

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भागवत झा आज़ाद) : दो मांगे थीं—रिविजन आफ स्केल और समय के अंदर। दोनों को हमने पूरा कर दिया।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : Madam, welcoming as I do the announcement made by the Minister, I would like to ask him two questions. May I know whether the new scales which have been announced meet the demands of the teachers concerned? If it is so, how much, and is that going to be satisfactory to the teachers concerned? Secondly since this is an agreement to which the Central Government is a party, what would be the effect of this upon teachers in other parts of India? You have to consider that particular aspect of the question also.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN : About the first question, I do not know whether the teachers will be happy, but I have mentioned, Sir, that "I have no doubt that the teaching community will respond in full measure to the gesture now being made by the Government in spite of the prevailing acute financial stringency." Regarding the second question, I can assure the Members that we are trying to raise the status and emoluments of the teachers of the whole country. We are discussing with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance. We are at it.

RE ALLEGED BEATING UP OF PRESS REPORTERS IN CALCUTTA

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Madam, I want to call the attention of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What is it?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is a serious matter. I want to know . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : How are you raising it now?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I have talked to the Chairman in the Chamber before. You see, the freedom of the Press has been violated in Bengal . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should have raised it when the Chairman was here

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I could not do it. I can raise it only when the proper time comes . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Is it on the Order Paper . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I can raise it only at the proper time before the legislative business is taken up.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam, the Press reporters of Calcutta yesterday were mercilessly beaten up by the police and when they went to the Police Commissioner, they were told that despite his instruction they were doing it. Press freedom has been trampled under foot there. The police have gone berserk and mad. The freedom of the Press is in jeopardy. They cannot report. The reporters of all newspapers, "The Statesman", "Ananda Bazar Patrika", "Amrita Bazar Patrika", "Hindustan Standard" and others were have been beaten up. That is the latest news. The police is on a rampage in West Bengal. The Press is in jeopardy. This is a serious situation. I want the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. K. K. Shah, to make a statement on this situation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do. Now Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha to speak on the Official Languages Bill.

I would request Members to keep themselves within 15 minutes. I still have about 60 names and it will not be possible to call every one.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1967—continued.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह (बिहार) : माननीय उप सभापति महोदया, इस भाषा विधायक पर आज मैं जिस परिस्थिति में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ वह परिस्थिति मेरे लिए बहुत ही दर्द और परेशानी की है। आज एक मरे हुए हृदय से और मानसिक परेशानी की हालत में, इस पर मैं कुछ निवेदन करने के लिए आपके सामने उपस्थित हुआ हूँ।

भाषा का काम बराबर जोड़ने का रहा है। मैं यह समझता रहा हूँ कि मनुष्य मनुष्य को, देश देश को, प्रान्त प्रान्त को करीब लाने का काम भाषा का रहा है। लेकिन हमारे लिए परिस्थिति कुछ इस तरह की बन गई है कि जो चीज जोड़ने वाली हो सकती थी, वह लगती है कि वह तोड़ने वाली और विध्वंस करने वाली हो गई है।

हमारे देश में एक परम्परा चल गई है, चाहे वह सीमा का प्रश्न हो, चाहे कल कारखाने बिठाने का प्रश्न हो या और किसी तरह का प्रश्न हो, हर बार वह बात एक ऐसा रूप ले लेती है जो देश में शांति और एकता के पक्षपातियों के लिए बैचेनी पैदा कर देती है। अब यह मामला वही तक सीमित नहीं रहा। भाषा के संबंध में आन्दोलन, भाषा के सबंध में विचार पिछले कई वर्षों से वह रूप ले रहा है, जिसमें आब्जेक्टिव तरीके से, निरपेक्ष होकर विचार कर सकना, कुछ कह सकना बहुत सम्भव नहीं होता है। और जिनके लिए इस प्रकार कुछ कह सकना सम्भव हो सकता है, उनकी आवाज पूरी तरह से सुनी नहीं जाती। यह परेशानी है।

मेरी परेशानी और भी ज्यादा है। पिछले 6 महीनों से खासकर और साधारणतया इससे भी ज्यादा लगभग डेढ़ वर्षों से, 1965 में, जब तामिलनाडु में भाषा के सबंध में उपद्रव हुए, उसके बाद से मैं लगातार इस बात की चेष्टा करता रहा हूँ कि इस चीज के लिए कोई रास्ता निकले और उसका कोई सुलझाव हो। मेरा दर्द और इसलिए बढ़ जाता है कि जो चीज रोकी जा सकती थी, जिसका उपाय किया जा सकता था, उसका उपाय नहीं किया गया और वह चीज रोकी नहीं गई। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि आज हमारे देश में औसत आदमी की यह अवस्था हो गई है कि हम आमने सामने बैठकर किसी विवादास्पद विषय पर, किसी एक रास्ते पर, किसी एक सलाह पर, किसी एक निर्णय पर नहीं पहुँच सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि संविधान परिषद् में

जो स्पिरिट और भावना थी, संविधान परिषद् में जो लोग थे, भिन्न भिन्न मत वाले लोग थे, वे लोग जिस तरह से एक रास्ते पर पहुँच सके थे, एक रास्ता निकाल सके थे, उसी तरह हमारे देश में आज भी ऐसे लोग हैं, समझदार लोग हैं, जो इस तरह का रास्ता निकाल सकते हैं और वहाँ पहुँच सकते हैं। लेकिन उसका चेष्टा नहीं की गई।

सबसे पहली बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब संविधान परिषद् ने राजभाषा के सबंध में यह निर्णय लिया था, उसके बाद उस दिशा में कुछ नहीं करने के लिए आज सबसे बड़ी गुनाहगार हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार है, जिसने 28 वर्षों में, उसके सबंध में जो कुछ किया जाना था, वह नहीं के बराबर किया और कहिये तो सही माने में कुछ नहीं किया। इसके लिए यह सरकार सबसे बड़ी गुनाहगार है। इस बात को समझाने के लिए मैं सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ कि इन 18 वर्षों में क्या किया जा सकता था।

दूसरे गुनाहगार हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों में वे लोग हैं, जो अधिकार में थे और जिन्होंने इसके लिए कुछ नहीं किया, यह भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। वे लोग भी इसके लिए गुनाहगार हैं। अगर यह केन्द्रीय सरकार इस चीज के लिए कुछ करती और हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्र में जो लोग अधिकार में थे वे भी कुछ करते तो परिस्थिति कुछ आगे बढ़ सकती थी। लेकिन यह सब कुछ नहीं हुआ। और आज जो वातावरण मैं देख रहा हूँ, उसमें मुझे कुछ कहने में हिचक होती है। मैं जिस स्पिरिट में, जिस दृष्टिकोण में और जिस भावना से कह रहा हूँ, पता नहीं अपने साथी सदस्यों तक और देश की जनता तक उसे पहुँचा सकूँगा या नहीं। दर्द के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। इसलिए, इस विषय पर कुछ निवेदन करने से पहले, मैं आपके सामने उन शब्दों का दोहराना चाहता हूँ, जो हमारे संविधान परिषद् के अध्यक्ष, डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी ने, 12 सितम्बर, 1949 को

[श्री गंगा शरण सिंह]

जिस रोज राजभाषा का प्रश्न सविधान परिषद् के सामने आया था, कहे थे। विचार करने के लिये जब यह मामला पेश हुआ, तब श्री गापालास्वामी आर्यगार के सविधान परिषद् में इस विषय को पेश करते समय सविधान परिषद् के अध्यक्ष ने कहा था :

“इस विषय पर आप इस दृष्टि से बहस न करें कि आपको अपने पक्ष में बहुमत प्राप्त करना है। आपका निर्णय ऐसा होना चाहिये, जिसे सारा देश स्वीकार करे। यदि आपका निर्णय केवल बहुमत का निर्णय हुआ और सभी लोगो ने उसे स्वीकार नहीं किया, तो सविधान के इस निर्णय को अमल में लाना मुश्किल हो जायेगा।”

आज भी मैं यही चाहता हूँ कि भाषा के सवध में जो निर्णय हम करे, तो सविधान परिषद् के अध्यक्ष ने जो कहा था, उन बातों को ध्यान में रख कर करें।

यह समस्या सुलझाई जा सकती थी, लेकिन पहले जैसा मैंने कहा कि इन 17, 18 वर्षों में कुछ नहीं किया गया और दूसरा यह कि पिछले दो वर्षों में यानी 1965 के बाद भी कुछ नहीं किया गया। मैंने बार बार सरकार के लोगो से कहा कि बिल बनाने से पहले भिन्न भिन्न विचार रखने वाले लोगो को एक साथ बुलाइये, उनको आमने सामने बिठलाइये। हम जानते हैं कि कभी ऐसे मामले होते हैं। कि हम एक दूसरे का विरोध करते हैं, एक दूसरे के प्रतिकूल लेकिन जब आमने सामने बैठते हैं, तो समझदारी, देश की एकता, राष्ट्रीयता, इन सबका तकाजा होता है, इनका दबाव होता है और हम लोग एक रास्ता निकाल लेते हैं। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि बिल को मर्कुलेट करने, प्रान्तीय सरकारों के पास वितरित करने, के बाद वह रास्ता बिलकुल बद हो गया है। जैसे मैं उदाहरण के लिए कहूँ, आज जो बिल में बहुत सी बातें हैं, उनकी जगह दूसरी बातें हो सकती थी, जो मभव थी, जो विकल्प थे,

जो आलटरनेटिव थे, बिल को वितरित करने के बाद उसी रूप में नहीं आ सकते। मैं अपनी ओर से कह सकता हूँ और हर राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से सोचने वाला व्यक्ति यह सोचेगा कि वह इस तरह की बात नहीं चाहता है कि जो हिन्दी भाषी नहीं हैं, उनको किसी तरह की अमुविधा हो और उन पर कोई चीज लादी जाय और कोई जबरदस्ती की जाय। मैं इस लादने और जबरदस्ती करने के हक में नहीं हूँ। मैं यह भी नहीं चाहूँगा कि जो अंग्रेजी नहीं चाहते हैं, उनके ऊपर अंग्रेजी लादी जाय। उसके लिए रास्ता निकल सकता है। लेकिन रास्ता यह नहीं था जो सरकारने आपनाया। मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ कि किसी के साथ पक्षपात नहीं हो। उस रोज भी था, आज भी हूँ। आज इस बिल को पार्लियामेंट के जिन मेम्बरो को कबूल करना पड़ेगा उनमें से बहुतों को जो परेशानी इस समय उसे कबूल करने में हो रही है, उसका अन्दाजा भी मैं लगा सकता हूँ।

उस समय कई विकल्प हो सकते थे। एक विकल्प उदारहण के रूप में आपके सामने कहूँ। आज आपने राज्यों को ही सामुहिक अधिकार नहीं दिया है, बल्कि प्रत्येक राज्य को अधिकार दिया है, इस दृष्टि से कि अहिन्दी भाषी लोगों को कोई दिक्कत न हो, उनकी मर्जी के वगैर हिन्दी में काम न हो और हिन्दी भाषा में काम आगे न बढे। इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से सविधान में सशोधन करने के लिए सिर्फ उपस्थित सदस्यों का बहुमत ही काफी नहीं होता, बल्कि कुल मेम्बरो का बहुमत काफी होता है। उसके अलावा जितने लोग उपस्थित होते हैं, उनका दो तिहाई सविधान में सशोधन करने के लिए चाहिये और सभी सविधान में परिवर्तन या सशोधन का निर्णय ले सकते हैं। उसी तरह भाषा के सवध में भी पार्लियामेंट के बहुमत से ही कोई निर्णय नहीं होगा, बल्कि अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्र के दो तिहाई पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर जो निर्णय लेंगे, वही निर्णय लागू होगा और उसी निर्णय पर ससद् की मुहर लगेगी। यह निर्णय हो सकता था लेकिन आज सम्भव नहीं है। (Interruption)

1 P.M.

भाषा के सम्बन्ध ने अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों के दो तिहाई मेम्बर जो चाहे वही किया जाय और भाषा की वही पालिसी सारे भारतवर्ष की हो, यह हो सकता था और मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों में अगर राष्ट्रीयता का दृष्टिकोण, समझ-दारी का दृष्टिकोण है, तो उनको यह कबूल करना चाहिये और इसको कबूल करने में ज्यादा दिक्कत नहीं होती। लेकिन आज आपने हर एक प्रांत को अधिकार दे कर यह जो सार्वदेशिक रूप हो सकता था उस रूप का खात्मा कर दिया है। मनुष्य परिस्थितियों का भी दास है। जब हम, आप और हर आदमी अपनी बंधी परिस्थिति में, एक सीमित सीमा में रहते हैं, उस समय जो हमारा दृष्टिकोण होता है और जब हम बड़ी पृष्ठभूमि में रहते हैं, तो दोनों में बड़ा फर्क होता है। यूँ कहने के लिये हम बराबर कसिस्टेंट रहते हैं, बराबर एक रूप रहते हैं, लेकिन आप यह समझिये कि जब हम यहां पार्लियामेंट में बैठते हैं, जब एक दूसरे के आपने सामने आते हैं, एक दूसरे की बातों को सुनने का मौका मिलता है, तो हम अपने विचारों में परिवर्तन करते हैं। एक दूसरे को समझने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन अलग अलग प्रांतों में बैठ कर खास कर भाषा के प्रश्न पर, जो भावना का प्रश्न हो गया है, जो बुद्धि का प्रश्न उतना नहीं रह गया है, क्या आप समझते हैं कि लोग किसी एक रास्ते पर पहुँच सकते हैं। भाषा के प्रश्न पर जो भी निर्णय हो, हमारा दृष्टिकोण यही है कि मैं यह नहीं चाहूँगा कि अहिन्दी भाषी प्रांतों के लोगों पर हिन्दी लादी जाय और जो अंग्रेजी नहीं चाहते हैं उन पर अंग्रेजी लादी जाय। इसके लिये जो भी कदम उठाया जाय, उसके मैं एक में हूँगा। लेकिन अभी आपने गलत कदम उठाया है। अभी आप छोड़ दीजिये भाषा का प्रश्न। राज्यों के बीच में और केन्द्र और राज्यों के बीच में आपस के व्यवहार की भाषा क्या होगी, यह हम आज निर्णय नहीं कर रहे हैं, इसका उल्लेख कास्टिट्यूशन में भी है कि यह अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी होगी। आप भाषा की बात भूल

जाइये, कल अगर कोई स्टेट यह प्रश्न उठाये कि हमारे लिये कोई विषय जो राज्य और केन्द्र के बीच का है, वह भाषा से भी अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है और उसके सम्बन्ध में पार्लियामेंट को या केन्द्रीय सरकार को निर्णय लेने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है, हमको निर्णय लेने का अधिकार है, हमारी सलाह के बगैर नहीं होगा, तो उस समय आप क्या करेंगे।

दूसरी बात यह है कि मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव अगर आना चाहिये था तो एक या दो वाक्यों का आना चाहिये था। अगर हमको, उन भाइयों को विश्वास दिलाया था जिनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है तो इसके लिये इतनी लम्बी चौड़ी और उलझी हुई चीज की बिल्कुल जरूरत नहीं थी दो वाक्यों में यह काम हो सकता था। अब इसमें आपने नई परिस्थितियाँ पैदा कर दी हैं। जो चीजें आप आपस के समझौते में, इन्फार्मल तरीके से, गवर्नमेंट की लेबिल पर और अपने आफिस में बैठ कर के आर्डर के जरिये में कर सकते थे, उन चीजों के लिये भी आज अपने पार्लियामेंट में विधेयक और प्रस्ताव पास करा कर आगे का रास्ता बन्द कर दिया है। जो लोग सद-भावना से काम करना चाहते हैं, जो लोग कुछ करना चाहते हैं, उनके लिये भी आपने द्वार बन्द कर दिया है, आगे के लिये रास्ता बन्द कर दिया है और एक में अनेकता का बीज आपने बो दिया है। जो केन्द्र का अधिकार है उसको आपने राज्यों को देकर आगे के लिये समझौते का द्वार बन्द कर दिया है। सब से बड़ी बुरी बात जो आपने की है वह यही है।

मेरे पास समय नहीं है, नहीं तो मैं सब बतलाता। गृह मंत्रालय की ओर से, राष्ट्रपति की ओर से और सरकार की ओर से, जो भिन्न भिन्न आज्ञाएँ जारी हुये हैं, परिपत्र जागे हुये हैं, सर्कुलर जारी हुये हैं, बिना उनका खयाल किये हुये आपने यह प्रस्ताव पेश कर दिया है। आपके प्रस्ताव के भीतर जो बातें कही गई हैं, वे सब एक दूसरे के साथ सघर्ष पैदा करती हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि अभी आपने जो प्रस्ताव

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह]

मैं बात कही है, उसका क्या असर होगा। मैं सर्व्युलर पढ़ कर आपका समय नहीं नष्ट करना चाहता। 27-8-61 को गृह-मंत्रालय का जो सर्व्युलर गया था, 21-4-62 को गृह-मंत्रालय का जो सर्व्युलर गया था, 19-8-64 को गृह-मंत्रालय का जो सर्व्युलर गया था, उसकी आज क्या परिस्थिति होगी। एक संघर्ष, एक विरोध आपके निर्णय के साथ यह होगा कि जो कुछ आपने अब तक किया, उसमें आपको पीछे जाना पड़ेगा। इसीलिये मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इस बिल में, इस प्रस्ताव में कोई सुधार नहीं किया जा सकता। ऐसी हालत में देश की एकता के नाम पर, राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर मैं आपसे यह अपील करूंगा कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को, इस विधेयक को वापस ले लीजिये और एक ऐसा वातावरण बनने दीजिये जिसमें हम आपस में मिल कर कुछ फैसला कर सकें।

मैं अभी भी भारतवर्ष के लोगों की सद्भावना में विश्वास करता हूँ, लेकिन उस सद्भावना के रास्ते में सबसे बड़ा रोड़ा जो है वह आपका यह बिल है, आपका यह प्रस्ताव है। इसी लिये जानबूझ कर के मैंने इसके लिये कोई संशोधन नहीं दिया, न मैंने प्रस्ताव पर कोई संशोधन दिया और न बिल पर संशोधन दिया। फिर भी मेरी अपील है, पता नहीं मेरी अपील का क्या असर होगा, पिछले छः महीनों से मैं इसके लिये चेष्टा करता रहा हूँ और बराबर नाकामियाब रहा हूँ, इसलिये मुझे आपसे यह कहना है कि आपने कई तरह की पेचीदगियाँ इसमें पैदा कर दी हैं। पता नहीं जो प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है, उसके अनुसार कैसे एक दफ्तर दूसरे दफ्तर से व्यवहार करेगा। मेरा खयाल था कि इस चीज़ को आप गवर्नमेंट तक रखते, इस चीज़ को लोगों में आपस की बातचीत तक रखते, अब जो निर्णय आपने पहले किये हैं और जो निर्णय आपने आज किये हैं, वे एक साथ कैसे काम करेंगे। केन्द्र में रहने वाले आपके दफ्तर और दूसरे प्रांतों में जो आपके दफ्तर हैं, वे अब आपस में कैसे व्यवहार करेंगे।

यह सब बातें जो आप गवर्नमेंटल लेविल पर कर सकते थे, जो आप सर्व्युलर के जरिये से कर सकते थे, जो लोगों में बातचीत कर के कर सकते थे, आज पार्लियामेंट के सामने रख कर के आपने पेचीदगियाँ पैदा कर दी हैं, संघर्ष पैदा कर दिया है। कल अगर हम और आप मिल कर कुछ करना भी चाहे, तो उसके लिये आपने रास्ता बन्द कर दिया है। इसी लिये देश की एकता के नाम पर मैं आपसे अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि इस विधेयक को आप वापस ले लीजिये और धर्म छः महीना उन लोगों को भी दे दीजिये जो चाहते हैं कि देश में एकता का वातावरण बने और एक मुलझा हुआ रास्ता निकल आये। इस बिल में जो ज़हर पैदा होगा, उसके सम्बन्ध में क्या कहूँ, मुझे खतरा इस बात का लगता है कि आपका जो विधेयक आया है, जो प्रस्ताव आया है, इस विधेयक और प्रस्ताव के चलते जैसे एक बार धर्म के नाम पर—मेरी आशंका मैं चाहता हूँ गलत साबित हो, मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि मेरी जो आशंका है वह निर्मूल साबित हो—लेकिन मुझे खतरा इस बात का लग रहा है कि आप ऐसी चीज़ का बीज बो रहे हैं कि जैसे एक बार धर्म के नाम पर देश का विभाजन हुआ, आज कहीं भाषा के नाम पर देश का विभाजन न हो। देश की एकता सबसे बड़ी है और इस एकता की रक्षा के लिये सद्भावना को फलने फूलने देने के लिये और देश के लोगों में एकता आने देने के लिये मेरा आपसे यह अनुरोध है कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को अभी वापस ले लें, आप इस विधेयक को अभी भी वापस ले लें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि जैसा अभी तक जो निवेदन किया गया उस पर सरकार ने ध्यान नहीं दिया है, वही रख नहीं रहेगा और फिर एक बार इस पर विचार कर इस विधेयक से और इस प्रस्ताव से जो ज़हर पैदा होने वाला है, उस ज़हर को रोकने के लिये इसको आप वापस लेंगे और इसमें कोई प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न आपके सामने नहीं होगा। मुझे यही निवेदन करना है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I may request Congress Members to take 10 minutes each. They are about 46 in number. Mr. Chinai.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) Madam, I will finish within 10 minutes.

Madam, in the name of language during the past fortnight a lot of undesirable and fantastic things have been happening within and outside the Parliament. The predominant feature is violence in words and deeds. I must say that this abundance of violence does not redound to any body's credit. This House itself has been a scene of unseemly acts. So also the Lok Sabha. Unconsidered and violent language has been used with utter recklessness. What is worse, is the proneness to play to the gallery, instead of deliberating dispassionately, with fitting dignity and decorum. A clash of ideas and honest differences of opinion is a different matter. That in fact provides the *raison d'être* of a parliamentary democratic life. We should welcome it. But all this fuming and frothing at the mouth is neither helpful nor desirable. It is coarse and vulgar. Parliamentary democracy is the most civilised and sophisticated form of Government. Any misuse of this form, particularly at the hands of the chosen representatives of the people, may hit at the very roots of what we stand for.

For the first time we witnessed responsible members of State Cabinet on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of maintaining law and order taking a hand in breaking law and order. And when under the law of the land they were served their just desserts, these honourable gentlemen started talking of their special privileges and prerogatives. It is a curious irony of the situation that the people, who day in and day out speak of removing vestiges of privileges here and there, are so self-conscious of their own privileges to break the law. I would have had no objection against such political acrobatics but for the due consequences on the mind of the youth of this country. Already a great deal of senseless damage and destruction has taken place. I do not really know what is going on in the minds of the people who are out to break, burn and destroy. Could it be possible that they imagine that in this way the country will become prosperous and united?

Another unfortunate aspect is that many of the State Governments seem to have forgotten their responsibility to give protection to citizens on the streets or in their homes. It is not much different from the days of the Muslim League Government in Bengal, when during riots the police did nothing.

And it is an easy step from shouting slogans and burning the Students' Union building in Delhi University to coaltarring a lady and trying to set fire to a newspaper office, *gheraoing* a woman M.P.'s house and besieging a veteran and respected leader like Jayaprakash Narain. Where will all this senseless orgy lead us to?

I know that language can be—or rather can be made—an emotive issue, but let us not forget that every incident in U.P., M.P., Delhi or Bihar is going to make people in the non-Hindi-speaking States more strongly convinced that it is imperative to resist and retaliate. Let us not forget what happened in Ceylon when Mr. Bandaranaike announced that Sinhala alone would be the official language of the country. Up to that moment every Tamil school was voluntarily teaching Sinhala, and every Tamil child was learning it. After Mr. Bandaranaike's announcement the Tamil schools reacted and said, "No more Sinhala." Mr. Bandaranaike had to retrace his steps. Again, till very recently, almost all the schools in Madras were teaching Hindi up to a standard. Other South Indian States are still doing so. I am however afraid that, if the Hindi-speaking areas persist with their agitational approach, other Southern States may well try to emulate the example of Madras. People all over India were trying to learn Hindi out of nationalism, today it is nationalism which leads them to resist Hindi. For all I know, they are still willing to learn Hindi, but if the Hindi enthusiasts do not change their tune, they may soon reject it altogether and out of hand.

The fundamental question therefore is whether we want Hindi as link language now, or we want to maintain the unity and integrity of India. All of us must ponder over the imperatives before us. We can then make our choice either to wait till the non-Hindi-speaking areas are willing and ready for it, or to pay the price for inducting Hindi straightway. A language, let me remind you, is not like drug which any body can take if suggested by a physician. It requires patience, perseverance, goodwill and, above all, a capacity to understand the other man's point of view. In my opinion this is what precisely the Official Languages Bill attempts to do. The Prime Minister and her Government deserve our warmest congratulations for introducing the measure to redeem the promises made by our two illustrious Prime Ministers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai]

Shastri: The whole object of the Bill, in my view, while accepting the primacy of Hindi is to remove any misapprehensions in non-Hindi-speaking areas that one linguistic group will not be allowed to impose its domination over the rest of the country. It is the result of painstaking consensus designed to prepare a way to a transition by which Hindi will become not the language of a privileged group which others are coerced into accepting for official purposes by force of legislation, but the common possession of all the people of the country. That is the only basis on which Hindi can really become the sole official language of the Indian Union. Meanwhile, English has to continue to exist side by side.

Unfortunately, the very limited purpose of an official language has been broadened into a wider issue because it has been forgotten that one thing common among all the languages of the world is that it is possible to talk nonsense in all of them. Few seem to worry that the need to translate every single document in English into Hindi will slow down the wheels of administration.

Obstructing the passage of the Bill will merely drive the contending parties back to their battle stations. If the champions of Hindi begin by burning copies of the Bill or holding noisy demonstrations, its opponents will not lag behind. Where will it end? Even under an authoritarian form of Government it is not easy to make people accept something which they do not like. Under a system of Government by consent it will be an utterly impossible and ruinous undertaking.

It is perfectly legitimate to hope that some day a national language will emerge to replace English. Champions of Hindi may even be right in thinking that the successor will be Hindi. Many countries do without English. India may also do so some day. It is the element of compulsion behind Hindi which has made Hindi less loved than it might have been. Those who really love Hindi will be wiser to work for it rather than against all other languages. The least they can do to remove fears and suspicions in the non-Hindi-speaking parts of the country is to allow unhindered passage to the Bill now before us.

Meanwhile, let us stop stonning of schools, public and private transport, the manhandling of citizens who do not conform to the views of the rowdies in the

streets, punishing of even those who agree but have not cared to fall in line, and the wanton destruction of property.

Thank you, Madam

श्री मुल्लि गोविन्द रेड्डी (मैसूर) : महोदया, जो कुछ बातें मैं इस विधेयक के ऊपर सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, वे हिन्दी में रखने का मेरा इरादा है। मैं अच्छी हिन्दी नहीं जानता हूँ क्योंकि मैं कभी भी हिन्दी नहीं पढ़ा, न शाला में, न अध्यापक से। जो कुछ मैं यहाँ पर कहता हूँ, वह सरल भाषा में कहना चाहता हूँ।

यह समस्या कठिन है, इसका परिहार भी बहुत कठिन है। इस समस्या ने विशाल भारत देश के भागों में बहुत ही गन्दा वातावरण पैदा किया है। मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि किसी भाषा को, चाहे वह हिन्दी हो, चाहे वह अंग्रेजी हो, चाहे वह उर्दू हो, द्वेष से देखा जाय। इस समस्या का विचार पूर्वक सहानुभूति से परिहार करना है। बाजार में पत्थर फेंक कर, गाड़ियों को जला कर, डाकघरों को जला कर और मान्य आदमियों का अवमान करके इस समस्या का फैसला नहीं हो सकता। जिन सदस्यों ने इस पर कहा है, उन्होंने सरकार पर आरोप लगाया है कि जो कुछ करना है वह सरकार ने नहीं किया। महोदया, सरकार कहा तक जा सकती है एक भाषा को लागू करने में। कानून से भाषा नहीं लागू कर सकते हैं। सरकार ने जो कुछ किया इससे ज्यादा कर सकती थी, यह मैं मानता हूँ, मगर हिन्दी प्रेमियों ने क्या किया है। वह हिन्दी प्रेमियों को सोचना है। दक्षिण भारत में जा कर किसी एक आदमी ने इसमें मदद किया। किसी एक आदमी ने दक्षिण भारत की समस्या क्या है, दिक्कत क्या है, इसका विचार किया। कोई नहीं किया। जो कुछ दक्षिण भारत में हिन्दी सीखने के लिये प्रयत्न हो रहा है, वह हिन्दी प्रेमियों के कारण नहीं।

श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी (आंध्र प्रदेश) : अब तक।

श्री मुल्लि गोविन्द रेड्डी : यह सोचना है हिन्दी प्रेमियों को।

हिन्दी प्रेमियों के मन में कुछ शका है। कल कहा गया कि दक्षिण भारतीयों को अंग्रेजी में मुहब्बत है, हिन्दी से द्वेष करते हैं और हिन्दी को सीखना नहीं चाहते और यह अंग्रेजी की मुहब्बत इसलिये पैदा हुई कि नौकरी मिले, नौकरी लेने के लिये अंग्रेजी में मुहब्बत वह लोग रखते हैं। इसको मैं स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सभी गलत बात है। दक्षिण भारत के लोगों ने हिन्दी को मान लिया है, उनको इसका ज्ञान है, क्योंकि इस देश में सारी जनता को समझने के लिये एक भाषा होनी है। मुझे अंग्रेजी से प्रेम नहीं है, किन्तु मैं जो चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी रहे वह आवश्यकता के लिये चाहता हूँ। डायर भी जो हिन्दी लोग हैं—मन्नीय राजनारायण जी यहाँ नहीं हैं अभी, वह रिपोर्ट को रपट बनाते हैं—उनका रेलवे को रेलवे ही कहना है, मोटर को मोटर ही कहना है, सड़किल को साइकिल ही कहना है। कठलगोटी की बात कभी भी जारी नहीं हो सकती। आज हम सब लोग अंग्रेजी हटाने के लिये कहें भी तो अंग्रेजी नहीं जा सकती है और हिन्दी उसकी जगह नहीं ले सकती है, यह बात उनको समझना है। अफसोस की बात है कि उन्होंने दक्षिण भारत के सच्चे त्याग को नहीं समझा है। दो प्राइम मिनिस्ट्रो ने जो आश्वासन दिया है वह सिर्फ दक्षिण भारतीयों के हितों के लिये नहीं दिया है। आज से बहुत समय तक अंग्रेजी की आवश्यकता है। इस विधेयक में उसको पूरा नहीं रख सकते। जो प्राइम मिनिस्ट्रो ने आश्वासन दिया है वह आश्वासन यह था कि हिन्दी ही एक भाषा नहीं रख सकते हैं, जिस समय तक अहिन्दी राज्यों के लोग अंग्रेजी भाषा को रखना चाहते हैं तब तक अंग्रेजी भाषा रहनी चाहिये, द्विभाषा को चालू रखने के लिये आश्वासन दिया, मगर इस विधेयक ने क्या किया कि उस आश्वासन को नहीं माना। इस विधेयक से द्विभाषा नहीं जारी रहेगी, क्योंकि एक दफ्तर से दूसरे दफ्तर तक केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कागज-पत्र चलाने में अंग्रेजी कागज-पत्र का हिन्दी में अनुवाद होगा और हिन्दी कागज-पत्र का अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद

होगा, इसमें मैंने यह है कि दफ्तरों में हिन्दी का एक विभाग अलग है और अंग्रेजी का एक विभाग अलग है, इसमें मैंने यह है कि द्विभाषा जारी नहीं रहेगी। कई राज्यों में हिन्दी चल सकती है और कई राज्यों में शायद अंग्रेजी चल सकती है।

श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी : सिर्फ अंग्रेजी चलेगी।

श्री मुल्लिंग गोविन्द रेड्डी : निर्णय में एक तरफ़ीम अंगीकार किया है उस तरफ़ से और इससे हम जो लोग दक्षिण में आते हैं उनको, दक्षिण के लोगों को, हिन्दी सीखने के लिये कुछ आशा का अवसर ही नहीं है। पहले जो निर्णय थे उसके मुताबिक यह था कि बलपूर्वक हिन्दी का ज्ञान रहना चाहिये नौकरी चाहने वाले को और वह छोड़ दिया है हिन्दी प्रेमियों के बलात्कार से। मेरी समझ में जो पहले था वह अच्छा था।

महोदय, यह विधेयक अहिन्दी जनो के लिये लाया गया था, मगर इस निर्णय में हिन्दी की मदद के लिये कुछ न कुछ कलम रखी गई है। यह तो सोचने की बात है। जैसा कि माननीय गंगा शरण जी कह रहे थे, इस देश में विभाग होते हैं, यह चीज अच्छी नहीं। यह सभी हिन्दी के लोग माने हैं; क्योंकि दक्षिण भारतीय लोग बहुत जल्दी हिन्दी सीखने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, इसमें लिये जो कुछ मदद सरकार से होगी वह होगी, मगर हिन्दी प्रेमियों ने मदद मिलना है। तो इस विधेयक को जारी करने में मेरी समझ में दक्षिण भारतीयों का हित-साधन नहीं हो रहा है।

(Time bell rings)

मैं हिन्दी में बोलने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। हिन्दी बोलने में जरा धीरे बोलता हूँ, इसलिये समय ज्यादा लगता है।

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : After all, an effort at speaking in Hindi means some more time.

उप सभापति : बहुत अच्छी बात है। मैं भी कोशिश करूँगी।

श्री मुल्लिंग गोविन्द रेड्डी : भाषा का ऐसा है कि जैसे एक अचकन अभी पहिना और दूसरे क्षण में इसको निकाल दिया ऐसा नहीं होता है, भाषा सीखने में कई वर्ष लगते हैं और भाषा को छोड़ने में भी उतना ही वक्त लगता है, यह समझना है। अभी हम लोग हिन्दी सीखना चाहें, तो एक रात में हिन्दी नहीं सीख सकते हैं और हिन्दी के लोग भी अंग्रेजी छोड़ने का प्रयत्न करें भी तो भी वह एक दम से सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं। तो अंग्रेजी ही एक भाषा है जो दक्षिण भारतीय और उत्तर भारतीय समझते हैं, समझ सकते हैं और कल ठेगड़ी साहब कह रहे थे कि इस प्रश्न का सभी लोग एक सभा में, एक स्थान में बैठ कर हल निकालें, इसका निर्माण करें। तो यह निर्माण कैसे होगा, क्योंकि दक्षिण के लोग और उत्तर के लोग जब एक स्थान में बैठेंगे, तो अंग्रेजी में ही बातचीत होनी है नहीं तो हमें अनुवादको को रख कर बातचीत करना है। यह देश के गर्व की बात है क्या, मैं पूछता हूँ, जब इस देश में हम अंग्रेजी में एक दूसरे को समझ सकते हैं, एक दूसरे से बात कर सकते हैं, तब हम अनुवादको को रखें। हमको यह शोभनीय नहीं है। मद्रास के लोग दिल्ली में जायें, उत्तर प्रदेश में जायें, पंजाब में जायें, तो उनसे अंग्रेजी में लोग बोलें, वह उसको समझ सकते हैं। हम दक्षिण में जो लोग हैं वह हिन्दी नहीं समझ सकते हैं वैसे ही उत्तर के लोग मद्रास, आंध्र, मैसूर में जायें, तो वह समझ सकते हैं, अगर अंग्रेजी में बातचीत की तो। नहीं तो ऐसा होगा कि जैसे अमरीकन लोग इधर आते हैं, हिन्दी को जानने में उनको तकलीफ होती है, इसलिये अनुवादक साथ में रखते हैं जैसे कि हम लोग जब फ्रांस जाते हैं, स्विट्जरलैण्ड जाते हैं, तो उधर की बातों को समझने के लिये हम दूसरों की सहायता की अपेक्षा करते हैं। वैसे ही यहाँ होगा कि कोई बगल जायें, पंजाब जायें, तो एक अनुवादक लेकर जायगा नहीं तो हा मिनिस्टर त मिलनाड गय तो एक अनुवादक लेकर जायेंगे। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। इसलिये अंग्रेजी के लिये

कोई टाइम रखना नहीं चाहिये, देश की एकता के लिये हिन्दी प्रेमियों का यह कहना है कि अंग्रेजी को नहीं छोड़ना है। जब तक हिन्दी सारे देश में चालू नहीं होती है तब तक अंग्रेजी का सहाय्य लेना है। हमें अंग्रेजी शब्दों को भी हिन्दी में रखना चाहिये, हिन्दी में रखना आवश्यक है। और भाषा न क्या पाप किया है।

मैं एक छोटा सा निर्देशन, सादा निर्देशन करके खत्म करूँगा। हमारे यहाँ ऐसा होता है कि शादी में कन्नड लोग तामिल देश से कन्या लेते हैं और वह इधर से ऐम करतें हैं, मगर तामिल स्त्री कन्नड नहीं जानती और कन्नड पुरुष तामिल नहीं जानता, मगर दोनों का एक जगह पे साथ साथ रहना है। मैं अपने अनुभव से देख रहा हूँ वह लोग एक दूसरे से बातचीत नहीं कर सकते। अगर ऐसा होगा तो ऐसा जमाना इधर आने के लिये प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे। इसलिये मैं हिन्दी प्रेमियों में प्रार्थना करूँगा, अंग्रेजी का द्वेष नहीं करेंगे जैसे हम हिन्दी का द्वेष नहीं कर रहे हैं। अंग्रेजी हमको जब तक सहायक होती है तब तक अंग्रेजी में रखना है। माननीय मंत्री जी से मैं विनती करूँगा कि जो बात पहली तरमीम में थी कि कपलसरी नालेज, हिन्दी की आवश्यकता नहीं है, ऐसा ही बिल लाता है। हमने जो तरमीम दिया है, उसको मान लीजिए।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like the Home Minister not to leave if he can. I would like him to listen to what I have to say.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we have passed through a very serious crisis in the history of our country and in the history of our Republic. This language issue is a matter which arouses passions throughout the world, it is not only here. When the Pakistan Government wanted to impose Urdu on East Bengal there was terrific trouble there. When I was in Belgium I saw one of the oldest Universities in the world—Louvain—split into two, French and Fleming, on the issue of language. I am not therefore surprised that people are agitated over language. But as I said we had a very serious crisis. The Lok Sabha has passed the Language Bill and I have no doubt in my mind it

will be passed here, whatever be the delays and the obstruction, because the majority of those in that House and those in this House will support the Bill and it will be passed. I particularly want to pay a tribute to the Home Minister; that is why I asked him to sit down. No one could have brought to bear on this problem a more judicious and calm mind than the mind he brought to bear on this problem. I have observed him listening to the Opposition with the greatest patience. His words have been soft, gentle and persuasive and he has piloted this Bill with consummate ability in the Lok Sabha and I am sure he will do the same thing in this House. He deserves our highest praise.

Having said that this has been passed in the other House and it is sure to be passed here, I clear the deck by saying I have an attitude of mind which is receptive to this Bill. I come from Tamil Nad and I know the situation in the Tamil country. I know Shri Annadurai and his mind on the matter and the mind of his Cabinet Ministers on this matter. Knowing that at one end and seeing the attitude of the advocates of Hindi at the other end of India, my mind is full of forebodings about the future. You call it—and I heard the Prime Minister also using the same word—a compromise. But the essence of a compromise is that it should be more or less acceptable to the contending parties. I am not sure we have been able to achieve the consent of the contending parties. I am glad Mr. Rajnarain is not here; perhaps I am sorry too he is away, because unless he is here the thunder and lightning of debate is not in the picture. Mr. Rajnarain thundered and there was counter-thunder from this lady sitting here, Shrimati Yashoda Reddy. It was unbelievable that this lady could have developed that courage and passion with which she spoke yesterday. I wish the Home Minister had heard her. She pulverized this Bill into atoms; she called it a fraud on the non-Hindi States. I came to the House yesterday and the day before with a kind of feeling that this Bill has been passed in the lower House and it will be passed here; and we should give a quietus to this controversy for at least a few years to come; and let none shout against each other. I thought that would be the attitude that would become possible but I am not now sure that having passed this Bill, you can say that we have given a quietus to the controversy. I am afraid there will be much trouble; I am afraid

there will be all kinds of situations which we will have to face. I am not suggesting that we can avoid that or should avoid that but have we given to this Bill and to this Resolution the utmost wisdom we are capable of? My friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, was speaking before me. I do not think he is a Hindi fanatic as my friend, Shri Rajnarain. He is a man of great understanding and culture and he expressed grave misgivings that if this Bill is passed, if we also pass it here, no one can go back imagining that we have resolved the controversy. On what he said we all must think further.

Now take a man like Sri C. Rajagopalachari. There was some expression some time in the House that he was a traitor to this country. If Rajagopalachari is a traitor to this country I am yet to know who is not a traitor to this country. I will not call Seth Govind Das a traitor either to this country. These are the two extremes. Both are great patriots who have done everything that they can for the freedom of this country. Let us not plunge into this controversy—calling people traitors and so on. But we must reckon with this that throughout South India, nay, all over India, Rajagopalachari holds an unequalled position intellectually and politically. The kind of praise that was given to him on his 90th birthday, perhaps no man in this country received in recent times. He says, withdraw this Bill. I am not sure whether it would be wise now to withdraw the Bill. Because if the Bill is withdrawn today, the situation in the country would become much worse than it is today. We have to choose between the lesser and the bigger evil. Government have brought forward this Bill and my plea is that we must now stand by this Bill for some years to come and face every problem, as it arises from time to time, with generosity, vision and understanding.

I have one concrete suggestion to make to the Home Minister. I asked Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha. "Did you not know that this kind of thing was coming through? Did you not discuss it with the concerned people?" And from what he said I find that a man like him was not taken fully into confidence. I am not particularly mentioning any individual's name, except that I have great regard for him. We have now to think of implementing this and I warn you that at every stage there will be difficulty in implementing it. Some of the points which Shrimati Yashoda Reddy mentioned yesterday were points which must make all of us think whether

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this can be implemented in the manner in which it appears it can be. I am making this concrete suggestion to the Home Minister putting my faith in him, in his ability, in his tact, in his capacity, never to raise his voice loud and shout at other people, but to deal with every issue from the point of view of the unity of this country. Anybody whoever he is, however big he is and whatever his proposal be, if it militates against the unity of this country, we must reject it and then face all the consequences. But if there are great patriots deeply perturbed over the issues, who want certain things to be reconsidered, we must be open in our minds. As I listened to Shrimati Yashoda Reddy and Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, I got a feeling that there are matters which still require further consideration. That is why I am making this suggestion to the Home Minister. "Appoint, as soon as you can, as soon as the Bill is passed by this House also, a very high level Consultative Committee or Implementation Committee—call it whatever you like—and I would love you to be the Chairman of that committee. As and when implementation takes place and difficulties arise, consult this high level, non-political language committee and be ready to accept changes and amendments for the smooth working of the law which we are now going to pass."

Great passions are being aroused in South India. I have letters from South India saying that the students have begun to go on the rampage in South India. The drama was first enacted in the North. It is now going to be enacted in the South. Anybody, whoever he is, who is an accessory to this kind of thing is a person with whom we must deal, in the sense that we shall have to face every consequence that will arise. We have to be firm, we have to be gentle, persuasive. Coming as I do from the South I can tell you that the passions there are terrific against this thing. Governments will rise and fall in Madras State on the issue whether you support or oppose Hindi. Why is Shri Kamaraj already raising his voice against the Bill and the Resolution? He is afraid of voters in the Madras State. If he does not say what he has said and goes back to the Madras State, he will find what the consequences are. So, let us face the facts and the realities. Anybody who says that Hindi will never at any time become the common language of India is talking nonsense. If not today, then tomorrow or the day

after tomorrow, Hindi has to become the link language of this country through voluntary acceptance. I have lived too long and worked too long with Mahatma Gandhi to repudiate that idea. If, on the other hand, somebody thinks that English can be wiped away with a wave of the hand, he is another fanatic with whom too we must deal. Therefore, between these rocks of difficulties, I wish a calm voyage for the ship of this legislation suitably amended when needed. Stand guard over it. Be ready to accept every amendment and change that becomes necessary, as we go on implementing it. Government have gone a certain way with courage. They will have to go further with greater courage and greater wisdom. Thank you.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE

(West Bengal) : Madam, I share the apprehensions expressed by my esteemed friend, Mr. Ramachandran, and I add that steps have to be taken immediately to see that the provisions contained in the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill are implemented. The steps that we contemplate will have to be firm steps. There is no room in my view for ambivalence on the part of the Government. They stand committed to the provisions of this Bill which, in essence, seeks to enshrine and embody the assurances solemnly given by two Prime Ministers, Nehru and Shastri. If you study the provisions of the Bill and the contents of the Resolution, that are being debated at the moment, you will perhaps succeed in picking holes. There are very many things in them which need not have found a place either in the Bill or in the Resolution. Nevertheless, they are justified, in view of the situation that developed in the country which witnessed all kinds of disturbances from all quarters. The students were on the rampage. There was the burning of this amending Bill in the other House. There was a marathon debate there extending over days. Outside the Houses of Parliament, there have been equally great demonstrations of anger and violence. It is well known that when passions are roused, it is difficult to cool them. Language is something more intimate than religion. An agnostic might deny the existence of God; an atheist might say that he can do without God, but a man, be he a firm believer in God or a denier of God, has to do with language. Therefore, language, is a thing which is susceptible of dangerous handling and this country has witnessed in the recent past the kind of treatment which

this Bill received at the hands of wide sections of the community.

Madam, I wish to emphasise one aspect and that is this. The Constitution makes it perfectly plain that Hindi will be the official language, but at the same time it provides that Parliament will have the power to extend the period for the use of English until the whole country is ready to accept Hindi. It is in pursuance of this provision that the amending Bill is before us. Leaving aside, for the moment, the details of the Bill, you have to concentrate upon its essential features and if you do that, you will at once come to the conclusion that the real purpose is to provide a period of training and probation to the whole of the country, so that it may evolve at no distant a date, one official language, without, an associate, which would be acceptable to all sections of the community. Passions which were raised lately in the country seem to suggest as if we will have to do without Hindi, as if we will have to do without English, and possibly it will become necessary for us to have an Indian Esperanto, a kind of artificial language devised for the use of Indians. Let us hope that when this Bill is passed into law, all sections of the community, people inhabiting the Hindi areas as well as those inhabiting areas in the South and the East, will be reconciled to the position that one day soon enough, sooner than later, we have to accept Hindi as our sole official language. But it must be remembered that it is essentially necessary to give the different parts of the country time to get ready to receive Hindi with open arms, and unless you are prepared to do that, you are likely to bring the country to the door of disaster. We know what we are heading for; and having known all that, it is essentially necessary for Members of Parliament just as for leaders of the community outside to put their heads together and try to tell the country firmly that Hindi has to come; but meanwhile people must be given time to be ready for Hindi.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : I want to know whether Hindi is not yet the official language of India. This I am prepared to concede that it is not the sole official language of India.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : Hindi is the official language of India but it is not the sole official language for the very good reason that all sections of the community are not prepared to

accept it. Perhaps we should at this stage recall what the Father of Indian Renaissance did in the year 1823. In 1813 the British Parliament was renewing the Charter of the East India Company. They set apart a sum of Rs. 1 lakh for the revival and promotion of literature and the introduction of a knowledge of science among Indians. The Committee itself was divided. Some of the members were dubbed orientalist; others were dubbed Anglicists. In 1823 Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote to Lord Amherst that Government should impart modern knowledge in sciences through English. You cannot deny true vision and perspective to Raja-Ram Mohan Roy.

If you wish to hustle English out of the country at a moment's notice, I say you will be committing the worst mistake. It is a window to knowledge, scientific and technological. We have to have a link language here for our own use in the country. We have to have an international link language; that must be English. Therefore, if you go on desperately trying to drive English out here and now, you will be doing the greatest disservice to the country. English has come to stay. The English language cannot be compared to foreign goods of which you can make a bonfire in the 'swadeshi' spirit. Today English is not merely the language of the English people. It is an international language which is a rich heritage of the entire human community. So, we need not be allergic to English at all. At the same time we must keep this in mind that we have to have our own language which is the official language, and that language is the Hindi language. If you go on trying to force Hindi down unwilling throats, you will be doing a great disservice to the country.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Nobody is doing that.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : You will bring about a situation which will go, I fear, completely out of control. You will find that brothers and sisters are flying at one another's throat. You find that people in the South are dissatisfied with the way in which Hindi is being tried to be forced down people's throats. You find similar sentiments in the East also. So, there should not be any hurry at all in making people ready to accept Hindi.

I would also ask you to consider whether it is right to depend too much upon spoon-feeding. Language is something like an

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organic growth. It has to grow from day to day, from year to year. You cannot make it a live thing overnight, and if you have hopes that you will succeed in doing that, I fear your hopes are bound to be belied. Madam, I wish to remind the House through you that Tamil has a rich literature. It is a heritage of which every Indian ought to be proud. Sanskrit is also a very rich heritage of which I dare say everyone of us here is proud. I will remind the House that the Bengali language with its strength and sweetness commands a unique position. But was there any official patronage? No. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore did not flourish under the spreading wings of official patrons. They brought the language to the eminent position which it now enjoys, under angry bureaucratic eyes. So, I say whatever be the type of spoonfeeding that you are trying, whatever help you propose to get from Government, it will not enable you to put Hindi on a firm footing. You must always remember that it is only the great writers who make the language great, vibrant and alive. Geoffrey Chaucer wrote in East Midland dialect, and that dialect came to be recognised as the language of literature of the English people. Therefore, it is no use saying that Government has to do this, Government has to do that. In order that Hindi might live and flourish you have to see that people are attracted to Hindi, that Hindi is given a reasonable time to grow. That being so you must wait. Hindi, I say, has to wait in the wings until it attains maturity. Therefore, I say, Madam, that there need be no hurry to force the pace of Hindi; there need be no misconception either. We are quite clear in our mind that Hindi is the official language, we have all to learn it, but there need be no anxiety on our part to drive English out. The cry of "अंग्रेजी हटाओ" is there. Let the spirit of the crusader not appear there. Let us allow the language to grow. We hope some day soon enough, sooner than later, Hindi will branch out into a beautiful tree and that the blossoms it will bear will make all of us proud.

2 P.M.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat) : Madam, in the first place I would like to apologise to the House and to the Chair because I was not present when called upon yesterday. I was attending the Public Accounts Committee meeting. Madam, our best literature, a great heritage, about which the country can legitimately feel proud

is enshrined in Sanskrit. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, the two great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Shankar Bhashya, the Dvait Bhashya and the Advait Bhashya, the dramas of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, are all written in Sanskrit and they inspire our people even now. The lives of crores and crores of our people are still affected by this great heritage for which the country is legitimately proud. In the times of the Buddha it is said that he travelled throughout the country and preached his sermons through the local language which was Pali. At that time Pali and Prakrit were known to the people and the Buddha, therefore, preached his sermons through that language.

Coming to the recent past we find that during the Moghul period Persian was the official language, and during the British period English became the official language of this country. But if you take an objective view, we shall find that at no time this country of ours had one national language. We had our regional languages. Hindi was spoken in certain parts of the country. In spite of this we have seen that during the great freedom movement, when Gandhiji moved from one corner of the country to the other, he spoke in Hindi, and the meetings were attended by thousands of people. He went to the remotest corners of India, in the rural areas, in the villages, where he spoke to our people through Hindi. And he had his great impact because he could carry the entire nation with him into the freedom movement. What did he say? He said that Hindi, Hindustani in the Devangari script should be our national language; it should be our official language. But we have not yet tried to implement it.

Madam, we know that after getting independence when our leaders framed this Constitution, there was a sort of consensus that Hindi should be the official language, the national language. But unfortunately it was not acted upon and implemented at that very time. There were no fissiparous tendencies in those days. Nobody objected to this. But then a period of 15 years was laid down by which time Hindi could find its place and Hindi could replace English. But unfortunately for us, no sincere efforts were made during these 15 years to boost up Hindi, to enable it replace English.

Madam, I have been to the South, I went to Madras. Whenever I go to the South I make it a point to visit Hindi films. When I went to Madras to see the

Hindi films, the house was entirely full and nobody objected to it. As a matter of fact, our film industry has done a great service because Hindi films are seen and appreciated throughout the length and breadth of the country. Therefore, it is also necessary for our Hindi friends to appreciate that Hindi can prosper only if it is a simple language, a language which can be understood by all our people.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Exactly that is what we mean. It should be an easy, simple language that everybody should understand.

SHRI M. C. SHAH : I have heard that when there were no Railways in India pilgrims went from South to North, from East to West on foot. They had to spend months and months, perhaps years sometimes, and they had no difficulty whatsoever in any part of the country because they spoke simple Hindi which could be followed, which could be understood in any part of the country.

Madam, language should be a means to unite and not disrupt. Therefore, the national interest requires to preserve and maintain the national solidarity and the unity of the country. That should be our first purpose.

Language should be a means to encourage the unity and the solidarity of the country. It should not be a means to disrupt the unity and divide the country.

I remember in the South the Hindi Prachar Sabha used to do wonderful work and many people in Madras, in Mysore, in Andhra Pradesh used to learn Hindi because of the efforts made by the Hindi Prachar Sabha. But effort to promote Hindi succeeded under persuasion and not by force. I come from Gujarat, a non-Hindi speaking State. In my State Hindi is taught in all the secondary schools and even in colleges, and there is no opposition whatsoever. U.P., Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Delhi have Hindi as State language. Gujarat, Maharashtra, Kashmir and the Centre do not oppose Hindi to be accepted as the official language of the country. Nagaland has accepted English as its official language, while the Southern States have no objection to continue English for an indefinite period.

Out of the 73 Universities in the country, 35 Universities impart education in the different Indian languages, and 17 of

them have adopted Hindi as their medium of instruction. To allay the fears of our friends in the South our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and his successor, Shri Shastriji, gave some assurances that Hindi will not be forced upon the Southern States. This Bill is intended to give statutory recognition to those assurances given by our leaders to our people in the South.

In the united India and a democratic administration meant to serve nearly 50 crores of people, the official language or the national language could only be an Indian language and not English. And if we look objectively we find that Hindi is spoken by a great majority of our people. Therefore, under these circumstances, Hindi is the only language which can become the official or the national language of our country.

But, Madam, when we are discussing this language issue, we have to be very careful to see that we carry generally most of our people with us. The objections to Hindi from our friends in the South we should try to understand and to appreciate. It is no use brushing aside the views of our Southern people and saying that Hindi shall be or should be made the official language here and now. They are all patriotic people. They have equal interest in the welfare of the country as we have. Therefore, in such matters we have to be very careful. We should try our best to see that we carry them with us in the forward march in introducing Hindi in our country. Madam, if you want our democracy to succeed, discussions, persuasions and adjustments are very necessary. We cannot insist one view and force it on the others. We should try to meet the others viewpoint and we should try to appreciate it. Therefore, in running a democracy, compromise and adjustment are very essential. As a matter of fact, this Bill represents a compromise between the various views held throughout the country and I personally feel that this is the best solution which, under the present circumstances, could be evolved and the Bill represents that idea of meeting the viewpoints of the various sections of our people to a possible extent. It is a historical accident that we have learnt English, but as a matter of fact, by learning English we have not lost but we have gained. By the use of the English language, we have been able to see how the world progresses on and the progress in the world at large in science and technology. Therefore, we should

[Shri M. C. Shah]

utilise the knowledge of English for better purposes and as a link with the outside world. English has, therefore, to stay. We cannot do away with English. For international purposes and for gaining knowledge in science and technology, India has to continue to have this English language. I, therefore, feel that in a matter of this delicate nature, it is the duty of the representatives of the people, the Members of Parliament, to consider all these aspects in a very objective manner, with a desire to carry the great majority of our people with us. This Bill, I feel, fulfils all these objectives.

Then, Madam, I do not have authentic figures regarding the amount spent by our Government for the spread of Hindi and the other Indian languages in 1966-67 and 1967-68. According to the figures that I have got, an amount of Rs. 90.64 lakhs was spent in the year 1966-67 for Hindi and Rs. 1,36,49,000 in the year 1967-68. For the other Indian languages, a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs only was spent in 1966-67 and I am told only Rs. 6 lakhs was spent in 1967-68. I wish the Government would reconsider this matter. We are proclaiming from the house tops that we want to develop the regional languages. If this is the amount that is spared for the development of the regional languages, I am afraid we are not doing justice. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to provide necessary funds for the development of the regional languages. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. L. N. Das. You wanted only five minutes.

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि समय न रहते हुये भी मुझे आपने थोड़ा सा समय दिया। मैं वैसे बोलने के लिये तो प्रायः बहुत ज्यादा उत्सुक नहीं रहा करता हूँ परन्तु कल जब मैंने इस विधेयक पर प्रथम सम्माननीय श्री सीतलवाड जी से और फिर सम्माननीय श्री चागला जी से भाषण सुना,—इन दोनों को मैं बहुत आदर की दृष्टि से देखता हूँ, यो दोनों आज अंग्रेजी के माने हुये महान विद्वानों में से हैं,—तो कुछ बोलने की उत्सुकता हुई। चूँकि मुझे बहुत थोड़ा समय दिया गया है इसलिये थोड़े समय में आदरणीय सीतलवाड जी की बातों के बारे में दो चार बातें जरूर कहनी है क्योंकि मुझे

वह बातें बहुत चुभीं और जिसके कारण मेरी भी ऐसी इच्छा हुई कि मैं भी ऐसे मौके पर अपने कुछ विचार दो चार शब्दों में व्यक्त करूँ।

सारांश मैं यह था कि आदरणीय सीतलवाड जी ने अपने भाषण में यही कहा कि अंग्रेजी ही है जिसके कारण भारतवर्ष आजाद हुआ। आजादी का कारण वह है, जितना आन्दोलन हुआ और जो सारी चीजें हुई वह सब चीजें नहीं, मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब हो रहा था कि ऐसे एक महान व्यक्ति आदरणीय सीतलवाड सरीखे ने सब चीजों को छोड़ कर इसको माध्यम बनाया कि अंग्रेजी ही एक ऐसा कारण हुआ जिसके कारण भारतवर्ष आजाद हुआ। मेरा खयाल है कि सम्माननीय सीतलवाड जी और सम्माननीय चागला साहब ने सोचा नहीं। इनसे पहले भी जब कि आजादी की लड़ाई चल रही थी उस वक्त स्वर्गीय पूज्य पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, स्वर्गीय सी० आर० दास तथा प्रातः स्मरणीय पूज्य मालवीय जी भी थे जो कि अंग्रेजी के बहुत बड़े ज्ञाता थे और उसके साथ साथ देश के लिये उन्होंने त्याग और बलिदान भी किया था उनका क्या विचार था। आज इन महानुभावों को शायद हम खाली अंग्रेजी का एक बहुत बड़ा पंडित और विद्वान मानते हैं और वे माननीय हैं, किन्तु उन लोगों के पीछे एक बहुत बड़ा त्याग और बलिदान था और उन्होंने क्या कहा था यह उन्हें सोचना है। स्वर्गीय सी० आर० दास, स्वर्गीय मोतीलाल नेहरू और प्रातः स्मरणीय पूज्य मालवीय जी आदि लोग भी अंग्रेजों से अंग्रेजी के जरिये सारी चीजें कहीं लेकिन महात्मा गांधी जी के सामने उन्होंने कहा कि आजादी प्राप्त करना है तो महात्मा जी ने कहा कि वह ठिक है लेकिन क्या आप समझते हैं कि अंग्रेजी के पैर पकड़ कर के, अंग्रेजी के जरिये आजादी प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। अगर कर सकते हैं तो जरूर कीजिये, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। और उन्होंने स्वराज्य पार्टी कायम की और स्वराज्य पार्टी कायम कर के जो कुछ भी कर कसते थे उन्होंने किया लेकिन फिर उन्हें घूम फिर कर महात्मा गांधी जी के रास्ते पर आना पड़ा और उस रास्ते को उन्होंने

मान्यता दो। कल के बाद जब कि यह अंग्रेजी की बात हुई तो चार पांच मर्तवा मैंने सोचा और मुझे ऐसा लगा कि जिसका खाना उसका गाना, ऐसी एक कहावत है। हालांकि यह छोटे मुंह बड़ी बात होती है परन्तु कल जिस प्रकार के भाव इन महानुभावों द्वारा व्यक्त किये गये हैं उसके बाद तो मुझे यही कहना पड़ना है कि जिसका खाना उसका गाना, अंग्रेजी के द्वार ही आज इनका सब कुछ जो है वह है। मैं विशेष कुछ नहीं कहना चाहूंगा। अंग्रेजी का इतना गुणावाद और सारी चीजें थीं हालांकि माननीय सीतलवाड जी ने हिन्दी का नाम जरूर लिया, हिन्दी का नाम एक बार उन्होंने अपने भाषण में जरूर लिया, यही एक मनोवृत्ति है जिसके कारण हमारी जो राष्ट्रभाषा है उसकी यह आज स्थिति है। कल मैंने श्री राजनारायण जी का भाषण नहीं सुना, हो सकता है कि जो कुछ वे चारोंबतों में कहना चाहता हूं वह कह चुके हो या और कोई सम्मानित सदस्य कह चुके हों, परन्तु मैं थोड़ा सा यही कहूंगा कि यह विधेयक आपने स मने आया है और अभी बहुत सी शंकाएँ और सब चीजें व्यक्त की जा रही हैं परन्तु मेरा यह निवेदन है कि आपको राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की बातों का भी ख्याल रखना पड़ेगा कि उन्होंने अपने क्या विचार व्यक्त किये थे। मैं एक मिनट में वह पढ़ कर सुनाने देता हूं। श्री अनुसुइय प्रसन्न पठक को उत्तर देते हुये जो कुछ राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने लिखा था वह यह है :

“तुमको तो मालूम ही होगा कि मेरे प्रिय 18 कार्यो में हिन्दी का प्रचार भी एक है और मैंने माना है कि बिना राष्ट्रभाषा के भारत की स्वतंत्रता किसी काम की नहीं है . . . भारत भाषा के सम्बन्ध में गुलाम तो ज्यों का त्यों रहा है। अतएव मैं उसको पूर्ण स्वाधीन नहीं कहता हूं। मेरा मत है कि जब तक भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा अंग्रेजी बनी रहेगी, तब तक भारत गुलाम है। स्वाधीनता मिलने से पूर्व मेरी कल्पना थी कि राष्ट्रभाषा की संपत्ति होगी और उसी में राष्ट्र का कार्य होगा।”

इसी पत्र के अगले भाग में गांधी जी ने लिखा है :

“जो नेता गुण मेरी हां में हां मिलाते थे शासन की गद्दी पर बैठने के बाद ही वे मेरी इच्छा का अनादर करने लगे। तुम धैर्य रखो। होनी जब काम करने लगेगी तो एक दिन मैं करेगी। ये नेतागण ताकते रह जायेंगे। समझ भी न पायेंगे कि हो क्या गया। इसलिए तुम काम करते जाओ और लगन के साथ। तुम्हारा कर्तव्य है केवल कर्म करना, फल भगवान पर छोड़ दो। मैं तुम्हारे काम की सफलता की कामना करता हूं।”

श्री प्रतुल चन्द्र मिश्र (बिहार) : यह पत्र कौन तारीख का है ?

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह हजारों पत्रों में निकल चुका है। यह 17 तारीख दिसम्बर के 'आज' में भी निकला है। गांधी जी ने अनुसुइया पठक को यह पत्र लिखा है। तमाम जगह यह सिद्ध हो चुका है।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : तो इस वास्ते में यह सब कहता हूं। आज तो यह ठीक है कि अंग्रेजी के ज्यादातर विद्वान, महान पंडित पहले के जो हो चुके हैं और उन महान विद्वानों ने त्याग और तपश्चर्या की, जिनको आप समझिये भारतवर्ष की जनता में, के लोग थे परन्तु वे भी अंग्रेजी से पार नहीं पाए। मैं तो कल ऐसा सोचता था कि शायद आदरणीय सीतलवाड कहीं यह नहीं कहें कि भारतवर्ष ने बड़ी गलती की कि अंग्रेजों को यहां से जाने दिया। जब कि अंग्रेजों के प्रति उनकी सद्भावना और सारी चीजें रही तो मैं यह सोचता था कि कहीं ऐसा न कह बैठें कि अंग्रेज चले गये तो अंग्रेजों के साथ जितनी चीजें और आई वह भी चली जायें, लेकिन खैर ऐसा नहीं कहा। कायदे कानून सब चीजें यहां बनी हैं अंग्रेजों के जमाने में। (Time bell rings) अभी मेरे पूर्व दो वक्ता महशयो ने अच्छे तरीके से और अच्छे ढंग से कहा और बिल्कुल ठीक कहा। भाषाओं

[श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास]

के प्रति किसी को कोई शिकायत नहीं है। हर एक बराबर क्षेत्रीय भाषाएं रहेंगी, सब कुछ रहेंगी लेकिन राष्ट्रभाषा जो हिन्दी है वह होनी चाहिये। जैसा कि महात्मा गांधी जी ने चाहा है, वैसे ही राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी को मान लिया जाय। ऐसे बहुत से देश हैं जिन्होंने आजाद होते ही अपनी निज की भाषा को स्वीकार कर लिया और जैसा अभी पूर्ववक्ता महाशय ने कहा, बड़ी गलती हुई जो इतना समय लगाया गया उसी वक्त अगर यह चीज हो जाती तो शायद इतने सारे झगड़े और फसांद नहीं हो पाते।

अंत में मैं बस इतना ही कहूंगा :

‘जिसको न निज भाषा तथा निज देश का
अभिमान है
वह नर नहीं वह पशु निरा है और मृतक
समान है।’

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, language is an issue which rouses emotions. With language people's whole culture is bound up. In it are enshrined some of the noblest thoughts of a people through the ages. It is not surprising that in a multi-lingual State like India the question of language should be given us so much trouble.

What has pained me is the violent demonstrations for and against Hindi and particularly on the part of the younger generation on whom the responsibility ultimately for running this country rests.

The Bill and the Resolution we have to discuss have got to be viewed in a spirit of helpfulness and superiority. Even though I do not agree in everything that he said, I agree and congratulate Mr. Rajnarain on the sobriety he displayed in speaking on this question.

When we were framing the Constitution, we adopted Hindi as the official or link language for this country. We had accepted that language in the days of our national struggle as part of our freedom movement, and naturally there was much attachment to it. It is the most vitally spoken language in India and it was obvious that the Quit India Movement could not have accepted English as a link language for all times.

A tribute is however due to English for the work that it did in bringing intellectuals of the various parts of the country together. It also supplied to us statesmen, politicians, judges, administrators, scientists, businessmen, trade union leaders and freedom fighters for this country. But it has to be remembered that we are a multi-lingual state and to the building up of India not only Aryan but Dravidian and other cultures have contributed.

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

Even a small State like Switzerland has three or four official languages. Canada has two languages. In our Constitution regional languages have an equal claim with Hindi which cannot be ignored. Urdu too which is a language developed in the Camps of Delhi cannot be ignored. Nor could we forget that English is a great language which is necessary for our cultural, scientific development and the efficiency of our political and administrative systems which are based on democratic foundations and which give importance to what we call the rule of law. The rule of law will suffer if the knowledge of English goes down. It is therefore right that Jawaharlal Nehru, a far-sighted statesman as he was, and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, a statesman of hard common sense and reality should have given an assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people and in fact to all the States that Hindi shall not be imposed on the people of the States without their consent.

In fact a definite assurance, if you so like to put it, was given to the people of this House and non-Hindi speaking people to continue English and do their work in regional languages as now they chose to do so. It was not like a Polish veto but a veto based on faith in the capacity of our people to view questions from the larger angle of national unity.

Let me say frankly that much as I appreciate the feelings of the Hindi-speaking people, I am entirely with the people of Madras and other non-Hindi speaking regions in regard to their demand that Hindi should not be imposed on them. I think it wrong to view this question from the point of view of Hindi chauvinism. Hindi cannot and must not be imposed on any region until that region is prepared to accept it.

Therefore, we should be large-hearted enough to understand the feelings of the non-Hindi speaking regions of our country.

I am therefore bound to say that we have, in the Resolution which we are going to adopt for UPSC examinations and other examinations, given an edge to the Hindi regions over the South and Bengal

I agree with the three-language formula but even the three-language formula is not completely acceptable to the South or for that matter to other non-Hindi speaking areas. I do not think it is quite fair to Urdu either. I am therefore in favour of all those amendments which have been promoted to ensure that there should be equality among the various regional languages of the country. Hindi-speaking people should not get an advantage in a quasi-federation of delicate balances in securing administrative jobs and other jobs over the non-Hindi-speaking people.

I will not conceal from the House the fact that from the purely educational point of view I am alarmed at the fact that it will be possible for those Hindi-speaking people to enter the superior services with perhaps inadequate knowledge of English which I regard in the present state of our society as essential for the development of both the natural and social sciences, law, medicine, industry and so on. Our aim is to develop as a modern nation fit to compete on equal terms with the most advanced countries of the world.

In 1957 I was asked personally by that wise and sagacious statesman, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, whose memory I still cherish, to work as a member for the special recruitment board for the I A S and other Central Services. In asking me personally to take up this work, he told me something which I hope the House will forgive me for revealing now. He said "I am asking you to take up this work as I know you have experience of this kind of work and will do justice to it. I want you to remember that as I visualise the future, I am apprehensive that our political standards may go down, but I do not want our administrative standards to go down. Ensure in your selections that we continue to get first class men for our administrative services." Obviously, what he meant to convey was that it will be a calamity for this country if the standards of our services go down.

In the Resolution proposed by Mr Chavan for our examination, knowledge of Hindi or English will be necessary. Hindi-speaking young men will have an advantage over those who come from non-Hind-speaking areas, for English is

as foreign to the people of the South and Bengal as to the people of the North.

What I apprehend is that educational standards, which have gone down very much in recent years, will go down further, and it may be that we shall not be able, in many cases, to have in our services persons of a liberal education equipped with the scientific knowledge of the world. We have to compete with the advanced countries of the world and so we should ensure that we get for our services persons of the highest quality.

I see no reason why Tamil, which is one of the old languages with a rich literature going back to thousands of years, Telugu, or Bengali—to mention only a few—the Bengali which has provided inspiration for our Hindi writers, should have a position which is less than that of Hindi. Why should the people of non-Hindi areas be placed in a position of greater disadvantage than those residing in Hindi areas? This is not the way to maintain national unity. This is not the method whereby we shall be able to achieve national integration in a country which cannot be governed on unitary principle and which will have to accept federalism as the principal feature of the Constitution.

I cannot therefore honestly say that I am happy with all that is happening. I attach the greatest importance to national unity and integrity. I am proud of the fact that we have acquired knowledge of foreign tongue, knowledge knows no frontiers. I do not think that the compromise solution which we have accepted will solve our problems. It may do so temporarily, but temporary solutions cannot be permanent solutions. I would be untrue to myself and to the faith which I have nourished in the greatness of our country if I were not to give expression to my feelings on this question.

I know that a man's best creative efforts can only be made in his mother tongue. But I also know that our mother tongues require further stimulus and inspiration from foreign sources at this stage of our development. Frankly, while appreciating the feelings of those who like to stick to Hindi as the sole language, I would plead with my friends both of the North and the South for a rational approach to the question of the retention of English for the higher service examinations.

I know that this is a measure which was perhaps inevitable in the circumstances in which we find ourselves, but I think

[Shri P. N. Sapru]

that it is still possible for us to explore avenues of settlement with the people of the South and with the people of the non-Hindi-speaking areas. I had an interview with Mr. Manoharan on this question, which heartened me. I do not think that the people of the North will be unreasonable and I know that it is important for us to have simple Hindi, and I would like that simple Hindi to be drawn and to emanate from all composite sources.

AN HON. MEMBER : It says so in the Constitution.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : And in doing so we should not forget the contributions which were made in this part of the country at all events, by Urdu and Persian and Arabic. Those are languages which have contributed to the main stream of Indian culture.

I was very much impressed with the speech of my friend, Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha, and I would like to say once again that in his speech on this Resolution Mr. Rajnarain has shown a sense of response which I greatly appreciate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. B. K. P. Sinha.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : I do not propose to speak on this, Mr. Vice-Chairman. We come from Hindi regions and we are Hindi chauvanists, Hindi imperialists. The roles have changed. Those who all their life worked under the Britishers are the patriots of today. We who fought for the nation are imperialists and disruptors of the nation, and our voice is not the voice of reason. Therefore it is no use our intervening in the debate. Let those who think they bring a positive, inpepuende mentversal appoach to the problems only speak for the Hindi areas.

श्री श्रीकृष्ण दत्त पालीवाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

श्रीमन्, राजभाषा विधेयक पर अब तक जितना वादविवाद हो चुका है उसको देखते हुये मैं केवल मूल समस्या पर अपने विचार प्रगट करूंगा। मूल समस्या को अच्छी तरह से समझने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि इस प्रश्न के इतिहास की ओर मैं सदन के माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान दिलाऊँ। इस समस्या के इतिहास से हमें तीन मुख्य बातें मालूम पड़ती हैं। पहली बात यह है कि हिन्दी

को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाये जाने का सवाल कोई नया सवाल नहीं है। वह बहुत पुराना सवाल है। कम से कम राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में उतना पुराना है जितना कि महात्मा गांधी का कांग्रेस में प्रवेश है और उसके साथ ही व्यवहारिक राजनीति में उसका प्रवेश हो जाता है। महात्मा गांधी के बाद दूसरी बात मुझे जो कहनी है वह यह है कि हिन्दी को राजभाषा या राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने का सवाल हिन्दी भाषाभाषियों की ओर से नहीं उठाया गया। यह प्रश्न अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों के महापुरुषों की ओर से उठाया गया है।

धार्मिक, सामाजिक और साहित्यिक जगत में अगर हम जायें तो माननीय केशव चन्द्र सेन बंगाल के ऐसे हुये हैं जिन्होंने हिन्दी का पक्ष लिया। फिर स्वामी दयानन्द ने धार्मिक और सामाजिक क्षेत्र में हिन्दी भाषा होने की बात कही। साहित्यिक क्षेत्र में जाये तो बंकिम बाबू हैं जिन का नाम अभी अभी लिया गया। उन्होंने भी यही कहा था कि हिन्दी ही भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है। राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में महात्मा गांधी ने आज से 47 वर्ष पहले 1920 में ही कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में यह कहा था अपने अहिन्दी भाषी भाइयों से कि मैं केवल साल भर का समय आप को देता हूँ और साल भर बाद आप अंग्रेजी में नहीं बोलेंगे, हिन्दी में ही बोलेंगे। यह कहा जाता है कि हमें हिन्दी सीखने का समय नहीं दिया गया। समय तो इतना दिया गया है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने जो समय एक साल का दिया था उस समय को 46 साल हो गये हैं। 46 साल दिये गये हैं और किसी के लिये भी 46 साल का काफी समय है कोई भाषा समझने के लिये।

इसके बाद जितने अहिन्दी प्रदेशों के नेता थे जैसे देशबन्धु गुप्ता, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस बंगाल के, महात्मा गांधी गुजरात के, लोकमान्य तिलक महाराष्ट्र के, लाला लाजपत राय पंजाब के और मद्रास के चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचारी तक इस बात के पक्ष में थे स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के समय कि हिन्दी ही भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा हो। इतना ही नहीं 1947 में जब पहली बार राजा जी मद्रास के

मुख्य मंत्री बने थे तब उन्होंने मद्रास में हिन्दी पढ़ाना कानूनन लाजिमी कर दिया था। उन्होंने वहां हिन्दी पढ़ाई थी और विरोध करने पर उन्होंने लोगों को जेल भी भेजा था। तो यह बात हिन्दी प्रेमियों की तरफ से, हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों की तरफ से नहीं उठाई गई है, यह उठाई गई है अहिन्दी भाषा भाषियों की तरफसे।

जहां तक यह कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी भाषी जो हैं वे हिन्दी दूसरों पर लादना चाहते हैं, थोप देना चाहते हैं, हिन्दी का साम्राज्य चाहते हैं, यह मैं बड़े आदर के साथ कहूंगा कि यह कहना हिन्दी प्रदेश के लोगों के साथ घोर अन्याय है। सत्य बिल्कुल इसके विपरीत है। उस सत्य को अब हम राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में आ कर देखें। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि 1947 में विधान निर्मात्री समिति में जब यह सवाल उठा तो उस समय कांग्रेस पार्टी में सभी प्रदेशों के लोग थे, सभी प्रदेशों के प्रतिनिधि थे, सभी प्रदेशों के नेता थे और सब ने सर्वसम्मति से यह स्वीकार किया था कि हिन्दी भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा होनी चाहिये। उसका प्रारूप तैयार करने के लिये एक कमेटी बनाई गई थी और उसका मैं भी एक सदस्य था। उस कमेटी में हमारे लौहपुरुष सरदार पटेल ने यह सलाह दी थी कि अभी प्रारूप न बनाया जाय। लेकिन मेरी इस प्रार्थना पर कि प्रारूप तैयार कर लिया जाय, उसको अभी अमल में न लाया जाय, पेश न किया जाय विधान निर्मात्री समिति में, पत्रों में भी प्रकाशित न किया जाय, उस कमेटी द्वारा उस समय वह बना और उसका किसी ने कोई विरोध नहीं किया और यह नहीं कहा कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा न हो। उसके बाद जब विधान निर्मात्री समिति में फिर यह सवाल आया तब लगभग सर्वसम्मति से सब प्रदेशों के प्रतिनिधियों ने जो विधान निर्मात्री समिति में थे यह स्वीकार किया कि हिन्दी भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा या राजभाषा होनी चाहिये। तो नई बात यह है कि आज हिन्दी का विरोध किया जा रहा है।

अब मैं यह बता देना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी वालों ने अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों की भावनाओं का खयाल रखने के लिये सब कुछ किया है और वे पग पग

पर झुके हैं। यह कहना कि वह हिन्दी थोप देना चाहते हैं या हिन्दी का साम्राज्य कायम करना चाहते हैं, यह बिल्कुल गलत है।

SHRI BIRA KESARI DEO (Orissa) :
He is wrong.

श्री श्रीकृष्ण दत्त पालीवाल : मैं बताता हूं, जरा ध्यान से सुनिये। विधान निर्मात्री समिति में जब न्यूमेरिकल्स का सवाल आया कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर तब यह एक के बहुमत से पास हुआ था। लेकिन अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों की भावनाओं का आदर करने के लिये बहुमत होने पर भी उनकी यह बात मान ली गई कि अंग्रेजी न्यूमेरिकल्स रहें।

श्री बीर केशरी देव : इसी लिये शायद बिहार में जो उड़िया पढ़ाई जाती थी उसको बन्द कर दिया गया।

श्री श्रीकृष्ण दत्त पालीवाल : लेकिन वह हिन्दी वालों ने नहीं किया है।

तो मैं विधान निर्मात्री समिति की कार्रवाई बता रहा हूं। जब यह पास हुआ कि हिन्दी राजभाषा हो तब भी हिन्दी वालों ने यह बात मान ली थी कि अभी 15 वर्ष तक अंग्रेजी चले। जो 15 वर्ष दिये गये अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों को हिन्दी सीखने के लिये उसमें भी कुछ नहीं हुआ। अब उस संविधान के निर्णय के विरुद्ध जैसा कि राज नारायण जी कहते हैं इस विधेयक में अनिश्चित काल के लिये जब तक कि कोई एक भी अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेश इस चीज को स्वीकार न करे तब तक अंग्रेजी जारी रहने की बात कही गई है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रेमियों को, राष्ट्रीय एकता के प्रेमियों को इससे बहुत आघात पहुंचा है जो इस तरह की इस विधेयक में व्यवस्था की गई है। लेकिन मैं फिर भी यह कहता हूं कि इस समय भी हम अमृत की तरह यह जहर का प्याला पीने को तैयार हैं अगर हमारे जहर का प्याला पीने से हमारे अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों के लोगों में यह भावना आ जाय कि हम उनपर जबरदस्ती हिन्दी नहीं लादना चाहते हैं।

[श्री कृष्ण द न पालीवाल]

हमारा यह भी विश्वास है कि वह समय दूर नहीं है कि जब हमारे अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों के भाई भी इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा होनी चाहिये। मुझे तो डी० एम० के० से भी आशा है कि वे भी जल्दी इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे। डी० एम० के० की बुद्धिमत्ता और समझौते की भावना में मुझे पूरा विश्वास है क्योंकि हमने यह देख लिया है कि उन्होंने स्वतंत्र तमिलनाडु की मांग को छोड़ दिया है और मुझे आशा है कि यदि हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों की ओर से प्रदर्शन न हों, जबरदस्ती न की जाय, उनकी भावनाओं को हानि न पहुंचाई जाय तो डी० एम० के० के लोग भी थोड़े दिनों में यह स्वीकार कर लेंगे कि हिन्दी राजभाषा हो।

मुझे केवल इतना ही कहना है।

SHRI K. DAMODARAN (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I generally support this Bill. I would have been happier if this Bill had been presented to this House in its original form, if it had not been watered down by some of the amendments accepted in the other House. I hope necessary changes will be made in this House so that the real purpose of the Bill may be served. The purpose of the Bill was to implement Jawaharlal Nehru's promise that Hindi would not be imposed on non-Hindi-speaking people against their will and that they would be allowed to use English as a link language till they are prepared to switch over to Hindi. The spirit underlying this promise was to maintain the unity of India, not to perpetuate English as the official language but to persuade the non-Hindi-speaking people to learn Hindi without any compulsion whatsoever. That was the idea of Mahatma Gandhi and most of the other great leaders quoted by Mr. Rajnarain yesterday. Mr. Rajnarain also stated that he too was against compulsion. I welcome that statement of course but some of his amendments give the lie to his intentions. His amendments seek to replace English here and whether the non-Hindi-speaking people like it or not, whether India's unity is maintained or not.

SHRI RAJANARAIN : That is not my amendment.

SHRI K. DAMODARAN : I have read your amendments.

Sir, Kerala, from where I come, is not against Hindi. Thousands of Malayalees have learnt and are learning Hindi, not because we are afraid of a few fanatics in North India, but because we realise that it is necessary for the unity of the Indian people. Sir, they also learn English, not because they are slavish or as a friend said : जैसा खाना, वैसा गाना but because they do not identify patriotism with narrow chauvinism. Speaking for myself, I began to learn Hindi as far back as 1929 because by that time thanks to Mahatma Gandhi the study of Hindi had become a part of our national programme. Whenever I went to jail I used to become a Hindi teacher and with my limited knowledge of Hindi I used to teach others and I am proud to say that some of them who learnt Hindi from me are now renowned Hindi teachers in Kerala. There are thousands of Hindi teachers in Kerala and thousands study Hindi. There are perhaps more students learning Hindi in Kerala schools than perhaps in U. P. I admit that the number of Hindi-speaking people is more but those who read and write Hindi are certainly more in Kerala. In U. P. it is not more than 10 or 13 per cent, or at the most 15 per cent. Out of 100 persons, eightyfive do not know how to read and write Hindi in U. P. Yesterday Mr. Mariswamy was saying that Rs. 10 crores were spent in 10 years for the propagation of Hindi. I am not against more money being spent for the cause of Hindi, more than the money spent for Malayalam. More money should be spent for Hindi but it should be spent usefully. After spending Rs. 10 crores 85 per cent of the people are still illiterate. The energies of the Hindi fanatics could have been better utilised in going to their own areas and trying to remove this illiteracy which is a curse on our whole nation. Then they will also understand that the artificial Hindi for which they fight today is far removed from the simple Hindi spoken by their own people. Gandhiji wanted simple Hindi or Hindustani but you did not care for his advice. You are trying to transform Hindi into a Babu Hindi understood only by the upper middle classes and with which the common people of the Hindi-speaking areas have nothing in common and you want to impose it on us also. Sir, a brute majority can pass a Bill into an Act without any difficulty but no power will be able to impose it on an unwilling people. The attitude of the Hindi fanatics, the violence, the smearing campaign, the Angrezi Hatao Movement, the attack on South Indian schools, the forceful removal of number

plates of cars and signboards, etc., which we witnessed during the last few days have not furthered the cause of Hindi or that of the unity of the country. These activities have aroused suspicions and doubts in the minds of the people of the South, of the non-Hindi-speaking people. The fanatics have unleashed forces which have not only antagonised the non-Hindi-speaking people but threatened the unity of the Hindi-speaking areas itself. Don't forget that there are about 192 dialects in these Hindi-speaking areas. Some of them have already begun to develop into beautiful languages, some of them like Maithili, Rajasthani, etc. have already attained regional status and have been recognised as such. Maithili, for example, has been recognised by the Sahitya Academy. I am sure other languages also will follow. More and more people in the Hindi areas have begun to demand a place for their own regional languages. I do not know how you are going to solve his problem. We saw how you have been treating the demand of the Urdu-speaking people. Are you going to adopt the same attitude to Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani and other languages also or are you prepared to develop them and recognise their status? As for me, I am not afraid of thousand flowers or ten thousand flowers. They are necessary for the development even of Hindi. I do not agree with the view that no official or link language is necessary today, that all languages should have equal status and that the problem of the link language should be left to the future. I am for Hindi to be made into a link language but it must be done gradually without impairing the unity of India. We were told yesterday how England replaced French by English and my friend, Mr. Thengari, thought that English can similarly be replaced by Hindi, by a decision of our Parliament here. But fortunately or unfortunately, India is not England. India is a multi-national State. There are different nationalities, different languages, different cultures, different religions, customs, traditions, etc. The unity of India exists only in this diversity. Those who fail to see unity in diversity, those who stress only unity at the cost of diversity or only diversity at the cost of unity, both are doing a disservice to the cause of India. The unity of India can be maintained only by recognising the diversity of India, That means mutual tolerance, patience, a spirit of give and take, a spirit of accommodation; not smearing campaigns, not attacks on South Indian schools but it requires statesmanship not, madness, not

a long irritating tongue but a little brain in the head

Thank you.

3 P.M.

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the first place, let me make it clear that I am neither for nor against any language as such. Hindi especially is the language of my scripture and, therefore, special sanctity attaches to Hindi. So far as I am concerned, I am a scholar in Hindi also, besides other languages and, therefore, if I say anything about Hindi, I should not be misunderstood that I am against Hindi as a language. At the time of the Constitution-making, it was decided, if not unanimously, at least by a majority that Hindi shall be the language of the federal Government. That has happened during the last seventeen or eighteen years that the minds of people have been turned against Hindi. Something must have happened. It is not that people have become unpatriotic in the meantime. On the contrary, whenever there has been any assault from outside on this country, people have stood together, no matter to which region they belonged, no matter which language they spoke. They stood up against aggression from the North, South, East and West. At that time, of course, we saw that here is a nation working in unison against foreign aggression. Therefore, anybody who speaks here in favour of one language or another language as the federal language should not be dubbed as unpatriotic or a post-1947 patriot as one of the hon. gentlemen was good enough to remark. (Interruption). Please. I am going to analyse why is it that there is now a suspicion in the minds of people, a resistance to the so-called imposition of Hindi. Three things have happened. One is that Hindi has not evolved as an all-India language. It is a provincial language still and it is becoming more and more provincial. It is unfortunate, but it is there. The fact is that anybody who stands up in favour of Hindi comes from the Hindi area. Why is it that nobody from the non-Hindi-speaking area stands up unequivocally for Hindi today as he used to do twenty years ago. Something must have happened.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Yes, in Maharashtra.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: I am coming to Maharashtra. I am coming to Punjab first of all because we in the Punjab accep-

[Dr. Gopal Singh]

ted Hindi as the official language for the Union of India, but what happened ? The Punjabi-speaking Hindus, because they were Hindus, stood for Hindi and not for Punjabi. They disowned their mother-tongue, in favour of Hindi, and that brought about the division of Punjab. It was a very unfortunate divisor against which I stood and fought, but we could not resist this division because people's feelings against those who disowned their mother-tongue Punjabi in favour of Hindi in that region could not be contained and could not be suppressed. Riots occurred only recently in Bihar over the question of Urdu. Urdu is so much akin to Hindi that anybody who stood for Hindi must have also simultaneously stood for Urdu, but they did not stand for Urdu at all. Similarly, in the case of other languages, South Indian languages or the Bengali language, people from the Hindi region try to foist it with such indecent haste that people think that it is not merely a question of one language *versus* another. It is something more, something for worse. They call it linguistic imperialism and so on and so forth. We should go into the sentiments of other people also. We are a democracy.

I may give you an example of how democracy functions in a small country like Switzerland. There are three main federal languages, viz., Italian, French and German. The fourth was a language spoken by one per cent of the population, which is called Romanche. These people also stood up and pleaded with the Central Government to accord recognition to Romanche, which is spoken only by one per cent of the people, viz., 50,000 persons. What happened ? A plebiscite was conducted and 99.8 per cent of the Swiss people voted in favour of Romanche, the language only of one per cent of the people. It was accorded federal status. This is democracy. We are here talking in terms of majority and minority, in terms of the North *versus* the South, the South *versus* Bengal and Bengal *versus* Punjab. We are not talking in terms of one India. Speaking all the time in terms of one India, we work against India and, in fact, it is on account of the pressure that has been exercised on the Government, they have now compromised on their earlier stand and have brought forward a Resolution with a new change, which is devastating. I cannot visualise a department, part of which is functioning in Hindi and the other part is functioning in English. Mr. Rajnarain yesterday warned us and

warned us, I think, in good time. His warning is always very much in time. He warned us that the Hindi areas are not going to send any English translation along with their Hindi version of documents, etc. This is clearly a warning from a responsible Member because his Party is participating in several Governments, in Bihar, U.P., etc.

SHRI RAJNARAIN . You can have it in Tamil.

DR. GOPAL SINGH . I know what you will say. It is this type of attitude which is creating resistance. You are talking in terms of Hindi and manufacturing a type of language which is not my language and against which I build up resistance, even though I do not want to do it. It somehow happens and that natural resistance comes when you manufacture an unnatural thing. You have quoted the name of Mahatma Gandhi. I am also going to quote him with great reverence, because he never stood for Hindi as it is now understood. I may not be misunderstood. Writing after the partition of the country—and you, Sir, mark the words ‘after the partition of the country—in the “Harijan” dated January 11, 1948, he said

“Sanskritised Hindi is entirely artificial, while Hindustani is quite natural. In the same way, Persianised Urdu is artificial and unnatural. I find very little argument in favour of Hindi.”

Even if I were alone to say so, I am quite clear that, ultimately, neither the Sanskritised Hindi nor Persianised Urdu win the race. Hindustani alone can do so.

Only when we have given up our internal quarrels shall we forget these artificial controversies and will feel ashamed of having created them.”

(Interruptions.)

Should you not be ashamed, you, who are publishing your newspaper in English called “Mankind”? Should not the Jan Sangh be ashamed for having their paper “Organiser” in English ? Your Pratap

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इतन ही समझ पाय है, इतना ही कहना है ।

DR. GOPAL SINGH : मैंने सब समझा है ।
My misfortune as Kabir said is this :

जिन्हें कुछ जानिउ नहीं
तिन मुख नींद बिहाइ ।
हमंह जो बूझ बूझत
पूरी परी बलाइ ॥

Because I have understood you more I am against you more. If I had understood you less, I would be with you. I understand the very mentality of those working behind the imposition of Hindi. I am not against Hindi. It is the language of my scripture. But you have manufactured the language of a pedant, an artificial language, a language which is not spoken by anybody and you are taking the name of the masses in order to dupe them. The language of the masses is their mother-tongue. You cannot choose your mother, you cannot choose your mother-tongue. You cannot choose your family or parents. Similarly, the mother-tongue comes just naturally to you. For anybody who is conducting his business with the State, there is the mother-tongue. We have already decided that the medium of instruction at the university level will be the mother-tongue. The medium of communication between the citizen and the State will be the natural tongue of that region. Therefore, there is no difficulty about the masses. Do not quote masses here, because we are here talking about the language of the Central Government and the federal Government, *vis-a-vis* the other States and *vis-a-vis* one department and another. This is what we are discussing. We are not discussing what should be the language of an State. It will be the mother-tongue. We have already decided it. When you say that Hindi is the national language, does it mean that the other languages are anti-national ? Is Urdu anti-national ? Is Punjabi anti-national ? You have divided the country into North and South. What are you seeing today ? Today you have a new patriotism built up in you minds. We are for every language. If you are really honest, should not Bihar recognise Urdu, should not U.P. recognise Urdu ? In Rajasthan would you recognise Urdu ? When we were in favour of Urdu, you were cursing us, as if we were doing something unpatriotic.

श्री राजनारायण : कोई नहीं कहता । . . .

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप पंजाब से ही खुद शुरू करते, आप पंजाब

से ही शुरू कर सकते हैं कि राजभाषा उर्दू होगी ।

श्री राजनारायण : . . . यह संयुक्त विधायक दल ने मना है । बिहार में उर्दू को मना है ।

श्रीमती अनीस ख़िदवाई (उत्तर प्रदेश) : संयुक्त विधायक दल ने कहाँ माना, संयुक्त विधायक दल मजूर नहीं करा सका यू० पी० असेम्बली में ।

श्री राजनारायण : बीस साल तक कांग्रेस ने करा दिया ।

डा० गोपाल सिंह : यह तरीका गलत है । This is a very wrong way of imputing motives to the Congress. You yourselves were all the time saying that you would do this. You have not been able to do this. Only you have broken the heads of people.

Now we have decided that we shall have two languages, one English and the other Hindi, and it is not obligatory for any of the entrants to the Central Services to know both the languages. He can know either one or the other, that is, English or Hindi. It has been estimated only recently that it will cost Rs. 65 crores in the Central Government only for the translation work. I ask Members of Parliament here how many of you get the Hindi versions of your parliamentary papers every day, how many of you read them, how many of you have in your possession now at this time the Hindi versions, even those who are speaking for Hindi.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : I have got. I can speak for myself.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Say one or two out of the whole Parliament. This shows how much love all of us have for Hindi. It is not merely a question of translation, because if you make the translation of the Hindi version into English, who is going to certify as to the correctness of the translation ? You will also have somebody to certify it, and that gentleman must know two languages, and that gentleman will not be the official himself, so that somebody else will translate on behalf of somebody else to somebody else, and the work of the people will suffer. Therefore, if you have to have two languages, make it compulsory for

[Dr. Gopal Singh]

everybody to learn both Hindi and English, as Mr. Chagla has said. (*Interruption.*) You know how you are going to kill Tamil out of existence. This is all a political game . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN : You know how you are going to have English for ever.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : I am not wedded to any particular language. It has been said . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Dr. Gopal Singh is a learned man. He has translated many things. Therefore, let us hear him.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : I thank you for this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have got only a few minutes more.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : What I have said is that when you translate the Hindi version of a document into English, it will be somebody else who will certify as to the correctness of that translation. Meanwhile the work of the people will suffer. The people will be waiting for the result of their representations. You will in the meantime be arguing as to which is the correct translation to be sent to the person concerned. Therefore, if English and Hindi both are to continue, I am prepared to learn both. Everybody should be prepared to learn both languages in the interests of the nation. We are all discussing here in terms of the nation and not in terms of a particular region. If you want to maintain Hindi as a regional language you have won your point in this Bill, but no more. Please forgive me if I say so. But now what will happen is there will be a tussle in every Government office between the Hindi-knowing people, and the English-knowing people, and two nations will emerge out of it, and God forbid, if you try to impose either one language or the other on the other group, then a demand will arise that you should give opportunity to every Indian language, all the fifteen languages, to become federal languages.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : I have made that point.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Thank you very much. You also sometimes make such points that I sometimes wonder where the country is going to.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If all the fifteen become federal languages, what is the link ?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : He will be the link.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Dr. Gopal Singh, I do not want to interrupt you Mr. Vice Chairman, he has raised a point. Suppose all the languages are link languages, he is a scholar, therefore, I am asking. I choose Bengali as my link language. A Malayalee chooses Malayalam as his link language. Since all are on equal footing, how do I talk to a Malayalee ?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : That is what we are heading towards.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am glad you have clarified and made him realise it.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Mr. Rajnarain and many others have also talked of patriotism. When against the Moghuls or whatever was left of the Moghuls, Ranjit Singh fought and Shivaji fought, and they built their own empires, do you know the language of administration they chose to opt for ? Persian. Shivaji had Persian as court language and so had Ranjit Singh. Many representations were made to them that "there should be a change made to our own language; no longer are the imperialists or the Moghuls over us". But they said : "We have to conduct the administration first rather than choose which language we shall have". Similarly if anybody pleads here for the continuance of English for some time more or for a long time, he is not doing an unpatriotic act. He is only voicing not merely the sentiments of the South or of Bengal or of Punjab but only giving a sense of urgency to those people who do not understand that India is through this controversy on the threshold of being broken up into fragments.

श्री राजनारायण : शिवाजी ने औरंगजेब को संस्कृत में चिट्ठी लिखी और औरंगजेब ने शिवाजी को फारसी में लिखा, यह भी आप कृपा करके जान लें।

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Vivekananda preached the gospel of the Vedas through English, and that too beautiful English. If Maxmueller first brought into our ken the glory that is the Vedic culture through the English language, if Rabindranath

Tagore became famous all over Europe and all over the world through the translation into English of his Bengali verse, then certainly we cannot discard English. (*Interruption.*) Rabindranath Tagore never wrote the original in English. Gitanjali was not known outside as a document in Bengali. It was made known and famous through English translation.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौड़िया
(मध्य प्रदेश) : बाहर वाले जब क्रूर करते हैं तब कहीं आप अपने लोगों की क्रूर करते हैं।

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Mahatma Gandhi also employed this very language for the propagation of his ideals. Most of the institutions that we have are borrowed from England. It may be unfortunate, but our historic connection with England was such that we could not do anything else. Many people have said : Why don't you learn Russian, French, German, etc., instead of English ? It is because our connection all the time has been with England and not with any other nation. We have not accepted the Russian legal system, we have not accepted the French legal system or the Swiss legal system. We have accepted the British legal system. We have accepted the English institutions. The Parliament itself is the result of the influences which the British had upon us and our literatures have grown on account of our contact with England. Therefore, if we really want to progress as one nation, we have to take into account not merely the sentiments of the people of the South or of the North but of the people who want to keep this country integrated and united.

Thank you very much.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this chance to express myself. But I do not know whether to laugh or to cry over this heat and passion over this language problem which is being discussed here. Sir, language, after all, is only a means to bring people together, to understand each other. But while I heard, just before entering the House today, I was wondering whether the people living in Mars use this planet to send their lunatics, insane people. I was beginning to think that they have perhaps chosen this planet to send their lunatics; otherwise we would not be fighting over a question of language like this when we have

so many economic problems, no food, no clothing, and so many other things to be discussed. We are going on fighting amongst ourselves over the language problem and I have begun to feel that we all lack sense and that Mars is using this planet for sending their insane people.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : I am sure the hon. Member is a great exception.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : I am not an exception; otherwise I would not be here. Otherwise, at a time when there are so many burning problems we would not be fighting over small things. Our ideals are very high but our actions do not match our ideals at all.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If you go away to Mars, Mars will be depopulated.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : There is always a big gul between what we aim at and what we do. I have been listening to the great speeches by speakers from the North and the South, from those who love Hindi and those who love English. I love both Hindi as well as English, and what I concluded was that nobody has disagreed to accept Hindi as a national language. That was settled, and settled 20 years back. Why are we here now to fight ? That is what I cannot understand. But what I understand is this. We are here because of somebody's neglect to do some duty that they had to do.

From what I understood from my honourable colleagues is that twenty years back it was decided that Hindi should be developed into a language to be accepted as a national language. My first question to the Government : Have they developed Hindi as a national language ? If not, what right have we got to pass a Resolution and Bills to accept that language and to put it across ? We have no right. The first thing to be done is to develop the language into a national language, and secondly, to teach the language to the people of India. Have we taught the language to the people of India ? Both sides, the Hindi-speaking children and the non-Hindi speaking children understand our madness, and all of them think that we are not fit to be here, that we should leave this problem to their generations to be settled.

Sir, why are the South Indian children afraid ? They are only afraid because they have not been taught the language.

[Miss M. L. Mary Naidu]

They are not resisting to learn the language. What provision have we made to teach the language to them ? Are there any language books ? I ask the Central Government and the lovers of Hindi : What missionary work have you done to see that the whole country learns the language that you love so much ? Have you taken any trouble to see that all parts of the country have learned the language ? No.

Sir, we always criticise somebody. Though I am out of the way, I will give one example. We find all the time here questions being raised about Christian missionaries. Do they come to India because they have nothing to eat in their own country ? They come here, go to the remotest villages of different States, learn the language of the State and teach their religion. They work among the lepers and beggars and those whom we never approach.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : After all, our Hindi friends have given us Seth Govind Das.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : Let me tell you why they do that. There is one sentence in their religion. Somebody went to Heavens and Lord Christ said, "Come, I welcome you because you gave me clothes when I had none and you gave me food when I wanted it most." The man asked why he had so much love for him and what did he do to evince the Lord's love for him. The Lord said, "When you think of the lowest of my children on the earth, you have done it to me. Now go and rush to the places wherever there are the downtrodden and work there." But without understanding all this we criticise the missionaries and complain that they are converting all the people. We do not go and do what they do to prevent these conversions. Mr. Rajnarain is not here. I would request him to take these missionaries with him, go to all parts of the country, and teach the people Hindi. I am sure you will not meet any resistance. Ask the Government to give them sufficient funds, sufficient encouragement to teach the language in the schools.

When two years back the then Home Minister announced that they were going to switch over to Hindi, did he go to find out how much Hindi he had taught the people within 15 years ? He did not. Now what right has the Home Minister

to bring a Bill now saying that they would translate ? I beg all of you with folded hands not to waste one pie on these translations so long as there are people who have no homes, no food and no clothing. Spend the money on education. Spend the money on food production but not a pie on these silly things. This is really a silly thing. This work is going on. Let it go on. Spend all your money on education. After these children of the future generations are educated let them sit together and decide. Why are we wasting our energies ? Leave the language business to the scientists or whoever it is. It is for them to see and not for you, to pass laws and force it on them.

Sir, they are frightened because they think they will have no chance for them in services. In these days when people cannot get jobs, even this little chance is taken away from them. That is why they are frightened. That is why when you removed the English plates here, they remove the Hindi plates there. And where are you landing ? You are going to force yourself on the people who do not know Hindi. Do these Hindi people want to step into the shoes of the Britishers and become overlords ? Certainly not. Teach the language first. Make the national language first. Nobody will then say, "No." We do want a national language.

Sir, I have been a teacher myself for thirty years and I know what it means for a child to learn a language. Children learn through their own mother-tongue. You see, fifteen years or twenty years back everybody agreed with Nehruji and Gandhiji and everybody agreed to have Hindi as the national language. Nobody questioned them. Nobody said anything because it was spontaneous. (Interruptions.) But now language has something to do with jobs. But for Heaven's sake do not force Hindi down their throats. Language should not create dissension in the country. If there is dissension it is because they do not know the language. First, let our Jan Sangh friends or whoever they are take the trouble of teaching them Hindi as missionaries and then come back and pass the law. Until then do not spend one pie over translations. We will do the translations ourselves.

(Interruption by Shri V. M. Chordia.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please wind up. That will do.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : You are asking me to wind up. I have not yet begun. I request you to ask the Government to withdraw it; otherwise it would be creating a double Government, and as you know, we will be asking for another Parliament House in the centre of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You should finish. You have got only three minutes.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : Why was Mr. Rajnarain given so much time ? I come from South India and if a Hindi-wallah was given so much time, I too should be given some more time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I support you.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU : If we go to the Himalayas, we see a Himalayan India which is very different from the great central plain or the plateau of the South. Despite this great diversity and variety, we have come together. Two mighty civilizations called the Dravidian Civilization dating back to 5000 B.C. and the Civilization of the Aryan hordes who came across the North West Frontier of India, joined together and produced the basic civilization of the present India. If this had been a static civilization, it would have been dead long ago. But it changed itself from time to time, although basically it clung to its roots. The Sythians, the Huns, the Greeks, the Turks, the Afghans and the Moghuls came to India and affected us. However, so great was our capacity to absorb that we absorbed them all and made them Indians. But we resisted the British because they ruled us from their country which is far away and which is foreign to us. But why should we not absorb their language which brought the North and the South together to throw out their rule ? At least why should we not allow that language to continue for conducting our business while we develop the language we chose to be the national language and while our children master that language ? Marathi, Bengali, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu and Canarese are all rich languages and well developed. Kerala is a State almost cent per cent educated and literate. Why didn't we choose that language to be the national language ? It was because in the enthusiasm of our early days, for the sake of unity, we submitted ourselves to those great men like Mahatmaji who left everything and went from North to South and from East to

West, in order to bring the people together. Has Mr. Rajnarain gone to any part of India and asked the people there whether they would like to have Hindi and why they did not like to have Hindi ? You come with a political purpose and destroy the whole thing. So that is why we agreed to Hindi which is spoken by a large number of people in the North and thus it became part of our Constitution. Well, Hindi is a nice, soft and musical language. I always call Hindi a graceful language. But the fact remains that it needs building up. As I have already said, I request that it should be built up. I do not understand why there should be this indecent haste to switch over to Hindi. I say that the Government should be strong enough to resist this and understand the views of our boys. I request the Government to send for the boys of the North, South, East and West, who are going to be affected, and ask them for their views, and not these politicians, not these people who give them the votes. It is the children who are going to be affected. Take their votes, and ask them how long they would need to learn Hindi and when they would like to switch over to Hindi. Don't do it autocratically and get into troubles and have two Parliaments soon.

I really do not see how any law can force millions of non-Hindi people to learn Hindi in the atmosphere of compulsion, hatred, heat and passion. In the North, we witness so many Western fashions—lipsticks, sleeveless blouses, bobbed hair and fashionable woollen and terylene suits. These are all fashions of the West. We in the South do not have them. But we admire them and we appreciate them. But why can't you appreciate a language that brought us together and have it with us for sometime more ? Why do you say "English hatao" ?

I am told that 20 advocates of the Supreme Court in a joint statement have said that the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill has failed to reflect faithfully our late revered Prime Minister Nehru's assurances that Hindi would not be imposed on the non-Hindi-speaking people. The Chapter on Official Language in the Constitution, they said I quote—"is a cancer that will sooner or later wreck the health of India". Sir, the turn the problem has taken makes me fear that the wound is starting to be cancerous. Since cancer has no cure, if there are any real patriotic people who love the unity of the nation, they should take drastic steps to operate

[Miss M. L. Mary Naidu]

and save the nation from becoming parochial, narrow-minded, communal and caste-minded. Political integration alone cannot save us. Emotional integration is very necessary. Only emotional integration can save us from being swept away by momentary passions. We see disruptive forces at work in India. Some people are deliberately disruptive, others are unconsciously disruptive. They forget that India aims high and has never aimed low. If we are emotionally integrated, there would be no necessity for this Bill. But since the necessity arose and since the Bill is being passed, I give my support. But I request that if the three-language formula is really to be implemented, then add "Hindi, English or regional language" for the entrance examinations. This does not harm the Hindi-knowing people in any way but it goes a long way in giving security to others. But I do not know if I am asking for the right thing even in that because if the U.P.S.C. accepts all the 15 languages, it will be a sure way of dividing the country into 15 parts. So I demand that if the Government are following the Constitution, they should first develop the language and until the language is developed and until the future generation—the present student generation—learns the language, they need not waste money on the administration. Though I have much more to say, I obey you. Thank you.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मेरी एक प्रार्थना सुन लें। मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि कांग्रेस के दल के लोग जो इस विधेयक में नहीं हैं उनके साथ अन्याय यह हो रहा है कि उनको समय नहीं दिया जा रहा है जिस से वे अपने विचार इस पर रख सकें।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
महोदय मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने संशोधन दिया है कि यह विधेयक प्रवर समिति के सुपुर्द किया जाय उनको पहले बोलने का अवसर मिलना चाहिये था, लेकिन पता नहीं क्यों ऐसे लोगों का नाम अभी तक इनक्लूड नहीं किया गया। विशेष-रूप से जो इस विधेयक के विरोध में मत रखते हैं उनके नाम नहीं रखे गये हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, a serious statement has been made by an hon. Member of the Congress Party that those who have a different view from that of the Government, are not, even though they belong to the Congress Party, allowed to speak.

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : महोदय, ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी पार्टी के विह्वल यह चाहते हैं कि हम लोग कांग्रेस पार्टी को छोड़ कर के इस विधेयक का विरोध करें। अगर यही दृष्टिकोण है तो हम इसके लिये भी तैयार हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, please listen to me. This is a serious matter. Now an allegation has been made by an hon. Member in the House that those Congress Members who are opposed to the position of the Government in regard to the Bill are being suppressed. Their names are not included in the list. They are being steam-rollered...

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : Why do you worry about my friends on this side ? We will deal with them.

(Interruption.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I always stand for your right.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : It is none of your business.

(Interruption.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They are being suppressed. I may disagree with Mr. Shukla, but he should not be suppressed by you. Therefore, I stand for the vindication of his right. He is a Member of the House.

(Interruption.)

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सभा की प्रक्रिया नियमावली में यह नियम नहीं होना चाहिए कि पार्टी का विह्वल नाम दिया करे। बोलने वालों में जो अध्यक्ष की नजर कैच करे उसे बुलाया जाना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमेशा से हमारी पार्टी के विह्वल का एटीट्यूड ऐसा रहा है, न राष्ट्र-पति के अभिभाषण पर मुझे बोलने दिया गया, न बजट पर बोलने दिया गया। इसीलिए

मैंने इस बार अपना सशोधन दिया है और अब मैं यही करूंगा कि विधेयक पर सशोधन दिया करूंगा। पार्टी के विध्व की खुशामद करे तब बुलाए जाय, मैं ऐसा नहीं कर सकता।

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Sir, I entirely agree that no Member should be stopped from speaking or expressing his views or her views but I object to this one statement that the Congress Party as a Party or the Whip is suppressing the people who want to oppose the Bill. I must make it clear that there is nobody here who is against the Bill or who is going to oppose the Bill, but every member has got a right to express himself if he differs from certain aspects of the Bill. Therefore, it is not fair to make such statements as the hon. Member has done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : All right. Please sit down.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : एक निवेदन है। मुझे बोलने का मौका कब देगे ? आपकी आज्ञा न हो तो मैं चला जाऊँ। अगर आपकी आज्ञा नहीं होनी है तो मैं किसके लिए उठूँ।

وائس چیرمین (شہی اکبر علی خان) :
آپ کو موقعہ ملے گا - فہرست میں
کانگریس کے ۴۲ آدمی ہیں -

†[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आपको मौका मिलेगा। फेहरिस्त में कांग्रेस के 42 आदमी हैं।]

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : श्रीमान्, वदश की भी सीमा होती है, अब सीमा का उल्लघन हो रहा है।

श्री महाश्रीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : हम सत्याग्रह करेगे इस सदन में, हमने जिन्दगी लड़ाई में बिताई है ...

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, our views are well known. They have been expressed here and we have given amendments. (Interruptions.) I am prepared to hear the views with which

I violently disagree. Over a matter like this which is not a party matter let all the points of view be freely expressed. Now what the hon. Member has said—you may or may not agree—is that the Party is deliberately suppressing certain Members. (Interruption.) Shrimati Yashoda Reddy is confronting us with menaces. We want to be protected, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I will try to protect you and I will try to give my friends as early as possible the opportunity to speak.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to know one thing. There are two ways in which debates are regulated. One is that the whips of the Party give the names and indicate who are to speak. The other is that regardless of the indications of the whips the Chair regulates the debate. I have nothing to do with the Members who sit on the Opposition Benches. But so far as the Congress Party is concerned, I would like to know whether the list that has been given by the whips is being followed and followed in the order indicated or the Chair is picking and choosing Members, regardless of the order in which the names have been given. It is something which we would like to know. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I know that the ultimate right to decide is that of the Chairman or whoever presides. I know the discretion of the Chair is there. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you have been a Barrister and a lawyer and you know that if discretion is to be exercised by anybody or any organisation, that discretion is to be exercised according to certain norms and indiciously and not as one chooses.

(Interruption.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me tell you that the list that has been given is an internal informal arrangement between the Chair and the Members. The Chair is absolute in its discretion to call whomsoever it likes. Therefore, the concept of catching the eye comes. But if the list is there and it has to be followed 100 per cent., then the question of catching the eye should not have arisen. Therefore, I say you are free and whoever catches your eye, irrespective of the list, you can call him to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mrs. Shakuntala. Ten minutes only.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated) : Sir, I am a lover of languages and cannot help feeling that this Bill has created feelings of heat and passion. In French there is a saying that one possesses as many souls as the number of languages one knows. I consider it a folly to banish any language out of the land or even to think of it. I am not anti-any language. My mother-tongue Marathi, of course, I love and am proud of. Though both my parents had good command of the English language, I attended a Marathi-medium school and I myself put my daughter in the same school much to the surprise of many of my friends. My grand daughter also attended a Marathi medium Montessori school for eight months. Now, however, the little one is in Delhi as her parents work in Delhi and the question of her schooling has cropped up again. I wanted her to attend a Hindi-medium school as the only Marathi-medium school is too far away from their residence. However, my daughter assured me that the Hindi school in her neighbourhood was not as good as the Convent school and much to my sorrow my grand daughter is now learning her A, B, C, D. Not only do I believe that the *Shri Ganesha* of all education should be in the mother-tongue in India, but I also set a lot of store by giving a little smattering of Sanskrit to children in young age. My daughter has had that smattering and even my little grand-daughter loves the sound of *Subhashitas* and *Stotras* and can babble a few.

Again, Sir, after the bilingual State of Bombay was bifurcated into Maharashtra and Gujarat, in the Legislative Council of which I was then a member, I spoke only in Marathi. I apologise for having talked so much in the 1st person singular but it was only to indicate that I love Marathi, Hindi and Sanskrit.

But when I see this hate campaign against English, I feel distressed. There is no denying the fact that it is the English language which united us. Lokamanya Tilak himself said in 1920, "You must not forget that it is the connection of English and the education that it gave that have given rise to the ambitions that fill our hearts. It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefit not only in its civilised methods of administration, but also in bringing together the different nationalities and races of India so that a United Nation may grow together out of it in course of time."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy welcomed English before Lokamanya Tilak made his statement about English and requested that our countrymen be taught in that language. Twenty years of independence have helped the development of Hindi language. The very fact that a copy of the Bill in Hindi was not available to my friends on the right just showed how indifferent we are to the Hindi language, and I have often felt that this is the reason for the sort of doldrums in which Hindi finds itself today. For that I feel, Sir, that the Hindi advocates themselves are to blame. All our Prime Ministers, Sir, came from U. P. and I am told that all of them sent their children to English medium schools. It was a sorry state of affairs again that children of most of the higher-ups in the Hindi-speaking areas attend English medium schools. Why? If the protagonists of Hindi themselves had sat about running good Hindi schools as suggested by my friend, Miss Naidu, instead of starting this hate campaign against English, they would have furthered the cause of their language much better. I can even say that in my own State of Maharashtra people are taking greater pains to learn Hindi—Mr. Damodarn said about Kerala—than the people in the Hindi speaking States are doing themselves. In fact, even in the South, Sir, Hindi was making good progress, and I am told that in examinations the South Indians have often beaten the Hindiwalas at their own language and, Sir, if this Bill comes to pass with the provision that has been made that Hindi-speaking people need not learn English and people from non-Hindi-speaking States will have to learn English, I feel that it will be the people from the South who will stand to gain, and the people from the Hindi speaking States will stand to lose because they will know only one language whereas the others will know two. I always believe that you are richer if you know more of English, know as many languages as you can. No one hated Hindi a few years back. It was the shameful hurry in bringing in Hindi that created the furore in the South, that brought on the terrible orgy of destruction. And now I wonder if it is a kind of vendetta in the North, the orgy of destruction, against what happened few years back in the South. Imposition of any language will never help the language. Devotion, dedication and laborious efforts to develop a language can advance its growth. Not a thousand taboos on English will achieve the aim. Again one has to see that the growth of a language is simple and natural

not encumbered with lot of jaw-breaking, artificial and unintelligible words from Sanskrit, Persian or any other language. The world is progressing at a breakneck speed in the scientific and technological spheres and I strongly feel that we should accept that scientific terminology from English without tinkering with it at all. All the *Paribhasha Mandals* should be asked to leave science alone and deal, if they like, with other subjects. Raghuvir type of concoctions of words will entirely ruin the cause of any language and waste a lot of time and money.

The other morning I went to my C. G. H. S. dispensary and I saw a sign-board which read Panji Karan. I had to read its English equivalent to understand what it meant. It meant 'Registration.' Now what harm was there in adopting that simple word 'Registration' which every common man and woman understands as 'Registration' and leave it at that ?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHADARI : Does a common woman understand ?

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Yes, they do, better than 'Panji Karan'. Absolutely; you can carry out a survey if you like.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please hurry up.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : I am not even half way through.

Now I am afraid such verbal atrocities that have been coined in Hindi and even in Marathi, I can tell you, in my own State that has been done. They should be removed—the committing of such atrocities is only spoiling the cause of the language.

English is the language of science and its terminology is understood all over the world, and even if education in our country is to be imparted in regional languages, the scientific terminology should be adopted intact. Only then can a science student migrate from one region to another and an expert in science can communicate with another from another State. Fancy the technical terminology in medicine being different from one language to another. It will hamper communication between medical experts, and all progress will come to a standstill.

The other day I was most disturbed to read the news in a paper. Here I have it, Sir. It gives the heading "Language Row Stops Research Work" and writes this :

"The current language controversy has brought work in some of the National Research Institutes to a standstill. The dispute has taken a serious turn in the South where people have started sending their letters in regional languages. The sufferers mostly are the National Research Institutes, which have their wings in the South. For about last ten days, letters and reports from that region have started coming in Telugu, Tamil or Malayalam . . ."

I will not read it further because you are keeping on ringing the bell.

Now, Sir, while laying stress on the original scientific terminology I have another suggestion to make. Another reform needs to be conducted in our country, and that is the reform of adopting the English numerals. Although the system is different from ours, we have already accepted the system of weights and measures, a system which was not Indian, which was not native to our country, from somewhere else much to our advantage. I think we would gain a lot if we also adopted the system of numerals. I will tell you why I thought about it.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA (Gujarat) : It is in the Constitution.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Yes, it is there.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Then I shall pass over that point.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) : But see what that are doing in Delhi. They are writing in Hindi the numerals which is absolutely wrong and illegal.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Well, I think that should be stopped. That is exactly what I meant.

Sir, I have got to say a little more. Our country, as many speakers have said before me, is unique in its position, and as many people said, it is not one country, it is a conglomeration of several different languages, several different nationalities, several different regions and so on. English has so far managed to unite all these different parts of the country, and I think it should continue to do so. It is a language which will cement the oneness of our country.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Here I think we must register our dissent from the hon. Member who said that India consists of several nationalities. Certainly there are language groups, but there are no nationalities as such.

SHRIMATISHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : All right, I withdraw the word 'nationalities'.

Our finances are in the doldrums. And what are we trying to do? Do we want to bring about chaos? What are we working for? Do we really want to see the country go to ruin because of want of finance, because of want of this, that and the other? I think we are just going ahead without thinking. I feel, therefore, that English should be retained without specifying any time limit. As Dr. Gopal Singh said in, Switzerland there are three languages and they are getting along. They are very proud of all their languages. Why should not we ?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : There are four languages.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Only three official languages. Romansch is a national language, not an official language, in Switzerland. And I think with these two languages India would do very well. I will also agree that everybody who appears for the U.P.S.C. examinations should be obliged to learn both the languages instead of just one.

Thank you.

4 P. M.

I would still appeal to the Hindi protagonists to ponder over this matter and to try to win the willing cooperation of the non-Hindi people and not to try to force something on them. As I said, before this question arose there was not this ill-feeling regarding Hindi. This has come about only through their being dictatorial through their wanting to push something own the throat of others. That is what has ought about the present ill-feeling.

I have said that the English language has many words taken from the Indian languages. I can enumerate them...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No, no.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : All right. I won't do it. But before concluding I would like to say that

we should be careful before we run after something which we are not sure and here with your permission I shall recite a verse from the *Subhashitani* :

यः ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य अध्रुवम् परिसेवने ।
ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति अध्रुवम् नष्टमेव च ॥

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : After that beautiful verse you should sit down.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : I will just give the translation of it and then sit down. It means: He who gives up certainties for the sake of uncertainties loses the certainties and the uncertainties are already lost. Thank you.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : महोदय, इस भाषा विधेयक के विपक्ष में अपनी राय देना चाहता हूं और इस संबंध में अपना विचार व्यक्त कर रहा हूं। मैं इस विधेयक को काला कानून नहीं मानता लेकिन अपरिपक्व और अवांछनीय मानता हूं। मैं कुछ बातें बहुत स्पष्ट, निर्भय होकर आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं।

संविधान के स्वीकृत होने के बाद केन्द्रीय शासन ने, प्रादेशिक शासन ने, हिन्दी की उपेक्षा की है, अवहेलना की है इसलिये वह राष्ट्र भाषा का स्वरूप नहीं ले सकी और इस समय में भी केन्द्रीय शासन की जो गतिविधि है, उससे मुझे कोई आशा नहीं है बल्कि निराशा है। दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी भाषा लिख लैगुएज हो, आफिशल लैगुएज हो, या राष्ट्रभाषा हो, इसका स्वरूप न बनने की जिम्मेदारी अगर किसी एक व्यक्ति के ऊपर है, अगर किसी एक संस्था के ऊपर है तो वह देश के केन्द्रीय शासन के ऊपर है और उसमें भी सबसे ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी शिक्षा विभाग की है जिसने इसकी कमर तोड़ दी है और मृत्यु के करीब पहुंचा दिया है, . . .

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : और प्रांतीय शासन का नहीं है ?

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : आपकी आज्ञा से मैं प्रांतीय शासन को समान रूप से जिम्मेदार मानता हूं।

प्रश्न यह है कि क्या किया जाय? दम घुट रहा है, उत्तेजना है, असंतोष है। इसमें अगर आंदोलन न हो, इसमें अगर विग्रह न हो, इसमें अगर संकट की स्थिति उत्पन्न न हो, तो कापुष्पता है। होना चाहिये नैतिक रूप से यह उचित है, अनिवार्य है।

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं, भाषा के प्रश्न पर दक्षिण में और विशेषतः मद्रास प्रदेश में जो विग्रह हुआ और जो उपद्रव हुए, उसकी अहमियत को मैं समझता हूं और वह जिस तरफ हमको ले जाना है उसको भी हम समझते हैं। उसकी कोई प्रति-क्रिया उत्तर भारत में हिन्दी भाषाभाषियों में नहीं हुई है, इसको संयम के साथ हमने बर्दाश्त किया। आप नहीं बर्दाश्त कर पाते हैं।

यह भाषा विधेयक क्या है—संतुलन बनाने के लिये है, लोगों को संतुष्ट करने के लिये है? न इससे कोई संतुलन बन पाता है और न इससे कोई संतुष्ट हो पाता है। तो इस भाषा विधेयक से लाभ क्या है। भारतीय एकता का बड़ा उपदेश किया गया और खास तौर से जो नौजवान एवं बुजुर्ग हैं, जिन्होंने भारतीय एकता के लिये रक्त का एक बूंद भी नहीं बहाया, उन्होंने बड़ा उपदेश किया और सुनते सुनते तबीयत परेशान हो गई। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं : यह कौन सी भारतीय एकता है? मैं चार पांच प्वाइण्ट रखना चाहता हूं।

पहला प्वाइण्ट जम्मू और काश्मीर है, नगालैण्ड है और प्राहिबिटेड एरियाज़ हैं। उनके हम नागरिक नहीं हैं, वहां भूमि नहीं खरीद सकते, बस नहीं सकते, नौकरी नहीं कर सकते। वे आकर हमारे यहां बस सकते हैं। यह हमारी भारतीय नागरिकता है, भारतीय एकता है, जिसके लिये हमारा संविधान बनाया गया है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हम किसान हैं। जो राजवंश को सुविधा है और जो अधिकार है वह हमको नहीं है। यह कौन सी नागरिकता है, यह कौन सी भारतीयता है . . .

श्री राजनारायण : यह इंदिरा नागरिकता है।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : यह हिन्दी जो है यह करोड़ों जन मानस की भाषा है, गरीबों की भाषा है। इसी तरह से पन्द्रह भाषाएं जो हमारे संविधान में स्वीकृत हैं, वे जनता की भाषाएं हैं। मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे लोग सरकारी नौकरियों पर और दूसरे ओहदों पर काबिज हैं। उनकी भाषा अंग्रेजी है। यह कौन सी समानता है, जरा मुझे बताइये? अर्हतिश परिश्रम करते हैं, खेतों में काम करते हैं। हमारी भाषा हिन्दी है, हमारी भाषा तामिल है, हमारी भाषा कन्नड़ है, मराठी है, गुजराती है। हमारी भाषा अंग्रेजी नहीं है। लेकिन हम आफिस में आते हैं तो हमारी भाषा अंग्रेजी हो जाती है, हमारी पोशाक अंग्रेजी हो जाती है। यह कौन सी नागरिकता है, यह कौन सी एकता है, यह कौन सी भावात्मक एकता है, जरा मुझे बताइये?

भारतीय साहित्य अमर है। मैं अमरभारती का उपासक हूं। पंद्रह भाषाओं में भारत का साहित्य भरा पड़ा है और अदर्श पुरुष भी हैं। आपको कहीं दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है। भारत सरकार और प्रदेश शासन कृपया उनकी उन्नति के लिये पथ प्रदर्शन करें।

संस्कृत-भाषा जो है और संस्कृत वाङ्मय, यह हमारी संस्कृति की निधि है। इसकी उपेक्षा स्वराज्य के बाद जितनी हुई है मैं उसकी कल्पना नहीं कर सकता हूं। यह भारत की एकता है?

भारतीय एकता के प्रशंसकों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि हम निर्बल हैं, गरीब हैं, और दुखी हैं कि विदेशियों को बुलाकर निमंत्रित करें, फारेन-एक्सचेंज खर्च करें और हमारे हरिजन भाई, पिछड़े भाई जो हैं और पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में भी हैं वहां आप उनको भेज देते हैं, वह हमको दवाई देते हैं, कपड़ा देते हैं, हमको ईसाई बनाते हैं। यह कौन सी एकता का प्रतीक है। जो भारत के विस्फोट पड़यंत्र करते रहते हैं, यह कौन सी भारतीय एकता है?

हम जिस क्षेत्र के रहने वाले हैं उसको बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश का पूर्वी हिस्सा कह सकते हैं लेकिन निःसंकोच भाव से मैं कह सकता

1 [श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

हूं, मैं तो होम मिनिस्ट्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि देख ले और छांट लें, हम हिन्दीभाषी जो हैं, पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र के रहने वाले हैं बिहार से लेकर पंजाब तक और राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश तक। ब्रिटिश सरकार के समय से आज तक परम्परागत नौकरियों में हमको कोई स्थान मिल नहीं रहा है। इस केन्द्रीय मन्त्रालयों में जब मैं प्रवेश करना हूँ तो मुझे हिन्दीभाषी नहीं दीखते हैं। आप क्या समझते हैं हमारी आत्मा को ठेस नहीं लगती? हम क्या खायेगे, हमारे भोजन का क्या प्रबन्ध होगा, क्या आप हमारे भोजन का प्रबन्ध कीजियेगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौनसी भाषा है। (Interruption) भारत सरकार ने केन्द्र में यह आज्ञा प्रसारित कर दी कि एक सिपाही को इन्ट्रेस पास होना चाहिये, चपरासी इन्ट्रेस पास हो जिसमें अंग्रेजी अनिवार्य हो। हमारा सूबा जो हिन्दी सुबा वाला शासन है, उसने अंग्रेजी को उठा दिया है। तो न हम चपरासी हो सकते हैं, न ऊँचे कर्मचारी हो सकते हैं और न किसी पदवी पर पहुँच सकते हैं, तो हम कहा जाये? क्या होगा हमारा, आप जवाब दीजिये और कोई प्रबन्ध कीजिये। क्या आप चाहते हैं कि हम यहाँ से चले जाये यह कौनसी भाषा की एकता है। 40 से 45 फीसदी तक हमारी जनसंख्या है और उसमें 14 फीसदी तक हमको नौकरी मिलती है। तो यह कौनसी भारतीय एकता है। हमें अपने अधिकार चाहिये और हमें अपने अधिकार मिलने चाहिये, यह हम चाहते हैं।

औद्योगिक जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में, प्रदेशों के आधार पर केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जिस तरह का वितरण किया है, उसको भी देख लिया जाय। आपको इस बारे में कोई मदेह है तो आप तमिल, तेलगू, कन्नड किसी भी प्रदेश को देख सकते हैं। इन क्षेत्रों के मुकाबले में जितने भी हिंदी राज्य हैं वे सब पिछड़े हुए हैं और महाराष्ट्र, मद्रास और बंगाल के राज्य दिन प्रति दिन उन्नति करते जा रहे हैं। जिस गति से वे उन्नति कर रहे हैं उस गति से हम

उन्नति नहीं कर रहे हैं। तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह कौनसी राष्ट्रीय एकता है। यह कौनसी भावनात्मक एकता और यह हमको किधर ले जाना चाहती है। आप इसका उत्तर दीजिये।

एक और प्रश्न मैं करना चाहता हूँ। हम जो हिन्दी भाषी लोग हैं वे बंगाल में बहुत फैले हुए हैं। हमारे बंगाली भाषी सज्जन चले गये हैं, केवल एक ही है और पता नहीं कि वे मेरी बात को समझ पायेंगे कि नहीं। हमारे हिन्दी प्रदेशों के लोग लाखों की संख्या में बंगाल में व्यापार करते हैं। पंजाब से लेकर पटना और भागलपुर तक के लोग वहाँ पर काम करते हैं परन्तु वहाँ के जो औद्योगिक क्षेत्र हैं वह खतरे में हैं। हमारा व्यापार सकट में है और छोटे मोटे व्यापार सकट में हैं। इस भूभाग का हमने सृजन किया है, उसको बसाया है और उसको अपना देश समझा है। यह भी आप सुन लीजिये कि जब भारतीय स्वतंत्रता का सपना हो रहा था तब प्रवासी बंगवासियों ने तन मन और धन से वहाँ से हमको चंदा दिया। एक भाई तो फासी के तख्ते पर तक जा चुके हैं। अब हमारे लिए कहीं भी स्थान नहीं है और हम कहाँ जायें?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What do you say? I want to know so that we can understand.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : मुझे कुछ सुनने की जरूरत नहीं है। अब मैं दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल और समूचे दक्षिण भारत में सवर्ण की क्या स्थिति है? सवर्ण कहा जाये, ब्राम्हण कहा जाये और किस स्थान पर नौकरी पायेंगे? आप रियलिटी को फेंस कीजिये तब काम चल सकता है। बम्बई में एक शिव सेना बनाई गई है। दक्षिण भारत के लोगों पर खास उनका आक्रमण होता है। जब वे लोग दक्षिण भारत के लोगों को पराजित कर लेंगे तब उत्तर भारत के लोगों पर आक्रमण करेंगे। कलकत्ते में तो हमारे लोगों को हिन्दुस्तानी कहा जाता है और बम्बई में भैया कहा जाता है। जब हमने जवाहरलाल जी को जन्म दिया

है, लालबहादुर शास्त्री जी को जन्म दिया है, तो क्या अब भी हम इस कलक को नहीं हटा सकते हैं और अब भी हमारे लोगो को वहा पर हिन्दुस्तानी और भैया ही कहा जायेगा। (Interruption) यह वस्तुस्थिति है और आप इसको नजरअन्दाज नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह केवल कांग्रेस पार्टी का ही प्रश्न नहीं है बल्कि सभी पार्टियों के लिए प्रश्न है।

अब मैं भाषा विधेयक पर आना चाहता हूँ। यह जो शासकमण्डल है उसके सबध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं कांग्रेस दल का बहुत पुराना भेन्वर हूँ और वे लोग मुझे उपदेश देते हैं जिनकी 35 वर्ष उम्र है। मेरी सेवा इस देश के अन्दर 41 वर्ष की है जिसमें से आधा समय मेरा जेल में व्यतीत हुआ है। लेकिन भारत की एकता, भावनात्मक एकता और सांस्कृतिक एकता का उपदेश सुनते सुनते मेरा दम घुट गया है और अब मैं इसको नहीं सुनना चाहता हूँ। लोगो का यह खयाल है कि हमारी धमनियों में रक्त नहीं है। अब भी है और गरम है। जब अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध हथियार उठाया जा सकता है तो भारतीय एकता की स्थापना के लिए भी हथियार निश्चित रूप से उठाया जा सकता है और इसमें कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है।

हम किसी पर हिन्दी थोपना नहीं चाहते हैं और न हमारा इस तरह का आग्रह है। हिन्दी को सभी ने सद्भावना से स्वीकार किया है। उसको आप सद्भावना से अस्वीकार कर दीजिये, मुझे इस बारे में कोई झगडा नहीं है। हिन्दी की उपेक्षा हुई है, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि 15 वर्ष व्यतीत हो चुके हैं लेकिन उसके लिए कुछ भी काम नहीं किया गया। सन् 1963 में एक भाषा विधेयक बना था और मेरा खयाल है कि वह दक्षिण भारत के लोगो को सन्तुष्ट नहीं कर सका। इसीलिए 1963-64 में बड़े उपद्रव हुए, बड़ी बड़ी विध्वसात्मक घटनाएँ हुई जिसने भारत की आत्मा को हिला दिया। क्षमा कीजिये जो कांग्रेस के नेता हैं इन्क्लूडिंग कांग्रेस प्रेजीडेंट।

(Interruption) यहाँ से दो कांग्रेस मंत्रियों ने त्यागपत्र दिया और वे इस औचित्य को स्वीकार नहीं कर सके। (Interruptions)

मुझे जहाँ तक स्मरण है मैंने जवाहरलाल जी का भाषण सुना था, मैं उसको यहाँ पर दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि जो आश्वामन मैंने दिया है उसको यह विधेयक पूरा कर रहा है। जब इससे भी हमारे भाई सन्तुष्ट नहीं हुए तो सन् 1964 में एक भाषा आयोग की रचना हुई। इस बात को जरा सोचिये और उस पर गौर कीजिये कि हमारे अन्तर में और हमारे ऊपर क्या बीत रही है। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू प्राइम मिनिस्टर बने तो मेरे लिए नहीं बने। श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री जी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बने तो मेरे लिए नहीं बने। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनी तो मेरे लिए नहीं बनी और इससे समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। गंगा और सरजू का जल उससे शीतल नहीं हो सकता है। फिर आपने भाषा आयोग बनाया। मैं आरोप लगाता हूँ इस गवर्नमेंट पर, इस शासन पर और उसकी तीव्र शब्दों में भर्त्सना करता हूँ, निन्दा करता हूँ। मेरे पास इतने कड़े शब्द नहीं हैं जिससे मैं उसकी निन्दा कर सकूँ। मैं उसको चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि उसने इस आयोग में 17 बड़े बड़े शिक्षाविदों को मनोनीत किया।

श्री राजनारायण : नाम बतला दीजिये।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : नाम मुझे स्मरण नहीं है। मैं उनकी नेशनलिटी बतला सकता हूँ। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने 6 विशेषज्ञ नियुक्त किये जो सभी अहिन्दी भाषी थे—तीन अन्य राज्यों के विशेषज्ञ नियुक्त किये गये और वे भी अहिन्दी भाषी थे। सात विदेशी विशेषज्ञ नियुक्त किये गये जिनमें रूस, अमेरिका और जापान के लोग थे। भारतवर्ष की जो राजभाषा हिन्दी है उसके एक सज्जन जो जयपुर विश्व-विद्यालय के उपकुलपति हैं, उनको मनोनीत किया गया। अब मुझे बतलाया जाना चाहिये कि ये लोग हिन्दी के साथ किस तरह से न्याय

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

कर सकते हैं। इस बारे में दो राय नहीं हो सकती हैं। 17 व्यक्तियों में से 16 व्यक्ति अहिन्दी भाषी हैं और सात विदेशी हैं। इसमें केवल एक हिन्दी भाषी आदमी है। हमको यह उपदेश दिया जाता है कि हमारे ऊपर हिन्दी लादी जा रही है। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह कौनसी जगह है, कौनसा स्थल है, जहाँ पर हम हिन्दी लाद रहे हैं। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ यह बात कि वह बतलाये कि वह कौनसी पुस्तक है जहाँ पर हिन्दी को लादने की बात कही जा रही है। हम उस प्रदेश के रहने वाले हैं जिसमें राम पैदा हुए थे, जहाँ कृष्ण पैदा हुए थे, लेकिन यह बात किसी ने नहीं कही। जिस प्रदेश में बुद्ध पैदा हुए, उस प्रदेश के लोगों को गाली दी जाती है। जिस प्रदेश ने इस देश का इतिहास बनाया वह आज विचलित हो गया है और उसकी आत्मा कुठित हो गई है। यह बात आपको पुनर्नी चाहिए।

अब मैं एक दो शब्द सदन की जो कमेटी बनी है उसके सबध में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं कांग्रेस का सदस्य हूँ और कांग्रेस वालों को अपने विचार प्रकट करने से कोई नहीं रोक सकता है क्योंकि वह जनता की सस्था है। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि शिक्षा आयोग पर विचार करने के लिए सदन की एक कमेटी मिली थी। मैं भी उसका एक छोटा सा सदस्य था। उसमें बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में राय दी गई और उसमें लिखा गया है।

“Hindi will become the sole official language when the non-Hindi areas accept it as such”

अब मेरी राय इसमें सुन ली जाय

“My view is that Hindi should be the sole official language of the Union immediately”

ब दोस्रो की राय सुन लीजिये। श्री बोक, जो जनसभ के अध्यक्ष थे, अब सुनते कुछ और हो गये हैं उन्होंने इसके पक्ष में राय दी। एस० एस० पी० के अध्यक्ष श्री

जोशी ने भी इसके पक्ष में राय दी। इसको मैं ठीक नहीं समझता। मैं जनसभ और एस० एस० पी० का जो मैनिफेस्टो है उसको ले कर के गया था। कांग्रेस के तीन आदमियों ने डिसेंटिंग नोट दिया था और बाकी कांग्रेस के लोगो ने पक्ष में राय दी थी।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : मेरा डिसेंटिंग नोट भी पढ दीजिये।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : वह बहुत लम्बा है। फिर अंतिम विवरण पर हस्ताक्षर किये गये और अब इस समय यह विधेयक आपके सामने उपस्थित है।

यह प्रश्न केवल भाषा का नहीं है यह प्रश्न केवल संस्कृति का नहीं है यह प्रश्न केवल भावनात्मक एकता का नहीं है यह प्रधानतया आर्थिक प्रश्न है। आर्थिक दृष्टि से हम सकट में हैं। उसका निराकरण निकालना आपका धर्म है। अगर आप उसका निराकरण नहीं करेंगे तो जन आन्दोलन होगा उपद्रव होगा विध्वंसात्मक कार्रवाई भी हो सकती है और उनका मुकाबला आप को करना पड़ेगा।

बम्बई में जो शिव सेना बनी है उसके सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहता हूँ। (Interruption) मैं उसका समाधान राम सेना समझता हूँ। वही उसका समाधान कर सकती है और कोई नहीं कर सकता है।

राजनारायण जी ने भाषा के सम्बन्ध में जो अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं मैं उस पर अपनी राय दे रहा हूँ। जब से आप इस सदन में पधारे हैं तब से जो कल आपने भाषा विधेयक पर अपनी राय व्यक्त की है उसका मैं हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। और उसको मैं ठीक समझता हूँ। मैं भी इस बात को मानता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष की जो 15 भाषाएँ हैं उनमें 50 फी सदी से अधिक शब्द जो हैं वे एक से हैं।

गंगा बाबू ने जो विश्लेषण किया है कि केन्द्रीय शासन ने किस तरह से हिन्दी की उपेक्षा की

और इसको पहले पहल नहीं किया गया मैं उनकी भी राय से सहमत हूँ।

अब मैं अपना सकल्प आपके सामने रखता हूँ कि मेरा सकल्प क्या है। उसके बाद मैं अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूँगा। एक हिन्दी सेना का सगठन किया गया है। मैं उसके विचार और कार्यक्रम से पूर्ण सहमत हूँ। हिन्दी प्रदेशों में जो आन्दोलन हुये और उससे जो परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न हुई हैं और जो जागरूकता आई है मेरी आत्मा उसके साथ है।

इस समय मैं यह सलाह दे सकता हूँ कि यह विधेयक जो है यह असमय में प्रस्तुत किया गया है और इससे किसी का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है। इस लिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इस विधेयक को सिलेक्ट कमेटी के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया जाय जो इसपर विचारविनिमय करे। डेढ़-दो वर्ष में यह हिन्दी राजभाषा स्वीकृत की गई है सविधान में अब दो-तीन दिन के अन्दर या चार दिन के अन्दर या एक सप्ताह के अन्दर आप चाहते हैं कि इसको स्वीकार कर लिया जाय। यह कदम उचित नहीं होगा।

अतः मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उपासक हूँ “जय हिन्दी” “जय भारती” का।

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the speaker, who just preceded me, boasted that the Hindi area was the land of Lord Rama, Krishna, the Buddha and others. At the same time he was vociferous in denouncing English. I wonder whether my friend knows that until that great orientalist James Princep told us we lost all memory of Asoka, whose symbol taken from his rock pillar, adorns your Chair. It was Princep, who found the clue to the Brahmini script, and told us that a great emperor like Asoka existed in India. I would like my friend to know that in Hindi the word “Budhu” means a fool. Because of religious intolerance you have come to associate with the sacred name of the Buddha with that of a fool.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : क्षमा कीजियेगा आप को हिन्दी का ज्ञान नहीं है। भगवान् बुद्ध हमारे अवतारों में सम्मिलित हैं।

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : If you are quarrelling with that, I will give you another example.

SHRI TARKESWAR PANDE : It is not a good example.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You listen to him.

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : The great emperor Asoka was known as “Devanam priya”. The Asokan inscriptions found in India mention the emperor by his title “Devanam priya”. For a long time Princep was wondering who this “Devanam priya” was. It was only when an inscription was found in Ceylon, which mentioned the name of Asoka together with his honorific “Devanam priya”, Princep was able to realise that “Devanam-priya” stood for Asoka. Refer to any Sanskrit dictionary, the word “Devanam priya” means only a “Moorkha”.

SHRI TARKESWAR PANDE : No, no.

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : That is the root meaning, the meaning given in the Sanskrit dictionary.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : When you do not know Sanskrit or Pali and you hardly know Hindi, why do you speak about that?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must be tolerant. You may agree or you may not agree, but you must listen to him.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : His facts are wrong.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय वे ठीक कहते हैं। इसका अर्थ हमारे सस्मृत साहित्य में कभी कभी मूर्ख का भी हो सकता है।

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : I challenge my friend to go and refer to a Sanskrit dictionary. It will show the meaning which I have given. Well, Sir, what I have been trying to say is that the rediscovery of India's history and culture was mostly due to the great service rendered by a Western orientalist. It was through the knowledge of English that we were able to unearth our forgotten history and culture. It is through English that we have developed the spirit of patriotism. It is English again, that enables us to realise that we were slaves and fight for our freedom. It was

[Shri N. Venkateswara Rao]

Sir Sankaran Nair who said that you cannot talk a people into slavery in the English language. For arousing the spirit of freedom, I maintain, English was largely responsible. Let my friends here try to read the history of the Indian renaissance before they denounce the English language. They tell people like me, who say that English has played a progressive role in Indian nationalism, to go to England; I dare say that they are ignoramuses and they do not know the history of modern Indian renaissance. Sir, coming to the motion before the House I would like to say that I support it with certain reservations, but before I do so I would like to give a bit of my mind to the Hindi fanatics. I have no quarrel with the Hindi people as such. They are a good people, gentle people, guileless people. I love them. But amongst them there is a small, fanatical section and I hate the people who represent that section with all my heart. They are narrow, they are bigoted, they are intolerant.

Well, Sir, we of the South have accepted Hindi as the link language of the Indian Union. We did it out of our intense patriotism, our keen desire for unity, our zeal for national integration. "English is a foreign language", say the Hindi fanatics. It is so. I am not disputing it. But they should remember that for us of the South, Hindi too is a foreign language in so far as it is not our mother tongue. The Hindi people are born to the Hindi language. They take to Hindi as they take to their mother's milk. We of the South have to learn it with effort.

And yet we are prepared to learn it—even master it—if only we are given enough time. But the Hindi fanatics say: "No. You should learn it here and now. We will not consider you Indians if you delay in changing over to our Hindi". I ask, Sir, is this fair? Is this reasonable? Is this playing cricket with us. If only the Hindi people give up their fanaticism, we will one day beat them in their own game of Hindi. We have a knack, almost a genius, for learning other languages. Sanskrit is an Aryan language; it is the ancient language of the North; and yet we of the South who are of the Dravidian stock have excelled the Hindi people in mastering Sanskrit. The four great Acharyas of the South—Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Vallabha—were unrivalled masters of Sanskrit. They have written original commentaries on the Prasthan Triya—the Upnishads, the Vedanta Sutras, and the Gita—in classical Sanskrit, and those commentaries are still unrivalled.

South India has not only produced great commentators on the religious books in Sanskrit, but also on Sanskrit literary works. Is not Mallinatha Suri of Andhra the best commentator on Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha and Sri Harsha? Is not Kataya Voma, again of Andhra, the best exponent of the Alankara Sastras? Are not Vidhyadhara and Singa Bhupala, once again of Andhra, great authorities on Sanskrit poetics? South India can also boast of some original writers, creative writers in Sanskrit. Pandita Raya, yet again of Andhra, was a great Sanskrit poet, and he was the jewel of the Moghul Court. Even today you may go to that seat to Sanskrit learning, I mean Varanasi, and you will find that the pre-eminent Sanskrit scholars there are mostly from Andhra Pradesh. I have dilated on this point at some length only to show that a day will surely come when we will beat the Hindi people as scholars of Hindi as we have already beaten them in the field of Sanskrit.

Now, Sir, we do not claim to be masters of English but, by and large, we have learnt it much better than most Hindi people. We know that each language has its own idiom; we do not, therefore, try to translate literally our idiom into English or English idiom into our language. We do not, for instance, ask "What is your good name" translating "Subhanam" literally into English. More of such instances can be given, but this one is, I believe, enough to make my point.

Now, Sir, the Hindi fanatics fail to realise that their language is the youngest and the most immature of the Indian languages. Our Tamil is hoary with age and wisdom; it is as old as, if not older than, Sanskrit. Our Telugu, our Kanarese, and our Malayalam are at least a thousand years older than Hindi. I do not know whom they claim to be their first big Hindi poet, but Parinar of Tamil. Pampa of Kannada, Nannaya of Telugu, Namputiri of Malayalam are anterior to the first big Hindi poet by many many centuries.

Hindi, Sir, in its present literary form, is hardly a century old. The Hindi regions of today had earlier a large number of local languages such as Braj Bhasha, Bundeli, Marvadi, Mewati, Jaipuri, Malvi, Awadhi, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi, Maithili, Bhojpur, Magadhi, Khari Boli, etc., etc. Out of this medley it is, I understand, Khari Boli that had asserted itself as the present day Hindi. And this has happened hardly a century ago. In consequence it is not as yet

fully developed. It is rather wooly, lacking both terseness and verve. It is not as chaste as Tamil. It is not as sweet and resonant as Telugu which as some western scholars have put it, is the Italian of the East. By the way, Telugu is acclaimed by Krishna Devaraya, the great Vijaynagar emperor, as the best of Indian languages and he did quite a bit of creative writing in Telugu. Again, Sir, Hindi is not as malleable and expressive as either Kannada or Malayalam. It has not produced to any great extent the literature of social protest that is found in Marathi. It has yet to achieve the wide international status of Bengali. Without going into further details, I may say, Sir, that Hindi has to go a long, long way before it catches up with the other major Indian languages.

And yet, we have, Sir, accepted Hindi as the link language of the Indian Union. We agreed to a provision to that effect to be incorporated in our Constitution. All that we are now asking for is that we and our children may be allowed some time to learn Hindi, to master it to the extent of being able to use it as Hindi people themselves. But no, the Hindi fanatics will not hear of it. They equate Hindi with patriotism, with nationalism, they think that asking for some more time for the induction of Hindi as link language in the non-Hindi areas is something anti-national, something unpatriotic. Well, neither patriotism nor nationalism is their exclusive prerogative. They seem to forget that every language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution is a national language. They refuse to recognise that Rajaji and Annadurai who are opposed to Hindi as link language are as good nationalists, as good patriots as themselves, if not better and nobler nationalists and patriots.

Now, Sir, except for Tamilnad the other three Southern States have no quarrel with Hindi as link language. Even in Tamilnad there is a sizeable section which is not averse to Hindi. All that we want, as I said earlier and more than once, is that we should not be hustled, given patience, good will and understanding. Hindi will become the link language of India in another twenty or thirty years.

The Hindi fanatics need not raise their brows and exclaim "Another twenty or thirty years." That is certainly a long time in the life of an individual but not in that of a nation. And in the meantime they should allow us, the non-Hindi people, to participate actively in developing the Hindi language so that it might one day become

one of the major languages of the world. Frankly, the Hindi fanatics do not seem to be so much bothered about raising Hindi to the status of a major world language as they are in imposing it on the rest of India immediately for concrete and transcendent political advantage and gains. We of the South feel otherwise, or we accept Hindi as the link language of India; we want it to equal English and French, Spanish and Russian. For winning this world status for Hindi, the Hindi fanatics should listen to us and allow us due share in developing the Hindi language.

Sir, my insistence that we should play a role in developing Hindi is motivated by the fact that the protagonists of Hindi are narrow in their outlook. They have rather curious, I would almost say, perverted ideas about achieving the development of a language. To give a concrete example, they are for the shrinkage of the Hindi vocabulary instead of its enlargement. As is well known, there is a concerted move for some years now to weed out from Hindi every word of Urdu, Persian & Arabic origin. Likewise many English words too—in spite of their extensive use even by the man in the street—are being pushed out. Now can any language grow if it eschews scrupulously, almost religiously, all words of foreign origin? I wish, Sir, that the Hindi fanatics would study the history of English language. Till as late as the fifteenth or the sixteenth century many English intellectuals were dismissing their mother tongue as a vulgar language. They were composing their serious work in Latin. And yet English is today a world language. Its rapid growth to its present pre-eminent status is mainly due to the fact that it enriches itself by borrowing and assimilating words from every language in the world. It borrows and assimilates words not only from the European languages but also from African and Asian languages. This is a continuous and continuing process. It is said that English borrows and assimilates foreign words at the average rate of two to three hundred per year. While the Hindi fanatics are out to eschew all English words, English has borrowed and is borrowing many Hindi words.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ माननीय सदस्य से। उनसे मैं "हिन्दी फ़ैनेटिक" की परिभाषा जानना चाहता हूँ। वह क्या है वह कहा है इस सदन में है या कहीं बाहर है ?

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

उन्होंने इतनी बार इसको कहा है कि बार बार सुनते सुनते मुझे विवश हो कर उठना पड़ा और उनसे यह पूछना पड़ रहा है।

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : I would also like to appeal to my hon. friend who seems to be a newspaper editor that it is our duty to see that all passions are played down. This is a matter on which persons on both sides feel strongly. No word should be used which will bring down the standard of debates in the Rajya Sabha. Let us set up very high standards.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Sir, either the word "fanatic" should be defined or it should be deleted from the proceedings.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No more. Please sit down.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : The hon. Member being an editor knows what word he has to use. He is using a word which has been used by everybody, otherwise he would not be using that word.

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

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : This very attitude shows how unreasonable are they when they object to the use of an apt word.

(Interruptions)

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

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : I have been watching the hon. Member. He gets excited all the time. His very behaviour shows how fanatical he is about language.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must finish now.

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO : I feel, Sir, that we of the South who feel that English should continue should have a right to express our views. I repeat, Sir, that we should have a share in the development of the Hindi language. It is no longer the prerogative of the Hindi-speaking people. In the development of the *Rashttrabhasha* every non-Hindi man should have a say.

Sir, I would, in the first place, suggest the necessity of reforming the Hindi grammar which is now irrational and unscientific because it has no neuter gender. And unless this reform is immediately thought of, it will be very difficult for the non-Hindi people to learn Hindi.

This is one immediate reform that should be effected and there are others also. If the Hindi protagonists have any imagination, if they stand for the unity of the country, if they want that Hindi should become one of the major languages of the world, they should try to enlist our active co-operation and allow us full scope in the development of Hindi. Once a language becomes national language it ceases to be the language of either Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh. It ceases to be the language of Bihar or Rajasthan. It becomes a national language and every Indian should have a say in the development of that language.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं माननीय सदस्य महोदय से यह रिकवेस्ट करता हूँ कि जिन जिन को वह हिन्दी फ़ैनेटिक समझते हैं उन उन का भाषण सुनने के लिये वह सब कर के यहाँ बैठे रहें जायें नहीं, ताकि उनको मालूम हो जाय कि हिन्दी फ़ैनेटिक है या नहीं।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह सदन आज कब तक बैठेगा।

وائس چيئرمين (شری اکبر علی خان) :

< بچے تک -

†[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : 7 बजे तक।]

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि देखिये यह रमजान का समय है, जो लोग रोज़ा रख रहे हैं उनके साथ बड़ी ज़्यादाती हो रही है।

وائس چيئرمين (شری اکبر علی خان) :

ہم اس کا انتظار کر رہے ہیں - ہم چاکر کچھ کہا انہیں گئے -

†[] Hindi transliteration.

†[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : हम उसका इंतजाम कर रहे हैं, हम जा कर कुछ खा आयेंगे।]

श्री राजनारायण : आप अपने लिये इंतजाम कर सकते हैं लेकिन इस सदन के सभी मोअज़िज़ लोगों के लिये इंतजाम नहीं कर सकते। यह बहुत जबरदस्ती हो रही है, बहुत अन्याय हो रहा है, बहुत ज़्यादाती हो रही है जानबूझ कर। इसको मैं तूफाने बदतमीज़ी का नाम दूंगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : If there is anybody who has to say something he will represent and it will be considered.

श्री राजनारायण : एनीबडी में मैं हूँ। देखिये, गांधी जी रमज़ान के समय में जो रोज़ा रखते थे उनकी वुक़अत और क़द्र करते थे और आज रमज़ान में जो रोज़ा रख रहे हैं उनकी वुक़अत, क़द्र और इज़ज़त में करता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ, जब हम जेल में रहते हैं तो कितने लोग ऐसे रहते हैं जिनके लिये हम बराबर सामान जुटाते रहते हैं। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि आप रोज़ा रखते हैं या नहीं क्योंकि आप क्लीन शेव्ड हैं, मगर ऐसे भी हमारे मित्र यहां हैं जो कि मारे डर के नहीं बोलते मगर इस सदन के बाहर जा कर हमसे कहते हैं, हम उनसे खुद पूछते हैं तो बोलते हैं। इसलिये मैं आपसे अर्ज़ करूंगा कि आप कोई ऐसा इंतजाम करें कि पांच बजे तक हो, जब तक रमज़ान का समय हो हम लोगों को बैठना न पड़े।

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Bill plus the Resolution means nothing and the Bill minus the Resolution means something. I wonder why such a lengthy discussion over a matter which was already enshrined in our Constitution. Hindi is the recognised national language.

AN HON. MEMBER : Official language.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : Yes, official language. I cannot understand what this agitation was for. Do the supporters of Hindi believe in the theory of putting something in the throats of the non-Hindi speaking people against their will? If they so desired

they have lost the battle. At the same time I should say that those in the South who want continuance of English for some time, they have not won either. My point is this, Let this Bill be withdrawn. Let this Resolution be withdrawn and let a climate be created that by natural process Hindi may be accepted as the official language of India. That will be an ideal thing. That was intended by the leaders of the Nation. That was intended by the great leaders of India before independence. When Mr. Rajnarain quotes them, Mr. Rajnarain should know the background. A national emotion was necessary to be created. A national language, therefore, was necessary to be put before the public as a link language.

Dr. Gopal Singh said that Mahatma Gandhi never thought of Hindi. He thought of Hindustani as the common language. We did not get Hindustani. We got Hindi.

Sir, two speakers before me used the word "Hindi fanatics". I am not happy with the term. I see the views of the others too. At the same time I want to be very clear that fanatic is a proper word both for the Hindi-wallahs as also for the non-Hindi wallahs. It applies to both. What happened in Pondicherry in 1965? What was the fault of the Aurabindo Ashram? Their only fault was that it was considered to be a Northern institution. I should say, Sir, it is an international institution. It was damaged and charred. It was attacked. The people there were molested. What for were they molested in January, 1965? When the impression was caused that Hindi had come to stay, the Ashram was attacked. Was that not fanaticism? Did anybody from the South then condemn that fanaticism? Nobody condemned it.

Sir, it will not be a surprise to say that this Bill has come because Madras was lost to the Congress in the last general election. If Madras was in the hands of the Congress, this urgency about the official language would not have been before this Congress Government. It is a dismal failure of the Congress Government at the Centre that in the last 15 years, they have not done anything to make Hindi the link language. Now it is impossible, I should say, for the South to agree to it as the link language after the so many promises that have been given by the leaders of the South that "No, no, we are not going to tolerate Hindi." This promise has been given to the people. So the South cannot at this stage accept Hindi. But at the same time, what are the Northerners doing? On the 5th of this month, I had been to Allahabad.

†[] Hindi transliteration.

[Shri. D. L. Sen Gupta]

In Anand Bhavan there is a dispensary and I saw with my own eyes that the English name-board was tarnished with coal tar. What is this? Is this not fanaticism? You go from Delhi to Calcutta and you will find that the English names of all the railway stations are pasted with coal tar. Those who do not know Hindi will not know which station it is. This is the situation you have created. My suggestion is this. Develop Hindi as a language also before you can expect others to accept it gracefully. Now, for example, here Mr Gopal Singh has both *moonch* and *dhadi*. But in Hindi, *dhadi* and *moonch* are feminine gender. Now how are we to know this without reading meticulously? I also want to speak Hindi. But I am afraid of this gender. I have, of course, to address labour meetings in Hindi. But nobody is there to correct me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Under a feminine rule, we have so many lathi-charges.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : But if I speak in Hindi in this House and I get confused in the gender, I shall be laughed at by those who speak Hindi. Once, I was talking to Dr. Lohia—he was a great man—and at that time Shrimati Sarla Bhadauria of this House was also present there. I said ‘I want to know Hindi.’ Then Dr. Lohia told her, ‘‘You live in North Avenue, why don’t you teach him Hindi? Why don’t you train him up?’’ But that did not materialise. So that is the difficulty. There are men who want to learn Hindi, but there is no institution, there are not enough people to teach Hindi. Now, when there is no teacher, when there is no school, when there is no institution, you don’t take any pragmatic view of the thing and you try to impose Hindi. You cannot introduce Hindi by force of the lathi or by recourse to coal tar. Now this coal tar business must stop. This coal tar movement is not any progressive movement. It is not socialism. It is my friends there who had a brain-wave and suggested this coal tar business and now people go from one place to another pasting English name-boards with coal tar. This is not socialism. I repeat, people in West Bengal can learn Hindi, if left to them, as a natural course. People in Bengal are not less patriotic than Mr. Rajnarain or anybody in the North. If I am to learn a language for commercial purposes, I shall learn English not Hindi. If for that reason alone my patriotism or nationalism is on test, I claim myself to be a nationalist and patriot and I am prepared

to sacrifice everything for India’s independence and solidarity. Please do not confuse Hindiism with patriotism or nationalism. Hindiism is different and nationalism and patriotism are different. Why do people learn a language? Language is learnt for various purposes. People learn a language with a commercial object also. Those who learn the higher things, take into account the international aspect also and students of science and technology will not waste their time in learning Hindi if choice is between English and Hindi. They will learn English because that will give them better opportunities of learning modern science and technology. Now you want to force a student in West Bengal to learn three languages—English for higher education, Bengali, because it is his mother tongue, and then Hindi. Why? You must first create a climate if you want to do it. You cannot bring Hindi by force. You must create a climate for it and it must come from the heart. You cannot make Hindi the link language or a better language by a show of favour or by threats. So the position is very simple. The position is this, that you have lost the battle. Those who were in favour of Hindi became too enthusiastic and now a settled fact is going to be unsettled. In the Constitution, Hindi has its place. But now by this Bill and Resolution, that place of Hindi is being shifted. So I tell my friends who want Hindi to have a place of some high dignity and honour that they should insist that this Bill should be withdrawn. Those in the South have also not gained anything by this Bill. They may not have lost anything, but they have not gained either. This Resolution has watered down the Bill. They must have eyes to see it. I am one with Mr. Kamraj on this issue. He has said that tomorrow the flood-gate will be opened for all the 14 languages as link languages. Mr. Kamraj, President of the Congress, is not happy with this Bill. Mr. Rajagopalachari also is not happy with this Bill and the Resolution. So the South is not happy. The North has no reason to be happy. So let the South and the North accept my suggestion that this Bill and the Resolution be withdrawn and a climate be created so that we can think about it. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, English is a language to reckon with in the world. This is not only for this issue but also for all actions of the Government. By a Bill, you cannot introduce a language. By a Bill you cannot make a language. Language is a medium of communication and thought. This medium of communication and thought must be developed and must be encouraged to evolve. But we are not doing that. We are not

really introducing a link language by this Bill. I would like to tell Mr. Rajnarain—he is not here now—that they must change their attitude. He said on the floor of this House that he has instructed the Government in U.P. not to communicate in any other language and not give any translation also. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not know whether he is the Government of U.P. His party may be a part of the Government there, but who is he to say “I have instructed”?

(Interruption)

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL
(Gujarat) : Mr. Rajnarain is everything.

(Interruption)

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : Now if this attitude of Mr. Rajnarain is followed by other States also, what will happen? We shall give my communication only in Bengali and give no translation. Tamils will give in Tamil only without any translation, and so on. If he can give a challenge, everybody can give such a challenge. So the point is that this attitude must change. This attitude is not a patriotic attitude. This attitude is not a national attitude. This is a fanatic attitude and this fanatic attitude is responsible for all the trouble that has arisen. Thank you.

5 P. M.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Madras) : Sir, I am sorry I have to sing a different song altogether. The whole trouble is that this Bill has not satisfied the Hindi sections not has it satisfied the non-Hindi sections. Both the sections are utterly disappointed with regard to this Bill. Sir, the circumstances under which this assurance was given were that when a Resolution was brought forward in the Lok Sabha to make English as one of the languages in the Eighth Schedule, the Prime Minister was asked to come and intervene in the debate. After having seen the mood of the House and the sense of the House he said that English would continue to be the associate language until the non-Hindi speaking people wanted to switch over to Hindi. This is a very simple thing. And this was reiterated by Shastriji. So in that context we have to see that these two languages should continue as such. If in the Bill they had simply said that English shall continue as the associate language along with Hindi, without incorporating several clauses in the Bill and several paragraphs in the Resolution, we would certainly have approved it. As a compromise this Bill was circulated to all the States and the Southern States concurred in it and that is why the Chief Ministers

of Andhra and Mysore blessed the Bill thinking that there will be no departure from the Bill. Unfortunately there has been so much pressure from the Hindi fanatics—I shall not use the expression ‘Hindi fanatics’ and that way they can also say we are ‘non-Hindi revels’—that they deleted some of the things and added some other things. Sir, originally the Home Minister and the Home Ministry were very honest in drawing a picture of *Ganesh* but after these pressures it has assumed the shape of a monkey. What was intended to be *Ganesh* has unfortunately become monkey. The Home Minister may feel himself very unhappy over this and after having gone so much it is not right on his part to gracefully withdraw it. So he has to somehow or other see that it is pushed through. Half of the battle has already been won. That House has already passed it and his House has only to stamp on what has happened in the other House. Whatever it is, my only respectful submission is that we are already cracking and breaking. As a result of creating linguistic states we are Balkanising the country. We are all aware that India at one stage was never a single nation as it is now being thought of. India was a sub-continent consisting of several nations and each nation was different from the other in the matter of art, culture, literature, music and all that. There is no gainsaying this fact. After the advent of British they integrated India as one India and Sardar Patel further integrated it by liquidating the Princely States. India now has become one India administratively. Just as Sanskrit is good for ritual purposes, so also English will be good for administrative purposes. One is good for one thing and the other is good for something else.

Then, Sir, I want to say another thing. The words ‘link’ and ‘national’ are now here to be found in the Constitution.

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

It only speaks of the official language, not link language or national language. Somehow or other the other expressions have gained currency today. We have as a matter of fact got 15 national languages, not 14 and Hindi is also one of those languages. It has been very ably argued by the first speaker when he started the debate—Mr. Setalvad—that this is a compromise. I respectfully beg to differ from it. This is not compromise; the original Bill was a compromise. This is an imposition.

[Shri N. R. Muniswamy]

What was originally stated was that compulsory knowledge of Hindi was not required for recruitment. Now they have made it compulsory—Hindi or English. The second speaker, Mr. Chagla, was stressing the unity of India and he said that unity is the prime consideration, language comes next. And the Prime Minister set aside that word 'unity' and she introduced the word 'mobility'. But unity embraces mobility also. We are all aware that India at one stage was a country consisting of Pakistan, East and West, and India and Burma. In 1935 Buddhists went away to Burma, Burma being a Buddhist country. The Buddhists formed Burma on the basis of religion. Likewise the Muslims thought that they should have a separate nation based on religion. So they started the idea of Pakistan on the basis of religion. Now we find that Pakistan was formed on the basis of religion. So we see that the country was divided on a religious basis. Now India is being divided on a linguistic basis. That is a great blunder that we have committed in having linguistic States. If we have got multi-lingual States, it is understandable. By going in for linguistic States we are going to Balkanise the country. Each State will have its own language. Linguistic States are the worst enemies of Hindi and if regional languages are developed, they will not care for Hindi.

Now, Sir, the Resolution says knowledge of Hindi or English is compulsory. I may tell you that South Indians are already well-versed in Hindi and they love Hindi, although they may not say openly that they are learning Hindi. North Indians also learn English although they will say that they do not want English. So if this is insisted that knowledge of Hindi or English will be compulsory, then the South Indians will have to learn not only their regional languages, Tamil, Telugu and all that but they will also have to learn English as well as Hindi, because Hindi is ultimately going to be the official language. What the hon. Home Minister has said is that he will have a translation cell in the interregnum. He is taking a great burden upon himself because he might have been blessed by the Finance Minister. He might have told him, "Don't worry, there is plenty of money."

Let us take some illustration now we know that there is one language English being used in the various offices. It takes about two to three years to make a file and its weight is one pound. If you have a translation cell, there is going to be a lot of

trouble, because all the notings etc. will have to be translated in so many languages and everything will have to be checked up and all that. And the weight of the file also will increase from one pound to about three pounds or so. When a simple order to be issued in one language now takes two years or so, it will take five years if it is to be done in other languages also. The result will be that files won't move and the orders won't be issued and the Administration will never be so mobile. The hon. Prime Minister says it will be mobile, but I say that it will be immobile. I do know what plan the hon. Home Minister is having, because he has already conceded that the burden is not equitably distributed, the burden is very much on one side. It would like to know how he is going to relieve that burden. I do not know whether he has any concrete proposition in his mind. At least he was not said any thing to that effect in this House or elsewhere. Probably he is postponing the evil day. I won't be surprised if he comes forward with an amending Bill later on deleting paragraph 4 in this Resolution. Sir, I do not mean to say that I support the Bill wholeheartedly. I have got my own limitations, not that I totally disagree with it. Not even in one portion I find the name of Nehru or Shastri. It is after all their assurances that we are implementing and they could well have said, "Nehruji Shastriji Assurance Bill for Non-Hindi People". One sentence or one paragraph or one-clause Bill they could have introduced. The rest continues as it is. Now they have said it is concurrently English as well as Hindi. So, if we are going to circumvent it and then dilute it in so many fashions, I should say, Sir, they are not doing justice to themselves. (Interruptions). Some of your questions I will answer after I finish my observations. I am already running against time. Please. I know you are a clever man but still you can put the question after I resume my seat. I am running, I do not know when he will press the button. Just I do not have anything written to read it. As it comes I go on in my own fashion. Therefore, I may be excused, Sir.

(Interruptions)

I was telling about Nehruji and Shastriji, whose names are nowhere found except in his preamble and in his speech, and if he had said "Nehruji Shastriji Assurance Bill for Non-Hindi People" at least their names will be perpetuated in the statute book. Now all those things which we say may not be there. Therefore, now it looks as though their names are being utilised

for our own purposes. But the intentions of those lamented Prime Ministers' views have not been implemented. You are diluting them. They never meant anything else. What they have not meant and what they have really meant, nobody is aware of. A few of the Members who are here must have been present in the Lok Sabha when the debate was there. When it was pleaded that English should be included in the Eighth Schedule, in that context he said it. It means that English also is spoken and it is not by a small section of the people; it is spoken by the Anglo-Indians who run into fifty lakhs of people, and if the language of fifty lakhs of people is not to be included in the Eighth Schedule, there is nothing in saying that Hindi also is not a language of India. It might have come from other countries, but now the English language must be regarded as one of our own languages. The reason is : Don't regard anything as foreign. We take to fashions which are foreign. We have the hair-cropping which is foreign. We have got shoes which are foreign. We have the foreign Caravelle and so many other things. We want foreigners to come and help us in so many ways. Now are they not foreign? Do you accept that theory? No. We say 'mobility'. We have to get them and we have to get our own things also. Therefore, Sir, to say that English is a foreign language, to that I am opposed. To that I can say that it has become our own language as much as our other languages are. In the long run Hindi, for example, which is the largely spoken language, it might possibly be the language of other countries also, they might adopt it. Now the Hindi language by nature is good, sweet and all that; the only thing is, see here. There is no rule and rhyme, and you have seen in this House that some people speaking the Hindi language, they don't submit to any rules or any regulations. Even when you say, "Order" order, there is no order. They rise on points of order, the reason being that Hindi language is a martial language. They don't care. (*Interruptions*). Yes, yes, they have got martiality; the language is such a language, it does not care for anything. Hindi language is such a language in that sense that they don't obey any rule, any reason, any rhyme. But they will talk all rule and rhyme. For example, we can see on the roads people going without bell, without brake, on a cycle with a whole family, with a bundle of broomsticks also with them. And in our side nobody can go on a cycle without light, without brake. Here it is because they don't mind breaking the law, because Hindi language is such and Hindi people

are such that they want to assert their own right in that way.

(*Time bell rings*)

Please excuse me, I am finishing up.

Now, Sir, the Hindi language will not come to any set rules because it is in its initial stage; it is the most infant language in India, and I cannot say that other languages are major languages or something like that. Why I say 'infant language'? It is because it is not yet fully developed. Because it is an infant language they have passed on the baby to us for us to rush it through ...

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

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY : And we cannot do it without bestowing proper care on it.

Please excuse me, Sir. I am winding up. I won't take to other methods. I will with your indulgence just take a minute or so. I am closing it. Therefore, Sir, I shall not take such time of the House. The Bill and the Resolution are such and the Resolution conflicts with the Bill and that they do not satisfy any of us, not even one section of the people, and I would be happy if they withdrew at least paragraph 4 of the Resolution and see that the original Resolution is restored. In the Bill also there should be a fundamental change substituting "shall" in the place of "may" for which amendments have been tabled. In the other speeches made from this side—Members have been dishonest to themselves. They may be loyal to the party but one's conscience is to be respected. I only request that this will be considered by the Home Minister. As regards equitable distribution or diminution of this burden, how he is going to eliminate, in what way he is going to do, I do not know. With regard to this translation I have brought up the question of the mobility not going to be maintained and stagnation taking place. I feel that it would fail in the long run to achieve mobility and expedition. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : May I request hon. Members to co-operate with the Chair and limit their remarks to ten minutes, because there is still a large list of hon. Members who want to take part in the debate? Mr. Ramaswamy.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके पूर्व जो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय थे उन्होंने मुझ से कहा था कि उनके बाद आप को बोलने का अवसर मिलेगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
मिलेगा, आपका नाम है मेरे पास ।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं संशोधन भी दे चुका हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
ठीक है शुक्ला जी, जब मैं कह रहा हूँ कि आप को टाइम मिलेगा, तो फिर मैं इसके बाद और क्या कह सकता हूँ ।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : बोलने की भिक्षा मांगने पर भी मुझे बोलने का आज अवसर नहीं दिया जा रहा है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
मैं आपको अवसर दूँगा, इसके आगे मैं आप से कुछ नहीं कह सकता ।

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY (Madras):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Bill. Our Chief Minister, Thiru Annadurai, has already communicated to the Government of India his Government's considered opinion on the Bill when it was circulated to that Government. Their fundamental stand is that nothing short of an amendment to the Constitution embodying the assurances given by the two successive Prime Ministers of India would satisfy them. But anyhow the Bill has been passed by the Lok Sabha and is now under consideration by this august House.

I am not going into the details and I want to be as brief as possible to give my opinions about that. Before we attained independence we used the English language as a convenient tool and vehicle of expression for all our deliberations. Sir, when I was a school student, first of all I come across an English version of the Gitanjali. I was very proud of it and tried to learn and understand it, and when Gurudev Rabindranath visited Madras, I had the proud privilege of meeting him in 1912 or 1913, I do not remember. It was in 1914 that I attended the session of the Indian National Congress in Madras where I heard the roaring voice of Surendranath Banerji in English. A year later, in 1915, Gandhiji, fresh from Africa, came to Madras, and we students had the honour of receiving him and hearing him speak in English through which we learnt all his activities in South Africa. Then came

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in Connection with the starting of the Banaras Hindu University, and we heard him in English. We have also heard Bipin Chandra Pal, Lokmanya Tilak, Netaji Bose and also Chittaranjan Das, all through the English language. Then our freedom struggle began and Gandhiji entered the arena. He said that until and unless the masses were roused and made to feel the urge for freedom there would be no mass struggle in the real sense of the word and there would be no real cohesion and unity among the masses. Therefore, he proposed and advised that every State or rather the people of every Province should form themselves into linguistic Provincial Congress Committees. Accordingly these linguistic Provincial Congress Committees were formed and we had in Madras the Tamilnad Congress Committee, the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and the Kerala of Malabar Congress Committee. The fundamental idea was that through the regional language alone could the people be roused. And then time went on. The struggle for freedom was continued. And yet, in spite of the attempt at the propagation of Hindi and other languages, all the deliberations were going on in English. Some attempt was made to propagate Hindi on a voluntary basis. I can assure my hon. friend here that although hundreds of people studied and learnt Hindi through the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha in the South, you can take it from me that those who passed their tests only use that language for some particular purposes. A few of them did it and the rest had no use for that language at all. You know for post graduate studies many persons learn German, French and so on, and immediately they get their degree they forget those languages also. That was the case with Hindi also as far as the people were concerned.

As soon as we attained freedom the Constituent Assembly was formed where after a bitter struggle due to the strong opposition from the people of Madras Hindi was adopted as the official language. Still, in order to assuage the feeling of south the English language was allowed to continue as the associate language. But suspicions were lingering and the actions of the Government of India and of the Northerners increased those suspicions, that somehow or other they would bring in Hindi as the compulsory language as soon as they could. I may say that we are not enamoured of English. We are very much attached to our own ancient language Tamil which is more than

5,000 years old. But we want English to continue for some time more. We want it to continue till a common link language is developed by itself. And then you formed the linguistic provinces and naturally the Education Minister gave the bait to the states—each a crore of rupees for developing their mother tongues to be the media of instruction. These languages were to be the official languages and the media of instruction. Therefore, they would be encouraging them. Every State will be developing its own language as the official language and as the medium of instruction. So where does the link language develop? Where does the link language come in? My friends have been telling us that when they go to Rameswaram they meet people who speak to them in Hindi. I may tell my friends that there are certain professional *purohīts* who know almost all the languages of India. These professional *purohīts* come in advance a few hundred miles, receive the pilgrims and take them to Rameswaram or other places in the South. Likewise many of our people from the South have come up to Banaras and other sacred places in the North and there are *purohīts* on the banks of the Ganges who speak Tamil. Do I take it that Tamil has, therefore, spread in Banaras? Some four years back I had been to Haridwar and when I walked into a hotel for meals though the people were dressed in the northern style they accosted me in Tamil. There are persons from Malabar who run hotels and they know so many languages. People from the South come and when they see that a hotel business will be lucrative they start it and they can speak Hindi Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and even Sanskrit. Therefore, we cannot say that just because here and there we find some professionals speaking a particular language, therefore, that language has spread there. My own people in Bombay were talking in Hindi and Gujarati before Bombay was carved out into a separate State. Now they are learning Marathi. My relatives in Trivandrum speak Malayalam. My granddaughters in Vijayawada speak Telugu as sweetly as any Andhra and my grandson in Calcutta speaks Bengali. Other relations of mine in Agra, they speak Hindi. So this is all for ordinary purposes, for commercial purposes. It is this politics that makes all the trouble. The common people, the business-men, they are not worried about this link language business. They may want to approach a particular business man or a particular government department and so they learn and used the language of the State. They become profi-

cient in that language. Now you say there should be a link language. Very well, there should be a link language. But this language should be a link, between the hearts of people. It must grow gradually. The Prime Minister said that English should be retained for international purposes. It should be a pipe line for international things to come from the West to Delhi. Why not you kindly extend that pipe-line to Madras also so that we may also draw knowledge through that? If you want to have English for international purposes then necessarily you will be having an English Department and a Hindi Department in your offices. Why should I not use that English Department? Therefore, we say, let the link language come up gradually. Let it grow. But let English continue for some time more. Sir, I will be finishing in a minute or two. All the trouble is about the assurances given and about the word "shall". Prime Minister Nehru should have immediately brought in an amending Bill. Then there would have been no trouble. That would have been enough. Or as soon as independence was attained they should have said Hindi alone should be there and in the popular enthusiasm everybody would have agreed. You failed to do that and now people ask for assurances. The assurances given could not be kept. Prime Minister Nehru passed away. There were agitations. Again assurances were given by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. But what is the nature or use of your assurance? I am not pleading for privy purses of the Princes or Maharajas. Sardar Patel gave assurances to them, but the other day the Home Minister said that the resolution of the All India Congress Committee was a mandate to abolish privy purses, which should be carried out by the Government. Likewise if in the ensuing session of the All India Congress Committee at Hyderabad a resolution is passed that Hindi alone should be the official language, then he will come and say a similar thing about Hindi also. Where will be your assurances then? Therefore, I insist that there should be an amendment. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave the people certain assurances. Poor man he could not carry them out because he passed away. Mr. Chavan says that everything depends upon implementation. But I know how an Under Secretary was able to send a Cabinet Minister out of his office, in 1965. The noting was done in Hindi even up to the Joint Secretary level and everything was approved. When it was brought to the notice of the highest authority—

[Shri V. V. Ramaswamy]

SASTRI—The objection was ruled out. Therefore, the Tamilian Minister had to resign. Now you see how things are implemented, I gave notice of a Bill to change the name of Madras State to Tamilnad. But the Secretariat people told me that under the rules I should do it in Hindi.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Not rule, but convention.

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY : Whatever it is, you are imposing it on me. If I do not carry it out then you will ask me to stand up on the bench, just as one asks a schoolboy, or to get out, your name is struck off the rolls. Sir, we have lost faith. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi came in we had great hopes, she being the daughter of a great Prime Minister. She came to Kodaikanal some four months back and the students of Madras wanted to demonstrate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Ramaswamy, it is time for you to wind up.

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY : Yes, Sir. And the great Annadurai told the students, "No. You should not do it. We can trust Shrimati Indira Gandhi. She is the best advocate of the non-Hindi people." So everybody became quiet. She came and went. We expected some fruitful decision. We expected something hopeful. And now the Bill has come. If Bill alone had been left we would not have troubled. But Shri Rajnarain and others made in her parliamentary constituency a successful revolt against her and this gave a jolt to her and this has resulted in these amendments which have now been accepted. So how can we have faith in them? Today she spoke about the Australian Prime Minister. Very good, but she spoke in Hindi. This is how Hindi is coming in surreptitiously. How can we have faith in their assurances? If you make Hindi necessary for appointments then we will be left out. Mr. Chavan said Hindi or English. We have lost faith in all that, we are not going to believe that. We do not want to decry Hindi or English. Leave us quietly for some time more. That is our plea. Anyhow we want to win the confidence of this House, and take it from me that we will never be a party to secede. We will never allow any circumstances to develop by which our relations become strained, but by your own actions, by your own attempts at compulsion you will allow un-

necessary and unwanted situations to develop when you yourself will say : "Baba will you please get out?"

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत ही अनुनय विनय के बाद आपने जो मुझे इस प्रस्तुत विधेयक पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया है उसके लिये मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ। मैं यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि अपने सार्वजनिक जीवन में इस प्रकार का झूठा मिलेशन और अपमान अपनी पार्टी को ओर से कभी सहने को नहीं मिला और मैं इस सदन में, आप जानते हैं कि इस तरह के विचार व्यक्त नहीं करता यदि मुझे इस बात का लेशमात्र विश्वास रह गया होता कि हमारी पार्टी के जो मनेज करने वाले हैं वे हर चीज का उचित ध्यान रखेंगे।

महोदय, मैं प्रस्तुत विधेयक पर अपने विचार इस सदन के सामने रखने के पूर्व भारतीय गणराज्य के प्रथम राष्ट्रपति परम पूज्य स्वर्गीय डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के उन वाक्यों को इस सदन के सामने रखना उचित समझता हूँ जो संविधान परिषद् के अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से राजभाषा सम्बन्धी सर्वसम्मत अनुच्छेद 343 पर विवाद आरम्भ होने के पूर्व उक्त परिषद् के सदस्यों को सम्बोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था, वे इस प्रकार हैं :—

"Let us not forget that whatever decision is taken with regard to the question of language, it will have to be carried out by the country as a whole. There is no other item in the whole Constitution of the country which will be required to be implemented from day to day, from hour to hour, I might even say from minute to minute in actual practice. Therefore Members will remember that it will not do to carry a point by debate in this House. The decision of the House should be acceptable to the country as a whole. Even if we succeed in getting a particular proposition passed by majority, if it does not meet with the approval of any considerable section of people in the country, either in the north or in the south, the implementation of the Constitution will become a most difficult

problem. Therefore, when any Member rises to speak on this language question I would request him most earnestly to remember that he should not let fall a single word or expression which might hurt or cause offence."

मान्यवर, यद्यपि इस विधेयक पर विवाद अब समाप्त प्रायः है और इन वाक्यों का स्मरण हमें पहले ही करना चाहिये था, परन्तु इन वाक्यों का स्मरण मैं इसलिये कर रहा हूँ कि अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुये, व्यक्त करते हुये, अपने सामने यह आदर्श रखने की चेष्टा करूँ।

मान्यवर, मैं इस सदन के प्रति तथा इस देश की जनता के प्रति अपना यह परम पवित्र कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रभाषा के सम्बन्ध में जो मेरा मत गत लगभग 45 वर्षों से राष्ट्रपिता गांधी जी के प्रेरणा के स्वरूप बना चला आ रहा है उसको सदन के सामने स्पष्ट रूप से रखने का प्रयास करूँ और ऐसा मत व्यक्त करते हुए इस बात की चेष्टा करूँ कि मेरे मुह से कोई ऐसा शब्द अथवा वाक्य न निकले जिससे इस सदन के किसी कक्ष में बैठे हुए किसी माननीय सदस्य को किसी प्रकार की मानसिक ठेस लगे और न ही इस सदन के बाहर इस विशाल देश की महान् जनता के किसी वर्ग को उससे कोई चोट लगे। आखिर हम एक ही घर में बैठे हुए; इस भारत माता के 50 करोड़ लाड़ले, आपस में भाई बहिन सरीखे अपने ही घर की एक जटिल समस्या का हल ढूँढ़ रहे हैं, इसमें उत्तेजना का, क्रोध का, एक दूसरे पर लांछन लगाने का, किसी की नीयत पर आरोप लगाने का स्थान अथवा कारण कहा है। और यदि कारण है तो क्या हम उसको विचारपूर्वक खोज कर उसे सदा के लिये निमूल करने का यत्न नहीं कर सकते।

मान्यवर, भाषा के प्रश्न पर हम कब तक उलझे रहेंगे। क्या हमारे राष्ट्रपिता ने, अन्य हमारे मनीषी नेताओं ने हमें कोई मार्ग इस दिशा में नहीं दिखलाया है। क्या आज हम जिस विवाद में पड़े हैं वह हमारे लिये नया है। क्या स्वाधीनता संग्राम के आदि में ही, तथा उसके दौरान में इस समस्या की ओर हमारा ध्यान

नहीं गया था ! क्या स्वाधीनता प्राप्त होने के बाद शीघ्र ही हमने इस प्रश्न को हल करने का प्रयास नहीं किया, क्या संविधान परिषद में ऐसा कोई तर्क या विचार नहीं व्यक्त किया गया था जो आज इस सदन में अथवा इसके बाहर व्यक्त किया जा रहा है ! क्या कोई कठिनाई अथवा जटिलता ऐसी है जिसकी ओर उस समय ध्यान नहीं दिया गया था ! क्या स्वाधीनता के पूर्ववर्ती लगभग 40 वर्षों में स्वाधीनता संग्राम के साथ ही साथ राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रश्न इस देश की जनता के सामने एक ज्वलन्त प्रश्न नहीं रहा है !

मान्यवर, इस देश की जनता के सामने, इस देश के विचारकों के सामने तथा इस देश के राजनैतिक नेताओं के सामने स्वाधीनता संग्राम के सहवर्ती वर्षों में सार्वजनिक सभाओं में, विद्वत् गोष्ठियों में और समाचारपत्रों में आज से कहीं अधिक सरगमी और गम्भीरता के साथ इस प्रश्न पर विचार हुआ है और संविधान परिषद् में तो लगभग पूरे दो वर्ष इस प्रश्न पर सदन के अन्दर औपचारिक रूप से तथा उसके बाहर अनौपचारिक रूप से, भाषा का प्रश्न, गम्भीर चर्चा का विषय रहा। गांधी जी ने जिस प्रकार देश के राजनैतिक और आर्थिक मामलों में हमारा मार्गदर्शन किया था उसी प्रकार राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रश्न भी उनकी प्रतिभाशाली दृष्टि तथा विलक्षण प्रभाव से अछूता नहीं रहा है। इस दिशा में भी उन्होंने आरम्भ से ही हमारा, इस देश के जनमानस का मार्गदर्शन किया। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यहाँ अपने राष्ट्रनायक स्वर्गीय श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के वे विचार उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ जो संविधान परिषद् में उन्होंने 13 सितम्बर, 1949 को प्रकट किये थे। भाषा के सम्बन्ध में गांधी जी के विचारों तथा उनके मार्गदर्शन का हवाला देते हुये पूज्य पंडित जी ने कहा था :

"A very wise man, the Father of our Nation, thought of this question, as he thought of so many important questions affecting our national future. He paid a great deal of attention to it and throughout his career he

[श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

went on repeating his advice in regard to it. Now that showed that, as with other things, he always chose the fundamentals of our national existence. Almost everything he touched, you will remember, was a basic thing, was fundamental thing. He did not waste time, thought or energy over the superficial aspects of our existence. Therefore he took up this subject in his own inimitable way, thinking of it always not as a literary man, though he was a very great literary figure, possibly unknown to himself, but always thinking in terms of the future of the Indian people and the Indian nation, how to build it up brick by brick, so that we can get rid of the evils that pursued us. Whether those evils were foreign domination or poverty, or inequality or discrimination amongst ourselves, or untouchability or the like, he put this question on that same high level and looked upon it from the point of view of a step which might either help us to build a powerful and enlightened India or be a disintegrating or weakening factor.

Now the first thing he taught us was this: that while English is a great language—and I think it is perfectly right to say that English has done us a lot of good and we have learnt much from it and progressed much—nevertheless no nation can become great on the basis of a foreign language. Why? Because a foreign language can never be the language of the people, for you will have two strata or more—those who live in thought and action of a foreign tongue and those who live in another world. So, he taught us that we must do our work more and more in our own language.”

महोदय, आगे फिर उन्होंने राष्ट्रपिता के विचारों को व्यक्त करने के बाद राजभाषा के सम्बंध में उसी भाषण में अपने विचारों को इन शब्दों में प्रकट किया है। पंडित जी ने यह कहा है :

“The last thing in this matter to which the Father of the Nation drew our attention was this, that this language should represent the composite culture of India. In so far as it was the Hindi language it should represent that composite culture which grew up in Northern India where the Hindi language specially held sway; it should also represent that composite culture which it drew from other parts of India.”

महोदय, इस भाषा में भाषा के संबंध में पंडित जी ने स्वयं अपने विचारों को इस प्रकार से व्यक्त किया है...

श्री राजनारायण : कौन पंडित जी ?

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : पूज्य पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू । हम स्वभाव से ही उनको पंडितजी कहते हैं । उन्होंने कहा था :

“We took to English obviously because it was the conqueror's language, not so much because at that time it was such an important language, although it was very much important even then,—we took to it simply because we were dominated by the British here, and it opened the doors and windows of foreign thought, foreign science etc., and we learnt much by it. And let us be grateful to the English language for what it has taught us. But at the same time, it created a great gulf between us who knew English and those who did not know English and that was fatal for the progress of a nation. That is a thing which certainly we cannot possibly tolerate today. Hence the problem.

However good, however important, English may be we cannot tolerate that there should be an English knowing elite and a large mass of our people not knowing English. Therefore, we must have our own language.”

महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं प्रस्ताव को मूव करने वाला हूँ, इसलिये समय की पाबंदी मेरे साथ नहीं होनी चाहिये । कुछ अधिक समय मिलना चाहिये । पंडित जी के उन विचारों को व्यक्त करने के बाद महोदय, मैं पुनः पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू के विचार, जो राजभाषा विधेयक के संबंध में, जब यह विधेयक 1963 में आया था, उन्होंने व्यक्त किया था, को भी सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ । उनके विचारों को रखने के बाद ही मैं अपने विचारों को प्रस्तुत करूँगा...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : देखिये आपको पांच मिनट से ज्यादा मैं नहीं दे सकूँगा ।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : आपकी आज्ञा हो तो मैं बैठ जाऊं। बिना कुछ कहे बैठ जाऊं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
जैसा आप उचित समझें।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं समझता हूं और मैं जानता हूं कि ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों पर यदि किसी के हृदय में विचार भरे हों जो कि रखने के योग्य हों तो उनको चर्चा करने का अधिक से अधिक अवसर दिया जाना चाहिये। मैं ब्रिटिश टाइम से जानता हूं, मैं नहीं जानता सत्य कहां तक है, लेकिन सुना है कि पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय 72 घंटे तक एक रोलट ऐक्ट पर बोले थे। मैं छः महीने से इस सभा में बोला नहीं हूं और जितना मैं नहीं बोला हूं उतना समय मेरे बोलने के समय में जोड़ लीजिए...

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह बहुत अच्छा तर्क है।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नामनिर्देशित) :
यह हो जाय तो बड़ा अच्छा है, सब अपना बैंक क्रेडिट रखने लग जायें।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं चेष्टा करूंगा कि बहुत जल्दी समाप्त कर लूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :
अगर सदन यह चाहता है कि जितना भी समय चाहें शुक्ल जी को दे दिया जाय तो मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। सदन को यह निश्चय करना है कि क्या वह औरों को भी सुनना चाहता है...

डा० एम० एम० एस० सिद्ध (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे एक अर्ज करना है कि कुछ लोगों के नाम, जो बोलने के लिये दिये जाते हैं वह कभी ऊपर हो जाते ह, कभी नीचे हो जाते हैं। ऊपर वालों को पन्द्रह और बीस मिनट मिल जाते हैं और जितना ही नीचे नाम लिस्ट में होता है उनको दस मिनट दिये जाते हैं। क्या सेक्रेटरीएट या और कोई यह बताने का कष्ट कर सकते हैं, महोदय, कि क्या वजह है जिन लोगों का नाम आगे नम्बर पर था और पहले आना चाहिये उनका नाम किसी नीचे

नम्बर पर पहुंच जाये और फिर उनसे कहा जाये कि दस या पांच मिनट बोला जाये। इससे बेहतर है, हम न बोलें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) :
मुझे यह शिकायत है। अभी तक कहा जाता है माता बगैर रोये बच्चे को दूध नहीं पिलाती अब ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे अध्यक्ष बिना कहे बोलने के लिये समय नहीं देंगे।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Congress Party seems to be in utter confusion over this matter.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं समझता हूं यह सारा समय हमारे समय में से निकाल दिया जाना चाहिये। प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने राजभाषा विधेयक पर विवाद के समय भाग लेते हुए सदन के सामने यह कहा था :

"Mr. Chairman this question which is before the House has been discussed in the other House and in the country for some considerable time. Criticism has been made, I believe, in this House also of the fact that this does not fulfil or carry out the assurances or pledges that I gave, I confess, Sir, that I am wholly unable to understand that criticism. What is this Bill? It is essentially a Bill removing a certain barrier in the Constitution which laid down that English would practically cease to be the official language of the Centre after 1965. It removes that barrier. It does not put another date even except to say that in ten years' time there should be consideration of how Hindi has progressed and other questions like that. I should have thought that that in itself was as much as one could expect from any point of view, and it was suggested that one should put in in the form of a statue, when this matter comes up, that it should only be decided by representatives from the non-Hindi States in India. I have been unable to understand how this kind of thing can be put down in a statute. That would create an extraordinary situation and would be a wrong precedent, I think."

महोदय, मैंने यह उद्धरण इसलिये दिया है कि भाषा के संबंध में, विशेष रूप से इस विधेयक के संबंध में लोग कहते हैं कि इस का आधार

[श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू के कोई एश्योरेन्सेज थे, उनके कोई आश्वासन थे। स्वयं पंडित जी ने 1963 में विधेयक को प्रस्तुत होते समय जो कहा था वह मैंने इस सदन के सामने रख दिया। इससे स्पष्ट है कि 1963 का भाषा विधेयक जो इस सदन के सामने था वह पंडित जी के एश्योरेन्सेज देने के बाद आया था और उस समय भी अण्णादुराई और दूसरे मदस्यों ने इस बात की मांग की थी कि इसका इस प्रकार का संशोधन संविधान में होना चाहिये अथवा ऐसा विधेयक बनना चाहिये कि कोई परिवर्तन अंग्रेजी को हटाने के लिये अगर चाहा जाय तो केवल 'नान् हिन्दी' प्रदेशों की सहमति से हो ऐसा विधेयक में लाया जाय या स्टेट्यूट में रखा जाय या संविधान में परिवर्तन किया जाय। परन्तु पंडित जी ने कहा कि नहीं, इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है और उन्होंने कहा जो उन्होंने आश्वासन दिये हैं पूरी तौर से वह विधेयक उसको पूरा करता है।

तो जिसने आश्वासन दिया आज उसके भाषण को आप देखें और फिर हम जो कर रहे हैं उसको देखें। महोदय एक मसला है "मुद्दई सुस्त गवाह चुस्त"। जिसने एश्योरेन्सेज दिया वह कहते हैं कि 1963 का विधेयक ही काफी है उनके आश्वासनों को पूरा करने के लिये, परन्तु आज हम कहते हैं नहीं वह विधेयक काफी नहीं था। तो फिर मैं आगे जाना चाहता हूँ। क्या प्रस्तुत विधेयक उस आश्वासन को पूरा करने में काफी हो सकता है। पहले तो मैं यह मानता नहीं कि पंडित जी ने ऐसा कोई आश्वासन दिया था जैसी व्यवस्था इस विधेयक में की गई है, परन्तु यदि ऐसा कोई आश्वासन दिया भी था तो मान्यवर, यह सदन यद्यपि यह प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न सदन है, फिर भी इसकी एक कार्यप्रणाली है, जो भी कानून यह पास करेगा, पारित करेगा, उसमें संविधान की परिधि के बाहर यह सदन नहीं जा सकता। संविधान में परिवर्तन किये बिना इस प्रकार का विधेयक मेरी समझ में वैध नहीं है। यद्यपि कानून के दो महापंडित, श्री सीतलवाड और छागला जी ने अपने विचार इस सदन में व्यक्त किये हैं, और मैं कानून का उस प्रकार का ज्ञाता

अपने को नहीं मानता हूँ न इसका दावा करता हूँ, तथापि जहाँ तक अनुच्छेद 343 उपधारा (3) का अर्थ है उससे स्पष्ट है कि यह विधेयक संविधान द्वारा प्रदत्त परिधि के बाहर है, उसकी निर्धारित सीमा के बाहर है और संविधान के विरुद्ध है। परन्तु फिर भी यदि उस प्रयोजन की पूर्ति करता हो जिसके लिये यह लाया गया है तो भी यह सोचा जा सकता है कि इसका समावेश किया जाय अथवा नहीं।

मान्यवर, प्रश्न क्या है हमारे देश के सामने? इस देश की राज भाषा संविधान में हिन्दी स्वीकार हो चुकी है बड़ी भाषा के रूप में तथा 14, 15 भाषाएं अपने अपने क्षेत्रों के लिये स्वीकार हो चुकी हैं। अंग्रेजी को हमने कुछ कामों को मुविधा के लिये संविधान को पारित करते समय 15 वर्ष के लिये स्वीकार किया था, आगे भी हम स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। तो उस समय कठिनाई क्या थी हमारे सामने? उस समय जो प्रशासनिक कार्य करते थे देश में, वह उस समय हिन्दी नहीं जानते थे और नयी पीढ़ी शासनकर्त्ताओं में कितने दिनों में आ सकती है, इस बात की कल्पना करके संविधान में पन्द्रह वर्ष की अवधि रखी गई। उस समय जो काम करने वाले थे वह प्रायः 40 वर्ष की अवस्था के, 35 वर्ष की अवस्था के, 38 वर्ष की अवस्था के रहे होंगे और पन्द्रह वर्षों के बाद वे अपनी रिटायरमेंट की एज तक पहुंच जायेंगे और फिर हिन्दी सीखने की आवश्यकता उनके लिये नहीं होगी क्योंकि जो नयी पीढ़ी आयेगी शासन का काम करने के लिये, वह हिन्दी सीख कर आयेगी। तत्काल, उसी समय से पन्द्रह वर्षों में विश्वविद्यालयों से निकलने वाले छात्र हिन्दी सीख कर निकलेगे यह प्रावधान था। आज हम यह कर रहे हैं कि हिन्दी हम कभी सीखेंगे नहीं। हिन्दी के समर्थकों का कदापि यह दुराग्रह नहीं है, आग्रह नहीं है, सत्याग्रह भी नहीं है कि हिन्दी किसी भी व्यक्ति पर जबरदस्ती लादी जाय। यह जो कहा जाता है कि हम दीवाने हो गये हैं हिन्दी को किसी पर लादने के लिये यह सर्वथा निराधार है, सर्वथा झूठ है। इस सदन के सामने हम और कई लोग कह रहे हैं कि हम नहीं चाहते कि हिन्दी जबरदस्ती पढ़ाई जाय।

लेकिन यह जो विदेशी भाषा हमारे ऊपर लदी हुई है जिसने हमारे शासन और जनता के बीच में गहरी खाई पैदा कर दी है, उसके बारे में पंडित जी ने जो कहा था उसको यहाँ उद्धृत करना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि उद्धरण देने से मेरा समय बढ़ जायेगा। इस वक्त शासन करने वालों की, शासकों की एक कौम बन रही है। शासन करने वाले चाहते हैं कि शासन की जवान उनकी सुविधा के लिए हो। इस देश में गणतंत्र है, जनतंत्र है, समाजवाद हमारा लक्ष्य है परन्तु 99 प्रतिशत जनता की सुख सुविधा के लिए हम यहाँ पर अंग्रेजी भाषा में काम करते हैं उसकी समझने की शक्ति का विचार किए बिना। उसके मत से शासन करने वाले जो लोग हैं, जो शासन की गड़ियों पर बैठने वाले मंत्री या विधायकगण अथवा उनकी तनख्वाह से पलनेवाले कर्मचारी हैं इस प्रभु जनता के सब सेवक हैं। मास्टर कहता है कि हमारी सुविधा के लिए काम करो, हम कहते हैं कि हम अपनी सुविधा के लिए करें। तनख्वाह लेगे, रोज भत्ते बढ़ायेगे, महगाई भी लेगे और इस तरह से हमें मोटी मोटी तनख्वाह मिलती रहे। इससे हम रहेंगे, हमारे बच्चे रहेंगे।

आज हम इस तरह का विधान कर रहे हैं कि जब तक अंग्रेजी की गंगा में गहरा गोता नहीं लगायेगे तब तक हम इस देश की किसी भी छोटी छोटी नौकरी में नहीं आ सकते हैं।

मान्यवर, जब मैं विद्यार्थी था, उस समय हिन्दी, उर्दू, तमिल, बंगला पढ़कर कोई भी आदमी गांव की पाठशाला में अध्यापक हो जाता था, लेखपाल हो जाता था, छोटा मोटा काम कर सकता था, पोस्टमैन हो जाता था और इस तरह से हर छोटा काम कर सकता था। आज इस देश में कोई भी, चाहे वह बंगाली जानने वाला हो, चाहे गुजराती जानने वाला हो, चाहे मराठी जानने वाला हो, चाहे उर्दू जानने वाला हो, चाहे हिन्दी जानने वाला हो, इस शासन में, जिसका अरबों रुपये का बजट बनता है, जनता के पैसे से बनता है, उसकी कोई छोटी छोटी नौकरी भी नहीं पा सकता है जो अंग्रेजी न जानता हो। यह जो विडम्बना है उसको इस देश की जनता कभी भी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकती है। अंग्रेजी

हमारे देश की शासन की भाषा नहीं रह सकती है और इस देश की जनता की बोली नहीं बन सकती है क्योंकि यह हम देश की जनता की बोली नहीं है और इस देश की जनता की भाषा नहीं है। इस देश की जनता के नाम पर शासन करने वाले आज यदि किसी तरह से भ्रम में हैं और उसी भ्रम में इस तरह का विधेयक जनता के सामने ला रहे हैं तो वे चुनाव में जाकर देख ले कि जनता उनको आज्ञा देती है या नहीं। क्या वह कहती है कि तुम हमारे ऊपर शासन करो, हमारे पैसे से तनख्वाह लो, हम पर कर बढ़ाओ और जवान लाओ 6 हजार मील दूर इंग्लैंड की? यह बात अब चलने वाली नहीं है।

हमारे देश की जनता की अपनी अपनी भाषाएँ हैं, हिन्दी है, तमिल है, मराठी है, उर्दू है, गुजराती है और ये भाषाएँ हमारे लिए उतनी ही प्रिय और प्यारी हैं जितनी कि हिन्दी है जो हमारी मातृभाषा है। हमने विदेशी दासता से मुक्ति पाने का जो प्रयास किया था वह केवल इसलिए नहीं किया कि इन गड़ियों पर अंग्रेजी जानने वाले कुछ इंग्लिसाइज्ड इंडियन, अंग्रेजियत में सने हुए भारतीय बैठ जायेंगे और वे हमारे लिए एक दुरभिशाम बन जायेंगे। आज इस तरह की जो कौम बनी हुई है शासन करने वालों की, वे अपनी परिधि बढ़ाते ही चले जा रहे हैं। पहले बड़े बड़े ऊँचे आफिसर अंग्रेजी जानने वाले होते थे और अंग्रेज लोग अपने चपरासियों को हिन्दी या अन्य देशी भाषा जानने वालों को ही रखते थे ताकि वे इस देश की जनता के साथ बात-चीत कर सकें। आज हमारे दक्षिणी भाइयों की आपत्ति क्या है? उनकी सिर्फ शिकायत यह है कि हम सरकारी नौकरियों में प्रवेश किस तरह से पायेंगे और इसी वजह से वे हमारे ऊपर अंग्रेजी लाद रहे हैं। हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी को सरकारी दफ्तर में आने के लिए केवल उसकी मातृभाषा का ही पर्याप्त ज्ञान होना चाहिये, इसके लिए वे तैयार नहीं होना चाहते हैं। वह चाहते हैं कि हम एक विदेशी भाषा सीखें और वही आदमी गांव का अध्यापक हो जाय, वही हमारा प्रधान मंत्री हो जाय और वही हमारा राष्ट्रपति हो जाय।

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

जो अंग्रेजी जानता हो। आज स्थिति यह है कि चंपरासी से लेकर राष्ट्रपति तक, गांव के पचायत के मंत्री से लेकर प्रधान मंत्री तक, जिला परिषद् के सदस्य से लेकर पार्लियामेंट तथा विधान परिषद् और विधान सभाओं के जितने भी मेम्बर हैं, वे सभी अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हो और वही लोग हमारे देश का काम चला सकते हैं और कोई इस देश का शासन नहीं चला सकता है। यह है हमारे संविधान में दी हुई बराबरी और सबको समान अवसर देने की बात का उपहास। हजारों वर्षों से जिस देश की संस्कृति हो, हजारों वर्षों से जिस देश की परम्परा हो, उस देश में आज इस तरह की विडम्बना है कि कुछ शासन अपने ऊपर लादा नहीं जा सकता। मान्यवर! उसको मुह में कालिख लगाने की बात समझते हैं। इस तरह से कुछ लोग हमारी नीयत पर शक करते हैं और हमें अंग्रेजी जवान में अच्छी गालियां सुनाते हैं, फेनेटिक-दीवाने कहते हैं।

इस समय प्रशान्त महासागर के बीच में दबी हुई ज्वालामुखी भड़क रही है और इसलिए भड़क रही है कि हमने अपने जीवन भर तो दासता की लड़ाई लड़ी और आज हमें विदेशी भाषा की दासता से लड़ाई लड़नी पड़ेगी। शोक और दुख की बात तो यह है कि पहले हम विदेशी शासन से लड़ते थे और आज हम उस शासन से लड़ेंगे जिसको जनता ने चुनकर भेजा है और जिस को हमने खुद बिठलाया है। हमारा पहला काम यह होगा कि इस शासन को वहां से गिरा दे, चाहे वह शासन देश के किसी भी कोने में क्यों न हो। हम मोहताज हैं जनता की बोली के और जनता की बोली शासन की मोहताज है। जनता के पास हमें जाना है। हमारा निर्देश, हमारी जो आज्ञाएं हैं और वह इस देश की जनता के लिए हैं। हम जो प्रस्ताव करते हैं, जो सकल्प करते हैं, वह किस के लिए करते हैं? वह क्या हम इसलिए करते हैं, कि जो लोग एयर कंडिशन कमरों में बैठते रहें जिनको सर्दी न लगे, धूप न लगे और जो किसान खेतों में काम करता है उसकी जवान को न जाने न समझे जो मजदूर कारखानों में काम करता है उस की भाषा को न बोले। अगर तमिल

का किसान अंग्रेजी समझता है तो चलाइये अंग्रेजी। मैं अपने तमिल भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे अपने प्रदेश में अंग्रेजी नहीं चलाना चाहते हैं तो हमारे ऊपर अंग्रेजी क्यों न दना चाहते हैं? हम तो अंग्रेजी के विरोध में हैं। हम जिस तरह से अंग्रेजी के शासन के विरोध में थे, उसी तरह से अंग्रेजी भाषा के विरोध में हैं। हम इसका विरोध इसलिए करते हैं कि अंग्रेजी जो भाषा है वह विदेशियों की भाषा है, यहाँ की जनता की भाषा नहीं है और हमारी जनता इसको कबूल नहीं कर सकती है। जैसा मैंने पहले कहा था कि हमें तुम्हारी भाषा से उतना ही प्रेम है जितना कि हमें अपनी भाषा से है।

मान्यवर, मैंने अपनी लड़की को अंग्रेजी में नहीं पढ़ाया। जब वह युनिवर्सिटी में पहुँची तो हम से शिकायत करने लगी, तो हमने कहा बेटा खूश रहो, तुम ने विदेशी भाषा नहीं सीखी तो ठीक ही किया। मैं इस मत का हूँ कि हमारे देश में किसी विदेशी भाषा को अनिवार्य रूप से न पढ़ाया जाय। और प्रत्येक क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को स्कूलों में अनिवार्य रूप से पढ़ाया जाना चाहिये। हमने राष्ट्र के काम करने के लिए जिस भाषा को निश्चित किया है उसको संविधान ने सर्व-सम्मत मत से स्वीकार कर लिया है। उस संविधान में हमने हिन्दी भाषा को राजभाषा बनाया है। आज मद्रास में, आन्ध्र में, केरल में, बंगाल में जो हमारे शासकीय कर्मचारी होंगे, अगर उन्हें आसाम में जाना न हो, केरल में ही रहना हो, अपने ही प्रदेशों में रहना हो तो वे हिन्दी न सीखें और इस पर मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। अगर वह दिल्ली में आना चाहता है, दिल्ली की जनता के बीच में काम करना चाहता है, बंगाल में जाकर वहाँ की जनता के बीच काम करना चाहता है, आसाम में जाकर गोहाटी की जनता के बीच काम करना चाहता है, तो दफ्तर के बाहर भी उसके लिए क्या कोई काम नहीं होगा, फाइलो पर उसको कुछ लिखन के अलावा? उसको वहाँ की जनता की दुख और सुख की बात को सुनना होगा और क्या फिर उसको 14 भाषा सीखनी होगी? अगर वह एक भाषा सीखेगा तो कौनसी भाषा सीखेगा?

यह बड़े दुःख की बात है कि हमारे मित्रगण यह समझते हैं कि हम सरकारी नौकरियों पर अधिकार प्राप्त करने के लिए व्यग्र हैं। हमने उनसे अनुरोध किया कि सरकारी नौकरियाँ आप ले लीजिये और हमने अनेक बार कहा है कि शासन के अधिकार आप ले लीजिये मगर हमारे ऊपर विदेशी दासता की गुलामी बनाये रखने का हठ मत कीजिये। हमें यह स्वाभिमान हसिल है, हमें अपने देश की भाषा पर गर्व है, अपनी सस्कृति पर गर्व है और हम इस देश के हजारों वर्षों के इतिहास का ध्यान रखते हुये किसी विदेशी भाषा को सहन नहीं कर सकते हैं। अंग्रेजी भाषा में बड़े बड़े विद्वान हुए हैं, राजनीति में हुए हैं, साइन्स में हुए हैं और चरित्र में ऊँचे उठे हैं। जर्मनी और रूस के लोग भी ऊँचे उठे हैं, तो क्या हम उनका शासन स्वीकार करेंगे? इसी तरह से भाषा का प्रश्न है और अंग्रेजी भाषा का प्रश्न है। चाहे कितनी बड़ी क्यो न हो, कितनी समर्थ क्यो न हो, लेकिन वह एक विदेशी भाषा है और उसको आसानी के साथ देश की जनता स्वीकार नहीं कर सकती है। जैसा आप कहते हैं कि हिन्दी को प्यार से पढाइये, उसी तरह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी को भी प्यार से पढाइये। जिस तरह से अंग्रेजी विदेशी भाषा के रूप में आई है और जिस तरह से हमने अंग्रेजी के स्मारकों को अंग्रेजी शासन की मूर्तियों को हटा दिया, गुलामी के चिन्हों को हटा दिया है, उसी तरह से हम अंग्रेजी भाषा को भी हटाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह भाषा गुलामी का चिन्ह बनकर हमारे ऊपर लटकी हुई है, हमारी सस्कृति को मिटाती जा रही है और हमारी वेशभूषा को खत्म करती जा रही है तथा हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार फैलाती जा रही है।

SHRIBRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, how long will he continue? How long will you allow him? Will you allow all to talk like this?

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मान्यवर मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Does the House not want to hear him any further?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : If he goes on like this we will not have time to speak. It is not a public meeting.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मान्यवर जो विधेयक है, वह किसी समस्या को हल नहीं करता है। यह हल इसलिए नहीं करता है कि दक्षिण के लोग, हमारे कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष श्री कामराज तक भी इससे सतुष्ट नहीं हैं। और उत्तर के लोग भी सतुष्ट नहीं हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने पर खुद नियंत्रण करें। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है जो आप कर रहे हैं।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : Because he belongs to the Congress Party you are tolerating.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : मान्यवर, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह विधेयक किसी को सतुष्ट नहीं कर सका है। जिस काम को विधान परिषद ने दो वर्षों में किया था उसको यह दो दिन में अनडूँ कर रहा है। उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि कानून में राजभाषा तो हिन्दी ही बनी रहेगी। किन्तु इस विधेयक का असर यह होगा कि हमारी जो डी फ़ैक्टो राजभाषा होगी वह अंग्रेजी होगी और अंग्रेजी डीजूर राजभाषा रह जायेगी। मैं यहाँ पर इलाहाबाद की मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। इलाहाबाद उत्तर प्रदेश की राजधानी थी और आज तक कायदे कानून के अनुसार बनी हुई है। आज तक ऐसा कोई आदेश नहीं हुआ कि वह राजधानी नहीं होगी। लेकिन राजधानी लखनऊ खसकर चली गई। इसी तरह से हिन्दी डीजूर रहेगी और डी फ़ैक्टो 6 P.M. राजभाषा अंग्रेजी हो जायेगी। इस विधेयक से यही असर होने वाला है। महोदय, मैं त्रिभाषा फार्मूला . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव): क्या फार्मूला की बात कर रहे हैं। आपको आधा घंटा हो गया है।

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : I am finishing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : What finishing? This is not the way to behave, I am sorry to say that.

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : इन शब्दों के साथ मान्यवर, जो प्रस्ताव मैंने किया है इस सदन के सामने कि यह प्रस्तुत विधेयक इस सदन की प्रवर समिति को सुपे्रद किया जाय, उसको मैं प्रस्तुत करता हूँ। मैं यह उचित समझता हूँ कि सरकार इस विधेयक को वापस ले ले। यह संविधान के विरुद्ध भी है, यह किसी को भी संतुष्ट नहीं करता है और जो मर्ज है उसका यह इलाज नहीं है। इसलिये इसको प्रवर समिति के सामने भेजने का प्रस्ताव सरकार को स्वीकार करना चाहिए, इस से सरकार को कुछ समय मिल जायगा सोचने समझने का। और अगर सबको मान्य कोई हल निकल सकता हो, तो उसको निकालना चाहिये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने निवेदन को समाप्त करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I am sorry the hon. Member has not exercised the restraint which he should have exercised on himself. He has encroached upon other Members' time. Mr. Jairamdas.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated) : Sir, the atmosphere of the house as generated by the last speaker, who of course spoke with the greatest sincerity of feeling, makes me hesitant to express fully what I would like to express. Still I will try to do my duty and speak briefly and as quietly as I can.

I, along with so many other Members of this House and the other House, had also functioned in the Constituent Assembly and I remember the night when we reached a complete deadlock on the question of the official language. On no other issue were the differences so acute as on this issue. We were afraid that the differ-

ences seemed to be so irreconcilable that the Constituent Assembly would break. After having fought the British, we, the representatives of the people, were not able to come to an arrangement on this question of our official language. Somehow the leadership of the time saved the situation and the matter was adjourned to one and a half year, not deliberately adjourned for that length of time but because they realised that they must come to a settlement of this question before they could frame the Constitution properly. And so one of the basic issues which came up was the language issue. Which was the language that was to become the official language? Hindi. But on that there was no settlement. A compromise was achieved, after discussions over months in committees and sub-committees, that the Hindi would be a representative Hindi. It would be a Hindi which would also represent the other languages in the country. It was after that that article 351 and the Eighth Schedule came into existence. That is, the official language was to be what I call National Hindi.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I can understand the emotion felt by speakers whose mother-tongue is Hindi. But the Hindi that was intended to be the official language was the language in terms of Article 351 which was later on incorporated in the Constitution and so also the Eighth Schedule which mentioned the sources from which that language was to become representative. I do not want to blame anybody. It is we who are to blame. We did not try to see that in the course of these 19 years this Hindi should have become in form National Hindi so that all the representatives of the other linguistic groups may feel that they would also be in the picture in this language. We could evolve a representative language taking something from all those languages. Some other mistakes also were made. But as I said, I blame nobody, and the situation went from bad to worse. But when we decided upon the above compromise, I remember the atmosphere of the Constituent Assembly. There was, if I mistake not, only one solitary dissident in the whole Constituent Assembly and that was Seth Govind Das who again recently registered this dissent. All the others accepted that National Hindi, in terms of Article 351, would be the official language though it was put down as Hindi. But Article 351 and the Schedule were also there to operate as one whole.

At the present time we are facing the same question again. But the atmosphere in which we are discussing it is not the atmosphere which we had then, I consider that behind this issue of the language is a larger, more fundamental, more basic issue, and that issue is political, that issue is about the dominance of the national sentiment in the heart of each one of us.

After all, our nation is a composite nation. We cannot get away from that fact. If I may use a simile or metaphor, the nation is very much like a garden with multi-coloured, multi-scented flowers. It is a composite nation. It is a union of units each representing its own variety. Now, in such a situation, we must develop the feeling that we are a national family. If we are a national family, then in a national family there is place for elders, there is place for youngsters, there is place for the weaker and the stronger, there is place for the richer and the poorer. We must develop that national sense. Since then we have begun to lose it. Today we are in my humble opinion, certainly strengthening Hindi in the Hindi regions. We are also strengthening, to some extent Hindi in the Indian Union administration. But I feel that we are weakening the structure of the national sentiment.

We are really suffering in one direction while we are gaining in another direction. We see exactly what is in front of us. Do we not see what is in front of us? We see how some of our friends in U.P. or in Bihar or in Delhi are functioning. We see also how Madras and some other parts of India are reacting. If we function in this manner, we may appear to solve the language question, but we will create far bigger problems before us. I, therefore, suggest that, having that as our basic consideration, we have to function as a national family unless we have made up our mind not to function as one family. In that national family, surely, even Nagaland has got its place. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru did the greatest act of statesmanship in creating a state even for that small area. There is a place also for our Tamil friends, also for our Anglo-Indian friends who fought so bravely against Pakistan only two years ago, whose mother-tongue is English, and whose mothers anciently were our own Indian sisters. Therefore, what I say is let us function as a national family.

In this context I would like to say one or two words about the English language and our approach to the Hindi

language. Let us not continue to feel that we are slaves. Let us not continue to feel that the British are ruling over us. Those days are gone. The British are gone. If we have not the sense of being free men, if we have not the sense of living in a free country, we will never be able to function properly, suitably and satisfactorily. I use English but I have not the sense of being a slave. I do not feel that I am using any master's language. I am using a language which has utility value, not a mere library language: it is not only a language for international contact but it is a utility language. In what sense is it a utility language? First of all let me put it plainly that it is a utility language for inter-communication between one section of Indians and the other sections to day. It may not be hereafter. But to day it is the instrument of inter-communication among the intelligentsia and the top leaders who do count. The masses also count but they are also influenced, instructed and guided by the top leadership in every party in every country. For the top leadership of the country in the cultural, political, economic, educational and other spheres, the inter-communicating link with a section of our own Indian brothers, who are members of our own family, happens to be to day and for some time English. Now look at what is happening after freedom? What is our dress? Even the strongest supporters of Hindi, I find, are dressed to day in the western dress or the English dress which we copied from the English. I also find that the students who are creating all kinds of interesting events in this country are mostly putting on English dress. There is a tremendous rush for the English and the western form of dress and western modes after freedom. That is all a question of choice. They are not copying the British because they were our masters. They do it out of free choice. Because they find it easy, convenient and advantageous from the utilitarian point of view, they wear such dress.

Let us, therefore understand that our approach about English must not be on the basis of any sentiment. We must, as politicians rise above that kind of sentiment and prejudice if that sentiment and prejudice is irrational and is coming in the way of unity. Therefore, I say that we must give a place in our political thinking, in our political action, and in our legislation, to the factor that a part of the Indian nation is thinking in a particular direction. We must go to the utmost length possible to bring them towards us.

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram]

I request the Government that what they have not done these 19 years, they must start doing from to-day, that is, from to-day the Hindi language must in terms of Article 351 begin to be representative of all the languages which are in the Eighth Schedule. After all, what was Mahatma Gandhi's way of dealing with won opponents? He never appealed to the brain or the mind of the opponent except through his heart. He functioned in an affectionate manner. He functioned in a reasonable manner. He functioned in a receptive manner. And that enabled him to persuade his opponents to see his point of view. I do say that our own approach to our friends who are to-day against Hindi must change. There must be no coercion, no incidents of the type which have disfigured U. P., Bihar and Delhi. After all, what are we come to? Delhi is a cosmopolitan town. Delhi is an international town in a sense. How can we say that every car in this city owned by anybody, Hindi-speaking or not, must have only a Hindi number-plate? We can persuade people about Hindi language, and see to it in due time. But you cannot do it by force in the street. And I do not think that you are raising the prestige either of Hindi or of the Hindi-lovers or of the country by this attitude. After all, Delhi is an international city, a cosmopolitan city. There are friends here from every part of India and the World. So I request that our approach with regard to Hindi must also be one of affection. Let us cut out all coercion in our action and let us not even appear to be coercive. Let us now make our Hindi as representative as possible. Let us draw material from all the languages and enrich Hindi. That is the true Hindi of which we should be proud. And when I speak Hindi, I will be using words of Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and words of other languages, Sindhi also. And I will feel one with their speakers. That feeling of oneness cannot be created by a language which is entirely based on the idiom of a particular region. That is the basic difficulty with us.

Now we fought the British. We made many sacrifices—I do not want to mention them. Lakhs of us went to jail, faced shooting and prison life and lost property. And now the British are gone. Let us look at the state of our country after these 20 years. Let us not forget that other people are also looking at this great India, this great India of Gandhiji and Nehru. Let us see what we have made of our country. How many focii of division,

focii of discontent, focii of discord are there? Let us see what is happening. Are we going to create one after another more and more forces of disintegration? So I would request you to look at this matter from a larger, broader, and a political and national point of view. The interests of the country as a whole means as a whole. It does not mean the majority. (*Interruption from the Visitors' Gallery*) For God's sake, do not interrupt.

That nation is a nation which cares for the smallest minority. It is when the smallest minority is taken care of that a nation is a nation. A family is a united family when that family takes care of the weakest member of it. Therefore, I suggest that in this matter we should not create more complications. We have our problems. We have problems of poverty, problems of land reform and problems of many other types, cultural, political, economic, etc. and we all forget that there are certain international complications on our East and on our West. We seem to forget all that. In the midst of that, we are functioning like this. I, therefore, request that whatever may be the decision which Parliament may arrive at, let us start making...

SHRI M. H. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Sir if I may interrupt him, you know just now from the Visitors Gallery, one stranger threw some leaflets here and shouted slogans. Sir, this sort of incident took place in the Lok Sabha also. This is absolutely unfair and this is not according to the decorum dignity and the traditions of this House. So necessary action should be taken against that person.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Yes, they are taking proper action.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM: I will conclude in one minute. Let us, therefore, with the largest possible heart approach this question of Hindi when we go to friends in Madras, Nagaland and elsewhere. I, therefore, say that unless our approach is different from to-day, we will create more complications even for Hindi. To-day there is greater resistance against Hindi than there was a few years ago. Let our approach be friendly, let our approach be as to a member of our own family, a member of our own nation. Then, I am sure, gradually and gradually, the opposition will vanish. Let us not argue with them about this matter. Let us act correctly ourselves and leave it to have its effect on the other party's mind.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Chordia.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल और आज के वक्ताओं ने जो वक्तव्य दिए उसमें प्रमुखतः पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के आश्वासनों को दोहराया। पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के आश्वासनों को दोहराने के बाद कई वक्ताओं ने उसका जबाब भी दिया और यह बताया कि 1963 का जो विधेयक था वह उनके आश्वासनों की इच्छा की पूर्ति की दृष्टि से था। यह बात कही गई कि उनके आश्वासनों में यह बात थी कि जो अहिन्दीभाषी क्षेत्र है वे जब कहेंगे कि हमारे यहां पर हिन्दी का प्रयोग चालू करना चाहिए तब करें, इसको विधेयक में शामिल कर लिया जाय, उस समय भी उन्होंने यही कहा था कि यह बंड प्रिंसीडेंट होगा और इसको उसमें इनकारपोरेट करने की जरूरत नहीं, यह ठीक नहीं होगा—That would create an extraordinary situation and would be a wrong precedent उसको कानून की शक्ल देना न्याय-संगत नहीं है। जहां तक उनके विचार है, उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा है कि—English cannot continue as medium of instruction. Hindi is suitable as link language. इस तरह से उन्होंने अपनी बातों को कहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह कहा जाय कि वे केवल इंगलिश के हिमायती थे, हिन्दी को नहीं चाहते थे यह गलत होगा। उन्होंने स्वयं इसी आशय से कहा कि हिन्दी हमने मान्य कर ली है लिंक लैंग्वेज के रूप में। कब तक अंग्रेजी को चलाया जाय उसके लिए वे चाहते थे कि प्रेम भाव से स्वीकार करके आगे बढ़ें तो ठीक होगा।

कई बन्धुओं ने यह दलील दी कि हिन्दी का विकास नहीं हुआ। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वैसे देखा जाय तो कोई भी भाषा अपने आप में परिपूर्ण नहीं है, उसको दूसरी भाषाओं से सब्द लेने पड़ते हैं। जैसे-जैसे विज्ञान का विकास होता है, नए-नए सब्द उसमें जुड़ते जाएंगे, जुड़ते जा रहे हैं। अक्सर यह दलील दी गई उन लोगों के द्वारा जो हिन्दी को विशेष

जानते नहीं हैं। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर वे 1947 से पूर्व की स्थिति देखें या 1947 के बाद की भी, मध्य भारत, राजस्थान और हैदराबाद में अपनी भारतीय भाषाओं में निर्णय दिए जाते थे, सारा काम चलता था, कोई रुकावट नहीं हुई। इसलिए यह दलील देना कि इसमें पूरा विकास नहीं हो पाया है न्याय-संगत नहीं होगा। कोई भी भाषा अपने आप में परिपूर्ण नहीं है। और यही दलील उस समय दी जाती थी जब कि इंग्लैंड में सरकारी कामकाज के लिये फ्रेंच और लैटिन चलती थी और जो साधारण नागरिक था वह अंग्रेजी ही बोलता था और जो बुद्धिजीवी लोग थे, डाक्टर थे, वकील थे, वे कहते थे कि अंग्रेजी आ जायेगी तो काम नहीं चलेगा, मरीज का इलाज नहीं होगा और हम कोई काम नहीं कर सकेंगे, लेकिन सत्रहवीं सदी में वहां अंग्रेजी आई और लैटिन तथा फ्रेंच के प्रभाव को धीरे धीरे कम किया। तो अगर यह कहा जाय कि वह एक भाषा रहेगी तभी हमारी उन्नति रहेगी, तभी हम कुछ कर सकेंगे, यह न्यायसंगत नहीं। संसार के कई देश हैं, हम यूरोपियन कंट्रीज में जायें, वहां इंगलिश का इतना ज्यादा प्रचार नहीं है, वहां फ्रेंच ज्यादा पापुलर है बजाय इंगलिश के। तो ऐसी स्थिति में यदि केवल यह कहा जाय कि इंगलिश रहेगी तो काम चलेगा और अगर हिन्दी आयेगी तो काम समाप्त हो जायेगा, कोई दलील नहीं, मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा, हां, अंग्रेजी का आग्रह उनको हो यह तो कुछ समझ में आता है लेकिन यह कहें कि हिन्दी के आने से सब चौपट हो जायगा, यह कोई बात नहीं। यह भाव नहीं रखना चाहिये। ऐसा भी नहीं है कि यह समस्या केवल हमारे यहां है, और देशों में भी रही है। रूस इतना बड़ा देश है, सोवियट यूनियन में छोटे छोटे हिस्से मिले, वहां कई भाषाये हैं, केवल इस्लाम धर्म के मानन वालों की करीब 26 भाषाये हैं लेकिन उन 26 भाषाओं को एक सूत्र में बांधते हुये उन्होने वहां की जो भाषा समस्या थी उसको हल किया। वहां उजबेकी, तातारी, अजहरीज

[श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया]

वगैरह इस तरह की 26 भाषायें हैं और उनके बारे में उन्होंने जो पालीसी अपनाई वह देखने के काबिल है। मेरे पास यह एक किताब "Islam in the Soviet Union" है, उसमें यह लिखा है :

"The linguistic policy of the Soviet authorities has a double objective: it consists, on the one hand, in developing the national languages by enriching them, and, on the other, in making Russian the 'second national language' of all the non-Russians. They appear to hope that, in time, Russian will become the supernational language spoken by the most advanced elements of the population of the Soviet Union."

फिर आगे इसमें इसी तरह से बताया है :—

"There is not, however, any question of the local languages disappearing."

जैसी शंका यहां पर की जाती है कि रीजनल-लैंग्वेजज गड़बड़ में पड़ जायगी उसके लिये इसमें यह बताया है :—

"There is not, however, any question of the local languages disappearing. 'Advanced' Muslims do not lose the use of their mother tongue; they simply become bilingual, Russian being the professional and administrative language while the national languages only used outside working hours."

तो इस दृष्टि से हमारे देश में भी राष्ट्र को एक सूत्र में बांधने के लिये अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि एक लिख भाषा हो, एक सहभाषा हो। बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि हाउस का प्रत्येक सदस्य इस बात को स्वीकार करता है कि हमारे यहां पर एक भाषा होनी चाहिये, फर्क सिर्फ इतना है कि कितनी देर से हो और किस तरह से हो, कैसे उसको लायें, तो इस प्रश्न का हम सब अपने बैठ कर के हल निकाल सकते हैं, मगर इसकी आड़ में केवल यह कहते रहे कि अंग्रेजी को चलाते जाय तो युनिटी खतरे में पड़ जायगी तो मैं मन्त्र प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हिन्दी का कभी यह उद्देश्य नहीं हो सकता कि हमारे देश में फूट डाली जाय, उसका उद्देश्य तो यह है कि जो देश में

बिखरी हुई कई बोलियां हैं, भाषायें हैं, उनको एक सूत्र में बांधे और इस सारे देश को एकसूत्रता में बांधे और इसी दृष्टि से हिन्दी को लिख भाषा के रूप में रखा गया है। 15 साल का बंधन होते हुये भी संविधान के निर्माताओं ने उस समय ही ऐसी व्यवस्था रखा कि अगर परिस्थिति ठीक न हो तो आगे भी इसको चलाने की व्यवस्था हो सके लेकिन एक इनडेफाइट टाइम के लिये इसको टाल दें यह भी ठीक नहीं होगा। जो भी बन्धु यहां सभी दलों के बैठे हैं वे सभी कहते हैं कि हिन्दी से कोई मतभेद नहीं है मगर अभी इसके लिये समय नहीं है, अभी वह डेवलप नहीं है, तो फिर वह समय कब आयेगा। अगर कोई यह कहे कि हिन्दी हम तब सीखेंगे जब कि वह पूरी तरह से विकसित हो जायेगी तो यह तो ठीक नहीं, यह तो वैसा ही है जैसे कि कोई कहे कि हम नदी में तब उतरेंगे जब कि हम तैरना सीख जायेंगे, बिना नदी में उतरे तो तैरना सीखना आ नहीं सकता, नदी में उतरे बिना तैरना तो आ नहीं सकता, इस लिये यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि हमारे यहां पर धीरे धीरे हिन्दी का प्रसार हो, हम यह करें। अब प्रश्न यह आता है कि जो यह विधेयक आया है कि कहां तक हमारी आकांक्षाओं के अनुकूल है। हिन्दी के जो समर्थक हैं वे भी कहते हैं कि यह हमारा आकांक्षाओं के अनुकूल नहीं है और जो हिन्दी को जल्दी लाना नहीं चाहते वह भी कहते हैं कि हमारी आकांक्षाओं के अनुकूल नहीं है, तो ऐसी स्थिति में हमारी सरकार क्यों जबरदस्ती करके गले यह उतारना चाहती है। क्यों नहीं इसको वापस लेती और अगर वापस नहीं ले सकती है तो इसको वह सेलेक्ट कमिटी को भंज दे ताकि वहां पर बैठ कर के शान्ति से इस पर विचार हो सके, इसको विवाद का विषय न बनायी जाय। इतने दिनों की चर्चा के बाद यह तो साफ हो चुका है कि हिन्दी के बारे में विरोध नहीं है, हिन्दी मूल भाषा है और अंग्रेजी उसके साथ में सहभाषा के रूप में हमारे यहां चल सकती है, अब प्रश्न केवल इतना ही है कि इस को किस तरह से चलाया जाये। जससे कि हिन्दी भी धीरे धीरे

आ जाय और अग्रजी भी धीरे धीरे यह स्थान ले ले कि ज्ञान की दृष्टि से या और बाहर के सम्पर्क रखने की दृष्टि से सीखनी आवश्यक हो। तो इसको व्यापक विवाद का विषय बनाने की अपेक्षा यह उचित है कि जो भिन्न भिन्न दल के लोग हैं, भिन्न भिन्न विचार रखने वाले हैं, वह एक स्थान पर बैठ कर यह सोचे कि कैसे इसको किया जाय, किस तरह से हम अपनी इस भाषा को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं, लेकिन यह न करके केवल इसको चर्चा और प्रतिस्पर्धा का विषय बनाये यह ठीक नहीं रहेगा। कल यहाँ पर दूकानें लूटी जाय, परसों वहाँ पर लूटी जाय यह कोई नहीं चाहता। यहाँ पर जो भाषण हुय वह बाहर की धटनाओं को देख करके हुये मगर किसी ने यहाँ पर यह नहीं कहा कि यह चीज अच्छी हुई कि यह दूकान लूटी गई, इम चीज को सब कन्डम करते हैं। फिर यह होता क्यों है। होता इसलिये है कि लोगों की भावनाये जामूत होती ह, हिन्दी भाषी लोग सम त है कि बिल के आने के कारण इसके बाद हम लोगों को कोई पूछेगा नहीं, नौकरी में हमारे लिये व्यवस्था नहीं हो पायेगी और अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्र वाले अपने मन में समझते हैं कि हिन्दी वाले अपनी मानोपली चाहते हैं, हिन्दा हमारे ऊपर थोपना चाहते हैं। यह जो आपस में द्वेषभाव है इसको प्रेम से बदलना पड़ेगा। इस ने समस्या को कैसे हाथ में लिया, उनके हाथ में तो सत्ता थी, उनका अधिनायकवादी देश है, वह घौस से भी काम लेते हैं, हम ऐसा नहीं कर सकते हैं, हम तो प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास रखते हैं और हम प्रेम के आधार पर ही . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, just now my friend was referring very much to Russia but I may tell him if he refers to the Russian literature, the book which is published in Russian, he will find that after the Revolution Lenin was approached on the question of language. Some people asked "What to do with the Russian language?" He said, "Do not try to force it. Let people voluntarily accept it and let the other languages of the various nationalities also grow." The line they pursued is one of per-

suasion leaving it to the people to bring about other changes in their socio-economic and cultural life so that the language could establish itself

SHRI TARKESHWAR PANDE : But there was dictatorship. There is no question of persuasion.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : उपसभापति जी, माननीय भूपेश गुप्ता जी ने जो कहा उस बात में मैं उनसे असहमत नहीं हूँ, फर्क केवल इतना है कि अधिनायकवादी देश होने के नाते उनके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में जो घौस का भाव छिपा रहता है ऊपर में जो दिखता नहीं है लेकिन अन्दर से छिपा हुआ घौस का भाव है उससे काम न ले, हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में प्रेम का भाव उसकी जगह ले और प्रेम का भाव लेकर, एक साथ बिल्कुल आत्मीयता के साथ, हम सब एक हैं इस भाव को लेकर हम आगे चले और आगे सारे देश को जो हिन्दी भाषा का धारा है उसमें ही इस तरह से एक सूत्र में बाधने का प्रयत्न करें। इसको तोड़ने का कारण जो समझते हैं उनसे मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वह इस दिशा में विचार करें कि यह जो हिन्दी को दश को तोड़ने वाली, विभक्त करने वाली, भाषा समझते हैं उस बात को भूलें और हिन्दी को देश को एक सूत्र में बाधने वाली भाषा समझें।

SHRI M. VERO (Nagaland) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Language Bill which is before the House has been thoroughly discussed and debated in the other House, and in fact they have already passed the Bill. Though there is very limited scope for us to bring any amendment to this Bill, yet, I as a Member of this House would like to express myself frankly about the merits and demerits of the Bill.

At the outset I feel ashamed of those leaders who are exploiting the sentiments of the student community under the pretext of the Language Bill. A lot of destruction has been done by the students in many Hindi-speaking States including Delhi, the capital of India. It is really regrettable that many of our leaders believe and take pride in the destruction of national property and are also creating a law and order situation in the country. I warn

[Shri M. Vero]

those leaders who are fomenting trouble all over the country on this issue. It is really a pity that they work only behind the scene and let other innocent people suffer for their selfish political ends.

The framers of the Constitution of India in fact made an initial mistake by recognising too many official languages in the country. When the mood of the country was in favour of Hindi to be the official language of India, they should have chosen only Hindi and English to be both official as well as link languages. Any hasty decision on this issue will have many deplorable consequences at the present moment in the country. There can be no two opinions as far as the national language is concerned.

India being a sovereign country, it must have a national language of its own, and in the Constitution of India it is clearly written that Hindi will be the official language of India and that, at the same time, equal importance should be given to all the regional languages. But we should remember that language is not anything which can be manufactured in a factory within a certain period of time. It has to grow through long process like human lives. Therefore, English has to continue for an indefinite period at both the Central and State levels. English is as much an Indian language as any other language of India, because it is the mother tongue of millions of people including a recognised Indian minority, the Anglo-Indians. Recently, the Governments of both Madras and Nagaland have decided to have English as their official language in lieu of regional language. Therefore English becomes an Indian language, also because both Nagaland and Madras and also the Anglo-Indians are very much within the Indian Union. If English is called a foreign language, then all other regional languages are foreign languages to one another. That means—I can predict that India may become a nation without any language. Strictly speaking, English is a part of our language. Therefore, there is no justification for saying that English is foreign language. In fact, English is like a mirror through which the non-Hindi-speaking people can see Hindi, and if English is destroyed, then Hindi language is gone for ever. Those people whom I will call Hindi fanatics want to impose Hindi on others and exhibit their supremacy in the name of "One India", and naturally, reaction is bound to come. Let us therefore examine this problem

dispassionately so that we may maintain the importance of Hindi as well as the unity and integrity of the country.

As the hon. Members would recall, the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis has given rise to secessionist tendencies in the country. Instead of developing an all round India outlook, people are developing the spirit of provincialism, and their ideas, opinions and thinking are confined to their own respective provinces. Since we have already committed ourselves to the principle of reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis, bifurcation of the country has to come and we have to apply the same yard-stick whether they are a majority or a minority.

Hon. Members should remember that we have already sown the seeds of disintegration in the country in the formation of various sorts of *Senas* and Shiv Sena and Hindi Sena are glaring examples today of the disintegration taking place.

Now, if the medium of instruction in the colleges and universities is switched over to regional languages, even our educational institutions will cater only to the needs of their own States and thus there will be no contact among the younger generation who will be the leaders of our nation tomorrow. Now one born in his own State and grown up in the same atmosphere will always have a narrow outlook. This will greatly hamper the emotional integration of the people of India. I am sure the future generation will find out the blunder that we are committing today.

Sir, it is really amusing to note that many of our leaders are sending their children either to English standard schools or abroad for better education and yet, for the sake of political advantage, they are preaching for the Hindi language. The orthodox Hindi medium schools are therefore meant only for the poor people of the country. This is nothing but mere hypocrisy, and if the country is governed in this manner, I do not know how long it will take to achieve our goal, viz. socialism.

Today in India unity of all the communities is possible only under the umbrella of secularism. English is the only one language which links all the States in India. Once we break this link, we cannot talk about the unity and integrity of the country. People should remember that in our country there are many millions of people who do not know Hindi, and

if any attempt is made to impose Hindi on them, there will be chaos, bloodshed and revolution. It is therefore necessary that the leaders should very calmly and coolly think about the consequences as a result of the imposition of the Hindi language on others. I would like to remind the House that people in the Eastern region of India are restive otherwise, and if we start imposing Hindi on them, we would be giving them a good handle to strike at the Centre. This aspect of the problem is not only political but human also. Good sense should prevail in the minds of Hindi-speaking people so that the non-Hindi-speaking people may also learn the Hindi language as a necessity, but not as compulsion. Unless and until we create this climate of goodwill among the non-Hindi-speaking people, Hindi will never become the official language of India.

Lastly Nagaland State has decided to have English as their official language for many reasons. Firstly, there are about twenty dialects in Nagaland and none of them has been included in the Eighth Schedule as the official language of India. Secondly, Sir, English is the only language which was taught to the people in high schools and colleges. All official transactions are carried on in English. Thirdly, people have just started learning Hindi in schools and therefore it will take at least dozens of years to attain the proficiency in Hindi. In view of all these practical difficulties the Government of Nagaland is bound to adopt English as their official language but, side by side, Hindi will be taught in all institutions in Nagaland. And while Nagas are trying hard to learn Hindi with good intentions, if any attempt is made to impose Hindi on the Nagas by the Union Government with the influence of those conservative Hindi-speaking leaders, the entire people of Nagaland will launch a revolution against the Union Government. This is a war of language. Therefore, the Nagas must resist the Hindi aggression with all their might and resources, and I am sure the non-Hindi-speaking races will win the victory. If the Government of India wants the entire border people to be with them, no attempt should be made to impose Hindi on those people. On the other hand, a special provision should be made in the Constitution to allow them to have English as their official language till such time as the people are capable of carrying on the administration either in Hindi or any other language of India. Secondly, I wish that some provision should be made for the state of

Nagaland, in view of the decision made by the State, to have English as its official language and also make it possible to communicate with all other states including the Centre in English. Lastly, in order to speed up the process of learning Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking States including Nagaland, a provision should be made so that Roman script can be used in place of Hindi script which is too complicated and difficult for the beginners. But I do not find any provision in the present Bill and therefore I would request the Home Minister to explain to us as to how this problem will be sorted out in time of implementation of the three-language formula.

With these few words I conclude my speech with the hope that the hon. Members will realise that the unity and integrity of the country is much more important than the language issue.

MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

- I. THE UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES (PREVENTION) BILL, 1967
- II. THE MANIPUR APPROPRIATION BILL, 1967
- III. THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1967
- IV. THE HARYANA APPROPRIATION BILL, 1967
- V. THE APPROPRIATION (No. 3) BILL, 1967
- VI. THE APPROPRIATION (No. 4) BILL, 1967

SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :—

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"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Bill, 1967, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 20th December, 1967."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I think the time when we receive this should be recorded. It is 6.40 p.m. on 21st December.