किताबों की छान-बीन की जाएगी जिन किताबों को सैक्युलर नजरिये से लिखा गया है। समाजवादी नजरिये से लिखा गया है। मेरा तो यह ख्याल है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर के पास खत भी आने शुरू हो गये हैं इस बात के लिये कि यह जो पुरानी किताबें हैं यह कांग्रेस के राज की हैं। इन को बदला जाए, नई किताबें लगाई जाएं। यह भी कहा गया है कि इसके लिये नई कमेटियां बनाई जाएं। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है ये कमेटियां सूबों के स्तर पर और सेन्टर के स्तर पर बनने वाली हैं। आप जानते हैं कमेटियां बनती ही जा रही हैं। कोई न कोई जांच कमिटी बैठते ही रहते हैं। कमेटियां और कमीशन बैठाने में बहुत आगे हैं। इसलिये मैं शिक्षा मन्त्री जी से कहूंगा कि आप चौकन्ने हो जाइये क्योंकि आप उस जमात में नहीं रहे हैं जिस जमात की ये लोग बातें करने हैं। आप इंडिपेंडेंट हैं। आपका राष्ट्रीय नजरिया है, राष्ट्रीय बैंक ग्राउण्ड है। आप इसको देखें जैसा कि नूरुल हसन साहब ने कहा कि सही बात को रखें, हकीकत को रखा जाए। अगर हकीकत को नहीं रखा जाएगा तो एक खतरा पैदा हो जाएगा। ये जो पुराने हिस्टोरियन्स हैं, जो अपने सैक्युलर आउटलुक के लिये मशहूर हैं, जिनका बड़ा कंट्रीब्यूशन है, मेरा यह कहना है कि उन हिस्टोरियन्स को काम दिया जाए। वे किताबें लिखें। ऐसे लोग, जो कम्यूनल नजरिये के लिये बदनाम है उनको न लिया जाए। उनकी कमेटियों के अन्दर न रखा जाए जो कमेटियां किताबें वगैरह छापने के लिये जिम्मेदार हैं। मैं समझता हूं इसमें अगर एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट चौकन्ना रहेगा, हमारे पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर चौकन्ने रहेंगे, यह सवाल बार-बार हम यहां उठाते रहेंगे, सूबों में, सेन्टर में इन सवालों को उठा कर जनता में चेतना पैदा करेंगे तो हम सही रास्ते पर चल सकते हैं। आज तो यह हालत

हो गई है कि कुछ लोगों ने इसको राजनीति का हथियार बना लिया है, वे जातिवाद को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं। यह ठाकुर है, यह जाट है, यह फलां है, इस तरह की बातें साथ में जुड़ गई हैं। इलेक्शनों में जाकर आप इन चीजों को देख सकते हैं। हिन्दू मुसलमान तो अपनी जगह पर हैं और वे बहुत आगे बढ़ गये हैं। लेकिन कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो समाज को टुकड़े करने पर तुले हुए हैं और समाज में बैठे हुए हैं। उन लोगों ने अपनी एक टेकनीक और आर्ट बना लिया है कि अलग-अलग जातियों और अलग-अलग मजहब के लोगों के दिलों में दीवार खड़ी कर दी जाय। आज हमारे मुँक में यह हालत हो गई है कि हमारा पतन हो गया है, हमारी राजनीति का पतन हो गया है। हमारा कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं रहा, हमारा कोई उसूल नहीं रहा। कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो जातियों की जोड़-तोड़ में लगे रहते हैं। इसलिए आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ एक जबरदस्त राष्ट्रीय और कमी जद्दोजहद शुरू की जाय। हमारी सियासी जिन्दगी को इन लोगों ने कूड़े में उठा कर रख दिया है। अपने पदों के लिए और अपनी सीटों के लिए ये लोग सब कुछ करने को तैयार हो जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी आजादी की जद्दोजहद तो खत्म हो गई, लेकिन सही मायनों में आजादी हासिल करने के लिये हमें अभी कई फ्रण्ट और मोर्चों पर लड़ाई करनी पड़ेगी क्योंकि कुछ लोग इस मुँक में एक नई गुलामी पैदा कर रहे हैं और लोगों के दिमाग में भर रहे हैं। उसके खिलाफ हमें जद्दोजहद करनी होगी। इससे ज्यादा मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। मैं आशा करता हूं कि जिन गम्भीरता के साथ इस प्रश्न को यहां पर उठाया गया है उसी गम्भीरता के साथ हमारे मन्त्री जी इस को लेंगे और इसके बारे में अमली कदम उठाएंगे। वक्तन-फक्तन हम इस सवाल को यहां पर उठाएंगे और आपका ध्यान खींचते रहेंगे। हमने जो शक और शबूहात और

खतरा अपनी आंखों के सामने देखे हैं और जिनके बारे में हमें शक है उनको मन्त्री जी हटाएंगे। इसके अलावा मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। यह एक राष्ट्रीय बात है, इसमें कोई मतभेद ही नहीं सकता। सिर्फ जो अदेशा हमने बताया है और जो खतरा हैं, उनके खिलाफ कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए। हम सब लोगों ने, पांडे जी ने, पंडित जी ने और हमारे दूसरे साथियों ने यहां आवाज उठाई है और हम समझते हैं कि यह राष्ट्र के सामने बहुत बड़ा खतरा है। इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस खतरे का मजबूती के साथ मुकाबला किया जाय।

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I join the hon. Members in congratulating Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande for bringing forward this Resolution. In fact, this is a very good Resolution...

DR. V. P. DUTT: May I have the permission to say a word? I do not know whether you are concluding the discussion here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): No, the Minister is intervening.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Will the discussion continue?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Yes.

DR. V. P. DUTT: I got a little afraid that the Minister was going to reply to the discussion.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: In this Private Member's Resolution, I am also addressing this not as Minister but as one entitled to participate in this discussion. Let me resume.

As I said, I join other hon. Members in congratulating Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande for drawing the attention of this House and through this House our Indian people

to the great need of bringing about integration in our country. In fact, it is a very good Resolution. Some criticism has been levelled against this Resolution on the ground that it is somewhat narrower in concept. It was very nice of respected Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi with his great experience of the past, to dwell on that aspect of this Resolution when he said that the demand which has been made in respect of medieval history can also be extended in respect of ancient history. The other hon. Member, Shri Varma pointed out that these differences continue even today. So, that is the real criticism in respect of this Resolution that it is somewhat limited to one section of Indian history, that is, the medieval period.

Indian history, Sir, is always a conflict between the forces of cohesion and forces of division. There are always centripetal and centrifugal forces fighting each other and out of this fight we find many events occurring and these events actually fill the pages of Indian history. If we start from the earliest written history, we would notice that in the Vedas we have the conflict between the Aryas and the Dasas. But who these Dasas were we do not know. But we find this conflict being illustrated with great vehemence in the verses of the Rig Veda, the earliest extent literature of our country. These Dasas, had been called Anasa, without nose, sishna devaha, one warshipping phallus, Aryavarta having different forms of religion and so on. But gradually when there is some sort of integration amongst these groups, we find a new type of division arising in society and that is based on Varna. It is true that in the later part of the Rig Veda, we find these four principal varnas to arise or said to arise from the great Purusa who is the inscrutable and undefinable supreme power in the world. They are children of God, Purusa. But when this division is transplanted in social terms, we find the hierarchy is, society, and

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder]

later on, attempts were made to expand this division on the basis of guna and karma as we find in the Mahabharatha.

चतुर्वर्णम मया सृष्ट गुणकर्म विभागज

But this division based on guna, qualitative division and karma, division based on work, is forgotten and, at a later stage, we find the division is based on *jati*, that is birth. This division vitiated our ancient history, vitiated our medieval history and, even today, it vitiates our modern history. Only the other day, there was a great deal of agitation in this august House on the question of treatment of the Scheduled Castes and the backward communities. This is a real fact and we cannot shut our eyes to the great menace in our society. This division which was based on birth and which was introduced in the past, may be due to economic and other reasons, still persists today and it vitiates our social and political life. This is the reality and we cannot forget that. We have to rise above this spirit of division in our society.

Now, Sir, Pandit Tripathi was speaking of religion and he recited some very nice Sanskrit verses on the definition of religion. To my mind, one sloka of Mahabharata gives us a comprehensive concept of religion and it says:

धारणाद्धर्मं इत्याद्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः

What holds is called Dharma and Dharma holds the entire people. Nothing in this definition relates to God. The root of the word Dharma is *Dhrj* which holds. Therefore, whatever holds people together, whether they are Brahmins or Vaishtyas or Kshatriyas or Sudras or Hindus or Muslims or belonging to any group or community, whatever holds people together will be called Dharma. This is perhaps the wisest form of definition that we have. But in spite of this broad catholic outlook,

it is to be noted that in the past, whether it was in the medieval times or in the ancient times, people were cut off into various sections and groups and there was a great tussle amongst them. Although the great sages came forward to bring the people together, such forces were always at work. As I said, the forces of cohesion and division were at work side by side. Only in the days of great rulers and monarchs, we find the forces of cohesion succeeding as in the case of the great Ashoka when he says that 'all people are my subjects, all people are my children.'

सर्वे मुनिमे प्रजा ममः

He says 'all people are my children'. Therefore, the paternal aspect of the State was established by Ashoka through edicts and he tried to inculcate in the people the broad moral principles so that nobody would praise one's religion at the cost of the religious of others. These are things which ought to be done. At the same time as I said, these divisive forces continued to work and that brought the division in the great Maurya empire when it ultimately collapsed. It fell to the ground partly because of foreign aggression and partly because of the weakness which it had generated from within. So, we find sectional interest prevailing. The Brahmin concept and the ideas of Brahmin monarchs prevailed upon the people at one time and it went on and on.

When Islam came to us we find that certain new foreign elements were introduced here. In earlier times there were many occasions when foreign elements were introduced but they were all absorbed in the Indian system and with this absorption a new society was formed which consisted of foreign elements from ethnic sense and also from cultural sense, but when Islam was introduced here, certainly it had tried to keep up its purity and naturally it had come into conflict with certain sections of the

indigenous people—I am not naming them Hindus and I am naming them indigenous people. But here also there was approximation of these ideas and I am very grateful to Panditji because he has given us some illuminating examples of the approximation of ideas. But when we find that the conflict is going on, it is not going on simply between Muslims and Hindus, but the conflict was going on between Hindus and Hindus. One hon. Member rightly pointed out how there had been fights between Hindus and Hindus. That happened even in the ancient times when in the Vedic literature we hear about the war of the *das Rajanas*. There was a fight among ten Aryan princes. It goes on like that not only in one part of the country, but throughout the country. I am glad my esteem predecessor in office, Dr. Hasan, has pointed out that medieval time was indicative of the exploitative system, but most humbly I would submit to him, through you, Sir, that this spirit of exploitation is not yet over. It has changed the character simply. Formerly, there might have been fuedal exploitation, but today, in modern times, we find capitalistic exploitation in our society. The exploitation is there, but it has simply changed its garb and this spirit of exploitation takes help of the natural differences among people. By taking help of such differences, it tries to turn these differences to suit its own convenience. How many times do we find that at the back of the conflict—whether it is between Hindus and Muslims or Brahmins and non-Brahmins—there is nothing which is really related to religion or caste. It is really the economic causes which are working and also the lust for power. So, these things actually drive us away from the better way of life and ultimately cause damage to our society as a whole. So, from this angle, Sir, I would most respectfully request you to consider the widened scope of the discussion that has been initiated by Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi, Shri Varmaji and to some extent by Dr. Nurul Hasan, because they have point-

ed out that exploitation is there not confined to a single period of history and the conflict is there not confined to a single period of history but it has to be found out in different periods and wherever there is unnecessary conflict, wherever it leads to division in society, it helps exploitation, exploitative forces. In that context I would respectfully submit to the hon. mover of this Resolution that we should all try to support the forces of cohesion, not only through the study of history but in our movements, in our talks, in our relations with one another. Otherwise, merely changing the history will not do. I fully agree with some of the hon. Members like Prof. Hasan and Dr. Ahmad that we have to look at the totality of history. It is not good to suppress certain facts. Unless we give the total picture, then that also will be a distortion. Distortion even for the good may not lead to the good because end might be good but the means, being defective, ultimately might affect the end. So what is required is a very objective study of history with the intention of placing the correct facts before the people, at the same time making our own choice, because when we speak of objective history, history, perhaps, can never be objective. Whenever human element is involved in the matter of interpretation, the subjective element is bound to intervene and we should try to base our subjective element on actual facts and at the same time, we should try to choose certain facts which will strengthen the forces of cohesion amongst us.

I am very sorry that our esteemed friend, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, had unnecessarily had a fling at the Janata Party. The Janata Party itself shows that it is a party of cohesion. There were so many different parties. They tried to merge their identity. There is the legal unity. No doubt, it is true that to some extent, at the present moment, there is some lack of emotional integration. But all the leaders are trying to bring about this emotional integration and that is the great ad-

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vantage of the Janata Party. It had been able to bring together those different parties and they adopted one symbol, one flag, one election manifesto and are working under one leadership. If there are certain differences here and there, these differences should not be accentuated and under the leadership of this unified party, we will be able to unify the entire people of India, without any reference to any particular caste, creed or community. That is what I want to suggest to him. I have high regard for him. I know him since my college days. He need not have had this fling when the standard of debate today has been placed so high, because here is a basic problem. This is a problem which touches all religions, all communities, all groups, not only in our country but throughout the world.

I had on one occasion visited Northern Ireland. And what did I find there? Two Christian communities—the Protestants and the Catholics—were fighting against each other. The British Government had sent armed forces to restore peace. But even these armed forces had not succeeded in keeping the two sections of the Christian community in a peaceful manner. And when we were present there, we found bomb outrages at certain places. We found that the shops had been looted or destroyed by bomb blasts. And that is continuing even in the 20th century in an advanced, developed country like the Great Britain. This is a shame which will have to be shared by the whole mankind. It is not the fault of the Indians only. To that extent, I should say, that we Indians are much more fortunate, because occasionally when such communal disturbances burst out, at once our leaders—not belonging to a single party, but from all parties—join together and try to restore peace and within a short while, we find peace restored. At the same time, there are scheming people; there are intriguing people who want to

exploit these divisive forces and try to take advantage of the divisive forces. That is the real problem which we have to face. And this problem should transcend party lines. We cannot blame this party or that party because it is trying to take some advantage out of these differences. If we really want to fight for the good of India, then we have to fight these divisive forces. To some extent, this Resolution would help us fight these divisive forces because if we give the correct picture of the Indian history, we will find that the forces of integration will get the better of the forces of disintegration. It is true that in the past British rulers had distorted history just to exploit the Indian people to suit their colonial aspirations, and they did succeed to a large extent but, at the same time, it is also true that there were some British historians who had this objective outlook. As far as I remember, in Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India*, the first paragraph deals with the real characteristic of Indian history, that is, unity in diversity. We should not paint all British historians with tar. Vincent Smith really began his work with a broad perspective, broad sweep of Indian history, when he said in substance, "Here we find unity in diversity." In India there are diversities but, at the same time, these integrating forces are working and they are bringing different sects, communities, religious groups and several castes together and trying to have one Indian nation. That is the objective that we have to take up and that is the objective that each one of us should have. Whether we belong to this side or the other side or any middle side, it does not matter. If we really want the good of our country, then we have to carry out that noble objective and fructify it. Don't we find that there are a lot of differences among us on linguistic issues and regional issues? There are several issues which try to divide our nation, and all well-meaning people should try to bring our people together so that one Indian nation can be con-

solidated and that might work for the good of the country.

Now I would like to indicate to you the role of the Government in this field because in this Resolution we find some responsibility is sought to be cast on the Government. It reads to this effect:—

“...recommends that the Government should take immediate steps for the reorientation of the study of the Medieval Indian History...”

Of course, I do not shirk responsibility as the Minister for Education. Government certainly has responsibility in this field.

I am glad that my esteemed predecessor in office has referred to certain Review Committees of the textbooks. He has also spoken of the history of medieval India which shuns communalism. That certainly should be commended. I also would like to add to what he has said because it also belongs to his time when this Indian Council of Historical Research had been set up and Volume I of *Medieval India* was made over to Shri B. R. Grover, Director of the Indian Council of Historical Research as compiler/editor. An attempt has been made to bring together the cohesive forces in our Indian history not only in the matter of kings and rulers but also regarding the life of the people, as one of the hon. Members has suggested. These are very nice things indeed. More than that, this Indian Council of Historical Research is trying to bring before us the source material. Most of the source material on Indian medieval history is in Persian or other common medieval languages with which many of us are not familiar. So we find that the Indian Council of Historical Research has actually undertaken the translation of many such medieval works like *Waqfiat-i-Mustaqi*, *Inshah-i-Abul Fazal*, *Badshahnamas*, etc., etc. I am not giving you the details. Now this source material will be a really valuable matter from which we can draw new facts to show the spirit of

unification in the medieval world. In addition to that we find that special fellowships have been granted to scholars to bring out different types of historical works to show the spirit of cohesion. There is one book I will particularly mention, *Sufism in Kashmir from Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century* by Dr. Qayyum Rafiqi. These are very good steps which have been taken by my predecessor in office, Prof. Nurul Hasan. I can assure this House that these steps will certainly be continued and improved upon. There are no two opinions on this point. But I should also request you to consider that the Government, while helping the scholars to bring out their works to integrate the Indian people, should not write history at its own behest. History cannot be the hand-maiden of the party in power. If history becomes the hand-maiden of the party in power, then it is no true history as we find in some countries where an attempt is made by the Government of the time to write history, but, when the next group comes to power, that history is thrown to the dust-bin and new history is written. The present Government does not want to write any history at its dictation. It certainly will try to help scholars to place proper history before the people and in that, as has already been pointed out, the forces of integration should be strengthened. Now that is the policy which the present Government will like to follow. I can assure you, Sir, if we find that the scholars are not coming forward to place history in proper perspective and, as has been pointed out, in true perspective, then certainly the present Government will try to help them. So I would request the

hon. Mover of the Resolution to consider this point. If he thinks that the Resolution may be modified, he can do so. I am not opposing the Resolution. In fact, I am supporting it. At least, it draws our attention to one controversial period of the Indian history, that the mediaeval period, which has often been distorted. I can

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder] assure him that in this noble effort that he has placed before the House this Government will not be found lacking.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Dr. V. P. Dutt. As you know, we are running short of time. In fact, we have run short of time. So, be brief.

DR. V. P. DUTT: In fact, Sir, I was already folding up. Since you have called me to speak, I will be brief. If you had not called me, I would have been out of the House by now. Anyway, I will be very brief. I feel a little odd while speaking at this juncture when the hon. Minister has already spoken and I am not sure if the discussion is going to be continued beyond this speaker. So it looks odd because I wished to make some points which I would have liked him to consider and enlighten upon. Like everybody else, I am very grateful to Shri Pandejji for bringing this Resolution before us. I would also like to congratulate the vagaries of the ballot system for the Private Member's Resolution because of which this Resolution got the first place and we were able to discuss it.

Now, Sir, we all know that in a vast and complex society like the Indian society having a federal polity—a developing country subject to internal fissiparous trends and forces, external divisive pulls and pressures—one of the great problems is that of emotional integration. And we also recognise that India has a composite culture, multi-racial, multi-religious, and that the greatness of the Indian culture has been the very compositeness of this culture, and that, therefore, it behoves us to treasure this composite culture and modify all those obscurantist forces which

5 P.M. would try to strengthen the divisive forces. The Hon.

Minister raised a question. I think it was a very pertinent question—as to why the medieval India should be emphasised. Panditji said that this could be applied to the ancient India

or the modern India. But I think there is a certain reason why this particular period has been chosen. Of course, I cannot speak for the mover, but my feeling is that this particular period has been chosen because this particular period has been particularly used by the imperialist forces as well as by those forces within the country who want to divide Indian from Indian and who want to encourage these forces, the fissiparous forces and the communalist forces in this country. This period has been particularly used by them for carrying out their nefarious activities. We all know again that it was the British who started dividing India into Hindu India, Muslim India and British India, and that many of our historians then took over this imperialist legacy and continued in the same fashion. I can only quote that one Mohammad Habib of medieval India also wrote a classic reply to one of the British imperialist historians, who was one of the initiators of this tradition. I agree that it was Mr. Mills who started it. But one of the British historians who contributed to these things was given a classic reply by Mohammad Habib, but that reply was in fact befittingly given to the Indian reactionaries and Indian communalists. He said something which was indirectly said by my friend Dr. Ahmad that 99 per cent of the Muslims in India were Hindus who got converted to Muslims, and he asked; "Why do you want to punish us just because we have changed the mode of saying our prayers? You think that we are foreigners and that we do not belong to this country." Obviously, it is this tendency, this trend, which has to be combated.

Sir, the time is very short. Therefore, I would like to make a couple of specific points, and I do not know whether the Minister is in a position to say anything. I am raising this question because Dr. Z. A. Ahmad mentioned that he found again that certain encouragement was being given to those forces which would try to bring about disunity in the Indian society on the basis of religion. We

have seen the treatment of the medieval India by the British historians as well as by some of those Indian historians who follow the British tradition of history not being considered as a history of the socio-economic and cultural life of the people but as a history of this Muslim ruler, that Hindu chieftain and so on and so forth. In fact, if a Muslim chieftain rebelled against a Muslim ruler, that was not considered important, but if a Hindu chieftain rebelled against a Muslim ruler for other reasons than religion, then he was made a national hero. Similarly the communalists did the other way; the more orthodox an emperor was, the more they extolled him because a communalism feeds on another communalism.

Sir, I am raising this particular point here because we are not trying to hide the truth. What we are trying to do is to apply the scientific approach and to write the history as a force and not the history conceived as a relentless struggle between the Hindus and the Muslims or between a religious community and another.

Unfortunately, Sir, I understand that a so-called secret note—I do not know why in India anything should be secret—was prepared by some people who pretend to be historians and who have given precisely this imperialist communal approach. But what was surprising, and to my mind stunning, was that they somehow prevailed upon the Prime Minister's Secretariat and got the note sent to the Education Ministry asking for the consideration of the withdrawal of the secular text-books which for the first time had been produced in India. And I would like to read just two sentences. If I am wrong, if there is no such note, the Education Minister can contradict me. "Medieval India" written by Dr. Romila Thapar was prescribed as a text-book and this note tries to say that Dr. Romila Thapar is, on the one hand, a Communist and, on the other, a communalist. The words used are "Communist" and "communalist". I cannot read all the objec-

tions in this so-called note, but one of the things that it says is:

"This book largely gives only a brighter side of the Muslim rulers in India."

Now, this is one of the main objections. And what is the example? It goes on to say:

"For example, Mahmud Ghazni's destroying of Hindu temples has been justified on the ground that he wanted to plunder them. His proud claim as a breaker of idols has been almost ignored."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, this is a very important matter. I suggest that the note may be laid on the Table of the House. The public should know, historians, and others should know what kind of directions the Prime Minister's Secretariat is giving to our historians and other men of literature and those who deal with this subject. Will you kindly allow it to be laid on the Table of the House?

DR. V. P. DUTT: May I also with your permission...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): The Member has only suggested that there exists such a note. He really does not know about it. Therefore, I do not think it can be laid on the Table.

DR. V. P. DUTT: May I also, with your permission, give the original quotation from the book which was distorted in this note? What Dr. Romila Thapar has actually said in the book is:

"He (Mahmud Ghazni) had heard that there was much gold and jewellery kept in the big temples in India; so he destroyed the temples and took away the gold and jewellery. One of these attacks which is frequently mentioned was the destruction of the temples in Somnath in Western India. Destroying temples had another advantage. He could claim, as he did, that he had obtained religious merit by destroying images."

[Dr. V. P. Dutt]

Now, Sir, this is what Dr. Romila Thapar has actually said. And the distortion I have already read out to you. This goes on page after page. I have no time to read it out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is the author? Who has written it?

DR. V. P. DUTT: Well, it is for him to decide whether he would like it to be placed on the Table of the House or not. Page after page of such writing has been given. And one of the few secular text-books in this country has been condemned as Communist and communalist writing. Similar other objections have been raised. For instance, a book on Medieval India said that Akbar and Aurangzeb were not foreigners. For that, they have been charged with saying that they were national heroes and that others like Rana Pratap were not national heroes. If you say that somebody is not a national hero, they say he is an Indian... (*Time-bell rings*) I am winding up. I know there is shortage of time. But what I would like to tell the hon. Education Minister is, obviously someone has misled the Prime Minister's Secretariat. I am not saying that the Prime Minister has looked into this or that he would even adopt this approach. I know the Prime Minister. For that matter, I know no Prime Minister of this country would adopt this approach. But someone—I do not know—at the lower levels has taken hold of somebody and this note has gone to the Education Ministry. I hope the Education Ministry would take no note of such notes because what we have been suggesting today all afternoon is precisely a denunciation of this kind of writing of history and this kind of attitude. As it has been said, this is very deep-seated. This is not something that is on the skin. It is very deep-seated—what he learnt at our schools, what we learnt at home and what we have been taught in the text-books. Very learned speeches have been made by the honourable Education Minister, by the honourable ex-Education Minister, by Parulitji, and I have no time even

to try to match one-tenth of what they have said. But I would like to say that the teaching of medieval Indian history is really an important aspect of our national life, and therefore, considering the importance, the national importance, of this, it is necessary to stop the poison before it spreads to the entire body politic. I hope the Government—as the honourable Minister stated; I was very happy to hear him—would use all its efforts to encourage what brings together and to discourage what separates.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): I am afraid we must conclude this debate and I am sorry other honourable Members may not be able to participate...

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Sir, this is an important matter, and therefore, we would like that the Rule should be suspended and this debate should continue on the next Friday or in the next Session...

AN HON. MEMBER: I entirely agree with him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): For the moment we must move over to the Half-an-Hour Discussion. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I am glad that you have conducted the proceedings quite informally. Normally we should have ended at 5 O'clock under the Rules. But you have extended the debate by ten minutes. I fully appreciate it. I hope the same flexibility and goodness will be shown in my case.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): I would like you to remember, it is a Half-an-Hour Discussion.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, what is the position of Shri Pande's Resolution?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, the submission which I have made should be considered.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: We do not want that this Resolution should be talked out. I think that that is the sense of the House. It has not been opposed by anyone. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you must clarify the position of this Resolution. We do not want it to be talked out. A decision has to be taken. Please decide, either we should take up the discussion next week or later today or some other time.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana): We should continue it.

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसको अगले शुक्रवार को निश्चये रख लिया जाय। यह बहुत इम्पोर्टेन्ट इस्सू है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): I will convey the suggestion of the honourable Members to the Business Advisory Committee and to the Deputy Chairman, for continuation and discussion next Friday.

HALF-AN HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF THE ANSWERS GIVEN ON 21ST JULY, 1977 TO STARRED QUESTION NO. 99 REGARDING EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE DURING EMERGENCY

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, since the lifting of the emergency shocking disclosures of killings and tortures of Naxalites and other political workers, mostly Naxalites, have been appearing in the newspapers and journals of the country. Some of the disclosures have come from the actual victims of torture or from the relatives

of those who have been killed. I understand the Tarkunde Committee which investigated the tortures and killings in Andhra Pradesh has submitted two interim reports to the Union Home Minister. As a result of the findings of the Tarkunde Committee in Andhra Pradesh the Bhargava Committee has been appointed to investigate into the allegations—on the basis of the findings of the Tarkunde Committee—thereby admitting there is a *prima facie* case made out by the Tarkunde Committee.

[The Vice Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, in the Chair)]

I understand also that Calcutta's Bandi Mukti-O-Ganadabi Prastuti Committee, as it is called, had submitted a memorandum to the Home Minister in which the atrocities committed in West Bengal over the past eight or nine years by the police have been stated. Sir, this report, I believe, is under the consideration of the Government.

Now, Sir, in Andhra Pradesh, during a decade or so, five thousand Naxalites have been arrested—mostly belonging to the Girijans of the Srikakulam district. Many of them have been tortured in the lock-up and others been killed. The same thing has been mentioned in the Tarkunde Committee Report. The *modus operandi* was very simple—catch hold of them, take them from their hide-out, shoot them and declare to the press that they have been killed in an encounter. In some cases they were secretly killed and their bodies disposed of. In Punjab also people have been killed and I understand sixty people at least have been killed during this period between 1969 and 1976. We have mentioned these things in the House. At one time Shri Badal was also the Chief Minister of the State of Punjab. Now similar reports are coming from Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar. For example, today there is a report that Shri Karpoori Thakur, Chief Minister of Bihar,