

cannot find time to discuss a Motion signed by a majority of the Members? We will have to resort to voting on each and every item in the Agenda before the House. We cannot let an important motion like this go unnoticed.

DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA: Sir, hon. Members want several issues to be discussed in this House. They want time for all these issues to be discussed here. Sir, as you know, in the Budget Session at least, we have enough time and scope to ventilate our ideas on several issues as we discuss the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and so on. Now, next week, we are also going to discuss the General Budget and we have allocated enough time. There are several opportunities like this when hon. Members can very well express their views on these issues which they have pointed out. For instance, one hon. Member pointed out about the recommendations of the Finance Commission. If the hon. Member has to say something on this, he has enough scope when we have discussion on the General Budget. Then, all these economic problems in West Bengal...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: This is not basically an economic problem.

DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA: Sir, as hon. Members know, in the Budget Session, specially, there is less of Government Business by way of Bills and so on. Hence, we have enjbugh time for discussing these issues when we have discussions on the Railway Budget, General Budget and so on. Such flexibility is there.

I hope hon. Members will be kind enough to utilise this.

AN HON. MEMBER: Wise enough.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : केन्द्रीय मन्त्रिमण्डल
के भ्रष्टाचार पर बहस होनी चाहिए, जनता
सरकार के भ्रष्टाचार पर बहस हो ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up Special Mentions. Shrimati Soni.

REFERENCE, TO THE REPORTED SECRET TRIALS AND EXECUTION IN IRAN

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: (Punjab) : Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you to the executions which are taking place in Iran. I fully realise that this is a very sensitive subject and I am fuUy conscious of the fact that India has very close relations with Iran. I am also conscious of the fact that the Prime Minister has said that these are matters which are the internal affairs of other countries. But nevertheless, Sir, in this year, which is the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, I feel but compelled to draw the attention of this House to these brutal executions carried out after secret trials. I would draw the attention of this House to these executions of these personalities or individuals who belong to the erstwhile regime of the deposed Shah. Sir, the Prime Minister, while replying to the Motion of Thanks on the Address of the President, mentioned that he was Very surprised that while so much voice and noise was raised on the death sentence proposed for the ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, no single voice in this country has been raised against the executions which are taking place in Iran or against the two executions which took place in Nepal.

Sir, I was one of those Members who, when the Shah was all powerful, when the Shah visited India and when, on the eve of his visit to India the whole Janata Government wa deadset to receive him and to giv him a royal welcome, raised thei voice on the floor of this House raised my voice against an importar issue which concerned the declare foreign policy of our country, whic

[Shrimati Ambika Soni] was the expansion of the Iranian naval base in the Indian Ocean. I raised my voice against the atrocities committed by the SAVAK, the secret intelligence agency of the Shah of Iran. I also raised my voice against the action taken on the students of Iran, who were studying in India and who were being sent back to Iran where they were treated badly, beaten to death and awarded life imprisonment and so on. Today, I feel compelled to say this. Even though this may be considered an internal affairs, the Indian voice should not be suppressed and should not be made quiet. As a matter of fear or hesitation, we should not fail to raise our voice against these executions. Sir, our country has a tradition of following those policies which are principled. Our country takes pride in the fact that India has not traded with South Africa or with the other racist regimes in the African Continent, even though, economically, it may have been beneficial for us. This is because we stand committed to fight the policy of racism and apartheid even though it may have been at economic cost to our country. India has always taken this principled decision and this has been appreciated and applauded all over the world. Today, against, I would bring this to the notice of the House so that public opinion in this country can be raised against these executions which are taking place after secret trial. Sir, if this is going to be followed all over the world for settling political vendetta or for putting and end to one's opponent, it is some thing to be decried. I would have imagined that the Janata Government which has continuously claimed to champion the cause of democracy and human rights and also the members of the Janata Party should have been the first and foremost to raise their voice against execution. Sir, even at cost of being misunderstood I feel that public opinion must be raised against settling political scores in such a brutal fashion. Even the Prime Minister of Iran has expressed

his helplessness. The Prime Minister of Iran, according to newspapers, has even threatened his resignation because he feels that what is going on, in the name of secret trials and execution by some armed bandits, is unfair and unjust.

I appeal to you, Sir, that we must try—every Member of this House must try—to raise his or her voice against any execution which takes place after a secret trial, any execution which in our eyes is not just, no matter wherever it is in the world, no matter at what economic cost to the country.

Thank you.

ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 9th March, 1979, allotted time for Government Business as follows:

BUSINESS TIME ALLOTTED

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| 1. Further discussion on the Rail-on Budget for | Minister will reply on Monday, the 12th March, 1979. |
| 2. General discussion on the General Budget for 1979-80. | Minister will commence on Monday, the 12th March and will continue on 13th, 15th and 19th March, 1979. The Minister will reply, on the 19th March, 1979 |

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 3.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past three of the clock. The Vice Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganes, Kulkarni) in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION REGARDING REVIEW
OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
POLICY OF THE UNION—*contd.***

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am on a point of order. Sir, we are discussing this Resolution for the successive day. My submission is that my Resolution stands first for today. Sir, on the last non-official day, there was a Bill under consideration. I raised this point and the House was pleased to accept my request and the Bill was concluded that day and another Bill was also moved. So, my request today also is that the present Resolution may be concluded before five so that I may be able to move my Resolution. Otherwise, Sir, if this Resolution continues for the next day also, i.e., 23rd of March, the last non-official day of this session, then my Resolution will lapse today itself, and on the next day another Resolution will come up and my Resolution may not be taken up. Therefore, my submission is, for the sake of taking up a number of Resolutions, this Resolution may be concluded by 5.00 and I may be permitted at least to move the Resolution. That is the request I would like to make, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Shyam Lalji, though I have a desire to find out a way, the problem seems to be that there are a large number of speakers. I will try. But it all depends on the co-operation of the Members not to take much time of the House. It all depends on that. Now, Shri Madhavan to continue his speech.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, last time I was speaking in Malayalam ...

AN HOW. MEMBER: Now also, you speak in Malayalam.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I will speak in Malayalam. But, by way of introduction, I would just remained the House that last time I announced that I was speaking in Malayalam for the first time as a token of my protest against the compulsory and unreasonable imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi people. (*Interruptions*) I will now switch-over to Malayalam. I will continue from where I stopped. My last point was, "I happened to remark here once that if anybody thinks that there is no India beyond the Vindhyas, they are wrong." That was my last point. Now, I continue in Malayalam, Sir. *Sir, I have come today with some authoritative books here. Last day I made my speech using as far as practicable only Malayalam words. But I want to continue my speech strictly according to the various stages of evolution and various stages of development of Malayalam language. Sir, it was about the 18th century that the Manipravala style came into being in Malayalam. If my memory is correct it was in or a little before the 18th century. Mani means Manikyam and Pravalam means Pavizham. According to linguistic experts Malayalam language originated by a combination of Mani that is Malayalam and Pravalam that is Sanskrit.—In other words according to grammarians and linguistic experts Malayalam language is the confluence of Ganga flowing down from Dravida which is like the Himalaya and Yamuna which is Sanskrit. The couplet says: "Dfavidahimagirigalita Sanskritabhasha Kalindajamilita." Now the Malayalam is slowing and gradually moving towards a tendency to minimise the usage of Sanskrit words as far as possible. Malayalam is trying to stand on its own legs. At the same time it is borrowing words from Sanskrit, English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, Urdu, Latin and Dutch. The Tamils want the chaste Tamil to continue till eternity. But we do not want chaste

♦English translation of the original speech in Malayalam.

[Shri K. K. Madiavan] Malayalam to continue as it is till eternity. Sir, no language has grown without borrowing words from other languages. As we have adopted this principle, Malayalam is always in the process of a continuing development. As a result of that Malayalam has already secured an enviable position amongst the modern Indian languages. A poetess of Malayalam literature has recently won a national award from the Sahitya Akademi for her poems. Her father sang about revolution at the time of the formation of the Third International—Socialist Internationale. He is now past the age of 80 and still lives at Tri-vandrum, Sugatha Kumari, the Malayalam Poetess, who won the Kendra Sahitya Akademi Award recently is the daughter of that grand old man, Bodheswaran. I have got the prize winning book with me 'Ratri Mazhia'. This is a volume of beautiful poems. I do not want to go into the book now. Bodheswaran wrote his poems about 50 or 60 years ago. "The Red Internationale" has been translated by him. He was our revolutionary poet. Sir, Bodheswaran now past the age of 80 was known as the poet who sang the songs about the Russian Revolution. He has written poems about our Kerala also. I would be quoting some of his lines towards the end of my speech. Sir, I have got only time here to make a birds eye view of all the languages in the country. Unlike many people think, Malayalam is not the daughter of Tamil.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): How much time will your birds eye view will take?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I will take 15 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am really afraid how much time you will take for your birds eye view of the world.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir,

English translation of the Original Speech in Malayalam.

Tamil and Malayalam are members of the same family. I have quoted from English books which I can quote here in English itself, because I do not want to waste a single minute even in spite of the interruptions from the Chair. I want to finish my speech as quickly as possible I had never come here with a prepared speech. Today also I have not come with a prepared speech. I have only prepared some points.

Sir, I want to quote here some authoritative views on Tamil and Malayalam. I have already stated that all the South Indian languages have originated from the same family, from the same root. I want to quote some views of well known linguistic experts in this connection. No body need be afraid that I would be taking too much time by looking at the papers in my hand. Most of them are plain papers. I would not take much time. Now, what I want to quote is from Gundert (In *Interruptions*) about the South Indian languages. Sir, I am reading the relevant portions from the Encyclopaedia published by the Literary Workers Cooperative Society, Vol. 9, "Gundert in his Malayalam Grammar states that Malayalam is a branch of the language known as Dravidam that is Tamil." 'Dravidam that is Tamil' is a very meaningful expression. If a language known as Dravidam existed it would not have been different from the early Tamil, not the present Tamil, Sir. Malayalam even today is nearest to the Tamil. Then what we find on pages 476-477? The close affinity we find between Tamil and Malayalam today is a result of the continuous divergence and intermingling of these two languages for centuries. In spite of the pressures from Tamil and Sanskrit Malayalam has managed to successfully chart out its own course and has developed its own personality. S.W. Ellis, Gold Well, A. R. Raja, Raja Varma and L. V. Ramaswamy have enunciated a theory that Malayalam is the result of the continuing process of development of "Tamil and

vguage." There cannot be anything more absurd than to say that Tamil and Malayalam are one and the same. It is something like saying that French and Italian are the same. But both the language have many close similarities. Similarly, there are differences also. Therefore it is not proper to say that one has originated from the other. This was the view of a Seshagin Prabhu. He was a Kongana Brahmin, not a Malayali. But at that time nobody paid any heed to his views. Attoor [Krishna Pisharody in his 'A critical survey of Malayalam Language and Literature' has categorically stated that Malayalam is an independent branch of the Dravida Language. Therefore, many others including Dr. Goda Varma and P. L. Antony became the spokesmen of this theory later. Sir, Dr. Goda Varma is the father of our Minister Mr. Ravindra Varma. I am almost concluding Sir. There is no use being impatient (Interruptions). Another thing is about the script. In the Malayalam era 240 on a Wednesday on 12th Mithunam a certain Kandan Kandan and Maniyan Kandan gifted land to Thiruvallunna-noor temple. This document has been published by the Archaeological Department.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: What is the relevance ----- (Interruptions)

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I want to prove the relevance to Hindi. My relevance to Hindi is this. *In AD 1065, in the 11th century the present Malayalam script existed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Thank you, Mr. Madhavan. You have taken 15 minutes.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Now I want to say something about Tamil literature. I am not acting as a spokesman of Tamilians. But as one of the oldest languages of the country, I want to say something about Tamil. I want to quote Dr. M. Varadarajan of the University of Madras, a famous linguist:

•English translation of the Original Speech in Malayalam.

"Literature, as life, is determined more by emotions and impulses than by outward facts and circumstances and it is so in ancient Tamil poems. Though the themes of ancient Tamil literature, called SANGAM Poetry, were mainly said to be love and war, almost all aspects of life were dealt with. Among the poets of the age, there were kings, ministers, merchants and others placed high in life. Even those who suffered from poverty were not having the cringing attitude, and while seeking the help of their patrons, they preferred the praise of their hills and valleys to begging their patrons for help."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am sorry, I cannot allow you a single moment more. You had already taken 12 minutes last time and 20 minutes now. I am very sorry. I am calling the next speaker No, I am sorry. Yes, Mr. Anand. I want to know whether you are speaking in Punjabi, English or Hindi.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): I have already notified that I will speak in my mother tongue.

*SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): No, no, I am very sorry. You have no time. I will ask the Reporters to stop taking down.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I don't mind.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Please don't take down.

(Shri K. K. Madhavan continued to speak).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am very sorry. This is not proper. You have taken 27 minutes of the House. I am asking you to take your seat, and you are defying. It is not proper.

(Shri K. K. Madhavan continued to speak).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That is all right. That will do.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you that I am expressing my views before you today in my mother-tongue. The problem is very important and serious. The issue is not only of language but of the unity, integrity and the golden future of the country. If we fail to solve this problem properly, we will lose whatever we have achieved through our freedom struggle by pushing out the Britishers. We must sit together and ponder over the efforts made by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, towards uniting the country. He propagated Hindustani. He practised it and left instructions for posterity that only that language should be used in the country which is spoken by most of the people. India must have one common language both in Devnagari as well as in Persian scripts, because the future of the country is linked with it. All our leaders, whether they were from the South, North or East, agreed that we should have one common language. We cannot forget that when we were fighting against the Britishers, one of our top leaders, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, used to be a staunch supporter of Hindi. It was his endeavour that the people of the South should learn the language of their brethren in the North. My hon. friend, Shri P. Ramamurti, is there. In 1931, when the Civil Disobedience Movement was going on, Mahatma

^fEnglish translation of the original speech in Punjabi.

Gandhi gave him a testimonial that he spoke such a nice Hindi as was spoken by very few people in the North. He also worked a lot for the propagation of Hindi. My friend Mr. Mani, a worker of my Party, told me that there was such a big building in Madras for the propagation of Hindi as does not exist in Delhi. Mr. Ramamurthy was the Chairman of the Central Interim Committee of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Pracharani Sabha. I would like to stress that there was respect for Hindi in Punjab also there may be other differences but so far as language is concerned, even our Guru Govind Singh sent his disciples to Varanasi to learn Sanskrit from the Pundits. It was called Kashi in those days. Gururji opened his Gurur Ki Kashi at Dam-dama in Bihar. We never had any opposition to Hindi. The religious Grantha of the Sikhs has been written in Hindi from the language point of view. But the way the protagonists of Hindi opposed our language after independence and the way just by a margin of one vote the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi as a link language shows that we have drifted away from the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. We forget the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi when we adopted Hindi instead of Hindustani as our link language. He had united the people against the Britishers and had carved the future of our country.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): The general impression in the South is that only the North Indian people somehow want to impose Hindi on the South people. It is very good that Comrade Anand coming from Punjab is speaking in support of this Resolution. But in order that it may be properly reported by the Press and the people in the South might also know what is happening here, I would request him to switch over to English.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: In deference to his wishes, I will pass on to English; I have no objec-

tion. Sir, what I was trying to say is that from the freedom movement we have inherited the language policy . . .

श्री श्री० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी : (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : आप पंजाबी में बोलिए । हम सभी समझते हैं । हम पहली मरतबा समझे हैं कि पंजाबी जुबान क्या है । इतने दिनों के बाद आप पंजाबी में बोल रहे हैं । अंग्रेजी तो हर वक्त आप बोलते ही रहते हैं, कम से कम हमें पंजाबी सुनने का मौका दोजिए ।

SHRI BHAIKAB CHANDRA MAHANTI (Orissa): Sir, I agree with Mr. Ramamurti that Mr. Anand has won his point. Now let him speak in English. I am trying to utilise this instrument but I find there is some difficulty.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Mahanti, it is for Mr. Anand to select his language. It is not for you and me. We can only suggest.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: Sir, I would go by the wishes of my hon. friend, Shri Ramamurti and also by the wishes of my other south Indian friends and, therefore, revert to English so that I could make my points quickly. I do not want to lose time on this language controversy.

Sir what I was trying to say is that we have inherited a very good policy that was a product of our struggle for freedom, the policy of having a *lingua* which would be understandable to all. But, unfortunately, as the country became free, the All India Radio changed its policy. It was not just Hindi. It was such a *kathin* Hindi, such a *klist* Hindi, such a *mushkil* Hindi. (Interruption) I will be coming to Dr. Raghuvira. I wish Dr. Lokesh Chandra were here.

Before I come to Dr. Raghuvira, I will come to Dr. Keskar. I will come to what happened to the All India

Radio under Sardar Patel and Dr. Keskar. I want to say that in our own country, not only we, Punjabis, but even people like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru began feeling that they were foreigners. On more than one occasion, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, as the Prime Minister, almost condemned the language of the All-India Radio. And when he was doing his own public speaking, he used to use, at many places, words like *matlab*, *arth*, *halat*, *vyavastha*, etc., because he understood that in order to be followed by all those billions who were interested in what he was talking about, he had to go by an even mean. But, after Dr. Keskar came Dr. Raghuvira and, instead of *railgadi* or rail we had the misfortune of knowing a thing called *lohpthagamini*—something that walks on the iron road. And then, for signal which any Punjabi calls “singal”, there is a still more difficult name which I am not going into. But what I am saying is the matter is too serious not to be examined in its fundamentals.

Many attempts were made in this country to come to some common understanding about the language issue and I want to say that many of the movements from the mid-fifties which were there in this country were based on linguistic reorganisation of the States because the various languages as they were placed under the old dispensation of the British were not finding their full flourishing, full flowering, according to the old administrative division of the country which was according to the convenience of the British. Now, Sir, while I am on this I want to say that we have to examine seriously why is it that Ram, a great protagonist of Hindi, became such an enemy of Hindi in his later life. Why it is that Shri P. Ramamurti who happens to be the best Hindi speaker over there, a Hindi protagonist who earned laudable certificates from Mahatma Gandhi, came to such a conclusion? We were in the same party together and our united party took the stand that we cannot allow

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand] any one language to ride roughshod so long as a common *lingua* was not evolved through the practice of the people. You have seen, Sir that it is not a happy situation for me to express myself only in two languages— my own mother-tongue and the English language—if I have to fall back on Hindustani, then I feel strengthened, but why is it not so? It is so because a proper attitude was not adopted by the Hindi protagonists. In fact, those who were the most loudmouthed in being protagonists of Hindi turned out to be the biggest enemies of Hindi because they tried to adopt the Big Brother attitude, because they tried to adopt a chauvinistic attitude, and the result was that all the efforts to bring the language question to a proper conclusion were frustrated.

I would have been a very happy man— looking back—if Hindustani in both the scripts was continued. Now what is there? Urdu, which was the court language in Punjab even during the British regime, Urdu which produced some of the finest poetry, Urdu which has such rich literature, was given such a step-motherly treatment that today even the Gujral Committee's Report has not been given proper consideration. For a long time it was under the carpet. Then some cyclo-styled copies were put on the Table and a just grievance is built up in all the protagonists of Urdu. When I am talking of Urdu, I am not talking of Muslims. Rajinder Singh Bedi was not a Muslim. But he was the tallest Urdu story writer. Similarly, Kishan Chander in his time was the tallest. And both were not Muslims. It is because here extremist issues came up. Now, what is the result of this policy? The result of this policy is that to the three-language formula that was adopted so that people of other linguistic regions can learn Hindi besides their own language *worst* treatment was given by those who are Hindi protagonists. I want to mention the thing which I said the

other day. I happen to be a Punjabi, I want to say that Delhi is the biggest city of Punjabi-speaking people on earth. In Delhi, there are 40 per cent people who are Punjabi-speaking. I am afraid that Hindi plus any other language will not make 40 per cent. All of us were driven out of West Punjab and we came and settled here. Now what is the position about Punjabi? As I stated, there is no arrangement in the Delhi Administration for correspondence in Punjabi. At least since the Janata Government came in, and a certain group within the Janata Party—I would not call it a party because it has none of the real definitions or real symbols or real touchstones or principles of a party; it is not a party—sent the dispensation, what happened? My dear Professor Madhu Dandavate began writing every single letter to me in Hindi and I had to write to him ultimately on 28th of June: "May I request you kindly to send your communications in English, the ones which you had written earlier in Hindi, so that I can deal with them. And in future please communicate with me either in English or in Punjabi." And Prof. Dandavate was kind enough to write to me in English which I could follow, though he did not send to me copies of the old letters in English.

Now, what is happening in the* Delhi Administration? The Delhi Administration, even on a specific request by me that j should be answered in English, if not in Punjabi, insists on writing only in Hindi. I have got, the original letters with me here today. In Punjab, a section of the Punjabis, mainly the Sikhs, had' never been against Hindi—even Master Tara Singh was not opposed to Hindi—but these Hindi chauvinists said that Punjabi is not a language, it is a dialect. They tried to de-rate and deride Punjabi in such a manner that we Punjabis became anti-Hindi even without realising it; and we had to because of the treatment given to the language which even today in its-spoken form contains more words.

from proper Sanskrit, original Sanskrit, because Sanskrit was spoken when the Aryans first of all came and settled on the land of five rivers. I

am reminded of Ft. Rahul Sanskrit-yayan. When I was a student in 1938, he delivered a lecture in YMCA, Lahore, where the main point which he tried to prove was that Punjabi is much more developed than Hindi, and he took the example of the Persian wheel, the common well that is there in the Punjab, and he named 34 parts of the wheel—*chakli, chullah, kuita*, and *so on*—and he went on to say that Hindi has only eight names. After all, language is a means of communication. When people had laboured together on the land of five rivers for ages, they had developed the names of all the things and all the professions and of the smallest possible parts of the labouring process, while Hindi had not. But I am not here to de-rate Hindi, I am only saying that as per the policy that has been followed up till now, in the capital city of India there is no arrangement at all for Punjabi and the Administration is going blindly pro-Hindi so much so that they would not keep in view the sentiments of the people who are not Hindi-speaking. Invidious distinctions continue to be made even with regard to the UPSC examinations, and they have been there for a long time. What has been the result? Instead of an integrated process, instead of a process of cohesion, a disintegration process has started. I know there are countries in the world who want India to be disintegrated. They want to subdue and subject India. But they will not be able to subdue and subject India so long as India is an integrated whole. To my mind, it is like those who train guerillas across the border and send them in. The same thing is being done by people who are power blind, people who cannot look beyond their nose, people who do not respect the sentiments of their brethren who speak different languages—

which are all national languages and which are there in the Eighth schedule—and they are lending a helping hand to the enemies of the country. Everybody knows, the Americans wanted us to be like Pakistan, like a satellite, and we refused. The Chinese tried to swallow us but they found us too hot because Chinese found India to be too big for them. Now the Chinese and the Americans have come together giving up all principles. So, there is a threat to the integration from without. So, I say in all seriousness that there is a threat to the integration of the country from those short-sighted people who would not adopt an appropriate attitude towards others' languages, Malayalam, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali. And dominance of those languages, for example Tamil and Bengali, have much greater history, culture and past, and they need to be respected much more. While I am on this, I would say that we should take a leaf from the book of the Soviet Union. We should see how the Soviet Union solved its linguistic problem. How much more complicated it was? How Yugoslavia solved it? Yugoslavia is a small country. Yugoslavia's experiment is much wider. How has it solved it? It solved it in the spirit advocated by Nehru. He said that one's language would come up only when one pays more than due respect to the others' languages. It is only through love and affection for other people's languages that your language will come up properly. And that precept of Nehru was really followed. It was accepted in the Soviet Union. Our friends do not know that when the Soviets went to the south of Asia, they found that the languages there had just dialects and they found that they had no scripts. The Soviet experts in phonetics and languages worked hard to create a script for them which will express the languages properly for those small number of people, less than a million 500,000 or 200,000. Then they expressed their language in the script.

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand] It was long after that it was said: Let there be your own language, it should be the supreme language. It should be the national language. Even today in Uzbekistan they have got their own language. They said that side by side for the sake of communication, let the Russian also come up. Then the Russian script was introduced. And after 25 years of the introduction of the Russian script, a chance was thrown up to have the Russian script. It is through this long process of integration that Russia with more than 256 nations and nationalities became a powerful integrated personality that could withstand Hitlerite attack, when the whole of Europe was lying at the feet of Hitler, with the sources and power of all the nations of Europe that he had been able to subjugate.

What I am saying is a very serious matter. My party's stand up till now is that all the national languages in the Eighth Schedule should be given equal opportunity of flowering. And it was a very good thing when Parliament agreed that with those languages, Hindi was the link

language and English was the subsidiary language, but English will continue to be the link language till the States concerned opt for Hindi. It

was a very good thing. But, Sir, I very much wish the day comes when the whole of India opts for Hindi as a link language. I very much wish that. Though it would become the link language, I feel ashamed when I have to confess, when I have to go abroad, it is only in English that I communicate with my own fellow brothers from the south or the east. I feel really ashamed. But that day will come only when those who are Hindi-speaking and those who call themselves as protagonists will give up Raghuvira's path and follow: Mahatma Gandhi's path. We know how Mr. Keskar and Mr. Patel pushed it in the All-India Radio. It is still there. I understand the BBC

broadcasts in Hindi much better than the 'Akashvani's. I am making a serious statement. Anybody can examine it. I request those friends who think that they are doing a great service to realise that they are not doing any service to Hindi. They are cutting the ground from under the feet of Hindi. They are trying to imperil not only the future of Hindi but also the golden, integrated, strong and flowering future of this big country, Bharat Mata. They are subverting it either unconsciously or consciously. I cannot say that. I do not say that they are doing it consciously. My present stand is that all the languages that have been inscribed in the Eighth Schedule have equal status, equal respect, equal affection and equal recognition. And if that is not done, then a day will come when the only solution will be the one proposed by my colleague in his Resolution. There will be no other way of keeping us together if the bitterness caused by the chauvinists who are advocating Hindi in the country continues to well up in the hearts of the people of India. And while I am on it, I will make a very serious request. I am not at all being derogatory to Hindi. As I said the Holy Granth is in Hindi. Hindi is a language which I always loved and respected from the beginning. But what did we find? The Punjab was partitioned by the conspiracy of the British in a bloody way, but the Punjab had to be partitioned again in a truncated way because those who speak Punjabi, those who do not understand a word of Hindi, said at the time of the census that their language was Hindi.

ओहना नू पता नहीं हिन्दी दा मुंह मत्वा
किधर हुन्दा है। हिन्दी खादी काहदे नाल
जान्दी है।

They know next to nothing about Hindi but because of the invidious, fanatic, communal, narrow-minded propaganda, they disowned their own language, and the result is that our Punjab was again partitioned and

? many, parts of the Punjab are not in 'Punjabitoday, including Chandigarh, Arhbal, Shahabad, parts of Hissar ?-arid Sirsa, -only because under the influence of wrong propaganda by communal forces, those people declared that their language was not "Punjabi. And Haryana was not allowed 'to have its natural growth by bifurcating'the big, bloated Uttar Pradesh which cannot be properly adminis-tered by any Chief Minister. It is being kept together with 56 or 58 districts, and most of the MLAs of U.P. do not know the names of all those districts. And, thus Haryana was squeezed in and Punjab was cut for the third time in order to create a somewhat viable State.

So, Sir, I do not want to prolong my speech. I only earnestly request that the feelings that are behind this Resolution should be respected. We should turn a new chapter. We should start afresh. We should be honest to the three-language formula, especially the Hindi-speaking States. They should take it upon themselves that they would learn a non-Hindi language, preferably a language of the South or a language of the East, Assamese or Bengali or Manipuri. While I am on it, \ must end by saying that I am very sorry about the way Shr* Morarji Desai is going about this matter. He goes to Tamil Nadu and he gives a touchstone of patriotism. The real touchstone of patriotism is, who fought the British then, who fights the enemy today, who is prepared to shed the last drop of his blood for the country. But he is mixing up patriotism and Hindi. Then he goes to Ma-nipur. The people of Manipur are people with a great culture. Everybody knows Manipuri dances, Manipuri songs and Manipuri culture. They request him, "Put our language in the Eighth Schedule". And Morarji-bhai, as the English phrase goes, never gives up a chance to put his foot into his own mouth. I will say it in Punjabi:

‘ਰਿੱਝੀ ਖਰਨੇ ਪਾਏ ਸਵਾਹ’

That is, you cook a very good sweet dish and then put ashes from the cooking medium on top of it, so that it is all spoiled. He says, "What do you mean? Then I will have to put 250 languages in the Eighth Schedule". This was the reply given to the Mani-puris. And how bitter the Manipuris are after that? Since the very beginning, since independence, the Manipuris were not a problem. The problem that has arisen now is an imported problem. It has been imported into our country by the Chinese in trying to make love to those very people who were bitterly anti-China and pro-USA. Now the USA is getting, closer to China, T will end by saying:

fOur people running the Government today are toeing line of America and when America toes the line of China, they too start toeing the line of China. You should take pity on our country. You should take pity on those who sacrificed their lives for the Independent of our Country. Please remembe Sardar Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukh-dev and others. If you want to keep this country united, if you want thai this country should have a golden future, if you want that this countrj should keep its head high before othei nations, then for God sake adopt al the languages otherwise if the treat' ment which has been meted out ti Hindi in Punjab or Tamil Nadu i meted out to it everywhere in th Country, then either Hindi would nc exit or India will not remain United Therefore, I wish that you shoul open a new Chapter and stop suppres sing other languages like Punjabi an Tamil so that the future of the Cour

tEnglish translation of the Origin Speech of Punjabi.

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand] try is built. I thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am standing on my legs today not for the purpose of, exhibiting, my knowledge of many languages but in order to make the people understand the seriousness of the problem that is before us. I stand here in support of the Resolution and the amendment moved by my friend, Comrade Surjeet. What is the problem before us? The way in which the Government of India is going about, very soon you will find this country disintegrated. Are you working for disintegration or are you working for integration? This is the real question and the crux of the problem that is raised. When I speak today I want to point out very clearly that I have got no hatred towards any language in any part of not only India but of the world, because the language that a people speak is the creation of the people themselves. It is not some poets or some literatures that have created any language. A language has been created by the people speaking that language. It has grown as a result of the people speaking that language, as a result of their endeavours and their efforts in all fields, in the field of administration, in the field of education, in the field of science, in the field of literature, in the field of culture; it is the result of the endeavour of the entire people speaking a particular language. It is as a result of that that a particular language has developed. It is the creation of a people, wherever they are to whichever part of the world they may belong, to whichever part of the country they may belong; I respect them, I love them, and therefore, I have no hatred whatsoever to other people's languages. But I want the Hindi-speaking people also to realise that they must have the same respect towards the other people's languages as they have got towards their own.

कि दूसरे लोगों की भी अपनी भाषा है और
उनकी भी अपनी भाषा से प्रेम है। इस बात
को आपको ध्यान में रखना चाहिए।

I want you to remember this fact that, though few people love their language just as you love your language. Therefore, the question is: How are you going to bring about integration in a country where people speak different languages, where they have developed their languages over centuries if not over thousands of years. There are some parts of the country where some languages have been developed over thousands of years; there are other parts of the country where their languages have been developed during the last 500 or 600 years or over the last thousand years. These languages have come. My friend, Mr. Jagannath Joshi, will say there has been cultural unity and he will quote Vishnu Puranam; that is the only puranam he knows probably, and that is probably the only slokam he knows *Aasetu Himachalam...*

SHRI N. P. CHENGALRAYA NAIDU
(Andhra Pradesh). It is dialectics.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: He does not understand, when he talks of *Aasetu Himachalam*,—the horizon goes over the Himalayas to Setu, that is, Rameswaram—that down south there is Kanyakumari. What happens to that area down south? Is it not part of India? According to your diction only *Aasetu Himachalam* is India—only from Himachalam to Rameswaram is India. South of that there is a great part of Kerala and the whole of Tirunelveli District. Is that not India? That is not part of India, according to you. According to the puranam and the slokam he quoted, that is not part of India. I want to tell him not to have much faith in these puranas. I want to make him realise that he should not rely too much upon puranas. What is, after all, purana? He should understand the difference between 'ithihasa' and 'purana'. Itihasa is history. Purana is story, old story

and aicentrstoty.v Why does he put too much faith in puranas?

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Delhi): I want to put the record straight. The sloka is:

उत्तर यत् सद्रूपं हिमाद्रिष्वेव दक्षिणम् ।

This means the whole territory that is south of the Himalayas including Shri Ramamurti's Kanyakumari.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am very glad that he said 'Ramamurti's Kanyakumari'. That means he has disowned Kanyakumari. Kanyakumari is also happy without him. That is also a fact.

THE: VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Since he is a bachelor?

AN HON. MEMBER: Goddess is afraid of him?

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: There are certain samasas in Sanskrit such as 'Shashti Tatpurusha'. It was in that context that I mentioned 'Ramamurti's Kanyakumari'.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I would like to tell him that all these puranas and ithihasas are confined only to the northern parts of India. If you read Valmiki Ramayana, you will see this. What is that Lanka? If you read the whole of Valmiki Ramayana, you will find there many of the rivers north of the Godavari, and none south of the Godavari such as the Krishna, the Cauvery and the Vedavati. You will not find them in Valmiki Ramayana. You will not find the descriptions of flora and fauna either in Valmiki Ramayana. You will not find the descriptions of any of the trees peculiar to South India. You will not find these in the Valmiki Ramayana. For that you have to come to Kalidasa. For instance coconut trees is peculiar to the eastern and southern part of India. You would not find the description of Nalikeram in the Valmiki Ramayana. But when you come to Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa, who had travelled throughout the country, you

will come across Nalikeram. Kalidasa has described how Rama's warriors took toddy from the coconut tree along with blood of the enemies—

"YODHA: PAPU..."

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: You talk of Morarji toddy also.

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SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I do not want to go into all these things. You must understand their conception of India. You take Mahabharata. What is the area to which it has confined itself? It has gone utmost up to Bangladesh—Anga-Vanga-Kalinga. Beyond Kalinga nothing is there. The whole thing is confined to that part of India and the area east of Bengal and Assam was left out. Of course in Mahabharata there is a story "that Arjuna went right up to Assam where he married a girl. He left the girl there and came back. That story is also there.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): Nagarjuna.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Nagarjuna came later, after Buddha who sent his people there. Do not confuse with that. I am referring to the earlier period. Later on India became one. Even until the Britishers came there was no political unification so far as India is concerned. It was only during the period under the British that the unity of the country was achieved. Then the country united in its fight against the British imperialism. Here is a country where people developed different languages for ages. And, Sir, Hindi is also one of the languages of the people who

have developed it during the last four hundred or five hundred years. Before that, Sir, there were different languages. Even in the case of the northern parts of India. Sir, there was Avadhi, Magadhi and all sorts of things. All these languages were there and the *Khari Boli* was there. I think, during the last four hundred years or so, probably the story of Harish Chandra was the first literature in the *Khari Boli* language.

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

There was this *Khari Boli* and this has flowered into the modern Hindi language and I have no quarrel over that. I love that language, I love the Hindi language as much as I love my mother-tongue. But that is not the point here. Therefore, when people have different languages in the country—this is not a country like the Soviet Union where smaller languages were there and this is a country where population of four crores or five crores have developed their own languages—how will you bring about emotional and political integration of the entire people speaking different languages? That is the major question that is before us today and, in that process, if you try to impose one language on the people speaking a different language, who love their own language, then feelings of hostility, feelings of animosity, are created. Therefore, how are you going to stop this thing? This is the major question that is before us now.

Now, in this thing, Hindi is being sought to be imposed and if I have a feeling that, after all, I am a second-class citizen in this country, then how will I accept it? We fought the British and when we fought against the British, this feeling of animosity, was not there. My friend just now quoted the period during which, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, we fought the British and the anti-imperialist movement was there. I remember, Sir, during these days, in the then composite Madras State, in the jails there, when I was there, we were all singing all kinds of songs. We were singing Telugu songs, we were singing the Urdu songs and we were singing Urdu songs, for example,

‘सरफरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है,
देखना है जोर कितना बाज़ू का तिल में है।

We were singing all kinds of songs and we were singing Malayalam songs, we were singing Tamil songs and so on and there was no animosity and there was no hatred against

each other because the people recognised that these were the languages of the people. But, today, Sir, after independence has come when you try to impose the language of one people—it may be the language spoken by the largest number of people in the country—on others, when you try to impose that language on the other people who have got their love and affection for their own language and who have developed that language during the period of the anti-British struggle, what will happen? After all, Sir, let us understand one thing. Let us understand that during the struggle against imperialism, during our struggle against the British imperialism, these languages also flowered. Tagore flowered during the days of the anti-imperialist movement.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri G. Lakshmanan) in the Chair].

Then, Sir, Subramania Bharati, Valmiki, etc. flowered and I can quote instances after instances. Many of these poets and literatures flowered during the anti-imperialist struggle in India. Along with the struggle against the imperialism were also great poets and literatures in every language because, at that time, Sir, the English people were trying, Britain was trying, to impose the English language on the various linguistic groups in India, on the various people in India whose mother-tongues were different and against that there was a bitter fight and Gandhiji fought against it and he fought for the flowering of every Indian language and the mother-tongues of the different people in India and he also taught us to respect the equality of all languages. This is what happened at that time. But, today, what is the position? Today, Sir, the position is this: Sanskritised Hindi is sought to be imposed on the people. My friend there was talking that Sanskrit is the mother of all the languages of this country. What a wonderful thing! Sanskrit was never the language of the people of

this country. It was never the spoken language of this country at any time. He must understand that a Hindu must understand this; Sanskrit is a Brahminical language that was sought to be imposed on this country although it was not the language of the people and it was only the language of the elite. Sanskrit was never the language of the common people. Before that, either Prakrit or Pali was there and different languages were the languages of the people. And even when Sanskrit was imposed, even at that time, at that time of the imposition of the Brahminical culture, many religious sects developed. It was against the imposition of the Brahminical culture that many religious sects developed and Jainism developed as a revolt against the Brahminical culture.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: That is exactly what I have said.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: It was against this imposition that Jainism developed and the Tirthankaras wrote their various books not in Sanskrit, but in Apabrahmsa. It was then the language of the people and it is because they revolted against the attempts to impose it. Similarly, Buddhism developed. When the Buddha wrote, it was either in Pali or it was in Prakrit. Sir, this language has never been the language of the common People. It is artificially developed—very well developed. They want to develop Hindi on the basis of that language. And here is a wonderful Constitution from which I would just quote. This shows the bias of the people. Article 351 says:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India, speci-

fied in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

So, in order to develop Hindi language for its vocabulary you must draw primarily from a dead language, from a language which is nobody's language in this country as it is. The All India Radio wastes so much of money for half-an-hour broadcast in Sanskrit which nobody understands. Why should that money be spent? I cannot understand this.

AN HON. MEMBER: Germany is also spending.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: They are not spending on broadcasting in Sanskrit.

Now, sir, what is the Sanskrit language? It is Biblical. I will give you an example. It is a difficult language. When I was reading during my young days, when I was learning Sanskrit at the feet of my grandfather, when I was reading 'Bhoj Champu', I was reading one word.

This is one word... (*Interruptions*) -

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Can Mr. Joshi pronounce it?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Ask him.... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Can you pronounce it?

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: It is a language of 'pandits'; it is not a language of the common man.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): I want to know if you can pronounce that word.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: It is a component word; it is not one word.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: It is one word.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: -«-a_n you un^esJUnd the difference between a word an^e a sentence? He does not know^e.^ (Interruptions).

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: It is a compound word. How^l difficult it is, you can understand, "From this word, Hindi has got to be developed". During the last three years you-;±We've wasted hundreds of crores of rupees,- In that way, no language will develop. My friend, Mr. Madhavan, was speaking in Malayalam. Mr. Madhavan said that, 'a language can be developed when it is prepared from words from every language, whether it is Hindi or any other language in this country... (Interruptions) Then only, a language can flourish. But you are not prepared to do that'.^{r interruptions}.

Do not interrupt me: '

Now, I come to the question of equality of languages).-]. 'What is-, that equality of languages?;-!! Today !'.-you have put all these languages in the Eighth Schedule. What is meant -by" national language! 'ahd-vvhaui; meant by equality of those languages? -When ' you say that these are the - national - languages, it means that the Unions Government recognises them as 'national languages. But here what is going on? If there is a person from Tamil Nadu, who speaks Tamil, and -who -does not know either English or Hindi, he is entitled to address the Government of India in his own language. He must be entitled to receive a reply from the Government of India in that language. If that is not done, where is the equality of languages? 'What' is the use of calling these things 'national languages? Is that provided here? On the other hand, article 350 provides that "every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be." What are the languages used in the Union? English and Hindi.

Therefore, a citizen from Andhra is entitled to write a letter to the

Government of India in Telugu. The Government of India can throw that letter into the wastepaper basket because article 350 says that it must be addressed in any of the languages used by the Government. Therefore, Sir, when you talk of the equality of languages, unless it is recognised that every citizen in this country is entitled to address the Government of India in the particular language in which he wants to address, and the Government of India will reply him in that language, equality of languages is a myth, it is not accepted, and it is put there in the Eighth Schedule as an ornament. It is not recognised in fact. It is not practised in fact. Similarly, Sir, what happens in Parliament? There is no constitutional provision which says only those people who can speak Hindi or English can participate in the Parliament or get elected to the Parliament. You cannot do that. We have got Chief Ministers in this country who never used either Hindi or English but proved themselves to be very good Chief Ministers, and I do not want to mention the names. That will be invidious. Therefore, what happens to those people if they come to Parliament? They cannot follow the debate which is going on either in Hindi or English. I am talking of democratic rights. And without understanding the discussion that is going on, at the time of voting, I have got to raise my hand! How will you raise your hand? That is according to somebody who prompts me to raise my hand this way or that way. You have got to act just like that. Then, what is democracy? Therefore, unless arrangements are made in Parliament for a simultaneous translation of all the languages that may be spoken here, the moment you do that, at that moment the atmosphere will change and people will begin to feel that their languages are now respected by the Union Government and by the Government of India. It is the equality recognised in fact. We want that feeling. If that feeling comes among the people of this country, this animosity

will go. Otherwise, the animosity is bound to increase day by day. Take, for example, Sir, the money order forms. They are printed in English or Hindi. What does a person coming from Andhra who knows neither English nor Hindi do? He has got to go to somebody else.... Is the money

order form meant only for the people who know Hindi or English, I want to know. Take, for example, the income-tax form?. In Tamil Nadu,

again all the forms are printed in English or Hindi. What can a person who knows only Tamil do with these forms? What is the use of that form to him? Why do you waste money. Or, take all these public sector undertakings, for instance. Everything is done in Hindi or English. Why should it be done like that- in the offices situated in the various States of this country where common people have got to do something with that particular office of the Central Government? What about the particular language of that area? Even the British did it, and you abolished it. If you take the old notes you will find ten languages printed on them.

AN HON. MEMBER: Language of the region with Hindi. Why English?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am coming to that. It is for the simple reason that there are many people and areas where Hindi is not followed. I am not a protagonist of English. But I say, there must be a natural growth of a language. Even the British put in the notes ten languages but here you find that there are only two languages put in the notes; Das Rupee and Ten Rupees. Now/ what is the result of all this? As a result of the activities that have been conducted during the last so many years, the feeling is growing that Hindi language is being sought to be imposed and, the moment that feeling gets growing, greater is the animosity that is developing between the Hindi-speaking people and the non-Hindi-speaking people. Therefore, what you are

doing today is creating the feelings of hatred between the people. This is what I am worried about. It is not a question of language; it is a question of hatred being created against the Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking people. This hatred will have to go. This is the major question. And when this is the question, here comes our Prime Minister. When he goes to Madras, as somebody pointed out, he says: Patriotism will compel you to learn Hindi, as if all those people who fought the British in Tamil Nadu or in Kerala or Bengal on all those States, were not patriots and they have to come to patriotism only through Hindi. Did they all learn Hindi at all?

PROF. RAM LAL, PARIKH (Gujarat): No, he never said this.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: He said that patriotism will compel you to learn Hindi.

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): That is what he said.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: And then when he goes to north-eastern States and when they ask for one of their languages to be put in the Eighth Schedule, Mr. Morarji tells them. You have to learn one of the Indian languages. Now, not one of their languages is put in the Eighth Schedule and when Nagaland State has adopted English as the language of the States, when this is the position, they are told to learn one of the Indian languages. What does that mean? Are they non-Indians? Are you accepting the fact that they are not Indians and their State does not form a part of India and you have concurred in them and are keeping them under your feet? What is that? Therefore, the whole attempt to impose Hindi on the people is creating a feeling of revolt and this revolt you will not be able to stop. That is why today I want to tell those people to give up this policy. All the various attempts that are being made to impose Hindi on non-Hindi-speaking people have been catalogued by my friend, Mr

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

Maran and, therefore, I do not want to repeat and I do not want to take the time of the House I only want to point out that today in a country that has grown in this way, we have got to preserve the unity which has been achieved, the political unity which has been achieved through struggle against imperialism and which struggle is not yet over, because imperialism today takes different colours and it still tries to dominate the under-developed countries, former colonial countries. Neocolonialism is sought to be imposed on each of these countries, including our own. I do not want to go into the details. At this time when neocolonialism has got to be fought with the combined strength of the entire people of this country as we fought colonialism with the combined strength of the entire people of this country speaking different languages, when the question comes on the agenda today in order to cement that unity that has forged through 100 years of struggle against imperialism, you cannot impose one particular language in order to make it a common language. It is a question of developing a link language but it should have a natural growth. After all, once the feeling comes into the minds of the people in other States that their language is being discriminated against, or that they are second-class citizens or their language is second-class language, then all the trouble arises. This feeling has to be removed and once it is removed, automatically as a result of that, the people begin to feel the necessity for unity and necessity for communicating with each other and that will evolve a common language. It is not necessary for you to say about a particular language. Hindi might be that language because it is spoken by the largest number of people, or Hindustani, or may be some other language; I am not bothered about it. That is a different matter. But this is a natural process of evolution. Today, what the Hindi fanatics are doing is that, they

are obstructing this natural process, of evolution and instead of allow in this natural process of evolution, they are completely obstructing it and blocking it and they are creating feelings of animosity and feelings of hatred. The problem, has arisen because, of the activities of these few people who are, today, entrenched in the administration. This is the unfortunate position. Unfortunately, there are people in the Janata Party and in the Janata Government, there are some people even at the ministerial level, who are also wedded to this fanaticism. Their fanaticism is today leading to the disruption of the unity of this country which has been built over the blood and sacrifice of thousands of people during the last hundred years. Therefore, Sir, today, we are fighting not only for the equality of all our languages, but we are also fighting for the preservation and the cementing of the unity which has been built up. Now, Sir, what is the position today? I know, Sir, the Minister who comes from my State, Mr. Ramachandran, does not understand a word of Hindi. He does not understand a word of Hindi.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : मैंने हिन्दी में उन से बात किया है, उन्होंने जवाब दिया है।

श्री पी० राममूर्ति : हाँ, मुझे मालूम है कितनी हिन्दी जानते हैं।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आप नहीं बोल लेते हिन्दी ? आप भी तो हिन्दी जानते हैं।

श्री पी० राममूर्ति : वह कितनी जानते हैं हिन्दी, आप से ज्यादा जानकारी मुझे है।

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Down with-Hindi fanatics.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: Down with English fanatics.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): No slogans please.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Sir. I am told, the entire Cabinet proceed-

ings are held in' Hindi and this poor man does not understand Hindi. I pity him for that. Let him contradict it.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: You are speaking the language of the American imperialists.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Sir, when the Constitution has provided that it shall be the duty of the Union Government to develop not only Hindi, but to develop all the national languages, and when the Central Government allocates funds- for the development of every one of our national languages equally, Hindi, Tamil and every other language, if they develop these languages properly, this feeling of animosity will disappear. Today, this feeling of animosity is growing because money is spent only on the development of Hindi.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do you not want English to go?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I do want English to go. But how do we do that? Once the languages of the people, the languages of the common people, flower in this country and once they are developed . . .

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: We would have been very happy if you had spoken in Tamil today, instead of in English.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You would have been happy. Unfortunately, I have been listening to the translation and the translation is very poor. People do not follow.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Sir, proper translation arrangement?, should be made.

श्री कल्याण राय (उत्तर प्रदेश): पोइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर। मैं एक प्रश्न आदरणीय राममूर्ति जी से करना चाहता हूँ। वे खुद भी आजादी को लड़ाई के सेनानी रहे हैं। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि भारत को आजादी को लड़ाई

लड़ने वाले महात्मा गांधी, सुभाषचन्द्र बोस, राजगोपालाचारी और हिन्दुस्तान के सभी लोगों ने हिन्दी और मातृभाषा के बल पर स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन चलाया। क्यों उन्होंने आंदोलन चलाया ?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Sir, I am sorry. He came late. If he had come earlier, he would have understood. I had dealt with this point earlier. Now, I cannot go back again. I had dealt with this point earlier. You were not here at that time.

Now, the entire Cabinet proceedings are held in Hindi and this poor man is not able to follow that. What contributions he will make to the decisions of the Cabinet, I do not know. What intelligent contributions he will make. I do not know.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: He is a very good man.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That is why he keeps quiet. He is a docile man. He does not protest against it. He is docile and, therefore, he is a good man. I agree with you. My appeal to the Government is, stop this process of disintegration of this country, stop this attempt of imposing Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking people, recognise equality of all the languages, give equal status to all the languages, allow the people speaking different languages to address the Government of India in their own language, if they want, and make arrangement by the Government of India to reply to them in their own language. Only when all these things are done the question of a common language will arise. Then the common language will develop and nobody can stop it in a united India. Therefore, instead of allowing the natural process to grow some people are trying to impose a particular language. They are the people who are working for the disruption of the country. We are determined to see that this country is not disrupted, that this country is united and that

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their attempts are frustrated by the entire people of India.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: You did not clarify one thing. There are English fanatics also who are as bad as Hindi fanatics. What about those people? If Hindi fa not to be imposed, English is also not to be imposed.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That is why I said that the whole question could have been solved in a different way if in the very beginning the Government of India and the various State Governments had made the entire medium of education, right up to the higher standard, in their own languages, so that people had started to develop their own language. As a matter of fact, I do not know whether you are aware that in Tamil Nadu, for example, today a Bill has been passed whereby even the courts can deliver the judgment in Tamil. That is the position. Earlier when a Mun-sif wrote a judgment in Tamil, the High Court rejected it because the High Court Judge said that this language was not recognised in the Constitution. Therefore, they had to pass a law. I think some such measure is going to be taken in Gujarat also. Therefore, let us be clear. We do not want English to continue. As far as I am concerned, I am not a protagonist of English. I want all the mother tongues to develop, I want all the languages to develop. In that process this common language will develop and that is the only way of solving this problem. That is why I said that I am going to fight those people who are, objectively speaking, working for the disintegration of this country. We are determined to see that their efforts are frustrated in the interest of the unity of the country.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: In this respect I want to support Mr. Ramamurti. Just one point. I was in Ambala jail for full eight months. I used to receive letters in Kannada. The Superintendent of jails said that he did not know Kannada. I told him that he might not understand this

language, he could send those letters to Bangalore for censorship. But I did not get a single letter censored, therefore, I support Mr. Ramamurti on this point.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Sir, I have to ask one question from Shri Ramamurti.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): You address the question to me.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Yes, Sir, through you I would like to ask him one question. Suppose, we all become sensible and adopt a common script for all the languages of India, which may be a Roman script. I want to ask Mr. Ramamurti whether such a step would not be conducive for the integration and development of all the languages.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I think I am now reduced to a position of a Minister for answering the questions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): You are Minister in charge of non-Hindi speaking areas.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: If they put me as non-official minister in charge of languages and give me powers I will solve the problem better. Now the point is nothing can be imposed. A common script cannot be imposed by some people because the people on the whole will revolt against it. It is a part of their culture. There you have to respect their culture. It cannot be imposed. Then you cannot say that all the people are insensible in this country. Therefore first of all let all the people in this country become sensible in your term and then we can see what can be done.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil NADU): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI N. P. CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: You are only calling the Opposition Members. You don't call Members from this side.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I rise to support this Resolution.

SHRI BHAIKAB CHANDRA MAHANTI: Sir, on a point of information. There are many speakers who are on the list and who have yet to speak. May I take it, that this will be carried over to next Friday?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): I agree. There are many speakers. If this is not concluded, then it will be continued.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, the discussion on this Resolution moved by my hon'ble beloved brother, Shri Murasoli Maran, will go down red lettered in the annals of parliamentary debates of this august House. The voice raised by the mover is not a solitary voice, but it represents the sentiments of crores and crores of Tamilians, it represents the cause for which for the past 40 years, hundreds of thousands suffered in jail, the cause for which thousands shed blood and for which the valiant youths of our Tamil Nadu faced bullets, the cause for which we brothers of, Arinlgair Anna have dedicated ourselves. This Resolution paves the path for true democracy in our country. This Resolution pleads for equal opportunity and equal rights for all citizens speaking different languages.

In this House, the other day I heard a bitter criticism against English. English was vehemently opposed, attacked. And even now some of the learned Members are very vehement in their attack on English. I am not going to plead for the protection of English. But at the same time, we should not deliberately shut our eyes to the realities of the contribution made by English to our country. Sir, is it not our duty to respect the feelings and sentiments of the people

of Mizoram, or the people of Naga-land and the people of tribal areas whose official language is English? Is it not our duty to respect the feelings and sentiments of the Anglo-Indian citizens of our country, whose mother tongue is English? Sir, I heard criticism about 2 per cent domination. Of course, that 2 per cent is evenly distributed from K^hmir to Kanya Kumari. But the so called 20 per cent Hindi population is not spread over throughout the country. That is confined only to a particular area; that 20 per cent population is confined particularly to five States. Sir, I want to bring to the notice of this House that when bitter criticism and attack were going on against English, our learned Member, Mr. P. Ramamurti, correctly told the House that because of the bayonets and lathis of the British this land was united as one country. It will be very relevant if I quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Sir, he says:

"The coming of the British in India synchronised with developments in transportation, communication and industry and so it was that British Rule succeeded at last in establishing a unity in India."

This was a lecture given on the "Unity of India" by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, published by Lindsay Drummond London, 1948—page 13.

Sir, there was a couplet heard among the Delhi - school-children some years ago:

A B C D E F G

Ismay Nikala Panditji.

That means: A B C D E F G, out of which came Panditji. Sir, I want to quote the great freedom fighter, the great patriot of our country—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—who said in the Constituent Assembly:

"We have got to admit that so far as language is concerned, North and South are two different

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parts. The union, of North and South has been made possible only through the medium of English. If today we give up English, then, this linguistic relationship will cease to exist."

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(Interruptions)

I am not pleading for English. He said that only because of English the unity was established. That is why I am quoting Maulana Azad. You are speaking about Hindi. I am not going to attack Hindi. But at the same time we must read history. Let us accept that. It is a historical fact that the Persians who called this Northern Land "Hind and gave this new born language a name Hindi." So Hindi is the name given by the Persians.

Sir, according to Dr. Varma, until the year 1194 there is no record of any language in India by the name Hindi. Sultan Ghori came to India and established his rule in Delhi, Kannauj and Ajmer by the power of sword in the year 1191 A.D. He was the first Persian king who settled permanently in Delhi. During his time the Persian words and words of the local dialects like Prakrit, Bihari Kanouj, Oriya, Avadhi, Brij Bhasha mingled and a new language 'Hindi' was born.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Mohammad Ghori was an Afghan and not a Persian.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He was a Persian by birth. He came via Afghanistan. So the Hindi language was born during that time. After that what happened?

When the Britishers came the Directors of the East India Co. wanted their English officers to study the local language in an Indian script, of course, for purposes of exploitation. So by the end of the 18th century, about the year 1800 Dr. Gilchrist assembled a few Indian scholars in Calcutta to prepare suitable books in Hindi under his direction. And then

many hottest were brought out for Hindi. So we have to admit the fact that before the 19th century there was no Hindi prose. Before the 20th century Hindi poetry was not known. But at the same time Hindi was brought up and encouraged by our leaders. And one simple argument was made that Hindi is a very simple language. It has no grammar and has no literature. Therefore, we are told that it is a very simple language. We are told that we coming from the south are very intelligent and industrious as Mr. Ramamurti said. We are told that we could learn this simple language very easily. The same argument, was put forth in the Constituent Assembly when the late pro-Hindi Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla advised the South Indians not to fear about their inability to learn the Hindi language because South Indians are very intelligent and industrious. But what happened, you know. When he spoke like that Pt. Nehru replying to Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla said;

"Is your approach going to be a democratic approach or what might be termed an authoritarian approach? In some of the speeches I have listened to here and elsewhere, there is very much a tone of authoritarianism very much a tone of the Hindi-speaking areas being the centre of things in India, the centre of gravity and others being the fringes of India. This is not only an incorrect approach but it is a dangerous approach."

—Constituent Assembly debate, vol. pp. 1420.

So you cannot say that because Hindi is a simple language to learn people coming from the South, coming from the Eastern areas, coming from the non-Hindi States are bound to study. This cannot be the argument in a democratic country.

Mention was made about religion also in the debate by some of the Members. I think Mr. Joshi raised the subject the other day. I want to submit that in the name of religion,

any one language cannot be imposed on others. That happened in Europe, -when Latin was imposed in the name of religion, people practising Christianity opposed it. Martin Luther carried his banner, against the imposition of Latin and he even refused to touch the Latin Bible. The same thing was done by Johan Wycliffe in England. Let us take the case of Pakistan. -Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in the wake of his two-nation theory, propagated that Urdu was the language of the Mussalmans. What happened? When Urdu was imposed, that resulted in a revolution in their country and that resulted in partition; that gave birth to Bangladesh. So, even in the name of religion, you cannot impose any one language on others.

Honourable Mr. Joshi, out of his zeal for Hindi, said that it was Bengal that welcomed Hindi, that it was Bengal that fought for the Hindi language to be accepted as the national language of our country. Yes, of course; I agree; Bengal welcomed the Hindi language, fought for the Hindi language. But, up to what time? Until we attained freedom. What happened after that? Prof. Naresh Chandra Roy, who was the Head of Department of Political Science, Calcutta University, in his book "Federalism and Linguistic States", puts it very clearly. I want to quote his view. He says:—

"The first cry for making Hindi the national language of India went up from Bengal."

That is the view of people like Mr. Joshi. But, what does he say afterwards? He says:—

"But by 1953 all this was changed. Whenever anything would be said, sung or played in Hindi over the radio, it would at once be switched off. Hindi was now regarded as a rival of the local language and as such to be discouraged. Even in the period of darkest British domination English was not regarded as & foreign imposition, associated with

foreign rule and to be discarded on that score like foreign cloth. It was on the contrary taken as the one relieving feature of British rule, to be carefully nursed, developed and used for the delectation of the mind. Hindi on the other hand was regarded as a north Indian imposition to be resisted and discarded."

That is why Mr. Jyoti Basu is now opposing the imposition of Hindi.

Sir, before I conclude my speech I want to put forth one other argument also. Sir, the demand of the people of the non-Hindi-speaking States for the recognition of their State languages as official languages of our country is natural and spontaneous. In this context I would quote the view held by the famous philologist, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who was a Member of the Official Language Commission. He said in his Minority Report to the Official Language Commission:—

: "The example which the Hindi people have set before India is admirable: 'Our own language before any other. Advocates of Hindi should not feel distressed or sorry or angry if the example as set by the Hindi States is sought to be scrupulously followed and emulated by the people of the non-Hindi States in demanding a similar position for their own languages. The logical consequence of the example which has been first shown to the rest of India by the Hindi States in switching on to their mother-tongue cannot be stopped in non-Hindi States."

What has predicted that is happening now. You wanted your mother-tongue to become the official language and you succeeded. Now we want our mother-tongue to become the official language of the country. So all people's mother tongues should find a place in the list of official languages. That is the genuine demand. India is my country. Tamil is my mother-tongue. If India is my mother-land, then my mother-tongue should become the official language of my

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country. That fit & genuine demand. You know, 'Tamil is' a very ancient language. Its grammar Tolkappiam was written some 4000 years ago.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I would take two or three minutes more! But within a short time I will finish. As I was saying, Tolkappiam was written about 4000 years ago. It takes many centuries, thousands of years to develop the grammar of a language. If the Tamil grammar is 4000 years old, you can easily understand how ancient is Tamil. Tamil and other State languages should become the official languages of our country. That is our demand. You cannot forget the fact put by the great poet Rabindra Nath Tagore who said: "Language is not an umbrella or an over-coat to be borrowed. It is like the living skin itself." Our hon. Prime Minister Mr. Desai when he came to Madras, said many things about Hindi. He preached patriotism there. To that, Mr. Ramamurti gave ample reply. When he was talking about the Hindi problem to the press, he said that the anti-Hindi agitation is a "dead horse". That was published in HINDU on 20th January, 1979. I quote: "... when a reporter drew his attention to the agitation in Tamil Nadu in this connection, "You are unnecessarily trying to beat a dead horse", he commented. "This is not a dead horse". I would like to point out in this (House the reply given by my beloved leader, the leader of D.M.K. Dr. Karunanidhi, He replied: "Sometimes a horse which is very tired may rest on the sands; may lie on the sands to take rest, but after getting up the horse will gallop with double speed and vigour." That is going to happen in this case if the imposition is not stopped. If the audacity and the arrogance and gingoism and fanaticism of the Hindi zealots are vigorously encouraged by the Delhi power-lords, then the war horse will never take

rest. The day when 'Tamil and all other State languages of our country are crowned as the official languages of India, it will be celebrated from Kashmir to Cape Comorin by 600 million Indians with a jubilation that real unity has been established in the country.

With these words, I conclude. I commend this Resolution.

श्री हरी शंकर भाभड़ा (राजस्थान) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमदन के इस प्रस्ताव पर जो बहस हो रही है उसमें भाषाओं का इतिहास और पुराणों से लेकर स्वतंत्रता के युद्ध का इतिहास और आज तक की सारी बातें कही जा रही हैं। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से आपके माध्यम से एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ यदि कोई व्यक्ति हिन्दुस्तान के दक्षिण से खाना हो कर पैदल उत्तर तक पहुँचे तो कहीं पर भाषाओं की विभाजन रेखा वह नहीं कर सकता कि यहाँ से यह दूसरी भाषा शुरू हो जाती है, यहाँ से तीसरी भाषा शुरू हुई है। इस प्रकार की विभाजन रेखा इस देश में कहीं पर भी नहीं बताई जा सकती है। यह अस्वाभाविक है, सभी वक्ताओं ने भारत की एकता अखण्डता, भारतीय संस्कृति और भारतीय विचारों की एकता की वकालत की है, कोई किसी एक भाषा को दूसरी भाषा का प्रतिद्वन्दी मानने को तैयार नहीं है और उसके बावजूद भी हम बहस कर रहे हैं। किस बात की बहस कर रहे हैं? हम एकता चाहते हैं, सभी राष्ट्र भाषाओं का विकास चाहते हैं। उनकी उन्नति चाहते हैं, कोई एक दूसरी भाषा की उन्नति में रोकड़ा बनना नहीं चाहता है तो आखिर यह लड़ाई है किस कारण? हमें इस बात पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए कि ऐसा न हो कि हम एक बेमतलब की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हों। लड़ाई का कोई मुद्दा नहीं है और हम लड़ते जा रहे हैं। वास्तविकता यही है। मान्यवर, भाषाएँ कभी आदमियों के संबंधों को तोड़ती नहीं है बल्कि जोड़ती है। भाषा का जन्म

मनुष्य के विचारों को दूसरे तक प्रकट करने के लिए और दूसरे के विचारों को ग्रहण करने के लिए होता है। भाषा दो दिलों को जोड़ने वाली होती है तोड़ने वाली नहीं होती है। यदि भाषा का काम तोड़ना होता तो शायद भाषा का जन्म ही नहीं होता। प्रारम्भ में जब मनुष्य भाषा नहीं जानता होगा, इशारे से काम चलाता होगा तो एक दूसरे से जुड़ने के लिए ही उसने भाषा का विकास किया और धीरे-धीरे एक दूसरे को समझने के लिए भाषा के माध्यम से अपने विचारों को प्रकट किया और दूसरे के विचारों को सुना। इसलिए जहाँ तक भारत की जो राष्ट्रीय भाषाएं हैं उनके आपस में संघर्ष का सवाल है वह मैं समझता हूँ कि वास्तविक नहीं है, यह हमारे स्वभाव के विपरीत है, हमारी इच्छा के विपरीत है, हम सब लोगों के उद्देश्यों के विपरीत है लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी हम लड़ रहे हैं, इसका मतलब स्पष्ट है कि जब आदमी अपने स्वभाव के विपरीत लड़ता है, इच्छा के विपरीत लड़ता है तो उसका एक ही कारण हो सकता है कि उस पर जोर है, जबरदस्ती है, दबाव है, वहाँ कोई स्वार्थ है, अन्यथा बेमतलब की लड़ाई कोई नहीं लड़ता है। आज इस देश में जितनी भी भाषाएं हैं उन सभी भाषाओं को राष्ट्रीय भाषाएं मान लिया गया है। जो समस्याएँ खड़ी की गयीं हैं आखिर उनका निराकरण किस प्रकार से आज की हमारी राजकीय व्यवस्था में है इसकी ओर भी हम ध्यान देंगे तो देखेंगे कि वक्ताओं ने जो सलाह दी है, सजेशनस दिये हैं, उन पर पहले से अमल किया जा रहा है। किसी भी प्रदेश को अपने यहाँ की भाषाओं के माध्यम से शिक्षा देने का पूर्ण अधिकार दे दिया गया है, उसमें मनाही नहीं है कि वह अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से प्राइमरी एजुकेशन से लेकर यूनिवर्सिटी की शिक्षा नहीं दे सकता है। इसमें कहीं पर भी प्रतिबंध नहीं है। अब तो जो सर्विस कमिशन है उनमें भी अपनी मातृभाषा में परीक्षा दे सकते हैं। यह भी खोल दिया गया है। आफो-शियल लैंग्वेज एक्ट में भी दो भाषाओं को मान

कर बाकी सारी भाषाओं को बाकी जितने भी प्रदेश हैं उन को भिन्न भिन्न भागों में बांट कर यह कहा गया है कि जब तक उनकी इच्छा नहीं है या जब तक उसके लिए वे मानसिक या व्यवहारिक रूप से तैयार नहीं होते हैं तब तक उनके ऊपर किसी भी प्रकार से हिन्दी को लादा नहीं जाना चाहिए। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था कर दी गयी है इसलिए जो आज माननीय सदस्य चाहते हैं, जिन समस्याओं का उन्होंने उल्लेख किया है जब उनका निराकरण व्यवहारिक रूप से कर दिया गया है तो फिर झगड़ा किस बात का है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि यह झगड़ा कराने वाले लोग बड़े जबरदस्त होते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि झगड़ा कराने वाली मन्थराएं बड़ी चतुर होती हैं और इस प्रकार से झगड़ा कराती हैं कि झगड़ा करने वाले यह समझ ही नहीं पाते कि हम क्यों झगड़ा कर रहे हैं। वास्तव में यह झगड़ा अंग्रेजी की मन्थरा करा रही है। आज हिन्दी और तमिल का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, हिन्दी बंगाली का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है, मराठी गुजराती का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। पंजाबी और उड़िया का कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। झगड़ा केवल इसी-लिए है कि अंग्रेजी हमारे बीच में बैठी हुई है और चन्द लोगों को अंग्रेजों से पैदा हो गया है और अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से जो हमारी छाती पर बैठी रहना चाहते हैं, वे इस प्रकार के झगड़े पैदा करवाते हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि इस हिन्दुस्तान की यह सारी भाषाएं कुछ वर्षों में तो नहीं बनी, हिन्दुस्तान तो हजारों-हजारों वर्षों से है और यह सभी भाषाएं हजारों-हजारों वर्षों से हैं। कभी भी भाषा-विवाद इस देश में नहीं हुआ। यह पहला मौका है कि जब हम आजादी के बाद भाषा के प्रश्न को लेकर लड़ रहे हैं। इस हिन्दुस्तान में अनेक राज्य रहे होंगे। भिन्न-भिन्न प्रदेशों में भिन्न-भिन्न राज्य रहे होंगे। लेकिन हर हिन्दुस्तानी उत्तर से दक्षिण की यात्राएं लगातार करता रहा है, कभी भी भाषा