

university educationists, artistes and all kinds of people are making statements. Here even among the police there is discontent because Mr. Mukherjee, the Inspector General of Police, has been given extension for having done all these things. They are doing it even now. Mr. Mukherjee has been given extension by circumventing and bypassing all rules and regulations. This has created discontent among the police officers also. Therefore, here in Bengal we have a constitutional madness. In the other House, I understand, the Speaker is considering this. I request you for a discussion in this House. I implore you that you kindly admit this and allow a brief discussion at least. I will not ask you for a long discussion on the subject. We should know exactly what is happening. It should not be left to the conspiratorial manoeuvres and moves on the part of the Congress leaders, when the Opposition and other non-official members in the House are not entitled to have their say and they will present us with a *fait accompli* by that time. I again appeal to you in all earnestness.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : I appeal to the hon. Member to withdraw his suggestion. Two months back whenever an issue of the nature that he has raised relating to Bengal was sought to be raised in this House, the hon. Member objected saying that it was within the special purview of the State of West Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, Sir, The Central Police force was brought...

(Interruption)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He cannot try to mislead the House.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : At the time of Naxalbari you did it. We were here in this House at that time and you objected to that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : These things should not be brought...

(Interruption)

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Why should we not ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What are you talking, you monopolist, bloated monopolist, sitting here and shouting.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You cannot have the monopoly to abuse all the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have the monopoly of the money and industry. Monopoly is your habit.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Next item, the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमान् भूपेश जी ने...

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The Chairman called the next item.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1967 AND RELATED RESOLUTION—continued

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Madam, Madam, Madam, we have come to be listened to in this matter. It is unfortunate that the Secretary has suggested to you the next item. It is extremely unfortunate. Many a time this things is done with the aid of the Secretariat in this way. It is unfortunate, Madam this ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You take your seat.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, Madam. I want to say that we went to the Chairman's chamber and he said that some time would be given. I want to know whether time would be given to discuss the West Bengal matter.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You take your seat.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The Government would be in possession of some of the points. I want to know whether time would be allotted for discussion of West Bengal. They cannot have everything their way. Otherwise you turn me out from the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : (Maharashtra) : On a point of order. When the Chair is on her legs...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Some time should be given. It is unfortunate. It is extremely unfair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should not disobey the Chair. Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Time and again this is happening ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have taken the Chair. The House has heard the direction of the Chairman which I also heard when I was in my seat. The next item was called and I have nothing to do with the previous business. The next item now begins.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीया, हमारा नेक्स्ट आइटम है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. I will take it up, Mr. Rajnarain has called attention to the very important measure affecting the national life saying that no time-limit be imposed and at best one week be allotted for this Bill.

श्री राजनारायण : अंग्रेजी में नहीं लिखा था।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : In one breath Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wants all kinds of motions to be discussed here; in the other breath they want no time limit for the Official Languages Bill.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, इधर सुन लिया जाय...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : I have not given that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मुझे अफसोस है कि उसका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी में जो किया गया है वह सही नहीं है।

उपसभापति : नहीं जी। आप बैठ जाइये।

श्री राजनारायण : हमें सुन लीजिए। नहीं कहने तक तो हमारी बात खत्म हो जाती। अब तक तो आप सुन लेतीं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have said whatever he wanted to propose to the House. I am in the hands of the House. We have very limited time. Two days have been allotted.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, पहले जान तो लीजिए कि मैंने क्या कहा है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : आपने अंग्रेजी का गलत अनुवाद पढ़ा है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Two days were allotted for the Official Languages Bill. Even so the Chairman has allotted one more day. We are going to sit through the Lunch Hour. There are sixty to seventy names. We will also sit in the evening till six o'clock, if need be, even after six o'clock.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Not after six.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं आपकी आज्ञा शिरोधार्य करके आपसे और आपके द्वारा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से निवेदन करता हूँ कि हमने जो प्रस्ताव अब किया क्या चेयर उसको अपना मतलब देकर और हमारे प्रस्ताव को अनर्थ रूप में रख कर क्या उसको खत्म करे। मैंने वह प्रस्ताव नहीं दिया है, मैंने जो प्रस्ताव दिया है, कृपा करके एक मिनट में आप सुन लें, आपको अनुवाद गलत बताया है...

उपसभापति : मैं सुनने के लिये नहीं तैयार हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो क्या आप हमारे प्रस्ताव की गलत सूचना सदन के सदस्यों को देंगी ?

मैं पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर रखा रहा हूँ कि क्या हमने जो प्रस्ताव चेयर को दिया, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उस प्रस्ताव को बिना पढ़े ही हमारे प्रस्ताव का एक गलत ट्रान्सलेशन अंग्रेजी में कर के चेयर सदन से सदस्यों को सूचित कर सकती है? इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि हमने एक प्रस्ताव दिया है कि जो भाषा

संशोधन विधेयक है यह लोकहित का है, राष्ट्र हित का है आवश्यक है, सामयिक है, इसलिये इसमें विवाद और चर्चा के समय पर समय की पाबंदी न हो और कम से कम एक हफ्ता जनरल डिस्कशन के लिये रखा जाय। माननीया, आप देखेंगे कि ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट 9 महीने तक बैठती है और यहां पर हम लोग मुश्किल से 7 महीने बैठते हैं। इसलिए आप इसमें समय बढ़ायें और...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down now. He has only said in Hindi what he wrote to me, and I have given more than the exact translation to the House.

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is what I think.

श्री राजनारायण : एक हफ्ता कम से कम, हमने लिखा है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The motion is ...

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh) : I rise to support the resolution of Mr. Rajnarain.

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री विद्या-चरण शुक्ल) : आप उसको छोड़िये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is no resolution.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : नहीं छोड़ सकते, माननीया, यह जो भाषा संशोधन विधेयक है यह सारे देश की जनता से संबंध रखता है और संविधान ने जिसके लिये दो वर्ष लगाये थे, उसका दो दिन में गवर्नमेंट अन्डू करना चाहती है। यह उचित नहीं है। मैं एस प्रस्ताव का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं और चेयर से रिक्वेस्ट करूंगा कि वह बोलने में समय की पाबंदी नहीं लगवे। एक सप्ताह का समय भी बहुत कम है। इसमें मैं समझता हूं जब दो वर्ष संविधान सभा में लगे थे तो उसको अन्डू करने में भी तो समय लगता है, लेकिन फिर

भी मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूं। यह देश की जनता की भावना के विरुद्ध होगा यदि सदस्यों के बोलने पर पाबंदी लगाई गई।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I do not want any more discussion. No more. Now the motion is ...

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, इसमें सदन की राय ले लीजिए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : If you want the discussion to be extended, please go to the Chairman tomorrow morning.

The motion before the House is :

"That the Bill to amend the Official Languages Act, 1963, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

When the House adjourned on December 19th, Shri Chavan had just moved the motion. There are three amendments by Shri Chordia, Shri Pande and Shri Shukla for reference of the Bill to the Select Committee.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh) : Madam, I move.

1. "That the Bill to amend the Official Languages Act, 1963, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be referred to a Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of fifteen Members, namely :—

1. Shri Tarkeshwar Pande,
2. Shri M. P. Shukla,
3. Shri Niren Ghosh,
4. Shri Rajnarain,
5. Shri D. L. Sen Gupta,
6. Shri Chitta Basu,
7. Shri B. K. Gaikwad,
8. Shri Banka Behary Das,
9. Shri Narindar Singh Brar,
10. Shri Jagat Narain,
11. Shri Lokanath Misra,
12. Shri Brahmananda Panda,
13. Shri Sitaram Jaipuria,
14. Shri Niranjan Varma and
15. Shri V. M. Chordia,

With instructions to report by the 12th February, 1968."

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Madam Deputy Chairman, I move :

2. "That the Bill to amend the Official Languages Act, 1963, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be referred to a Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of fifteen Members, namely :—

1. Shri Jairamdas Daulatram,
2. Shri V. M. Chordia,
3. Shri Triloki Singh,
4. Shri Rajnarain,
5. Shri G. Murahari,
6. Shri D. Thengari,
7. Pt. Bhawaniprasad Tiwary,
8. Kumari Shanta Vasisht,
9. Shri B. K. P. Sinha,
10. Shri Lokanath Misra,
11. Shri Tarkeshwar Pande,
12. Shri K. S. Ramaswamy,
13. Shri S. K. D. Paliwal,
14. Shrimati Violet Alva and
15. Shri M. P. Shukla.

with instructions to report by the first day of the next session."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri Tarkeshwar Pande.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The names for the Select Committee are the same in amendments Nos. 2 and 3.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय, मुझे एक बात निवेदन करनी है और वह यह है कि मेरा नाम इसमें बिना पूछे लिख दिया गया है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That name will be removed.

Now, the point is this; there is a similar discussion... (Interruptions) Order, order. The Official Languages (Amendment) Bill was moved by Shri Y. B. Chavan yesterday. And the Home Minister had also moved the Resolution. There are 39 amendments.

Paragraph 1

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN (Maharashtra) : Madam, I move :

1. "That in line 4, after the words 'to develop it' the words 'as a simple and communicative language assimilating,

wherever necessary, words or expressions from the other languages in India specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution' be inserted."

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : Madam, I move :

3. "That at the end of line 6, the following be added, namely :—

'and to secure its enrichment by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages'."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy)

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Madam, I move :

3. "That in lines 9-10, after the words 'development of Hindi' the words 'as a link language' be inserted."

Paragraph 2

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Madam, I move :

4. "That—

(i) in line 1 for the figure '14' the figure '15' be substituted;

(ii) in line 2, the words 'major' and 'besides Hindi' be deleted ; and

(iii) in line 9, the words 'alongside Hindi' be deleted."

(The Amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. R. Muniswamy)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam, I move :

5. "That—

(i) in line 5 after the word 'languages' the words 'including Hindi' be added, and

(ii) lines 6 to 11 be deleted."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY : Madam, I move :

6. "That in line 7, after the words 'Government of India' the words 'with the concurrence of States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language' be inserted.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN :
Madam, I move :

7. "That in line 9, after the words 'alongside Hindi' the words 'as a link language' be inserted."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY : Ma-
dam, I move :

8. "That in lines 9-10, the words 'grow rapidly in richness and' be deleted."

Paragraph-3

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam,
I move :

9. "That in line 4, for the words 'three-language formula' the words 'bilingual formula' be substituted."

10. "That for lines 7 to 12, the following be substituted, namely :—

"This House resolves that arrange-
ments should be made in accordance
with bilingual formula for the study
of a modern language of the choice of
the student in addition to his mother-
tongue."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

11. "That in lines 8-9, for the words 'modern Indian language' the words 'South Indian language' be substituted."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

12. "That in line 9, the words 'preferably one of the Southern languages' be deleted."

(The Amendment also stood in the names of
Shri V. M. Chordia and Shri Sunder Singh
Bhandari)

Paragraph-4

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

13. "That paragraph 4 be deleted."

(The Amendment also stood in the name of
Shri N. R. Muniswamy)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, I move :

14. "That for lines 1 to 12, the following be substituted, namely :—

"And, whereas it is necessary to ensure
that the just claims and interest of

persons belonging to non-Hindi speaking
area in regard to the public services
of the Union are fully safeguarded;

This House resolves—

(a) that compulsory knowledge of
Hindi shall not be required at the stage
of selection of candidates for recruit-
ment to the Union services or posts
excepting any special services or posts
for which a high standard of knowledge
of Hindi may be considered essential for
the satisfactory performance of the
duties of the service or post; and "

(The Amendment also stood in the names of
Shri T. Chengalvarayan, Shri R. T. Partha-
sarathy and Miss. M. L. Mary Naidu)

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

15. "That in line 2, after the words 'people belonging to' the words 'non-Hindi States in' be inserted."

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam,
I move :

16. "That in line 6, for the words 'either Hindi or English' the words 'any two modern Indian languages' be substituted."

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

17. "That for lines 6 to 12, the follow-
ing be substituted, namely :—

"that compulsory knowledge of Eng-
lish or any or the languages mentioned
in the Eighth Schedule to the Consti-
tution shall be required at the stage
of selection of candidates for recruit-
ment to the Union services or posts
except in the case of any service or
post for which a high standard of
knowledge of English alone or Hindi
alone or both, as the case may be, is
considered essential for the satisfactory
performance of the duties of any such
service or post; and "

(The Amendment also stood in the names of Shri
R. T. Parthasarathy, Shri T. Chengalvarayan
and Miss M. L. Mary Naidu)

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

18. "That for lines 6 to 12, the follow-
ing be substituted, namely :—

"that compulsory knowledge of Hindi
shall not be required at the stage of

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy]

selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union services or posts excepting any special services or posts for which a high standard of Hindi knowledge may be considered essential for the satisfactory performance of the duties of the service or post, and' "

(The Amendment also stood in the name of
Shri N. R. Muniswamy)

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

19. "That for lines 6 to 12, the following be substituted, namely :—

'that compulsory knowledge of any one of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution or English shall be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union Public Services or posts except in respect of any special services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of English is considered essential for the satisfactory performance of the duties of any such service or post ; and' "

(The Amendment also stood in the name of
Shri N. R. Muniswamy)

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY :
Madam, I move :

20. "That for lines 6 to 12, the following be substituted :—

'that the compulsory knowledge of any one of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution or compulsory knowledge of English shall be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union Public Services or posts except in respect of any special services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of English alone or Hindi alone or both, as the case may be, is considered essential for the satisfactory performance of the duties of any such service or post ; and' "

(The Amendment also stood in the name of
Shri N. R. Muniswamy.)

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) :
Madam, I move :

21. "That lines 13 to 18 be deleted."

SHRI NIREN GHOSH :

22. "That for lines 13 to 18, the following be substituted, namely :—

'(b) that all languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution shall be treated on a par for the All-India and higher Central services examinations.' "

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA : Madam,
I move :

23. "That after line 18, the following be added, namely :—

'(c) Hindi and English shall be permitted as alternative media for the examinations to be held on 1st April, 1968, or thereafter for recruitment to Class II, III, IV posts of the Central Services:

Provided that if the recruitment is in respect of posts sanctioned for any office in any particular State, the examinees shall, in addition to Hindi or English, be permitted to use the State's language or languages adopted by the State as State language or State languages.' "

(The Amendment also stood in the name of
Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam,
I move :

24. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely :—

'and having considered the same, this House recommends—

(i) that article 343 of the Constitution making Hindi the official language be amended by making all national languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution as official link languages; and

(ii) that lines 7 to 14 of paragraph 1 of the Resolution be deleted.' "

Paragraph 1

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I
move :

25. "That in the first part of paragraph 1 for the words 'Whereas under article 343 of the Constitution Hindi shall be the official Language of the Union' the words 'Whereas under article 343 of the Constitution Hindi is the

official language of the Union' Union be substituted."

(The Amendment also stood in the names of Shri Rewati Kant Sinha and Shrimati Sarla Bhaduria)

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated) : Madam, I move :

26. "That in line 9, after the word 'and' the word 'such' be inserted."

Paragraph 2

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I move :

27. "That at the end of the first part of paragraph 2, the following be added, namely :—

"This House is of opinion that the development of the Indian languages will remain obstructed as long as English remains even as an alternative medium and, therefore, resolves that it shall be the duty of the Union to reduce the use of English progressively with a view to stopping its use ultimately and to submit at annual report to the House as to the particular fields of Government work and public life where it has reduced or stopped the use of English' "

(Amendment also stood in the names of Shri Rewati Kant Sinha and Shrimati Sarla Bhadauria)

Paragraph 3

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM : Madam, I move :

28. "That—

(i) in line 4, the word 'three' be deleted; and

(ii) in line 4, after the word 'formula' the words 'including provision for mother-tongue where it is not the regional language as' be inserted."

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Madam, I move :

29. "That—

(i) in line 7, for the words 'resolves that arrangements should be made' the words 'directs the Union and State Governments to take effective steps' be substituted; and

(ii) in line 8, for the words 'the study' the words 'compulsory study' be substituted."

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I move :

30. "That at the end of the first part of paragraph 3, the following to added, namely :—

"Provided that while making arrangements for the study of English, Government shall keep in view that the compulsory use of English has ultimately to be stopped in the fields of Government work and public life.' "

31. "That for the Second part of paragraph 3, the following be substituted, namely :—

"This House resolves that in Hindi-speaking areas arrangements should be made for the study of a modern Indian language belonging to any family other than the Aryan group of Indo-European family along with Hindi, and in non-Hindi-speaking areas arrangements should be made for the study of Hindi and English along with the regional language.' "

(The Amendments also stood in the names of Shri Rewati Kant Sinha and Shrimati Sarla Bhadauria)

Paragraph 4

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Madam, I move :

32. "That after line 12, the following be inserted, namely :—

"Provided further that full marks obtained by a candidate from a non-Hindi State in Hindi language examination shall be added to aggregate of the U.P.S.C. Examination; whereas in regard to a candidate from a Hindi State in Hindi language examination, marks above pass marks, shall be added to aggregate of the U.P.S.C. Examination and.' "

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I move :

33. "That for part (a) of paragraph 4, the following substituted, namely :—

"that for the next ten years compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English shall not be required at the stage of selection and promotion of candidates for recruitment to the Union services or posts except in respect of any special services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of English alone or Hindi alone, or both, as the case may be, is considered essential for the

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satisfactory performance of the duties of any such service or post, but the knowledge of Hindi shall be compulsory after ten years.' "

(The Amendment also stood in the names of Shri Rewati Kant Sihna and Shrimati Sarla Bhadauria)

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I move :

34. "That for part (b) of paragraph 4, the following be substituted, namely :—

'that the Union Government shall, after consulting the Union Public Service Commission on the future scheme of the examinations and the procedural aspects thereof, make arrangements within a year to permit all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and English as alternative media for the All India and higher Central Services examinations.' "

(The Amendment also stood in the names of Shri Rewati Kant Sinha and Shrimati Sarla Bhadauria)

Paragraph 3

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : Madam, I move :

35. "That for lines 7 to 12, the following be substituted, namely :—

'This House resolves that arrangements should be made in accordance with that formula for the study of two modern Indian languages including one of the Southern languages apart from Hindi in Hindi-speaking areas, and of regional language, Hindi and one of the modern Indian languages in the non-Hindi-Speaking areas.' "

Paragraph 4

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, I move :

36. "That the word 'And' in the beginning of line 1 be deleted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Madam, I move :

37. "That—

(i) in line 6, the words 'either Hindi or' be deleted;

(ii) in line 6, after the word 'shall' the word 'not' be inserted;

(iii) in lines 10 and 11, the words 'or Hindi alone, or both, as the case may be' be deleted;

(iv) in line 14, the words 'and English' be deleted; and

(v) in lines 16 and 17, the words 'after ascertaining the views of the Union Public Service Commission on' be deleted."

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : Madam, I move :

38. "That after line 18 the following be inserted namely :—

'And whereas it is necessary for promotion of sense of equality and unity between people speaking different languages in the country that steps should be taken to provide facilities to Members of Parliament to speak in the mother-tongue of each member;

This House resolves that arrangements should be made at an early date for simultaneous translations of the speeches made in both the Houses of Parliament into all the languages mentioned in Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.' "

Paragraph 3

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Madam, I move :

39. "That—

(i) in lines 8-9, for the words 'a modern Indian language', the words 'two Indian languages' be substituted.

(ii) in line 9, for the words 'preferably one of the Southern languages', the words 'and any one of the Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam languages and any one of the other ten languages specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution' be substituted.

(iii) in line 10, the words 'and English' be deleted.

(iv) in lines 10-12, for the words 'and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non-Hindi-speaking areas', the words 'and of the regional languages and any one of the remaining thirteen languages along with Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas' be substituted."

(The Amendment also stood in the name of Shri Tarkeshwar Pande)

SHRI K. P. MALLIKARJUNUDU (Andhra Pradesh) : I have given notice of an amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is has not yet come. I will accept if you give it.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। अभी तो जनरल डिसकशन है और बाद में जब क्लोज वाई क्लोज डिसकशन होगा तब भी अमेंडमेंट दे सकते हैं। अभी आप नाम यों पढ़ रही हैं, अभी तो जनरल डिसकशन है।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो मेरा प्रस्ताव है, उसमें मेरा संशोधन है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : क्या देना है। नाम देना है तो अफिस में दे दें। If you are giving an amendment, I am willing to receive it now. But let us proceed with the business.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : If we want to move any amendment tomorrow, we should be allowed.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : You will be allowed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN I am prepared to receive amendments on the Bill but not on the Resolution. Now, Mr. Setalvad.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD (Nominated) : Madam Deputy Chairman and Brother Members, I have great pleasure in welcoming this Bill. It is a good solution to a long-standing problem. It should really have been brought before the House long before, immediately after the assurances were given by the two Prime Ministers. But, unfortunately, it has been the practice of this Government to delay matters, probably in the hope that delay will make for a solution of the problem. The result is, of course, quite the contrary. The delay, instead of solving a problem, complicates a problem. Take this matter itself. In this matter, the delay caused suspicion and distrust among those who were opposed to Hindi as being the sole official language. The result was that

many Congress leaders in Parliament, I believe, lost their seats by reason of the feelings in the matter of the language problem. The delay assured and encouraged the supporters of Hindi who thought that Hindi was getting more and more entrenched. That was really the unfortunate consequence of the delay that took place in the introduction of the Bill.

I said that the Bill is a good compromise of a difficult problem. It really concedes, in my view, the demand of those who are opposed to Hindi because it virtually gives them a veto on the discontinuance of English as one of the official languages and it really should satisfy the demand that they have made. I do not agree with the further demand which has been put forward that the Bill itself is not enough, and that the assurances which have been given should be incorporated in a constitutional amendment. That probably arises out of the distrust which they still continue to hold, distrust that a Bill passed by Parliament may later be reversed by another piece of legislation introduced in Parliament. That is really what is passing in their mind.

Now, Madam, what really is the nature of the opposition to the Bill? As I understand it, one of the grounds powerfully urged is that the Bill is unconstitutional. To my mind, there is no basis for such a view. The Constitution itself, the very article which makes Hindi the official language after the lapse of 15 years, also provides power in Parliament to continue the use of English after the lapse of 15 years. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the contention that the proposed Bill is unconstitutional. Clause 3 in the article seems to have been inserted to meet such a contingency which has now arisen, namely, a disagreement between the States as to the adoption of Hindi as the sole official language. It is surprising that those who support Hindi should have lost sight of this fact which I think will be borne out by those who participated in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, that Hindi was adopted as the official language only by a very narrow majority.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : If I am wrong, I stand corrected.

SHRI S. S. MERISWAMY (Madras) : It was a majority of only one vote.

SOME HON. MEMBERS FROM CONGRESS BENCHES : No no.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : The voting was between Hindustani and Hindi. But so far as Hindi was concerned, it was unanimous.

(*Interruption by Shri Niren Ghosh*)

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : If I am wrong I stand corrected.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You stand corrected by Mr. Sinha. Generally he is incorrect.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : Going further and apart from the constitutional aspect of the matter, a further point of opposition has been the opposition as it were, to the continuance of the English language as a language. Well, I greatly regret that such an attitude should have been adopted by some of these parties. They forget that we owe the spirit of freedom which we imbibed during the last sixty or seventy years from the English language. It is our knowledge of English that brought us the idea of freedom, and we became freedom-lovers by reason of our close knowledge of English.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No. No.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : We forget further that it was English which brought us all together—the Bengali from the East and the Tamilian from the South—and we met and exchanged our views in that language.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : It may be—we are now able to dispense with English or we may be hereafter able to dispense with English. But the time has not yet arrived, and so long as that time has not arrived, we must not despise English. We must not forget that English is a world language. Whatever we do today—we may throw down English placards and throw down English signboards—that is not going to help us. English is a world language. It is spoken all over the world. It is growing and is adopted more and more by even the non-English people in the Western continent. And if we want to retain our contacts with the world, not only contacts with the world but if we want to retain and increase our knowledge of the sciences, of technical matters and of various other things, we have necessarily to have English for a long, long, long time yet . . .

(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : For ever.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The applause is assuming linguistic character.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : . . . and after that long, long time . . .

श्री राजनारायण : यह अगले ज़माने के हैं, इन्हें आप मत कहिए।

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : My hon. friend, I say I am entirely for Hindi but Hindi in the due time and when it is accepted by all the States. They all have a right to express their views. If some of the States are still of the view that it is too early to go to Hindi, or if now they think that Hindi shall never come, let them have that view. Let us not forget that we are in a democracy, and in a democracy everything, particularly so delicate and so personal a matter as language, must be decided by unanimity and by consent.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : Then what will happen to the world ?

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : All the same it will be all the better, perhaps, if Hindi is delayed a little . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I agree. But these words, namely democracy by consent, should be addressed to the Prime Minister and to all those who are sitting there.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : What I was trying to point out was this, that we must not, in a democracy . . . (*Interruption*) Hindi is spoken by a majority of the people.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD : . . . by a majority of the linguistic groups . . . (*Interruption*) Very well. Even if it is spoken by a majority of people, there is no reason for forcing it down the throat of those who do not want it. In a democracy we must act with goodwill, mutual respect and do things as far as possible, particularly in matters of language, by common and unanimous consent.

One thing more, and that is, the methods adopted by some protagonists of Hindi—I do not say all—the resort to violence, disorder, rioting, arson and so forth. It

is a matter of deep regret that some responsible parties should have lent themselves into these violent and coercive methods in the matter of language. It is a matter entirely to be deprecated the more so when they attempted to bring in the student element into this very unworthy agitation. I hope good sense will yet prevail and that these leaders of certain parties will think better of it. They should think not so much of Hindi which prevails in some States, but think more of the unity of the country. They should see to it that we all of us go together because we have a very, very long way to go, and we shall not move at all unless we move unanimously and in concert. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chagla.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA (Maharashtra) : Madam Deputy Chairman . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I hope Mr. Chagla of the Mundhra case fame will be reborn today.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : ... may I in the first instance congratulate the hon. Home Minister and the Government for bringing this Bill before Parliament? It was our solemn duty to carry out the assurances given by Nehruji and Shastriji and I think, by and large, this Bill meets with that need. With the Bill, as it is, there might be some difference of opinion. But on the whole it seeks to carry out in a great measure the assurances given by the two distinguished Prime Ministers.

Madam, I am of the opinion that in matter like language we should try, as far as possible, to have a national consensus. We often talk of consensus. It has become a fashionable expression. But if there was ever a need for consensus, it is on the language issue. We should not make the language issue a dispute between Hindi and English or between the North and the South. Let us adopt a policy which is in the national interest. I think the first condition is to see that the unity of this country is not threatened. I place unity above everything else. It is wrong to say that language should come first. Unity must come first. Madam, we had a terrible partition in 1947. I have always taken the view that it was a blunder. It should never have taken place. But now it has become a matter of history. After that, thanks to the statesmanship of Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, we integrated the country and had all the princely States

coming into the Union and forming one united country. For Heaven's sake, let us preserve the unity of our country. That should be our paramount consideration, our bounden duty, our passionate duty.

Now, Madam I have heard some people say—and I am very sorry that this expression has been used—that we are giving a veto power to Madras and Nagaland. That expression should not have been used. Madras and Nagaland are part of our country. The people who live there are flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. It is absolutely necessary, in order that the language policy should succeed, that we should carry Madras and Nagaland and other parts of India with us. We cannot afford to say “Never mind what Madras says never mind what Nagaland says, we have a majority and we will use our majority to carry through the legislation.” Democracy does not merely mean rule of the majority. Sometimes we make this mistake. Democracy also postulates the willing consent of the minority. Then only democracy can function.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : Even in our political matters.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Even in political matters, in all matters, social political and economic.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : With the exception of cases like Prafulla Ghosh and so on.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : That is his obsession.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He postulated a thesis. I said there are certain exceptions.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : The hon. Home Minister used a very happy expression that we should have a ‘protracted period of bilingualism’. But I want to make it clear that bilingualism does not mean dividing Indian into Hindi India and English India. Bilingualism means that the whole country should accept both the languages. You have bilingualism in Canada. Of course, the French are rather restive there. But if you go to Canada, you will find that almost everybody in higher positions speaks both English and French. You go to Switzerland. Of course, Italian is a small minority. But almost every Swiss speaks both French and German. And if you want bilingualism in this country,

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

then we must have these languages accepted by the whole of India, used by the whole of India and adopted for as many purposes as possible.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You want English to be the language of the people ?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : I am coming to that. So from this point of view, I welcome the three-language formula because the three-language formula postulates the study of Hindi and English by all the students in India and that is a step in the right direction. My regret is that this formula was never loyally carried out or accepted ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are also to blame for it.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Well, Education is a State subject and the Centre cannot force its views upon the States. I will not mention the States, but some States really did not honestly and loyally carry out the three-language formula. Now, from this point of view, I regret one of the resolutions moved by Government after some amendment that in the examinations for the Public Service Commissions Hindi or English may be accepted. Now, Madam, how is bilingualism to work in the administration if a group of students only know Hindi and the other group only know English ? How will the administration of this country be carried on if across the table in an office in the Ministry one man does not know English at all and the other man does not know Hindi at all?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore) : There should be an interpreter between them.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Yes, there can be an interpreter between the two. Therefore, I would suggest that after all, these resolutions are not mandatory, they are recommendatory. I would humbly suggest to the Government to give second thought to these resolutions so that both Hindi and English are compulsory or for the time being, if you are going to have for the administration one common language, it should be English and when the time comes, Hindi can replace English. But for Heaven's sake, let us not take our administration which is slow enough in all conscience, even slower. Therefore, it would be a fatal thing if in the Public Service Commission examinations we

are going to permit either Hindi or English. Now, Madam, from this point of view also I deplore the resolution which permits students to take examinations in 14 languages. I have grave apprehension as to its success. In the first place, moderation will be almost impossible. Those who have anything to do with any examination know how difficult it is to moderate even in one language. Moderation in 14 languages will be an almost impossible feat. Therefore, even in these examinations if you are going to have bilingualism, why should the medium be not English or Hindi? Why do you want 14 languages so that our linguistic differences should be emphasised in the administration ?

Now, Madam, to the extent that this Bill is intended to give impetus to our many Indian languages, I entirely support it. I think we have great languages, rich languages and every support should be given to them. But what I want to emphasise is that there must be a common language, whether it is English or Hindi, for the intelligentsia and in the fields of administration, in the fields of academic life and in the judiciary and the legal field.

Now, if you look at the history of India, you have always had a common language for the intelligentsia. I hear people saying that only three per cent of the people speak English and, therefore, it cannot be the common medium. I hear people saying, as I heard Mr. Gupta saying just now, what percentage of the people know English. Quite right, very few people know it. But look at our history. In those glorious days of ancient India when Sanskrit prevailed, Sanskrit was spoken by a small percentage of people, not even three per cent. People spoke Prakrit or they spoke the regional languages. But the pandits not only in India but from outside discoursed in Sanskrit and carried on dialogues in Sanskrit. That was the common language. When the Moghuls came to this country, the common language was Persian and it was the court language also. But the people spoke either Urdu or Hindi. When the British came, the common language was English. All that I am emphasising is that for the sake of the unity of India and for the sake of our progress and development, we must have a common language. I am not wedded to English. I am proud of India and I am proud of Hindi. I want our own Indian language to take the place of English. But as Mr. Setalvad rightly said, let us hasten slowly. Till Hindi can replace English, to discard English as the common language

will be suicidal. And unless Hindi is accepted by the whole of India it cannot replace English. So long as Madras will not have Hindi, so long as other parts will not have Hindi, it is impossible to replace English by Hindi. And Hindi needs to be developed. Therefore, all that I am urging upon this House with all the strength that I possess is to remember that the unity of India depends upon a common language at least in the higher fields of our activity. Without that common language India's progress will be tremendously retarded. As hon. Members said, I hope I shall not live to see that day, within 10 years you will need interpreters to interpret one Indian to another. Is that what you want? To-day at a high-powered conference, people sit round the table and discuss matters of great importance in a common language. Do you want to see that in our country that when people will sit round a table, they will not understand each other and will need 14 interpreters to interpret one Indian to another? I dread to think of such a situation. I hope

I P M such a day will not come. Now, Madam, as regards the common language let me deal with three aspects, academic, administrative and judicial. In the academic field we have many universities today with great traditions. We have many Central universities. You have mobility of professors, you have mobility of teachers. The Delhi University can recruit professors from anywhere in India, it gets students from all over India. What will happen if Delhi University adopts Hindi as the medium of instruction? You will straightway shut out students from the South and from Bengal. You will not be able to recruit professors from Bengal or Madras. I know the Delhi University well, Madam. Some of the finest professors today are from the South. Are you going to compel them to give lectures in Hindi? They cannot. That means they must leave and you will never be able to get in the Delhi University professors from all over India. I was listening in the Question Hour about a medical college, whether the medium of instruction should be Hindi or English. All our regional institutions, the engineering colleges, the medical colleges must have a common language because our students come from different parts of India and we have professors from different part of India. Are we going to throw away all this because we feel that Hindi should replace English?

Now take the administrative field. We do not understand how a country like India can carry on its administration except in a common language. I have seen these amendments making different points of view but the fact remains that the Administration will never run smoothly unless you have a common language. Let us wait for the day until Hindi takes the place of English but let us not discard English in a hurry, so that our Administration will break down.

Now take the legal and the judicial field. We have an All-India Bar. We have just passed the Advocate Act which sets up common roll of lawyers. We have the high Courts and the Supreme Court. They have a co-ordinated and integrated uniform system. It is a system based largely on English law. What is going to happen? I hear people saying "Let us have regional languages in the High Courts." Do they realise what it means? Today the High Court of Bombay reads the judgements of other High Courts, pays respect to them. These judgments come up to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is manned by Judges from different parts of the country. What will be the language of the Supreme Court? Are we going to scrap the Supreme Court?

श्री निरजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) . बिल्कुल नहीं। मध्य भारत में हाई कोर्ट में हिन्दी भाषा थी।

श्र. एम० सी० चागला मगर आज भी जजमेंट जा है वह इंगलिश में होता है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : आज तो होने लगा है लेकिन पहले हिन्दी में ही जजमेंट भी होता था।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN . That is all right. Please listen to him.

SHRIM C CHAGLA It may be quite true that in Madhya Bharat and also in Baroda the regional language was used but then you had isolated High Courts, there was not this integrated and co-ordinated system, nor was there a Supreme Court. I can quite understand that if each State is going to have for its high Court the regional language with no connection with other High Courts and with no connection with the Supreme Court, it will work. But if you want to have the present system, it is not going to work.

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

The present system is working very well. I do not want the present system which has produced finest judges and finest lawyers to be scrapped without giving a second thought to it.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Finest traitors in India.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please, Mr. Rajnarain.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I am not going to do anything, Madam.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : May I say one thing about Hindi? The Hindi which we want to see developed, the Hindi which we want to become the official language of India, the Hindi of which we want to be proud is not the language of a particular region in India. You look at article 351 of the Constitution. It says that Hindi shall be the composite language to which all the language of India will contribute including Hindustani. And that will be the official language of India. Is that what is happening today? I frankly confess I have followed Mr. Bhandari's speech. His Hindi is very sweet and simple. But however much I try to follow Mr. Rajnarain's Hindi, I cannot follow it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : I do not think you are losing very much.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : While I am in the House, I want to follow every point. I would like to follow those who speak in Hindi rather than take the aid of the translation. I could follow Mr. Bhandari's Hindi. The Hindi which Jawaharlal Nehru spoke, it was really a pleasure to listen to him. We realised that he represented the composite culture of India. And I can tell my Hindi friends that much of the suspicion in the South is due to the fact that they feel that a particular region in India is trying to impose its hegemony over the South. Once it is made clear that we have to work for the Hindi which the Constitution lays down, then much of the suspicion will disappear. People do not seem to know the Constitution. Look at this fight over numerals. The Constitution says that Hindi shall be the official language of India with international numerals. But what happens? If a car goes about with international numerals, its board is blackened out and there is agitation and all that. Therefore, when we advocate the cause of Hindi, let us study the Constitution. Let us give effect to the Constitution.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : There is provision for Devanagari numerals. It is accepted.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : But today the Constitution says "international numerals" I will be disloyal to the Constitution if I do not use the international numerals. Change the Constitution by all means, if you like.

Madam, I do not want to take more time of the House but I have only one appeal to make in the interest of the unity of the country. I am more concerned about the unity and integrity of our country than about anything else. Unity must come before language and unless one evolves a national policy which every part of India will accept, one will never be able to make much progress. Language is an intimate thing; it is more intimate perhaps than even religion. Religion is losing its appeal in Europe, the United States and in some other parts of the world but language, as I said, is personal, intimate. It is something so close to us that we give our lives for it. Therefore one must tread warily when one lays down a language policy. Unless we carry the country with us, we will make mistakes. The day of Hindi will come not by imposition, not by intolerance but by persuasion and I have not the slightest doubt that if my Hindi friends will adopt the right policy, they will be able to carry with them Madras, Bengal, Nagaland and the rest of India.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY : Much sooner than they expect.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : With good intentions.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Any attempt at forcing the pace of Hindi, any attempt at imposition will cause more harm to Hindi than anything else. I think in the last few months greater harm has been caused to Hindi. Therefore I appeal to my friends who are the protagonists of Hindi to remember that this is one country, it is a united country and we cannot close our ears to the voices which come from the South and from the East. It is only when we stand together and evolve a national language policy that we will make it possible for the country to progress and prosper.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Madam, with a heavy heart I rise to speak today. Even Mr. Chagla's speech has not taken away the sorrow I feel. Madam, when we discuss this Bill the students in Madras

and other places in the South are very much agitated over this Bill. They feel upset that they have lost their future career so far as upper India is concerned. We tried to pacify them but in spite of our persuasion we could not control the feelings of those students. Today, after the passage of this Bill in the Lok Sabha, the students in the South are very much agitated. I should say that they are right and something must be done immediately to allay their fears.

Madam, there is a talk both inside the House and outside that the people of the South are trying to impose English on the people of North India. Madam, I want to say to the protagonists of Hindi to look at the history of how English came into this country. In the year 1823 Raja Ram Mohan Rai wrote to the then Governor-General Lord Amherst deprecating the idea of establishing a Sanskrit college and appealing to him to have an English college for imparting "a liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences through the medium of English." In the conclusion of his letter he had said: "In presenting the subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen." Raja Ram Mohan Rai was a great patriot, great reformer and a social worker, who fought against *sati* and fought for the peasants of Bengal and for other good and noble causes. Madam, fortunately in those days there were no Shiv Narains and Rajnarains to go and call him names for having pleaded for English to be introduced in this country.

Another important factor which we must be in mind is that India was never a United India. The concept of India as an entity is relatively of recent origin. This sub-continent was an amalgamation of several *chotta* independent States until the Maurya period. Even there, Madam, only upper India was united but not South India. Later the Moghuls had tried to unite this country, but they tried in vain to have South India annexed to their empire. And later the British came and through English they were able to unite India. But now what is happening. That unity which was forced upon us, which came as a blessing in disguise, that unity is being shattered. Now kindly imagine this. If our freedom-fighters had carried on their deliberations in their respective mother tongues, would

the congress have gone to South India? If Tilak had come to Madras and had spoken in Marathi, take it from me, he would have returned home frustrated because he would not have got any audience to listen to him. In the same manner, if Mahatma Gandhi had come or, for that matter, if Bipin Chandra Pal from my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's State had come, to Madras and addressed Madras audiences in Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati or any other language, take it from me, the Congress movement would not have spread to South India and to Madras at all. Our people were able to hear the leaders of upper India only because they spoke in English. So also our leaders Rajaji and Mr. Satyāmurti and other people were able to speak to the people of upper India only because there was the English language. Otherwise they would not have come and spoken to the people of India. So English was an essential thing and it had brought about the unity of India. I wonder, Madam, who on earth was crying for this Bill. That is a big riddle to me, which I am unable to understand.

People all over the country are worried about their next square meal. They are worried about their unemployment problem. They are worried about the price-line going up and up, and none had wanted a Bill especially of this nature. I am afraid the Government of India under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi is indulging in diversionary tactics to take away the people's mind from the immediate burning problems. They are introducing this Bill in order to divert their attention. This was the tactic adopted by the previous Britishers. This was the tactic adopted by the previous dictators all over the world and unashamedly, this congress Government, which proclaims day in and day out that they are for democratic socialism—God alone knows what sort of socialism it is—this Congress Government is indulging in the same tactics that Hitler and Mussolini indulged in, and the Britishers indulged in. Another thing they put forth; they say that they are fulfilling the commitment made by them in the Constitution and also fulfilling the promise of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I wonder whether it is the only commitment made in the Constitution that remained unfulfilled. There are so many commitments made in the Constitution.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :
But it is of paramount importance; food is not.

SHRI S. S. MARIASWAMY : Yes, it is so for them, it seems. You are a good Congresswoman, but if any other Congressman asks for food, we must give him the paper on which this Bill is printed.

How, Madam, in the Constitution there are so many commitments made. For example, in the Directive Principles, in article 45 we had said that the "State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." Have they fulfilled it? Is it not an important one? It is not imperative on the part of the Government to come forward and introduce compulsory free education? Why have they not done that? But they say that it is not important and therefore they have brought forward this language Bill. So their argument is fallacious. Their claim is not genuine. Secondly, they quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and they refer to what he had said. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that English will continue as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people did not desire a change. I ask : "Who are the South Indian people desiring a change now?" Even Mr. Kamaraj does not desire a change now. He has expressed his disapproval of the Bill. The poor man was not informed about the amendments that they had incorporated in the Bill. So he had issued this statement belatedly. I would have been happy if he had issued the statements week earlier or two weeks earlier, or before the name of Nijalingappa cropped up. That would have created a crisis in the Congress. But he had waited. What was he doing in Madras. Of course there was a by-election but my information is that he had not gone there. After the results of the South Madras election I am told that he had made up his mind that he would not interfere in any election in Madras for some time to come. It was a good decision that he had come to and I welcome it. He is a very intelligent man. But what was he doing in Madras when the Bill was being discussed in the Lok Sabha, when the amendments were being moved there by the Hindi lobby one after another? He had not done anything.

Now the Government says that they are fulfilling Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance. And what is that assurance? Are they going to keep English for some time to come? No. They are trying to abolish English, drive away English from this country by the various methods adopted by this Government. For example I may

refer to Dr. Triguna Sen, the great lover of our regional languages. What sort of love he has, I do not know. I think that the love that he has is as good as the love Pakistan is having on Kashmir, or China is having on India. This is the sort of love he has developed for regional languages. He says that in the universities and other places English should be gradually eliminated and in its place the regional languages should be introduced. What will happen? A vacuum will be created so that Hindi can creep in silently and quickly. That is the sort of thing that they are thinking of. So there is a concerted move and there is a conspiracy hatched in Delhi or Uttar Pradesh, I do not know, to drive away English so that Hindi can come in. And they say that Panditji's assurance is being fulfilled.

Madam, our hon. Home Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, while introducing this Bill, said that this should be called a compromise and they were doing a great service to the country. He had said that as a non-Hindi man he was proud to introduce the Bill. While introducing the Bill in the Lok Sabha, this is what he said. I quote.

"In the meanwhile whatever link language we have for our purposes, let us try to use it for some time till everybody says, 'I now know Hindi and I will participate in the administration of the country and in the cultural life of the country.'"

This is what he had said in the Lok Sabha. That means that such of those who do not know Hindi are debarred from taking part in the administration of the country, from taking part in the cultural life of the country. I wonder whether I would be allowed to take part at least in the agricultural life of the country, if not in its cultural life. Simply because I do not happen to know Hindi I am to be debarred from the administration of the country. If that were the verdict of this Constitution, then this Constitution must not be touched by any decent human being. We must agitate for the withdrawal of this Constitution and for annulling this Constitution. If that is the verdict of the Constitution, that simply because I do not know Hindi I am to be debarred, then this Constitution might go down the drain. That is what I would say.

Another gentleman, by name Shri Bibhuti Mishra had said in the other House that if they give Rs. 25 as extra, as an incentive to the people from South India, they would easily and quickly learn Hindi

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I pity their ignorance. Certainly it is an insult to the non-Hindi people, that if they are given Rs. 25 they would love any language. Is Hindi that cheap? I want to know that. If it is that cheap, then it is all right.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : To stretch that argument a little further, suppose Pakistan or China were to come forward and say to the people of Uttar Pradesh, that it will give them Rs. 50 will the people of Uttar Pradesh welcome it? How will they react to such an offer? Will they not take it as a calumny, a slander and a libel on the part of the Pakistanis or the Chinese, towards every Indian, towards the people of Uttar Pradesh.

You now say that you would offer Rs. 25 and the people of the South are eager to get it. That is the result of your continued rule. As a result of your continued rule for 20 years you have brought us to this level. If only a non-Congress Government had been in Delhi, things would not have been so bad. Because you were having the power for the last twenty years you have brought down the people to such a level that they are willing to sell their souls for Rs. 25.

AN HON. MEMBER : Or even less.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : When they say that, they should realise that they are really humiliating us.

Madam, they talk of Hindi being the language spoken by the majority of the people of India. I have here certain figures about the Hindi-speaking people, the figures of their population. In Bihar their number is 464 lakhs, in Madhya Pradesh 323 lakhs, Rajasthan 201 lakhs, Uttar Pradesh 737 lakhs, Delhi 26 lakhs and Himachal Pradesh 27 lakhs. The total comes to 1,778 lakhs. But the total of those who are in the non-Hindi areas is 2,466 lakhs. These figures were collected by the Action Committee of the Bar Association, Trivandrum. This has come in cold print and it has been distributed everywhere and up till now no contradiction has appeared. This is the so-called majority of the Hindi-speaking people in our country.

Further they say that Hindi is such a good language, so easy to learn and it must therefore be learnt by everybody. Here have some facts about the richness of the Hindi language also. Before I come to that, and before I quote some memorable quotations, I would like to inform this

House how much money they have so far wasted for the development and progress of Hindi. In the year 1961-62 they spent Rs. 7,78,240. In 1962-63 the figure is Rs. 16 lakhs, for 1963-64 it is Rs. 23 lakhs, for 1964-65 it is Rs. 2 crores, for 1965-66 it is Rs. 1.12 crores and in 1966-67 the figure is Rs. 67 lakhs. Under another category and for the same purpose they have spent Rs. 50 lakhs in 1963-64, Rs. 2.44 lakhs in 1964-65 and Rs. 1.70 crores in 1966-67. And on the whole they have spent so far during the period of ten years, from 1957 to 1967, a sum of Rs. 9 crores 93 lakhs for the development of Hindi. And now, let us see how much they have spent for other languages. For all the other languages they have spent only Rs. 52 lakhs and another Rs. 21 lakhs. This is what they have done for all the other languages. Yet, according to them this Rs. 9 crores is nothing, because Shri Morarji Desai is keen on getting Rs. 2,000 crores from the people by taxation. So this Rs. 9 crores can go down the drain. By spending this sum of Rs. 9 crores, how have they developed the Hindi language? Here I have certain quotations with me. These quotations were collected from the discussions in this House and from the speeches of the Hindi protagonists. I will read them out one by one. One of them is this.

“हमने 1950 में यह डिस्सीजन लिया था ।”

AN HON. MEMBER : Please repeat it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : “इस रेजोल्यूशन पर मैं एक अमेन्डमेंट मूव करना चाहता हूँ ।”

Shall I tell you about Tamil? Mr. Bhupesh Gupta here speaks very well in English. We know he is a great speaker in the English language and words come out like torrential rain from his lips without any hesitation. I can give you a Tamil translation of it without even a single English word or for that matter without even a single Sanskrit word. That is my language. Yet I do not want to impose it on anyone. Suppose I am given a thesis I can translate it in two hours into Tamil. You can see the richness of that language. If I were to ask you to accept that language as the national language, will you take it easily? Will you not come up against me brandishing a sword? They speak of “किल करना” That is what they say for the sake of emphasis.

[Shri S. S. Mariaswamy]

This is all the improvement that they could bring about after spending Rs. 9 crores. If only they had given me Rs. 9 crores I would have done wonders for Tamil, so also my friends from Kerala, so also others from other areas, for their respective languages like Bengali and so on. So this is most deplorable. That is what I would say.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : If I may interrupt the hon. Member for a minute, this is what a Hindi gentleman himself said :

"If you make Hindi easy and simple it becomes Urdu. If it becomes chaste it becomes atrocious, inappropriate awful and wrong."

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I was really shocked to hear a great jurist like Shri Setalvad call it a compromise formula. I fail to appreciate it. Mr. Chagla spoke very well. Mr. Setalvad gave very good arguments. But his conclusions were deplorable. In the first instance I thought he was opposing the Bill. He welcomed it, of course, but later on he gave arguments and they were good arguments against the Bill. But his conclusions were deplorable. He said it is a compromise formula. What is the compromise that has been arrived at? Non-Hindi students have to learn three languages. My son, if he wants to come here as a clerk or as a superintendent or as some officer, first of all I must send him to a Convent to learn English. Then if my purse permits—with all the taxes of Mr. Morarji Desai no middle class man's purse would permit...

SHRI DAYABHAI V. PATEL : No honest middle class man's purse.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Yes, no honest middle class man's purse would permit; if my purse permits I have to send him to Oxford or Colombia to master that language and then he can come by a plane to Delhi and sit for an examination in the U.P.S.C. so that he can be appointed here. I think Mr. Rajnarain has got a son and what will happen to him? From Banaras he will come straightway to Chandni Chowk or to Delhi, write an examination in Hindi and immediately you will find him in the Home Ministry immediately below our friend Shukla Sahib or even under Mr. Chavan and he will be an officer here. Is this a compromise? Is this in favour of our people? Is it for that that Panditji gave that premise? Is it for

that that we were hoping against hope that something good will be done? What sort of compromise is this? And there is another thing. Hindi graduate can get a higher position by promotion without the least trouble. What about the South Indian people who come here with English? For promotion they have to learn Hindi, write an examination, pass it and then only they are eligible for promotion. And the Central Secretariat, Madam—that is the funny part of it—hereafter will be divided as North Block or South Block and in each block there will be Cell No. 1, Cell No. 2 and Cell No. 3. The first Cell would transact business in English; the Second Cell would transact business in Hindi and the Third Cell would be a translating Cell, translating things from here and there, from this side and from that side. Is it not a ridiculous position? To get a letter translated the officer has to go and stand before the Translation Cell and by that time the Translator would have gone for this *chaya* and the officer would have to wait. The entire machinery of Government would come to a stop.

Madam, the Home Minister, I am very glad, has admitted that the Hindi-speaking people have on edge over the other people but he felt that it was inevitable. Why should it be inevitable? He could only hope that the three-language formula would be implemented by the Hindi-speaking States. I wonder, after the passage of this Bill, whether the three-language formula would ever be taken up and adopted.

Finally, I want to warn this Government that it is riding on a dangerous tiger. It is a ride that they have taken up and I am very sorry to say that our Prime Minister, who, I am told, is the author of this Bill, is mainly dependant upon and taking into account the wishes of the Hindi people some of whom I am very sorry to say do not see reason or logic at all and if I say that they are fanatical about it I must be pardoned for using that word. By acting according to their wishes our Prime Minister is taking a very dangerous step and here I want to give her a good story about a lady from Niger, how she rode a tiger and what happened to her finally. If they depended upon these fanatics their fate would be the same. This is the story :

"There was a young lady from Nigar
Who went out to hunt on a tiger
With a smile on her face
But when the hunt was all over

There came back the tiger
Without the young lady on its back
But with a smile on its face."

That will be the position. They may get applause; they may get cheers; they may get garlands; they may get bouquets from people like my hon. friend, Mr. Rajnarain, Shiv Narain and other Nations all over Uttar Pradesh and other place and finally our friend, Mr. Rajnarain would be there as P.M. but our poor Prime Minister would not be there and God only knows where she would go. That sort of situation would definitely arise. About South India I do not know what is going to happen. Madam, take it from me, the unity of India is in real danger; it is in jeopardy, there is no doubt about it. I suffer from a disease—I call a spade a spade, I do not mince words. The unity of the country is in peril. With their brute majority here and in the other House they may pass this Bill. Our voice would appear to be in wilderness now but a day will come when the Home Minister as well as our Prime Minister will regret what they are doing now. That day is not far off. Our borders are not safe and I do not know what will happen in this country. Madam, I am not a separatist; I was never a separatist; all my life I had fought against separatism. I was in the Congress as much as any of the Congress people here but with all that I tell you that these people are playing into the hands of fissiparous tendencies, are playing into the hands of the enemies of the country. They are playing with the unity of this country. I hope that soon some sense would prevail...

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : At least now.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Before it is too late.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : . . . and before it is too late they would give up this Bill. Nothing will happen if they come forward and say that English will continue to be the official language for some time to come till the future generations of this country decide upon it. Who are you to bind the future generations? For everything you want to pass a Bill, for everything you bring forth a Bill binding people for generations, for ten generations as if God himself has given powers to you to decide the fate of the entire mankind. After all, you have come with a slender majority. You would be thrown out if 30

self-respecting Congressmen cross the floor. Then what will happen to this Government? Why bother about the generations to come? Give up the Bill. If you don't give up the Bill the country would be divided. If the country is divided, this Government will be nowhere; the members who control it, also would be nowhere. My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, would also be nowhere. I would be nowhere too.

Thank you Madam

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, it is with a sigh of relief that I venture to support this Bill but I should have expected with no unreasonable importunity the passing of this Bill on the eve of the last general elections so that the political changes that have come about in some of the States could have been avoided. In politics, Madam Deputy Chairman, as in love, procrastination is the thief of time. However, I must express my very grateful thanks to our illustrious Prime Minister and my leader for the gallant stand that she has taken on this very delicate issue. It is yet another indication, if not vindication, of the great Nehru tradition. I am equally beholden to the hon. Home Minister, Shri Chavan, for the dazzling defence that he has given in piloting this Bill through stormy seas and shoals. It is once again reminiscent of his vast and varying defence potential. I must also express my very grateful appreciation of the spirit of magnanimity and compromise which my Hindi-speaking brethren have shown. After all, magnanimity and compromise are the very essence and emblem of democracy. Madam Deputy Chairman, we must not forget for a moment that this is an amending Bill. There has been a parliamentary enactment in the name and style of Official Languages Act and when that Act was on the anvil of this Parliament serious and sincere doubts were raised in the minds of a vast section of the people of the South from where I have the honour and the privilege to hail. They were so sceptical, they were so apprehensive of the distortions in their life after the passing of that measure and of the uncertainties of their future. Some went to the extreme extent of self-immolation. We may not agree with the wisdom of that course but nevertheless we cannot be blind to the extent of their exasperation. At that time it was felt that the Official Languages Act, if at all it should solve the problem of languages, for a reasonable length of time, must carry and contain what is historically known as Nehru's assurance. Nehru's assurance is an insurance. It is a Magna Carta for

[Shri T. Chengalvarayan]

the non-Hindi speaking people. This Bill, in my respectful submission, is attempting legislatively to give form and shape, to give content and compass, for embodying the spirit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance. This Bill could have been simple a measure incorporating the assurance in suitable form and in proper place, but the dexterity of draftsmanship has revealed that there have been several provisos, one taking the rigour of the other, with the result that the Bill contains more provisos than clauses. Nevertheless, I for my part value this Bill not as a solution, but as an attempt at a solution for the most complicated and controversial subject, namely, the language question, in our country.

With regard to the consideration of the Bill, may I be permitted to make some fundamental propositions for the very earnest consideration, particularly of my Hindi-speaking brethren? I do not want to adopt the tone of my esteemed friend, Mr. Mariswamy, in trying to give a certain very poignant picture of the agonies that we in South India would have. I will only endeavour to explain to my Hindi brethren three fundamental propositions. Firstly, we do not at all disturb the position of Hindi as enshrined in article 343. Let there be no mistake or misunderstanding about it. What this Bill is attempting is to provide for the continued use of English, which use has already been enshrined in article 343, clause 3. We are not enacting for the first time, the associate use of English. We are not enacting, for the first time, the continuance of English. What this Bill, in my analysis, endeavours to do is only to prolong the continuance of the use of English till such time as Nehru's assurance can give the time limit.

Thirdly, this Bill also must take into account the constitutional limitations in clause 3 of article 343. The continued use of English, after a period of fifteen years, cannot be for all purposes for which it was being used immediately before the Constitution. Therefore, this Bill makes certain specific purposes certain stated uses, for which the continued use of English is assured.

May I, therefore, submit, with regard to the consideration of the Bill, that there are certain important questions, particularly with reference to the prominent provisions of this Bill? In the first place, we are grateful for the first clause which says that English may continue to be used for purposes herein referred to. Here I recall with regret

that the criticism against the parent Act itself was that the provision, to use the lawyers' phrase, was only directory not mandatory. I wish the spirit of the amending Bill would be truly reflected, and they had put in the word 'shall' instead of 'may'. All the same, I am convinced that we need not be very sensitive about that because we know that as far as the canons of interpretation of statutes in a certain context are concerned, in view of the object of the Act, in view of the area of its application, in view of the area for which the people are to be entrusted, the word 'may' will also be construed as 'shall'. Here I have the very high authority of the most classical passage of Lord Cairns, who has given almost the last word on the interpretation of a statute. May I, with your leave, very rapidly and very briefly cite the passage of Lord Cairns, which has a very vital bearing on the appreciation of this Bill as not merely directory but it is going to be mandatory? For example, Lord Cairns said —

"They confer a power, and do not, of themselves, do more. But there may be something in the nature of the thing empowered to be done something in the object for which it is to be done, something in the conditions under which it is to be done, something in the title of the persons for whose benefit the power is to be exercised, which may couple the power with a duty, and make it the duty of the person in whom the power is reposed to exercise it when called upon to do so."

Moreover, may I invite the attention of those who feel strongly on this point of 'may', that it is certainly not helpful to use "may". It would be, in my submission, 'shall' not only on the dictum of Lord Cairns, but even on an appreciation of article 346. Article 346 states —

"The language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the Union."

English is now authorised to be used by this Bill and once it is so authorised by this Bill it becomes an authorised language within the meaning of article 346. Therefore, my submission to those people who do not feel still satisfied, who feel that the Bill does not at all incorporate any mandate for the continued use of English.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: May I ask one clarification. My hon. friend, Mr. Chengalvarayan, says that there is

absolutely no difference between 'may' and 'shall' and he quoted some authority also in that context. Then, why not incorporate 'shall' and leave out 'may', because 'may' includes 'may not' also?

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN : I am much obliged to him. I have stated my personal view that it would have been more useful if the word 'shall' had been introduced and I was only endeavouring to satisfy my friend, Mr. Mariswamy.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Why should you satisfy me?

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN : Notwithstanding the use of the word 'may' we will be able to argue and sustain that it shall be a mandate for the use of English.

I will make this submission with reference to certain prominent provisions of this Bill. Now, you know, with reference to the use of English, it is provided under proviso (1). The use of Hindi is limited by proviso (2) and enlarged by clause 2 and the use of Hindi and English is embodied in clause 5. This is the principle of parallelism that we find introduced in this Bill. It is an elegant example of peaceful co-existence between English and Hindi.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair]

May I submit this for the kind consideration of the House with reference to the continued use of English? I do not want to take the time of the House, but in order to stress the need, the importance, the desirability, the profit ability and certainty about the future of our country, I appeal to my Hindi brethren not to overlook the broad base that the English tradition and the English language could give to this country. I will only implore with all respect that this Bill is in order to allay the fears of the vast non-Hindi-speaking people. I must submit that the Bill contains suitable provisions embodying Nehru's assurance. Nehru's assurance has been very much debated upon. It is positive in its content and it is negative in its import. Nehru's assurance states that so far as non-Hindi-speaking regions are concerned, Hindi will not be imposed till they do not want it and English will continue till they want it. Therefore, in my submission, this amending Bill gives suitable shape and form to Nehru's assurance.

I would take some time, with your leave, to answer some outstanding criticisms

against this Bill. It is unfortunate that even a very good attempt made at piloting this Bill has been so much subjected to criticism. The first criticism is that this Bill is unconstitutional. My learned senior, Mr. Setalvad, has very ably and excellently argued that article 346 itself provides for Parliament to enact a law for the continued use of the English language. There is the second criticism, Mr. Vice-Chairman, against this Bill that this Bill carries in terms of Shri Nehru's assurance a kind of veto. May I submit with very great respect that there is no such thing as a right of veto. What is veto after all in such legislative form? It is only a requirement of unanimity. It is a guarantee against compulsion or imposition. There is no inhibition against understanding and sympathy. That is nothing in the nature of veto if veto it can be called by this assurance.

There is the other criticism that this Bill does not satisfy the non-Hindi-speaking people, nor does it please the Hindi-speaking people. If we know that this Bill is born out of compromise and based on consent, it is necessarily to be not satisfactory to one or pleasing to the other. But it is good for the country and it is good for the future of the people of this great land of ours.

There is the other criticism, as my friend, Mr. Mariswamy, pointed out, that there is a division of Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking people in our country. I am rather surprised that the doyen of division should allege this difficulty. On the other hand, if I may say so, this Bill endeavours and seeks and struggles to close up this division between the Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking people on the bridge of English being continued. I hope and trust a time may come, which may not be very far, when we will have to realise that for us in the South it will be good for us to take to learning Hindi but in a different atmosphere. I equally expect my brethren of the Hindi-speaking areas to take to English, so that we can march on, and in this connection this Bill provides an excellent climate for such an atmosphere.

May I have your permission to cite my esteemed and beloved friend, the Chief Minister of Madras? When he was speaking on the floor of this House on some other occasion, he was giving almost a kind of elucidation on the position of the future in relation to Hindi as well as non-Hind-areas.

[Shri T. Chengalvaroyan]

This is what the hon. Shri C. N. Annadurai said :

"I think even now the propagation of Hindi has become effective through non-official agencies rather than through official agencies. Leave it to the people and let them develop the language and make it conversant and if at that time due to the natural process, without the backing of the Government, people think that Hindi has to become the link language, it will first be the *de facto* link language and then the *de jure* link language."

May that day come sooner than he desires and earlier than others doubt.

Then there is this criticism that this Bill is not sufficient unless there is a Constitutional amendment. I am not able to understand the wisdom of the suggestion. If there is to be a Constitutional amendment, in what form, in what shape and in what context? I submit that the whole scheme of languages enshrined in our Constitution is basically put under article 343 with an extension in this. Therefore, this argument of a necessity of a Constitutional amendment is more rhetorical than practical.

One more word, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and I have done. This language controversy has diverted the direction to our destiny. How long are we to continue this controversy? Let us bury all our prejudices. Let us burn—not on the floor of this House—all our passions. Let us banish all our hatred. Mother India speaks not one language, not two languages, not three but fifteen languages. Each one of our national languages is a gem of the purest ray serene. It is strung in golden thread in nice formation and in perfect position, bedecking our Mother India as a nice necklace with a multi-colour grandeur and with a technicolour splendour. We may speak in different tongues but the thought is one. We may have different melodies, but the music is one. We may have different sounds, but the symphony is the same. We therefore go forward with the hope and trust that this Bill would be a cementing factor, that this Bill would galvanise the unity and integrity of our country. Let doubts be dispelled, let hatred be banished, and we shall create an atmosphere and condition in our country when we shall look into the bigger problems that await at the doors for our solution.

With these words I have great pleasure in giving my wholehearted support to this

Bill. With reference to the Resolution may I say this that this Resolution is in my opinion rather redundant, for no resolution could have any legal enforceability? But to the extent it is to be done. I would request and implore the Home Minister for reverting to the original draft resolution, and this amended form only spoils the face of this Bill and distorts the grace of its provisions.

श्री वत्सोपन्त ठेंगड़ी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय,

इस बिल के कारण कुछ अच्छी बातें हो गईं ऐसा कहा गया है, श्रीमान सीतलवाड जी ने कहा कि एक यह काम्प्रोमाइज फार्मूला है, उनका कहना कहां तक सच है इसमें शक है, क्योंकि इधर तो द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कषघम् या स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग या स्वयं कामराज ऐसे लोग इस बिल से नाराज हैं—कल मैंने एक अंग्रेजी दैनिक में एक व्यंग चित्र भी देखा, जिसमें श्री कामराज को दिखलाया गया है और द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कषघम् कामराज लिखा गया है—और उधर उत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में भी इसके कारण बड़ा विक्षोभ हो रहा है, तो इस कारण से "गुनाह बे लज्जत वाला" यह बिल है। ऐसा स्पष्ट हो जाता है। इसमें काम्प्रोमाइज की कोई बात आ नहीं सकती।

श्री सीतलवाड जी ने और यह कहा कि अंग्रेजी जो है यह विश्व-भाषा है। यही तर्क यदि विश्व-भाषा-विधेयक हमारे सामने होता तो बड़ा बलशाली सिद्ध होता, किन्तु यहां हम विश्व-भाषा की चर्चा नहीं कर रहे, इस विधेयक के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की राजभाषा की चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं, इसलिये वर्ल्ड लैंग्वेज वाली जो बात है वह यहां लागू नहीं होती। यह भी बहुत स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

श्रीमान चागला जी ने संस्कृत के बारे में निर्देश किया कि संस्कृत बहुत थोड़े लोग समझते थे, अंग्रेजी भी थोड़े लोग समझते हैं, किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निर्देश करना चाहता हूं कि जहां शैक्षणिक, सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक कार्यों के लिये थोड़े लोगों के हाथों में संस्कृत के माध्यम से एकाधिकारशाही आ गई थी वहां संस्कृत का महत्व मानते हुये भी, जन-साधारण में जागरण हो, इस दृष्टि से हर एक

प्रदेश में प्रादेशिक भाषा के माध्यम से ही सम्पूर्ण ज्ञान देने की प्रक्रिया शुरू हुई और इस तरह से थोड़े ही संस्कृत ब्राह्मण लोगों के हाथों में जो विद्या थी उसे जनमाधारण के पाम तक पहुंचाने का प्रयास हुआ और आज वही बात हो रही है, उन दिनों में थोड़े संस्कृत ब्राह्मण थे जो कि एकाधिकारशाही चलाते थे घाँमिक तथा सांस्कृतिक बातों में और आज अंग्रेजी ब्राह्मण थोड़ी संख्या में आ गये और वह शासकीय क्षेत्र में अपनी एकाधिकारशाही चला रहे हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि लोकतंत्र की यह आवश्यकता है कि थोड़े से अंग्रेजी ब्राह्मणों के हाथ में जो शासकीय अधिकार एकत्रित हो गये हैं, उसका विकेंद्रीकरण किया जाय और यह विकेंद्रीकरण भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से ही हो सकता है, अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से नहीं।

श्रीमान चांगला जी ने एक और अच्छी बात कही। उन्होंने कहा कि पहले संस्कृत थी, उसके बाद में शासन बदला, मुगल आये तो पर्सियन आई और बाद में शासन बदला तो फिर अंग्रेजी आई, अंग्रेज आये इसके कारण अंग्रेजी आई। तो अब यह स्पष्ट है कि हम अब स्वतंत्र हैं तो अंग्रेजी हटनी चाहिये, उसी लाजिक को लेकर स्पष्ट होता है कि अंग्रेजी हटनी चाहिये; क्योंकि अब स्वराज्य है, अब हम स्वतंत्र हैं। उन्होंने हिन्दी के पिछड़ेपन का थोड़ा निर्देश किया, किसी प्रकार की अवमानना न करते हुये, लेकिन आखिर भाषा समृद्ध कैसे होती है। जब तक हम यह निर्णय नहीं लेते कि हमारी ही एक भाषा, भारतीय भाषा होगी—आखिर किसी न किसी भारतीय भाषा को राजभाषा

बनाना होगा—हम अपनी ही भाषा

2 P. M. को राज भाषा नहीं बनाते तब तक उसके विकास का रास्ता भी नहीं खुल सकता। यदि हम ग्रेट ब्रिटन का इतिहास देखें, तो शायद जिस मनोवैज्ञानिक वायुमंडल में स्वयं हम लोग अपने को पाते हैं, वही मनो-वैज्ञानिक वायुमंडल 1650 सन् तक ग्रेट ब्रिटन में था। वहां राजभाषा के नाते कोर्ट में, दरबार

में चलती थी फ्रेन्च, शिक्षा के लिये लैटिन चलती थी और केवल जनता की भाषा, इस नाते से इंग्लिश का स्थान वहां था। 1650 में इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट ने बहुत ही हिम्मत के साथ यह निर्णय लिया कि हम फ्रेन्च में राजकार्य नहीं चलायेंगे, अपनी ही भाषा में चलायेंगे और इस दृष्टि से उन्होंने जो एक रिजोल्यूशन पास किया वह रिजोल्यूशन यदि उन्होंने पास नहीं किया होता और पहले की भांति यदि फ्रेन्च और लैटिन की एकाधिकारशाही को वह चलने देते, तो क्या यह कभी संभव था कि आज इंग्लिश भाषा इतनी समृद्ध हो पाती। वह रिजोल्यूशन क्या है उसको पढ़ कर बताऊंगा। 22 नवम्बर, 1600 को इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट ने यह प्रस्ताव पाम किया :

"The Parliament have thought fit to declare and enact, and be it declared and enacted by this Present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that all the Report Books and the resolutions of Judges, and other books of the Law of England, shall be translated in the English tongue :

And from and after the first of January, 1650, all Report Books and the Resolutions of Judges, and all other Books of the Law which shall be printed, shall be in the English tongue."

इस तरह से फ्रेन्च की दासता से स्वयं को मुक्त करते हुए और अंग्रेजी को स्वभाषा के नाते, देसी भाषा के नाते याद इतना आग्रह इंग्लैंड ने नहीं रखा होता तो आज इंग्लैंड की इतनी प्रगति नहीं होती। हम भी यदि भाषा के बारे में आग्रह रखेंगे तो जो हमारा पिछड़ापन दिखाई देता है वह अधिकदिन तक चलने वाला नहीं। आखिर भाषाएं इसी तरह से समृद्ध होती हैं और इसलिये अब हिम्मत के साथ फंसला करने की आवश्यकता है कि हम लोग अंग्रेजी के साथ संबंध छोड़ देंगे, राजभाषा के नाते हम संबंध छोड़ देंगे। जहां तक इन्टरनेशनल पक्ष की बात है हर एक आदमी केवल अंग्रेजी ही क्यों सीखे। रशियन सीखे, जर्मन सीखे, फ्रेन्च सीखे, स्पनिश सीखे। खैर वह एक अलग बात है। इस तरह से नाइबेरी लैंग्वेज की बात हम यहां नहीं रखना चाहते।

[श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी]

हमारे मित्र जेगलवरायन ने ऐसा कहा कि जवाहरलालजी ने कुछ एश्योरेन्सेज दिये थे। वह एश्योरेन्सेज क्या थे। अगस्त-सितम्बर, 1959 के जवाहरलालजी के जिस एश्योरेन्स का निर्देश किया गया है, मैं उसको पढ़ कर बनाता हूँ :

“English will continue as an associate language and I would not take it away till I was asked to take it away by the non-Hindi-speaking areas.”

यहां यह बात स्पष्ट है कि एकता हिन्दी को अंग्रेजी के साथ नाथ चलाने की बात थी, केवल अंग्रेजी को चलाने की बात नहीं थी। किन्तु अब तक केवल अंग्रेजी को ही केन्द्र के द्वारा क्यों चलाया गया ?

दूसरा विवाद यह है कि इस विषय में नान-हिन्दी एरियाज के लिये एक सर्वांकष निर्देश जवाहरलालजी ने किया था। देश के किसी एक राज्य की बात उन्होंने नहीं की। मैं श्री चागला से एकदम सहमत हूँ कि हम हर एक राज्य को अपना ही समझते हैं, यह बात ठीक है। अपना ही भाई है तो उसको मनाने के लिये अगर एक तरह से प्रशिक्षण भी करना पड़े, थोड़ा उसके लिये समय लगे, तो समय देने के लिये तैयार हैं। किन्तु एक ही स्टेट के कारण अगर हमारे अच्छे कार्य में बाधा आती है, तो यह बात जवाहरलालजी ने नहीं कही। उन्होंने एक सर्वांकष निर्देश किया था नान-हिन्दी एरियाज के लिये और इस तरह की आज के विधेयक में जो व्यवस्था की गई है, वह व्यवस्था जवाहरलाल के एश्योरेन्सेज के प्रतिकूल है। मैं समझता हूँ जवाहरलाल ने अंग्रेजी के बारे में कौन सी भूमिका रखी थी—कांस्टीट्यूएन्ट असेम्बली में भाषण करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था :

“There was an insidious move on the part of some to include English as one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule. This is obviously a wrong thing to do, as English is not an Indian language though it is acquired and owned as mother tongue by some Indians like the Anglo-Indian

community. It should be enough if we recognise the need of learning English or a modern European language. It would be absurd, therefore, and unwarranted too, to include English as an Indian language in the Schedule. In this move to include English is to bypass the basic principles of the replacement of English by India's national language. It will be wholly in contravention of the spirit and contents of the constitution and the modern history of our people during last half a century.”

तो इस तरह से स्वर्गीय जवाहरलालजी का मतव्य क्या था और अंग्रेजी के बारे में उनकी भूमिका क्या थी यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है। वह अंग्रेजी को इंडियन लैंग्वेज के नात स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं थे। उसको नेशनल लैंग्वेज में रिप्लेस करना है वह बान उनके मन में थी और वह शीघ्र होना चाहिए यह उनकी मन्शा थी। इस दृष्टि से जवाहरलालजी के एश्योरेन्सेज के बारे में बार-बार निर्देश करना, यह मैं उनके प्रति अन्याय समझता हूँ। ऐसा मेरा खयाल है इतना ही नहीं, जवाहरलालजी की बात तो है ही, किन्तु जितने हमारे श्रेष्ठ नेता हो गये उन सब लोगों ने, खास कर स्वतंत्रता संग्राम जिन्होंने चलाया उन लोगों ने अपनी यही भावना राष्ट्रीय भाषा के बारे में प्रकट की थी।

मैं बहुत ज्यादा समय इसमें नहीं लूंगा, केवल यही कहूंगा कि अहिंदी भाषाभाषी भी जब राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई लड़ते थे, उन्होंने भी हिन्दी को यह सम्मान दिया था। राजा राममोहन राय, श्री केशवचन्द्र सेन, रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर, ये सब अहिंदी भाषी थे। नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने जब आज़ाद हिन्द फौज का निर्माण किया तो उसमें सभी जगह के रहने वाले लोग थे, मद्रास के थे, मलाबार के थे, महाराष्ट्र के थे और स्वयं नेताजी अहिंदी भाषी क्षेत्र के थे, तो उस समय उन्होंने जिस राष्ट्रीय गीत की रचना की . . .

डा० गोपाल सिंह : रोमन स्क्रिप्ट था।

श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेंगड़ी : लेकिन वह अंग्रेजी में नहीं था। स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती

गुजराती थे, स्वयं गांधी जी ने भी अहिंसा भाषी होते हुए कहा था। "हमारी प्रजा अज्ञान में डूबी है। हमें ऐसा उद्योग करना चाहिये कि एक वर्ष में राजकीय सभाओं में, कांग्रेस में, प्रांतीय सभाओं में और अन्य सभा, समाज और सम्मेलनों में, अंग्रेजी का एक भी शब्द सुनाई न पड़े। हम अंग्रेजी का व्यवहार बिलकुल त्याग दें।"

स्वयं राजाजी के बारे में भी मैं जानता हूँ, आज उन्होंने हिन्दी का कुछ विरोध करना शुरू किया है, किन्तु यह विरोध भाषायी विरोध है अथवा राजनीति है, मैं इस बारे में विभ्रम में हूँ क्योंकि 1937 में उन्होंने इसी राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रचार मद्रास राज्य में बहुत तेजी से किया था। तो इस तरह से नेहरू जी के एश्योरेन्सेज की जो बात कही जाती है, उसके विषय में कुछ स्पष्ट धारणा होनी आवश्यक है।

वास्तव में यह बिल लाने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। एक तो कोई उद्देश्य इससे स्पष्ट नहीं होता, दूसरे 1963 में जो कानून था वह भी बहुत अपर्याप्त, प्रतिगामी था, पीछे जाने वाला था। जैसे हमारे संविधान में अंग्रेजी को निकालने के लिये पन्द्रह साल का काल दिया हुआ है, मर्यादा दी हुई है, तो 1963 के कानून में भी इस तरह की कोई मर्यादा नहीं थी। आज इसमें भी मर्यादा नहीं है। तो कौन से विशेष कारण हैं, कौनसा उद्देश्य, कौनसा फल इसमें प्राप्त कर रहे हैं कि इस समय हम यह एक विवाद्य विधेयक देश के सामने रखने जा रहे हैं।

यहां राष्ट्रीय एकता की भी कुछ चर्चा की गई। राष्ट्रीय एकता का विषय हमारे लिये बहुत ही महत्व का है। मैं इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि भाषा का जहां महत्व है, भाषा से भी राष्ट्रीय एकता का महत्व है, इसे बात से मैं सहमत हूँ और इस दृष्टि से मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह कहना गलत बात होगी कि जो हिन्दी के पक्ष में दाद कर रहे हैं वह राष्ट्रीय एकता में दरार डाल रहे हैं, डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी ने दिनांक 10 अगस्त, 1962 को अखिल भारतीय भाषा सम्मेलन के लिये सदेश देने हुए ऐसा कहा था कि "कई वर्ष बीते जब मैं एक बार मद्रास प्रान्त का भ्रमण

कर रहा था तो मुझे उस समय तमिल भाषियों को संबोधित करके कहा था कि यदि विचार करके देखा जाये तो तमिल का विरोध हिन्दी से नहीं है, और न होगा। अन्ततः, उसका विरोध अंग्रेजी से है और होगा।" मेरा ऐसा बयान है कि आज हमारे देश में जो राजनैतिक वायुमंडल चल रहा है, उसी कारण आज कुछ लोगों के मन में इस तरह की आशंका पैदा हो गई है। वास्तव में अगर यह विधेयक आज नहीं आता तो बहुत अच्छा होता; क्योंकि आज हम देखते हैं कि इसके विरुद्ध उल्टी प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है। यदि भाषा के विषय पर विभिन्न भाषाभाषी लोगों के मध्य अनौपचारिक वार्ता होती तो उसमें मेरा रास्ता निकल सकता था और उस अनौपचारिक बातों में से जो रास्ता निकलता वह सारे देश के लिए बहुत ज्यादा अच्छा होता। यदि अब भी इस विधेयक को वापस लिया जाता है, तो इस तरह का कोई समझौता का रास्ता निकालने के लिए समय मिल सकता है।

मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारे श्री अन्नादुराई जी और द्रविड मुन्नेत्र कणगम के लोग किसी विदेशी भाषा के लिए ज्यादा आग्रह करेंगे। आज उनका इस सबंध में जो आग्रह है वह केवल भाषा से संबंधित नहीं है बल्कि राजनैतिक वायुमंडल में जो तरह तरह की आशंका फैली हुई है, उसके कारण यह आग्रह है। हमारे श्री अन्नादुराई और द्रविड मुन्नेत्र कणगम के लोग बहुत समझदार हैं और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि जिस तरह का वायुमंडल राजनीति का आजकल हो रहा है, उसको देखते हुए भाषा के सबंध में वार्ता करने के लिये कुछ समय मिल जायेगा तो आज जो हमारा दृष्टिकोण है वह दृष्टिकोण वह स्वीकार कर लेंगे, इसमें मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है। हम यह बात जानते हैं कि श्री अन्नादुराई और डी०एम०के० के लोगों ने पहले जो धमकी दी थी, उसको उन्होंने परिस्थिति के अनुसार परिवर्तन कर दिया और इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि उनमें भी विचार करने की शक्ति है। वे लोग अच्छे हैं, उनके विचार गतिशील हैं, डाइनेमिक हैं। इस चीज को दृष्टि में रखते हुए जो बिल लाया गया है वह वार्ता करने के लिए एक रुकावट है। अगर इस

[श्री दत्तोपन्त ठेगड़ी]

बिल को अब भी वापस लिया जा सकता है तो इससे राष्ट्रीय एकता और ज्यादा मजबूत हो सकती है, क्योंकि हमारे देशव्यापी सभी समझदार और देशभक्त हैं, यह मेरा विश्वास है।

मैं इस बिल के सबंध में कुछ प्रमुख बाने रखना चाहता हूँ। हिन्दी के सबंध में जो यह बात कही जाती है कि वह लोगों के ऊपर जबरदस्ती लादी जा रही है, थोपी जा रही है, उसके सबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो इस तरह की बात कहता है वह बुद्धि नहीं रखता है। उन लोगों को समझना होगा कि प्रेम और अच्छे व्यवहार से ही किसी को भाषा सीखने के लिए कहा जा सकता है। भाषा किसी पर थोपी नहीं जा सकती है। इसी दृष्टि से हम लोग बराबर वार्ता के लिए तैयार हैं। हम सब लोगों को समझाने की दृष्टि से, एक दूसरे की बात को समझने की दृष्टि से वार्ता करने के लिए तैयार हैं और इस तरह से हम आगे बढ़ने के लिए तैयार हैं। इस दृष्टि से जो भाषा लादने की बात कही जाती है उसको कभी नहीं कहा जाना चाहिये। जो अंग्रेजी चाहता है उसके ऊपर हिन्दी नहीं लादी जानी चाहिये और जो हिन्दी चाहता है उसके ऊपर अंग्रेजी नहीं लादी जानी चाहिये। इस बात को दृष्टि में रखते हुए, अब भी इस बिल को वापस ले लिया जाय तो हमें वार्ता करने के लिए पर्याप्त समय मिल जायेगा। यह बात प्रमुख यहाँ पर होनी चाहिये।

दूसरी बात मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमें यह जानकर आनंद आता है कि हर प्रदेश ने अपनी मातृभाषा में कामकाज करना शुरू कर दिया है। यह बहुत ही आनन्द की बात है। हर एक भाषा फलती फूलती रहे, यही हम सब लोगों की इच्छा है। कुछ लोग यह कहते हैं और सोचते हैं कि यह तो एक राष्ट्र है तो इसकी एक ही भाषा हो इस तरह के तरह तरह के विचार जो हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जिन तरह से एक बगीचे में एक ही तरह का फूल लगता है तो वह एक दगिर्द जैसी बात होगी। बगीचा वही सुन्दर माना जायेगा जहाँ पर भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार के फूल खिलते हों। इस तरह का जो बगीचा है जिसमें तरह तरह के फूल खिलते हों वह वैभव-

शाली बगीचा होगा, ऐसा हम कहेंगे। यह बहुत ही आनन्द की बात है कि हमारे देश में, जो एक बगीचे के समान है, 14 तरह की भाषाएँ भिन्न भिन्न फूलों के रूप में खिल रही हैं और विकसित हो रही हैं। यह बात एक मौन्दर्य का परिचयक है और इस दृष्टि से हमारे देश में मातृभाषाएँ विकसित हो रही हैं, यह कितनी अच्छी बात है कि बंगाल में बंगाली विकसित हो रही है, केरल में मलयालम और हर एक प्रदेशों में उसकी अपनी अपनी भाषाएँ फल और फूल रही हैं और हमारे केन्द्र में अंग्रेजी त्रिशकु के रूप में काम कर रही है। इस भाषा को भी यहाँ पर ज्यादा देर तक नहीं रहना चाहिये और यह यहाँ पर ज्यादा देर तक नहीं चल सकती है।

तीसरी बात मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक नौकरियों का सब ल है। मैं इस भावना से बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ कि हर नौकरी में लालच है और हर नौकरी टुकड़ा देता है और इससे किसी भी भाषाभाषी को बहकाया जा सकता है। यह जो बात है वह हमारे राष्ट्र के गौरव के लिए ठीक नहीं है और अपमान करने वाली बात है। मैं इस समय वाणिज्य की भाषा, कामर्स की भाषा के सबंध में विचार नहीं कर रहा हूँ। किन्तु इस समय यह प्रश्न हमारे लिए राष्ट्रीय आत्मा का गौरव है। हम इस निश्चित मत के हैं कि अंग्रेजी को हटाया जाय और बाद में हम इस बात को तय करें।

जहाँ तक पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन द्वारा परीक्षाएँ लेने का सवाल है, वे परीक्षाएँ मातृभाषा में होनी चाहिये। हर एक को मातृभाषा में परीक्षा देना चाहिये। जब कोई विद्यार्थी यूनिवर्सिटी पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन की परीक्षा पास कर लेता है, तो जब उसको नौकरी देने का मौका होता है, उसको बुलाया जाता है और नौकरी पर काम करता है तो इस बीच उसको अंग्रेजी या हिन्दी का कम चल ऊँ जान प्राप्त करना चाहिये। यदि इस तरह की व्यवस्था होगी तो मातृभाषाओं को बढ़ावा मिलेगा, यह बात स्पष्ट है। यदि यह मुझाव स्वीकार नहीं हुआ तो मैं यह मुझाव देता हूँ कि इस तरह की परीक्षा पास

करने के बाद जो विद्यार्थी हिन्दी जानता है उसके लिए अंग्रेजी का एक पर्चा अनिवार्य किया जाय और जो अंग्रेजी जानता है उसके लिए हिन्दी का एक पर्चा अनिवार्य होना चाहिये और इन विषयों पर उन्हें पास करना चाहिये। इसके अलावा और कोई व्यवस्था होगी वह ठीक नहीं होगी। इसके बाद फिर से जब नौकरी पर जाने का मौका आता है पास होने के बाद, तो उसको अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी का काम चलाऊ ज्ञान प्राप्त हो जायेगा। इस तरह का जो सुझाव है उसको हम स्वीकार कर सकते हैं।

श्री सी० डी० पांडे : क्या तीन हफ्ते में अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी का ज्ञान हो जायेगा।

श्री वत्सोपन्त ठेंगड़ी : इस तरह की वकिंग न लेज बराबर प्राप्त की जा सकती है और हम इस तरह की चीज तैयार कर सकते हैं। (Interruptions) यह जो बिल इस समय लाया गया है वह वास्तव में संविधान के प्रतिकूल है। संविधान में यह स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि 15 वर्ष तक ही अंग्रेजी राज्य कार्य की, शासन कार्य की भाषा रहेगी और उसके बाद हिन्दी राजकार्य की भाषा हो जायेगी। लेकिन यह जो बिल लाया गया है उसमें कोई अवधि निर्धारित नहीं की गई है कि अंग्रेजी कब तक जारी रहेगी और इससे हमारे संविधान का जो उद्देश्य है वह असफल होता है, यह बात बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है। इस समय सदन में जो बिल लाया जा रहा है उसका मकसद भी यही है कि अंग्रेजी को इस देश में अनिश्चित समय तक चलाया जाय। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बिल है वह बिल्कुल असामयिक है, सभी को नाराज करने वाला है और उससे कोई भी उद्देश्य सफल होने वाला नहीं है। यह बिल हमारे राष्ट्रीय सम्मान पर चोट पहुंचाने वाला है, हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता को तोड़ने वाला है। अंग्रेजी के हटने के बाद कोई भी भाषा इस देश में आ सकती है तो वह हमारे आपस में बातचीत करके, कोई रास्ता निकाल कर ही आ सकती है। इस समय जो बिल लाया गया है वह तो आपस में लड़ाने वाला बिल है और इसकी इस समय कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। अगर अंग्रेजी हटा दी

जाती है तो हम लोग आपस में विचार करके, कोई भी भाषा पसंद कर सकते हैं। तमिल हो जाय, बंगला हो जाय, इसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। हम आपस में वार्ता करके इस भाषा की समस्या को सुलझा सकते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस दृष्टि से इस समय यह जो बिल लाया गया है, उसको वापस लिया जाना चाहिये और हम लोगों को समझौता वार्ता करने के लिए समय दिया जाना चाहिये। यह मेरा आग्रह है।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत है उसमें विधेयक भी है और संकल्प भी है और दोनों के ऊपर साथ साथ विचार हो रहा है। इसका कुछ न कुछ अर्थ होना चाहिये। विधेयक और संकल्प एक दूसरे के पूरक हैं और दोनों के बिना पूरी बात उछल के सामने नहीं आती। जो विधेयक के साथ संकल्प उपस्थित किया गया है उसकी मंशा बहुत स्पष्ट और साफ है। वह उन स्थितियों को प्रकट कर देना चाहता है जो कि राष्ट्रीय संग्राम या स्वतंत्रता के संग्राम के बाद उसकी प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप संविधान में आई कांस्टिट्यूट असम्बली से गुजर के, विधान परिषद् से गुजर के और वे आज मौजूद हैं। यह संकल्प कहना चाहता है कि उन स्थितियों में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होने वाला है और न कोई परिवर्तन चाहा गया है। वे स्थितियाँ क्या हैं? हम लोग जो अनेक राष्ट्रीय संग्रामों में से या स्वतंत्रता के संग्राम में गुजरे हैं, उन्हें इस बात का अनुभव है कि अगर सबसे पहले कोई राष्ट्रीय रंग उभारा गया तो वह यह उभारा गया था कि सब भाषाएँ जो हिन्दोस्तान में बोली जाती हैं, भारतवर्ष में बोली जाती हैं उनमें परस्पर कोई भेदभाव नहीं है, परस्पर प्रेमभाव है और एक ही मंच पर सब आती थीं और आ सकने की स्थिति में थी। जिन्होंने गांधी जी की प्रार्थना सभा को देखा है और उसमें आये गये हैं, उनका यह अनुभव होगा कि एक गीत हिन्दी में, एक गुजराती में, एक मराठी में, एक बंगला में और एक दक्षिण की भाषा में, इस तरह से सब भाषाओं के गीत होते थे और सब भाषाओं का सम्मान होता था।

[पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

तो पहला राष्ट्रीय रंग यह उभारा गया था। आज सकल्प में यही बात उभारी गई है और संविधान में जो यह स्थिति है सब भाषाओं के प्रेमपूर्वक रहने की वह ज्यों की त्यों कायम है।

इसमें दूसरा रंग जो उभारा गया है वह भी स्पष्ट है। जो राष्ट्रीय सभामें नेता जनसपर्क के लिये जाते थे, भाषण देने के लिये जाते थे, तो आज जैसा बताया गया, वे हिन्दी में बातचीत करते थे, चाहे वे, गुजराती भाषा-भाषी हों, चाहे वे बंगला भाषाभाषी हों, जिन्होंने सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को धाराप्रवाह हिन्दी में बोलते सुना है, वे इस बात को कह सकते हैं कि स्पष्ट रूप में उस समय यह श्राक सामने आई थी कि सब भाषाएँ परस्पर प्रेमपूर्वक तो रहे हों, पर सपर्क के लिये कम से कम एक भाषा सामने हिन्दी आई और उसी के माध्यम से सारा आन्दोलन हुआ है। इस बात का जवाब खोजा जा रहा था उस काल में कि यदि कोई विदेशी प्रश्न करे कि आखिर भारत की कोई एक भाषा है कि नहीं, उसका नाम लिया जा सकता है कि नहीं और अगर लिया जा सकता है तो वह कौन है या कौन होने वाली है। तो इस दृष्टि से भी हिन्दी सामने आई या उस जमाने में उसे हिन्दोस्तानी कहा गया।

अब संविधान में जो यह बात रखी गई है, उसी को सकल्प में फिर से इसीलिये दोहराया गया है कि हिन्दी राज-भाषा होने की स्थिति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया है और यह हमारी राजभाषा है। जो इसको राजभाषा का पद दिया गया, उस समय राष्ट्रभाषा का पद दिया गया और आज ए-सपर्क भाषा भी उसका रहा जाता है वह पद हिन्दी का आज भी बना हुआ है, इसमें कोई अस्पष्टता नहीं है और यही बात इस सकल्प में कही गई है।

सकल्प में एक बात की ओर और ध्यान दिलाया गया है और वह यह है कि संविधान में यह बात निश्चित है कि हिन्दी का विकास किया जाय और उनको इस योग्य बनाया जाय कि वह सारे भारत वर्ष में सपर्क की भाषा या

मेल जोल की भाषा का काम कर सके। मैं यहां पर जरूर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें जो अपेक्षा थी वह नहीं हुआ। यह बात तो स्पष्ट है कि हिन्दी को जिस प्रेमभाव से बढ़ना चाहिये था और भाषाओं की तरफ वह नहीं हुआ, वह एक कसर इसमें दिखाई दी और एक भावना यह बन गई जिसे मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ कि कहीं हिन्दी का लड़ाव न किया जाय। दक्षिण के जो अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त हैं उन पर कहीं हिन्दी लाद न दी जाय यह शर्त उत्पन्न हो गई और इस शर्त को निराकरण किया जाना आवश्यक था। इसलिये जो पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के दिमाग में था, जो शास्त्री जी के दिमाग में था और जो आश्वासन के रूप में प्रकट हो चुका था उसे ही सामने लाया गया कि अहिन्दी भाषी भाइयों के लिये, उनके हितों के लिये, उनको आश्वस्त करने के लिये ये आश्वासन कार्य रूप में परिणत किये जायें और उनको विधेयक के रूप में उपस्थित किया जाय।

अब जो आज हो रहा है वह यह हो रहा है कि एक ओर उत्तर प्रदेश में जो कि हिन्दी का अपने को समर्थक कहते हैं उन कुछ लोगों के द्वारा हिसात्मक स्थितियाँ उत्पन्न की गईं। प्रश्न यह है कि जब किसी भाषा के विकास के सम्बन्ध में समस्या विवाद में चल रही हो, तो उसका बस जलाने से या रेल की पटरी लौटने से या डिब्बों को खत्म करने से क्या लाभ होता है इससे कौन सी भाषा चल जायगी और कौनसी भाषा बढ़ जायेगी। मैं नहीं समझता कि इन हिसात्मक कार्यवाहियों से या इन उत्तेजनात्मक प्रवृत्तियों से कुछ बनना वाला है। आज आप देखिये अखबारों में ये रंग भरे हुये हैं और दक्षिण में भी अब यह हो रहा है . . .

श्री राजनारायण : वह आप करवायेंगे।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं दक्षिण का आदमी नहीं हूँ। मेरी इतनी ताकत भी नहीं है कि जो आप कर सकते हैं वह मैं करूँ। तो आज वहां भी एक आन्दोलन का नक्शा सामने आया।

श्रीमती विद्यावती बतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) : आज आया या इसके पहले भी आया था।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : जब पहले था तब भी मैं बोला था इसी सदन में और इस पर भी मैंने प्रकाश डाला था। तो मैं कह रहा था कि हिन्दी का अहित जितना इन आन्दोलनों से हुआ है वह अपूरणीय है।

अब एक बात सामने आई है। जो बड़े बड़े विद्वान लेखक हैं, जिन की कलम पर भाषाएँ चलती हैं, उठती हैं और बैठती हैं, उन्होंने इस अवसर पर पदमभूषण की उपाधियाँ लौटा दीं। उन्होंने एक बात कही कि इस विधेयक के विरोधस्वरूप, इस विधेयक के आने विरोधस्वरूप हम यह उपाधियाँ लौटा रहे हैं? विधेयक या सकल्प का स्वरूप भी नहीं बन पाया और इसके पहले ही उन्होंने ये उपाधियाँ लौटाना शुरू कर दिया। अच्छा होता यदि ये उपाधियाँ, जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं, बड़े बड़े लेखक हैं, कवि हैं हिन्दी के, वे यह कह कर के लौटाते कि ये हिंसात्मक आंदोलन जो हो रहे हैं इसके विरोधस्वरूप या इन्हें रोकने के लिये हम ये उपाधियाँ लौटाते हैं। इससे यह हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन भी रुकते और हिन्दी के प्रसार में भी सफलता मिलती।

यह बात जरूर है कि लोग निषेध का नारा लगाते हैं और वे कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी हटाओ। एक भाषा का चलाना एक बात है और जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि वह भी चलाना प्रेमपूर्वक हो सकता है, लड़ाव व टग से नहीं हो सकता है। परन्तु एक दूसरी भाषा को मिटाने या हटाने की बात करना यह तो नफरत भरा नारा है। एक भाषा किसी दूसरी भाषा से नफरत की वाणी में बातचीत नहीं करती।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : यह नारा तो गांधी जी ने दिया था जिनकी प्रार्थना सभा का अभी आपने जिक्र किया।

(وائس چیرمین) شری اکبر علی خان

وہ کہتے ہیں کہ نفرت سے مت ہٹاؤ -

†[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : वे कहते हैं कि नफरत से मत हटाओ।]

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं इसका उत्तर देता हूँ। मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि भाषा एक साधन मात्र है, हिन्दी हो, उर्दू हो, तमिल हो, उडिया हो, दुनिया की जो भी भाषा हो वह साधन मात्र है। साध्य है उस भाषा से मानव के प्रति प्रेम का सन्देश पहुँचाना। मगर हम गलती क्या करते हैं, साधन को ही साध्य समझ लेते हैं और उसका उपयोग किए जाने की गलती करते हैं, उसके समर्थन में खड़े हो जाते हैं। अंग्रेजी का उपयोग मेकाले ने दासता की जजीरे कड़ी करने में किया। जरूर हम इस प्रवृत्ति की निन्दा करते हैं और जब वह करना चाहता था तो उसका विरोध किया गया। पर उसी भाषा के माध्यम से जब विवेकानन्द ने भारतीय सस्कृति का सन्देश अमरीका में और अन्य देशों में पहुँचाया तो क्या उस साधन का उचित उपयोग नहीं हुआ? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि भाषा साधन है। इसमें न उन्नेजना की जरूरत है, न यह सोचने की जरूरत है कि हम किस तरह इसके विरोध में आगे बढ़ें। मैं कह चुका हूँ कि एक भाषा हमें चाहिए कि यह भारत की भाषा है, मगर कुछ सकीर्ण बुद्धि के लोग जो दूसरी भाषाओं के शब्द हैं उनको न लेते देकर उसके फैलाव में बाधा उत्पन्न करते हैं। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि वह भाषा बन नहीं सकती जिसमें अन्य भाषाओं के शब्द न हों। जिस दिन कोई भाषा यह कहेगी कि हम दूसरी भाषाओं के शब्द स्वीकार नहीं करते या अपनी भाषा के शब्द उन्हें देना नहीं चाहते यह लेन-देन जिस दिन बन्द हो जायगा उस दिन वह भाषा समाप्त हो जायगी। हमने ऐसी भाषा और लोग देखे हैं, जिसमें अपनी बात कहने में लोगों ने सबसे ज्यादा सफलता प्राप्त की, जैसे कि कबीर की भाषा थी, उसकी भाषा का नाम नहीं है। इसलिए कहते हैं कि उसकी फक्कड़ी भाषा थी, न हिन्दी, न गुजराती, न मराठी—ऐसा कोई नाम नहीं दिया जा सकता, क्योंकि उसमें हर भाषा के शब्द मौजूद हैं। वह हर क्षेत्र में गया, वहाँ से जो जनता के शब्द थे उन्हें लेकर उनको अपनी वाणी दी। उसकी वाणी में ऐसी शक्ति थी और है—फक्कड़ी भाषा ही सही—कि रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर को उसके गीतों का अनुवाद

[पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

करना पड़ा, सौ गीतों का अनुवाद पहले बंगला में किया, फिर अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद किया और वह विश्व साहित्य कहलाया। भाषा तो एक माधन है, एक साध्य है जिसके जरिए ये सन्देश उछलते हैं, मानव प्रेम का विशेष करके। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि भाषा का उपयोग घृणा फैलाने या नफरत फैलाने में नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। उसकी प्रतिक्रिया उलटी होती है। इसलिए मैंने कहा कि हिन्दी का अहित इससे हुआ है जो कार्यवाहियाँ सड़कों पर की गईं, हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ, हिंसा केवल मारपीट और खून-खराबी नहीं होती, किसी का दिल दुखाना भी हिंसा होती है और इन कार्यवाहियों ने हिन्दी को नुकसान पहुंचाया है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि दक्षिण के लोगों को यह आश्वासन दिया जाय कि अंग्रेजी वे तब तक रख सकेंगे और उसका उपयोग कर सकेंगे जब तक वे स्वयं नहीं चाहेंगे कि हिन्दी आ जाय। इसमें कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है। किसी ने ठीक ही कहा कि अंग्रेजी ने एक जमाने में राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन जगाया था। भाषा के प्रति कोई नफरत नहीं होनी चाहिए। उसकी आवश्यकता हो तो उसका उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए। मुझे अभी तक याद है कि जब मैं पहली बार 1930 में राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में शामिल होकर गिरफ्तार किया गया तो उसमें जो प्रेरणा थी, वह अंग्रेजी भाषा की एक कविता की थी और मुझे वह आज तक याद है, उसमें कहा गया है—

“Spake Brave Horatius Captain of the Gate:

To every man upon this earth

Death cometh soon or late,

How can man die better than

Facing fearful odds

For the country of his fathers

For the temples of his Gods,”

तो इस वजह से आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि दक्षिणी भाइयों को या अहिन्दी भाषा-भाषियों को यह आश्वासन दिया जाय कि वे अंग्रेजी का उपयोग कर सकेंगे। क्यों न कर सकें? यह जो कहा जाता है मैं उसका समर्थक हूँ कि अन्त-

राष्ट्रीय स्थितियों में भारतवर्ष के चित्र का विकास करने के लिए यह आवश्यक होगा कि इस अंग्रेजी भाषा का उपयोग किया जाय और इस दृष्टि से इस संकल्प में या इस विधेयक में यह बात भी आ गई। यह कहा जाता है कि जो अंग्रेजी के बारे में कुछ कहता है वह हिन्दी का विरोधी है। मैं इसी बात को स्पष्ट कर रहा हूँ कि हिन्दी का समर्थक होते हुए भी और कट्टर समर्थक होते हुए भी मैं अंग्रेजी या किसी अन्य भाषा का विरोधी नहीं हूँ। मैं इस हीन भावना से भी ग्रस्त नहीं हूँ कि अगर यह मौका दिया गया कि अंग्रेजी कुछ काल तक रह सके तो फिर अंग्रेजी ही रह जायेगी हिन्दी हो नहीं पायेगी। मैं इस हीन भावना से भी ग्रस्त नहीं हूँ क्योंकि मैं इस स्थिति को समझता हूँ कि जो हिन्दी है, हिन्दुस्तान ही है या जो भी उसका नाम हो, जो मध्य देश की भाषा है, जो संयुक्त प्रान्त की, हरियाणा की, बिहार की, राजस्थान की, बीच की जगह की भाषा है या केन्द्र की भाषा है, जैसा कि अभी हमारे भाई कह रहे थे इसी बीच के बच्चों से, कि एक मालिक गुंथी हुई है, इसी के आसपास हमारी भाषायें हैं, यह केन्द्र है तो भाषायें दिशाओं में विरज्जमान हैं, यह असम्भव है कि केन्द्र दिशाओं की ओर न फैले और दिशाएँ केन्द्र की ओर न सिमिटे, तब यह शंका व्यर्थ है जो यह समझते होंगे कि अनन्त काल तक ऐसे नहीं हो सकेगा। हाँ, आप ने यह प्रेम हो, यह शक्ति हो कि आप इसका प्रसार प्रेमपूर्वक कर सकें। आप किसी वक्त बड़े थे, दक्खिन में गये थे और अपने साधन और प्रेम के बल से तब जितना हिन्दी का प्रसार किया था आज दुर्भाग्य से वह स्थिति नहीं रह गई है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि तभी यह स्थिति पैदा होती है जब कि लोग अपना जीवन खपाते हैं भाषा में, साहित्य में, और तब ही वह सफल होते हैं।

मुझे एक उदाहरण याद आता है और उसे दे कर मैं समाप्त करूंगा कि अकबर के जमाने में तुलसीदास हुये, अकबर स्वयं एक अच्छे खयाल का बदाशह था, वह नई नई चीजें सोचता था और नया नया धर्म चलाने और नई नई भाषा उत्पन्न करने का उसको शौक था, उसने नवरत्न अपने दरबार में रखे और तुलसीदास को भी

बुलया, मगर तुलसीदास नहीं गये और अपने एक जगह बैठ कर लंगोटी लगा कर साधना, प्रेम के बल पर लिखा। जो उन्होंने लिखा उसका नाम संसार में हुआ मगर अकबर जो चाहता था वह नहीं हुआ, पूरी राज-शक्ति उसके हाथ में थी, लेकिन वह जो चाहता था वह बात नहीं फैली। मगर एक जगह, एक कुटी में बैठ कर तुलसीदास ने जो लिखा वह न केवल फैली बल्कि आज सारे विश्व की भाषाओं में उसके अनुवाद मौजूद हैं और इसीलिये विनोबा जी ने एक समय में कहा था कि इतिहास में यह बात गलत लिखी हुई है कि अकबर के ज़माने में तुलसीदास हुये, यह सुधार कर लिखना चाहिये कि तुलसीदास के ज़माने में अकबर हुये, क्योंकि ज़माना उनके हाथ में था। तो इस वजह से उन्नेजनात्मक ढंग से इन चीजों को सोचने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इस तरीके को भी एक मौका देना चाहिये। अभी हमारे भाई ठेंगड़ी साहब जंसा कि कह रहे थे कि कुछ काल के लिये और टाल देने तो क्या होता, आगे बढ़ा देते। मुझे यह अच्छा नहीं लगता कि कोई स्थिति को बार टाला जाय, कभी न कभी निश्चय की स्थिति में आना ही पड़ेगा, कभी न कभी कठिनाई की स्थिति का सामना करना ही पड़ेगा और इस बार जो यह विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है और संकल्प के द्वारा उसकी व्याख्या को सम्पूर्ण कर के जो यहाँ किया गया है वह निश्चयात्मक स्थिति पर पहुँचा गया है, अनिश्चय की स्थिति को टाला गया है, क्योंकि "संशयाला विनश्यति"।

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it makes me sad to discuss a matter which had been unanimously adopted not only after independence but twenty-seven years before it. If I may, Sir, through you remind the hon. Members of this House, with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian politics it was thought proper that there should be some language instead of English for the common use of the country as a whole, and at that time, Sir, Mahatma Gandhi suggested that Hindi and Hindi alone could be the language for all-India use. It was at that time Sir, also that Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samitis were established in this country and teachers of Hindi were sent out to all parts of India, particularly to the

South, and hundreds and thousands of persons there including Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Ramaswami Naicker and Mr. B. Gopala Reddi who is at the moment the Governor of U. P., they all learnt Hindi in the early twenties. But unfortunately, Sir, the controversy of language was, somehow or other, took a communal shape. Some Muslims thought that, with the establishment of independence in India, their language, which unfortunately they claimed to be Urdu, would be given the go-by. And it was a result of compromise in 1928 that in the Nehru Committee Report a clause was put in the draft constitution of India that the language of the commonwealth shall be Hindustani written either in Persian or Nagari character. And there started the malady which has taken hold of this country, Sir, and what we see today, the seeds of it were sown in the early twenties by the Nehru Committee Report. You may remember that in the draft constitution there was no clause regarding language, and I would be surprised if any friend either on this side or the other side were to bring out the constitution of any country wherein one would find a clause about the official language. But in India, because of these historical facts, we were compelled to have a full chapter on official language in the Constitution. At that time, Sir, when Hindi was adopted as the official language, nobody had any objection to it. Only for the next fifteen years, that is up to 1965, the use of English was to be retained. It was also provided in the Constitution that in case it was not possible to completely switch over from English to Hindi during these fifteen years, then Parliament might, by law, provide for the use of English for a larger number of years. What happened? There are not one article, two articles, three articles, right from article 343 to article 351—their number is more than eight—have provided for the increasing use of Hindi during all these years. But, Sir, that was not done to my regret. The result was that in 1963 Parliament enacted a law, the Official Languages Act, wherein the continued use of English was permitted. The controversy did not end there. People in the South were not satisfied, nor were the people in the North. The people in the North thought that due place to Hindi was not being given, that the necessary efforts for the progressive use of Hindi, that should have been made right from the very beginning, were not made. And I agree with them. I find that they are perfectly justified in holding that view. People in the South thought that Hindi was being imposed upon them, although Hindi was not being used in the offices of the central

[Shri Triloki Singh]

Government; no question of progressive use of Hindi, it was not used at all. If the constitution had been acted upon, things would have been much different to what we find today, both in the South and in the North. Then Jawaharlalji came out with an assurance. He was followed by Lal Bahadur Shastriji. If what was laid down in this Constitution was not given effect to during the past eighteen years, what guarantee, Sir, can there be if you put in these assurances in the form of an Act of Parliament? What I am afraid of is that it may very well remain a dead letter as it has remained so up to the present day.

All the same I am surprised at the attitude of the protagonists of Hindi. I come from a State which is Hindi-speaking. My mother tongue is Hindi. I know Hindi more than I know English, and as rightly pointed out by the learned and hon. Member, Shri Chagla, democracy is not only the rule of the majority. Democracy also ensures the consent of the minority. I speak, Sir, here in English not because I speak English better, but because I know that there are certain Members of this House—their number may be very small—who are not yet able to follow the Hindi or Hindustani which I speak. Only to make myself understood, as far as possible correctly by a section of the House, also which is in a minority here, I speak in English. If that had been so, perhaps things would not have taken the shape which they have done today. English, Sir, is associated with the advent of British rule. It is admitted on all hands that the Britishers had brought it here, but one hon. Member brought in the name of Macaulay. What did Macaulay say in 1933? Remember, Sir, that in the first eighty years of British rule in India English was not the official language. The first educational institution which the Britisher had established in Calcutta was the Calcutta Madarasa which is a school of Arabic and Persian right up to the present day. The second institution which was set up by Lord Cornwallis in India was Sanskrit College in Banaras, which has now become the Sanskrit University. The Britishers did not force English upon any one. During the first hundred years of their rule did not make it compulsory for the servants of the Company to acquire knowledge of English. It was of course Macaulay who laid down the policy, but it was given to Sir Charles Wood, the grand-father of Lord Irwin who entered into a pact with Mahatma Gandhi, as Secretary of State for India,

in 1854, to decide for the first time, for the establishment of high schools at district head quarters. Till then, Sir, the Britishers would not dare to teach English. When the missionaries had their institutions for the servants of the Company and when they suggested that outsiders could also be admitted to such schools the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General put it down saying, "No, it would lead to unnecessary controversy and suspicion." What we find now, Sir, is that the suspicion which the Britishers were afraid of, that suspicion has taken the shape of a ghost here in between ourselves, between a Mad-rasi and a U.P.ian, between a Bengali and a Bihari, between a Bihari and a Maharash-trian, between a Maharashtrian and a Gujarati, and so on. Is it not to our shame that we have sunk so low? I am not only surprised, but also shocked at this.

We find that we have article 348 in the Constitution. There are supporters of Hindi, who will give their life to see Hindi flourish. I wish them all success. I am one of them and they will find me at their back all the time in all the efforts that they make for the progressive use of Hindi in this country. But, Sir, may I ask them in all humility how is it that article 348 had escaped their attention all these years? Article 348 clearly provides that the authoritative texts of all the Bills and Acts passed by this House shall be in English and English alone. Unless these authoritative texts of the Bills and Acts passed by Parliament are also in Hindi, how can we hope that Hindi will take the place of English not only in the judiciary but also for official purposes? Nobody took notice of it or sent an amendment and so it was given to a humble person like myself, to give notice of an Amendment to the Constitution which was very kindly granted leave to be introduced in this august House only on the 15th of this month. Then there is article 345. Article 345 lays down that it would be open to all the States to have one or more languages in use. It says :

"The Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State :"

It speaks of "one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi". The word "or" here is an disjunctive. In Maharashtra, for example, it is open for the Government of Maharashtra to say that Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada would be their languages but if it decides for Hindi it shall have to give up Marathi, which it would never do. Unless we change the

Constitution in this respect we cannot make it possible for a State like Maharashtra or Gujarat or Andhra Pradesh or Mysore, to have Hindi also in addition to their own language. We cannot hope that India will that way go in for Hindi. Therefore, what I am afraid of is that an unnecessary controversy has been raised and unnecessary suspicions have been spread. I was really shocked when I talked to some of my friends from the South and I heard them say that this Bill was going to lay the foundations of the separation of the country into two parts, namely, the Hindi part and the non-Hindi part. Surely we did not fight for the freedom of India in order to have another partition of our country. That partition was on the ground of religion. It was prompted by feelings of suspicion.

It also began when in the early twenties the Muslims wanted the separation of Sind as a province carved out from Bombay, when they wanted a part of the Punjab to be carved out into a North-West Frontier Province. What was going to satisfy them in the early twenties ultimately led to the partition of India. It is this suspicion, I most humbly request my friends, through you, Sir, which must be got rid of. My friends from the South should altogether give up this suspicion. The Hindiwalas do not want to impose their language. The Hindiwalas do not want to rule the country. And I would tell the Hindiwalas, with due respect to my hon. friend Shri Rajnarain, that they are not equal in scholarship and learning to the people from the South. You will find, Sir, that there are a larger number of philosophers—I am not talking of the old and ancient days, of the Vedic days but of the last two or three or four or five centuries—a larger number of poets, a larger number of advocates, a larger number of teachers a larger number of writers and speakers from the South than from the North. Intellectually the Southerner is keener than the man from the North. I do not grudge it. I would like to compete with him in that. I do not grudge the qualities that he has cultivated all these years. So why should the southerners be afraid of the people from the North? Sir, I have known in my own State, civilians from Madras, civil servants from Maharashtra, from Gujarat and other places who did not know a word of Hindi when they entered the service in the State and took charge as the joint Magistrate in a district. But they proved to be the best of civilians.

Sir, it is a misnomer to say that official work cannot be carried on in any language except in English. Here is the hon. Member

Mr. Chagla and he knows very well that there are good translations of the law reports published in the various languages of India. I know there are Urdu editions of the Indian Law Reports in the library of my brother. The laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, their authoritative texts, were also published in Urdu, in Bengali, in Tamil and so on. So cannot the same thing be done today? Unnecessarily we have stuck to English and like school boys we think that we cannot shake off English. This mentality should go. It must go.

Most humbly I would again submit to my hon. friends through you, Sir, that after all, we must have some language of communication. May be 2 per cent speak English or Sanskrit or Persian, but there must be some language of communication between one part of India and the other. English has been that language during the last 70 or 80 Years. I remember when Rajaji addressed public meetings in Salem or Madras, he always used to speak in Tamil. But when he spoke in the All India Congress Committee it was in English. When Jawaharlal Nehru went out and addressed meetings in Rae Bareilly, it was always in Hindustani, in Hindi. When Motilalji addressed meetings anywhere, in any part of U.P. it was always in Hindi. But when he spoke at the All India Congress Committee that was in English. Why was that? Gandhiji also did so. Friends here might remember that Gandhiji in that famous 1942 quit India Movement speech, began in Hindi, but ultimately switched over to English. And he always did it. It was given to Gandhiji and to Gandhiji alone to make the progressive use of Hindi in our contact with each other. But then, Sir, Gandhiji did not want to force it on anyone. He took it upon himself. I know in Lucknow when he addressed a public meeting he did not like to use words from English and whenever he did not find an equivalent word in Hindi he used to look to the left or right and ask : “भाई ज़रा बताओ इसकी क्या हिन्दुस्तानी है” We all heard it. That is how he introduced Hindi. So Hindi has a place and a rightful place. I hope the day is not far off, it may be ten or twenty years, when Hindi will be the language, not only the link language but the language of communication between one part of India and the other, the language of commerce, of industry, the language of official work. I am not worried about the people from the

[Shri Triloki Singh]

South. They could learn English. They could be master of English language. I have heard the late Srinivasa Sastri speak. He spoke faultless English. His pronunciation was such that he beat even the best masters of English language coming direct from England. If they could learn English in 30 or 40 or 50 or 60 years, is it not possible for them to learn another language of India; particularly Hindi which is so easy to learn? I say it is easy to learn and they know it better than myself because if they go to the teachers who are to be found in all the district headquarters of the South, they will find thousands and thousands of persons who have learnt Hindi during the last 30 or 40 years. Therefore, I would commend this Bill to this House for its acceptance.

I am really surprised that much should have been made out of the amendments made to the original draft, the amendments adopted by the Lok Sabha. These amendments have given rise to a feeling in the South that the entire shape of the Bill has been changed. I very much regret to find this. Sir, I will not take very much of the time of the House. I regret to find this. If it is going to satisfy the people of the North, well and good. But let the people from the South read it. Let them read the amendments made in the Bill. Let them consult their lawyers and then they will come to the conclusion that the amendments made by the Lok Sabha are not of a substantial nature.

3 P.M.

And now, Sir, I would say something to the Hindiwalas. अब हिन्दी वालों से कुछ अर्ज कर दू। अभी हुजूर, पिछले जुलाई महीने में उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने यह कायदा बना दिया कि इंटरमीडिएट यानी एफ० ए० के इम्तिहान में दाखिल होने वाले बच्चे चाहे हिन्दी लें... For the benefit of Mr. Niren Ghosh. In July last, Sir, the U. P. Government issued a circular letter that it was open to the students in U. P. seeking admission to the Intermediate class to choose one of the two languages, either English or Hindi. Till last year both English and Hindi were compulsory in the Intermediate class and what happened? 92 per cent of the students opted out for English.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : That is Hindi.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : So why should she be afraid of it? Knowing our weakness like that people from the South should not be afraid of the people in the North. The people in the North are sticking more to English than the people in the South.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Do you want us to believe that . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please do not interrupt.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : He is asking me.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : I am glad she is so responsive.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : I would again most humbly request the hon. Members of the South not to be afraid of the people in the North. There are larger number of students in the North to be found in Anglo-Indian schools.

AN HON. MEMBER : Ministers' sons.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : Whether they are Ministers' sons or sweepers' sons, they are U. P. people. There are a larger number of children to be found in English educational institutions where the medium of instruction is English in U. P. now than there were in 1947 and larger means that it is 30 times or 40 times more; not that it has increased by a 100 per cent. There is a queue, there is a waiting list for admission in English medium schools. So the people from the South should not be afraid of the people from the North in so far as Hindi is concerned. And I would again . . .

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : How do you expect us to stand such hypocrisy?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : And these are two Congressmen, rather Congress ladies, talking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I think Shri Triloki Singh has been very considerate and moderate.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : What I would like to tell my hon. friends here is that they should not take serious notice of hypocrites. Hypocrisy has not been the attribute of pharisees alone. They should make better use of their time than taking serious notice of such things. Therefore, Sir, I would commend this Bill. Not that I am in complete agreement with all the provisions of the Bill. I take some of them to be frivolous. Think even if the Bill had not been brought forward the position would have remained the same. I take it that in spite of the specific provisions in the Bill it is open to this Government not to implement them faithfully and see that there is progressive use of Hindi. So Acts and Bills do not matter much; what matters is the policy and intention of the Government of India. We have wasted these eighteen years. We have given rise to so many misgivings, so many ugly controversies, so many ugly situations so much so that there has come to be a sort of gulf between the people in the North and the people in the South. I would like that gulf not only to be bridged but to be closed for good and for ever. And that can be done if the Government of India faithfully carries out the provisions of the Constitution, if the Government of India faithfully carries out not only the provisions of the Bill and the Resolution that they have laid before the House but also with eyes open and their mind clear persevere in their efforts to see that, without annoying any section of the population of the country, there is increasing use of Hindi not only for official purposes, not only for the proceedings in this Parliament but also for bringing out authoritative texts of Bills along with English in Hindi also.

Thank you.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

प्रधान मंत्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी): मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमन, मैं दो दफा इस विषय पर यहां बोल चुकी हूँ और मुझे कोई नई खास बात नहीं कहनी है। फिर भी मैं सदन का कुछ समय लूगी, क्योंकि कई सदस्यों ने मुझ से कहा कि मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रकट करने चाहियें। मेरे विचार इस सदन को मालूम हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश मैंने इस संबंध में यहां पर बहुत कम भाषण सुने।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Madam, this is a controversial Bill and the Prime

Minister's statement is going to be an important one. So I would request her to speak in English.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I had intended to speak in both the languages. So I shall say a few words in Hindi and a few words in English also.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA) (Kerala) : But you must respect the feelings of the Southerners. In democracy you have to respect the feelings of the minority. Even if you speak in English nothing is going to happen. Your attitude like this is the main reason for the suspicion in the minds of the Southerners.

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मुझे दुःख है कि जब मैं दो भाषाओं में बोलती हूँ तो तब भी लोग नाराज होते हैं और जब एक भाषा में बोलती हूँ तब भी नाराज होते हैं।

एक पुरानी कहानी है जिसको सभी लोग जानते हैं। एक मर्द और एक औरत थी जो एक गधा लेकर कही जा रहे थे। मैं पूरी कहानी नहीं कहना चाहती हूँ। तो मैं कह रही थी कि जो एक दो भाषण मने सुने उनमें यह विचार प्रकट किये गये कि देश की एकता को प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिये। यही मेरा भी विचार है और यही कारण है कि यह विधेयक यहां पर लाया गया है।

अभी कुछ भाइयों ने कहा कि हमको दक्षिणी भाइयों की भावना की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये। उनकी भावनाओं में और उनके मन में जो शक पैदा हो गये हैं, उन्हीं कारणों से हमें यहां पर यह विधेयक लाना पड़ा है; क्योंकि हमारी कोशिश यह है कि उनके मन में जो शक पड़ा हुआ है उसको हम दूर करें। दुर्भाग्य से अखबारों में कुछ गलत प्रचार हुआ है। जब यह बिल लोक सभा में पेश हुआ था, उस समय उत्तर भारत के लोगों के मन में कुछ शक पैदा हो गया और उसके लिए एक आन्दोलन हुआ। इस तरह का जो शक और आन्दोलन हुए, उसके लिए मुझे दुःख है। इन आन्दोलनों से न ही हिन्दी के प्रति प्रेम बढ़ा है और न ही हम दक्षिण के लोगों की सहायता कर सके हैं। लेकिन इन चीजों में भी कुछ बातें बढ़ी

[श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी]

है। इस समय हमको यह देखना है कि देश में एकता किस तरह से हो सकती है। एकता कई तरह की होती है। जब देश एक है, हम सब लोग एक हैं और फिर भी शक रहता है, तो यह किस तरह की एकता है और किस तरह की एकता को हम बनाये रखना चाहते हैं, इस बात पर हम सब लोगों को अच्छी तरह से विचार करना चाहिये। यह काफी नहीं है कि लोग केवल एक दूसरे से प्यार ही करें। एकता तब ही हो सकती है जब एक दूसरे की भावनाओं को समझने की कोशिश हो, एक दूसरे की कठिनाइयों को समझने की कोशिश हो, एक दूसरे को एको-मोडेट करने की कोशिश हो और उसमें जो कठिनाइयां हैं, उसमें हम मदद कर सकते हैं या नहीं चाहे उस मदद करने में हमारी थोड़ी सी हानि ही क्यों न हो जाय। हमें सबको एक समझना चाहिये। जब इस तरह की विचारधारा सब प्रान्तों के लोगों के मन में आ जायेगी, तब हम अपनी एकता को असल रूप में समझ सकेंगे और इसे मजबूत कर सकेंगे।

आज हम देखते हैं कि कई विषय उठाये जाते हैं और उनको उठाने की तरह तरह से कोशिश की जाती है। इस तरह की जो कोशिश होती है उसका असर यह होता है कि बीच में एक दीवार खड़ी हो जाती है। अभी मैंने जो भाषण सुने, उसमें मैंने यही सुना कि उत्तर और दक्षिण के राज्यों में दो अलग किस्म की जनता है और ऐसी कोई भावना पैदा हो गई है। और दोनों ही तरफ सब दिलों के लोग हो जाते हैं। उनको अपनी भी कठिनाई है यह भी मैं समझ सकती हूँ। हमारे नौजवानों को अपने भविष्य का ध्यान होता है कि उनको नौकरी मिलेगी या नहीं। लेकिन सबसे पहली बात देखनी है एकता की, और वह यह है कि एक दूसरे को हम पहचानें, एक दूसरे को हम समझें। भाषा किसके लिये होती है। भाषा कोई आदर्श, कोई उसूल की चीज नहीं है। भाषा एक साधन है, जिस का उपयोग हम करते हैं एक दूसरे के विचार जानने के लिये,

एक दूसरे को पहचानने के लिये, शिक्षा देने के लिये, जनता को ऊपर उठाने के लिये और एक दूसरे में मेल होने के लिये भी। इसका उपयोग अगर बजाय मेल के अनबन करने के लिये हो, आपस की लड़ाई के लिये हो तो यह भाषा का अच्छा उपयोग नहीं है, यह दुरुपयोग है। हमें देखना है कि हमारे बच्चे इस तरह के जाल में न फसे।

यह विधेयक आया, क्योंकि कुछ आस्वासन दिये गये थे। जैसा कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने अभी कहा, जब मैं सदन में घुसी, कि विधेयक में कुछ है या नहीं, इसको किस तरह में अमल में लाया जायगा? इसका क्या असर होगा? यह महत्व की बात है। हमने तो स्पष्ट रूप से कहा है और हमारी मान्यता है कि एक भारतीय भाषा को एक कड़ीकी भाषा बननी है जिसको भारत के नागरिक जानें। हमने साथ ही कहा है और हम चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी भी इसी तरह से सब लोग सीखे, जिससे हमें अंतर्राष्ट्रीय दुनिया में काम चलाने का एक साधन मिले। लेकिन इसके माने यह नहीं है कि अहिन्दी प्रांतों के लोगों की जो मातृभाषाएं हैं, वे किसी तरह से कम हों। उनको भी आगे बढ़ाना है और मजबूत करना है। जैसा कि हमारे कुछ भाई समझते हैं, इसके माने यह नहीं है कि हिन्दी को हम ज्यादा ऊंचा समझते हैं या अधिक जनता इसे बोलती है। हिन्दी को कड़ी बनाने का कारण है। लेकिन जितनी भारतीय भाषाएं हैं उनको देखते हुये यह सत्य है कि अधिक संख्या में लोग हिन्दी या हिन्दोस्तानी बोलते हैं या समझते हैं। इस भाषा को चुनने के यही कारण हैं जहां तक मेरा सम्बन्ध है मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती यदि तेलगू चुनी जाती, तमिल चुनी जाती या कोई और भाषा चुनी जाती। लेकिन जाहिर है कि एक भाषा जिसको इतने अधिक लोग जानते हैं उसको आगे बढ़ाने में जब इतना कष्ट हो रहा है, तो जिसको कम संख्या में लोग समझते हैं, उसको आगे बढ़ाने में कितनी कठिनाई होती। मेरा दृष्टिकोण इसमें केवल यही है और यह भी है कि हमारे राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के कारण, उसके बाद फिल्मों के कारण और

इधर उधर आने जाने के कारण हिन्दी या हिन्दो-स्तानी काफी दूसरे प्रदेशों में बढी है।

मैं साथ ही यह भी मानती हूँ कि इसको जितना हमें बढ़ाना चाहिये था, इस काम में उतनी तेजी हमने नहीं दिखाई। अगर हम पूरी तेजी शुरू से दिखाते तो आज स्थिति दूसरी होती। लेकिन वह बात हो गई। अब हमें यह देखना है कि भविष्य में हमें क्या करना है। भविष्य में, मैं मानती हूँ कि कोई न कोई ऐसी भाषा होनी चाहिये जिस में हम एक दूसरे से बोले। आज मैं दक्षिण में जाती हूँ तो थोड़े से लोगों में मैं अंग्रेजी में बात कर सकती हूँ। ज्यादातर लोग जो हैं उनसे मैं कोई बात नहीं कर सकती और न वे अपनी विचारधारा मेरे सामने रख सकते हैं। यह एक दुख की बात है। यही मेरा मतलब है। अब थोड़ी सी कठिनाई है। जब कोई देश एक नीति से या एक रास्ते से दूसरे रास्ते पर चलता है तो उसमें कुछ कठिनाई जरूर होती है चाहे वह दक्षिण भारत के लोगों को हो, चाहे वह पश्चिमी भारत के लोगों को हो, चाहे वह पूर्वी भारत के लोगों को हो, उसके लिये हम ऐसा कोई रास्ता निकालें कि किसी को कठिनाई न हो, अगर ऐसा रास्ता होता तो हम जरूर निकालते, लेकिन यह संभव नहीं है। इस वक्त तो कठिनाई होगी और जाहिर है कि जिन को नई भाषा सीखनी है उनको कठिनाई जरूर होगी। लेकिन इसके सिवा मुझे कोई दूसरा चारा दिखाई नहीं देता। इसका हमें सामना करना है और हिम्मत से करना है।

जैसा कि अभी माननीय सदस्य चागला जी ने कहा कि दूसरे देशों में भी अनेक भाषाएँ हैं, स्विटजरलैंड में चार भाषाएँ हैं, करीब करीब जितने भी देश दुनिया के हैं सब में दो से लेकर चार और इससे भी ज्यादा भाषाएँ हैं और उनको बिल्कुल छुटपन से बच्चे सीखते हैं। अभी कुछ दिन पहले यहाँ मारीशस के प्रधान मंत्री आये थे। मारीशस, आप जानते हैं, कितना छोटा टापू है। उन्होंने बताया कि वहाँ पांच वर्ष की उम्र में बच्चे स्कूल जाते हैं और अपनी मातृभाषा

सीखते हैं, किन्तु अगले ही साल छः वर्ष का जब बच्चा होता है तो मातृभाषा चालू रहती है, लेकिन अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच दोनों ही भाषाएँ हर बच्चे के लिये सीखना आवश्यक है। लिहाजा उनके देश में हर एक बालक जिस की भाषा फ्रेंच या अंग्रेजी न हो वह तीन भाषाएँ खानी से बोलता है। उनको इन भाषाओं अनुवाद की कोई आवश्यकता में नहीं पडती। चाहे उनकी पार्लियामेंट में हो या और कहीं हो, वहाँ अंग्रेजी और फ्रेंच चलती है और उसके लिये कोई अनुवाद का प्रबन्ध नहीं होता है। उन्होंने कहा कि इसकी वहाँ कोई जरूरत ही नहीं क्योंकि हम सब लोग सब भाषाएँ जानते हैं। जब दूसरे लोग यह कर सकते हैं तो हमें इतनी झिझक क्यों है? हम यह मानते हैं कि हम बालक को ये भाषाएँ जल्दी सिखायें। हमारी स्पष्ट राय है कि जितनी देर में हम भाषा सिखाना शुरू करने हैं, उतनी ही वह कठिन होती है, फिर वह एक बोझ हो जाती है। लेकिन जब छोटा बच्चा सीखता है तो उसपर बोझ नहीं होता है, उसके लिये वह खेल होता है और वह आसानी से सीखता है। अब यह बोझ सरकार के ऊपर और समाज के ऊपर जरूर है कि किस तरह से अपने हर बालक को हम तीन भाषाएँ शुरू से सिखायें। इसके लिये हमारा तीन भाषाओं का फार्मूला चले तो जिन कठिनाइयों का आज बयान हो रहा है, वे सब दूर हो जायगी।

Since I have promised to say a few words in English, I think I might as well switch over now. The point which I would like to make is regarding unity in our country. We feel that for our unity to be strong, we need mobility, that is, whether it is in the services or in business or in any other profession, we would like people from one State or one caste or community or religion to be free to go and live in any other part of India and be able to follow their profession there. This can only be possible if there is a link language. As I have said just now in Hindi, I believe that the link language can only be Hindi for the very practical reason that the largest number of people speak it. By the largest number I do not mean the inclusion of all the languages together. But if you take the other Indian language singly, then Hindi is the language which is either spoken or understood by the

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

largest number, and that is the reason why it was chosen. Since it was chosen, in spite of agitations and so on, there is no doubt that it has spread and with a little bit of goodwill from all sides it can spread faster. It should spread as a uniting link language and not as something that divides or creates suspicions and doubts in the mind of any Indian. When we debate this Bill, I think our first consideration should be how can it cement the unity of the people? How can it bring together the different components of the Indian Union? We should not think of it as something that is taking away opportunity. On the contrary, the whole point was to give further opportunities. By having such a link language from early childhood, the doors of opportunity all over India will immediately be opened to all Indians. That is why I am not against English. I feel that if we keep and learn English as an international link, then the other wider doors to the rest of the world will also open out to us. Some people say that only a few people need an international link, I am sorry that I do not agree with them. It is true that today only a few know English, but what do we want for our country in the future. If we want any kind of equality, then surely the aim is that more and more people should be able to read more and more subjects and be able to rise higher in life or in whatever profession they may choose. Therefore, it would be very unfair if merely because a child comes from an underprivileged class today, he should be denied or deprived of the opportunity of being able to go abroad and take part in international deliberations or to read many books. All books cannot be translated immediately although it is my sincere hope that essential translation will increase in all our languages and more especially in Hindi. But if we say that only a few people should learn the international link, then it means our closing the doors of opportunity to some of our people.

I fully realise that it is not possible in the near future for everybody to know the international link or even to have the opportunities which we would like them to have, but my plea is that we should not start with the idea that these people will never be able to rise higher or to benefit from new opportunities and therefore we close these doors. First we must accept the idea of a national link which will give opportunities to all our people for greater mobility, allowing everybody to move around, to get to know people and benefit also from the point of view of service in different

parts of the country. If we can learn the third language as an international link, then, as I said, we give even further opportunity. If the State Governments and political parties and all those who are interested in not only education but also in the progress of the country get together on this issue, it will not be difficult to make the three language formula work, especially if we start with the teaching of languages at a very early age, not so much as a lesson but as a part of games and other activities as languages are now taught in many countries of the world where people are in the habit of speaking three or four languages; I know many people who speak five or six languages with equal facility. As hon. Members know, I studied in Santiniketan for some time . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can make a speech in Bengali.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : আমি একটু একটু বলতে পারি কিন্তু এখানে বলবোনা Gurudev Tagore believed in the universal man, that not only should people be national in spirit but that they should be international in spirit. So, in Santiniketan there were many families from different parts of India. We found their small children speaking fluently two or three Indian languages and sometimes English as well. There was no difficulty. They were not learning these languages. They were not taught them in schools, but they spoke merely because they were mixing with one other. Bengali everybody knew because that was the language of the place. With the neighbouring families they spoke their languages. Nobody thought that it was at all difficult or that it was a burden on the child. I should like only to stress that we look at this Bill from the point of view that it is meant as a comforting assurance both to the North and to the South. It is unfortunate that when the Bill has come as a part of this assurance given both by my father and Prime Minister Shastriji, a lot of misunderstanding was spread about it and people in the North got an idea that it would affect their interests adversely. This is not true. The main thing is how the Act is implemented. I think it is up to us all to see that a fair chance is given to every Indian regardless of what language he knows or does not know. Along with that of course every effort must be made to enable him or her to learn the other languages which are necessary. We all know of people who have gone from the South to Assam or Orissa and who are working in the language of

that State. They have not had any difficulty. Although there was no condition that they must function in the Assamese language, if they found it necessary for their work, they learned it and they are functioning well. Let us look at it from that point of view. Later on also when it is a question of people getting jobs, there again we have to be very vigilant that there is no discrimination : "Is this person a Hindi-speaking person or Telugu-Speaking person or one speaking some other language?" Let us only say this is an Indian. Suppose he does not know Hindi, let us not debar him because of that but let us give him every opportunity to learn Hindi. As many of our friends from the South and East have pointed out, we as a majority community, we as those who are from the Hindi-speaking States do have a special responsibility and we simply cannot brush it aside. We must also learn other Indian languages.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : At least one of the South.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Let us say preferably one of the South. I do not think it is fair to debar people to learn Bengali if they want to, or Urdu if they want to.

I do not want to take more time of the House. I would appeal to the hon. Members to look at this Bill from that point of view and therefore to be tolerant towards those who do not speak their language and also tolerant towards the difficulties which the others may face. Similarly the people in the South and in the East must be convinced that the Hindi-speaking people are going to implement the three language formula. Let us be quite clear that part of the suspicion arose because it was felt that some States were not implementing the three language formula. Therefore we should all agree to implement the three language formula—the period of transition will be a difficult one; it will not be easy; it may even cause certain difficulty in employment and so on; but we must try to minimise that difficulty and meet whatever opposing points of view are there as best as we can. The ultimate aim is for everybody to implement the three language formula. We all want people to be able to move around in India and not to be confined by one language or one State border or religious or caste border. It is only when we function with that view point that we can attain our aim, which is out of unity and of equality of opportunity for all. That equality of opportunity cannot come

about if each of us works in one of the fourteen languages which are certainly necessary for work in our respective States, but which would prevent the person who does not know another language from going out even though otherwise he may be suitable for some post which is available outside his State. That is my plea to the hon. Members, and I hope that this discussion in this House will be conducted with this feeling of sympathy for all other people and without any desire to favour any language, because human psychology is such that people do not like anything to be forced on them even though they may want to do it. If you say, "you must do this", then they will think twice whether they will do it or not. If we have a spirit of accommodation and of working together, rather than one against the other, then I think that even those difficulties which may arise will be smoothened and we shall be able to achieve the kind of unity and working together which is our desire.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : May I seek a clarification ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : She only intervened.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Madras) : Madam, after listening to the passionate appeal for unity by the Prime Minister, the brilliant eloquence of Mr. Chagla, the incisive logic of Mr. Setalvad and the journalistic thunder of Mr. Chengalvayyan, I feel I am almost trembling in my feet, but I consider this day as the proudest day of my life because I have given the greatest annoyance to our Prime Minister with reference to the Language Bill. Very probably she felt annoyed to see me at her home. Whenever she saw me, "Official Language Bill, is it not?", she would ask. I am very grateful to her and to the Government of India for having come forward to implement Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

I say that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance which has again been reassured by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has not been implemented by the two Prime Ministers. It would not be wrong for me to say where the two Prime Ministers failed, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has succeeded. And I am very happy; when I speak, I speak on behalf of the people of the non-Hindi States particularly, and I also represent the Hindi States because

[Shri R.T. Parthasarathy]

I have accepted the Constitution and the Constitution declares in unequivocal terms that Hindi shall be the official language of the Union. I let there be no mistake about it. When my friends consider my views, I request them to consider my views as an Indian and not as a partisan.

With these words, I would like to make one or two submissions about the Official Languages Bill now, and I will take up the Official Language Resolution later on.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill that is before us today is a workable compromise, a compromise between two extreme ends, and as a compromise between two extreme ends, it has not been received with full satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country, the non-Hindi areas as well as the Hindi areas. But I would like to assert that at the outset when I saw the Bill coupled with the Resolution as it emanated from the Lok Sabha, I had my own misgivings. Pardon me, Mr. Vice-Chairman if I take your mind to the year 1942 when Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with the War Cabinet's declaration and invited Maulana Azad, the Congress President, and Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League for parleys at the Vice-regal Lodge, and handed over to them the Cripps proposals as they were popularly known later on. For twenty minutes Maulana Azad perused the proposals and he exclaimed, "*Swaraj kidhar hai?*"—"Where is Swaraj?" It was in that confused mood that I read the Bill coupled with the Resolution and I asked within myself, "Nehru's assurances kidhar hain?" But when I read deep into the Bill, when I set aside the Resolution and studied the Bill, I was sure—and I am sure even today—that this Bill gives to the people of the non-Hindi areas what they had wanted, what Nehru had assured. Let me take your mind to this one sentence of Jawaharlal Nehru, which has become almost a controversy today throughout South India and throughout the Hindi region, as to what was this assurance. This assurance, in the words of Nehru made on the floors of the two Houses, reads as follows—

"English will continue to be the associate official language of the Union as long as the non-Hindi people wanted it."

Not one word more, not one word less. Is it not implemented in the Bill, may I ask my hon. friends who feel suspicious about

it, in letter and spirit? This Bill enshrines the assurance of Jawaharlal Nehru, and we, the people of the Southern region, we, the people of the Non-Hindi region, feel quite satisfied about it, and our misgivings are removed.

The point about 'may' and 'shall' has been very ably elucidated by my friend, Mr. Chengalvarayan, and I do not propose to go into that. But the sheet-anchor of the Bill rests on clause 2 which is the foundation of the working of bilingualism in the Union administration. It postulates the operation of Hindi and English without the element of compulsion. It gives freedom to the non-Hindi States to correspond with the Hindi States and the Union of India in English. It prescribes no time limit for the switch-over to Hindi, and it calls it an indefinite period for the switch-over to the official language of the Union. It provides for translation cells for inter-Ministry and inter-departmental correspondence. And lastly and the most important part of it, from the point of view of the non-Hindi areas, is that it declares that only when all the State Legislatures of India have passed Resolutions agreeing to the switching over to Hindi, will Hindi become the sole official language of the Union. Here again, my hon. friend, Mr. Chengalvarayan, has explained in detail the purpose of this clause which is certainly not a veto because Parliament is the final authority to decide everything. And so, if any of my Hindi friends would say that this is a veto given to Madras or to Nagaland, I want to disabuse them of that particular feeling or that particular thought, that it is not so. But it is a way of getting the consent of everyone, it is a way of getting the unanimous feeling, the unanimous view, the unanimous vote of all the sections of the people throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Thus, the Bill becomes a historic document. And as far as the non-Hindi people are concerned, they need not have any misgivings about it, and they need not doubt the *bona fides* of the makers of this Bill.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will now come to the second part, namely the Resolution on the Language, the reaction to which has assumed alarming proportions in South India in particular and which has reacted like a dynamo generating an electricity of bad feeling and suspicion particularly in the non-Hindi areas. The original clause 4a which was very cleverly, very pointedly and justly drafted by the spokesmen of the Ministry of Home Affairs and

the Ministry of Law which for some reason or the other, for some grave suspicion on the part of my Hindi friends, was ultimately amended and the Lok Sabha had passed it. I feel that this is not a very right thing to do. I am not casting a reflection on the Members of the Lok Sabha but as I have studied the Resolution and the particular clause on which I am speaking, it makes me very unhappy and the imaginary fears that engineered this change have no foundation whatsoever, and it has upset the balance, it has upset the thinking of thinking men, not only all over India but particularly in South India. I do not want to cast any reflection on this particular clause or attach any motive to those framers of this amendment. But I would only quote an analogy here. Mr. Vice-Chairman, pardon me—I can only compare the Official Languages Bill to an attractive, young bride and the Language Resolution to a bigamous bridegroom. And I say bigamous bridegroom because Hindi having once solemnised in marriage under the Constitution itself again wants to get married under the Resolution. They cannot be united together. The Official Languages Bill and the Language Resolution cannot go together and they cannot be made to live happily together if these two are brought together. This is the exact position in which we are placed today. Let us examine why this has come about. The fear of the Hindi protagonists about English and its domination is the pregnant cause for this change in attitude. When Jawaharlal Nehru said that this assurance should be implemented, the Hindi people had their own fear, needless fear, because they forget that they have got article 343 of the Constitution to back them from the start to the finish and so there came about this Resolution. But I wish to tell them that it is through their own folly in making this amendment to clause 4(a) of this Resolution that they are enhancing the prestige and position of English throughout the length and breadth of the country, particularly in the non-Hindi areas. They are not realising the danger of it, if they think that English is a danger. The very fact that they have tabooed all the other fourteen languages shows that they wanted the perpetuation of Hindi and the perpetuation of Hindi, I say, is perfectly right. But with equal vehemence, I say that all the fourteen or fifteen languages cannot become the official languages and cannot be elevated to officialdom. But the mental attitude of the Hindi zealots has caused great and grave misgivings among the non-Hindi people. The Prime Minister very definitely and pointedly appealed

to everyone not to view the language problem in this context, and I say that the Hindi zealots are viewing it in this context and the trouble has started.

AN HON. MEMBER : Question.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY : I would only appeal to them that this kind of attitude if nurtured would never allow Hindi to be taught fairly and freely in the non-Hindi areas. Now, because of that amendment, "Hindi or English," in the Resolution, no person in South India, no person in non-Hindi States will voluntarily come forward and say, 'I shall learn Hindi.' We have no cheek to ask them to learn Hindi; as otherwise they will not be provided with work in the Government of India. Now they will reply to us, "Dutifully, lawfully and legitimately we shall learn English and go to the Central services". Is that what we wanted? Is that the way to bring about Hindi as the link language all over India? I would very much request all senior Members and I being the juniormost of us here—to consider my suggestion whether I am right or wrong. If you can convince me that I am wrong I am prepared to resign from this House and get out.

Sir, may I ask whether these protagonists of Hindi are true to themselves, whether they are using Hindi in practice in their day to day affairs, personal and family? I have accepted the Indian Constitution and I have accepted Hindi as my official language. I have admitted all my six children to an elementary Sindhi Hindu School. All my six children are well-versed in Hindi, Tamil and English. But may I ask—I do not want to name the Ministers who are protagonists of Hindi; the Times of India had exposed them very ably a few days back—whether all of them have not put their children in public schools through the medium of English? Are they honest to themselves? I am not going to name any body. I just ask : Should we not follow a principle ourselves and put it into practice? Political hypocrisy is dangerous but still more dangerous is personal hypocrisy. I am sorry I do not want to attack them. But I strongly feel about it. And that is why I say that is the motive, that is the background, that is the sentiment about which they argue so much but which they ultimately do not put into practice, with the result that this particular amendment to the Resolution was brought about to put an inequality of burden upon the weak shoulders of the non-Hindi people by the

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy]

Hindi stalwarts. If it is fair you can have it. But if it is unfair, you would agree with me; you should revise it here and now. I make an appeal to you all to judge it in the fairest way and not to judge it from a Hindi or non-Hindi angle and I am prepared to abide by your decision. If only the Home Minister would consider it, this inequality of burden can be obviated by reversing back to the original Resolution as formulated by the Home Ministry. If we all unanimously agree, we may have to amend the Resolution as it stood originally. We can send it back to the Lok Sabha. Heavens are not going to fall in two months' time if this Bill has to go back to the Lok Sabha to get their approval again. No damage will be done in the nation's history which has a great tradition in this respect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is time to wind up.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY : I am coming to an end. Public services are not the private property of one linguistic group, and I say this with great emphasis. I was pained to see how the Tamil chauvinists are creating a war cry in Madras, how the Hindi chauvinists are creating another war cry in Delhi and the surrounding Hindi areas. This is not the way to conduct democracy. If bilingualism, as enshrined in the Constitution for fifteen years and beyond that by the Act which we are considering and which we are running through, is to be smoothly and successfully worked out, the Home Minister will have to give a categorical assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people. In reply to a clarification sought by an hon. Member of the Lok Sabha, I was pained to hear the Home Minister say that if a non-Hindi person enters Government service he will have to get equipped with a working knowledge of Hindi within a prescribed period. I accept it. But correspondingly, where does that rule operate on the Hindi persons to have as working knowledge of English? The Home Minister was silent. Neither he negated it nor positively asserted it. I demand here that if the Home Minister accepts the bilingual principle, in one and the same breath he will have to apply the same rule to the Hindi employees in Government services. If he does not allay the fears of the non-Hindi speaking people they will continue to have misgivings. Sub-clause (5) of clause 2 of this Amendment Bill says:—

“... shall remain in force until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of the

English language for the purposes mentioned therein have been passed by the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament.”

Before that if there is going to be any favour for the Hindi people, then the discrimination comes in. I would only appeal to the Home Minister who said that there shall be no compulsion for the non-Hindi man to learn Hindi or the Hindi man to learn English, that if the compulsion is one-sided it becomes imposition and will be resisted with vigour by every one of us. Wherever it comes, it will create political conflagration in the non-Hindi areas particularly in South India.

It is also the duty of the Government to recognise the compelling necessity for implementing the three-language formula which is the only arch way by which the multilingual people of India can pass through and by which the nation's unity can be preserved.

The Official Language Bill, Mr. Vice-Chairman, has the force of law—(*Time bell rings*)—when we signify our assent to it. I appeal to the non-Hindi people not to feel nervous about their rights. Their rights are well-recognised and revealed with all the legal backing of the Bill. A Resolution of the Government of India has not the validity of an Act in a court of law. It is not an Act of Parliament that we shall be passing if at all we pass the Resolution in the present form.

I would, therefore, appeal to my non-Hindi friends to stand united with the Hindi friends and indulge in fairplay and ultimately work for the betterment of the nation as a whole.

I conclude, Sir, with an appeal to every one to bury here and now the language controversy once and for all and divert their minds and energies to the great problem of national reconstruction and economic regeneration that awaits them. To achieve this political stability for any country is essential. It is a challenge to the Government of India to work out the Official Language Bill faithfully and not to expose it as a myth, and the Government owes a prime duty to the student community and the younger generation through the

concrete and fruitful working of bilingualism at the Union level. It is for these reasons while I congratulate the Government for bringing this Bill to bring into the statute Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance, I commend the Bill for the acceptance of this House. Thank you

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ इस बिल का विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। देश की एकता के लिये, देश की आगे आने वाली जो सतानें हैं उनकी तरक्की के लिये और देश के मस्तिष्क पर जो एक गुलामी बिन्धु अंग्रेजी भाषा के रूप में है उसको मिटाने के लिये मैं आपके जरिये इस सदन के मोरारजीज मेम्बरों से दम्बिस्त करूंगा कि जरा वे खामोश के साथ सभी तर्कों को ध्यान से अपनी जगह से सुनें।

सबसे पहले तो मैं अपने बुजुर्ग श्री चागला और हमारे मित्र सीतलवाद साहब, जो इस समय यहाँ नहीं हैं, अर्ज करूंगा कि वे अंग्रेजी जमाने की अक्ल से स्वतंत्र अज्ञात मुल्क के सविधान को न पढ़ें। आज्ञाद मुल्क का सविधान अगर पढ़ा जाये तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बिल अन्कास्टिट्यूशनल है, असंवैधानिक है। इसके 343(3) को देखा जाय। इस में लिखा हुआ है

"Notwithstanding anything in this Article, Parliament may, by law, provide for use, after the said period of 15 years, of (a) English Language, or (b) the Devanagari form of numerals for such purposes as may be specified in the law"

श्री चागला साहब को समझाने में मुझे कोई दिक्कत नहीं होना चाहिये। अगर इस कास्टीट्यूशन का यह मतलब होना "फार ऑल परपज" तब तो इसको कास्टीट्यूशन में बहुत आसानी के साथ लिखा जा सकता था कि 26 जनवरी 1950 के पहले जहाँ जहाँ अंग्रेजी इस्तेमाल होती थी अगर पार्लियामेंट चाहती थी तो उसको पहले भी रख सकती थी। यह बहुत सीधी सीधी भाषा थी, सीधी लैंग्वेज थी। मगर कास्टीट्यूशन मेकर समझते थे कि 15 वर्ष का जो समय दिया गया है वह काफी है और उसमें हिन्दी की काफी तरक्की हो जायेगी। किसी मुल्क की जिन्दगी में 15 साल का समय बड़ा लम्बे समय होता है और बहुत आसानी से इस समय में लोग हिन्दी समझ सकते थे और हिन्दी अंग्रेजी की जगह पर

आ सकती थी। मगर जो दिक्कत और नज़राने महसूस की गई कि अंग्रेजी को किसी खास परपज के लिए अगर जरूरी हुआ तो रखा जाय। किसी खास परपज के लिए अंग्रेजी की जरूरत होनी तो उसको सविधान में जगह दे दी जाती। लेकिन अब उस खास परपज को सभी परपजों में नहीं बनाया जा सकता है। इसलिए मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, श्री चागला और श्री सीतलवाद साहब से भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस बात को अच्छी तरह से समझें।

श्रीमन्, मुझे अपमान के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज इस भण्ड के सवाल को लेकर सत्कारण पार्टी हमारे मुल्क को कई खंडों में करना चाहती है। इस माह पर मैं अपने दक्षिण के दोस्तों से मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ, हमारे स्वतंत्र पार्टी के जो साथी बोले, उनको भी मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश की जनता के अन्दर वह ताकत आ गई है, वह क्वत आ गई है कि वह एक दूसरे को समझने लग गई है और यही सब से बड़ा कारण है कि इस मुल्क में आग नहीं लगी वरना इस सरकार की चाल थी, इस सरकार का यह रवैया था कि इन जवानों के सवाल को लेकर मुल्क में आग की ज्वाला लगा दी जायेगी। इस तरह की यह सरकार सजिश् कर रही थी और पहले भी करती रही है। इस चीज को मैं मोटा पर और समय पर बतलाऊंगा।

श्रीमन्, प्रधान मंत्री जी इस समय यहाँ से चली गई। उन्होंने एक ही बात कही कि हमारे पिता और शास्त्री जी ने कुछ वादे किये और उनको हम पूरा करना चाहते हैं। यह कहकर वे चली गई। मैं इस तह में नहीं जाता कि उनके पिता ने क्या मुल्क को कहा और अहिन्दी भाषा लोगों को क्या कहा। मैं इस तह में भी नहीं जाता कि श्री शास्त्री जी ने क्या वादा किया और मुल्क को उनका क्या वादा था। परन्तु मैं आपके जरिये श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी से कहना चाहता हूँ और इस सदन के मोरारजीज मेम्बरों को कुछ पुरानी बातें बतलाना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपिता ने मुल्क के साथ क्या किया यह सब लोग अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। आज यह सरकार गांधी जी का नाम लेकर उन्हीं के बताये हुए

[श्री राजनारायण]

रास्ते पर नहीं चल रही है और आज यह खलिंग पार्टी गांधी जी का नाम लेकर लोगों से काम करवा रही है। इसलिए मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के वचनों को सुनाना चाहूंगा जो इस प्रकार है :

“अखिल भारत के परस्पर व्यवहार के लिये हमें भारतीय भाषा समूह में से ऐसी एक भाषा की आवश्यकता है, जिसे जनता का अधिकतम भाग पहले से ही जानता और समझता है और जिसे दूसरे लोग आसानी से सीखें और समझ सकें। इसे उत्तर भारत के हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों ही जानते और समझते हैं (*Interruptions*)

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह हिन्दुस्तानी की बात कहते थे और वह हिन्दुस्तानी जवान है।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं भी हिन्दुस्तानी कहता हूँ और मैं अपने को सुधार रहा हूँ और मैं भी हिन्दुस्तानी ही कहना चाहता हूँ।

महात्मा गांधी जी ने बिल्कुल साफ कहा है कि बिना किसी तकलीफ के बिना किसी दिक्कत के अगर कोई भाषा यहां की जनता समझ सकती है तो वह हिन्दी है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे मित्र श्री चागला साहब राष्ट्रपिता की बात को पसंद नहीं करेंगे।

इसके बाद श्री लोकमान्य तिलक, जिन्होंने देश को सबसे पहले स्वाधीनता का पाठ पढ़ाया था और जिन्होंने सबसे पहले इस देश में आजादी की ज्वाला जलाई थी उस तिलक भगवान ने कहा था कि हिन्दी भारत की सामान्य भाषा है। जो हिन्दी को मानने से इन्कार करता है, वह भारत की प्रगति के लिए ठीक तरह से नहीं चल रहा है।

श्रीमन्, इसके बाद मैं नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। नेताजी मर चुके हैं, लेकिन वे सभी लोगों के थे। हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी यहां पर बैठे हैं, उनको यह बात अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि नेताजी के चाहे विचार कुछ भी रहे हों लेकिन हमारा

देश, हमारा राष्ट्र आज भी नेताजी के कदमों को चूमने के लिए तैयार है। उनकी एक एक वाणी एक एक आवाज आज भी हमारे कानों में गुंज रही है। अगर वे इस समय जिन्दा होते तो यहां के गरीबों को उठाने के लिए, इस मुल्क की तरक्की के लिए कोई असर नहीं छोड़ते और हम सब लोग उनके पीछे होते। ऐसी हमारी तबीयत आज हो रही है। तो मैं आप से यह कह रहा था कि हमारे नेता सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने हिन्दी के संबंध में क्या कहा और उसी को सदन के सामने पढ़कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ।

“प्रान्तीय ईर्ष्या द्वेष को दूर करने में जितनी सहायता हमें हिन्दी प्रचार से मिलेगी, उतनी दूसरी किसी चीज से नहीं मिल सकती। अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की भरपूर उन्नति कीजिये। उसमें कोई बाधा नहीं डालना चाहता हूँ और न हम किसी की बाधा को सहन ही कर सकते हैं, यह सारे प्रान्तों की सार्वजनिक भाषा का पद हिन्दी या हिन्दुस्तानी ही को मिला। नेहरू रिपोर्ट में भी इसी की सिफारिश की गई है। यदि हम लोगों ने तन मन से प्रयत्न किया, तो वह दिन दूर नहीं है जब भारत स्वाधीन होगा और उसकी राष्ट्रभाषा होगी हिन्दी।” यह नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस की बात है। मैं श्री चागला साहब से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह इस बात को सुनें और अपने दिल में जगह देंगे।

श्री एस. निजलिगप्पा यह आपको मालूम है कि वे कौन हैं। उन्होंने हिन्दी के संबंध में जो कुछ कहा है वह सदन के सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। “हिन्दी प्रकृति से ही और सहज रूप से राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है। अंग्रेजी भाषा और रोमन लिपि को राष्ट्र भाषा और राष्ट्रलिपि के नाते इस देश में चलाना लाभदायक नहीं होगा। भारत की अन्य प्रान्तीय भाषाओं से संबंध रखने वाली भाषा को ही राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में अपनाया जा सकता है और रोमन लिपि को राष्ट्रलिपि का रूप देने का प्रयास अत्यंत अस्वाभाविक होगा। इसके साथ ही वह बहुत अव्यवहार्य होगा क्योंकि देश के बहुत कम लोग रोमन लिपि को जानते हैं।”

श्री अनन्त शयनम आर्यंगार : श्रीमन्, वे लोकसभा के अध्यक्ष पद को सुगोभित कर चुके हैं। वे क्या कहते हैं :

“अंग्रेजों के चले जाने के बाद भी अंग्रेजी यहां पर रह जाय तो हमारे राष्ट्रपिता के “अंग्रेजों, भारत छोड़ो” आन्दोलन का कोई अर्थ नहीं रहता यदि स्वतंत्र भारत में भी हम अंग्रेजी को गले लगाये रहें, तो हमारी अयोग्यता का इससे बड़ा प्रमाण और क्या होगा।”

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : Sir, may I interrupt Mr. Rajnarain and ask him a question? Can you produce any quotation from the great leaders whose names you have mentioned to show that Hindi must be forced upon people against their will, without giving them time, as long a time as they want, to digest it? Show me one quotation.

4 P. M.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं अपने मित्र...

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : I want to add something so that we need not waste time. I agree with you that some day Hindi must be the language of the whole of India as a link language. I agree. But having agreed, show me one quotation of the kind I have asked you to show.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं अपने बुजुर्ग दोस्त रामचन्द्रन् जी से अदब के साथ अर्ज करूंगा कि हम को इस बात के लिये किसी कोटेशन में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। उन्होंने कहीं फोर्स इस्तेमाल करने की बात नहीं की है। मैं अपने लिये कह दूँ कि अगर उन्होंने कहा भी होता तो मैं खुद फोर्स इस्तेमाल करने के हक में नहीं हूँ, मैं हर्गिज नहीं करता। इसी लिय मैं आज डंके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं हिन्दी किसी पर जबरदस्ती लादना नहीं चाहता और हिन्दी जबरदस्ती लादने की कोई भी बात नहीं करता जहां तक कि मैं हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों को जानता हूँ। यह तो एक हौवा खड़ा किया गया है रूलिंग पार्टी की ओर से। रूलिंग पार्टी ने एक मांजिश की है और जहां हिन्दी लादने की बात नहीं है वहां वे हल्ला करते हैं कि हिन्दी लद रही है, हिदी लद रही है। दक्षिण के रहने वाले कांग्रेस पार्टी के सम्मानित सदस्य लोगों, जरा

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इसको अहमियत दो। मैं आज इस मुल्क को बचाने के लिये बहुत ही जोर के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज भारत का प्रधान मंत्री कोई दक्षिण का हो। केवल प्रधानमंत्रित्व न करके, आज उत्तर को जैसे कोई मिठाई मिल गई है, जैसे कोई चूस मिल गई है, इस प्रधानमंत्रित्व के चूस को दिखा कर के उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों को प्रधान मंत्री लुभाने की कोशिश कर रही है। गांधी जी के समय से यह चीज चली है। यही नेता लोग जब दक्षिण जाते हैं तो कहते हैं कि उत्तर भारत तो हमने संभाला है, हिन्दी भाषा को रोक रखा है हम प्रधान मंत्री न रहे तो हिन्दी का साम्राज्य छा जायेगा यह नारा कांग्रेस के लोगों ने उठाया है, कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने उठाया है, प्रधान मंत्री ने उठाया है। वही कांग्रेस के नेता लोग जब उत्तर भारत में आते हैं तो कहते हैं कि हम प्रधान मंत्री हैं, वरना दक्षिण टूट जाता, दक्षिण टूटना चाहता है। दक्षिण कभी नहीं टूटना चाहता मैं उसको पढ़ कर के तब इस पर आऊंगा।

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द ने कहा है कि अंग्रेजी सर पर ढोना डूब मरने के समान है।

अनंत गोपाल शेवड़ (मराठी) : “हिन्दी के प्रति अनास्था पैदा करने में शासन का योग है।”

उन्होंने कहा है कि हिन्दी के लिय जो लोगों के दिल में नफरत पैदा हुई है उसके लिये जिम्मेदार शासन है, रूलिंग पार्टी है।

डा० राममनोहर लोहिया : “अंग्रेजी कायम रखना देश के साथ द्रोह है।”

प्रतिष्ठा पहले, विकास बाद में, इस सवाल को आज भी हमारे सदन के कुछ सम्मानित सदस्यों ने उठाया। भाषा मंजती है इस्तेमाल करने में। पहले किसी भाषा की प्रतिष्ठा करो, उसको जगह दो, पहले जगह पर बैठाओ, तब उसका विकास हो सकता है। ऐसा कभी हुआ नहीं है कि पहले विकास हो जाय तब आ करके जगह पर बैठे। भाषा मंजती है इस्तेमाल होने से, भाषा प्रखर होती है इस्तेमाल होने से, भाषा ठोस होती है इस्तेमाल होने से। चागला साहब,

[श्री राजनारायण]

आप को भाषा विज्ञान की जानकारी कम है और कानून की ज्यादा है। भाषा जब मंजती है, रोजमर्रा के व्यवहार में आती है तो वह भाषा अपनी जगह लेती है, यही बड़े बड़े विद्वानों का मत है।

अब आप यह देखिये कि हिन्दी में सात लाख शब्द हैं और अंग्रेजी में केवल ढाई लाख। भारत माता आज़ाद तो हुई मगर उसकी जीभ काट ली अंग्रेजी राज्य ने। गंवार, कुली और विद्यार्थी “अंग्रेजी हटाओ” के प्राण है। विद्वान और साहित्यिक यदि इसकी सास और हाथ पंर बनने की कोशिश करे तो अच्छा है।

जगवीर सिंह शर्मा : “अंग्रेजी वालों का भ्रष्टाचार अगर दखा जाय तो अनर्थ है।”

गांधीजी का एक कोटेशन मैं और पढ़ूंगा : यदि मेरे पास यदि एक निरंकुश शासक के अधिकार होते तो मैं विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से अपने लड़के और लड़कियों की शिक्षा को तुरन्त बन्द कर देता और सभी प्रोफसरों और अध्यापकों से कहता कि इस परिवर्तन को तुरन्त लागू करो नहीं तो नौकरी से बरखास्त कर दिये जाओगे। यह एक ऐसी बीमारी है जिसका तुरन्त इलाज होना जरूरी है, यह राष्ट्रपिता गांधीजी ने कहा था। आज जो गांधी जी का नाम लेते हैं वे इसको देखें।

निशिनाथ चक्रवर्ती : “अंग्रेजी भाषा लादने के पीछे सरकार है।”

इसके बाद बहुत से बनर्जी चटर्जी और सभी के मत हैं। रूसी विद्वानों ने कहा है कि ए हिन्दुस्तानियों अगर अपने मुल्क की तरक्की चाहते हो तो रूस को देखो। रूस में भी बहुत सी जवानें हैं मगर रूस में ऊंचा से ऊंचा विज्ञान, ऊंचे से ऊंची कला की शिक्षा रूसी भाषा में दी जाती है, अंग्रेजी भाषा में नहीं दी जाती है। यह उसने लिखा है कि भारतवर्ष में जब हम कुछ लोगों को यह देखने हैं कि अंग्रेजी से उनको मुहब्बत है तो हम लोगों को नरुन पैदा होती है।

श्रीमन् इसी के साथ साथ मैं अगर कुछ विद्वानों के बारे में कहूँ तो समय बड़ा लम्बा हो जायगा। यहां तमाम पोथा है जिस में दक्षिण और सभी लोगों की समितिया दी हुई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायण जी आप खुद ही विद्वान हैं आप अपनी बात कहिये।

श्री राजनारायण : अब मैं अपने मित्र तमिलनाडु के लोगों से कहना चाहता हू कि मैं सरकार के शिक्षा विभाग की इस बात के लिय थोड़ी सी तारीफ करूंगा। उन्होंने हिन्दी के बराबर शब्द तमिल में कितने हैं इसका एक जगह सकलन किया है। दो हजार शब्द हिन्दी और तमिल के बराबर हैं :

हिन्दी में ‘अंगुली’ है और तमिल में ‘अंगुलीयम्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अंगुस्ताना’ है और तमिल में ‘अंगुस्तान्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अंतःपुर’ है और तमिल में ‘अदपुरम्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अंश’ है और तमिल में ‘अमिसम्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अच्छा’ है और तमिल में भी ‘अच्छा’ है। हिन्दी में ‘अणु’ है और तमिल में भी ‘अणु’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अद्वैतम्’ है और तमिल में ‘अत्रुवैतम्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘अधर्म’ है और तमिल में ‘अदर्मम्’ है।

(Interruptions)

आप इसको संस्कृत कहें या कुछ भी कहें। आगे हिन्दी में ‘हानि’ है और तमिल में भी ‘हानि’ है, हिन्दी में ‘हास्य’ है और तमिल में ‘हासियम्’ है, हिन्दी में ‘हिंसा’ है और तमिल में ‘हिंस’ है, हिन्दी में ‘हित’ है और तमिल में ‘हितम्’ है।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : From what are you reading ?

श्री राजनारायण : मैं हिन्दी के इन शब्दों को पढ़ रहा हूँ रामचन्द्रन् जी जिनके समकक्ष (सिनोनिम्स) तमिल में एक जैसे हैं।

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : What publication is that ?

SHRI RAJNARAIN : It is a Government document of the Education Department, Government of India, 1967. It says “Hindi words common to other Indian languages.”

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
राजनारायण जी, कहा फस गए आप।
अपनी बात कहिए।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : May I say to him that the words and synonyms he has read are completely wrong from the point of view of Tamil? They are not Tamil words at all.

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है। मैं अपने मित्र रामचन्द्रन ने जो सुझाव रखा उसको ध्यान में रखूंगा और एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट को कहूंगा कि अगर तुम्हारी कही गलती हो तो उसको सुधार लो, मगर यह तमिल है, यह उड़िया है, यह बंगला है, यह गुजराती है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि तमिल में दो हजार हैं, बंगला में करीब दस हजार हो जाएंगे और ज्यादा उड़िया में होंगे, गुजराती की किताब इतनी मोटी है, उसमें भी ज्यादा है। हिन्दी अपनी हैसियत से आज राष्ट्र के सभी राज्यों में हरने, फहरने, पसरने की ताकत रखती है (Interruptions) हमारे मित्र हैं नीरेन घोष, मुझे पालूम नहीं कब किस समय क्या बोल दिया करते हैं, इसलिए अभी उनकी बात नहीं करता हूँ। मुझे सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य माफ करेंगे, चागला साहब बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनमें जानना चाहता हूँ—बाबू त्रिलोकी मिह जी ने कुछ बातें कह दी हैं, मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता—कि मुझे इस सरकार की कोई कोशिश बनाई जाय कि 15 साल का जो मौका सरकार को मिला उस 15 साल के मौके को क्या उसने इस्तेमाल किया और सविधान, कांस्टीट्यूशन, आईन के मुताबिक काम किया? श्रीमन् 351 अनुच्छेद को पढ़ने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। मीथे-सीधे 351 अनुच्छेद कहना है कि सच का यह फर्ज होगा कि वह हिन्दी का उस ढंग से आगे बढ़ाए कि सभी राज्यों की जवानों के चालू शब्द उसमें आ जाय और आसानी से वह अंग्रेजी की जगह ले ले। चागला साहब एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर भी रहे हैं। उनसे शिक्षा मंत्री की हैसियत से हम में अक्सर बातें होती थी, वे एक काम हमें बता दे... 1

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The Education Minister is here. You ask him.

श्री राजनारायण : ... जो इस सरकार ने हिन्दी को वह जगह देने के लिए किया हो जिस जगह की कल्पना सविधान में की गई थी। कभी इन्होंने किया नहीं, वह जगह दी ही नहीं। चागला साहब मुल्को की तवारीस को पढ़ो। 1917 की अक्टूबर त्रान्ति रूस में हुई, 2300 योजनाएँ चली हैं, रूस कहाँ से कहाँ चला गया रूसी भाषा में। हमारे मित्र नीरेन घोष बताए चीन कहाँ कहाँ चला गया चीनी भाषा में। मेरा यह कहना है कि आज हमारा देश इसलिए पीछे है क्योंकि अपने देश में हमारी मादरी जवान कटी है, हमारी माँ अपने बच्चों को ठीक सबक पढ़ा नहीं पा रही है। इसीलिए हमारे बच्चे अपनी तरक्की नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, अपनी जगह ले नहीं पा रहे हैं। यह अनर्थ हुआ है, हो रहा है और इस विधेयक के जरिए भी होगा। इस मौके पर हमारे मित्र श्री जगजीवन राम जी आए बैठे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ और अगर हमारा बस चले और वह कांग्रेस पार्टी छोड़े तो मैं उनको प्रधान मंत्री की जगह दे दूँ।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : कांग्रेस छोड़ कर दुनिया भर का धन या पद नहीं चाहिए उनको। यह प्रलोभन उनको न दीजिए। उनको आप नहीं जानते।

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण : आदिवासी सामान्य औरते, गरीब, मुसलमान जो 90 फीसदी शायद अपने मुल्क के हैं कोन सी जवान जानते हैं—अंग्रेजी? ये हिन्दुस्तानी जानते हैं। श्री जगजीवन राम जी, हरिजन और जो पिछड़े कहे जाते हैं अगर मनु के शब्दों में कहें तो 'शूद्र' आगे नहीं बढ़ पाएंगे बराबर बड़ी सरकारी नौकरिया, पन्टनी नौकरिया उद्योग-धन्धे उन्हीं के हाथों में रहेंगे जिनके यहाँ कई पुस्तों से अंग्रेजी की पढ़ाई होती है। अगर अंग्रेजी राजभाषा से हटती नहीं तो अपने मुल्क के गरीबों की किस्मत बनती नहीं। चन्द गला लगोट वाले, जा अपने गले में लगोट लगाते हैं, जो अपनी माँ को सम्म

[श्री राजनारायण]

कहते हैं, अपने वालिद को डैडी कहते हैं उन्हीं परिवारों के हाथों में ऊंची सरकारी नौकरियाँ रहेंगी। चांगला साहब आप मंत्री रह चुके हैं आप इसको मत भूलो कि आप यहाँ पर शासन नहीं कर रहे हो, श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी शासन नहीं कर रही है, चन्द सेक्रेटरीज आई० सी० एस० जो कि अंग्रेजी तालीम पढ़े हैं, अंग्रेजी सभ्यता, तहजीब और तमदुन में पले हैं वे आज यहाँ पर रूलर हैं और वही हिन्दी के आगे बढ़ने में बाधक है...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायण जी, घड़ी चलते-चलते 30 मिनट हो गए हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Two thousand words are common in Bengali and Hindi, and 1,600 words roughly are common in Tamil and Hindi.

SHRI A. D. MANI : On a point of order, how does he speak ?

श्री राजनारायण : जब कोई अच्छी बात कहता है तो हम ईन्ड कर जाते हैं।

श्री विमलकुमार मल्लालजी चोरड़िया : वह सारा रिकार्ड बनाने वाले अजमल खां साहब हैं, उनसे पूछ लें इन्होंने भी डिक्शनरीज कलेक्ट की थीं।

श्री एम० अजमल खान (नाम निर्देशित) : अगर आप एक मिनट इजाजत दे तो मैं अर्ज करूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : अभी तो राजनारायण जी बोल रहे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : इन्हे बोल लेने दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : आप क्यों जगह छोड़ रहे हैं समय का क्या होगा ? आप पीछे कहिएगा।

श्री एम० अजमल खान : बस एक मिनट। हिन्दुस्तानी की 9 लैंग्वेज तमिल, तेलुगू, कन्नड़, मलयालम, गुजराती, मराठी, बंगाली,

उड़िया, काश्मीरी, इन सबके विद्वानों को मैंने जमा किया 1957 से पहले मौलाना आजाद के कहने से, जब वह एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर थे और उनको यही के सेक्रेटरीज कि डिक्शनरीज मंगा कर दी, तमिल-इंगलिश, बंगला-इंग्लीश—इन सबसे कलेक्ट किया, फिर कौन कह सकता है कि सही नहीं है ? They selected those persons who knew well those languages. Now they selected the common words and they were published by the Government of India. So who can say that they are not Tamil or Bengali or Hindi ?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY : They are not correct, the Tamilians say. The assembled pandits might have said so.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : आपको दस मिनट समय और है, आप उसका सदुपयोग कीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : बीच में मत बोलिए आप कहे हम न बोलें, चले जायें। मैं आपके जरिए सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से पूछना चाहूँगा कि लोक सभा से जैसा विधेयक आ गया है अगर उसी रूप में राज्य सभा पास कर दे तो उससे किसका भला है, किसका नुकसान है, हम इसके पक्षपाती हैं कि जो अंग्रेजी रखना चाहते हैं उनको अंग्रेजी रखने की छूट होनी चाहिए, वे अंग्रेजी रखें मगर उसी के साथ साथ उतने ही जोर यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो अंग्रेजी नहीं रखना चाहते उन पर अंग्रेजी हरगिज हरगिज न लादी जाय। दोनों बराबर हो गए, किसी पर कोई जोर नहीं। अब मैं आता हूँ बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान, दिल्ली, हरियाणा, हिमाचल, पंजाब में भी हिन्दी को सहभाषा माना गया है, महाराष्ट्र, गुजरात, आन्ध्र में उड़ीसा, केरल ने कहा हिन्दी से कोई विरोध नहीं है। अब कौन रह गया ? तमिलनाडु और बंगाल और आसाम और नागालैंड।

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : You are absolutely incorrect.

श्री राजनारायण मुना जाय, आपका टर्न आयेगा । मैं आपसे आखिरकार कहूँ कि कहीं अगर कांग्रेसी और कम्युनिस्ट, कम्युनिस्ट और कैपिटलिस्ट, कहीं अगर साथ आकर जुड़ते हैं तो भाषा पर और यह सब आव खोलने वाली चीज हो गई है, रूस कहता है कि हिन्दी रखो और हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी रखो ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of explanation, Sir. We never said it. Our position is quite clear, that ultimately Hindi will have to replace English.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. BHARVAGA) : Mr. Gupta, why take up his time ? You will have your chance.

श्री राजनारायण अब हमारा यह विषय आ रहा है जिसको लोग समझे कि अंग्रेजी भी अंग्रेजी न चाहने वालों पर नहीं लदनी चाहिये जैसे कि अंग्रेजी चाहने वालों पर हिन्दी न लदे । बिहार के डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर यहाँ थे, उनसे बात हुई, और उत्तर प्रदेश यह कहता है कि अंग्रेजी से हमारा पिड छुड़ाओ, तो इस विधेयक के जरिये उत्तर प्रदेश से क्यों कहा जा रहा है कि तुमको अनुवाद झखमार कर के अंग्रेजी में देना ही पड़ेगा । हम इसके घोर विरोधी हैं और अब भी डके की चोट पर कहते हैं कि चाहे जो हो जाय उत्तर प्रदेश अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद नहीं देगा, बिहार अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद नहीं देगा, यह कानून यो ही रखा रह जायगा, बकचोचो का मुरब्बा । मैं अपने मित्रों में जो मद्रास में आते हैं उनसे कहता हूँ हे मद्रास के भाइयों, हम आपसे हाथ जोड़ते हैं । (Interruptions) जब एक गम्भीर विषय में बात हो तब भी कान में जैसे कोई फुस फुस कर के बोल रहे हैं, यह ठीक नहीं ।... मैं हाथ जोड़ता हूँ, करबद्ध प्रार्थी हूँ, दसों नख और दसों अंगुलिया सब जोड़ रहा हूँ श्रीमान्, कि हे दक्षिण के भाइयों, जो कि मद्रास के हैं या और जगह के हैं जिनको कि मैं तटीय क्षेत्र कहता हूँ, तटीय क्षेत्र के जो भाई हैं उनसे एक अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि आप अंग्रेजी से मुहब्बत क्यों रख रहे हैं, इसको समझे । आप तामिल से मुहब्बत रखें तो इसको मैं समझ सकता हूँ ।

شری اکبر علی خان : نہیں سنبھلیں گے۔

†[श्री अकबर अली खान नहीं समझेंगे ।]

श्री राजनारायण अकबर अली खान साहब जरा मुनिये । अगर त मिलनाड वाले यह कहते कि अरे राजनारायण तुम्हारा उत्तर प्रदेश तामिल में जवाब दे, तामिल में लिखे, त मिल को बढाये, तो हमारी छाती चौड़ी हो जाती और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को हमने सलाह दी है कि अंग्रेजी में मत लिखना, अगर तामिलनाड को लिखना तो हिन्दी में लिखना और उसका तामिल में अधिकाधिक ट्रांसलेशन भेजना । तामिलनाड को हम तामिल में भेजेंगे ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Why not Tamil be the link language ?

श्री राजनारायण : बैठिये । कोई आव मूद के चितवै तो का कहूँ, अगर कोई शुतुरमुर्ग की तरह बालू में सिर घुसेड कर देखे तो इसमें हमारा दोष नहीं । यह तो सभी लोग मान चुके हैं, जो हिन्दी नहीं चाहते वह भी कहते हैं कि मौका चाहिये, समय चाहिये, चागला साहब कहते हैं, इन्दिरा जी कहती हैं कि मौका दीजिए, मौका वाली बात अलग है, हम तैयार हैं । श्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू की किताब हमने पढ़ी, जब हिन्दुस्तान की 30 करोड आबादी थी तब उन्होंने यह लिखा कि 14 करोड लोग हिन्दुस्तानी जानते हैं और यही हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है । तिलक ने कहा, नेता सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने कहा, कम्युनिस्ट राइटर् जो रूस से आये उन्होंने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान में हम जगह जगह गये हैं और सब जगह हमें हिन्दी जानने वाले मिले हैं । तो हिन्दी जानने वाले लोग ज्यादा हैं, इस सन्ध में, वस्तुस्थिति से आव मूदना अपने खुद के साथ ज्यादाती है, ऐसा किसी को करना नहीं चाहिये । इन्दिरा जी की उस बात से मैं सहमत हूँ कि . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : For once he is in agreement with Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

†[] Hindi transliteration

श्री राजनारायण : . . . अगर ज्यादा लोग हिंदी बोलते हैं तब हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने में मुश्किल पड़ती है तो जिसको कम लोग समझते हैं, चार छ करोड़ लोग समझते हैं उसको हम बनाने लगे तब तो और हल्ला मचेगा । तो इसको भाई नीरेन घोष जरा ठंडे दिल से विचारे, सोचे, मनन करे जिससे कि अगर कोई रास्ता निकल सके तो निकले ।

क्या हम देश-तोड़क हैं । नहीं, हम देश-तोड़क नहीं हैं । इसलिये हम तामिलनाडु के बन्धुओं से कहते हैं कि वह अंग्रेजी के मोह को छोड़ दे, वह अंग्रेजी में हंगिज न लिखे, वह तामिल में लिखे बिहार को, मध्य प्रदेश को, उत्तर प्रदेश को तामिल में लिखे और बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश का यह कर्तव्य होगा कि वे अपने यहां तामिल का अनुवादक रखें और वह दिन दूर नहीं, श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत गर्व के साथ नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन विनम्रता से इतना जरूर कह देना चाहूंगा कि अगर यही स्थिति बहा रही तो उत्तर प्रदेश इस देश की सभी भाषाओं का अनुवादक रख कर के दिखा देगा कि किस तरह से राष्ट्रीय सम्मान और गौरव की रक्षा होती है और किस तरह से अंग्रेजी हमें के लिये हटती है । इसमें क्या दिक्कत है । जब कि राज्य 300 करोड़ रुपये का सालाना बजट खर्च कर सकता है तो दो लाख, चार लाख अनुवादक रखने पर खर्च हो जाय तो क्या हर्ज है, क्यों न ऐसा हो, भाषा के लिये, 'लिक' भाषा के लिये, मुल्क की तरक्की के लिये, राष्ट्र की बेहतरी के लिये । हमने दुनिया में कहीं नहीं देखा, हमारे चागला साहब हमसे ज्यादा धूमे हैं, हमसे ज्यादा इनकी उम्र है, मगर मैं इतने कहना चाहता हूँ बुजुर्गों व अक्ल न बसल, तबगरी बदिलस्त न बमाल, जरा इसको भी याद रखे, किसी बड़े का कहना है । श्रीमन्, हमको चार, छ महने पहले दुनिया के कई मुल्कों में जाने का मौका मिला, हमारे बहुत से साथी भी थे । आप चले जाइये तेहरान में, आप तमाम ईरान में घूम आइये, अंग्रेजी का साइनबोर्ड कहा है । हिल्टन होटल में भी अंग्रेजी नीचे थी और अरबी ऊपर थी, फारसी ऊपर थी । कहीं कहीं हिल्टन होटल में अंग्रेजी थी,

और कहीं नहीं । आप काबुल चले जाइये, डा० गोपाल सिंह हो आये हैं, कई बार हो आये हैं, कहीं वहां अंग्रेजी का साइनबोर्ड दिखा है ।

شری اکبر علی خان - ہاں - ہاں
دیکھا ہے۔

†[श्री अकबर अली खान हा, हा, देखा है]

श्री राजनारायण कहीं एकाध श्री अकबर अली खान की निगाह के लिये मिल गया होगा, कहीं किसी होटल, मोटल में, अंग्रेजी का मिल जाय तो मिल जाय, ऐसे नहीं मिलेगा । श्रीमन्, लिक लैंगुएज की बात की जाती है । कितनी कितनी दूरी है इंग्लैंड और फ्रांस की, लन्दन और पैरिस की । चागला साहब, आप तो विदेश मंत्री रह चुके हैं, आप तो बहुत गये हैं । 6 जून को मैं भी पैरिस पहुँचा । मैं टूटी फटी अंग्रेजी बोलने लगा । हवाई अड्डे पर एक भी अफसर अंग्रेजी का जानकार नहीं था । तो एक नौजवान हमको मिला, हमने देखा कि यह भारतीय है, हमने उसको बलाया और कहा कि तुम्हारा नाम क्या है, उसने कहा कि कृष्णचन्द्र, हमने कहा कि कहा से आते हो, तो उसने कहा कि बम्बई से, हमने कहा कि कब से हो, तो उसने कहा कि 10 साल से पैरिस में रहते हैं, हमने पूछा कि करते क्या हो, तो उसने कहा कि दलाली करते हैं, तो हमने कहा कि भाई थोड़ी हमारी भी दलाली करो, रूस से जो तार आया था उसको वह तार हमने दिया और कहा कि तार फ्रेंच में है, अगर समझा सकते हो तो समझा दो, उसने कहा कि समझा दोगे, तब फ्रेंच भाषा में रूस से आया तार उसने समझाया कि राजनारायण को 7 तारीख से पहले आना चाहिये । और उसने हमारे जाने की भी व्यवस्था कर दी, वीयना से हो कर, हम पैरिस से वीयना और वीयना से मास्को आये और 11 बजे तक पहुँचे । तो फ्रांस और बेलजियम की भाषा क्या है ? चागला साहब हालैंड की क्या भाषा है चागला साहब, जो कि 30-40 मील की दूरी पर इंग्लैंड से है ? क्या अंग्रेजी है ?

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप चेयर को एड्रेस कीजिये ।

†[] Hindi transliteration.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपके जरिये कहना चाहता हूँ अपने मित्र चागला साहब से कि कहां फंसे हुये हो ! मत फंसो । मुल्क के साथ अन्तर्ग कर रहे हो । मैं अब फिर अहिन्दी भाषी लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस विधेयक को कबूल कर लोगे तो जो आगे आने वाली संतानें हैं वे तुम्हारे ऊपर आंसू गिरावेंगी, वह तुम्हारे ऊपर रोयेंगी, वह कहेगी कि तुमने हमारे आगे आने वाले जमाने को खराब किया, कांग्रेस की ताकत के चक्कर में पड़ कर इस भाषा विधेयक को कबूल किया । क्यों? यहां यह लिखा हुआ है कि हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी एक का जानना केन्द्रीय सेवाओं के लिये जरूरी होगा । क्यों! कामराज जी के साथ मैं यहां हूँ । कामराज जी, जो कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष हैं उनको कहिये इंदिरा जी को समझायें । उन्होंने बहुत सही बात कही कि हिन्दी भाषाभाषी तो हिन्दी सीख कर के अपने मकसद को हासिल कर लेंगे मगर हमारे अहिन्दी भाषा भाषी राज्य के लोगों के लिये कम से कम दो भाषाये तो सीखनी ही होगी, एक तामिल और एक अंग्रेजी । क्यों? इसलिये हमने इन्दिरा जी को पहले ही दिन सुझाव दिया था, जब छः तारीख को छः बजकर पचास मिनट पर उन्होंने बुलाया था तब कि जो वाक्य का कंस्ट्रक्शन है वह आप वैसा ही रखें, हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी किसी का जानना जरूरी नहीं है । आज भी मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसमें यह अमेंड-मेंट, संशोधन हो, तरमीम हो कि अहिन्दी भाषा भाषी जो लोग हैं उनके लिये हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी किसी का जानना जरूरी नहीं है । बड़ी आसानी से तामिलनाडु के लोग तामिल को सीख कर के केन्द्र की नौकरी ले सकते हैं । बंगाल के लोग बंगला को सीख कर नौकरी ले सकते हैं ।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र (उड़ीसा) : आपसे बातचीत कैसे करेंगे ?

श्री राजनारायण : वह मैं बता सकता हूँ । देखिये हमसे बातचीत आज कैसे होती है?

श्रीमन्, मैं रामेश्वरम् गया, मुझे कोई दिक्कत नहीं हुई । मैं वहां हिन्दुस्तानी बोल लेता था । जितने गार्ड थे रेलवे में, आप कह सकते हैं मसल-

बोलते थे । हमारी घड़ी वहां छूट गई, हमको लाकर...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायणजी, वहां तो घड़ी छूट गई थी, यहां तो लगी हुई है ।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये श्रीमन्, अगर आप यहां न हों तो यहां भी ऐसी विभूतियां हैं कि घड़ी को काटने के लिये हमारी कलाई भी काट ले । तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : मैं भी आपको अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि भाषण बंद कर दें ।

श्री राजनारायण : अभी बहुत कहना है । यह तय हो चुका है कि प्रथम वाचन में ऐसा कुछ बंधन नहीं होगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : ऐसा कुछ नहीं हुआ है । आपको अपने ऊपर नियंत्रण करना है । आपके 45 मिनट हो गये हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि यह हो क्यों रहा है, दक्षिण के लोग भी समझें...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायणजी, पांच मिनट से ज्यादा मैं आपको नहीं दे सकूंगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा, जैसी आपकी अनुकम्पा हो । भूपेश गुप्त जी यहां नहीं हैं, मैं 17 तारीख को यहां से वाराणसी गया, वाराणसी में गांधियन इंस्टिट्यूट है । गांधियन इंस्टिट्यूट ने दो लाख के करीब पैम्फलेट ऐसे बढ़िया कागज के बांटे हैं कि ऐसा बढ़िया प्रिन्टिंग शायद गवर्मेंट का भी न हो । बनारस की गलियों में बांट रहे हैं, सर्वोदय के लोग । जो ओरिजनल था, मूल था, उस पैम्फलेट में तो उसमें मैंने यह देखा रामचन्द्रनजी, कि गांधी जी को ऐसा चित्रित किया गया था कि गोया गांधीजी अंग्रेजी के पक्ष-

[श्री राजनारायण]

के, अमरीकनो के हाथ में बेचने की साजिश है हमारे पास वह सारे समझौते हैं जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के शिक्षा विभाग से हुए हैं, इन्डो यू०एस० टेक्निकल कोऑपरेशन प्रोग्राम 1963। श्रीमन्, जरा इस को पढ़ा जाय कि किस तरह से एजुकेशन के लिये अमरीकन फण्ड यहां पर लाया जा रहा है। अमरीकी गवर्मेंट इस सरकार से समझौता करती है। यह हमारे मित्र त्रिगुण सेन साहब बाहर जायगें, बोलेंगे कुछ, बेचारे यहां करेंगे कुछ, और काम इनको करना होगा कुछ—यह इनकी बेबसी पर मुझे तरस आता है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चोरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश) : तीन गुण हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह भारत सरकार का वित्त मन्त्रालय है। इसमें राष्ट्रमंडल फाउन्डेशन के सबन्ध में शिक्षा के बारे में देखा जाय—राष्ट्रमंडल के देशों की सरकार और यहां के लोगों के बीच सामाजिक और आर्थिक विकास के क्षेत्र में सहयोग की जो भावना है ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : अब आप हमारे साथ भी सहयोग कीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : 50 लाख पौड का प्रति वर्ष यहां खर्च हो रहा है हमारे जवानों को भ्रष्ट करने के लिये, अग्रजी को बढ़ाने के लिये, अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिये। हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्ता जी को शिकायत थी कि सी०आई०ए० का पैसा बढ़ाया जा रहा है। मुझे आश्चर्य है, यह जो तमाम सस्थाएं हैं उनके जरिये ऐसे काम क्यों कराये जा रहे हैं। मैंने गांधियन इन्स्टीट्यूट और सर्वोदय समाज के बहुत से लोगों से पूछा कि क्या सी०आई०ए० का पैतरा फिर बदल रहा है ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : अब फिर कभी और बता दीजिएगा। अब खत्म हो गया।

श्री राजनारायण : इंडियन कमेटी फार कल्चरल फ्रीडम इसमें नाम है माननीय जयप्रकाश

नारायण जी, अशोक मेहता जी, इसमें नाम है मसानी साहब का। इन सभी लोगों को देखो कि अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में ऐसे लोग जो कि कल्चरल फ्रीडम से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, यकायक बदल जाते हैं। क्यों बदल जाते हैं, इसका कारण है। श्रीमन्, जब यहां पर अग्रज आए तो उस इतिहास को पढ़ा जाय, कि पहले कलकत्ता है, बम्बई है, मद्रास है, इन तीन प्रेसीडन्सी शहरों में अंग्रेज पहले आए और पहले आ कर वहां के लोगों के दिमाग उनकी तहजीब और तमद्दून को खूब उखाड़ा ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायणजी, समय सब के बदल जाते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : “सर्वस्य कारण कालः राजा कालस्य कारणम्” सबको समय बनाता है। मगर राज सत्ता समय को बनाती है। तो इस समय आपकी राज सत्ता है। श्रीमन् मैं चाहूंगा, ब्रिटिश कामनवेल्थ के चक्कर से हम हटे, अमरीकी साजिश से हटे, और सी०आई० के पैमे से जो अंग्रेजी भाषा को बनाए रखने का प्रचार हो रहा है, जो व्यक्ति और दल उस तिकड़म में फसे हुए हैं, उनसे भी हम बचे और जो इंडियन कमेटी फार कल्चरल फ्रीडम है, डिमोक्रेटिक रिसर्च वगैरह है ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : अब राजनारायणजी, यशोदा रेड्डी जी को मुने।

श्री राजनारायण : इस वक्त में कहूंगा यशोदा जरा बैठ तो जाओ। अब दो मिनट तो तुम हमको दे दो, हमारे कहने से।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायण जी, मैंने आपको काफी समय दे दिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : पांच मिनट दे दीजिए। अच्छा तीन ही मिनट दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : अगर हाऊम यह दे तीन मिनट तो मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : हाउस ने कह दिया ...

उत्समाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
हाउस नहीं कहता । यशोदा रेड्डी को सुनना चाहता है । बैठ जाइये ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो आपके जरिये मैं हाउस से कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हे हाउस ! तुम जरा अपने सम्मान की सुरक्षा के लिये आज इस हाउस में जो लोग अंग्रेजी हमेशा के लिये कायम रखने के विधेयक के पक्षपाती हैं, ऐसी व्यवस्था करना कि फिर यहाँ लौट के न आएँ । यही मैं इस हाउस से निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि हे हाउस, जो लोग इस अंग्रेजी विधेयक के पक्षपाती हैं उनके भीतर ऐसी ताकत पैदा करना कि फिर उनको इस जगह में बैठने की हिम्मत न हो । आ न पाएँ ।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the chair]

श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी : मुझको मालूम नहीं वाइस चेयरमेन साहब कि मेरा यह सौभाग्य है या दुर्भाग्य है कि मेरा नाम राजनारायण साहब के बाद आ गया लेकिन इतनी प्रार्थना मैं जरूर करती हूँ कि जिस तरह से राजनारायण साहब के भाषण को सुना वैसे ही मेरे भाषण को और हमारी मुश्किलों को समझने की कोशिश करें ।

Mr Vice-Chairman, apart from what I said about Mr Rajnarain I want to say ...

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : A bit louder.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I think my voice is loud enough to go beyond Parliament House itself.

Sir, I get up with really a very heavy heart. I face this House today and want to tell the Members of the House that I am not happy about this Bill. It hurts my heart when Members of this House and especially the hon Prime Minister and the Home Minister keep on saying that this Resolution and this Bill were brought here to assuage the feelings of the non-Hindi people and to implement the assurances given by the late Prime Ministers, Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. Sir, if you see the Bill as it entered the Lok Sabha and as it came out of it, there is no comparison between the two, there is nothing in this Bill to connect it with the original intentions of the Government. Of course I am not prepared even for a minute

to doubt the *bona fides* and the honest intentions of the hon Prime Minister or the Home Minister but the powerful lobby of the Hindi people was so powerful that it looks as if they have fed the Prime Minister and the Home Minister with Hindi at tea, breakfast, lunch and dinner that they could see nothing beyond the wishes of the Hindi-speaking people and the resentment and difficulties of the non-Hindi people have not penetrated to them. It is a powerful lobby with powerful pressures which dictate politics. Sir, if sentiments were to rule the country and if practical politics were not to be the base for rule making, then I am sorry to say we have no place here. I know by numbers we are not only outweighed, but I sometimes feel that we have been outwitted by these people not because we were not alert but because we were honest and believed them (I mean the Prime Minister and the Home Minister.) We thought we were getting what we were told, but you will appreciate it when I say that what we were promised and what we got are two different things. With regard to this Bill, as regards the assurance which they have brought in the form of this Bill, had the intentions of the Government been honest, simple and straightforward, I think every Member of this House and every Member of the other House would agree with me that it should have been one simple sentence or two. The Bill should have been so framed as to incorporate the assurance given by the two Prime Ministers to the non-Hindi-speaking people. This Parliament, by law, is accepting to give English the status of an official language till such time as the non-Hindi people want it. That should have been the simple, straightforward, honest course. But what happened ...

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : Pandit Nehru assured it as an associate language.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I am prepared to accept it is an associate language. I am also prepared to tell my hon friend, Shri Yajee, that we have accepted Hindi. Several times I have said that honestly we have accepted Hindi and we do not question it. But what we have taken voluntarily, once these people have been forcing it on us it becomes difficult.

They ask:

“अंग्रेजी से क्यों मुहब्बत है आपको ?” इंग्लिश से हमको मुहब्बत नहीं है, लेकिन जो आप लोग कर रहे हैं, उससे हमको हिन्दी से नफरत आ गई है और इतना तो मैं आज बोलने के लिए

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

तयार हूं। अगर आप इतनी हिन्दी समझ सकते हो तो सुन लो।

“सहज मिले तो दूध सम, मांगे मिले सो पानी।
कहत कबीर वह रक्त सम, जामे खींचा तानी।”

What was a good, what was a pure and what was an honest attempt on the part of the non-Hindi people, you want to force it down our throat. There is a saying in Telugu :—“Balavantamu Cheta Simhamuna Chhandimpavachchumu kani pushpamunu Vikasimpalemu.”

By force you may even tame a lion, but you can never make a flower blossom. As the hon. Prime Minister has said, language is meant to understand, to appreciate, to communicate, to unite India, but not to make it a political weapon, weapon for appointments, a weapon for getting places. I know it and nobody can contradict me when I say that the whole thinking of the Hindi people, when we try to obstruct it, is this. They say : “You people are dominating the Secretariat.” Why do we dominate the Secretariat ? If it is a fact, we do it by merit. Are you going to control merit and intelligence by law ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Through the medium of English.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : If English is foreign to them, it is as much foreign to me. If I have the capacity to learn English, it is not because of anybody's kindness. It is by sheer merit and if today I am able to talk in Hindi, it is not because of the Hindi people, but in spite of the Hindi people.

My hon. friend, Mr. Rajanarain, spent most of his time trying to tell the beauty of the Hindi language and other Indian languages. Nobody is saying that Hindi language should not be there. All that we are saying is, what are the practical things ? What are the conditions that exist in India today. That is the thing which we should think of.

Before I come to that, I want to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister and the House to this Bill and the Resolution. Is it not a mockery of the assurance given to the non-Hindi people ? (Interruptions). I am prepared to listen, but they must also be prepared to listen. When this Bill was

passed and the Resolution was passed there, the most happy section of the people were not the non-Hindi people for whose benefit it was brought forward, but the Hindi people, and Mr. Balraj Madhok of the Jan Sangh said : “This is the beginning of the end of English.” May be. But I must also say, the way it is talked, it is not the beginning of the end of English. It may be the end of the unity of India. (Interruptions) I do not want to attack. I am not giving it as a threat. I am not going to explain what I am saying ...

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : Who are you ?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I have a right to speak. I am a member of this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Yajee, you must address me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, can you adjourn the House ?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : She is not yielding.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, just one intervention. When the hon. Member, Shri Rajnarain, was speaking, eloquently, passionately, with conviction and sincerity, he was expressing his point of view. The hon. lady Member here never interrupted him and never tried to disturb him. (Interruptions)

Likewise the protagonists of the other point of view should be heard. (Interruptions) I have been given time to speak and I have not finished ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard you.

(Interruptions)

DR. ANUP SINGH : The hon. Member has a right to say what she wishes to say. Let each one express his point of view.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : This is intolerance ...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am standing. You should all sit down. I would request Dr.

Sapru and Shri Yajee not to get excited. Let us be calm and quiet.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : Why should he interrupt like that ? It should not be allowed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I suggest a code of conduct...

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : Has it come to this that we will not be allowed to have our views here ? I want to know it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I suggest a code of conduct that during this discussion, at least the debate on the language Bill, no one should needlessly interrupt, except for the sake of humour, and no interruption by a single Member, during the next two days, should take more than two or three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I fully appreciate what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said, and I request Members to observe voluntarily that they will not interrupt anybody.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am surprised at the Congress Party and other people. What is the Whip doing ?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I honestly do not believe in any such thing because I believe in the unity of the country. But I was commenting on what Mr. Balraj Madhok has said. He said it is the beginning of the end of English. What I am saying is, what this Bill has done is not the beginning of the end of English but ultimately it may bring about the end of unity of the country. Let me explain. (*Interruption.*) It is better to be forewarned than to be ignorant. One should be honest and face facts. What is the interpretation, the implication of the Bill ? Hindi is being mandatorily imposed by implication.

AN HON. MEMBER : No, no.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : As a result what will happen is we will and may be we shall learn only English in the place of Hindi. All that has happened for the twenty years of our time when we were trying to learn Hindi. Because of the impractical implications of the amendments brought in the Bill in the form of trying to satisfy the feelings of the Hindi people, the result will be we will learn English, you will learn Hindi, and as somebody pointed out, instead of two sections in the Secretariat, one being Hindi and the other

English, we will have interpreters to make us understand each other. And what will happen I leave it to your imagination. When we have Hindi India and English India. If the controversies and suspicions should not have been brought forward, the Home Minister should have brought the Bill of one sentence. But a very highly intelligent section of the Home Ministry—I do not know who—brought in these unnecessary details to which Mr. Rajnarain also referred. These things have always been made in the administrative side. These details need not have come. I do not think it is an error, but I think it is a deliberate attempt to open the Pandora's Box as it were not. If it had been a natural, simple, honest way of giving the non-Hindi people just time to learn Hindi, there could not have, need not have and should not have come. But a highly intelligent section of the Secretariat brought in this and complicated matters. That is the first thing.

The second thing is, the resolution is absolutely unnecessary to this Bill. I have talked to every section of this House and of Members of that House. They all felt that this resolution was absolutely unnecessary. I tell you two points. When you want to have administrative details in regard to running the business of the Government, you consult all sections of the people, all the State Governments; take the opinion of Hindi, non-Hindi, every section, for whatever rules you want. But do not try to commit the Parliament or the Government to some impractical things which later you cannot take away, nor try unnecessarily to incite people, which could have been easily avoided. But what do they do ? They bring in the resolution. But I must tell you that the original resolution as it was drafted by the Home Ministry was quite good. If you give me time, I will just read the sentence, what it was there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have only five minutes.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : I have waited the whole session not to speak on any other subject. Either you give me time or I sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You go on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have all the sympathy of the House.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : The original clause in the resolution was—even now it is not too late, with the help

[Shrimati Yoshoda Reddy]

and the unanimous decision of this House, if I could get your support, the Home Minister could yield to us and withdraw the resolution; in that case, well and good. Otherwise if they cannot do it, I think the original resolution as it was was better, because with the amendment we feel disadvantages and unnecessary burdens are thrown on us. It is for the House to listen to me and be convinced. On this point a great agitation is coming up in the minds of the people, not the people but I tell you the students. I do not care much for the politician, to be very honest. But if the student population gets affected, I feel it should be the sincere duty of every one of us that we should try to understand their difficulties. After all when a person goes to a college or university, it is not for any love of the language but he studies so that ultimately he may get a job. As a citizen of India, he should have every chance without any unfair or unjustified demands on us compared to other citizens who also happen to be citizens of the country. The original resolution was :

“Compulsory knowledge of Hindi shall not be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union Services.” I ask every reasonable Member here, where does it mean here that English is compulsory? Or where does it mean that Hindi knowledge if you have is not enough? It was just an enabling clause, a permissive clause, to assuage the feelings of the non-Hindi people : “You just do not worry; Hindi is the official language and English is the associate language; you do not worry; just because you do not know the Hindi language you will not be stopped from being recruited or appointed to the Union Government.” But the moment you are recruited you will learn Hindi. There is no such thing as we will never learn Hindi. All that it meant to say was : “You non-Hindi people, do not worry; if you do not have knowledge of Hindi, you just are not stopped from being recruited”. This is a simple, straightforward attempt on the part of the Government to assuage our feelings. But I do not know, no advocate of the Supreme Court could enlighten me on this. The Hindi people interpreted it like this that compulsory knowledge of Hindi shall not be necessary means compulsory knowledge of English is necessary. It is beyond me. But I believe there is some Government G.O. which says that for all Union Services one paper in the English language is necessary. That is an administrative matter. That is a matter of working, how the Government is going to work what

language they are going to take. It is for the Home Ministry *vis-a-vis* the State Ministries. That was an administrative matter which need not have been brought here. But what has happened by this? Government changes the Resolution. Of course outwardly it looks innocent. They ask “What does it matter? If you do not want Hindi, you learn the other thing.” But there are four distinct disadvantages which we will face, which is a very unfair thing for us. If the resolution is passed as it is, what happens today? A Hindi person just because he is born in a Hindi area... (*Interruption.*) I am sorry sometimes the hon. Members of some of the Hindi areas proceed from the feeling that Hindu, Hindi, India, all is one. They think all Indians are Hindus or should be Hindus and all Hindus should be Hindi-speaking people. I am not saying, 5 P. M. which one, who, but there is this feeling : Hindi, Hindu, India. These are equivalent. They forget that Hindi is a smaller thing, Hindu is a bigger thing and India is a much bigger thing. India has not only Hindus, but many other people and they also forget that not only is there Hindi, but there are so many other languages in Hinduism, many other languages in India and many other religions. So their fundamental thinking is restricted when they are arguing Hindi, Hindi, Hindi, forgetting our difficulties, and it comes from this thought that India, Hinduism and Hindi are being equated. The first difficulty comes in just because if a person is a Hindi-speaking person, he automatically gets a right for recruitment in the Union services. And also being the mother tongue, being the regional language, being the official language, he learns only one language. But what happens to us? We learn our mother tongue or the regional language, and also English, because the other language is English. So, first of all, even for recruitment, we learn two languages and the moment we are recruited, we shall learn Hindi. So, we have to learn three languages. (*Interruptions.*) I am coming to it. I agree with you. But I will come to it. But if you pass laws automatically in Parliament. I am not prepared to accept that it can be implemented. You know that life is not mathematics where you can say that two plus two make four and you can make it four for all the time. Secondly, what happens even for promotions? After recruitment promotions for us depend on our working knowledge of Hindi. But these people have not to learn English, they need know no other Indian language for appointment, for recruitment for promotion. That is the thing. Of course, Mr. Chavan said, ‘inherent

disadvantage' will be there I also tell him how to remove this inherent disadvantage.

Then the third thing the three-language formula, is only for us regional language and English for recruitment and even for promotion we shall learn Hindi. Whereas we are burdened with three languages, you the Hindi people, automatically get away with one language. Then, Sir, I am coming to the three-language formula. The hon. Prime Minister said about the three-language formula. Has it been honestly implemented? The hon. Education Minister is here. I want to ask him, which is the predominant Hindi State which has seriously taken to the three-language formula? I want an answer. Not one Hindi State has taken seriously to the three-language formula. And why should they if the Government of India is going to give them jobs, if the Government of India is going to give them a passport for appointment, recruitment, promotion and then everything by one language? And if prosperity and employment can be had with one language, no fool is going to waste his time in studying three languages and they will never do it. Here comes the argument—

अगर होना है तं तामिल दे दो, अगर होना है तो

तेलगू दे दो। Not English, I want to ask. Here is a unanimously adopted policy of the Government of India. They are trying to implement the three-language formula for the last 15 years in these Hindi States and not one State has taken to any other language than Hindi. And now they want to insult our intelligence by saying, give us Tamil and Telugu and we will learn them. Learn them and then implement the formula. If this has to be done, the first duty of the Government of India ought to have been to see that the three-language formula is implemented all over India, that it is honestly, sincerely promulgated in the Hindi areas and also to see that there is a necessity for implementing the three-language formula. Even in the administrative rules, by the original Resolution of yours one had to have some compulsory working knowledge of English in your administrative laws. There is a rule that there shall be a working knowledge of English. Even that is being removed. What will happen? They will learn only Hindi, we will learn three languages. We have to learn them even if we have to be normal citizens of India and this will mean a disadvantage. Even in this simple form Hindi people are not prepared to take it in the name of the unity of the country and patriotism. We, the non-Hindi people, in the name of patriotism and unity of the country, should we only give up every thing and they should give nothing? We have

accepted Hindi, we are telling people to learn Hindi, we are doing it. We are actually learning three languages.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : They are not learning one even. What about the promises of UP and Bihar?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : They do not want to learn any language. (Interruptions.) This one disadvantage, if they call it a disadvantage, of taking one compulsory English paper for the all India services. Even that is being removed by this Bill. That means that you have no link language between two sections of India, the Hindi and the non-Hindi sections, and why? Do we want English to be here? It is not because I have any special *mohabbat* for English or a special *nafrat* for Hindi. Everybody realises, everybody knows it. You keep on saying, for 200 years only two per cent people could learn English. But can they make within 10 years' time all the 100 per cent people to learn Hindi? If their argument is that for 200 years only 2 per cent people could learn English and that too voluntarily then within 10 years by force and compulsion, by closing to us jobs, by saying that you will not be getting any job unless you learn the four languages, can you make us learn Hindi? It is a practical impossibility. And then, why do I say, keep on to English? It is for two reasons. It is not because I want to impose English on them. It is because that is the only connecting link between them and us. Hindi has not developed enough in our part of the country to take the place of English, and there is no other language developed enough to take the place of English. To quote one of their own senior poets, he said that Hindi to be natural, easy and good, it becomes Urdu; if it becomes chaste and pure Hindi, the so-called Hindi which the Hindi people are trying to bring about it becomes ununderstandable, impossible, atrocious and God knows, meaningless. They have not even developed it. Anyway, it is not for me to say that. But I accept it as the official language. Let it mature enough and become resourceful enough before they can make it a link language. I would ask them to keep on to English because that is the only present day link. India, you know, never had a common language, always had a language which was not a common language of the people, as somebody pointed out, whether it was Sanskrit or Persian and English after English came. Why is this inferiority complex that you have? Has not Russia or other countries taken to English? It is not an imperialist language but an international language.

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

You want to have connections with the world. That is the only link language. Why are you labouring under a slavish mentality, I ask. You have that complex in you. It is the immaturity of the Hindi-speaking people to say that English is an imperialist language. It is not a mature man and a reasonable man's thinking. It is the only link language. It has to be there, as there is no other language.

Then Sir, they want to have the UPSC examination in 15 languages. I do not want the disintegration of India. But with the practical implementation of the Resolution and the Bill, Hindi will lose its place in the South and English is coming up. Not because we want it. But by your being a bit, what shall I say, a bit over-hasty and over-intelligent in trying to redraft this Bill you are creating a suspicion in the South.

Like U.P.S.C. examinations, I say, do not limit the recruitment to two languages. Make your recruitment through all the 14 languages. I know what it means. It means no link language, no all-India services, no one Supreme Court. There will be 15 States in India with 15 different languages. All right, I am prepared to take it, Sir. If you want equality, if you want unity, see that you have all the 14 languages at the recruitment stage; otherwise, I appeal to the hon. Minister and to the Government of India that it is not too late. Do something. Something should be done to undo what you have done in the Lok Sabha. Drop the Resolution and put it back as it was; otherwise . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : She did not complete. She was saying "otherwise". Let her complete.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : As there are many speakers I propose to call two from the Congress Benches and one from the Opposition.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : (Started his speech in Bengali)

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : Speak in English.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, please listen. I want to know whether my speech has been recorded and translated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. BHARGAVA) : It would not be recorded.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Why not ? That is the first thing I want to know. Do you mean to say that those who cannot speak in English or in Hindi are second-rate citizens of India ? We think that we are second-rate citizens of India. I feel we are insulted, wounded and dishonoured. That is the position that you have landed us in . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : Then walk out.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : .. Please realise this. The Hindi fanatics and others ought to realise this import. That is the point I wanted to make. That is why I had to resort to this stratagem in order to clearly bring the point into limelight and in order to underline it.

Now, Sir, I do think that the Constitution by adopting Hindi as the official language committed the grossest possible blunder militating against the unity of India, and it was passed by the casting vote of the President of the Constituent Assembly.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : It was unanimous in the matter of language. There was division only on numerals.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Then, within the Congress Party ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Only on numerals.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Well, that is as far as we know.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : Let me tell you that the Resolution that Hindi shall be the link language was passed unanimously without a dissenting vote by the Constituent Assembly and even the Congress party. And the Congress Party practically covered the whole Constituent Assembly. (Inter-ruption by Shri B. D. Khobaragade.) Please go and study the report of the Constituent Assembly debates. Even regarding the issue

of numerals, whether there should be only international numerals or Hindi numerals also, one section said that it should be only international numerals while another section said it should be Hindi numerals. So there was a division. Then there was a compromise that it would be international numerals, but if Parliament so decides it can introduce Hindi numerals also. That was passed by one vote in the Congress Party. It was not language.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Did the Congress Party unanimously pass it ?

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : Yes. The language resolution was unanimously passed.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Anyway.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Proceed with your speech.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I think that it was the grossest possible blunder militating against the forging of the unity of India, the unity of India that was forged in course of 16 years of freedom struggle by the different peoples of India, speaking different languages, their own languages. They came together on the basis of anti-imperialism and in order to fight for freedom; otherwise there was no unity before

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : The national struggle itself adopted the principle that Hindi shall be the Rashtrabhasha, the link language.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No. Mass agitation, mass struggle was conducted in the language of each State in order to bring the masses together. But it was never conducted in Hindi. It might have been conducted in Hindi in the Hindi-speaking areas but not in other areas such as Tamilnad, Kerala, Bengal, Assam or Orissa or Gujarat or even Maharashtra. That is the position. Do you realise how these linguistic States came into existence? If it did not matter at all, then India would have been a unitary State with some administrative divisions only. It was not so. In Europe precisely because the peoples inhabited compact areas and spoke one language in each area they formed independent sovereign States. India is practically a multilingual and multinational country.

AN HON. MEMBER : Multi-racial.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is multinational, composed of so many nationalities.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Chinese.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They have come together voluntarily in order to make up the unity of India. Voluntariness, consent, that is the only basis on which India can come together. You have made this one language a farce as if this one language is a superior language and the other languages are inferior. You cannot even talk in the other languages in Parliament and get it recorded and translated. Administrative work is not carried on in those languages. It means there are two grades of citizenship in India. That is what it has come to. That is the position. You must realise this common feeling among the majority of the people in India. The Hindi-speaking people do not constitute the majority of the people of India. Whether you may like to call my voice as discordant or not it is true that the majority of the people of India are feeling degraded, insulted and pushed backwards by this dictum of yours by imposing one language upon the rest of the people and enshrining it in the Constitution. Perhaps you ought not to have done that. English was utilised during that period in order to communicate with each other, in order to come together and to utilise that weapon to fight the British. Therefore, it ought to have been left at that to allow things to take their natural course and in course of time, one, two, three or four languages would have become the official link languages. Whatever possibility or potentiality was there for Hindi becoming the link language, by making it a link language by a false dictum and now bringing forward this Bill in the manner you have done and getting it passed by the Lok Sabha you have destroyed that possibility. That is the real position we are in. Please realise it. Now, there are not only local dialects, but major languages are there, spoken and written by the people. So unless all languages are put on a basis of equality, you cannot have equality among the people of India. Even now the promise and assurance given by the two preceding Prime Ministers has not been honoured in this Bill fully. There has been a backsliding. That categorical assurance should have been incorporated in the Bill and not with so many reservations like 'despatching end', 'receiving end', 'UPSC examinations', 'making either of the languages, English or Hindi compulsory', 'one can have the other languages after they get the opinion of the UPSC' and so on. All this has made the situation worse. That is the position. And now, perhaps, as it is in India, it will be difficult to have one link language. I am not against Hindi. Had there not been this imposition and

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

forcing of Hindi down the throats of non-Hindi-speaking people—the Constitutional provision and all that—perhaps Hindi had the potentiality in the natural course of time to become the link language and to be generally accepted by the people. It would have had the potentiality perhaps if it had been left to the people. By not doing so, whatever sympathy there was for Hindi has been eroded away. That is the position we are faced with. Please realise that.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Not qualitative potentiality, but numerical potentiality.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It could have perhaps had qualitative potentiality after 30 years or after 50 years. Now I do say from our party that the assurance given by Prime Minister Nehru that unless and until Hindi is accepted voluntarily by the people of non-Hindi areas, English shall—not ‘may’—continue for all practical purposes on the basis of complete equality, should have been fully honoured. Otherwise this suspicion and mistrust will not go. That is what Jawaharlal Nehru said here on the floor of this House. That was the assurance given to us and millions and crores of people know that. Unless that assurance is honoured fully, this Bill will create disunity further. Mrs. Yashoda Reddy's warning is a pointer. It is also a pointer that the present Congress President, Mr. Kamaraj, does not agree with the Bill and the Resolution. He has repeatedly been stressing this point. This is a warning signal to you as to what is going to take place. Why is it that even the President of the Congress is not agreeing with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government on the matter of language?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Because he is no more the President. He has announced it too late.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Because he is seeing before his own eyes....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Do you mean to say that he is a dowager President?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH :.....that this will break up India. That is in his mind. That is why Mr. Kamaraj sounded that warning signal. So I say that first of all, all languages should be treated on a par and until you can do that, at least Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance should be honoured in toto. It should not be watered down and diluted so that Hindi can be imposed in various ways on the non-Hindi-speaking people, as is being done by the Bill

by reservations like “translations”, “three-language formula” and all that. Let me tell you also that our party is totally opposed to the three-language formula. It cannot work. It will not work. It is not going to work ever in India. If there is any chance of any formula working in India, it is the bilingual formula that will work, and that can be practically implemented. No other formula will work. A student, a child or a boy should learn his mother tongue up to the higher stage of education and then he can take up any other language of his choice, English, Hindi or any other language. You cannot force him to accept any particular language. Only on that basis, the bilingual formula will work. So even now I would tell you the position that you are bringing about through this Bill. Do you mean to drive out the non-Hindi-speaking people from India? Is that the position towards which you are driving India? That is the pertinent question that I want to ask you. I myself know a bit of Hindi. I addressed a Hindustani working class in my broken Hindi. But still, you should know that however much you may try, the crores of Bengalis, the crores of Oriya speaking people, the crores of Tamils, Telugu-speaking people and the Canarese, will never, never learn Hindi. If you want Hindi not only for administrative purposes but also to be spoken by all the people, by all the 50 crores of people of India, it is never going to take place. They will never learn it. If you force it down their throats as we are compelled to learn English in order to get employment, to be recruited into Government service, they will be compelled to learn a smattering of Hindi. That is all. But it will never go down among the masses. Whatever possibility there was for its natural course of development has been destroyed. You have put up a Chinese wall between the Hindi-speaking people and the non-Hindi-speaking people by your actions and by this Bill you are going to further that process and do nothing else. India can survive if it is united, otherwise, it will fall to pieces. This is one of the saddest days in the history of India that this Bill has been brought in this fashion, not fully and completely honouring Nehru's assurance. You are sowing the seed of discord. It may grow up into a poisonous tree breaking the unity of the country which nobody wants. So, I would like to say, beware of the actions that you are taking. Bring all the people together voluntarily. Already we have made distinction between the languages—official language and regional languages. The Constitution says that all the fifteen languages are national languages of India. But in the Bill, in the Resolution and everywhere,

you are making a distinction, you are saying that Hindi is the national language and all other languages are regional languages. This is wounding the pride of the majority of the people of India and you ought to realise that. Even now I would like to say that in the UPSC examinations, recruitment should be in any language, not in English or Hindi only. Any student, speaking any language, should have his entry into UPSC examination. That provision must be there. I also say what does it matter if you address communications from the Centre to West Bengal in Bengali? Can't you have some translators for that purpose? You can certainly have them. The State of West Bengal should have the right to send its communications in Bengali. Then you can translate them in other languages. Give all the languages an equal place at least in the matter of communications. When you address Uttar Pradesh, you address it in Hindi. When you address Bihar, you can address it in English or Hindi with an authorised text in English. You can do that. But when the Central Government addresses letters or communications to other States, it is obligatory on its part to address such letters or communications in the languages of the States or the languages of the people in those States, their mother language. After all so many crores of rupees you are wasting, it is a matter of a few crores of rupees more, so that all the languages can be developed. I do say, I am quite certain, and let me tell you that no one language is going to be the link language in India. Let me tell you that frankly and bluntly. It won't work. If all the languages are not treated on a par, as I have said, in course of time it will come to this that two or three or four languages will emerge and they will be generally accepted and those languages can then be made the official link languages of India with the voluntary consent of the people of India. That is a natural process. You will never have one language. At least I have been convinced that Hindi is never going to be the link language of India. It won't work. If these 15 languages are not given equality, then three or four languages will emerge and they will be generally accepted by the people of India and they will become the link languages of the country and they will cement the unity in the country. There is no other course. You can see that in no other Constitution of the world is there any official link language. In the Soviet Union there are 20 or 25 spoken languages richly developed at the highest research stage. Still there is no official link language.

SHRI M. N. KAUL. (Nominated) : Every body must learn Russian.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Not 'must'. There is no compulsion in the Constitution. (*Interruption.*) It is the most developed language and voluntarily they learn it; there is no official compulsion or anything of that sort.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh) : They do everything voluntarily.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : More voluntarily than you do, because they are not under the rule of the big monopoly. (*Interruption.*) Mr. Chagla is quite correct. In Canada and in Switzerland, in order to keep the unity of the country, both the languages have been given equal status for official and other purposes, so that Canada is one, Switzerland is one. If in Switzerland German is made the link language and French is chucked out, then Switzerland will break. In Canada if only English is made the link language and French is not taken into account, Canada is going to break. So, that is the real position. It won't be by fanaticism; you cannot bypass the people or the masses. I do say that even now all the languages should be treated on a par. If you cannot amend the Constitution, do not do that. But at least Nehru's promises should be honoured in full and *in toto*. Unless and until the non-Hindi-speaking people accept Hindi, English should continue for all practical purposes. Along with that equality should be given to all the languages. From the Centre to the States communications should be addressed in the languages of the States and the States should have the right to address them in their own languages and for inter-State communications also the same practice should follow. For this purpose a few translators would suffice. For UPSC examinations also all the languages should be treated on a par. Any student speaking any language should be allowed without any inhibition to take such examinations. Therefore I appeal to you to treat the people on a par. You cannot have things simply in a Chauvinistic fashion. Let Mr. Rajnarain know this.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Not in an imperialistic fashion also.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It won't work. I appeal to the democratic sense of the Hindi-speaking people for whom I have the greatest regard and love. If India is to survive, if India is to remain united, if our great motherland is not to fall asunder, then please do not proceed in this fashion,

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

Treat all the people and all the languages of India on the basis of equality, not superior and inferior, first-rate citizens and second-rate citizens. (*Time bell rings.*) And the Central Government offices in the States should do their work in the local languages, in the languages of the States. Otherwise how can the common people understand it? If these things are done, then in course of time perhaps we can have our problems solved and the precious unity of India cemented and strengthened. I think Mrs. Indira Gandhi knowingly or unknowingly seems to be presiding over the liquidation of India. I have grave apprehensions in this matter. Therefore I would suggest that for the sake of India, for the sake of the unity of India, take things in their proper perspective in order to strengthen and cement the unity of India.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to express my views on this Bill which appears to be most controversial. Even 17 years after we framed our Constitution we have noticed today in this House that passions have been roused on all sides of this House and a lot of heat has been generated during the discussion on this Bill. When I listened to the debate today, I came to the conclusion that the situation is more serious and worse. Some Members have raised questions whether the article in the Constitution regarding the official language was adopted by a majority of one vote or not. For the information of the Members of this House I may read from one book "Thoughts on Linguistic States" by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. I quote :

"There was no article which proved more controversial than article 115 which deals with the questions; no article produced more opposition, no article more heat. After a prolonged discussion, when the question was put, the vote was 78 against 78. The tie could not be resolved. After a long time, when the question was put to the party meeting, the result was 77 against, 78 for Hindi. Hindi won its place as a national language by one vote. I am stating these facts from my personal knowledge. As Chairman of the Drafting Committee I had naturally entry to the Congress Party enclosure."

This is what Dr. Ambedkar has said in this book, that in the party meeting of the Congress the question of language was decided by a majority of one vote.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, on a point of information I would like to tell the hon. Member that this majority of one was only on the point of numerals, not on the language. He may go through the proceedings.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : Do you mean to say that you are more acquainted with the facts than Dr. Ambedkar who has said this as Chairman of the Drafting Committee ?

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : You go through the proceedings and you will know it correctly. This is about the party proceedings . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : If it is a question of fact it can be referred to. You can refer to it in your speech.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : If there are any proceedings of the Congress Party, I am prepared to read these Congress Party proceedings also. Dr. Ambedkar in this book has referred to the party decision taken by a majority of one vote, and once the party decision was taken, a whip was imposed on all members and they were directed to vote for Hindi and thereby they got the Article regarding language passed. (*Interruptions.*) Mr. Vice-Chairman, this book is "Thoughts on Linguistic States" by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : Please read the relevant passage.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : I have already done it. (*Interruption.*)

Even today, after a period of seventeen years, when this Constitution was drafted and then adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1950 we find that there is still a great controversy in this country over the national language.

We thought that this measure which has been brought before this House now would be a sort of compromise formula. But it seems the way it has been handled in the other House, no party to the controversy appears to be satisfied. The protagonists of Hindi have been dissatisfied from the very beginning and Seth Govind Das, a veteran Congress Member of Parliament, voted against it. The President of the Congress, he also appears to be dissatisfied. If the Government really wanted to do something about this linguistic controversy, if they really wanted to satisfy all sections and all parties to this controversy, then the Government

should have convened a round table conference and invited representatives of all shades of opinion and tried to evolve a consensus of opinion which could have satisfied all people. But, instead of doing so, the Government preferred to bring a Bill in the other House and after having brought that Bill they have watered it down to such an extent that the non-Hindi-speaking people have some apprehension in their minds. Sir, this is not really a legal problem. This is not really a constitutional problem. Mr. Rajnarain has pointed out that the present Bill perhaps may be challenged in the Courts as being unconstitutional. Let us not consider this problem from legal or constitutional point of view. But we should think that this problem is very important for the national unity and integrity. It is a political problem of grave importance and, therefore, constitutional or legal quibbles will help no one.

Assurances were given by two of our former Prime Ministers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and we thought that those assurances would be implemented by bringing forth a proper measure. So far as I am concerned, I am always advocating that Hindi alone can be the link language of this country. We want that there should be only one link language which can be a source of unity for all the divergent people in this country, and that place can be taken only by the Hindi language. But at the same time, when we say that Hindi should be the link language of this country, we want that Hindi should not be imposed on any individual, not even on any solitary person. Let all the non-Hindi-speaking people learn Hindi as and when they want to.

So far as the provisions of this Bill are concerned, the Bill in original was properly drafted, and the provisions of that original Bill were quite proper. But, as mentioned by some hon. Members here, particularly Shrimati Yashoda Reddy, it seems that Government has yielded to the pressure of Hindi chauvinists, and they have watered down the provisions of this Bill. I may remind all those protagonists of Hindi that because of their chauvinism they have done greater harm to the cause of Hindi and greater damage to the unity and integrity of this country. If the Hindi-speaking people had not tied to force their language on non-Hindi-speaking people, perhaps there would not have been any opposition from the non-Hindi-speaking people. I remember that quite a few days back the Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr. Namboodiripad, retorted that if such incidents are happening

in Hindi-speaking areas and non-Hindi-speaking people are forced to learn Hindi in such a manner, then in Kerala also, where they had initiated the teaching of Hindi long before and were persuading their own citizens to learn Hindi if such force is used to compel them to learn Hindi then in that case, in Kerala the policy will be reversed and people will not be asked to learn Hindi. Now this was the reaction of the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad.

Sir, when this Bill was introduced in the other House, we have seen that the agitation was started throughout the whole northern country; it was in Gaya, Delhi, Patna, Lucknow, everywhere. We have also noticed that when the Hindi protagonists started their agitation, some funny incidents took place. They were changing the number plates of cars. Not even the foreign dignitaries were left alone, and we have read in the papers one incident. When the number plate of the car of a foreign dignitary was being changed into Hindi, the foreign dignitary said: "Why don't you just tell me the time?" And when that person looked at his watch, the foreign dignitary said, "Why don't you change the numbers on your watch in Hindi?" To such a funny extent the Hindi agitators had gone.

Now what is the reaction in the non-Hindi-speaking areas? You might have read in the morning papers that the people in the South have also started an agitation. The students in Madras did not attend their colleges yesterday. About 4,000 students in Coimbatore left their colleges yesterday in protest against this Bill. As in Northern India, people in South India have started tarring Hindi plates and removing them, in retaliation to what the Hindi-loving people have done. If such a reaction is generated in Southern India, then I must say that perhaps the unity of India will be jeopardised. Sir, from the opposition side Mr. Mariswamy spoke this morning and he said that if such sort of chauvinism is going on, then perhaps there may be danger to the unity and integrity of this country. Perhaps people might think that he belongs to the opposition side and therefore he can say so. But what about Shrimati Yashoda Reddy who spoke just now? She also said that the beginning of the end of English perhaps may mean the beginning of the end of integrity and unity of this country. These are not the only apprehensions of those Members. Dr. Ambedkar, again in his book, has said so and while saying so, he has referred to the opinion of Shri Rajagopalachari. What was the opinion of Shri Rajagopalachari? Shri Rajagopalachari, when he was the

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade]

Governor-General of this country immediately after our attaining independence, had discussions with Dr. Ambedkar and then he said :

“You are committing a great mistake.”

This is what he said to Dr. Ambedkar, that he was committing a great mistake.

“One Federation for the whole of India with equal representation for all areas will not work. In such a Federation the Prime Minister and President of India will always be from the Hindi-speaking area. You should have two Federations, one Federation of the North and one Federation of the South and a Confederation of the North and the South with three subjects for the Confederation to legislate upon and equal representation for both the Federations.”

This was the view of Shri Rajagopalachari communicated to Dr. Ambedkar. And what did Dr. Ambedkar say? Some twelve years ago he wrote this book and here he says :

“These are the real thoughts of Mr. Rajagopalachari”.

Dr. Ambedkar has in his book warned the people of this country about conflict between North and South. The Hindi-loving people should not force non-Hindi people to learn Hindi and if they did it, then the unity of this country would be in jeopardy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Khobaragade, it is time to finish.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : Sir, I have spoken only for twelve minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have already taken fourteen minutes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : I will try to finish soon, Sir. He writes here :

“They came to me as a revelation coming as they did from the innermost heart of a Congressman. I now regard Mr. Rajagopalachari as a prophet predicting the break up of India into the North and the South. We must do everything to falsify Mr. Rajagopalachari's prophecy.

It must not be forgotten that there was a civil war in the U.S.A. between the North and the South. There may also be a civil war between the North and the South in

India. Time will supply many grounds for such a conflict. It must not be forgotten that there is a vast cultural difference between the North and the South and cultural differences are very combustible.”

About twelve years ago he had warned that there might be a civil war between the North and the South in India. If you disregard these words of warning of Dr. Ambedkar then I feel you will be doing it at your own peril. Dr. Ambedkar warned you about Pakistan. He advised you about Kashmir. He advised you about Goa. You failed to listen to his warning and ultimately the country has had to suffer. Now we see that Dr. Ambedkar had said that there may be a civil war between the North and the South in India and if the people of the North try to force things on those in the South then there will be trouble. If we do not pay heed to this warning of Dr. Ambedkar, perhaps the unity and integrity and even the freedom of this country will be in peril.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Only one minute more.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : In another two minutes I shall wind up.

Sir, I said that we must learn Hindi because Hindi should be the link language. But we must not try to force it on others. We must see that it is not forced on the people of the South. After fifteen or twenty or thirty years—it does not matter even though it may be long period—it will become the link language in our country. But do not try to do it today or tomorrow or even in five years as has been suggested by Shri Rajnarain. It will all depend on the Hindi-loving people whether the integrity and unity of this country are maintained or not. If the unity and integrity of our country are not maintained then the entire responsibility for it will be that of the Hindi-loving people only. Therefore, I submit that the three-language formula must be properly implemented all over the country. Even when English is completely removed from this country there will have to be a permanent two language formula.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will do, Mr. Khobaragade.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : Only two more sentences, Sir. Ultimately English may go. It does not matter who is in favour of its retention or who is not. But then

everywhere the two-language formula will have to be implemented. Non-Hindi people should learn Hindi and the Hindi people must learn one non-Hindi Indian language, preferably South Indian language and unless this is done the unity and integrity of this country will not be maintained.

SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH (Punjab): Sir, at the very outset I would like to say that I do not want English, a foreign language, to continue to be our "official" language for all times to come. I am for a national language taking its place fully as soon as possible. And Hindi is well-qualified for this role. But I must also say that as things stand at present, we cannot banish English today and we cannot completely switch over to Hindi today. The reasons are clear. Firstly, the country as a whole is not yet prepared for this change. Secondly, Hindi as yet is not so fully developed as to replace English in all spheres. And last but not least, the instruments of administration, laws, rules, regulations, case laws and the material on which an administration depends, are not yet available in the Hindi language and may not be available for a few years to come.

Sir, we must change over from English to Hindi, but gradually. A sudden change-over will upset our national life and will paralyse the administration. Hindi is after all not the end but a means to something. And we must not lose sight of that something in our zeal to bring in Hindi even when the country as a whole is not prepared for the change. It is good that a beginning is being made today in that direction and I have no doubt that with the Government's backing, Hindi will progressively take the place of English in all spheres in due course.

Sir, I wish to draw your attention to another aspect of the measures, *i.e.* the Bill and the Resolution, which are before us. Sir, these measures when introduced in the Lok Sabha, were hailed all over the non-Hindi areas as the measures that would fulfil the assurances given by Pandit Nehru to the South. They—the people of the South—were all praise for the courage and boldness of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Chavan. These measures were brought forward by the Government to allay the misgivings and fears of the people of the South. But what has happened to them in the Lok Sabha, that these very measures are now being dubbed as having increased the fears of the people of the South. For this I draw your attention to the statement of Shri Kamaraj who represents the South no less than any

other living Indian. He is not happy at the changes introduced in the Bill and Resolution by the Lok Sabha and feels that the Bill and the Resolution as amended by the Lok Sabha, will not fulfil the object for which they were originally brought.

Sir, we must critically analyse as to what has been done to these measures in the Lok Sabha that has converted the waves of cheers in the South to waves of protest.

Taking the Bill first, Sir, I do not think any fundamental change has been made in it which may be said to be going against the assurances of Pandit Nehru. English can be used for all Union purposes in addition to Hindi till every one of the States agrees to a switch-over to Hindi. The "may" and "shall" controversy in clause 2 is futile as it has been well explained by lawyers that "may" here really means "shall". The changes made in the Bill are minor and do not upset the object of the Bill. Hindi States have been authorised to write to non-Hindi States in Hindi but an authentic English translation will accompany. This may add to the work of Hindi States but would not cause any inconvenience to non-Hindi States. The second change made relates to the translation into Hindi of English documents going from one office of the Central Government to another office of the same Government. This gives a facility to the Hindi-speaking people in those offices, but does not take away any facility given to non-Hindi-speaking people.

Sir, a study of these changes, therefore, shows that nothing has been introduced in the Bill which can be said to be going against the assurances of Pandit Nehru to the people of the South. I, therefore, support the Bill. But, Sir, the same 6 P.M. cannot be said about the Resolution. The last part of the Resolution has undergone a fundamental change—so fundamental that it has upset the balance completely. Sir, English is a foreign language both for the people of the South as well as the people of the North. If the people of the North cannot acquire a high standard of proficiency in English, as is generally said, how can we say that the people of the South can do so? It is not their mother-tongue. It is a foreign language to them also and they also have to learn it with tears. It is, in my humble opinion, not a correct view to take that the people of the South or other non-Hindi-speaking Indians are at home in English language.

[Shri Bhupinder Singh]

Sir, in this background, the change made in the last para of the Resolution will tantamount to a grave discrimination against non-Hindi-speaking areas. The amended Resolution lays down that knowledge of either Hindi or English will be compulsory at the time of recruitment to the Central Services. Sir, this means that while a Hindi-speaking candidate can get into service without knowing any other language except his mother-tongue, a non-Hindi-speaking person will have to learn in addition to his own tongue, English and also Hindi. Sir, it is this provision which has put an unequal burden on the people of non-Hindi-speaking areas. Not only this ; Hindi-speaking people will be able to take the UPSC tests in the medium of their mother-tongue from 1968; but non-Hindi-speaking candidates will have to take the test in English medium, at least for some time to come, till other regional languages are also introduced as media of examination. Sir, this amounts to a handicap race, the candidates from non-Hindi areas being under serious handicap. I do not know how far this position is valid under the Constitution. To my mind this provision can be challenged in High Court as being discriminatory.

Apart from the constitutionality of this provision, this provision has confirmed the fears of the people of the South—a result exactly the opposite to that which these measures were intended to achieve.

Sir, I am not for imposition of English on Hindi areas but nor am I for imposition of English on non-Hindi areas. What the amended Resolution seeks to do is to impose English on non-Hindi areas. Nobody should be in a better position than the Hindi-speaking people to understand the pinch felt by the non-Hindi-speaking people by the amendment in this Resolution. What is sauce for the goose should not be sauce for the gander.

If English only was bad for Hindi areas for the purpose of UPSC examinations, it is bad for others too. I shall beg of the Home Minister to remove this thorn from the Resolution and restore the Resolution to its original form. This will remove the cause of resentment which the people of the South have towards this Resolution. The amendment made by Lok Sabha is like a fly in the ointment. Please remove it.

Sir, I wish to say a few words for those who are very eager to spread Hindi all over the country. Any attempt, direct or indirect, to force the pace of Hindi, as they knew, creates a sharp reaction. I know most of them do not wish to force Hindi on anybody. But they should not speak too often about it. It creates a wrong impression. Instead, they should themselves set an example. I find that members who are very vocal in their support of Hindi language, themselves speak in English here and outside. Is it because they find it difficult to express themselves in Hindi? If that be so, they should understand the difficulties of the people of the South who do not know Hindi at all. Instead of telling them to learn Hindi, such members should first learn to speak and express themselves in Hindi. Practice will have a better effect than mere profession.

Secondly, the Hindi which is being manufactured by the Hindi experts of the Government is not the Hindi which can become the *lingua franca* of the country. The official Hindi is artificial and synthetic Hindi which cannot have mass appeal. Let us make Hindi as simple as Gandhiji wanted Hindustani to be. Let us stop fabricating difficult words. Let us accept simple words from other regional languages. Only such a Hindi can become popular in non-Hindi areas.

Thirdly, I wish to suggest to the Government that they should employ only such people to translate English documents in Hindi as have a good command of English language also. I have recently come across many pieces of Hindi translations in parliamentary papers which betray the translator's ignorance about the English language. Without having a good knowledge of English language, a translator cannot produce a good translation of an English document in Hindi.

In the end, Sir, I wish to appeal to all my colleagues here; let us continue bilingualism in the country till such time as the country as a whole is prepared for a complete switch over to Hindi alone. Let us not do anything in this interim period to arouse the suspicions of the people of the South. I shall also appeal to my countrymen in the South that they should also show a spirit of accommodation and broadmindedness and accept Hindi, at least in principle, as one of the two official languages of the Union. They may take their own time

to determine as to when English should be dropped. But they should make a beginning towards that direction today. I have no doubt that the youth of the South, if initiated into learning Hindi today, will attain commendable proficiency in a short period without much difficulty and will thus contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the country.

Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 21st December, 1967.