

any Resolution or Bill taken up on the Private Members' day should be given a time limit? Government Business is always given a time limit. In regard to every Government Business, a time limit is given. Similarly, in regard to Private Members' Business, there should be time limit. In any case, we should see that this particular Business is completed during the day itself. For example, a Resolution comes up today. If possible, it may be completed today. Then, in that case, next fortnight, another Resolution may come up and another Member will get a chance. Similarly, in the case of a Bill. This is my submission that the Resolution that we are going to take up today, if it is not possible to lay down a time limit in regard to it, because the subject is of importance, at least, let us see that it is completed today itself even by extending the time so that next time another Member may get an opportunity. This is my submission for your consideration and for the consideration of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Your views have been noted.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, I would like to point out one thing. Then, you can give a common ruling.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): I am not giving a ruling. I only said that his views have been noted. Now, we have got to conduct the proceedings of the House as per the existing procedure. I would call upon Shri Maran to move his Resolution.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I differ with my Whip. I have not given him a blank cheque in a very important issue like this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): I have said that

the views of Mr. Bipinpal Das have been noted. Shri Maran.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, this is an important subject. It should be given enough time, adequate time.

RESOLUTION REGARDING REVIEW OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE UNION

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move the following Resolution:

"This House views with concern the deliberate efforts in the Union Government offices, nationalised banks and public sector undertakings towards imposition of and domination by Hindi, directly and indirectly, and is of opinion that Government should review the Official Language Policy so that it does not become a divisive force and a discriminating factor and, instead, provides equality for all the national languages with a view to preserving and strengthening the bonds of unity and integrity of our nation and with this end in view this House recommends that all the Official Languages of the States should be made the Official Languages of the Union and as a first step in that direction, Tamil, in Tamil script, should immediately be declared as one of the Official Languages of the Union."

Sir, 14 years ago, our revered leader, Dr. Anna, in the same House said:

"I will never be content till the day Tamil takes its due place as one of the Official Languages of the Union."

Sir, as one of his disciples, I am very proud that I am moving a Resolution of that kind. Sir, the first part of my Resolution speaks about Hindi imposition and its domination both direct and indirect. During the month of January the hon. Prime Minister made a visit to Tamil Nadu and he made a rather unfortunate

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statement. He said that every patriot should learn Hindi. I am sorry that he should have expressed such a kind of opinion. This shows the exact attitude of Hindi enthusiasts—I won't say 'Hindi fanatics' even though it suits them. Sir, if those who did not learn Hindi are unpatriotic, I would say many would join the list and, our country would be full of unpatriotic people. I wish the Prime Minister were not true. Sir, I want to say what Mr. Deoraj Urs has said. He said, just because the Prime Minister does not learn Tamil, can we call him unpatriotic? This is what Mr. Deoraj Urs has expressed. Sir, the Prime Minister also made a categorical statement in Madras. He declared that there is no compulsion about Hindi. But the truth is to the contrary. It is usually said about statesmen that a statesman is one who tells lies; otherwise he won't be considered as a statesman. I think, in Tamil Nadu when the Prime Minister was there, he also behaved like that typical statesman; I am sorry to say that.

Sir, the country is now passing through, what you may call, a period of Hindi aggression. Never after independence has the country seen such a rapid imperial march of Hindi, trampling upon the rights and interests of non-Hindi speaking people, like a Roman legion. Sir, it all started during the days of emergency. This kind of Hindi aggression against non-Hindi speaking people started during the days of emergency; I would say that. It commenced during emergency with a lot of vigour. Emergency was declared on 25th June, 1975. On 26th June, the next day, another type of emergency had been declared on the non-Hindi speaking people. On that day a Department of Official Language was created in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Formerly, that kind of work was done by a small division in the Home Ministry. On 26th they created a separate department for purposes of accelerating the use of Hindi

for the official purposes of the Union. Now that Department is a solid organisation of 61 officers, with a full range of a Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary and so on. Ironically, this is the most efficient department in the Government of India today. It is just like a steam roller of imposition of Hindi. Sir, you may remember that in 1965 some over-zealous bureaucrats in the Home Ministry issued a circular that from the 26th June 1965 Hindi would be the sole official language of the Union. On that day the Gazette of India for the first time appeared with a headline 'Bharat ka Raj Patra'. You know what happened later. A bloodshed took place in Tamil Nadu. Eight people of Tamil Nadu resorted to self-immolation, burnt themselves, killed themselves. Later, Mr. C. Subramaniam and the then Minister of State, Mr. O. V. Alagesan resigned. (The Government brought in the Official Language Act to defuse the situation. Just like that, this Department of Official Languages in Home Ministry is doing the same kind of mischief with the solid support of the Government. If the Prime Minister means anything by saying that Hindi would not be imposed, I would request him to dismantle this Department lock, stock and barrel. This Department is having a stronghold—rather a stranglehold in all the Ministries, Departments, public sector undertakings, LIC, Reserve Bank, etc. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, I think no Department commands such respect and fear. Sir, for implementing the orders and instructions of this particular Department, full-fledged Hindi Sections, supposed to be manned by whole-time Hindi Officers and supported by necessary staff like Translators are attached to all the Departments and public sector undertakings. Moreover, a committee called the Official Language Implementation Committee is functioning in every Department, not only here but all over India. Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the House that such an Implementation Committee is functioning even in the

Department of Science and Technology and the public sector undertakings like the Fertiliser Corporation, Indian Drugs and Pharmaceutical Ltd, Hindustan Antibiotics etc. I want to know what this Committee can do in the Department of Science and Technology. From that you can understand with what force this Committee is functioning and with what force Hindi is being imposed.

Sir, the Committee takes advice and guidance from the Central Hindi Samiti which is presided over by the hon. Prime Minister. In that Committee, no South Indian Chief Minister is there. It is completely a committee of Hindi-knowing people.

Sir, last year's Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Official Language reveals how Hindi is being imposed, whatever might have been said by the Prime Minister. I would read from the report:

"In accordance with the decision of the Central Hindi Samiti, it has been made compulsory..."

I would underline the word 'compulsory'—

"... for the non-Hindi knowing employees to attend Hindi classes and to appear at the examinations. During the training, Hindi has also been made compulsory for non-Hindi knowing employees of all public sector undertakings, corporations etc. and for this purpose 20 additional posts of teachers have been created."

Sir, in the same report on page 27, it is said:

"Now by an order dated 19-2-1976, it has been made absolutely compulsory..."

So they have added the word 'absolutely' besides 'compulsory'—

"... for the employees nominated to the Hindi classes to attend

the classes regularly and to appear at the examinations".

Supposing some employee is nominated and he does not go and attend the classes or write the examination, what will happen? This Report says very clearly:

"Absence therefrom would be treated as dereliction of duty" and disciplinary action would be taken against the erring employee.

Then another instance is this:

"In pursuance of the decision taken in the meeting of the Kendriya Hindi Samiti held on 26th May, 1976, . . ."

All this happened in 1976—

"as in the case of Central Government employees, training in Hindi has been made compulsory for employees of public sector undertakings also".

Not only that, in this report it is said:

"It is proposed . . ."

The report pertains to the period 1977-78—

"... that the Central Government offices located in non-Hindi speaking areas should send at least 10 per cent of their correspondence in Hindi addressed to the Ministries or Departments".

I do not know whether exemption has been given to Tamil Nadu or not. It does not speak about the exemption. It clearly says that offices located in non-Hindi speaking States which means Tamil Nadu, or Kerala, or West Bengal, or Karnataka should write 10 per cent of their letters in Hindi alone. I do not know how for it is going to be possible.

Then, Sir, officers of the rank of Deputy Secretary and above working in the Ministries/Departments and other offices of the Central Govern-

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ment have to acquire working knowledge of Hindi, according to a time-bound programme. Sir, the situation is like this. But the hon'ble Prime Minister says that Hindi is not imposed, Hindi is not compelled to be learnt.

Do you know what is the attitude of the Prime Minister? The Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu brought to the notice of the hon'ble Prime Minister the question of imposition of Hindi. And do you know what the Prime Minister wrote back to him? The Prime Minister said that if the officers or employees of a public sector undertaking learn Hindi it will be good for the officers themselves. What should we say about this attitude? During the height of British imperialism the Britishers said the same thing that they were here just for the good of everybody. Sir, I do not want to say any harsh words but the Hindi imperialists also behave in that manner. I am very sorry to use that word.

You know, Sir, our Prime Minister is very blunt and very clever. He has said that the official use of Hindi is bound to increase. He openly admits that he will be imposing Hindi on us. He says it will be good for us. What does it mean? It means that you have decided to impose Hindi and exclude English without any concern for the interest of non-Hindi speaking people. If you say that the use of Hindi is bound to increase, then I would say that opposition to Hindi also is bound to increase. There is no doubt about it.

Sir, in 1976 they have framed, what is called, rules for the Official Languages Act. It was published on 28-6-1976. It came into force after notification in the official gazette on 17-7-1976. Sir, in these rules what is called the Official Language (Use for Official Purposes of Union) Rules 1976 . . .

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Delhi): Read No. (2).

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I will come to it later. He wants me to point out rule No. 2 which gives total exemption to Tamil Nadu.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA (Kerala): Only for Tamil Nadu?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: For Kerala you should ask. But unless you fight you cannot get things done.

Rule No. 10 speaks about the working knowledge of Hindi. What is working knowledge? They have defined it that the particular employee should pass a certain examination. Section 9 defines "proficiency" in Hindi. Proficiency means that they should pass certain other tests.

I would like to read out Rule 10(b) (2). It says:

"The staff of a Central Government office shall ordinarily be deemed to have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi if eighty per cent. of the staff working therein have acquired such knowledge."

First they compel the employee of the Government Department or the public sector undertakings or the L.I.C., or the Reserve Bank to learn Hindi. After 80 per cent. staff of the Central Government Offices have acquired knowledge of Hindi, then according to section 10(b)(4) it will be notified in the official gazette that the particular branch or particular unit or the particular department have acquired working knowledge of Hindi. Sir, why do you require working knowledge of Hindi, for example, for the Thumba Rocket station or for the Department of Science and Technology or the technical offices in Ooty? Is it for the discharge of day to day work or for communication with the local people? For that Hindi is not at all necessary. Hindi is not necessary for local men in Kerala for his day to day communication. It is not at all necessary. How does the working

knowledge of Hindi increase production or raise the efficiency of the public sector? How does notification in the official gazette confer special status to a particular unit?

Sir, it may look as if it is an exercise in futility. No, the thin end of the wedge visible there. Sir, the moment one acquires "the working knowledge" of Hindi, then, according to rule 8(2) of the Rules, "No Central Government employee possessing a working knowledge of Hindi may ask for an English translation of any document in Hindi". The moment he passes a test, he is declared as having a working knowledge of Hindi. Then he is doomed, his fate is sealed. Then he has to transact his official business only in Hindi. Sir, this is what rule 8(2) says.

Even people who are going to retire within a year or two are compelled to learn Hindi. I know of a case in Delhi in Advani Saheb's own department. The person concerned is a poor, old artist, a non-Hindi-speaking man. He is a painter. Why should a painter know something about Hindi? You know that painting transcends all languages.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA: You can converse with dhobies and so on.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, it is against the Resolution passed by an all-party parliamentary committee in 1959. On that committee there were Members like Mr Purushottam Das Tandon and Dr. Raghuvira, all stalwarts of Hindi enthusiasts. They themselves said unanimously that people above 45 years of age should not be compelled to learn Hindi. Sir, even that kind of a decision by a parliamentary committee is not being recognised by the Government. That I want to bring to your notice.

Sir, these rules are completely against the parent Act. We know that subordinate legislation should be

subservient to the parent legislation, but here it contravenes all the provisions of the Official Language Act, 1963, as amended in 1968. Sir, I will give you some portions. Section 3(2) of the Official Language Act says, for example, for purposes of communication in one Ministry or Department or between one Ministry and another Ministry or one Department or another Department of the Central Government or any corporation, whatever it is, "A translation of such communication in the language, or, as the case may be, in Hindi, shall also be provided". A translation should be provided, that is, if it is in Hindi a translation in English should be there and *vice versa*, till such date as the staff of the concerned Department, Ministry or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi. Then, section 3(4) refers to all statutes, resolutions, general orders, rules, etc., etc. In that case, if the translation is made, the employees should not be placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages. Sir, it makes it very clear. So, what is being done by the Official Language Department of the Home Ministry and by the rules framed? It violates, negates, the very provisions of the Act itself.

Sir, you may like to know why in the rules the words "working knowledge of Hindi" or "proficiency in Hindi" are used and why there should be so much fetish about it. It is because, section 3(2) of the Official Language Act says that nobody should be compelled until he acquires a working knowledge of Hindi. Now they are defining "working knowledge of Hindi". Unless you pass certain tests, you won't be considered as having a working knowledge of Hindi. In the same manner, section 3(4) speaks about proficiency in both the languages. So, in this rule they are defining "proficiency in Hindi". Unless you pass certain tests, you won't be considered as having proficiency in Hindi.

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Sir, when the Official Language Bill was brought into the Lok Sabha, Prof. Ranga was there; I was there; many other Members were there. The present Home Minister was also there—at that time he was a Swatantra Member—advocating English. He opposed Hindi tooth and nail along with us. At that time, we were given to understand that working knowledge and proficiency in Hindi will be acquired voluntarily without any element of compulsion or coercion. We thought like that. Now what is happening? People are compelled, employees are coerced. If they do not attend Hindi classes or take Hindi examinations, it is considered dereliction of duty and disciplinary action is taken. This, I would say, is nothing but a breach of trust. We never expected, when the Bill was brought in the Lok Sabha, that you would be giving a different meaning for the words “working knowledge” and “proficiency” in Hindi and would be twisting the provisions. We did not know that. Sir, I would say that this is wrong. It violates the provisions of the Official Languages Act. That is why I would request the Government to withdraw these rules. According to the Annual Report of the Home Ministry, up to June/July 1977, 3,65,000 employees have passed the Hindi examinations. Sir, it is announced very proudly. I would say 3,65,000 employees have been forced to get themselves qualified in Hindi. If you compel a person to read and write and get proficiency in Hindi, I would say it is worse than *nasbandi*. It is just like another *nasbandi*, I would say. Because of *nasbandi*, the former ruling party paid a heavy penalty in the last General Elections. I would warn the Government in a friendly way that because of this *nasbandi* they will lose many of the votes in non-Hindi speaking States.

Sir, to compel anybody to learn Hindi is against the Fundamental

Rights and the Service Rules. It violates the Official Languages Act, sections 3(2) and (4). You have twisted the provisions of the Act. You have imputed a different meaning which is not there. I would say it is a fraud perpetrated on the non-Hindi speaking people. The sooner you withdraw it, the sooner you nullify the rules, the better it is for the non-Hindi speaking people. Sir, the Janata Party Members are saying that they are simply following the language policy of the previous Government. The Prime Minister has said like that. The former Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, who is now the Finance Minister, has stated that they are not doing anything new, they are simply following the language policy of the previous Government. Hundred per cent right. But I would put a question to them: You have reversed many of the processes unfolded by the former Government. You have dismantled all the evil provisions of the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution. Why don't you withdraw these provisions also? Just like you have amended the 42nd Amendment, why don't you withdraw these illegal, unconstitutional rules.

Then you may ask what the complaints are against the Janata Government. I will come to that. Even before these proposals were implemented, many Ministers started working in Hindi. Many Ministers, it seems, preferred junior officers to senior officers just because they were proficient in Hindi. This is what is stated in the *Indian Express* by Mr. Kuldeep Nayar. I am told, Sir, even the Cabinet meetings are conducted only in Hindi. Discussions take place in the Cabinet meetings only in Hindi and I am told that the only South Indian Minister, Mr. P. Ramachandran, cannot make a head or tail of these discussions.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Why does he not protest?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am not saying on my own. Mr. Kuldip Nayar in the *Indian Express* has written: "In the Cabinet itself the solitary South Indian Minister has felt at a loss because discussion has often broken into Hindi." He has put it very mildly. I am told, almost all discussions are taking place in Hindi alone. There is no Cabinet Minister here to say whether it is true or not. I would have been very glad and the people of Tamil Nadu would have been very glad if Mr. Ramachandran had protested against it. I am sorry, instead of protesting against the pressure, he has succumbed to the pressure. Last year and this year he has sent his greeting cards in both Hindi and English by putting his signature in both Hindi and English. I am sorry for the state of affairs. Had he protested at least, the other Cabinet Members would have thought twice. But that is not happening. I am very sorry for the South Indian Minister.

Sir, the Constitution clearly says that we should use the international form of Indian numerals. It does not say them as Arabic numerals. We claim them to be Indian; the numerals originated in India. We are proud of it. The Constitution specifically says so. So, according to the law of the land, nobody should use other numerals other than the Arabic numerals. But, Sir, you must have seen today's *"Indian Express"* in Delhi all the cars have the Hindi numerals, the Urdu numerals and the Gurumukhi numerals, and moreover, the Mayor of Delhi has put up only the Hindi numerals on his car. Sir, I think at least the janata can prevent it. And I am sorry to read in the *"Indian Express"* of today that the police could not take any action because they were expecting that very soon an amendment to the Motor Vehicle Act would be brought in this House and in the other House and that the Government was going to legalise the numerals, other than the international numerals. If they do so, they would be violating the pro-

visions of the Constitution.

I would give another instance of Hindi imposition. In the Andamans 20,000 Bengalis live, 14,500 Tamilians live and the Hindi-speaking people number only 14,000. But do you know what the official language of the Andamans is? Even though the Tamilians are more, and the Bengalis are still more, than the Hindi-speaking people, Hindi is the official language even today.

And, secondly, Sir, in the "BLITZ" dated the 16th of December, 1978, a report has appeared. It says:

"A recent Home Ministry circular that all communications should be signed in HINDI has generated a lot of resentment among officials. Till now, the rule was that all letters received in Hindi should be replied in that language. This stipulation did not apply to signatures. Non-Hindi speaking officers are now faced with the two-language signature problem."

It is very strange if it is true. I do not know whether it is true or not. The Home Minister is here. He can say if it is true or not. Sir, it is very disgusting to know that in our country most of the population cannot put signatures. They put the thumb impressions. Thumb impressions are supposed to be taken as signatures. Signatures have no language. Whatever is scribbled is considered as signature. I do not know why the Home Ministry is particular that one should sign in Hindi alone. This is totally wrong. I strongly object to it.

Sir, regarding the Hindi imposition, I want to read what a citizen of Calcutta feels about it. Sir, this is a letter published in the "STATESMAN". He says:

"In Calcutta I have seen "Bharatiya State Bank" written in Hindi in front of a branch of the State Bank of India. Letter heads of insurance companies are now in Hindi. The Central Telegraph Office has a notice requesting Cal-

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cuttans to send telegrams in Hindi, regardless of the fact that the addressee may not know the language."

Sir, this is the situation in Calcutta.

As I have already pointed out the rules of the Official Languages Act, 1976 give a blanket provision exempting Tamil Nadu from its provisions. But what is happening in Tamil Nadu? Nobody follows that exemption; probably, they are not aware that an exemption has been given to Tamil Nadu. According to the "SUNDAY STANDARD" dated 6th August, 1978, "the rule that nameboards, rubber stamps and letter heads should be both in English and Hindi is strictly observed by all Central Government departments here" at Madras. "They also print all their forms in Hindi and English, avoiding the local language." Sir, this is a serious situation. I want to bring it to the notice of the Home Minister. If it is true, then he should put an end to activities of this kind.

Then, Sir, there is another thing. Recently an advertisement for recruitment of personnel for nationalised banks in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry appeared and it clearly specifies that Hindi typing knowledge and ability in Hindi shorthand will be tested for the posts of clerks and typists-cum-stenos. Sir, they are to be employed either in Pondicherry or in Tamil Nadu, and Tamil Nadu has been exempted from these provisions, from these obnoxious rules. Yet they advertise that Hindi typing should be known to the candidates.

Then, Sir, examinations are conducted by the Staff Selection Board which is the recruiting agency for all clerical posts in Central Government departments. They are conducted only in Hindi and English. Is it not advantageous to the Hindi-speaking people, because they have to learn only one language, Hindi,

whereas our boys and girls have to learn three languages? Sir, I think it is part of a bigger plan. They want to make all the Central Government jobs, the clerical jobs, a privileged preserve of the Hindi-speaking people alone. While you are conducting the Union Public Service Commission examinations in 15 languages, why don't you conduct these examinations also in all the languages?

Sir, I would urge that the Central Government offices, departments, public sector undertakings, Railways, wherever they are, they should do their work in the regional languages alone. Why should they use Hindi? Let them also learn the local languages. Let them conduct the business in the language which is very popular in that area.

Now, let us take the Union Public Service Commission examination papers. Sir, I would congratulate the Government for, for the first time, they have initiated a move that UPSC examinations can be written in all the 15 languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. I am glad about it. But, Sir, even then there is a small mischief. The question papers are set only in English and Hindi. I cannot understand this. While the candidates can write the examinations in all the 15 languages, why should the question paper be in English or Hindi? Sir, this is a very serious question. In the other House, the hon. Minister of State has replied to this question. The first reason he gives is that the same standard cannot be maintained. I cannot understand it. If in the answer papers the same standard can be maintained in all the 15 languages, why can't they maintain the same standard in question papers? This is very ridiculous. Another reason given by the hon. Minister is that if they set question papers in 15 languages, they cannot maintain secrecy. This is still more anomalous and ridiculous. Sir, many of these 15 languages are the official languages of the States. They are preparing

their Budget speeches and printing Budget documents in their own language. So far we have not received any report that the Budget secrets had been let out in any of the States. Moreover, every State is having its own Public Service Commission, and these Public Service Commissions are conducting their examinations in their own languages. So far nobody has complained that the secrecy had been let out. That is why I would urge that if you are sincere about it, you should set question papers in other languages also.

Sir, when the announcement came in the newspapers, there was a bitter comment in one section. Some newspapers have written that the Janata Government has twisted the arms of the Union Public Service Commission to accept this proposal. Now, unless they change this method of setting question papers in Hindi and English only, I may have to doubt the bona fides, the intension of this Government also. Sir, now the crucial question is this. In what language those candidates who pass in the UPSC examinations are going to transact their official business after they get selected? That is the most serious question, a very crucial question . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. AKSHMANAN): Mr. Maran, you are concluding your speech.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Please give me a few more minutes.

This is a very crucial question: In what language are those candidates, who had written their examinations in their regional languages, in all the fifteen languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, after they become IAS and IPS officers, going to function? If the answer is 'Hindi', then I am sorry we are going to object to it; we are going to strongly oppose this measure. It seems there is a deeper attempt to convert India into Hindia. On the one hand you are driving out English and on the other hand you are enthroning Hindi.

Look at Bihar. The Chief Minister of Bihar for whom I have great respect, has announced recently that officials, if they put up their notes in English, will be punished. Only the day before yesterday he made another strange announcement: He said that all English teleprinters will be abolished. I do not know where this will lead to. It seems very soon a time will come in Hindi-speaking areas like Bihar and UP when anybody who does not know Hindi will be considered as an illiterate. Such a situation is going to come. But, Sir, you will be sadly disappointed if you imagine that after driving out English, Hindi will be automatically chosen to fill that vacuum. Please don't cherish that idea; it will never happen. I will tell you the reason why. The reason is very simple. Hindi cannot be a substitute for English because of the very nature of the two languages. If that happens, then there will be two Indias: one English-knowing India and another Hindi-knowing India. Needless to say the unity of India will be in danger. That is why I have made it clear in my Resolution that there is need for a review of the official language policy. I do not want to go into the details. Hindi became the sole official language because I would say, probably in a fit of absent-mindedness the non-Hindi-speaking people accepted that compromise formula. In 1965 the Government made a second look at the language provisions. Now the time has come for a reappraisal, because there is a linguistic awakening everywhere. It is claimed that Hindi is spoken by the majority of the people. The Prime Minister goes about saying that almost 50 per cent of the people in India know Hindi. Sorry, this is not a fact. According to the 1951 Census Hindi-knowing population formed 42 per cent of the total population. But at that time they made a trick. They clubbed languages like Hindustani, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Bihari and other languages, under Hindi and inflated the figures and so the figure came to 42 per cent. After ten years in 1961 they took another

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Census. By that time the population increased by 22 per cent. If what they had claimed in 1951 was true, then in 1961 Hindi-speaking population should have also gone up. But what happened? In 1961 the percentage of Hindi-speaking people was only 30.38. That means there was a drop. Look at the drop from 42 per cent to 30.38 per cent. How did it happen? In the meanwhile there was a revolt in the so-called Hindi-speaking areas. For example, in Rajasthan five clear mother-tongues emerged. Marwari people started claiming that they spoke Marwari. Then there were people who said they were proud to speak Rajasthani. Consequently, there was a fall in the figures of Hindi-speaking population. In Bihar also the same thing happened. There also people were proud that they spoke Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magadhi and Kortha, not Hindi. In Madhya Pradesh also the same thing happened. There the people asserted their mother-tongue is Chattisgarhi. Therefore, it is evident that there was some kind of an awakening or a revolt in some areas of Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Now, what is the present situation? You will be surprised to know that the 1971 Census figures regarding languages have not been published up to this day. Very soon in 1981, we are going to have another Census. By that time all the figures will become obsolete. They have published all the other figures, but they have not published this figure. Only provisional figures are available. Even now they are doing the same old trick. They are clubbing Rajasthan, Bhojpuri and other languages and claim 38.04 per cent people speak only Hindi. If you subtract those who speak the other languages then the percentage will come down to 29.67.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): What is your objective?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Why are you hiding the census report? The census report was submitted to the

Government long back. The next census is only in 1981. Probably you are making the necessary preparatory arrangements for that even now because it is a Himalayan and fantastic task. You have not published the last report because they are doing some jugglery with the figures. They are not prepared themselves for the bigger surprise because there is a big drop in the number of people who speak Hindi alone. Even in the Hindi belt there are people who speak Maithili and Bhojpuri and not only Hindi, but the club all the languages and say they all speak Hindi. Then they claim that Hindi is spoken by a majority of people and therefore non-Hindi speaking people should accept it. That is not the correct position. My charge is that they are doing jugglery with the figures given in the 1971 census. I would urge the Government to release and publish these figures.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Now you have to conclude.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I will conclude in a few minutes.

It is said that U.P.S.C. examinations are conducted in all the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. This Schedule has no Explanatory Note at all. It relates only to article 344(1) of the Constitution which speaks about a Commission. The Commission should consist of members belonging to the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. It has no relevance except to that Commission. It has further relevance only to article 351 of the Constitution which gives a directive to the Government to develop Hindi saying that Hindi has to assimilate the syntax and other things from the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. Otherwise Eighth Schedule has no meaning at all. But because of pressure of public opinion and to soothe the feelings of non-Hindi people, Pandit Nehru announced that all the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule are national languages. The position is that the

language problem of India can in no way be restricted to the languages in the Eighth Schedule. First of all that list is incomplete. For example, when the President visited the North Eastern States, Mizoram people said: "We cannot write U.P.S.C. examinations in our own language" because their language does not find a place in the Eighth Schedule. Secondly, Eighth Schedule is completely unscientific. There is an organisation called Sahitya Academy which has recognised English, Dogri, Manipuri, Konkani, Maithili and Rajasthani whereas your Eighth Schedule does not contain all these languages.

Thirdly, this Eighth Schedule is also a political make-up in the sense that on the eve of the 1967 general election, as a vote catching technique, they announced that Sindhi would be included in the Eighth Schedule.

The Eighth Schedule is completely unreal also. For instance only 2,544 people in India speak Sanskrit. Though it is the ancient language of India it is said to be the mother tongue of only 2,544 people. Yet it is a language in the Eighth Schedule, though many of the tribal languages are not there. Janata Member Mr. Jha has introduced a Bill saying that Maithili should be included in the list. This shows that it is an incomplete list for my purpose. Therefore, I say that all the official languages of the States should be made official languages of the Union. That is why I have put, not the languages of the Eighth Schedule alone, but all the official Languages of the States which should be made the Official Languages of the Union. Perhaps, Sir, India is the only country in the whole world which is a multi-lingual country . . . (Time bell rings) . . . which calls itself a federation, but which has only one language in the Constitution as the official Language. In the United States there is no mention about the official Language at all. That is why I say that we should not equate our country with the countries of Western Europe or Japan. They are all uni-lingual

countries. If you want to make a comparison with any country then, we have to compare ourselves with Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Canada and Belgium. In Switzerland, three languages are the Official Languages, that is, German, French and Italian. Sir, that is the population of the German-speaking people there? 72 per cent of the population is the German-speaking population and only 22 per cent of the people speak French and only 7 per cent of the people are Italian-speaking people. But they have not made German alone as the sole official Language. Even a language which is spoken just by 7 per cent of the population, that is the Italian language, is also made as the Official Language. That is why, Sir, I would like to draw a comparison with German in Switzerland. In Switzerland, the German language holds proportionately much greater position than Hindi does in India and the same is the case with Yugoslavia. I do not want to go into any further details. Here in India, each State is the home State for the people speaking the language of that State and we have many States in India with a language and population and area also matching or even surpassing many other countries in the world. That is why I say that in a federation like ours, in a multi-lingual country like this, a country with several nationalities and cultures, we should follow the principle of equality and the strength and unity of the country depend on or lie in the recognition of the linguistic and cultural diversity.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair]

I, Mr. Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni

When I say that all the Official Languages of the States should be made the Official Languages of the Union, I am not bringing forward any new proposal. It is just logical extension of the proposal to conduct the UPSC examinations in all the 15 languages. Obviously, the next step is that you should make all the State

[Shri Murasoli Maran]

Languages the Official Languages of the Union. You may pose the question whether it is practicable until yesterday, Sir we were not able to conduct the UPSC examinations in all the 15 languages and we thought that conducting the UPSC examinations in all the languages as impracticable, and we thought that it would destroy the national character, we thought that it would kill the unity of the country and so on. But what has happened today? Today, we have accepted that from this year onwards it should be implemented. How are you going to explain this? Could we ever think that four or five parties would come together and would become a single Party? Calling itself as the Janata Party? We never thought so. But it seems that they are stronger. We do not know what will happen tomorrow (*Time bell rings*). I am just finishing, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You have taken an hour.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: A am sorry, Sir. Just give me more minutes. Sir, what we thought was not possible yesterday has become possible today. That is why I think that this is also possible. Perhaps you will have to do more translations. For example, in the USSR, all laws passed by the Supreme Soviet are translated in to the languages of various units. The moment the Supreme Soviet passes a law, it is translated into sixteen different languages of the country. We may say that if this comes into being here it may be difficult, that it may be cumbersome, that efficiency will be lost and so on. To that I would say that this is the price that we have to pay for the unity of the country.

Now, if we make any one language as the Official Language of the Union, it confers a special status and grants political, economic, social, cultural and educational power to that language.

age. Moreover, it becomes the language of power. This is very very important. Naturally, we become subjected to that language and the people who speak that language. That is why I say that all the languages of the States, should be declared as the Official Languages of the Union and, in that direction, I have added that Tamil in Tamil script should be declared as the Official Language. You may ask a question: Why Tamil alone? Because the people of Tamil Nadu demand it. Moreover I want to provoke the other linguistic people also and let them come forward and make a demand for their respective languages.

Sir, some Honourable Members have given some amendments. I have no quarrel with other languages. Sir, as far as the last portion of my Resolution is concerned, if the Government is prepared to make all the official languages of States as official languages of the Union with one stroke of pen, I have no objection to that.

With these words, I commend the Resolution.

4 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): There are three amendments.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Sir, I beg to move:

1. "That in the Resolution—

for the words beginning with 'this House recommends' and ending with 'one of the Official languages of the Union', the following be substituted, namely:—

"this House recommends that—

(i) equality of all national languages should be recognised in Parliament and the administration of the Central Government;

(ii) members of Parliament should have the right to speak in Parliament in any national language and for this purpose the facility of simultaneous interpretation of speeches in all national languages should be provided in Parliament;

(iii) all Acts of Parliament and Rules and Orders issued by the Central Government should be made available in all national languages; and

(iv) the use of Hindi for the official purpose of the Union should not be made obligatory."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri P. K. Kunjachan).

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Sir, I beg to move:

2. "That in the Resolution—

for the words, 'should immediately be declared as one of the Official Languages of the Union', the words 'Telugu in Telugu script, Kannada in Kannada script, Malayalam in Malayalee script, Oriya in Oriya script and Bengali in Bengali script, should immediately be declared as the Official Languages of the Union' be substituted."

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON (Kerala): Sir, I beg to move:

3. "That in the Resolution—

the words beginning with 'and, instead, provides equality' and ending with 'one of the Official Languages of the Union' be deleted".

The questions were proposed.

SHRI N. G. RANGA: Sir, I am in favour of the Resolution and I congratulate the mover of the Resolution. I am only anxious that this debate should be over today and the House should sit as long as possible so that we would be able to take up the other Resolutions later on.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी: उपसमाध्यक्ष

महोदय

SOME HON. MEMBERS: English, please.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: I will inter-mix. Don't worry.

श्री मुरासोली मारन जी जो प्रस्ताव आज हमारे सामने लाये हैं, It is a very comprehensive Resolution in which it is demanded that all the languages declared in the Eighth Schedule be declared as the Official Languages . . . (Interruptions). It says that, to begin with, Tamil should be declared as . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: That is the first step.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: But he completely loses sight of the fact that in spite of the efforts for the last thirty years we could not bring about unanimity about one language Hindi. How many years it will take to make the people accept all the other languages in this country you can just imagine; I leave it to him. He did not give any concrete suggestions as to how Tamil could be taught, how it could be implemented and how it should be made an Official Language in the administration. It is not a small problem, Mr. Maran. In Tamil Nadu itself, there are four languages: There is Tamil, there is Telugu, there is Malayalam, there is Kannada and there is Tulu; there is Coorgi and there are so many. You will have to write notes in the administration in all these languages in Tamil Nadu itself. It is not so easy and simple. Even in Bangalore, Tamil is hated like anything by Kannal chaluvaligars. They do not like the display of Tamil pictures. Same is the case on the Maharashtra-Karnataka border. You must have seen posters on the wall of Bellary during the reorganisation of provinces: 'Telugu Ravanās Tola-indu Po' ('Telugu Ravanās, Get Out.'). Therefore, it is not such a simple thing, Mr. Maran. I can understand your position.

[Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi]

अंग्रेजी के इस देश से बाहर जाने के बाद यह कोई नहीं समझता था कि यहां अंग्रेजी रहेगी। हमने अंग्रेजों को इस देश से बाहर निकाल दिया। इन्होंने श्री मोरारजी भाई की बात कही है। मुझे उसका कांटेक्स्ट मालूम नहीं किंतु उन्होने इस पृष्ठ भूमि में कहा होगा। You have every right to oppose it. But when you demanded that Tamil in Tamil script should be declared as one of the Official languages of the Union, we should make a beginning. How has that beginning to be made? Unless we make certain efforts, it is not possible. Therefore, let us try to understand that there are certain national compulsions. You cannot ignore it. मैं आपको अपना उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। मेरी मातृभाषा कन्नड़ है। सन् 1930-31 में जब हम प्रभात फेरियों में जाया करते थे तो हम हिन्दी का गीत गाया करते थे—

‘विजयी विजय तिरंगा प्यारा

झण्डा ऊंचा रहे हमारा ।’

उस व्यक्ति हमारे मन में यह भाव नहीं आते थे कि यह गीत हमने हिन्दी में क्यों लिया। यह भाव भी हमारे मन में नहीं आता था कि भारत की जय का गीत हमने हिन्दी में क्यों लिया। क्योंकि उस समय यह समझा जाता था कि खादी के कपड़े पहनना, हिन्दी बोलना यह देशभक्ति की बात है। हिन्दी को हिन्दी बोलने नहीं लाये हैं।

Let us not be under this wrong impression that propagation of Hindi has been conducted and carried on by the Hindi-speaking people. No. You will be surprised to find that the first Hindi weekly was, started in Bengal, in the last century ‘Udanta Martanda’.

उदन्त मार्तण्ड :

हिन्दी के काम को किया राजा राम मोहन राय ने, हिन्दी का काम किया वंकिम चंद्र ने, हिन्दी के लिये काम किया स्वामी दयानन्द

सरस्वती ने, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस ने हिन्दी के लिये काम किया, महात्मा गांधी ने हिन्दी के लिये काम किया, राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के नेता डा० हेडगेवार ने इसके लिये काम किया उन लोगों ने हिन्दी के लिये काम किया जिन्होंने समग्र देश की कल्पना की थी। यहां तक कि अपने जितने साधु-संत थे, नहाराष्ट्र के संतों नामदेव और ज्ञानदेव ने हिन्दी में अपनी कविताओं की रचना की।

I completely agree with Mr. Maran. Hindi is just a language of the minority here.

बिहार में भी मैथिली बोली जाती है, भोजपुरी बोली जाती है। राजस्थान में कई बोलियां बोली जाती हैं।

Therefore, let us not be under this impression that it is imposed upon us. If it is imposed upon a non-Hindi gentleman, it is equally imposed upon a gentleman who speaks Bhojpuri, who speaks Maithili, who speaks Magadhi, who speaks, Chattighari, who speaks Marwari, who speaks Bikaniri. So, if it is an imposition, it is not exclusively meant to people who speak only English. And, Mr. Maran, we cannot divide the country into English-knowing country and Hindi-knowing country. Do you mean to say that in Tamil Nadu, people know English? It is only two per cent of the people who know English and they have completely monopolised all the offices. What about the 98 per cent of the people who speak Tamil? They cannot even get a postman's job unless they know English. Only a small percentage, only two per cent of the population monopolised the offices. And if you want to fight against this monopoly, you will have to take recourse to our provincial languages. Hindi is not going to substitute the provincial languages. No. We are fighting for it. Our official policy is that every administrative department must conduct itself in Tamil in Tamil Nadu and in Kannada in Karnataka. But the pity and the tragedy is that even after so many years, even in

Karnataka also, it is not even 25 or 30 per cent of the work that is carried on in Kannada. The whole thing is going on in English only. And for the simple reason of fighting this Hindi, Hindi, we have blocked the way of any Southerner to become the Prime Minister of this country. You are solely responsible.

मेरी मातृ भाषा कन्नड़ है, पढ़ाई मराठी में हुई, बोलता हूँ हिन्दी राजनीति में बोलना पड़ता है। आखिर देश का जब हम विचार करेंगे तो हमें यह करना पड़ेगा अंग्रेजी के चले जाने के बाद इंडिया भारत हो जायेगा। India will not continue for long. This is Bharat.

गोल्ड कोस्ट का नया नाम बदला है घाना। जैसा आपने आज सुना कम्बोडिया कम्पूजिया है

Correct. That was Khambhoj. Take Africa. You are hearing the name of Zimbabwe. Where was Zimbabwe? You are hearing Malawi. Where was Malawi? यानी उनको लगता है कि हम अलग हैं, हमारी भाषा है।

I have seen the Tanzanian Parliament. They conduct themselves very well in Swahili. Swahili is not a rich language. Swahili means shore—the language that was spoken on the shore.

हिल' का मतलब होता है 'किनारा'। व स्वाहिली में अपना काम चलाते हैं यह इसलिये क्योंकि वहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का दरबार ज्यादा दिन नहीं चला था। केनिया में अंग्रेजी में चलता है वहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का दरबार ज्यादा दिनों तक चला था अंग्रेजों के चले जाने के बाद वहाँ गाड सेव दि किंग, गाड सेव दि क्वीन नहीं रह सकता था, जन गण मण और बन्देमातरम् को स्वीकार करना पड़ा उसी तरह अपना ध्वज है यूनियन जक को छोड़ना पड़ा। वैसे ही इस देश को चलाना है यदि देश को चलाना है तो देश को भाषा चाहिए। श्री मारन ने युगोस्लाविया का उदाहरण दिया।

Yugoslavia is a country with six republics, and each republic has got its own language. Mr. Tito himself is a Croat.

जैसे हमारे देश में हिन्दुस्तानी है वैसे ही वहाँ पर सर्बिया और क्रोशिया को जोड़कर सर्बोक्रोट है।

Sarbo-croat is the language of Yugoslavia.

फिर उन्होंने उदाहरण दिया स्विजरलैंड का। Definitely they speak three languages. But they have evolved a language of their own, which is known as Romanche. फेंच न जहाँ आधिपत्य रहा जैसे माड गार्स्क और मासीप्रस, The people there speak Creol. That is not your French. That is a mixture of so many languages. They speak Creol. तो जैसे वहाँ विदेशी आए उन्होंने समझा कि अब चलाना है उन्होंने यहाँ की भाषा उठा ली और उसमें अरबी के शब्द, फारसी के शब्द घुसेड़ दिए जिससे उर्दू बनी। सविध न सभा में जो चर्चा हुई उसके विषय में श्री धृष्णन् ने कहा कि एकमत नहीं था। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चर्चा इसलिए नहीं हुई कि आगे चल कर अंग्रेजी रहे या हिन्दी, नहीं। यह चर्चा थी कि यहाँ देवनागरी में लिखित संस्कृत निष्ट हिन्दी रहे या जिसमें फारसी अरबी के शब्द हों वह हिन्दुस्तानी।

The question was not whether this country should accept English for ever. The question was whether the language what should be the official language of this country after the withdrawal of the Britishers from here, should be Hindi based on Sanskrit and written in Devanagiri script or it should be Hindustani written in Persian script. और यह एकमत से हुआ।

मैं मानता हूँ यह सही है। जब हम कहते हैं कि देश एक है तो हर एक को

[Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi]

कहना पड़ता है कि एक भाषा चाहिए ।
In Russian there are 16 nations. The same is the case with China.

किन्तु रशियंस जो अपना काम चलाते हैं वे 16 भाषाओं में नहीं चलाते हैं । इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर भी हमको लगता है कि हमारी भाषा एक होनी चाहिए । अब सवाल यह है कि वह कौन सी भाषा हो ? जो भाषा यहां पर पुराने जमाने से चलती आई हो, हमें उसी को लेकर चलना चाहिये भूषण कवि के सामने कोई आफिशियल लैंग्वेज एक्ट नहीं था । उन्होंने शिवाजी महाराज के चरित्र का गायन हिन्दी में किया । भूषण कवि ने हिन्दी में क्यों किया ? आखिर क्या जरूरत पड़ी थी ? उनके सामने कोई चुनाव जीतने का प्रश्न नहीं था ।

इस देश के अन्दर जो साधू महात्मा घूमते रहे, चारों घामों में जाते रहे एक शब्द उधर का और एक शब्द उधर का करते करते एक भाषा बनी । इस प्रकार से हिन्द की भाषा हिन्दी बनी जो किसी प्रदेश विशेष की भाषा नहीं थी । हिन्द की हिन्दी और उसको सारे देश ने स्वीकार किया । गड़बड़ यदि कुछ हुई हो तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जब नया उत्साह रहता है उस समय आदमी भाषा की स्वीकार करता है, जरूर करता है नहीं करता हो, ऐसी बात नहीं है । आज हम क्या देखते हैं ? पुराने जमाने में इंग्लैंड के राजा-रजवाड़े थे, यूरोप के थे आपको पता है कि जर्मनी और इंग्लैंड के लोगों के बीच में शादिया होती थी । एडवार्ड तो जर्मन बोले और इंग्लैंड की रानी अंग्रेजी बोले तो कैसे चले ? पत्नी के लिए वे सीखे और पति के लिए वह जर्मन सीखे यही हाल था । हमारे मंसूर के महाराजा की पहली पत्नी धरांगदरा की थी और गुजराती बोलती थी । अल्टीमेटली पत्नी पति की और पति पत्नी की भाषा सीखता

था । यह होता था । हमारे यहां नेपाल से रिश्ता होता था मानड वर्मा केरल का था और दूसरे क्षेत्रों से लड़कियां आती थी कोई झगड़ा नहीं होता था ? यह तो शुद्ध 'काम' है कि जिधर से पत्नी लाए उसकी भाषा सीखे । 'अर्थ का एक उदाहरण यह है कि जैसे सिंध प्रदेश से लोग आये, पंजाब से विस्थापित हो कर लोग आए, बंगाल से विस्थापित होकर आए ... (Time bell rings) क्या हमारा टाइम खत्म गया ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I want to remind the Members that under this discussion everybody gets only 15 minutes. Sorry, Mr. Joshi. I would have liked to hear you longer.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: When he has made out his case for full one hour, I must be given at least half an hour.

THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. D. PATIL): Sir, he should be given more time.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो व्यापारी हैं जैसे सिंधी व्यापारी विशाखापटनम, विजयवाड़ा और मद्रास आदि शहरों में हैं वे सब वहां की भाषा बोलते हैं, तामिल बोलते हैं क्यों बोलते हैं ? क्योंकि इसके अलावा उनका धंधा नहीं चलेगा । अब हमारे दक्षिण के जितने सिनेमा स्टार हैं जैसे वजयंतीमाला है, हेमामालिनी, जसूदास और लक्ष्मी They all act in the Hindi films. Why? Hindi has got a bigger market. They do not have any love for any particular languages.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): What they do is, the song in Hindi is written in Tamil.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): May I point out that all these persons from the South are there; they have

secured their place not because of these people but in spite of them.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: I am saying it. I am holding a brief for the South. अरे साऊथ के कितने आचार्यों ने समग्र देश पर कब्जा किया एक दक्षिण का शंकराचार्य निकला चारों धाम में मठ स्थापना करने के लिये। उन्होंने पूछा नहीं कि म्युनिसिपलिटी मुझे जगह देगी कि नहीं। चतुर्मठ की स्थापना जिन्होंने की उनके सामने समग्र भारतवर्ष था क्योंकि भले ही केरल में कालड़ी में वे पैदा हुए पर हर दिन स्नान करते हुए उनको याद आया करता था 'गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरी सरस्वती नर्मदा सिंधु कावेरी जलेस्मिन् सर्वाधि कुह'। सिंधु काश्मीर के अन्दर है और नीचे हैं कावेरी, नर्मदा बीच में है। यह बातें समग्र भारत को बताने के लिये केरल में कालड़ी में पैदा हुए शंकराचार्य के दिल में आया कि मैं उत्तर में भी पहुंचू।

डा० रफीक ज़कारीया (महाराष्ट्र) : जिस भाषा में आप बोल रहे हैं, साउथ वाले उसे नहीं समझ रहे हैं।

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I do not understand it.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: I come from South. Mr. Zakaria. You don't teach me about South. I come from South.

मैं साऊथ से आता हूं यह मत कहिये।

डा० रफीक ज़कारीया : वे नहीं समझ रहे हैं।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : मैं यही बताना चाहता हूं कि कल इस संसद का क्या होगा 1976 में ही हमने मांग की थी। उस समय केवल हिंदी, अंग्रेजी थी। हमने कहा कि यह नहीं चलेगा, हम अपनी भाषा में बोलेंगे। उसका भाषान्तर हो। किन्तु उसका अनवाद हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में होता

है। परन्तु यदि सभी मांग करेंगे, तो सभी भाषाओं including tribal languages का भी भाषान्तर करना पड़ेगा क्योंकि जो यहां पर सदस्य आया, वे एक ही भाषा जानेंगे। तो कन्नड़ में बोलने वाले का सभी भाषाओं में भाषान्तर करना पड़ेगा और हिन्दी बोलने वाले का कन्नड़ या मराठी सभी भाषाओं में भाषान्तर करना पड़ेगा। It is not a simple thing. इसलिये यदि देश को सरकार चलानी है, तो यदि यह कह दें कि इम्पोजीशन है तो every tax measure is an imposition and it is not only on the non-Hindi speaking people, it is on Hindi-speaking people also. Every tax measure is an imposition. Why do you impose taxes?

कोई हम बांध बनवाते हैं और ज़मीन डूब जाती है, तो लोग विरोध करते हैं। But in the interest of majority, you have to do it. कोई कहीं कारखाना खुलता है, जैसे भिलाईमें, कोयम्बयूतूर में, वहां काम मिलता है, कोई रिफायनरी खुलती है तो वहां के लोगों को काम मिलता है, बन्दरगाह जहां होती है वहां के लोगों को काम मिलता है। यह नहीं कह सकते कि हमको काम नहीं मिलता है और उनको मिलता है, क्योंकि आगे जाकर इम्तहान में भी जो आगे आयेगा, उसी को लिया जायेगा।

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I question the statement, that Hindi has got the majority. Hindi is in a minority.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : इसलिये हमने यह इस देश की राजभाषा हिन्दी के रूप में स्वीकार की है ? let us not say that it is an imposition. It is a selfaccepted fact for the simple reason that it is in our Constitution and everybody must have gone through the preamble of the Consti-

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

tution. This has been given unto ourselves. Nobody else has given it to us. We have given this Constitution unto ourselves. The founding fathers of the Constitution had envisaged that in a period of 15 years there would be a peaceful change-over and since 1965 the official language of the country must have been Hindi. But unfortunately, the Government did not take any trouble. It was left to the cinema world to popularise Hindi. The best pictures are produced in Bengali language.

बंगाली फिल्में महाराष्ट्र में, गुजरात में नहीं चलती और 'यादों की बारात' तामिल में एक वर्ष चली। वन फुल यियर। तो यदि पिक्चर की दृष्टि से देखा जाए, बंगला फिल्में बढ़िया होती है पर क्यों नहीं चलती, क्यों उनका मार्केट नहीं है? जो कहते हैं कि हिन्दी समझ नहीं आती उनको पता लगना चाहिये कि लोग हिन्दी फिल्में क्यों देखते हैं? हिन्दी फिल्म चलती है और लोग उसे देखते हैं, इसका मतलब यह है कि लोग हिन्दी समझते हैं।

On a popular level and on the level of the people, absolutely there is no opposition. It is a political move, I can understand.

हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर भी हिन्दू-मुसलमान का झगड़ा लेकर खड़े होते हैं। पर बिस्मिल्ला खाँ की शहनाई का विरोध नहीं किया जाता, भ्रमजद खाँ की सिद्ध सरोद विरोध नहीं किया जाता, बड़े गुलाम अली खाँ का विरोध नहीं किया जाता, गमा पहलवान का विरोध नहीं किया जाता। यह जो मिस्टर हुसैन जो आर्टिस्ट है उनका किसी ने विरोध नहीं किया।

On the social level, there is absolutely no opposition. यहां की

धारणा—गुणिषु न चलिंगं न च वयः है। यह जो विविधता से भरा अपना देश है उसके अन्दर जितनी भाषाएँ हैं उनके अन्दर भी एक सूत्र होता है। He quoted Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, Sanskrit is the mother of all languages.

जो हम तमिल बोलते हैं, वर्णमाला क्या है? अ आ इ ई। केवल तमिल में व्यंजन कम है—क ड च ट ण, ... बाकी सब क ख ग घ है ...

AN HON. MEMBER: We won't agree.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: You may not agree. But this is a fact.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: The fact is Tamil is the only Indian language which can exist without any assistance from Sanskrit.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उन्होंने क्या कहा मैं बताता हूँ। आप की तमिल में शीक्किरम है और संस्कृत में शीक्रम है। यही शीक्किरम "शीक्र" है—'Sikkiram' s a form of 'Shikram' आप जो पू कहते हैं, "पू"

'Poo' is a form of 'Pushpam'

यह तो प्राकृत है।... (Interruptions) तमिल में कहते हैं "चोरु", उसका मतलब होता है—चावल, भात। दूध में जो आहुति दिया जाता है चावल का वही चोरु है। 40 प्रतिशत शब्द संस्कृत के हम में है। दूसरी बात है, अपना व्याकरण समग्र भारतीय भाषाओं का एक है अंगरेजी में है। I go home. कर्ता के बाद एकदम क्रियापद आता है किंतु आता है अंग्रेजी में है—ऐसा, किसी भी भारतीय भाषा में नहीं जैसे मैं घर जा रहा हूँ।

तमिल में—नान् वीट्टुक पोहिरेन।

तेलगू में—नैनु इन्टीकी पोत्तान्।

कन्नड में—नानू मनैक्यू होगतेने।

पहिले कर्ता-कर्म, बाद में क्रियापद। इसमें सारा जो है वह पहले कर्ता, फिर कर्म, फिर क्रिया पद पर आता है। यह जो व्याकरण है पूरे देश का एक है। इसको हम

नहीं भूलें। मारन जी समझते हैं अंग्रेजी हमारी भाषा होगी। भाषा आत्मा को प्रदर्शित करती है।

भारत की भाषा में जो आशय होता है वह अंग्रेजी में नहीं। अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं—'Bones for the latecomer'. 'जो देरी से आएगा वह हड्डी खाएगा।' यह हमारे यहां नहीं है। जो देरी से आएगा वह भी भोजन करेगा।

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Please continue in English. We are not getting the translation.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: Therefore, you have to take all this into account. If tomorrow, somebody says English is the language of this country, it cannot exactly express the soul of this country. Unless the soul is expressed, you cannot call it our language. Language is a medium of expression. It is a mode of expression. I should be able to express myself. In the English language, we say 'I am not feeling well'. As a matter of fact, according to the Bharatiya conception, 'I' is always well. There is no question of 'I' being unwell.

यदि हम भारतीय भाषा में कहते हैं तो कहते हैं—मेरी प्रकृति ठीक नहीं। तमिल में क्या कहते हैं—उडम्बु सरिया इरिका।

(Interruptions)

So, we should have a language of our own, in which the soul can be expressed completely and comprehensively. If a language does not meet this requirement, it cannot become the language of the country. In the case of Hindi, it was a question of Hindi that was not spoken but that was understood by the majority of the people. People knew that Hindi is going to become the Official Language of the country. Naturally, many people took to Hindi because many people knew it. For example, I myself did not know it. Therefore, when you have decided that this is the Official Language, you should not

have wasted thirty years, even for a simple language. You should make people understand and you should make people feel 'This is my language; this is my country'. Unless we begin our work in our own language, we will not feel the necessity for a link language. When we start transacting our business in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and so on, in all our languages, then we will feel the necessity of a common language, a link language. Then, Hindi will automatically come in. Now, only two per cent of the people knowing English have been monopolising everything depriving ninety per cent of the population of this country to come into the mainstream. Therefore, we oppose it.

इसलिए उन्होंने जो प्रस्ताव दिया है वह बहुत कांफ्रिहेसिव्ह प्रस्ताव है। उनके मन में था हिन्दी का विरोध, मैं समझ सकता हूं, किन्तु जो उन्होंने दो-तीन बातें कहीं, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी को राजभाषा के रूप में देश के 3 हिस्सों में बांटा है—क, ख और ग—और तामिलनाडु 'ग' में आता है।

Absolutely, there is no compulsion. That forms part of C, and who has crossed 45 years of age, there is no compulsion for him to learn Hindi. This is the policy.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Exemption is given, but it is not implemented.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: That is true. Therefore, certain responsibility is put upon those areas wherein they speak Hindi, for instance, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Even Punjab, Maharashtra and Gujarat are excluded because they come under B category. So, slowly, we want to make progress. Therefore, let us not go in terms of South and North and the division of the country. Britishers brought in their language and we give them credit to bring unity.

[Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi]

If by imposing English they brought about unity. The Nizam imposed Urdu on Karnataka, Vidarbha, Gulbarga, on Telengana, nine districts of Andhra Pradesh, Marathwada, five districts of Maharashtra. He never cared. He imposed Urdu. Muslims from Kerala and Tamil Nadu learn Urdu. There are schools. He thinks that Urdu is a part of his religion. Whosoever is a Muslim must learn Urdu. There are *madarsas*.

SHRI M. KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu): But in Tamil Nadu there are Muslims who speak their own language, Tamil, Malayalam.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: I know that. 'Chandrika' is printed in Malayalam in Kerala because there Muslims cannot speak Urdu. The same is the case with Tamil Nadu. Do you mean to say that I do not know it? But then he thinks that one who is a Muslim must speak Urdu.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Sir, are you convinced that Hindi as a link language of India can discharge its duty to satisfy the different nationalities in this country?

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI: The first thing is that ours is one **nation** and there are no different nationalities in this country. (*Interruptions*) We consider this great country to be one and this has not only been said by us, but it is in Visnupuranam

‘उत्तर यत् समुद्रस्य । हिमाद्रिष्वैव
दक्षिणम् ।

वर्षं तद् भारत नाम । भारती यत्र संतती ॥

That means ours is a territory that spreads right from South Seas to the highest peaks of Himalayas as one and indivisible and that is known as Bharat. The Puranic period is considered to be 5,00 years B.C. So, in those ancient scriptures they never

considered in terms of Kannada, Marathi, Telugu or Tamil. The richest language is Tamil with *Thirukkural*, I know it. But then unless you open your hearts and go to the people and tell them, how can you achieve this? Even *Thirukkural* has been translated into Hindi. I have got a copy of it.

In our Karnataka वसुधा ना ने बहुत सा सामाजिक काम किया वह साहित्य सब कन्नड़ में रहा, इसलिए बाहर नहीं गया । But then there has always been a revolt. The Buddhists revolted against Sanskrit. Janeswar was the first to revolt against Sanskrit and he brought in Marathi. Baswanas revolted against Sanskrit and Kannada was brought in. So, naturally, all people in an independent and free country must speak in the language of the people, not only in the language of 2 per cent of the people who have monopolised completely. I will fight that, I will fight for those 98 per cent who speak their own language, Tamil.

Then he has quoted about a Bank. Recently, I had been in Calcutta. We said you cannot simply put 'State Bank of India' in English and Hindi. It must be in Bengali also. It must be in three languages because the banks are meant for the people, the LIC is meant for the people and, therefore, you must use the language of the people. Therefore, we do not want to substitute Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam by Hindi. No, we want to substitute only English. We want all these languages to flourish. We want all these languages to be enriched, but at the same time, as a country, as a nation, we want a common language for all of us and for that Hindi has been accepted and, it is our duty to work for it.

Therefore, by opposing this Resolution I support the language Hindi as a mode of official language.

Thank you.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I would request Mr. Kalp Nath Rai to speak in English because he may make good points and we can understand him if he speaks in English.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, he wants you to speak in English because you are well understood in English.

DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU (Tamil Nadu): So that we can understand as he speaks.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : उपसमाध्यक्ष जी, मारन साहब ने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उस प्रस्ताव से सहमत नहीं हूँ। भाषा का जो सवाल है देश की सीमाओं से है। भाषा का सवाल देश के खाद्यान्न से है। भाषा का सवाल राष्ट्रीयता से है। भाषा का सवाल देश के आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक जीवन से जुड़ा हुआ है मैं आदरणीय मारन साहब को बताना चाहता कि लार्ड मेकाले जिन्होंने देश में अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद की नींव डाली उन्होंने अपनी किताब में जो शब्द लिखे वह उन्हें पढ़ लेने चाहिए।

'We must do our best to form a class which may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste and intellect.'

देश को मानसिक रूप से दिवालिया रखने के लिये या हिन्दुस्तान को पूरा गुलाम करने के लिये सबसे आवश्यक वस्तु है कि हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा अंग्रेजी जो कि विदेशी भाषा है, बना दी जाए। इस उद्देश्य को अपने मद्देनजर रखते हुए लार्ड मेकाले ने शिक्षा नीति हिन्दुस्तान में अपनाई थी। प्रश्न यह है कि हजारों वर्षों से जो हमारा देश गुलाम था तो इस देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले महात्मा गांधी ने क्यों राष्ट्रभाषा, मातृभाषा के माध्यम से

यह कहा कि अगर मैं हिन्दुस्तान का तानाशाह हूँ तो कलम की एक नोक से हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाऊँगा। क्या कारण है कि सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, बंगाली होते हुए भी आजादी की लड़ाई में "कदम-कदम बढ़ाए जा, खुशों के गीत गाये जा। यह जिन्दगी है कौम की तू काम पर लड़ाये जा" कहते हुए मातृभाषा में आजादी की लड़ाई शुरू की। क्या कारण है कि दक्षिण से लेकर यानी दक्षिण के राजगोपालाचारी, आन्ध्र के डॉ० प्रकाशन, गुजरात के महात्मा गांधी और बंगाल के नेता सुभाष चन्द्र बोस और स्वामी दयानन्द आदि, ने, जिनके मन में इस राष्ट्र के लिये एक कल्पना थी, जो देश की आजादी के समर्थक थे, मातृभाषा के माध्यम से मुक्त की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी। 30 वर्षों के बाद यह देश के लिए महान दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात है कि आज भी भाषा के प्रश्न पर हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय मतभेद नहीं हुआ, नेशनल कंसन्सस नहीं है। किसी भाषा का किसी भाषा के ऊपर इम्पोजिशन किया जाए हम इसके विरुद्ध हैं। इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि भाषा नीति हमारे देश की क्या होगी, हमारे राष्ट्र का चिन्तन क्या होगा यह बुनियादी प्रश्न हैं जिसके ऊपर हमें सोचना चाहिये। अंग्रेजी का संबंध गुलामी से जुड़ा हुआ है। अंग्रेज यहाँ से चले गये इसलिये अंग्रेजी भी हमें यहाँ से हटानी है, यह मुक्त की आवाज है।

मुझे एक बार विदेश जाने का मौका मिला। मैंने पाया कि दुनिया के जितने देश हैं सभी देश अपनी भाषा में, अपने मुक्त की लेंग्वेज में वे विदेशों में अपनी बात बोलते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश है जहाँ ऐसा नहीं होता है। चइना का राष्ट्रपति चाइनीज में बोलता है। अमेरिका का राष्ट्रपति अंग्रेजी में बोलता है। फ्रेंच का प्रतिनिधि फ्रेंच में बोलता है। जर्मन का व्यक्ति जर्मनी में बोलता है। जापान

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

का राष्ट्रपति या प्रधान मंत्री दुनिया के किसी भी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय फोरम में अपनी भाषा में बोलता है। हमारे देश के संविधान की धारा 344 में लिखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की राजभाषा हिन्दी होगी। संविधान की धारा 345 में यह लिखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्रपति एक कमिशन बैठायेंगे जो धीरे-धीरे अंग्रेजी को हटा कर हिन्दी को उसकी जगह पर लाने के लिए सुझाव देगा। हमारे संविधान की धारा 345 में लिखा है कि पहली जनवरी, 1965 से हिन्दुस्तान के राजकाज की बोली हिन्दी होगी। ये सब बातें हमारे संविधान में लिखी हुई हैं। माननीय सदस्य श्री मारन ने इन सदन का सदस्य बनते समय संविधान की रक्षा करने की शपथ खाई है। उन्होंने कहा है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान की रक्षा करेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि वे इस तरह का प्रस्ताव सदन में कैसे लाये हैं। क्या हम हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान की रक्षा करने की कसम खा कर और इस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव सदन में ला कर संविधान की धाराओं को नहीं तोड़ रहे हैं, यह प्रश्न मैं करना चाहता हूँ? हमारे देश में आज स्थिति यह है कि मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे लोगों के हाथों में कलम और बन्दुक दोनों आ गई हैं। वे लोग इस देश के 60 करोड़ लोगों की भाषा को दबा रहे हैं और उनके ऊपर शासन कर रहे हैं। आज हमारे देश में यह हालत है कि इस देश के धन, धरती और दौलत पर मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का अधिकार है। वे अपने निहित-स्वार्थों के लिए अंग्रेजी को इस देश में बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। अगर हमें इस देश में लोकशाही की स्थापना करनी है तो जनता की भाषा में अपना कामकाज करना होगा। लोक भाषा से ही लोकशाही की स्थापना हो सकती है। मुट्ठी भर लोगों की भाषा राजकाज की भाषा नहीं हो सकती है। हम इस बात से सहमत हैं और कांग्रेस (आई) का यह कहना है कि

We want that there should be one language of this country

हम किसी पर कोई भाषा लादना नहीं चाहते हैं। श्रीमन् मुझे, कन्याकुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक, और आसाम से लेकर गुजरात तक जाने का अवसर मिला है। जहाँ भी मैं गया हूँ, मैंने यह देखा है कि सभी लोग हिन्दी को समझते हैं। कन्याकुमारी में लोग हिन्दी समझते हैं, कर्नाटक में लोग हिन्दी को समझते हैं। ऐसा कोई स्थान नहीं है जहाँ पर लोग हिन्दी को न समझते हों। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हम मुल्क को आजाद कराने वाले नेता महात्मा गांधी द्वारा बताये गये मार्ग के विपरीत चले, नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के खिलाफ चले तो हम इस देश की समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर सकेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि भाषा का प्रश्न भूख से जुड़ा हुआ है। जिस मुल्क में भाषा का प्रश्न हल नहीं होगा, उस मुल्क में भूख का प्रश्न हल नहीं हो सकता है। जिस देश में भाषाई एकता नहीं होगी उस देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता कायम नहीं हो सकती है। हमारे देश की एकता के लिए यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि हमारे देश में अपनी एक भाषा हो। जिस देश में राष्ट्रीयता नहीं है, जिस देश में अपनी भाषा के प्रति निष्ठा नहीं है, वह देश तरकी नहीं कर सकता है। मैं दक्षिण भारत की भाषाओं के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर भारतीयों को दक्षिण की भाषाएँ सीखनी चाहिए। उत्तर भारत के अन्दर तमिल, तेलुगू, वजड़ और मलयालम को अनिवार्य रूप से पढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। मैं अपने दक्षिण भारत के भाइयों की भावनाओं को समझता हूँ। हमारे डी० एम० के० मित्त जब सदन में अपनी भाषा में बोलते हैं तो हम उसका ट्रांसलेशन समझने की कोशिश करते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे दक्षिण भारत के मित्त सदन में अपनी भाषा में बोले ताकि हम लोग जान सकें कि उनकी भाषा में कौन-कौन से ऐसे शब्द हैं जिनको हम समझते

हैं। स्वर्गीय श्री कामराज जी जब आल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष थे तो वे "पारकालाम" शब्द का प्रयोग किया करते थे और इस प्रकार से हम लोग यह शब्द सीख गये। इसी प्रकार से मुझे जब पिछली बार चिकमगलूर जाने का अवसर मिला तो मैंने बहुत से वहाँ की भाषा के शब्द सीखे। आप जानते हैं कि हम जब किसी मुल्क में जाते हैं तो उनकी भाषा के शब्दों को सीखते हैं और उनकी भाषा को समझने की कोशिश करते हैं। अपनी भाषा में जितने ओजपूर्ण ढंग से किसी बात को प्रकट किया जा सकता है उतना विदेशी भाषा में प्रकट नहीं किया जा सकता है। मैं आपके सामने श्री रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल का एक गीत रखना चाहता हूँ जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है —

'सर फिरोसी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है,
देखना है जोर कितना बाजुए कातिल में है।
धक्कत आने पर बता देगे तुझे ये। आसमां,
क्या बताएँ अभी से, क्या हमारे दिल में है।'

कितनी जान है इसमें अपनी मातृभाषा में किसी बात को अच्छा प्रकार से प्रकट किया जा सकता है। इसी प्रकार से आगे देखिये—राधा के काले बालों की छटा, सावन के काले बादलों की छटा। इसको हम अंग्रेजी में इस प्रकार से प्रकट नहीं कर सकते हैं। अंग्रेजी में यह ओज और माधुर्य नहीं है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि सभी दलों की और इस संसद् के सभी सदस्यों की यह जिम्मेदारी है कि वे इस देश में एक भाषा के लिए वातावरण बनायें और देश की एकता की जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर लें। क्या भाषा के प्रश्न पर इस मुल्क को तोड़ना चाहते हैं? क्या भाषा के प्रश्न पर हिन्दुतान को खंड-खंड करना चाहते हैं? क्या भाषा के प्रश्न पर मुट्ठी भर लोगों के षडयंत्र का शिकार बनना चाहते हैं? क्या भाषा के प्रश्न पर कुछ मुट्ठी भर नौकर-शाहों का हम शिकार बन कर के मुल्क की जनता को गुमराह करना चाहते हैं? तमिल नाडु के 98 फीसदी लोग

तमिल जानते हैं और वे तमिल के माध्यम से अपना विकास करना चाहते हैं। कर्नाटक की 98 प्रतिशत जनता कन्नड़ के माध्यम से तरक्की करना चाहती है। आंध्र की 98 प्रतिशत जनता तेलुगु के माध्यम से अपना तरक्की करना चाहती है। केरल की 98 प्रतिशत जनता मलयालम के माध्यम से अपनी तरक्की करना चाहती है और उत्तर के राज्य उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, बिहार और राजस्थान हिन्दी भाषा भाषी इलाके अपनी मातृ के माध्यम से अपनी तरक्की करना चाहते हैं और मुल्क में लोकशाही को कायम करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन निहित स्वार्थ के लोग, जो कि केवल दो प्रतिशत हैं पूरे देश के अन्दर, चाहे उत्तर के रहने वाले हों या दक्षिण के, पूर्व के हों या पश्चिम के रहने वाले हों, वे निहित स्वार्थ के लोग भाषा के प्रश्न पर देश की जनता को गुमराह करना चाहते हैं। मैं उनसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हम भाषा के प्रश्न को हल नहीं करते हैं तब तक हम इस मुल्क में कमी भी आर्थिक समस्याओं को हल करने में सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं। जापान ने अपनी तरक्की कैसे की? क्या उसने अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से अपनी तरक्की की? जर्मनी ने अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से क्या अपनी तरक्की की? चीन क्या अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से अपनी तरक्की कर रहा है? क्या दुनिया का कोई भी राष्ट्र अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से, हमारे देश की भाषा से गौरव अनुभव करेगा? कोई भी इसके लिये गौरव अनुभव करेगा यह मैं नहीं समझता। किसी भी राष्ट्र भक्त, किसी भी देश भक्त के लिये यह गौरव की बात नहीं हो सकती। हम अभी जर्मनी गये थे। बाहर का कोई भी मुल्क अपनी भाषा के अलावा किसी दूसरी भाषा में नहीं बोलता था। केवल हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा मुल्क है जो कि अंग्रेजी में बोलना पसंद करता है। हिन्दुस्तानी और उन्हीं देशों के लोग अंग्रेजी में बोलना पसंद करते हैं जो कि बहुत दिनों तक अंग्रेजों के गुलाम

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

रहे हैं। उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाषा का प्रश्न जो है वह हमारी स्वाधीनता से जुड़ा हुआ है। क्या कारण है कि हिन्दुस्तान हजारों वर्षों तक गुलाम रहा ? हिन्दुस्तान के इतने वर्षों तक गुलाम रहने का क्या कारण था ? मेरे विचार में हिन्दुस्तान की हजारों वर्षों तक गुलामी का कारण जनता की उदासीनता रही है। जिस समय यहां हिन्दू राजाओं की हुकूमत थी तो उस समय इस देश की राजकाज की भाषा संस्कृत थी जब कि जनता की बोली अपभ्रंश थी। हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू राजाओं की समाप्ति के बाद इस मुल्क पर मुगलों की हुकूमत हुई। उनकी राजकाज की भाषा फारसी थी और जनता की बोली हिन्दी, उर्दू, तमिल, कन्नड़ और मलयालम आदि थी। जब इस मुल्क में अंग्रेजी की हुकूमत कायम हुई तो राजकाज की भाषा अंग्रेजी रही और हिन्दी उर्दू, तमिल, कन्नड़ ये भाषाएँ जनता में बोली जाती रहीं। जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ तो उसके बाद भी पुनः हमारे मुल्क में राजकाज की भाषा अंग्रेजी रही। इस तरह राजकाज की भाषा अलग रही और जनता की बोली अलग रही। इस पर भी हम लोकतंत्र, लोकशाही, प्रजातंत्र, लोक भोजन और लोक भवन की बात करते रहे तो यह कभी भी इन देश के लिये शांति की बात नहीं है। इसलिये मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की इस मुल्क की गुलामी का कारण ही यही रहा है। इस मुल्क में हुकूमत करने वाले 2 प्रतिशत या 1 प्रतिशत लोगों की भाषा अलग और जनता की भाषा अलग रही है। यही कारण रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान हमेशा विदेशी हमलावरों के आगे घुटने टकता रहा और विदेशी हमलावार हमेशा इस देश की धरती पर कामयाब रहे हैं और हमने विदेशियों से मुकाबले हारे हैं। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता की बोली में ही हमें राजकाज चलाना चाहिए इससे इस मुल्क में लोकशाही ही और प्रजातंत्र पर हमारी निष्ठा प्रकट होगी।

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर हैं। हम यहां अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं। हम दर्शक लोग दर्शक दोर्घा में बैठते हैं जिनको कहा जाता है कि इस देश की जनता सावरन है, सर्व सत्ता सम्पन्न है, जनता सबसे बड़ी है और हम उनके प्रतिनिधि हैं। हम यहां दिल्ली की पार्लियामेंट में अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं। क्या दर्शक दीर्घा में आने वाले 90 प्रतिशत लोग अंग्रेजी जानते हैं ? वे अंग्रेजी में सुनते हैं और उठ कर चले जाते हैं। क्योंकि उनको कुछ जानकारी नहीं होती कि हमारे प्रतिनिधि किस समस्या पर, किस नीति पर, किस योजना पर, किस आर्थिक नीति पर, किस सामाजिक नीति पर बहस चला रहे हैं। इसलिये लोगों में उदासीनता होती है। दर्शक दीर्घा के अन्दर जनता के लोग हमारी भाषा को नहीं समझ पाते। अगर हम लोग अपनी मातृ भाषा के अन्दर यह बहस चलायें, उत्तर प्रदेश के लोग हिन्दी में बहस चलायें, तमिल नाडु के लोग तमिल में चलायें, कर्नाटक के लोग कन्नड़ में बहस चलायें, केरल के लोग मलयालम में बहस चलायें और दर्शक-दीर्घाओं पर जो कर्नाटक से, त्रिवेन्द्रम से, कन्याकुमारी से लोग आते हैं तब वे हमारी राजकाज की भाषा को समझ सकते हैं। आदरणीय उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुट्ठी भर लोग देश की जनता की छाती पर मुख में अंग्रेजी की बोली ले कर और हाथ में बन्दूक की गोली लेकर बैठे हुए हैं और उनके माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान में लोकभाषा की कभी प्रगती नहीं हो सकती। इसलिये मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ...

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, he has taken more than 16-17 minutes.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Madhavan, would you please bear with me for a moment?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: It is not a question of bearing. I do not want to be another ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): When such a powerful lung-power is used, I cannot listen to what you are saying. Now what do you want?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I refuse to hear him. He has to sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Why?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Because you advised him to take only 10 minutes. You yourself prescribed the time. I am only repeating what you said. I am just quoting you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You take your seat.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: No, I cannot. I am sorry. You may send me out. You advised that every Member should take only 10 minutes. He has already taken more than 16-17 minutes. There cannot be a different standard for Shri Kalp Nath Rai.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): When your turn comes, you will be given more time. We had decided upon a discipline of 15 minutes for every Member. Under Rule 161, the Chairman can allow only 15 minutes to a Member, but, since Shri Jagannathrao Joshi took 30 minutes, I cannot enforce discipline on him. I had also to accept that everybody is equal. It is a very sensitive subject. I had to find time for everybody here. Go ahead, Shri Kalp Nath Rai.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Kerala): You must allow Mr. Madhavan to speak for half an hour.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Kalp Nath Rai, hurry up.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आदरणीय मारन साहब

के प्रस्ताव के प्रति सद्भावना प्रकट करते हुए चाहता हूँ कि भाषा के प्रश्न पर हिन्दुस्तान के सभी राजनीतिक दलों की एक गोलमेज कांफ्रेंस बुलाई जाए जिसमें विरोधी पार्टियाँ के, जनता सरकार के सभी दलों के प्रतिनिधि शामिल हों।

जिस भावना के अनुकूल महात्मा गांधी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस, राजगोपालाचारी, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और टी० प्रकाशन हिन्दुस्तान के अतीत को सामने रख कर भविष्य के सुहावने दिन का निर्माण करना चाहते थे तथा भाषा के माध्यम से राष्ट्र को शक्तिशाली बनाना चाहते थे, वह कार्य पूर्ण हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती लोगों को मौका न मिले और राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर मुल्क में भाषा के प्रश्न को हल किया जाए। कोई भाषा किसी के ऊपर थोपी नहीं जा सकती। कांग्रेस (आई) किसी भी भाषा को किसी पर थोपने के खिलाफ है। लेकिन भाषा के नाम पर देश के अन्दर कोई उपद्रव या कोई विप्लव पैदा करने के भी खिलाफ है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि भाषा के प्रश्न पर सभी राष्ट्रीय पार्टियों की एक गोलमेज कांफ्रेंस बुला कर राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य स्थापित करने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए, तभी जा कर इस मुल्क की राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत बनाया जा सकता है और अपने मुल्क की आजादी को सुरक्षित रखा जा सकता है। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I was to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am sorry, it is my mistake. It is Mr. Madhavan. I am sorry, Mr. Madhavan.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I can understand your chivalry. I support the amendment moved by Mr. Kunjachen, who hails from the part of

[Shri K. K. Madhavan]

the country from which I hail. I am bound by time. I mean what I speak and I speak what I feel.

DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU: Speak in Malayalam.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: With this introduction, I pass on . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You speak in whatever language you please.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I pass on deliberately as a token of protest, to my own mother tongue. Malayalam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Go ahead.

*SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I learnt Malayalam through my mother's milk. As a boy I learn Malayalam. But I could not speak in Malayalam here so long because I wanted others to understand what I speak. But what has been happening here; we have been witnessing many scenes here. Sir, many things have happened here which did not fit in well with the dignity of this august House, Sir. Some people were monopolising this House virtually by means of their lung power. Is it justice? Do they believe in the maxim of 'might is right'? Now I have another complaint Sir, The arrangements made for simultaneous interpretation of speeches are not sufficient. Do you know the reasons? Here when they want to appoint interpreters in languages like Malayalam, they prescribe very high qualifications and experience in Journalism and teaching etc., but they are not prepared to pay suitable remuneration for their job. Big job and small pay that is the criterion. They have no prospects for promotions here. These people who are doing this job

*English translation of the original speech in Malayalam.

of interpretation are more qualified and knowledgeable than many Hon'ble Members and Ministers sitting here. They should be given proper remuneration for their job. But in the absence of that there is difficulty in attracting qualified people for this job whenever they want to appoint more interpreters.

Now Sir, I am capable of understanding the Resolution moved by Shri Murasoli Maran in spirit though not in letter. That is why I am supporting the amendment moved by Shri Kunjachan who hails from my State—although he represents a different Party. Now I want to say something about myself in this connection Sir. My son joined the Cole college. I advised him to opt for Hindi in place of Malayalam and by studying Hindi instead of Malayalam he secured first division marks. I have another son who also has learnt Hindi. Sir, when I went to Banaras Hindu University to study Law there during the quit-India movement, propagation of Hindi was one of the things for us to do and I had learnt some Hindi also at that time. But later when I observed the fanaticism of people like Shri Raj Narain there I put a stop to my study of Hindi. Sir, I would like to say that it is the Hindi zealots who spoil the cause of Hindi. My prayer is that Hindi must be saved from the hands of these people.

Sir, I have got here with me some authoritative books on South Indian languages. I have got another book on Hindi entitled 'Scientific History of Hindi language', published by the Hindi Sahitya Akademy. I am not reading from it at the moment. Similarly I have got two authoritative books on South Indian Languages published by Universities, one edited by Mark Collins entitled 'Dravidian Studies' published by the Madras University; the 'History of Tamil Language' by Shri T. P. Meenakshisundaram. This book was written by a linguistic expert like Meenakshisundaram and published by the Dec-

can college Post Graduate and Research Institute Poona. I have the copies of these books with me and therefore I speak with authority. I am not making a speech from the Public Maidan. As regards Hindi I would like to ask my friends about the history of Hindi language. Sir, I would like to know whether Hindi has any literature more than five hundred years old. At the same time the south Indian languages have a history of thousands of years. This book established that historic fact. Then Caldwell says about the grammar of Tamil and other South Indian languages. Even a study of the comparative grammar of Dravidian languages by Caldwell has only encouraged the theory of mixing of languages. Then it mentions about the thousands of years of age of Tamil language and other South Indian languages. The linguistic experts have established after long study and research that four South Indian languages have a very long history and they had common origin and later branched off into four. This is what I have to say. Sir, many languages in the country are richer, more prosperous and older than Hindi. Urdu is richer than Hindi. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada are a richer than Hindi. Then I do not understand how Hindi can stand any comparison with other languages. Now they are talking about majority. Where is this majority? Hindi speaking people constitute only about 41 per cent. of our population. We have the census reports before us. Then where is this majority they are talking

about. Now the question is about link language. Yes we must have a link language. But what happened to the three language formula? I would like to ask this Government whether they are prepared to continue the three language formula. Two days back our Foreign Minister Mr. Vajpayee admitted here that Mr. Nehru was a great man. Yes, Nehru was great and magnanimous too. It was during his time that this three language formula was introduced. But these people who are sitting here in Delhi now, are not prepared to continue that policy. Sir, there are some people here whose attitude is that the people from other languages are asking for some charity from them. I happened to remark here once that if anybody thinks that there is no India beyond the Vindhyas they are wrong.

5 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Madhavan, just a moment, please take your seat.

As per our Rules we have to adjourn the House at 5 P.M. on Friday. So, Mr. Madhavan, you will get the balance of your time next time.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at two minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 26th February, 1979.