

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

that of war and the suppression of liberty and democracy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We pass on to the next item.

**MOTION RE. ELEVENTH REPORT
OF THE COMMISSION FOR LIN-
GUISTIC MINORITIES—Contd.**

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, संविधान के अनुच्छेद 350 (ख) (2) के अन्तर्गत 1 जुलाई, 1968 से 30 जून, 1969 तक की 11वीं रिपोर्ट सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत हुई है। उसमें कमिशनर महोदय ने इस काल में जो कुछ भी भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों के बारे में निवेदन था, उसे प्रस्तुत किया है। इस विषय में कुछ तथ्यों की तरफ श्रीमन्, आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा। पहली बात तो यह है कि वास्तव में इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा सर्वसम्मति से संविधान के अनुसार यद्यपि हिन्दी घोषित की गई है और हमारा यह खयाल है कि उत्तरोत्तर हिन्दी को हमारा प्रशासन आगे लाने के लिए कोशिश करता रहेगा, किन्तु खेद है कि हिन्दी की जितनी उन्नति होनी चाहिए थी उतनी नहीं हुई। जिन प्रांतों में हिन्दी लोग सम्मिलित हैं, बोलते हैं, लिखते हैं उन प्रांतों में हमारी यह धारणा थी कि इस कमिशन के आधार पर हिन्दी को पढ़ाने के लिए, हिन्दी में शिक्षा देने के लिए और हिन्दी में पुस्तकें तैयार करने के लिए अधिक से अधिक कोशिश की जायगी। लेकिन दुःख है कि वहां पर इस प्रकार की कोई कोशिश नहीं की गई है। वैसे तो श्रीमन्, यह तय कि बहुत से प्रांतों में हिन्दी के प्रति अश्रद्धा होते हुए भी वहां पर हिन्दी का प्रचार दिन-ब-दिन बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। यहां तक कि तमिल नाडु प्रांत में जहां पर कि हिन्दी के विषय में लोगों का ऐसा खयाल है कि बहुत कठिनाइयां रास्ते में उपस्थित की जा रही हैं, वहां पर भी हिन्दी के विद्यार्थियों की संख्या में उत्तरोत्तर,

हिन्दी बोलने वालों की संख्या में उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि होती चली जा रही है। लेकिन तब भी सरकार की ओर से वहां पर इस प्रकार का कोई बड़ा कदम नहीं उठाया गया जिस के कारण वहां पर हिन्दी कुछ अधिक विस्तृत रूप से पढ़ाई जाती, शिक्षा का माध्यम बनती और वहां पर हिन्दी का अधिक विकास होता।

जहां तक मध्य प्रदेश का सवाल है और राजस्थान का सवाल है, इस रिपोर्ट में एक विशेष बात देखने को मिली। कुछ दिन पहले हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने लोक सभा में एक बिल प्रस्तुत किया था और उसमें यह मांग की गई थी कि हिन्दी के साथ हिन्दी की जो दूसरी बहनें हैं उनको भी हिन्दी के बराबर दर्जा दे दिया जाय और उसके पश्चात् कमिशन ने भी इस तरफ थोड़ा ध्यान दिया। किन्तु हमें खेद है कि हिन्दी की अन्य जो छोटी-छोटी बहनें हैं, जो स्वयं में कोई बोली नहीं हैं, अपूर्ण हैं, और उनको हिन्दी की उपभाषा मात्र कहा जा सकता है, उनको उभारने के लिए यत्न किया जा रहा है। उदाहरण के लिए माड़िया भाषा है और उसी तरह से मध्य प्रदेश में आदिवासियों में हिन्दी की तरफ एक डाइलेक्ट है जिसे भील भाषा कहते हैं, उसे भी अधिक उन्नति के साथ में जनता के सामने लाने का यत्न किया गया जब कि सब लोगों को यह मालूम है कि भील भाषा, माड़िया भाषा, भोजपुरी भाषा, शूरसेनी भाषा, मागधी भाषा या राजस्थानी भाषा ये कोई स्वतंत्र भाषाएं नहीं हैं, ये सब हिन्दी की ही डाइलेक्ट हैं, रूप हैं। इसलिए अगर इनकी उन्नति की बात कही जायगी तो वह हिन्दी के विरोध में ही जायगी, क्योंकि ये कोई भाषाएं नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार संविधान में वर्णित 14 भाषाओं की जगह यहां पर कम से कम सौ, दो सौ भाषाएं हो जायंगी। अंग्रेजों के ज़माने में जब भाषाओं के बारे में सर्वे हुआ था तो उस सर्वे में एक अंग्रेज

लेखक के अनुसार एक ऐसा परिणाम निकला था कि हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा विचित्र देश है जहाँ पर हर दसबें मील पर भाषा बदलती है । अगर इस सिद्धांत को मान लिया जाय तो हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत सी भाषाएं हो सकती हैं और उन भाषाओं के अनुरूप संविधान में बहुत सी धाराएं बढ़ाने पड़ेगी । किन्तु हम यह समझते हैं कि इस प्रकार की बहुत सी भाषाएं न हो कर हमारे देशों की भाषा यहां पर भी एक राष्ट्रभाषा रखने का यत्न किया जाना चाहिए था । हमें इस बात को भी बतलाते हुए बहुत दुःख होता है कि यहां पर अभी तक अंग्रेजी भाषा को हिन्दी भाषा की अपेक्षा ऊंचा दर्जा दिया गया है । इसे कोई विशेष बात नहीं समझी जाती । अंग्रेजी शिक्षण द्वारा प्रत्येक व्यक्ति यह चाहता है कि उसका लड़का भारतीय सर्विष की सेवाओं में आ जाय और वह अधिक में अधिक उन्नति कर सके और इसलिए वह अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी पढ़ाना श्रेयस्कर समझता है और इसलिए वह अंग्रेजी में संभाषण देना श्रेयस्कर समझता है । देश में अंग्रेजी जानने वालों और अंग्रेजी पढ़ने वालों का बहुत अंश बहुत कम है फिर भी उन के लिए विशेष प्रकार की सुविधाएं दी जा रही हैं जब कि हिन्दी के लिए, जिसके जानने वालों और पढ़ने वालों का अंश देश में बहुत अधिक है, उनको वह सुविधाएं नहीं दी जा रही हैं । और ऐसी भाषायें जिनका कि अब यहां पर कोई विशेष स्थान नहीं रह गया है उनके लिए लाखों और करोड़ों रुपया देकर यह यत्न किया जाता है कि आगे चल कर इन भाषाओं के माध्यम से हिन्दी की प्रगति में कोई गतिरोध या कोई रुकावट आ जायगी । मैं नम्रतापूर्वक यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी की प्रगति में यदि सरकार या कमीशन किसी प्रकार की बाधा और रुकावट भी डाले तो भी वह रुकने वाली नहीं है, न उसकी प्रगति में कोई बाधा ही आने वाली है । केवल कुछ समय की बात है । हिन्दी में अभी मध्य प्रदेश के एक केंद्रीय कार्यालय के बारे में हम को एक पत्र मिला था । उसमें बताया गया था कि वहां पर कंट्रोल एंड आडिटर

जनरल के कार्यालय में अभी भी अंग्रेजी में परीक्षाएं देने के लिए लोगों को बाध्य किया जाता है और अंग्रेजी के ज्ञान को आवश्यक ज्ञान वहां पर बताया गया है । अगर कोई हिन्दी के माध्यम से वहां की परीक्षा में बैठना चाहता है, तो उसके लिए वहां किसी प्रकार सहायता नहीं दी जाती है, इसी प्रकार श्रीमन्, आई० ए० एम० की परीक्षाओं में मौखिक जो और दूसरे प्रश्नों के उत्तर होते हैं उन में भी हिन्दी का जितना समावेश होना चाहिए था उतना समावेश नहीं हुआ । हम हिन्दी की व्याख्या यहां पर इस रूप में नहीं कर रहे कि वह बहुत अधिक व्यक्तियों द्वारा बोली जाने वाली भाषा है, किन्तु हम यह चाहते हैं कि जिन प्रान्तों में हिन्दी कम बोली जाती है वहां पर हिन्दी को यह समझ कर कि यह वहां माइनारिटी की भाषा है, वहां उसको उन्नति करने का अवसर मिलना चाहिए । वैसे भारतवर्ष में हिन्दी के विषय में एक बात सर्वविदित है कि उत्तर भारत में चाहे भाषा और उसकी लिपि कोई दूसरी क्यों न हो, लेकिन हिन्दी ही सर्वाधिक समझी जाती है । अभी परसों श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी गुजरान गयी और वहां पर साबरमती योजना का जो शिलालेख स्थापित किया, नीचे के आधार का जो पत्थर डाला गया, उसमें ऊपर हिन्दी और नीचे गुजराती भाषा लिखी हुई थी । तो उत्तर भारत में हिन्दी के प्रति किसी को दुर्भावना नहीं है, यहां तक कि उर्दू बोलने वाले जो व्यक्ति हैं, वे जानते हैं कि उर्दू और हिन्दी में कोई अंतर नहीं है । अंतर केवल है तो उसकी लिखावट में है और हम हिन्दी जानने वाले यह जानते हैं कि हिन्दी की अपेक्षा उर्दू वालों ने उसे अधिक स्थान दिलाया दक्षिण में, वहां उर्दू बोलने वाले ही हिन्दी का पहुंचा सके हैं । लेकिन लिपि का जो प्रश्न है उस में हम समझते हैं कि कोई बाहरी लिपि नहीं होनी चाहिए, इसी देश की लिपि होनी चाहिए और इसलिए अगर तेलगू, तमिल, कन्नड और मलयालम की लिपि को भी अपनाना चाहेंगे तो भी उसमें कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं है । बनिमबत इस के कि हम किसी

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

बाहरी लिपि को ग्रहण करे हमें अपने देश की भाषाओं की लिपि को ग्रहण करने में आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए। इस दृष्टि से हमारा ऐसा खयाल है कि उत्तर भारत की अपेक्षा दक्षिण भारत में इस दिशा में जितना अधिक प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए उतना प्रयास नहीं किया गया। इस संबंध में मैं एक निवेदन और कर दूँ कि हमारा शिक्षा मंत्रालय भी इस बारे में बहुत अधिक उदासीन है। दक्षिण भारत के लोगों को, जहाँ पर कि हिन्दी एक अल्पसंख्यक लोगों की भाषा समझी जाती है, वहाँ पर अभी तक हिन्दी में पुस्तकें, कानून और विज्ञान की पुस्तकें उन लोगों को उपलब्ध नहीं होती हैं। अभी कुछ दिन पहले के ल में जब हम गये थे तो वहाँ के बहुत से शिक्षकों ने और बहुत से विद्यार्थियों ने इस बात की मांग की थी कि वहाँ हिन्दी की पुस्तकें पहुंचाई जायें और हिन्दी के माध्यम से वह चाहते हैं कि बहुत कुछ ज्ञान प्राप्त करे किन्तु वहाँ पर इस प्रकार का कोई संयोजन नहीं हुआ जिसके कारण उनको हिन्दी में शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का अवसर मिलता और इस प्रकार वह उस लाभ को उठाने के अवसर में वंचित रह गये।

श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक महाराष्ट्र का प्रश्न है, महाराष्ट्र में लगभग, कुछ जिलों को छोड़ कर, सब जगह हिन्दी बोली जाती है और सब जगह हिन्दी समझी जाती है। बम्बई मरीखे बड़े नगर में आपस में हिन्दी में ही वार्तालाप होता है। लेकिन वहाँ पर भी हमारा शिक्षा मंत्रालय हिन्दी की पुस्तकें उपलब्ध कराने में एक प्रकार से कासिर रहा है। हैदराबाद में, आंध्र प्रदेश में, जब कि वहाँ पर निजाम का राज था, तब वहाँ पर उममानिया युनिवर्सिटी में अपनी देशी भाषा के माध्यम में शिक्षा होती थी, अलिफ में लेकर के एम० ए० सी० की डिग्री तक की सारी की सारी जितनी पुस्तकें थी, कानून की जितनी पुस्तकें थी, विज्ञान की जितनी पुस्तकें थी, उन पुस्तकों का माध्यम हिन्दी भाषा या उर्दू भाषा था, उर्दू और हिन्दी में कोई अंतर न

होने के कारण से हम उसे हिन्दी भी कह सकते हैं; लेकिन जब वह माध्यम धीरे-धीरे बदलता जा रहा है और यह दलील दी जा रही है कि सब जगह हमको अभी इस प्रकार के टेक्नीशियंस या पुस्तकें उपलब्ध नहीं हो सकी हैं और हम अनुवाद करते चले जा रहे हैं, लेकिन इन 20 वर्षों में अनुवादक इतने नहीं मिल पाये कि विभिन्न देशों की भाषाओं की सारी पुस्तकों का अनुवाद हम हिन्दी में कर सकें। इसलिए हम समझते हैं कि इस दिशा में बहुत धीरे हैं और बहुत कुछ अधिक कार्य करने की सम्भावना होना चाहिये।

इसी विषय में श्रीमन्, मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि दक्षिण प्रान्तों के प्रदेशों में हिन्दी, गिलासेज को चलाने वाले जो शिक्षक हैं उनके वेतन-मान को भी सुधारने की आवश्यकता है, बल्कि चाहिये यह कि जो हिन्दी के शिक्षक हैं उनका वेतन-मान वहाँ पर जितने तमिल के और तेलगु की गिलासेज के टीचर्स है उनकी अपेक्षा अधिक होना चाहिये, और उनको वहाँ हिन्दी की अधिक से अधिक उन्नति के लिये समान अवसर देना चाहिये, किन्तु यह न हो कर के कहीं-कहीं पर ऐसा है कि उनको वेतन-मान कम मिलता है। मैं मंत्रालय का ध्यान इस ओर भी आकर्षित करता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय में मंत्रालय अधिक से अधिक ध्यान देगा।

श्री हयातुल्ल अन्सार : डिप्टी चयरमैन महोदय, मैं पहले तो यह बता दूँ कि उर्दू के बारे में कुछ थोड़ा सा धोखा है उसे साफ कर दूँ। यह तो आपको मालूम है कि बंगला देश की लड़ाई उर्दू से शुरू हुई है। मिस्टर जिन्ना ने जब यह कहा था कि पाकिस्तान को एक ही जवान उर्दू होगी, उस वक्त से यह लड़ाई शुरू हुई और अब यह है कि बंगला देश उर्दू को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। पंजाब जो है वह कह रहा है कि हम पंजाबी लोग सिन्ध में सिन्धी हैं और पख्तूनस्तान में पख्तूनी लोग वेज चल रही है। पाकिस्तान में नहीं मायनों में अब कहीं उर्दू नहीं है। मैं बहुत खुश हूँ उसके ऊपर क्योंकि पाकिस्तान की

की जवान उर्दू थी ही नहीं, यह तो कुछ मिस्टर जिन्ना ने और उनके दोस्तों ने कहा था और कुछ और दोस्त हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में हैं, जिन्होंने बहुत जोर दिया था कि उर्दू जो है वह पाकिस्तान की भाषा है, तो मुझे यकीन है कि आज उनके दिल का यह डर निकल गया होगा। पाकिस्तान की भाषा उर्दू बिल्कुल नहीं है वहाँ उसकी कोई जगह नहीं है और न वहाँ रहेगी। उसका ग्रामर है हिन्दुस्तान का, उसके बेसिक वर्ड्स जो हैं वह हिन्दुस्तानी हैं यहाँ बना है, यहाँ पनपी है, यहाँ तरक्की की है यहाँ रही है और यहाँ रहेगी, उसे कोई निकाल नहीं सकता हिन्दुस्तान में। जितने बड़े राइटर्स पैदा हुये वह इसी जमीन में पैदा हुये हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश से पैदा हुये हैं, दिल्ली में पैदा हुये हैं और शायद आपको यकीन न आये वगाल से पैदा हुये हैं, गुजरात से पैदा हुये हैं, डकन में पैदा हुये हैं और राजस्थान से पैदा हुये हैं। उर्दू हिन्दुस्तान की जवान है, यहाँ रही है और यहाँ रहेगी। लेकिन बहुत अफसोस की बात है कि हमको लोग समझते हैं कि उर्दू नाम है जिन्ना का मालूम नहीं कैसे? किसी ने मुझे बताया नहीं। क्यों डरते हैं आखिर उर्दू से? मैं उर्दू बोल रहा हूँ कोन साहब है जो समझ नहीं पाएंगे। मैं समझता हूँ, उर्दू के मुखालिफ होने तो उर्दू को नहीं समझते। मैं एक छोटा-मोटा वर्कर हूँ, पोलिटिकल वर्कर हिन्दुस्तान की तमाम जगहों में जाकर तकरीरें कर चुका हूँ। वही जवान बोली जो आपके सामने बोल रहा हूँ और वहाँ मैं समझा गया। मैं कैसे समझूँ कि उर्दू नहीं समझी जात है। और यही बात नहीं है, हमारे बहुत बड़े लीडर जवाहरलाल जी इसी जवान में बोलते रहे हैं और हर जगह समझे गए। तो आखिर इस बात में डर क्या, खटका क्या है? अब तो पाकिस्तान ने भी निकाल दिया, व ला देश ने साफ निकाल दिया। मुझे बहुत खुशी है निकाल दिया। उर्दू इस देश की जवान है और कोई बजह नहीं है बगला देश में जाने के लिए जैसे बंगला देश वाला यही कहता

है कि 7 परसेन्ट वहाँ है जो उर्दू बोलते हैं वह 7 परसेन्ट वह है जो यहाँ से गए थे। ठीक है, वहाँ 7 परसेन्ट बोलते हैं, लेकिन उर्दू हिन्दुस्तान की जवान है, हर जगह उसको बोलने वाले मौजूद हैं, वह यहाँ रहेगी, तरक्की करेगी। मुखालिफ बहुत हुई है, लड़ाई बहुत लड़ी गई, लेकिन आज तक उर्दू अपनी जगह पर नहीं आ पायी है।

फिल्मी जवान ने क्या होता है? आपने सुना होगा गजने होती है उर्दू की। गजने नहीं हो तो चलती नहीं है फिल्में। अगर फिल्मों की जवान बदल दी जाए तो नहीं चलती है। हर 10 माल के बाद कोशिश की जाती है, जवान बदल दी जाए, लेकिन वही चलती है, उर्दू ही चलती है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ, प्यार कीजिए उसमें मोहब्बत कीजिए, अपनाइए आपकी अपनी चीज है वह जैसे कि मैं आपकी हूँ जैसे कि जमुना आपकी है, ताजमहल है, अजन्ता है, एलोरा है। उर्दू ने बड़े-बड़े थिन्कर्स पैदा किए, बड़े-बड़े राइटर्स पैदा किए, उसने तो और तो और हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी दिलाई। मैं कहता हूँ उसे अपनाइए, उसे ठुकराइए नहीं। मैं अफसोस के साथ कहूँ किसी स्टेट ने अभी तक उसे लाफुली रिकग्नाइज नहीं किया। क्यों सब कहते हैं हमारी जवान है रहनी चाहिए और अच्छी जवान है, मगर कहते हैं ल में हम रिकग्नाइज नहीं करते। इन्ल्लिजिटिमेंट क्यों समझ लिया गया, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती।

मैं पैदा हुआ हूँ लखनऊ में, वैसे खानदान में पैदा हुआ हूँ, जिसमें सारी दोस्ती की ज़िदगी हिन्दुओं के साथ बीती, क्रिश्चन के साथ बीती, मारे ताल्लुकात उन्हीं के साथ रहे और हर एक से मैं इसी जवान में बोलता रहा हूँ, बातें करता रहा हूँ। काश्मीर मयही जवान है, सरकारी जवान उर्दू है। वैसे ही हिमाचल प्रदेश में लिक लेगुएज उर्दू है। तो क्या बहुत बुरी बात हो जाएगी कि उत्तर प्रदेश में

श्री हृदयतपन अनसारी

इसे रिकग्नाइज कर लिया जाए, लाफुनी ? कुछ किया जरूर जा रहा है लेकिन मैं उससे मुतमईन नहीं हूँ। बहुत सी बातें होती रही हैं, बहुत सी मोहब्बत दिखायी जाती रही हैं लेकिन क्या किया जाए, कुछ नहीं हुआ। जहाँ थे वहीं रह गए। आपको मालूम नहीं क्या कि जवान क्या करती है—कहाँ चोट पहुँचाना है ? मैं बताऊँ, लोग कहते हैं मा से प्यारा शब्द कोई नहीं है। मरते वक्त मा याद आती है लेकिन अंग्रेज को मदर याद आता है। तो क्या मा और मदर में कोई फर्क नहीं है ? एक जवान में है माँ, एक जवान में है मदर। मरते वक्त यही याद आता है, इस तरह की चीज हो, इतनी गहरी चीज हो उसका गला काटा जाए—यह कोई छोटी बात नहीं है। मैं इसपर बहस नहीं करूँ और न इस उम्मीद में हूँ कि मुखालिफत करूँ लेकिन एक अपील कर रहा हूँ जो उर्दू की मुखालिफत करते हैं उनसे। जरा दिल पर हाथ लगा कर देखो, चोट लगती है या नहीं ?

एक दफा मैंने लिखा था कि लफ्ज एक ही होता है लेकिन दिलों में बहुत गहरी जगह होती है। यह मदर और माँ की मिसाल मैंने दी। मदर की जगह इंगलिस्तान में हो सकती है, हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं हो सकती है। वह बच्चा भी जो बच्चा माँ कहता है अपने तरीके पर कहता है, वह भी माँ ही पुकारेगा, मदर नहीं पुकारेगा। लेकिन इंगलिस्तान में मदर पुकारा जाएगा। इतना गहरा असोसिएशन होता है, इतनी गहरी मोहब्बत होती है। तो क्यों खत्म कर रहे हैं इतनी बड़ी दौलत को ? यही पनपी है, यहीं तरक्की की है। आपको मालूम नहीं है क्या कितनी बड़ी चीज दी है इसने—एलोरा, अजन्ता, ताजमहल बहुत बड़ी चीजे हैं तो मैं यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि उर्दू भी बहुत बड़ी चीज है। वह जमाना दूर नहीं जब हिन्दुस्तान फरक लगा कि उर्दू भी इतनी बड़ी जवान है जिससे इतने बड़े राइटर्स, इतने बड़े पॉइट हुए हैं व लोग फन करेंगे, जो उर्दू पर एतराज कर रहे

हैं। मैं इस वक्त कमीशन की रिपोर्ट का तजक़िरा नहीं करूँगा क्योंकि मुझे उम्मीद है उत्तर प्रदेश में, शायद वहाँ कुछ हो जाय। मैं सिर्फ यह चाहूँगा कि वाकई कुछ हो जाय, उम्मीदें खत्म न हो जाय बल्कि बड़े और तरक्की करें। उर्दू अकादमी की बातें मैं सुनता हूँ। उसने पहले एक उर्दू बोर्ड बनाया था, उत्तर प्रदेश में जो दूसरी गवर्नमेंट न बनाया था, वह बना हुआ, कहाँ गया यह बताना मुश्किल है। वह जीरो था, जीरो से चल। और जीरो पर टप्प हो गया। मझे डर है कि उर्दू अकादमी खत्म न हो जाय। यह मेरा अपील है, ऐसे शब्दों की अपील है जिन्होंने सारा वचपन गुजारा है कमी लड़ाई के लिए, आजादी की लड़ाई के लिए और उर्दू जवान में गुजारा है, उर्दू जर्नलिस्ट रहा है, उर्दू में लिखता रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी मिलनी चाहिये, मुस्लिम लीग से लड़ाई है, ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट से लड़ा है, कम्युनिस्ट्स से लड़ा है। उसकी आवाज में इतना असर होना चाहिये कि लोग सुन लें और समझ लें। यह मैं उन लोगों से अपील कर रहा हूँ जो उर्दू के मुखालिफ हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जड़ है उर्दू की, दिल्ली में दूसरी जड़ है उर्दू की और हैदराबाद में तीसरी जड़ है उर्दू की, यहाँ उर्दू पनपे और तरक्की करे, उसे खत्म मत कीजिए, अपनी जड़ मत काटिए, आपको नहीं मालूम कितनी बड़ी वह तहजीब है। मझे याद है उर्दू की कमेटी में जवाहरलाल जी भी थे शायद वहाँ प्रिन्सिपल रहे थे, मैंने कहा था, मुझे वह शेर याद आता है, सारी वैदान्तिक फिलोसोफी है—

“न था कुछ तो खुदा था, कुछ न होता तो खुदा होता।”

दुश्मना मुझको होने ने, न होता मैं तो बया होता ॥”

इसमें एक गन्दा लफ्ज है “खुदा” जो फारसी का है। इसके लिए बया वैदान्तिक फिलोसोफी को खत्म करेंगे। मैं आपको उर्दू के 5 हजार 10 हजार शेर बता सकता हूँ जिनमें एक लफ्ज

पारसी का, बाहर का आ गया है—
तुम मेरे पास आते हो गए जब कोई दूसरा
नहीं होता” । क्या लफज ‘गोया’ के
लिपि पाशर उत्पन्न होगा, बर्दाश्त होगा यह
कौन सी लाजिक है जो हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में
चल रही है । हमने हमें सबक पढ़ा है
रनादारी का । बड़े-बड़े फिलोसोफी पैदा
हुए हैं, थिंक्स पैदा हुए हैं । अगर एक
लफज ताजमहल पर गलत लिख दिया गया
तो क्या पूरा ताजमहल काट देंगे, अगर
एलोरा पर एक लफज आ गया तो एलोरा
को खत्म कर देंगे, एक लफज अजन्ता पर आ
गया तो अजन्ता को बिगाड़ देंगे ? अजन्ता
में चाइनीज तस्वीरें हैं मैंने अपनी आंखों से
देखी हैं, फारेन एलीमेंट मौजूद है । कौन सी
चीज फारेन नहीं है ? हम पालियामेंट
में बैठे हैं, क्या यह फारेन नहीं है, यह लाउड-
स्पीकर फारेन नहीं है, कौन सी चीज फारेन
नहीं है ? अगर ऐसा है तो सब फारेन चीजे खत्म
कर दीजिए, रेल खत्म कीजिए, टेलीफोन
खत्म कीजिए, तार खत्म कीजिए, हवाई
जहाज खत्म कीजिए, टैंक खत्म कीजिए,
मैं मान लूंगा लेकिन यह बहुत तकलीफदेह
बात है कि “गोया” का लफज आ गया या
“खुदा” का लफज आ गया तो शेर खत्म ।
मैं जो लड़ाई लड़ रहा हूँ वह एंटीट्रस्ट को
लेकर है कि उर्दू यहां बाहर में आ गई ।

एक बात और कहूंगा स्क्रिप्ट के बारे में ।
उर्दू स्क्रिप्ट कहा में आई है ? वही से आई है
जहां से रेल आई है । उर्दू में 9 लफज ऐसे हैं
जो कहीं अरबी फारसी में नहीं है “क ख ग घ
ट ठ ड ढ” और जो उर्दू में है । उर्दू के 9 लफजों
ने अपनी आवाज खो दी है ऐन को कोई ऐन
नहीं बोलता आली को कोई आली नहीं कहता ।
अरबी के 9 लफजों की उर्दू में आकर विलकुल
आवाज खम हो गई है और 9 ऐसे हैं जो आ
गए हैं । लिखावट ऐसी है उर्दू की कि लिख कर
भेजो तो न फारसी वाला पढ़ सके न अरबी
वाला पढ़ सके विलकुल उसको हिन्दुस्तानिया
लिया गया है । इसके बाद भी फारेन है ?

“मेरी लाश लहद में न रही अमीर बाकी ।
उर्दू मरने का ही अब तक न एतबार होता ।

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are
now discussing the report on the Lin-
guistic Minorities. It is a known fact
that people say that Hindi is a nation-
al language of India rightly or wrong-
ly. I am not here to question it. This
is not the time for me to argue about
this. For everybody, be he in this
country or in any other country, his
own mother tongue is the best for him
on the earth. But, India being a
multilingual country. I am really
very sorry to note that we have too
many languages in the country which
claim superiority of one over the
other. No doubt, it cannot be ques-
tioned that for everybody his mother
tongue rich or poor is valued the most
by him. Every State has an irrevoc-
able right to develop that language in
that region or in any other region
according to one's own capability, need,
desire, worth, merit and what not.

If we take the case of any language
in India which deserves to be a nation-
al language, I would ask you which
should be the national language of
this country. I think every one will
agree with me that Tamil deserves the
first place as the richest one and as
the oldest language of our country.
Which is the oldest language of this
country? It is Tamil undoubtedly. But
Tamil and other languages have been
left behind whereas Hindi is trying to
claim undue superiority over others.
Let it claim, but let it not have a
discriminatory preference and superi-
ority over the other languages unduly
for long.

In certain States people either for
the sake of employment or for the
sake of going and living with friends,
relatives and others have taken to
the language of that place. In Tamil
Nadu we have people speaking a num-
ber of languages not only of India but
from other countries also. We give
them freedom. We encourage them by
giving them instruction in their mother
tongue, provide schools for Telugu

[Shri G. A. Appan]

people, for Malayalam people, for Hindi people, for Gujarati people and whom not. But in certain States this facility does not exist for people speaking languages other than their own.

Mr Deputy Chairman, in our country very often we speak about national integration, linguistic minorities and linguistic superiority. Therefore the weaker sections, the smaller groups should have at least some protection. That is why the erstwhile Chairman of the Linguistic Minorities Commission, Shrimati Margatham Chandrasekhar, has been doing a very good work. What I say, Mr. Deputy Chairman, is this let not one language be discriminated against the other and given patronage and undue favouritism. Every language of the country should be given not only support; but equal encouragement should be given to each. Why should any language be supported and encouraged at the cost of other and that of the national exchequer and national revenue? I feel that the Government, the Parliament and the country should impress upon certain people of India who are a little too jealous of their own language not to be too greedy and not to be aggressive, and not to exploit the people of other languages. I feel that if democracy is to be worth the name in this country, every language should have a good place throughout India in every State. That is why I would request you all that we should have a resolution passed here supporting the recommendations of the Linguistic Minorities Commission.

I would make another request also. You know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, it was a very great mystery for me how Hindi began to claim the present place. I have been asking—why? I have even given written questions to the Secretary and to the Chairman—on what date Hindi language was taken for granted or passed to be the national language. Nobody was able to give me the correct information so far. I also asked what were the number of

yes and nos when Hindi was declared to be the national language in the Constituent Assembly and in the Parliament. Nobody was able to give me an answer. I would request the hon. Minister in charge and the Parliamentary affairs Minister to enlighten this House on these vital issues, i.e. on what date and with what majority of pros and cons, Hindi was declared to be the national language as also the page of the report where it could be found.

Now, there are 14 or 15 national languages, but some other languages are also claiming a place among them. There are so many languages at the State level. Let everybody try to develop his own language and let there be one language at the national level but not Hindi. In the past the Central Government was being run only with one language; perhaps it was English. People say it is a foreign language. But you know, to the people of the other languages, Hindi is also a foreign language. I once asked some of my friends from Bengal, some friends from Maharashtra and some friends from Mysore also to read a letter addressed to me in Hindi. I thought most people staying in the North will be able to read and write Hindi. With this false notion, I asked a Bengali friend to read the letter. He said, "I do not know." Then I asked another friend from Mysore to read it. He also said "No".

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Sir, here we are not very much concerned with the controversy between Hindi and English. We are concerned with the Report of the Commission for Linguistic Minorities.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: That is what I am now speaking on. You know, what we want is that the country, the Parliament and the Government should provide some scheme whereby in every place the linguistic minorities will have the safest protection and they will have all safeguards and all encouragement. That is what I

want. But in certain places it is not there. I only urge upon the Government not to encourage any particular language or give undue predominance for any language like Hindi discriminating one against the other languages, but to give sufficient encouragement to languages spoken by smaller number of people. With these words, I support the recommendations contained in the Linguistic Minorities Commission Report.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Sir, I take this opportunity to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the problem of linguistic minority in this great country of ours. I like to draw the attention of the government and this House to the language spoken by the Nepalese in our country. Nepalese is a language which is spoken by about more than a million people in this country not only in West Bengal, but in several other States also....

SHRI GOLAP BARBORA (Assam): Why not Manipuri too?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I am pleading my own case. You can plead the case of Manipuri.

There were 14 national languages which had found place in the VIII Schedule of our Constitution. But subsequently Sindhi was also included as the 15th national language of our country. Sir, I like to draw the attention of the House to the minority report given by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, the most noted linguist of our country. He made a very important remark in the course of his dissenting note to the Official Languages Commission report wherein he said that other Indian languages ought to be added to the VIII Schedule. Rightly the Government of India amended the Constitution of our country to include Sindhi in the VIII Schedule of our Constitution. I think the Government of India was wise to include Sindhi into the VIII Schedule of the Constitution having regard to the observation made by the noted linguist. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. Since that

particular language has been included in the VIII Schedule, I have no objection if other languages spoken by a considerable number of people are also included in the VIII Schedule. As a matter of fact, I stand to make out a case for Nepalese language. I introduced a Bill for amending the Constitution for inclusion of Nepalese in the VIII Schedule. The main argument is that Nepalese is being spoken by more than one million people according to 1961 census figure. But so far as non-official figures are concerned, the number of people speaking Nepalese is much more. This is due to the fact that from Nepal a large number of people come to India and they get settled in certain parts of the country either in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal or the Tarai regions of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and in some other parts also. Therefore, the number of Nepalese speaking people is increasing day by day. As a matter of fact, there is not very much difference between Nepalese and any other Indian language. I think the House would agree that modern Nepalese is a daughter of Sanskrit. Nepalese script is almost the same as the Devnagari script of Hindi. There is not much difference between the Hindi spoken in Bihar and the Nepalese language. Therefore, it is not a foreign language. It is very much part of Indian languages originating from the Indian stock and therefore there should not be any objection for treating Nepalese as one of the Indian languages.

Sir, here also I want to quote another Japanese authority, Chin Neki, who visited Nepal and the different parts of our country and came to this conclusion which I quote:—

“Nepali is a kind of lingua franca and widely spoken in the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan areas.”

Therefore, Sir, it is a language spoken not only in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, but also in other parts of Bihar, in other parts of Uttar Pradesh, and some other Himalayan and

[Shri Chitta Basu]

sub-Himalayan States That being the case, it is an important language to-day Apart from that, Sir, Nepal is a friendly country and with Nepal we have got cultural bond of a thousand years or so and it is necessary for us to further strengthen that bond of friendship with the people of Nepal Naturally, Sir, if the Nepali language is recognised as one of the national languages of this country, if the Nepali language finds its due place in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, it will go to strengthen further the bond of friendship with the people of Nepal itself with whom we have the bond of friendship in cultural and other spheres from time immemorial Therefore, Sir, from the political point of view also it is necessary that we should give due recognition to the Nepali language today

Sir, again I would like to tell the Government that there are a large number of Nepalese who are in our defence forces and they have sacrificed their lives in the past in defending the security of our country and they are even today as much patriotic as anybody else amongst us who would lay down their lives for the cause of freedom, integrity and security of our country Once the Nepalese people, now on the borders standing as a sentinel against any aggression by foreign countries, find that their mother-tongue the language they speak in their home, is included in our Constitution, naturally, Sir they will become very much happy and they will feel that it is also their duty to see that they shed their blood for the great cause of the country's freedom and its security Therefore, Sir, not only from the point of the importance of the language, not only from the point of view of the number of people speaking the Nepali language, not only from the point of view of protecting the interests of the linguistic minorities speaking that language, but also from the point of view of having friendly relations with the people of Nepal, from the more important point of view of integrating

the Nepalese people within our body politics, and also from the point of view of getting them involved in our day-to-day life, in our political life, in our political ups and downs, it will be in the fitness of things that the Government of India should declare that our Constitution should also be amended to include the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution

Sir I won't take much of your time This is the only point that I wanted to stress upon and I hope the hon Minister will be kind enough, will be gracious enough to give an assurance *with regard to the points I have made* and he would himself bring forward a Bill amending the Constitution incorporating the Nepali language therein Thank you Sir

SHRI S G SARDESAI (Maharashtra) Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, this Report has naturally a very limited scope, and that is with regard to the administrative measures taken in respect of the protection of the rights of linguistic minorities A lot yet remains to be done Even on the simple question of providing sufficient facilities for linguistic minorities in various parts of India—providing them teachers, providing them opportunities for studying in their own language, etc—a large number of deficiencies still continue to exist All in all, if we take the entire question there is no doubt that there is a great amount of dissatisfaction all over the country with regard to our success—or more correctly, failure—in properly tackling the linguistic question and satisfy the linguistic minorities in the country

Looking at this question, and because this is an occasion on which certain broader remarks may also be made, I want to make one or two points This is not a question of language only of linguistic minorities, because, in that sense of the term, every language in India is a minority.

Now, this entire question of language and the satisfaction of just rights of linguistic minorities is becoming more and more explosive. If we see the developments of the last 10 or 15 years, we had hopes at the time of achieving Independence that we would be able to solve this question in a manner that would be satisfactory to all people who speak different languages, and in a manner that would actually unify the entire country. These hopes have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, what we find is that linguistic dissatisfaction, linguistic conflicts, linguistic animosities and all these kinds of things have been growing

The Minister has just now stated that he is not concerned with Hindi and non-Hindi controversy. It would not be proper to say that it is not related to this question. In fact, what I want to say is that one of the very serious defects of the Report of this nature is precisely this that it isolates certain aspects of the question and takes a certain minor aspect of the entire broader problem and tries to deal with it. It just cannot be dealt with in this fashion because everyday we are finding that a particular aspect is vitally connected with other broader aspects which we just cannot isolate. Take the question of replacing English by Hindi as a national link language all over India. How are they going to settle this question? It just cannot be separated from other aspects. What has happened? What has happened is this. We had really hoped that all the people would accept Hindi as the language of common intercourse and in this fashion our linguistic unity would be developed. But something different has happened. Extreme points of doubts have arisen in a large

cularly in the States of South India. So these questions are there. What I want to say is that it goes beyond the scope of this Report. I am conscious of the scope of the Report. I think I can be excused if I make certain remarks which are broader than the limited scope of the Report. They are these. More and more, with every passing year—two years, three years, we are finding that so many demands are being put forward from the point of view of language. We are also finding that side by side more and more economic demands are also coming forward from everywhere. Take the simple question of the industrial and economic development of the various States. In what form is this question coming up from all over India today? You will find that in linguistic States there is the demand with regard to the location of projects, with regard to the distribution of river waters, and so many kinds of problems of economic development coming up, and they are put forward as the demand of a people speaking a particular language. Now, very recently, some of my friends in Assam met me and said that the slogans in Assam were "Assam for Assamese" "Jobs in Assam for the sons of the soil". These things have been coming up from everywhere. In the south, particularly in Tamil Nadu, an entire State movement developed on the question of language on the ground that there was lack of equality between language and language, that Tamil was not given an equal status. Side by side economic problems also came up. Some other thing, which in my State I find most alarming, is the question with regard to employment in industries. These questions are also being put forward on the basis of language, and the question put forward is that the people speaking a particular language, particularly the people speaking that language in a particular locality, that they must have a preference they must have a priority, they must get the jobs. All these things are coming up. What is my point? I do not want to take the time of the House. My simple point

[Shri S. G. Sardesai]

is this that we have definitely reached a stage in our post-independence developments when the problem of language can no longer be solved unless we see its vital connection with the problem of the struggle for economic equality. Otherwise, these conflicts cannot be resolved. The entire question is that the two things must be treated together. They ought to be treated as equal. But there is no equality in economic development. At the root of the problem of solving unemployment is the question of industrial development, and at the root of that question is the question of fighting monopoly capital by democratising our economy and thus carrying the country forward to socialism. If that is not done, then all sorts of fissiparous demands, all kinds of disruptive demands do come forward that only the people speaking a particular language, that they should be employed, they should have educational facilities they should have this, that and so on. That is why my point is that, while we should surely go into these limited aspects—we should; there is nothing to prevent us from solving the immediate problems as they come up day by day, these things have come up—if we went on that way indefinitely, we are not going to be able to solve the problem. The problem will become more and more serious, more and more insurmountable as time passes by.

There is another question which, particularly in Indian conditions, assumes very great importance and that is that in certain aspects the question of language is also given a religious twist, a communal twist. Now take the whole question of Hindi and Urdu. Sometimes I find that even in official circles that kind of approach is there, but much more so among the common people.

In the manner in which the question of Hindi is put against Urdu, the whole question of Urdu is given a communal twist though Urdu is not

only the language of a Muslim minority. Even patent, glaring facts of life are denied. For instance, not all Muslims in India speak Urdu. There are big chunks among Muslims down South who do not speak Urdu at all. And now, in East Bengal, where the Bangla Desh movement is going on, the Muslims there do not want Urdu and they want Bengali. So, this entire demand for the development of Urdu, for encouraging it, for giving it government aid, is for equality into only in law but in practice also. This question is not a Muslim question. Besides, in India, we have a good section of people who are not Muslims and yet whose mother tongue is Urdu. Yet, all these kinds of diversions, all kinds of distortions, all kinds of questions connected with language are coming up, and every day they are becoming more and more serious. My simple point is this that apart from the very limited nature of the discussion I would very much like that this House once puts the entire question in a proper discussion.

How to bring about national integration on the question of language in this country? Language has become a vital aspect on the question of national integration. There are all these things. Education—in which language? Minority rights, equality of languages. All these kinds of things face us and this, according to me, has become extremely urgent. Otherwise, every year, every two years, every three years all kinds of problems come up and ultimately when they are taken up they relate to language. A big linguistic conflict is there. These are my main considerations. This is the immediate aspect of it.

With regard to certain minor aspects I can say from my own experience. In a city like Bombay I know for a fact that, if you take the question of linguistic minorities, the question of language has become a very difficult one. It is a fact that they are not provided with a sufficient number of teachers. Of course, you should be proud, happy and glad that here is a

city in India in which people from all regions who speak different languages stay—nothing wrong about it; it is very good and right. But, meanwhile, the fact remains that in the matter of education so many minority languages in Bombay do not get sufficient opportunities. There are several schools and teachers but the languages are not taught, and more so in secondary education and higher education. When you go to the universities these problems become more and more difficult. I am not going into all those details. What I am saying is, these problems are there; and I do not want to blame the Government alone. It is not just a question of administration. It is a question which should be viewed from the political point of view, from its deeper economic point of view and all political parties should consider and work out policies so that we could solve these problems in the course of the next ten years—it is not something which is going to be solved within the next three, four or five years. Otherwise these problems are not going to be solved. We discuss these Reports here. Still the complaints keep on coming. We just talk of something having been done or not having been done. But ultimately we do not seem to be making much headway. On the contrary, the problems become more and more serious. I hope the Government will take all these things into consideration and have proper policies worked out on the basis of what I have suggested here. Thank you.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA) in the Chair]

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am glad that, after all, the Government has woke up and brought forward this Report for discussion. This Report is the 11th Report and I do not know whether earlier Reports for the last five years have ever been discussed.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Seven were discussed.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: The hon. Deputy Minister has clarified that only seven Reports have been discussed. So, five Reports have not been discussed.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Only three.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: It would have been better if you had brought all those Reports here for discussion because the Commission must have made other recommendations in them.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you are a studious man and you may have studied all the Reports which, of course, is drudgery. But only this Report has come here. The then Chairman of the Commission also is here now with us as a member of this House.

But I do not know what shall be discussed about this Report. We would like to know from the Government as to what action has been taken on the various recommendations, on the various remarks made in this Report about the various States, regions and linguistic minorities because we will be discussing the Report here, and it is very long. It would have been better if they came forward with a report of the actual implementation of the recommendations of the Commission. Otherwise it will be just academic.

شہری ایم - اسعد مدنی : کل تک
تو ہم لوگوں کو ملی بھی نہیں تھی -

†[श्री एम० असमद मदनी: कल तक तो
हम लोगों को मिली भी नहीं थी।]

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: So, we do not know whether the Government is really serious about the question of linguistic minorities or not because, three Reports, according to the Deputy Minister himself, have not been discussed. And what action has been taken on the basis of the recommendations of those Reports, we do not know. Perhaps they think that whatever is discussed in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha will be implemented by the State Governments. May I

[Shri Krishan Kant]

know from the Government of India what their mechanism is to implement the various points mentioned by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and how they are going to be implemented? It would not serve the purpose to say that the office did something or will do something on the recommendations of the Commission

If the Linguistic Minorities Commission had been effective, these border troubles like those between Maharashtra and Mysore or between Kerala and Mysore would not have been there. The hon Deputy Minister himself belongs to Mysore. If real effect had been given to the recommendations, such a situation would not have arisen. We in this country try to look at people in the various States—the minorities, for example Marathi-speaking people living in Mysore or Kannada-speaking people living in Maharashtra or Marathi-speaking people living in Madhya Pradesh—just as Indians living in East Africa are being looked at by Indian people here. And we ask questions here but nothing is done, nothing happens. The whole purpose of creating the post of a Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was that this country or any State should not be considered as a closed affair. Life cannot be enclosed in a crucible. It cannot be enclosed in a State or a country. What is needed is that the people should be free to speak in any language, work anywhere they like and the language is only a *modus operandi*. The idea is that there should be growth of man, growth of a human being and this growth takes place through a language. Any person living anywhere, speaking any language must have facility of growth in reading, writing and thinking it may be in any language he likes. The whole purpose of creating the post of a Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was to create an atmosphere in the country where people could work and think in any way they liked. As Mahatma Gandhi said, he would like his house to be

open from all sides with doors and windows open for to wind to come but with his feet firm on the ground. The idea is that people in this country could be in a position to look into the literature into the thinking of all the States

Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this connection I would like to refer, with your permission, to one point which has not been mentioned by anybody and it has been overlooked for a number of years. It was in 1946 or 1947, after Gandhiji was released from jail, talking among friends he said if God gave him more years to live, he would have liked to do one thing and that was to strive for a common script for all the languages being spoken in India. He was in favour of Devanagari script and he himself had said that he knew after his death nobody would be able to do it. This was because we did not want other scripts to go. Neither Gandhiji nor I want that other scripts should not flourish but an additional script Devanagari should also flourish that is what I want. Generally the people from South India have a grouse that we do not know their literature, their contributions to the knowledge of literature etc. In Madras city on the beach you see various statues of saints and literary people. When I went there I saw everything was written in Tamil only. I could not follow that script, it was not in English even. If it were written in Devanagari script at least I could have read it, noted down and asked for the translation of inscriptions. Therefore if a country has a common script it will bring people nearer, it will bring languages nearer, that would enthruse people to learn other languages. So, Mr Vice-Chairman I do not know whether the Government even at this stage can think of having an additional script for all the languages. What is happening in Pakistan? As my friend, Mr Sardesai, said, Urdu is not the language of Muslims, it is the language of India, it developed in India it originated in India and people like Urdu, even Hindi-knowing people like

to know that language. But what is happening in Pakistan? In the Punjab of Pakistan, even Faiz Ahmed Ibrahim said: We would like to have Punjabi, maybe it is written in Persian script. The question is not about the script but the language of the people. Language has to grow. We want all the languages to grow but along with that if we have a common additional script, that will bring about the unity of India. Shri Sardesai referred to the growth of national integration. Sir, you must be knowing that a number of Urdu books, Urdu stories, Urdu novels are available in Devanagari and I do not know whether the sale of those books would be much more than the books written in Urdu script itself. After, partition, fortunately I know how Urdu language was absorbing Hindi words and Hindi was absorbing Urdu words. It is my wish that all languages must flourish.

Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think it is time that the Government of India considered this question and did something to bring in some literary people and thinkers from different languages and put them together and tried to evolve this idea of additional script wherever possible to start with. I do not want the elimination of the present scripts of the different languages. Let them have them; they should also flower but Devnagari might be accepted as an additional script. I do not know whether Mr. Mohsin has got the freedom to say something about this but I think it would be better if he could discuss this with the Prime Minister and come forward with some method of bringing the people together, bringing the languages together. Acharya Vinoba have said that Devnagri is a scientific script. By this the various Indian languages can be understood and people can follow them. Mr Vice-Chairman in this connection I would not like to say much more.

About this Report I would like to refer to what has been stated in the last paragraph.

"The desire of the linguistic minorities to preserve their mother-tongue and the pass it on to their children can be well appreciated but at the same time they should recognise the necessity of a sound grasp of regional language. The linguistic minorities can at no time isolate themselves from the mainstream of educational developments. Whatever may be the minor differences or adjustment, they must not militate against the sense of oneness of our great country. Unity means strength and progress."

I think this last paragraph is very important. The linguistic minorities may have certain difficulties; they have to learn other languages. As you know the three-language formula was adopted by the Chief Minister's Conference but it has not been given effect to. Nobody is serious about it because there is politics. They want to have cheap popularity and they create certain feelings among the people. Take the question of Urdu; here the question of sentiment comes in. Urdu is an Indian language and everything must be done to develop it. Urdu must be given all facilities as are being given to other languages. I think it is an all-India language. You go to Bombay, people can understand Urdu; you go to Madhya Pradesh people can understand Urdu.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMEN- TARY AFFAIRS

संसद के कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री

SHRI OM MEHTA: It is the official language of Kashmir.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I want it as the official language of the whole of the country along with the other languages.

Now I want to make three points. One State should not try to patronise the minorities living in another State. The Maharashtrais in Maharashtra should not patronise the Marathis living in Mysore or other States.

[Shri Krishan Kant]

The Mysore Government must not patronise the Kannada people living in Maharashtra. It is the duty of the Government of those areas to see that full facilities are given to their linguistic minorities for study, for research and for higher education in that language. All the facilities should be given. Applications must be accepted in that language and replies should be given. In this connection I would like to state here the special problem of Punjab. There an agitation has been going on that Hindi should be an additional language along with Punjabi. Even the Supreme Court has decided that it can be done but I do not know why the Government of Punjab has not done it till now. I would plead with the Government of India that they must see that Hindi is made an additional language along with Punjabi so that any person can write an application in either the two languages and receive a reply to it. It is rather funny; you go to Punjab and you find all the mile stones are in English and Punjabi but not in Hindi. This is the kind of approach and because of that a certain emotion is aroused of and on. I hope the Government of India will take a decision that Hindi will be there along with Punjabi in Punjab.

Another point I would like to make here is this. When the different linguistic States advertise their posts they must not say that knowledge of the language of their State is compulsory. A person who is to be appointed need not know the language of the State, but once he joins Government service he can be given a year or two in which to learn the language of the State. Otherwise, how an IAS officer from Punjab could go and work in Tamil Nadu or how an officer from Tamil Nadu could go and work in UP? If they do not know the language already, they can learn the language. The whole idea is that for running the administration there should be efficient and capable persons. They must be recruited on the basis of their capabi-

lity and the particular language can be learnt later on by them. I would not like to speak more, but I only want to appeal to the Government. Please take these reports more seriously and let us know what the Government is going to do. In India all the languages can flourish like flowers. In a family you do not curb one child or another. The mother treats every child equally. In the same manner in India all the languages must flower. The feeling of imprisonment and closed circles must stop. That is the only way in which we can have one integrated nation. For that my suggestion is this. It is not my suggestion, but the idea which Gandhiji had was that there should be one common script in addition to the scripts of the different languages. This must be examined by a committee of experts, of linguists from different States, so that it would help in the elimination of tension. We can bring the people nearer to one another by having one script. Vinobaji's book "Gita Pravachan" has been brought out in Tamil, in Marathi in the Devanagari script. Many people study it. This idea is good and this would help in bringing Indians nearer to each other and it is a step towards national intergration.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am extremely thankful to the Members who have taken part in the debate. They have given very useful suggestions. At the same time, I wish to make clear the limitations of the Central Government in getting the recommendations of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities implemented. Members are quite aware that Education is a State subject. Under a provision in the Constitution the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been appointed and certain safeguards are given under the Constitution. The only provision under which effective implementation could be achieved is article 350A, which reads:—

"It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local au-

thority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mothertongue 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."

For providing adequate facilities for instructions in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education the President can certainly issue directions to the State Government. We cannot do it in other matters as to compel a State Government to do certain acts or not to do certain acts. Our method is persuasive to see that the State Governments are convinced of the necessity of protecting the linguistic minorities in their respective States. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is only a functionary under the Constitution. He has no executive powers as has been made out.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Data collection.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Yes. He has to do certain other functions also. After submitting the report to the President, he has to see that the recommendations or the decisions taken by the State Education Ministers or the Chief Ministers at various times are implemented by the State Governments. Unless the State Governments cooperate in this stupendous task of seeing that the grievances of the linguistic minorities are met, difficulties are bound to arise. So in this connection I am happy to state that the Home Ministry has been doing a lot in persuading the State Governments to implement those decisions and to continue the facilities that have been provided for the linguistic minorities as before. I must also mention the sincere efforts of the Prime Minister in this regard to see that the linguistic minorities are done justice and fair play in every State. With the formation of the linguistic States the problems of the linguistic minorities have also increased. No State in India is unilateral.

In every State there are the linguistic minorities. and Punjab and Haryana are not any exceptions. In every State, though there is a regional language which is considered to be the official language of that State, there are quite a large number of linguistic minorities there and it is the duty of the respective State Governments to protect their interests also and provide for their education. And the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been doing the job properly not only by reporting to the President about the grievances of the minorities but also by following up these complaints and seeing to it that they are redressed by the State Governments.

Sir, Mr. Krishan Kant—he is not here at present—was very eager to discuss the other Reports also. If he were present at the initial stage, he would not have asked this question. Anyway, it is true that the Commissioner's Reports, Nos. 8, 9 and 10 were not discussed in this House. But the same items are in the Eleventh Report as well. And it was found that if we discussed the Eleventh Report it would suffice because the the same grievances are there, the same points are covered, in the Eleventh Report also. So, nothing much is lost by not discussing those three Reports because all those are contained in this Report.

He made another point about the necessity of a link language, about Hindi in the Devanagari script being accepted throughout the country. Sir, this matter was considered at a meeting of the Chief Ministers held in August 1961 and a consensus was reached—

"The meeting was of opinion that a common script for all the Indian languages is not only desirable but would be a powerful link between the different languages of India and therefore a great help in bringing about integration. Such a common script in India in the existing circumstances can only be Devanagari. While it may be difficult to adopt a common script in the near future.

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

this object should be kept in mind and worked for."

Already a decision has been taken there as long back as 1961. And it is for the State Governments to see that that decision is implemented. I know—just as the fanaticism for language is there, there is the fanaticism also for the script. Every language wants to retain its own script. I do not think my Bengalee friends like Mr. Chitta Basu and others will be ready to drop the Bengali script and take to Devanagari.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I have never said, drop the Bengali script. I only wanted an additional script. I do not want to eliminate any script.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is a very good suggestion and I only hope that the people who follow the different languages of the States and have different scripts would take to Devanagari also as the common script so as to maintain national integration. Sir, in the same meeting other important decisions were also taken. The growth of the regional languages in India and their progressive use in education makes it essential to develop rapidly an all-India language for inter-State communication, a purpose which has thus far been served by English. Although English continues as a medium for some time to come, it is clear that urgent steps should be taken to promote Hindi so as to achieve that purpose as early as possible, otherwise there is a danger of not having adequate connecting link as far as language is concerned between the different States. Even this decision has been taken.

Sir, we cannot forget that English is slowly going out of India. Whether we may like it or not certainly there will be a time when English language will have to go out of India. Even in a State like Tamil Nadu people use their own language, Tamil, in preference to English though they have too much love for English. In other Southern States, Sir, I might say that a

keen desire to learn Hindi is slowly spreading and I do hope that a time may come when the entire country will accept Hindi as the link language because that could be the only link language throughout India.

Sir, when Mr. T. N. Singh spoke about the preservation of tribal languages and their dialects he did not want that the dialect should have a script also. He did not want to encourage them to become languages. But anyway, the desire of the tribal people will have to be kept in mind. The tribals in Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere have been pressing for retention of their own language and some of them are adopting the script of the regional language, the State language. But the difficulty arises where we have to educate them in their languages. Firstly, the question of script comes and thereafter comes the question of students who want to learn in those languages. And if the students are available, we have to train the teachers. Where are the training colleges to do so for training these teachers to man these schools? Who would be teaching these languages? So this is a very stupendous task. However, efforts are going on to see that these languages also are preserved and protected.

He also made another point of nationalisation of text-books. He criticised the Government that the Government is not considering the nationalisation of textbooks though they are thinking of nationalisation in other spheres. Sir, he may not be aware that the Government have taken a decision for the nationalisation of text-books. The Union Government have already written to the State Governments for implementation of the decision about nationalisation of the text-books. There have been instances where the State Governments have taken steps in this direction and many text-books have already been produced by the State Governments themselves. This is a long way in the nationalisation of text-books. The Government have taken upon itself the duty and the

burden of printing the text-books themselves. As such publishing agencies have been already established in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi.

Mr. Chitta Basu has vehemently urged for the recognition of the Nepali language. Sir, though Nepali language is not included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, it is a recognised language. It is the second official language in West Bengal. It is used in three hill Divisions of the Darjeeling District. Non-inclusion of any language in the Eighth Schedule does not come in the way of its development. So the Government is taking all steps to develop this language also. The list of languages given in the Eighth Schedule is not the complete list of all the Indian languages. For the information of the House I may state that India has got as many as 1,549 languages, (Schedule VIII languages have, over 340 dialects only.) So, this is a vast country with a very big number of languages and this brings in many difficulties. And our duty is to protect all these languages also. So, one can understand the huge task that the Government is faced with.

Sir, much has been said about the Urdu language. Certainly I agree that Urdu is one of the important minority languages in India. It has got a special feature of its own. It is being spoken by a large number of people in India, though it is not a regional language except in Kashmir. In Kashmir, along with the Kashmiri language it is an official language, no doubt, but in all other States it is a minority language. But due to its vastness of literature and the people who are spread out throughout the length and breadth of the country, it has got a special significance. It is a misnomer to call it the Muslims' language as some people term it. I may tell you that though I am Muslim, I do not know how to read or write Urdu. But there are so many people who are not Muslims who know Urdu and Urdu alone, I re-

member an instance when I was a member of the Mysore Legislative Assembly. Naturally I used to receive some representations in Urdu language also. It was a difficult task for me; every time I had to go to somebody to get it read. In the same Assembly there was another member who was a Hindu; he came from the majority community, from the Lingayat community. I may even mention his name—Shanker Shetty Patil from Gulbarga. He did not know any other language except Urdu. So when he received letters in Kannada, he used to bring those letters to me to be read, and in turn I used to take the Urdu letters to him to be read to me. So, I only want to show that Urdu is not the language of any particular community. Urdu is essentially an Indian language, born and spread in India. There are many writers of eminence coming from the Hindu community. I think Mr. Krishan Chand is a well known writer. Firaq Gorakhpuri, a well known poet, is also a Hindu Anand Narain Mulla, Pandit Sunderlal, I have heard of so many names, though I am not myself a student of Urdu. Munshi Premchand is also there. So, for the development of the Urdu language and literature everybody has contributed, every Indian has contributed. Nobody can say that it is a language of a foreign country. It may be that the script is Arabic or Persian or that some words have crept in. But as Mr. Ansari has pointed out, there is difference in the script also. He has said that Urdu has got its own script. I am not an authority on that. Anyway it is an Indian language and it has to be protected. Sir, the Government is also very eager to see that Urdu is given a proper place. Urdu is a recognised language included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. It is the State language in Jammu and Kashmir, and it is recognised as the second official language in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh. As regards the Urdu language and the development of the Urdu language, a press note was issued by the Ministry of

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]
Home Affairs. Because many Members have spoken on this language, I would like to read out the press note for their information.

"Urdu and Hindi are very closely allied and may be considered as basically the same language. But it is true that Urdu has certain distinctive features apart from the script in which it is usually written and differs not only in literary style but to some extent in its vocabulary from Hindi."

Urdu has grown up in India as a variation of Hindi, being influenced by various cultural currents that came to India from other countries. But it is essentially a language of our country, and its homeland is India. The Constitution has recognised this basic fact by including Urdu among the national languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Thus Urdu is officially and constitutionally recognised as one of our national languages, and the various provisions that apply to these languages, apply to Urdu also.

While Urdu is spoken by and is considered as their mother tongue by a very considerable number of persons in India, more especially in North India, it is not a language used by the majority of people in any State in India or in any large region within a State. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is recognised as one of the State languages, the principal one being Kashmiri. In the Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh, it has also been recognised as an additional language for that region, although the principal language of the State is Telugu. In Northern India, more especially in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the use of the Urdu language has been widespread, though it is confined to a minority chiefly living in towns. In the past, the principal cultural centres of the Urdu language have been Delhi and Lucknow

As a language of India which has literary distinction and vitality it should be encouraged, in addition to other reasons, from the literary point of view. In regard to facilities for instruction and examination, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference has laid down certain rules for its use, with which government are in full agreement.

In areas and regions where the Urdu language is prevalent, the following facilities should be especially provided. This has been issued to all the State Governments. The facilities are as follows:—

1. Facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother-tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.

2. Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable text books in Urdu.

3. Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.

4. Documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices without the necessity of translation or transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted.

5. Important laws, rules and regulations and notifications should be issued in the Urdu language also in areas where this language is prevalent and which may be specified for this purpose.

These are the specific instructions issued through a Press Note and sent to all the State governments for implementation. This Ministry has not lagged behind in making efforts to see that all these facilities are given to the linguistic minorities.

Some Members have pointed about recruitment. At the time of recruit-

ment language is not a bar and to this effect instructions have been issued to all the State governments. If a candidate does not know a particular language, that should not be a bar. He will be recruited; but later on he is required to pass in some proficiency examination in the State language.

These are in brief some of the steps taken by the government to safeguard the interests of the linguistic minorities. As and when necessary government will not lag behind in going to the protection of the linguistic minorities. Of course, I must point out that all the State governments have not come up to our expectations. But I can very well say that there is encouraging response from them including U.P., Bihar, Punjab and Haryana, etc. It is true that a controversy is going on between Punjab and Haryana as regards the facilities to be granted to the linguistic minorities in their respective States. I hope that the controversy will be over soon. While saying this, I cannot refrain from making a statement that there are linguistic minorities in every State and it is the duty of the States to protect their interests. But one cannot forget the idea of national integration. A feeling of oneness is essential for every Indian. For their own sake, it is better that they should learn the State and regional languages so that no hurdles or difficulties can arise in developing their way of life. At the same time, Sir, they should also learn the national language which can only be the link language and which only can bring the integration of the country.

I hope, Sir, that my reply will suffice to the hon. Members who have raised various points. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): Now, we move on to the next item.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): Can I ask one question?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): No, Please.

THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR-GENERAL'S (DUTIES, POWERS AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE) BILL, 1971

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

वित्त मंत्री:

(SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Sir, I beg to move:—

"That the Bill to determine the conditions of service of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India and to prescribe his duties and powers and for matters connected there with or incidental thereto, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the Comptroller and Auditor-General is a high dignitary to whom an important role and position have been assigned in our Constitution. Insofar as the financial matters are concerned, apart from compiling the accounts, he also audits the accounts to see whether the expenditure is in conformity with the appropriations obtained from Parliament. There are special provisions in the Constitution to ensure the necessary independence for him to discharge his responsibilities. This important role of the Comptroller and Auditor-General has been kept in view while drafting the legislation to prescribe the duties and powers and to determine the conditions of service of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. A Bill on this subject was introduced in the Fourth Lok Sabha and was referred to a Joint Committee of Parliament. The Joint Committee which considered the Bill in sufficient detail, while being in general agreement with the provi-