

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] Since the Tamil Nadu Government did not do so, I want to know what the Government of India is going to do . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. A. APPAN: How can you do it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I know my friend, Mr. Appan, knows very well and he is very learned and his wife is more learned. But, Sir, all that I say is that a constitutional crisis is developing. The Assembly has been adjourned.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: No, Sir. Please do not allow him. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you must sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What do you mean?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: You have got no right. We are in the House of elders ...

*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, we are not seized of this problem now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir. We are the House of elders. Therefore, Mr. Appan should not behave like a child. What I say is that the Government should come out and say what it is going to do.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Appan, you have to speak on this now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On his point of order?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. On the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is not representing the Tamil Nadu Assembly here. Let him speak on his point of order.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I find- that the Tamil Nadu Assembly cannot even meet. So, . . .

*(Interruptions)* MR. DEPUTY

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, we are not seized of this problem. Mr. Appan will speak on the motion now.

#### **MOTION RE TWELFTH REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—contd.**

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are now discussing the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. This Report relates to the period 196C-1S70 and it is being discussed in 1972. I have been repeatedly telling this House that the Government should see that any report that is presented should be able to help the Government certainly and unless the reports are submitted in time, at least within two or three months from the close of the accounting year there is no use, because we are behind the period by four or five years. What can we do then? Nothing can be done. Fortunately, Sir, the Home Minister is here and he should see that no report is submitted to the House late and that every report that is presented to Parliament is submitted at least within three months from the date of the conclusion of the accounting period. Furthermore, Sir, fortunately or unfortunately, the office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been occupied by three persons so far and according to the Report, unfortunately, there has been a break in this twice. You see, when there is no Chairman, how can an office function? Unless there is some head in an organisation, how can any function go on? What was the difficulty in finding a suitable person for this as if we are having a dearth of eminent people? When Mrs. Chandrasekhar can occupy this chair, anybody can occupy it. What is the difficulty? You could not fill up this post two or three times consecutively. Mr. Chanda was the Commissioner; Mr. Malik was the Commissioner; and

Mrs. Chandrasekhar was the Commissioner. Mr. Malik held the office from July 30, 1957 to July 30, 1962. So, there was a break from July 30, 1962 till March, 1963. Then, even after Mr. Chanda had left office on April 24, 1966, there was another break till Mrs. Chandrasekhar took over on 27th October, 1967. Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is really unfortunate. All these things are only a tall talk, and we are being very clever in giving only lip-sympathy.

The Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been to Andamans. AU these years, the Andaman Administration has been telling the Government that there are no scheduled castes and scheduled tribes there. Why? Just to deprive them, wilfully, intentionally, of all the benefits that are vouchsafed to them in the Constitution. When we had been there last, it was represented that 75 per cent of the population in Nicobar and Andaman Islands, from Punjab, from Bengal, from Orissa, from Tamil Nadu, is of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. When scheduled castes formed 75 per cent of the population of Andaman, it is really mischievous, malicious on the part of those people who are there to deprive them of certain benefits, and they even had the audacity to say that they did not have scheduled castes. Will the hon. Minister please see and assure on the floor of the House that he would take immediate action to see that the scheduled castes are classified as such? They do not have even free education.

Out of 14 languages, only "three languages—Bengali, Hindi and Urdu—are classified as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage. Mr. Deputy Chairman, what is it? At least up to the age of 14 years they should have their instruction in their own mothertongue. The Tamilians have been fighting for a long time to establish a higher secondary school in their medium of instruction. We have a large number of people there, speaking Tamil. But this thing is being denied to them. The hon. Minister in charge of linguistic minorities, and the

hon. Minister representing Andaman and Nicobar, will please see that immediate action is taken to see that the medium of instruction is Tamil also up to the college level.

Furthermore, here in Delhi, we have at least 2 lakhs or 3 lakhs people who live in slums; they live in *Jhuggi jhon-pries* as they are called. But I know that in *Jhuggi jhonpries*, except in two or three places, there are no elementary schools also. The Tamil Nadu Educational Association, run by some caste Hindus, are levying a fee of Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 On these poor people, mostly coolies. Will the hon. Minister please see that the collection of fees from the poor people, that is being done by the Tamil Nadu Educational Association run by Caste Hindus, is stopped forthwith? Will he also see that every *Jhuggi jhonpri*, be it Bengali, be it Tamilian or be it Malayalam, has an elementary school at least up to the 8th or 10th standard. I do not find even elementary schools up to the 5th standard in *Jhuggi jhonpries*. I think that is also a matter about which he has to take some action.

In a number of these *Jhuggi jhonpries*, people are often given trouble. Their huts are being demolished. I was told only yesterday that near Birla Mandir, they demolished the *Jhuggi jhonpries* of Harijans. They simply pay lip service to them. I am told that last week in the Indira Market colony about 7 or 8 houses have been burnt.

In our Tamil Nadu whenever there is some catastrophe, whenever there is some break-out of fire in a small hut, our Government immediately goes for help but you have not given them any help so far. This is also a matter of concern.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, there is one more thing. It is all right that protection has to be given to the linguistic minorities but undue protection or encouragement has also to be avoided for certain vested interests of linguistic majority. Instead of giving protection and safety to linguistic minorities, you are only trying to give undue representation, undue encouragement,

[Shri G. A. Appan]

undue patronage to the people who speak one particular language. I do not like that. We do not have any aversion to any religion or language but we may have to tell that imposition of anybody's language should not be done on others. That will create difficulties. On the one hand people say that there should be one national language for national integration, national unity, and on the other this undue patronage and encouragement for one religion has resulted in a number of rivalries, especially in Assam, even in Punjab and in other places. We have lost a number of lives during the Hindi agitation sometime back. So, please do not do that. You are also wasting so much of public funds by giving undue encouragement to ....

(*Interruption*) Let me say it further. According to the census of 1961—that is the only Report that is available, I do not have the 1971 Report—among the major languages in India Hindi comes first with 12.3 crores and odd, Telugu comes 2nd with 3.764 crores and odd, Bengali comes third with 3.375 crores and odd, Marathi comes fourth with 3.275 crores and odd and Tamil comes fifth. Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is already recognised all over the world • that the oldest Indian language., the richest Indian language and the best Indian language with high and ever-increasing heritage was, is and will be Tamil. Why don't you try to encourage either Telugu or Bengali or Marathi or Tamil? Why don't you take the best language like Tamil to be the national language? All right, whatever I am saying is not going to matter much but at least you give protection to the minorities as is enshrined in the Constitution. It is sacred, sacrosanct to try to encourage the minority people. Do not try to encourage a certain language by giving undue representation. I do not say: "Do not encourage". What I mean to say is: If any language has to be encouraged, let the people who speak that language, let the States that speak that particular language do it from their own funds, State funds

but not from the Central revenues. If the intention of this Minority Linguistic Commission is to safeguard the interests of the minority community, why don't you be sincere and give preference to Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Marathi? Why should you give undue preference to those people? By giving more representation you are trying to create more jobs, more employment opportunities for those people who speak this particular language. You want to see those people working as typists and on all other posts.

Even according to the world figures, the first language spoken by the largest population is Mandarin, that is Chinese comes first with 505 million.

English comes second. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, people say that they do not want to encourage English. I do not know why in a quixotic frenzy people reject this language, this international language. You know our resources are limited and our ways and means are limited and English is an international language and I do not see any reason why there should be a three-language formula. Let everybody develop his educational policy up to higher secondary level in his own mother-tongue and even up to college level. But, Sir, why should this international language be rejected? Everybody, including the President, is telling and other big big people are telling that it is not time for us to discard English. You know, when you develop Hindi like that you can say so. But Hindi is a recent language only and it has not sufficiently developed to meet the scientific needs and other requirements and all these things are there. You see, last time, when I went to Bihar, some boys from the HT came to me and wept and said, "We cannot do anything. Sir. We learnt everything in Hindi here and you are trying to deprive us of the international standards in education for our younger generation". You know, Sir, I wanted to know the votes for and against English when the language Bill was passed. I wrote a letter to our Secretary and J wrote a letter to the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and I

[Shri S. G. Sardesai] have been referred to in this particular Report before us. In fact, I want to go still further. If you look into the very recent period, the last two or three years, you will find that we witnessed all sorts of immense mass upsurges, immense mass upheavals, immense mass explosions on the language question. This is the state to which our country has come today. It is not just a violation of this right or that right with regard to education, but of blood being shed. Violence is there, arson is there, looting is there. This is the depth to which the various problems connected with language have come to in our country. Now, it is very necessary to go into this and not just go into certain technical things which are covered by this Report. Some of the discontent which is coming up in this country is proper. Their demands are very just with regard to the medium of education, with regard to examination and all these kinds of things, but what I should think is far more serious and far more dangerous, both to the unity of our country—and I would go a step further—and to the security of our country is the chauvinism displayed with regard to the problem of language in various States of India. That is why I think it is very necessary to understand the link between the problem of linguistic minorities and the language problem as a whole. It is not just a question of linguistic minorities, but what is happening to the entire language problem. We must go further and go to the root of these language disturbances in the country. What is at the root of it? If we try to go into the root of these linguistic disturbances in the country, what we have got to go into is the question of the relationship of the language problem to the most agonising problem in India today, namely, the problem of unemployment. I am not at all drawing a far fetched relationship. The thing has become so direct now that you cannot just deal with this problem unless you go into the root of it, and see how we can fight it out. Naturally enough in a situation like this who are the most active, who

are sometimes the most violent? It is the educated youth, it is the middle-class youth. Because they are educated, naturally they can be better organised, and the question of their unemployment is raised in the most sharp fashion. Meanwhile the fact remains that all kinds of outbursts related to language today are very directly in almost all cases connected with the problem of employment which is facing us. We should go a step further. I will come to the specific question of media and all these things. In this country it is the Government which is the single biggest employer and it is the Government service which is the single biggest Source of employment for the educated people in this country. Whether you take the Central Government, whether you take the State Government, whether you go to the district level, it is these official agencies that offer the single biggest source of employment for the people today.

Now the minorities must have education. They must have it in their own language, their own medium. The examinations must be held in certain languages. A certain amount of employment must be guaranteed to the various people. But leaving aside the question of the rights or the injustice being done to the minorities, the crisis is so deep that even these languages which are majority languages in various States—are the people of those languages getting justice?

I am deliberately raising this question because after all the defence of the rights of the linguistic minorities is connected with the defence of the normal rights of the entire people, all people, whether they are in majority or minority. What is happening today? My friend just now demanded—though I do not at all agree with it—that English should become once again the language of national inter-communication, language of education, language of examination. I totally disagree with that, but I would like to ask why this strange kind of demand from all over India that not an Indian language but a foreign

could not get any reply. I hope the honourable Minister will please say now at least how many votes were cast for Hindi when the Bill was passed and how many votes were against it. I was told that there is no provision in the Constitution that would say on a particular day that this is so, as long as that is not available . . .

MIR, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Appan, you should wind up now.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Yes, Sir. I am finishing now. Only one more minute.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. You have taken more than twenty minutes.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Under these circumstances, Sir, let me conclude by saying that the Government should be honest in what they say and that they should not be deceitful, in other words, not to be indifferent. You know, Sir, in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are to be given the benefits and they should take special steps to give them all the benefits and to include the Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the List and also to see that the people in the *jhuggi-jhojpries*, the people belonging to different language groups, are provided education at least up to the 8th standard. With, these words, I conclude, Sir.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have before us for discussion the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. I have not the remotest doubt that it would have been far better if we had a more recent report before us, for 1970-71 at least if not for 1971-72. But I would definitely like to say that even if we had a more recent report, as we should really have had, most probably it would tell us the same sad tale that has been narrated on page after page of this Report. What is the main thing which has been stated in this Report in conclusion, where its findings have been summarised? The main thing which has been stated therein is that the rights

of linguistic minorities in India, even such rights as have been granted by our Constitution, are being violated by almost all the States in India. Some of the States have not even accepted in principle some of the rights which have been agreed to at various conferences of Ministers and of Tidal conferences called by the Government. If you see the references in this Report to the earlier report, last years report made by the Commissioner, it actually mentions that there is a danger in this country of linguistic minorities becoming inferior citizens. This is the kind of comment and this is the kind of conclusion that the very official and responsible officer has got to place before us. There is violation of the rights of linguistic minorities both of those which are there in the Constitution as also those which have been accepted at innumerable conferences. It goes all along the line, in respect of education at the primary level, in respect of the medium of education, in respect of the language of examination, in respect of employment in Government services. In all these cases their rights are being violated. This is the main thing which this Report wants to bring out. I want to go a step further. Probably that was not within the scope of this Report or the authority of the Commissioner, but we know that what is happening in India today in certain parts is far more serious in respect of the rights of linguistic minorities. Apart from their rights in respect of the medium of education and employment in Government services and all those kinds of things, we find that there are parts in India where even the life, property and honour of linguistic minorities are not being guarded. This is what is happening. At the moment it may have happened in Assam. In the past it happened in other States also. It has happened in my State where in a chauvinistic movement, the Shiv Sena openly attacked not only the linguistic rights of the minorities, but even the right to employment and the right to a decent life. So, these kinds of things have been happening which are far more grave and far more serious than these which

language should become the national language. It is coming because the younger people have begun to feel that English is the only language through which if they are educated they can get Government service, they can get employment, they can get jobs. If they do not know English, even if they know Hindi, even then the prospects of employment are not there. That is why this perverted demand that English should become a national language is coming once again in this country. DR, R. K. CHAKRABARTI (WEST BENGAL): All languages are equal.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: For the advancement of scientific knowledge I claim that.

(*Interruption*) SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Please listen to me. I am not against English being taught. That is not the point. I am making a distinction between English being necessary for scientific knowledge and demanding that English should become a national language—there is a gulf of difference between the two. The Russians learn English. The French learn English. Of course they have their own language. Each country has its own language which becomes the national language of that country. I stand for the full development of all languages in India ,...

SHRI G. A. APPAN: But you do not give chance for the development of other languages.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: I am coming to that point. I am not against all languages coming up in India. That too is related to the economic problem. Now as far as enforcement of Hindi on other people is concerned, I do not want it. But how does this sort of chauvinistic sentiment among certain sections of the Hindi people come up? Again it is a question of employment. They think that if Hindi became the national language, then naturally they would have more employment. Ultimately it is employment. Whether chauvinism grows in minority languages or whether chauvinism grows in majority languages, in both cases the root cause is the same. That is the point which I want to empha-

size. Not only that, it is extremely interesting to go into entire question. Some of our regional conflicts within the same language area, where do they corns from? Today we see the amazing picture of a conflict between Telengana and the rest of Andhra. The whole State has one language. They have one common language with regard to education, medium of examination, services, etc. Yet this thing comes up. If this evil is not properly checked, in the end it creates conflicts not only between the followers of one language and another but between the speakers of the same language. That is the picture which we see today.

In this connection, what I have to say is this. At some other time there may be a further discussion on this entire question; I cannot go into details just now. But I do want to say one thing more emphatically and that is this that the intensification of this entire problem is essentially rooted in the economic field. I want to be very clear about the whole thing. This Government has been consistently, with all its declarations, encouraging, aiding and abetting capitalist development; it has been developing monopoly development which necessarily results in profiteering, blackmarketeering, inflation, shortages, crisis in production and unemployment. This is what is happening and the younger generation cannot get employment; the only source where they can get employment is in the government. Therefore, all these conflicts are there in Assam and in so many other States. What is happening in Assam is surely a very chauvinistic movement. We should all be very sorry for it. What is the feeling there? The feeling is—leave out the Bengalees for the time being—if within the university English is kept the Bengalees will have a very great advantage over them because they are in a better economic and social condition. That is why the issue gets distorted, youth gets disoriented, it leads to all kinds of development. So the crucial thing to which we come is this. So far as the basic rights of all the languages and the linguistic minorities are concerned, they are very

[Shri S. G. Sardesai] dearly stated in our Constitution, they have very clearly been accepted by the numerous conferences held by this Government. What are they? Firstly, all languages in India are equal. There is no single language which is above the rest. Secondly, they must be fully developed. Thirdly, with the voluntary consent of the people speaking the different languages of India— with their voluntary consent, I want to emphasise—steadily Hindi should replace English as the medium of common communication. Fourthly, the medium of education in every State should be mainly the language of that State with the minority rights properly guaranteed. And fifthly, in the services these kinds of discriminations and other things should not be there. These are the basic principles. These have been accepted. But once again I would like to state that within the framework which is covered by this Report, I am convinced that these rights will not be implemented. That is why I want to go a step further and say that if we want to unite this country, all languages should have proper . And there was the question of Nepali which had come up. They are totally right. They have demanded in Darjeeling about the Nepali language. The Prime Minister has said that it is not an immediate problem. It is not so. This problem is there, their rights should be protected. All these things are there. Even in Assam, after peace is restored the problem will not be solved. It can only be solved by guaranteeing the rights of the linguistic minorities, in guaranteeing the rights even of those people who speak the majority language in a given State. The main problem is of unemployment. And we are not going to solve this problem unless that is solved. Fifteen years ago it might not have been there. But precisely today the depth of the problem is such that unless you attack it at the economic roots, the situation is going to go from bad to worse and we will not be in a position to overcome it. Leave aside these minor things whether sufficient schools are provided or not. These violent linguistic conflicts today are the greatest danger to the

unity and freedom of this country. That is why I am taking this occasion to emphasise that we have got to come out against chauvinism, whether it is the majority linguistic chauvinism or minority linguistic chauvinism. We have got to come out against it. We can successfully do it only if a frontal attack is made on the monopolies and only if the industries are developed in such a fashion that all the people get jobs and also only when a situation is created when the youth will not have to look up to Government service and the Government may not be the sole employer: it is only when the industrial economy grows simultaneously that the question of the rights of the linguistic minorities will be solved.

SHRI K. B. CHETTRI (West Bengali. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, despite some loopholes in the Twelfth report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities I welcome the report whole-heartedly. I thank the Commissioner for his keen initiative in projecting even delicate matters of importance in detail.

In view of the national integration, the Government of India has taken up serious measures for the safeguards of the interests of linguistic minorities. The Government should see that these measures are implemented by the different State governments with sincerity, honesty and firm determination. It is fruitless to adopt serious measures in paper only, without thinking for their definite implementation.

The question of national integration should be carefully taken into consideration specially for the linguistic minorities living in the border areas. Unless their aspirations are fulfilled the security of the country remains always insecure. The people who are in majority must have a broad outlook in life and should not treat the minority groups as a second class citizens. This can be achieved only when people are spiritually pure in heart. In this age of internationalism today it is a shame that we are fighting each other and suppressing the rights of the linguistic minorities as enshrined in our Constitution.

Our Constitution provides necessary safeguards relating to language, culture and freedom of speech, freedom of worship, equality of opportunity in matters of recruitment to service, in trade and commerce etc. Facilities to impart education in the mother tongue of the linguistic minorities is given on the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission. But some of the States have failed to implement the same. In Assam the speakers of Bishnu Priya—Manipuri, the Speaker of Dimasa and of Hmar and the Bodos are not satisfied. The Bengalis are not satisfied. I do not like to comment on the recent language problem of Assam, but I would like to say this much that those who have committed atrocities must be punished and condemned by all of us.

Now let me come to the Indian Nepalese community to which I also belong. Some of them, it is reported, have been driven out from Assam, from Mizoram and from Manipur. This is how we love each other. More than 50 lakhs of Nepalese are there in India. Our language is very rich. It can be compared with any of the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

3 P.M.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee had rightly stated that Nepali is one of the fittest languages which can be included among the major languages of India. But unfortunately we have not got the opportunity to get our language included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. But we hope, we are sure, we have full faith in the Government, that in due course our language will be given due recognition by our Government, at the right time as Bangladesh was recognised. We are very grateful to the Government of West Bengal because our language is recognised as one of the official languages in the three hill subdivisions of Darjeeling. Here I would like to draw the attention of the West Bengal Government to the fact that this provision be extended to the whole of the district of Darjeeling as recommended by the District Enquiry Committee and the late Dr. Roy.

In the case of Sahitya Akademi, we have fulfilled every condition to get our language recognised by the Sahitya Akademi. But so far it has not been accorded recognition by the Sahitya Akademi, as a result of which there is a feeling of frustration among our people, especially in the minds of litterateurs and the intelligentsia.

Now I would like to draw the attention of the House to another state of Assam. We have our people there also living as a minority. But the Government of Assam sometimes is not giving full justice to our people. Especially in the Dibrugarh parliamentary constituency, at the time of elections the names of 4,500 *bona fide* Nepalese people were deleted from the electoral rolls. The names of people who were casting their votes previously for two or three times were deleted. The names of ex-s vicemen who were born and brought up in Assam were deleted from the electoral rolls. The names of the people who had their homes and landed property in Assam were also deleted. So I would like the Government to investigate into the matter confidentially and do justice to the poor people—to the sufferers.

All the linguistic minorities should be treated as backward class people; and the Government should find a way out to sanction grants and stipends to the students belonging to all the linguistic minorities. In our area also, Nepalese students were getting stipends and scholarships from the Government. But now it has been stopped. I would like to request the Government and the Ministry concerned to review it and renew it. We have a university, the North Bengal University. I would like to request the Government to open a new department of Nepali there.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest a few proposals which may minimise the language problem. First, in the schools the conduct of education should be in the mother tongue of the people of that area. Linguistic minorities consisting of more than 10 to 15 per cent, should be allowed to open



[Shri K. B. Chettri] their own schools with the help of the Government. In the case of colleges, apart from the colleges who are imparting education in the regional languages, the linguistic minorities who are more than 20 per cent must be allowed to open colleges of their own and impart education in their mother tongue. And these colleges should be affiliated to the universities who are imparting education in the same mother tongue in the State or outside the State. In the case of university education, education must be imparted in the regional languages of India, and English, and when the time is very ripe, it must be converted into Hindi and Hindi should be introduced as the national language.

Thank you.

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा (आसाम) :** उपसभापति महोदय, संविधान में भाषायी अल्पसंख्यक लोगों के बारे में जो भी अधिकार दिये गये हैं उनको मान्यता मिलनी चाहिए, केन्द्र में भी और प्रांतों में भी और इसी दृष्टिकोण से यह लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज कमीशन की बारहवीं रिपोर्ट काफी महत्व रखती है और इसमें काफी सुझाव हैं। जिन-जिन प्रांतों में भाषायी अल्पसंख्यक हैं उनके अधिकारों का वहां कुछ हद तक हन्त किया गया है। इसमें हम लोगों ने देखा है कि आसाम का रेफरेंस कल से आज तक काफी हुआ है, लेकिन लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में जहां तक प्राइमरी एजुकेशन या सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन के बारे में कहा गया है उसमें हम यह देखते हैं कि जहां तक कमीशन के सामने रिपोर्ट के दाखिल करने का सवाल है, उसमें आसाम की रिपोर्ट तो है लेकिन और बहुत से प्रांत हैं जैसे आंध्र प्रदेश, बिहार, पंजाब उन्होंने लगातार कई सालों तक कोई रिपोर्ट दाखिल नहीं की है इस कमीशन के सामने और जहां तक प्राइमरी स्टैंडर्ड और सेकेंडरी स्टैंडर्ड में अल्पसंख्यक भाषायी लोगों को सुविधा देने की बात है, हम देखते हैं कि पंजाब ने बिलकुल इंकार किया, चंडीगढ़ ने इंकार किया और यहां तक कि

हिन्दुस्तान में जहां से कि राष्ट्रीय नेता प्रधान मंत्री तक आती हैं और जो कि काफी बड़ा प्रान्त है—उत्तर प्रदेश, वहां भी सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन के लिए इस संबंध में कोई खास सुविधा नहीं है। यह सब जब हम देखते हैं तो हमें यह मानना पड़ता है कि सभी प्रान्तों की तुलना में भाषायी अल्पसंख्यक लोगों के बारे में आसाम में बहुत कुछ हुआ है।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** आप ने हिन्दी कहां से सीखी है ? इतनी अच्छी हिन्दी कैसे बोल लेते हैं ?

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा :** बोल लेता हूं। गलत भी बोलता हूं तो मैं समझता हूं कि गलत इंग्लिश बोलने से गलत हिन्दी बोलना अच्छा है। तो भाषायी अल्पसंख्यक लोगों का अधिकार जो है वह एक अलग चीज हो नहीं सकती है। देश की जो मूल भाषा समस्या है उस के साथ यह संबंधित है और जैसा कि अभी-अभी कम्युनिस्ट पाटों के भाई श्री सर देसाई ने कहा, आर्थिक समस्याओं के साथ भी इसका संबंध है।

आज हिन्दुस्तान में हम देखते हैं कि कोई एक प्रान्त दूसरे प्रान्त की भाषा को नहीं मान सकता है, वह प्रान्तीय भाषाओं को नहीं मान सकता है, लेकिन अंग्रेजी को मानने में किसी को एतराज नहीं है। हम देखते हैं कि आज़ादी के बाद अंग्रेजी स्कूल काफी बन रहे हैं, अंग्रेजी मीडियम स्कूल काफी हो रहे हैं। इसकी वजह क्या है ? वजह यह नहीं कि कोई अंग्रेजी से खास प्रेम है। ऐसा नहीं, वजह यह है कि अंग्रेजी आधुनिकता की प्रतीक बन गई है और अंग्रेजी नौकरी प्राप्त करने का माध्यम बन गई है। इसलिये हम देखते हैं कि आज़ादी के पहले जहां कुछ बड़े-बड़े अफसर और बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपतियों के बच्चे ही अंग्रेजी मीडियम स्कूलों में जाते थे वहां आज कल शहरों के माध्यम वर्ग के लोग घर में भूखे रह कर भी अंग्रेजी मीडियम स्कूलों में अपने बच्चों को भेजते हैं। यह हालत आज देश की है। इसी के साथ-

साथ यह भी बात है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की नौकरियों के लिये हो या केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियों के लिये हो उसमें जो टेस्ट व गैरह देने की बात है, वहां अभी तक आंचलिक भाषाओं को कोई खास अधिकार नहीं है।

आज अंचल की भाषाओं को भी सुविधा दी जानी चाहिये नौकरियों में आने के लिये ताकि नौकरियों में आने के लिये अपनी अपनी भाषा में टेस्ट दे सकें। एक प्रान्त से दूसरे प्रान्त में नौकरी के लिये आज ऐसा बहुत कम परसेन्टेज होता है इस देश में—दो-तीन फीसदी। वे लोग टेस्ट अपनी भाषा में दें और छः महीने नौकरी मिलने के बाद, वहां की भाषा सीख लें यह व्यवस्था साथ में होनी चाहिये। प्रान्तों में भी प्रान्तीय सरकार की नौकरी प्रान्त की खास भाषा में हो या वहां जो क्षेत्रीय भाषा हो और प्रान्तीय भाषा की जानकारी हो। उसकी व्यवस्था देश में हो तो यह सब झगड़ा रहेगा नहीं, लेकिन आज यह झगड़ा है और असम में आंदोलन चला है। मुझे दुःख है। भा। के आंदोलन को लेकर कहीं-कहीं प्रान्तों में जो हिंसा हुई है, उसके लिये मुझे अफसोस है। लेकिन इस हिंसा के पीछे भी वहां बहुत से कारण हैं। कल कांग्रेस सदस्य नृपति रंजन चौधरी ने यहां भाषण किया था उनके भाषण में इतिहास की गलत बयानी हुई। उन्होंने कहा था कि ब्रिटिश सरकार ने सूबा बंगाल से सन् 1874 में असम प्रान्त को अलग से बनाया था। यह इतिहास नहीं है। इतिहास तो यह है कि बंगाल में प्लासी की लड़ाई के बाद से अंग्रेजी शासन मजबूत बना था, सन् 1757 में और असम में ब्रिटिश लोग गए थे 1826 में। तो ब्रिटिशर्स हकू-सत करने के लिये जब 1826 में असम में गए, उस समय असम में कोई इंगलिश एजुकटेड मिडिल क्लास नहीं था, कोई क्लर्क वगैरह नहीं था। वहां ब्रिटिश सरकार का काम करने के लिये, जब बंगाल में सन् 1757 में प्लासी में ब्रिटिश हकूमत मजबूत बनी तो असम में 100 वर्ष पहले जो अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे लोग बंगाल में निकले वे

ब्रिटिश जब कलकत्ता में गोहाटी, शिवसागर आदि में पहुंचे, उनके साथ कुछ बंगाली क्लर्क कलकत्ता से चले और सन् 1836 से लेकर 1873 तक बंगाली वहां की आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बना दी गई थी। आज एक बात जरूर इस सदन को याद रखनी चाहिये, हिन्दुस्तान में दो इलाक में अंग्रेजी शिक्षित लोग पहले निकले थे—मद्रास में और बंगाल में। हमारे डिब्रूगढ़ से ले कर उत्तर भारत के सभी इलाके में, देश विभाजन से पहले पेशावर तक बंगाली डाक्टर थे, प्रोफेसर थे और आफिसों में काम करने वाले क्लर्क थे। दक्षिण के लोगों में हम देखते थे मद्रास के लोग थे। तो वहां पर और प्रान्तों के मुकाबिले में सौ-डेढ़ सौ साल पहले से अंग्रेजी का शासन मजबूत हो चुका था और वहां के लोग अंग्रेजी सीख थे। असम में जो झगड़ा हुआ है उसकी एक जड़ यह भी है कि वहां और जगह से जो बंगाली लोग गए, नौकरी के लिए गए, वहां के लोगों के साथ मिले, लेकिन असम में जाते-जाते ही असम प्रान्त में 1836 से 1873 तक जो बंगाली को स्टेट लैंग्वेज का अधिकार वहां मिल गया था, आज भी जो वहां अल्पसंख्यक भाषा-भाषी हैं उनमें कुछ ऐसी प्रतिक्रियावादी तत्व हैं, जो चाहते हैं कि वही पुराना मौका उनको आज फिर से मिल जाए। साथ ही साथ यह भी है कि 1836 से लेकर आज 1972 तक असम में भी काफी लोग निकले जो सरकारी आफिसों में या और जगहों में नौकरी पेशे के पीछे दौड़ने लगे। बंगाली लोग जो थे उनके साथ जगह-जगह पर टक्कर हुई। लेकिन यह नहीं हो सकता है कि बंगाली भाषा का जो पहले अधिकार था 1873 में और काफी आंदोलन के बाद असमियों को वहां की राजभाषा बनाया गया और वह फिर वहां दोबारा दाईलिअगुल स्टेट हो सकता है। सन् 1960 में भी काफी व्यापक तोड़-फोड़ वहां हुई थी। उसके बाद एक लैंग्वेज ऐक्ट 1960 में बना। अभी हमारे दार्जिलिंग के साथी बोल रहे थे। आज असम लैंग्वेज ऐक्ट (सन् 1907) और बंगाल में दार्जिलिंग क बायरे में जो प्राविजन बना (सन् 1965), इन दोनों को पढ़िए।

[श्री गोपाल बरबोरा]

दार्जिलिंग में तीन सब-डिविजनों में बंगाली के साथ नेपाली भाषा का प्रयोग किया जाता है। आसाम के काछार जिले में भी 1960 के कानून में यह रहा, लेकिन आसाम सरकार के खिलाफ मेरा यह अभियोग है कि वहां पर आसाम सरकार ने असमिया को कहीं भी चलने नहीं दिया। असमिया के साथ बंगला रही, बिल्कुल बंगला नहीं थी। लेकिन माइनारिटी कमिशन में क्या है? यह जो कछार डिस्ट्रिक्ट है, जो बंगला भाषी डिस्ट्रिक्ट कहा जाता है, विष्णुपुरिया और डिमास और माडू जाती के यहां पर सभी अल्पसंख्यक लोग रहते हैं और उनकी डिमान्ड है कि उनकी भाषा में पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था की जाय जो अभी तक उनके लिये नहीं की गई है। आसाम सरकार की यह कमजोरी है और वही झगड़े की जड़ है, क्योंकि आसाम में जो शासक दल है वह लगातार वहां पर शासन करते आ रहा है और वहां पर किसी विरोधी दल का शासन नहीं रहा। वहां पर कांग्रेस का शासन लगातार चलते आ रहा है। वहां पर हर चुनाव में अल्प संख्यकों के साथ कांटेक्ट किया जाता है और उनमें जो प्रति-क्रियावादी लोग हैं, वे उनके साथ मिले होते हैं और उन लोगों से कहा जाता है कि अगर तुम सब लोग इन-ब्लॉक वोट दोगे तो हम तुम को एक स्कूल देंगे और एक कालेज देंगे। इस तरह की वहां पर स्थिति रही। जब चालिहा माहब आये तो उस समय भी यही स्थिति रही। उसके पहले श्री विष्णुराम मेहदी जो चीफ मिनिस्टर थे तो भी यही स्थिति कायम रही। जब वहां पर शरत चन्द्र सिन्हा चीफ मिनिस्टर बन कर आये तो उन्होंने वहां के बंगला भाषी अल्पसंख्यकों को इलेक्शन के जमाने में वादा किया था, आवासन दिया था, बंगला को दूसरी राज्य भाषा का स्तर दिलाने का, लेकिन उस आश्वासन को पूरा नहीं कर पाया।

वहां पर जो कछार का डिस्ट्रिक्ट है, जो बंगला भाषी इलाका है, वहां के लोगों ने मांग की कि सारे आसाम को बाइलिगुअल बनाना चाहिये।

आसाम को बाइलिगुअल इलाका बनाना चाहते हो या मल्टी लिगुअल इलाका बनाना चाहते हो, तो हिन्दुस्तान के और भी प्रांत हैं जहां कई भाषा-भाषी लोग रहते हैं। आप केरल को ले लीजिए, महाराष्ट्र को ले लीजिए, जहां पर कई तरह के भाषा-भाषी लोग रहते हैं। महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात के बीच में झगड़ा हुआ था और गुजरात अलग हो गया, लेकिन आज भी महाराष्ट्र में गुजराती भाषा-भाषी लोग रहते हैं। बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में अब भी अल्पसंख्यक भाषा-भाषी लोग रहते हैं। अगर आप आसाम को बाइलिगुअल या मल्टी लिगुअल बनाना चाहते हो, तो फिर और प्रांतों की क्या हालत होगी, इस बारे में आपको सोचना चाहिये।

अभी आसाम में जगह-जगह पर दंगे हुए और हिंसात्मक घटनाएं हुईं। मैं इस चीज के बारे में बोलना चाहता हूं और कहना चाहता हूं कि 1960 की तुलना में इस समय वहां पर कुछ नहीं हुआ। जहां भी इस समय दंगे हुए वे संगठित रूप से किये गये। और अल्पसंख्यक बंगाली भाषी पोकटों के लोगों ने किये। 5 अक्टूबर को जब वहां पर हड़ताल हुई तो असमिया भाषा तथा बंगला भाषी कुछ विद्यार्थी दुकानदारों को अपनी दुकान बन्द करने के कहने के लिये गये और उनके ऊपर प्रहार किया गया, जिसमें मुजमिल हक मारा गया। इसी तरह से 7 अक्टूबर को अनिलबड़ा जो कालेज के यूनियन का सेक्रेटरी था वह भी मारा गया। इसके बाद नवगांव जिले में व्यापक रूप से दंगे हुए। 27 तारीख को गोलाघाट में झगड़ा फैला, इसलिये कि असमचार में एक स्कूल का असमिया लड़का मारा गया। इस तरह से डेढ़ महीने तक दंगे चले। मैं इस चीज को मानता हूं कि वहां पर जो आन्दोलन हुए, वह आसाम सरकार की कमजोरी की वजह से हुए। इस आन्दोलन को खत्म करने का सुझाव हम लोगों ने 28 अक्टूबर की रात को कई पार्टिज को लोगों के साथ चीफ मिनिस्टर को दिया था। हमने उनसे कहा था कि आसाम विधान सभा ने भाषा के बारे में जो प्रस्ताव पास किया है वह न

कछार के लोगों को मान्य है और न ब्रह्मपुत्र वेली के लोगों को मान्य है और इसलिये इसको वापस ले लिया जाय।

लेकिन 29 तारीख को उन्होंने क्या किया, उन्होंने अपील की कि प्रस्ताव को लागू नहीं करेंगे लेकिन उसको वापस लेने के बारे में बोला नहीं साथ ही साथ अन्धाधुंध लोगों को गिरफ्तार करना शुरू कर दिया। चीफ मिनिस्टर चाहते तो 11 नवम्बर तक इस आन्दोलन को चलने नहीं देते, पहले नहीं तो कम से कम 30 अक्टूबर को ही खत्म कर सकते थे। आसाम सरकार या चीफ मिनिस्टर की कमजोरी के कारण और 12 दिन सनसनी रही।

साथ में कुछ गलतफहमियां सेन्सस के बारे में कल चौधरी साहब ने रखीं। सन 1911 से लेकर 51 सेन्सस में और 71 के सेन्सस में आसाम में आसामी भाषियों की संख्या हद से ज्यादा बढ़ गई और बंगला भाषियों की संख्या बहुत घट गई, यह सब उन्होंने कहा था। इसकी कुछ वजह है। साथ में ग्वालपाड़ा जिले की बात बोली थी। ग्वालपाड़ा जिले में बंगला भाषियों का पहले एक आन्दोलन चला था कि ग्वालपाड़ा जिले को पश्चिमी बंगाल के साथ शामिल किया जाय। ग्वालपाड़ा जिले में मुस्लिम इम्मीग्रेंट्स पुराने पूर्वी बंगाल से 1911 से आकर रह रहे हैं कामरूप, नागांग और दारांग में भी हैं। वे मुस्लिम लोग बंगला भाषी थे। देश का विभाजन हुआ और देश विभाजन की जड़ आप जानते हैं। बंगाल में हिन्दु जमींदार गरीब मुसलमानों पर जुल्म ढाया करते थे, जिससे मुस्लिम लीग पैदा हुई थी। वहां से गरीब मुसलमान, खेतिहर मुसलमान आसाम में गए और बसे। जब सवाल यह पैदा हुआ कि ग्वालपाड़ा जिले को आसाम से निकाल कर पश्चिमी बंगाल के साथ मिलाया जाय तो वहां के मुसलमान घबड़ाए कि इन लोगों के साथ हम वहां लड़े, फिर हमको लड़ना पड़ेगा, इसलिये पश्चिमी बंगाल में जाने से अच्छा है कि हम आसाम में रहें और वे राजीखुशी अपनी

भाषा बंगला को छोड़ कर आसामी लेने पर राजी हुए, स्कूलों में पढ़ना शुरू किया, यह सब कछ किया। आसामी भाषा में काफी लोग पढ़ते थे, कई प्रोफेसर हैं, डाक्टर हैं, राइटर्स हैं। आजादी मिलने के 25-30 वर्ष पूर्व बंगाल से जाकर ये लोग आसाम में बसे, इन्होंने आसामी भाषा ली और वही वजह है 31 के सेन्सस और 51 के सेन्सस के फर्क की। इसमें कोई गड़बड़ी नहीं है।

हम एक केस और बताते हैं। अभी हाल में जो आसाम केबिनेट के एक मेम्बर महितोष पुरकायस्थ हैं वे अपनी सरकार के खिलाफ प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सामने बोलने के लिये आए थे, वे नौगांग जिले के एक मुस्लिम एरिया में गए, उनका भाषण हुआ, कछार के एक कांग्रेसी मुस्लिम मिनिस्टर भी गए, दोनों ही मीटिंग में थे, उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा कि आप लोग कछार जिले के हैं लेकिन आपने अपना मेमोरेंडम बंगला में न देकर आसामी में क्यों दिया है, आसामी लोगों न आपको दबाया है, आप अपनी मातृ भाषा न छोड़िए, मातृ भाषा के ऊपर किसी का दबाव नहीं हो सकता।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** ऐसा पब्लिक मीटिंग में कहा ?

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा :** जी हां। वहां इंदरिस फकीर नाम के एक एम० एल० ए० हैं, नेता हैं, उन्होंने कहा कि ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है, हम लोग कछार जिले के बंगला भाषी इलाके से 20-25 साल पहले आए, यहां के लोगों के साथ मिल कर वहां की भाषा ली, हमारे बच्चे आसामी पढ़ते हैं, कोर्ट कचहरी में आसामी के माध्यम से हम दरखास्त देते हैं। इसलिये सेन्सस फिगर्स में बंगला भाषियों की संख्या कम है।

पुलिस या एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में सारे ही असमिया अफसर नहीं हैं। यह कहा गया है कि असमिया अफसर दंगा कराने वालों के साथ मिले हुए थे।

[श्री गोलाप बरबोरा]

इस तरह के ध्यान कल यहाँ पर आये हैं। मंगलदई में जहाँ मुजामिल हक मारा गया है जो 15 साल का स्टूडेंट था, उस मंगलदई का सब-डिविजनल अफसर असमिया भाषी नहीं था, वह बंगाली था। खारुपतिया बाजार में जहाँ गड़वड़ हुई थी वहाँ का अफसर इंचार्ज बंगाली था। दोज्जई जहाँ कि अनिल बोरा का मर्डर हुआ और उसकी लाश एक बोरे में पायी गयी दस दिन के बाद एक नदी में, विकृत अवस्था में, उस स्थान का इंचार्ज अफसर एक बंगाली था। उस नवगांव डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैड क्वार्टर का पुलिस सुपरिटेण्डेंट पंजाबी था और एडीशनल सुपरिटेण्डेंट बंगाली था। वहाँ एक आसामी अफसर था नवगांव का ए० डी० सी०, उसको भी सस्पेंड किया गया है और मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि चाहे कोई आसामी हो या कोई बंगला भाषी भाषी हो, अगर यह बात साबित हो जाय कि दंगे कराने में, उन को बढ़ावा देने में किसी प्रकार भी उनका हाथ रहा है तो उन सभी पर जरूर सख्त कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिये।

एक बात और संक्षेप में मैं बोलना चाहता हूँ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** काफी वक्त हो गया है। आपने 25 मिनट ले लिये हैं।

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा :** उपसभापति महोदय, आसाम से लोक सभा और राज्य सभा दोनों को मिला कर विरोधी पार्टी में मैं ही एक सदस्य बचा हूँ और इसलिये विरोध की बात सुनने के लिये मुझ को मौका दिया जाना चाहिये।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपने 25 मिनट ले लिये हैं। अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री गोलाप बरबोरा :** हमारे जनसंघ के भाइयों का मुख्य पत्र आर्गनाइजर है। जिसमें हेंडिंग है—दि इनसाइड स्टोरी आफ दि आसाम रायट्स।

मुसलमानों के अन्दर 'रेड हेरिंग' देखने की आदत हमारे जनसंघ के भाइयों की है। उन का

यह विचार है कि आसाम में असमिया भाषा के आंदोलन को चलाने में बहुत से मुसलमान तत्वों ने मिल कर यह सब कराया है। आर्गनाइजर जो मुख्य पत्र है जनसंघ का, उसकी यह मान्यता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि असमिया भाषा के आंदोलन का उनसे कोई संबंध नहीं है। अगर उसके पीछे कोई विदेशी तत्व हों तो उनको आप देखिए भासानी से अगर किसी को प्रेरणा मिली है तो असमिया भाषा के लिये आन्दोलन करने वालों को प्रेरणा नहीं मिली, भासानी से प्रेरणा मिली है हमारे मोइनूल हक साहब को, महितोष पुरकायस्थ को भासानी की आवाज है 'रेड यूनाइटेड बंगाल' की और अगर ऐसे कोई बंगला भाषी, प्रतिक्रियावादी, छोटे मोटे गुट आसाम में हों या और कहीं हों जो 'बंगाली नेशन' की बात करते हों,—लोक सभा में भी यह बात हुई थी बंगला देश के निर्माण के समय कई लोग जोश में आ कर बंगला नेशन की बात बोले थे। एक अलग राज्य का स्वप्न देखने वाले अगर कोई लोग हैं, तो ऐसे लोगों को आप भासानी, महितोष पुरकायस्थ और श्री मोइनूल हक साहब के भाषणों से मिला कर देखिये, पहचानिये हमारे जनसंघ के भाइयों का जो दृष्टिकोण है, इस पर मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप लोग इसी संदर्भ में विचार कीजिए।

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in the context of what has recently happened in Assam the 12th Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has lost much of its charm. This has academic interest no doubt, but let us look at the point from a practical consideration. This is not the time for rousing passion; this is the time for rousing the conscience of the people of India, the Members of Parliament and, particularly, my friends and brothers in Assam. When Yahya Khan let loose his merciless atrocities in East Bengal—now Bangla Desh—our Prime Minister had gone to rouse world conscience I wish her conscience is roused now without a day's delay.

I am not here to say as to what should be the language of Assam; that is a matter to be decided by the Assamese themselves. But my learned friend, Mr. Barbora, has named the Bengali officer who was suspended. But he has not named any of the Assamese officers so suspended.

SHRI GOLAP BARBORA: Yes, I have named.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Yes, he has named one against ten. And what was wrong with the Bengalis? You will remember that the Assam Assembly passed a resolution unanimously with Assamese as the main language and English as an additional language for higher education. This was not a demand of the Bengali people. There was not a war for Bengali; the Bengalis did not start the riots. Sir, that particular unanimous resolution of the Assam Assembly sponsored by the Assam Government let loose this hooliganism.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is time that we all gathered patience and saw things in the right perspective.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: What was the gist of that Resolution?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Assamese and English will be the medium of education in Colleges, universities, etc.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I correct him? The real point on which the agitation started was that the Assembly proposed a university for Cachar with their own medium and that was rejected by the people. It was on that issue the agitation started.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: I would correct my learned friend. These Assamese friends do not like English to be medium of education along with Assamese.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: It is entirely wrong. The University decided that English should remain.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: I can tell you this. It was

never the demand of the Cachar people that there should be a separate University for Cachar. My hon. friend, Mr. Nripati Ranjan Choudhury comes from Cachar and he will be in a better position to tell you. I have been fully briefed by him and I have been given all these papers. I am not talking in the air. Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, a telegram has been received by me today. As I have already said, let us look at the thing in the correct perspective, how severe the situation in Assam is, how imminent is the task before us. We have to rush to Assam and take control of the situation. The Assam Government has failed. If it had been in Madras or any other non-Congress State there would supersession; there would have been President's rule at once. No Government has the right to exist if it cannot assure protection to its minorities whether it is religious minorities or it is linguistic minorities. Mr. Deputy Chairman, you will note that at no place, nowhere the Bengalis took the aggression. They were always on the defensive. But what is the tragedy? The tragedy is the Assam Government officers seized the defenders' guns from the Bengalis while they allowed the guns in the possession of the Assamese to continue. The minorities had licensed guns for self-protection but those guns were seized while the guns in the possession of the Assamese people were allowed to continue.

You will also find that the All India Radio was fully utilised for the purpose of incitement against the minorities. In the note given to me it is said that the A.I.R. station at Gauhati blares sinister propaganda against the linguistic minorities. For days together the A.I.R. Regional News Bulletin served to propagate the cause of the chauvinist elements. The daily commentary "Ajir Prasanga" broadcast every evening at 7.15 P.M. from Gauhati served as the propaganda piece of the jingoists. The "Ajir Prasanga" items of October and November can be examined to verify this point.

[Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta.]

This is this government machinery. Let us look into what they did and how they did it. Only this morning I got a telegram from Calcutta. I know the lady who has sent me the telegram. She is a public worker and a social worker. I believe my friend, Mr. Golap Harbora, will also know that lady. She was also a coworker in his party. It reads: —

"Reports of atrocities on Bengali speaking minorities specially women pouring from Assam stop urge security enquiry stop compensation to victims—Sagarika Ghosh Secretary Jatiya Mahila Sanghti 64B Harish Mukherjee Road Calcutta 26".

She is a very responsible lady. She is an educated lady. What has this language got to do with the women-folk? I can tell you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, about one very influential political leader of Calcutta. He is a member of the Congress Planning Commission now. He is an old revolutionary. He is the editor of a weekly paper. He showed me twelve letters. One letter was to this effect. His son had written to the mother; "immediately after reading this, you burn it so that it does not go to the other side." The mother handed over the letter to that friend of mine. A hundred Assamese young men, most of them anti-social, came. I know there are very good people, very sane people, like my friend. Mr. Harbora or the friend there, Mr. Bipinpal Das, but all are not so. The anti-social elements took the upper hand. They demanded the young daughter of a Bengali engineer. The demand was: We want your girl. That was their demand. Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are here talking of the minorities' language. What is this minorities' language business? It is a question of protection of minorities. We are told about the human rights, and yet Yahya Khan, through his army, molested the chastity of ladies in Bangladesh. He was ruthlessly killing the Bengalis there. It is a miniature form of the same here. I demand, let the census

report of 1971 of Assam on the question of language be published. I am reliably told that 42 per cent only of the population is Assamese-speaking. Forty per cent is Bengali-speaking and 18 per cent are tribal people.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I quote the census figures?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: He can quote. He can quote any absurd figures.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I quote the census figure of 1971.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Has it been published? It has not been published.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I may enlighten Mr. Sen Gupta. The census figures are 61 per cent Assamese-speaking; 19.8 per cent Bengali-speaking; and 5 per cent Hindi-speaking and the rest.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Wherefrom have you got the census figures? Has it been published? I say, let it be published. It should be published. My information is that it has not been published. The point is not that. The point is how do we control the situation.

I have certain suggestions. What this report has said let it be there, let it be faithfully implemented by the Government, if any Government exists. The second thing is I have also information that the diehard Assamese do not consider Shri Sarat Sinha, who comes from Goalpara to be a proper Assamese.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I strongly protest against this. Shri Sarat Sinha is hundred per cent Assamese.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: He comes from Goalpara which is considered a predominantly Bengali district. The Congress President himself gave out in Calcutta through a reporter of Jugantar, i Shri Mahendra Chakravarty, that he cannot initiate any enquiry against the killing of Bengali students because in that case his Government will topple. Judicial enquiry has been instituted, ordered,

against the killing of Assamese students, but though so many Bengali students were killed, there was no judicial enquiry ordered. Why?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Was it specifically mentioned like that?

SHRI DWUENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: It was specifically mentioned.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, wrong informations are given to the House, which is not fair. So far two Enquiry Commissions have been ordered because they were murder cases. For subsequent cases the matter is under consideration and the proposal is to have a judicial enquiry.

SHRI DWUENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Sir, you will find also one fact. So far as this question is concerned, let us have the facts from the Assam Government. You can ask through the proper channel how many Bengali officers have been suspended, how many Assamese officers have been suspended.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: My friend must know that there can be no Commission specifically enquiring about the murder of Assamese only. That is not possible.

SHRI DWUENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: You will bear with me that it must not be an enquiry about the murder of X and not about the killing of Y. It must be an enquiry for the killing of any man, X or Y. Let them say that they have instituted this enquiry to go into the question of riot in particular areas and to find out how many Bengalis have been killed and how many Assamese have been killed. Let us have the figures. Let the figures speak for themselves.

Here is a paper, I am reading from the Times of India dated 5-11-72. It all goes to the discredit of the Assam Government. "Assam Government puts curbs on nights from riot area: Air Service withdrawn". Because the Air Service people were assaulted and murdered. Just for nothing. You will find at

the top of the page that the Assam Government withdraws Air Service from riot areas. The question is this. Things cannot be minimised by my friend speaking either from the opposition or from the other side. I am in the middle. Let us have facts. Let us find out facts, and always facts will speak for themselves.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, you know Bengalis have so long been very very disciplined. They are not playing into the hands of reactionaries, reactionary elements. There are elements who wanted to create trouble, but good citizens among the Bengalis are still there. But I cannot forget that in 1960 when there was this language riot and killings of Bengalis indiscriminately took place, Bengalis retaliated by knocking out the teeth of the late Shri Hareesh-war Goswami; but of course he was ultimately saved by the Bengalis. That does not help us. Let us not go back to those days. Let us not feel in those terms. But it is the responsibility of all good people of Assam to be aware of the sequence that might follow.

Sir, I am giving some suggestions, (a) Immediate dismissal and arrest of all those officers, high and low, is the first pre-requisite not only for the restoration and the strengthening of peace but also for preventing the recurrence of such atrocities, (b) Immediate suspension of such educationists like the Principal, Assam Medical College, Dibrugarh and other professors, teachers, demonstrators and wardens of numerous institutions in the Brahmaputra Valley who connived with the rioters to victimise students of linguistic minorities. Steps should also be taken against the university, college and school teachers who propagated prejudice against the Bengalis. The Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University is also a party to the nefarious campaign. Even after the gruesome tragedies, he presided over a meeting of the University Executive Council in the first week of November, which condoled the deaths of only the four Assamese boys, according to a report in the Assam Tribune



[Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta.] and no condolence was offered even for the late Dr. Manish Das, a postgraduate student of the Assam Medical College, Dibrugarh who was murdered by a riotous mob. (c) Punishment of the AIR staff at Gauhati responsible for converting the Gauhati station into an organ of jingoists. (d) Effective measures to stop vitriolic campaign in the Brahmaputra Valley press. (e) Imposition of punitive tax on rioters. (f) granting of adequate relief, compensation and protection to the riot-victims. (g) To ensure a feeling of security among all the sections of the linguistic minorities in the Brahmaputra Valley and (h) a judicial inquiry and probe through the Central agencies into all the happenings with a view to finding out the culprits and bringing them to book.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY (Assam): Sir, while discussing this Report, the Assam incidents figure largely. I have no mind to accuse anybody. I want to place before the House a few facts so that the Members can understand the position in all its proper perspective. In 1960 when the Assam Language Bill was introduced in the Assam Assembly, there was an agitation and ultimately the matter was squared up and it was decided to have Assamese as the State language of Assam. For the autonomous hill districts English will be the language for district administration purposes and in Cachar which has a predominantly Bengalee population, the language was decided to be Bengalee. Many of us at that time thought that there would be an end to such bickerings, killings, agitations and every other thing. But unfortunately, some people took the cue from the decision to introduce the regional language as the medium of instruction in the university on the recommendation of the Education Commission as also on the decision made by the Vice-Chancellor in a conference.

Sir, in 1969 it was decided on all-India level that the University medium should be switched on to the regional language. After that the

work started. This decision was to be given effect to from the 1972 academic session. After that the Government of India and the University Grants Commission sanctioned Rs. one crore to the Assam Government for the development of Assamese. The work was entrusted to the two Universities of Gauhati and Dibrugarh. They were instructed to compile text books in Assamese. Therefore, the impression then created was that the Government of India had in their mind only one regional language to be introduced as the medium of instruction in the University.

The work started. The academic session was drawing nigh. It was already June. The session starts in July. The two Universities decided to introduce Assamese as the medium of instruction for the universities. They also decided that English would continue as an alternate language. It meant that those who could not switch over the Assamese for various reasons could continue their work in English. That was the idea of the university resolution. That resolution was objected to by the Assamese as well as the Cacharis. The matter was taken to the Supreme Court by the Law College of Cachar. The complaint was that the University had no right to prescribe the medium of instruction and impose it. Similarly other colleges also agitated the matter in the Supreme Court. When the signs of agitation were visible all over the Government of Assam thought that perhaps that was the time when they should decide as to what should be the medium of instruction in Universities. So on the 23rd September last there was called an emergency session of the Assam Assembly. In that meeting, a resolution was passed clearly stating that Assamese would be the medium of instruction for the colleges of Assam. *But* in Cachar the people were reluctant to accept Assamese as the medium of instruction and they decided to move the Government of India for opening a separate University for Cachar.

That was the Resolution passed by the Assam Assembly on the 23rd September, Mr. Sen Gupta has

twisted this fact and I do not know for what reasons he has not mentioned the Assembly Resolution *in toto*. But, for his correction, I say that if he is briefed that way he is wrongly briefed. Therefore, all his briefs are based on wrong assumptions and based on falsehood. Now this Resolution was resented by the students, in the meantime, the Supreme Court passed a judgment on the Gurucharan College case. In that judgment the Supreme Court observed that no cause of action has arisen and as such, they have nothing to interfere with the decision of the University Academic Council. Therefore, the petition moved on behalf of the Gurucharan College was outright rejected. Now the boys were agitated. They found that the University Academic Council has passed a resolution declaring Assamese as medium of instruction at the university stage, and at the same time, the Supreme Court has passed a judgment saying that they have nothing to interfere with the decision of the Academic Council of the Gauhati University. Therefore, they rightly or wrongly felt that it is the Assam Government which is standing in the way. So, they started an agitation against the Government of Assam and their demand was withdrawal of the Assembly Resolution and declaration in unequivocal terms that the decision of the Gauhati University Academic Council will be implemented in full and all facilities to the university for the implementation of the decision will be given.

But when this agitation was started on behalf of the students another agitation was started in Cachar. The Cachar people outright rejected the offer of a separate university for the district of Cachar; I do not know for what reasons. Mr. Sen Gupta might know the reasons. I do not know the reasons as to why the Cachar people were opposed to a separate university in Cachar District with Bengali as the medium of instruction.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Because they do not like to be outside the other Bengalees in the different districts.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: There is the trouble. The Cachar people took up the guardianship of the other Bengalee people living in other parts of the State, namely, the Brahmaputra valley. From their side, there was no demand whatsoever except in the case of Lumding College where a case is pending in the Supreme Court. From the other Bengalee leaders and students—it must be admitted to their credit—there was no agitation. But the *agent provocateurs* were there. They tried to foment trouble. Therefore, when the decision for having a separate university in Cachar was rejected by the people for whom it was meant, what can the Government do? The Government by their resolution could not satisfy either the Cachar people or the Brahmaputra valley people.

4 P.M.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam): On a point of order. The Cachar people have rejected the uni-versity formula for Cachar only because the agitation was that Bengali should be one of the media of instruction . . .

MR. DUPUIY CHAIRMAN: It is not a point of order.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: What I said was this. I do not know with what authority the people of Cachar assumed guardianship of the Bengali people living outside Cachar. That is my point.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: Sir, there is a point of order in what I said . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not a point of order. Anyway, if he yields, you can interrupt him.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: No, Sir, I am not yielding. What I say is the agitation from the side of the students was that in every State in India different linguistic groups have been residing. There are different linguistic groups in West Bengal. There are different linguistic groups in Tamil Nadu. There are different linguistic groups in Gujarat. There are different linguistic groups in

[Shri M. M. Choudhury] Maharashtra, in Uttar Pradesh, in Punjab, in Haryana, in Bihar, in Orissa in all the States. When the students find that in all these States only the regional language has been adopted as the medium of instruction in the universities, they ask as to why an exception is made in Assam. One argument has been advanced by my friend, Mr. Sen Gupta and also by my friend, Mr. Nripat Ranjan Choudhury . . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): ifor your information in Orissa we do not have Oriya as the medium of instruction in the universities.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: It is an all-India policy. If they have not already fallen in line with the all-India policy, when the time comes they will have no other alternative but to have Oriya as the medium of instruction. They cannot switch on to Telugu, they cannot switch on to Bengali, although other linguistic groups are there in sufficiently large numbers. There are a large number of Telugu people; there are a large number of Bengali people. The Oriya people are proud that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was born in Cuttak and had his education in Orissa. Therefore, when Orissa also has to declare regional language as the medium of instruction, it will have no other alternative but to introduce Oriya.. Therefore, the argument of the students is as to why you agreed to make an exception in Assam. And this was a heavy, a strong, argument which was very difficult to outdo. The Assam Government tried to find an acceptable formula, but that attempt failed. In the meanwhile a bundh was declared on the 5th October. The trouble started in Assam on the 5th October because of the declaration of bundh by the students. And on that day the people observed bundh. No incident was reported except in one place where it was very unfortunate that a boy of 15 was killed. That boy had nothing to do with the problem there at all. That boy Had not indulged in any violence. Till then\_no violence was reported;

no case of arson was reported; nothing of the kind. But unfortunately there was a tussle and as a result of the tussle the boy was killed. That formented the trouble. And although the students tried to maintain the agitation in a peaceful manner they could not do so. That was because it went to the hands of the masses. Any person who has seen the mass upsurge of Assam will, I think, be surprised because this was seen only during the struggle for independence which was unprecedented and ladies of 85 years of age came cut into the open and started hunger strikes and satyagrahas. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the symbol of non-violence, could not keep the moment strictly non-violent. And there was violence. Similarly, in this case also there was violence and that was taken advantage of by anti-social elements. It was very unfortunate that as a result of that violence a few people were killed, many houses were burnt and lot of damage was caused to property. But it goes to the credit of the Government of Assam that they did their best to maintain law and order in all the places. But as it is evident, they could not cope with the situation. They tried to protect and guard the industrial and trade centres. When the movement spread to vil-lages, it is a fact that in certain places the mob had their way, and as a result anti-social activities were indulged in. But the Government tried to quell the riots. They extensively declared curfew in the towns and market places. They liberally used the provisions of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. They also started specific cases against the culprits. Shri Sen Gupta said that the Government have not initiated any judicial inquiry. If necessary that also will be announced. But at the moment, daily culprits are being rounded up and Police and Magistrates are making enquiries to find out culprits . . .

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: On a point of order. Here is Shri Om Mehta sitting. Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma and he went to Cachar. Their car was stoned by the Assamese.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: I will give the reply. Our Congress President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma accompanied by the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Om Mehta, visited Cachar. They were accompanied by the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister was confronted by a mob and ultimately he had to be taken away to a safer place in order to save his life. In the heart of Cachar, there was a riotous attack on the Chief Minister and Shri Om Mehta and Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma received injuries. They came back to Delhi as injured persons and their car was damaged and it was not done by any Assamese person and it is a wrong thing to say so and it is wrong on the part of Mr. Sen Gupta to say so. I have already submitted that Mr. Sen Gupta has been wrongly briefed and if he would have been briefed properly, then, Sir, I am sure, he would not have made all these irrelevant utterances here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI M. M. CHOUDHURY: Now, Sir, Mr. Sen Gupta began his speech prefacing it with the remark that this is the time not for rousing passion, but this is the time for pacifying passion. Yes, it is a fact. But, Sir, it is easy to say so sitting here in the copious room of the Rajya Sabha. But I am sorry that none of those leaders who briefed Mr. Sen Gupta did it properly. My friend, Shri Nirupa Ranjan Choudhury has come from Assam only the day before yesterday and he has come with a bundle of facts to reproduce them on the floor of the Rajya Sabha. But he could not . . .

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. You have taken more than twenty-five minutes.

Shri M. M. CHOWDHURY: I think we do not mean seriously to bring peace. We even now are directly or indirectly indulging in the act of fomenting trouble, not in quelling the trouble. Sir, I am very grateful to the honourable Members who have taken part in this debate and made references to this issue and more

particularly to my friend on my right, Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, for his sober and calm analysis of the whole situation. This is the way in which we should try to meet the situation. My feeling is that a deep injury has been inflicted on the social life and that injury we must try to heal and the sooner it is healed the better it is for us. Therefore, Sir, my appeal to my friends is that we should work unitedly, jointly and with one purpose in mind to bring peace to the disturbed State of Assam and if we succeed in this, we shall be strengthening the integrity of India and if we fail, we shall be weakening the integrity of our country, which will be suicidal for all of us. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav is not here, So, now the Minister will reply.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I am very much thankful to those Members of this House who have taken very keen interest in the debate on the subject.

Sir, from the beginning the problem of linguistic minorities has been there in our country, both before the reorganisation of the States and even after the reorganisation of the States. Sir, before the reorganisation of the States, there were multi-lingual States wherein there was one State language or the language spoken by the majority of the people there and, at the same time, there were quite a number of other linguistic minorities. With a view to having linguistic States, the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed and as per their recommendations, the linguistic States were created. But, Sir, even afterwards, it has not solved the problem of the minorities. One language may be predominant in one State, but, at the same time, there are some linguistic minorities in that particular State. For example, in West Bengal, Bengali is the State language. But there are other linguistic minorities also there. Similarly, in Assam, the predominant language is Assamese language, but there are quite a large number of

[Shri F. H. Mohsin] linguistic minorities also. This is the case in almost all States. Hence the framers of the Constitution also had this fact in mind and they provided so many safeguards in the Constitution itself—Articles 29, 30, 347 and 350.

Sir, at the time of the formation of linguistic States there was a fear that linguistic minorities may be faced with difficulties. So special provisions were incorporated in the Constitution by the Constitution (Seventh) Amendment Act, 1956. They are Articles 350A and 350B. Article 350A says:

"It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

And Article 350B(1) says:

"There shall be a special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President."

Article 350B(2) says:

"It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for Linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament and sent to the Governments of the State concerned."

This shows, Sir, that the problem of the linguistic minorities existed, and provisions were made in the Constitution itself. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is vested with the power of going and meeting people and hearing complaints of linguistic minorities in each and every State and report to the President. Not only that. The complaints that are received are sent to the State Government for redressal. So the office of

the Commissioner has been doing a very useful work in this regard. But for such an office, it would have been difficult for us also to know the actual facts or the complaints of linguistic minorities and we would not be in a position to discuss all these matters on the floor of both the Houses of Parliament. So it is through that office that the Parliament is seized of the problems of linguistic minorities and it is then only that we can bring pressure on the State Governments to implement the safeguards guaranteed by the Constitution. Sir, this is one aspect of the provisions of the Constitution.

There is a second category also that is comprised of other safeguards. Apart from the safeguards provided in the Constitution, there have been other forums as well—the decisions of the State Education Ministers' Conference, the Zonal Council the Chief Ministers' Conference, and so on. They have often met and considered all the problems arising out of the grievances of linguistic minorities, and some decisions have been reached. With the consent of the Chief Ministers, some agreements have taken place and they are also to be implemented. By and large, I might say that there has been a steady improvement in the situation, and the number of the complaints that we used to hear before the appointment of the Commissioner at the initial stage has become less and less. Though there may be some instances of the Assam type that we hear now, by and large, the situation has improved and the States have begun to realise the difficulties of linguistic minorities and they have been trying their best to redress them. I might go in detail about the implementation of the safeguards for the linguistic minorities because many Members have dealt with the implementation. The provisions are there but the implementation is not so good, that was the view of most of the Members. As regards the question of implementation is concerned, according to the article 350A of the Constitution, which I have already dealt with,

"it shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups. For implementing this constitutional safeguard, a workable formula has been evolved at national level which provides that arrangements must be made for instruction in the mother tongue by appointing at least one teacher provided there are not less than 40 pupils in the whole school or 10 such pupils in a class desirous of receiving instruction in their mother tongue. All State Governments excepting J & K and Nagaland have implemented this decision. However, the Government of Assam have reserved to themselves the right to recognise or not any mother tongue as the medium of instruction even if the stipulated number of pupils are forthcoming. In Orissa the facilities for instruction in the mother tongue are limited to minority schools exclusively functioning for them. In Haryana use of Punjabi has been permitted to some private schools. In Punjab only private schools have been allowed to continue the medium of instruction of their choice. In Himachal Pradesh there are some orders for imparting instructions through Punjabi only. So far as the Union Territories are concerned, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Pondicherry have implemented this arrangement. The Delhi Administration have relied on article 300 of the Delhi Education Code whereby facilities are provided for instruction through the mother tongue.

Sir, under the agreement that was reached, an advance register for the linguistic minorities had to be maintained. So, in accordance with the suggestion also of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in this respect, orders have been issued by all State Governments excepting Punjab and J & K for opening of advance registers in a school.

I may not go through all these implementation measures because it may take more time, even we may have to continue the debate till tomorrow, but I will be very brief.

As regards the secondary education, with a view to providing mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the minority languages, the agreed safeguard at the national level is that there should be a minimum strength of 60 pupils in the last four classes of the Higher Secondary stage and 15 pupils in each such class. All the State Governments with the exception of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, J & K, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh have accepted the formula of 15—60 and issued instructions for implementing this arrangement. In Haryana, Hindi is the medium of instruction in Government-managed schools. However, they have permitted the use of Punjabi as medium of instruction in some private recognised schools where it existed in the erstwhile united Punjab. In J & K, English is the medium of instruction. However, Social Studies can be learned through the medium of Urdu, English or Punjabi. In Punjab, Punjabi has been made the sole medium of instruction in all Government-managed schools, Hindi has been permitted to continue as the medium of instruction. In Uttar Pradesh, orders have been issued for providing facilities for instruction through the mother tongue of linguistic minorities, if desired by 1/3 of the pupils of the school. The State Government have decided to publish these facilities. So far as the Union Territories are concerned, Delhi, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Pondicherry have issued such orders.

This is the position as regards the education of the linguistic minorities at the primary and secondary school level is concerned. Sir, as far as university education is concerned there has been a national policy on that also and that was placed before Parliament. The national policy is that urgent steps should be taken to adopt regional languages as media of education at the university stage, that suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in universities and colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards and

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

that establishment in non-Hind; States of colleges and other institutions of higher education which use Hindi as medium of education should be encouraged. Another decision is that the study of English deserves to be specially strengthened and that every effort should be made not only to protect the rights oi: minorities but also to promote their educational interests. This is the national policy on higher education.

Many Members have dealt with the situation in some parts of Assam; of course rightly so because this has bet n agitating the mind of our people and there have been a lot of disturbances in the student world and outside. Therefore, it is natural that they have dealt with this problem at great length. Most of the Members have made very conflicting statements ia this regard. I would like to state the correct position here about the language issue in Assam. At present theie are two universities in Assam, namely, the Gauhati University which covers certain portions of Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram and Dibrugarh University which covers the Districts cf Upper Assam. The question of media of instruction in the Gauhati University has been a subiect of controversy for quite some time. In 1968 the Academic Council of the Gauhati University proposed to have a number of regional languages as media of instruction but no final decision Wfs taken. The question was again raised in 1970 but it was again put off. On June 6, 1972, the Academic Council of the Gauhati University took a decision to permit Bengali students to write their answer papers in Bengali while continuing with Assamese and English as the medium of instruction from the Academic Session 1972-73. On 12th June 1972 the Academic Council decided in partial modification of their earlier decision that (i) Assamese would be the medium of instruction in colleges under the jurisdiction of the Gauhati University; (ii) English would continue as the alternative medium of instruction till such

time not exceeding ten years; (hi) a student would have the option to answer either in Assamese or in English in the University examination. The Dibrugarh Universty also decided that the medium of instruction should be Assamese for pre-University course from 1972 and for degree course from 1974 and that the answer scripts can be written either in Assamese or in English.

On 23rd September the Assam lative Assembly passed a Resolution that the medium of instruction in the Gauhati and Dibrugarh Universities should be Assamese with alternative provision for English and that Cachar should have a separate University.

For appreciating the rationale behind the decision of the Academic Council] taken on the 12th June, 1972 one has to bear in mind the national policy on Education. It was also probably thought that it may not be feasible to ask the students to write their answers in a language through which they have not been taught in their classes. Perhaps that might have been the intention behind the decision of the Academic Council.

Assamese is the official language of Assam. The State Government desired to develop this language and to make it the medium of instruction in the Universities so that its administrators should be well versed in the language and should be capable of running the administration through the medium of Assamese. A large number of Bangalis living in Assam are bilingual. They have studied Assamese and understand it very well. With a view to enabling them to take part in the State administration it was probably considered necessary that they should have proficiency in the official language. As regards the study of their mother-tongue, that is, Bengali, all facilities for the purpose are available at the primary and secondary stages of education. From the 12th Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities it appears that during the year1967-68 at the

primary stage the number of schools and sections imparting instruction through the medium of Bengali was 2,213 and 4 respectively. The number of students and teachers was 1,80,987 and 4,484 respectively. At the secondary stage the number of schools imparting instruction through the medium of Bengali was 582 and the number of students receiving instruction through this medium was 1,19,179. The overall strength of teachers was 4,863.

The question of the medium of instruction in the University is an altogether different matter. The University Education Commission of 1948-49 considered this matter. They considered that both from the point of view of education and general welfare of a democratic country it was essential that study should be through the regional languages for that would enable the students to enrich their literature and to develop their culture. They, however, thought for the time being it was desirable that the University should have the option to use the federal language as the medium of instruction either for some subjects or for all the subjects. In case of regions having pockets of linguistic minorities, the Commission considered that the right policy to follow was to unreservedly allow the use of the mother-tongue for basic education and if the numbers are adequate for secondary education also, introducing the regional language gradually in the upper grades at the school and make it the medium of instruction at the university stage. So, the national policy is well defined. The Constitution gives the right to the linguistic minorities in the matter of education. Articles 29 and 30 *inter alia* provide that any section of the citizen residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language, should have the right to establish and administer the educational institutions of their choice. No State can deny these rights to the linguistic minorities. However, in the larger national interest, linguistic minorities should, while preserving their language and script, make integrated efforts for achieving all round progress of the

State. It is in the fitness of things that the linguistic minorities also come into the mainstream of the State's life and begin to learn the State language, so that they will not remain backward in respect of recruitment to the services or any other facilities that the State might provide.

Various points have been made and Mr. Banarsi Das, one of the prominent members of the Congress (O) party, spoke about the facilities for the Urdu-speaking people in U.P. The facts have been given in the Twelfth Report. The facilities which are given to the Urdu language have already been mentioned in the Commissioner's Report. However, the State Government of U.P. have taken several measures for providing education facilities at both the primary and secondary stages and also administrative facilities. The U.P. Government have accepted to implement fully the National Policy of providing an Urdu teacher in every school where ten pupils in a class or 40 pupils in the school are desirous of learning through the medium of Urdu. They are making special efforts to overcome the shortage of teachers. They have set up a Board of Urdu Studies for advising on the syllabus and textbooks for classes I to VIII. They have appointed a Deputy Director (Urdu) for ensuring implementation of educational safeguards. Arrangements also are being made that in districts where a substantial population of Urdu-speaking people live, at least in one degree college arrangements for Urdu teaching are made. They have also set up an Urdu Academy. The functions of the Academy *inter alia* are to assist in the publishing of textbooks, giving cash awards to Urdu writers of good books written on literature, science and art and those which promote national integration and communal harmony, giving of grants to public libraries for purchasing useful Urdu books. Steps have also been taken for enforcing proper maintenance of advance registers in all the primary schools. The admission form has been revised so as to enable a student to indicate the medium through which he or she wants to



[Shri F. H. Mohsin] study. These are some of the facilities which have been provided in U.P., where there were some complaints previously from the linguistic minorities. However, Shri Banarsi Das at the same time drew the attention of the House to the Aligarh University Bill which was passed this year. Of course it was not quite relevant to the present issue because we are now discussing the Report of the Linguistic Commissioner. However, it may be because the elections will be forthcoming very soon in U.P. and he wanted to placate some elements on this ground. He expressed sympathy as if the Aligarh University has been a minority institution and that their right has been taken away by the Government by unfair means. But I might state for the information of Shri Banarsi Das and his colleagues that it had never existed after 1951 as a minority institution. I do not know what Shri Banarsi Das meant by calling it as a minority institution. Was it managed by Muslims alone so that he calls it a minority institution? It has never been so at least after the 1951 Act. Is it that only Muslims are being given education in the Aligarh University? It has never been so. Even from the inception of the Aligarh University it has never been solely for the Muslim students. How then can it be called a minority institution? There has been the decision of the Supreme Court as well. The intention of the Government in bringing this new legislation was to raise the standard of the Aligarh University to the level of other Universities so that the students who come out of those colleges will not lag behind in the recruitment to the various services. That was exactly what the Government had in its mind, and unless the Act was passed and some control was vested in the Government, that standard could not be reached. It is not with any view to snatching away any right belonging to the minorities that the Act was brought into force. But it was to strengthen the standard or to improve the standard of the students and the university, for the betterment of the student community, that this step had been taken. I fail

to understand how this injures the feelings of the minorities. Of course it may be that some communal elements here and there may make much of the Act itself, but they do so as otherwise the communal organisations cannot survive. They will find some food somewhere as if something has befallen the Muslim community and the Government is taking away some of their valuable rights. I would appeal to the Members to view this with this angle, and we have not taken any right that existed before. We have retained everything. It has been made more democratic and students are now allowed to take more active role in the activities of the university, and there will be more such opportunities for them to develop their culture, to develop their language and to develop other extra-curricular activities. I hope the people at large and the students in particular will understand this, and if there is anything wanting, the Central Government will not be found wanting to improve the Act if it is so required in the interests of the university as a whole.

The other points that were raised by Mr. Prasad and others were about the Hindi language. I do not think it is very relevant. They also went to the extent of condemning those persons who spoke in English. I am sorry I cannot make a speech in the Hindi language though I can understand when others speak in Hindi. But anyway I felt prompted that I should speak in my own language, the Kannada language, when I heard Mr. Banarsi Das and Mr. Prasad and many advocates of the Hindi language that we should speak in our own language. If I speak in my own Kannada language most of the Members will go away because they cannot understand anything of it. It is only with a view to making myself clear that I have to use the English language. True that Hindi is the national language. We have taken it as the national language. It must be spread and all must learn it, and I hope that the day will not be far off when English will have to give way to Hindi. But let us not make haste in that. It is only that haste against which some of the States

react adversely. If we go cautiously and slowly, we are sure to succeed. We have already accepted Hindi as the national language and that will be the only link language throughout the country. English, for the time being, we will have to adopt for some time at least because English has been used in some parts of this country. It is also an international language wherein we can acquire some knowledge about science and technology and other spheres. Though we may not use it as the national language, still English cannot be ignored because there we find a good literature and books on science and technology which we cannot afford to ignore.

When the last report was discussed, some points were made about strengthening of the office of the Linguistic Commissioner and that was thought to be the only way for getting these things done more effectively. So a decision has already been taken in that line and I might inform the House that five regional offices of the Assistant Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities would be established with a complement of staff under them and the location of these offices will be at Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Chandigarh. So this decision has already been taken. And with regard to the facilities for the linguistic minorities, in accordance with the scheme and the constitutional safeguards, they are periodically reviewed by this Ministry also. Whenever the Office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities brings to our notice grievances of the linguistic minorities, the Home Ministry also takes up those matters with the State Governments and sees that redress is given to them. I might say that the Home Ministry and the Office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities have done a very good job in persuading the State Governments to look into the grievances and now the complaints are becoming less and less.

In the last, my appeal to the Members of this House about the Assamese problem is this. I might say that some Members have given wrong figures about the damage done and

about the loss of life in that area and according to the information available with us, 31 persons were killed during the disturbances. Of these, 3 are reported to have died as a result of police firing and 18 due to riots and arson. In respect of the remaining 10, the precise circumstances of death are being ascertained. 760 persons received injuries including 126 police and other personnel on duty. Mr. Choudhury has stated that more than one hundred people have lost their lives and a whole village near Dulia Jan has been wiped out. This is a most exaggerated statement and such an exaggerated statement will not do any good and it may incite the feelings of some other members somewhere else: it may have reaction also. I would appeal to Members to refrain themselves from making such exaggerated statements. Otherwise, the situation may flare up and it may go out of control of everybody. As representatives of the people I would request you all—because this House consists of prominent members from almost all the States—and through you, I would request the people of that area to remain calm because the situation is now under control and the leaders are finding a way out to solve this language problem. Very recently—you have also known Mr. Mirdha and Mr. Om Mehta and other leaders had gone there to study the situation, and the Prime Minister also visited Assam to study the problem and every effort is being made to solve this problem.

I would only request you all to help solve this problem by asking the people to remain calm because such matters cannot be solved by violence and violence will bring in more violence and more misery. Mr. Sar-desai also pointed out that such incidents do not occur only because of some students, it is due to various factors. Some unsocial elements will be there; some people who are worried about unemployment will also be there.

Some people who may be affected by the price rise also will be joining such trouble. There might have been various factors. But we would like

[Shri F. H. Mohsin] to caution them that such violence would not do any good either to the students or to the country. They should understand that it is only through peaceful negotiations and settlement that we can go ahead. I would request Members to help the Government in this respect.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think there is hardly any time to

take up the motion. So we will adjourn the House. I am afraid we may have to sit longer tomorrow, till six o'clock. The House adjourns till eleven o'clock tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-five minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 15th November, 1972.