

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We are happy that the Government has taken this decision about Mangalore.

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Shukla,

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): We would like to have the Home Minister here. Mr. Chavan should reply, of course without any disrespect to Mr. Shukla, let that be clearly understood.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He may come later.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Is he intervening or replying?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am replying.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: I want to say something. I quite appreciate that Mr. Shukla is a very intelligent and effective member of the Home Ministry. I have got great respect for him personally, but I must lodge a protest. Is this the way in which the Home Minister is going to treat this problem? Do they think that the language problem is so simple that the Minister concerned need not come here, or do they think that the Rajya Sabha is inferior to the Lok Sabha? I demand the presence of the Home Minister. May be Mr. Shukla may be able to speak, but we demand as a matter of prestige, as a matter of right, that the Home Minister must come here. Let me lodge my protest at the way they are treating the language problem. That shows that they do not show it the importance it deserves. Let Parliament note my protest.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): If Mr. Chavan has no time, let us postpone it till tomorrow.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASAPATHY (Madras): This particular debate has created so much of confusion particularly in Madras and South India that it has assumed national significance. Wherever you see, violence is being committed or attempted to be committed. I would only respectfully appeal to you, Sir, that on this occasion if any of the points are to be met which were raised by the Members of this House, I am sure it will be only fittingly replied to by the hon. Home Minister. Not that I have any disrespect for Mr. Shukla, but I demand on behalf of the Members of this House that the Home Minister should reply.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: We demand the presence of the Home Minister.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: If he has no time to reply, you postpone it till tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I will convey the sentiments of the House . . .

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: No, no . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please sit down. You should show more respect. Ladies always have great respect for the Chair and dignity.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: I do not speak here as a lady. I speak here as a Member of Parliament.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I would ask Mr. Shukla to continue. I would convey the sentiments of the House to the Home Minister.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh): We want the Home Minister. Let other Members speak till he comes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Order, please. No more talk. I want to say that certainly I will convey your sentiments to Mr. Chavan.

(At this stage Shri Y. B. Chavan entered the House)

I will ask Mr. Chavan. If he is ready, he will reply. Otherwise Mr. Shukla will reply . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: The hon. Member of the D.M.K. Party, Mr. Somasundaram, has been trying very hard for the last few days. Mr. Ramaswamy spoke for fifteen minutes. His party is violently opposed to the Bill, and I am sure the Home Minister himself would like to hear the D.M.K. Member who has been trying hard to catch the eye of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Mani, sometimes you stand for wrong advocacy. I have the greatest regard for that party. Mr. Ramaswamy has conveyed it. Now it is time that we went on with the business. I call the Home Minister to speak.

श्री पंदरीनाथ सीतारामजी वाडील
(महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ हमारे मंत्रिमंडल के सदस्यों के बारे में, हाउस में राज्य मंत्री महोदय हिन्दी भाषाभाषी है, केवल इसी एक कारण से उनको भाषण नहीं करने देना यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। मंत्रियों की प्रतिष्ठा रखने का जो एक तरीका है उसको सबको मानना चाहिये।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Mr. Vice-Chairman, certainly I am prepared to respect the wishes of the House, but I do not concede the point that the Minister of State cannot reply. Certainly I would like to respect the wishes of the Members of this House. Certainly I am in touch with the points raised in this House, but the other day a point was made by some of the Members here that it was better to listen to all the speeches

in order to reply. I was busy in the other House for the other Bill, and naturally I could not attend, but I listened to some of the speeches here. Much of the opposition which is raised against this Bill is rather ill-conceived, ill-conceived in this sense that they have not really speaking understood, either they have not understood or they do not want to understand, the basic purposes of this Bill. What is the basic policy about the official language or the link language of this country? That, really speaking, is the basic question that we have to consider.

One thing is very clear. The Constitution has accepted and the country has accepted that one of the Indian languages will be the official language of this country, and that language is Hindi. On that there cannot be two opinions, because this is the position that the Constitution has accepted. But the Constitution-makers in their own wisdom also decided that if Hindi does not become in all its aspects the official language within a given period, then Parliament can by an Act, allow English also to continue as an associate language. That position was accepted by the Act that we passed in 1963. But even then we found that in some areas there were some misunderstandings about this position, and therefore the then Prime Minister of India on behalf of Government declared in Parliament that English would not be discontinued till the non-Hindi-speaking States accepted this position, and his successor, our esteemed Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, also repeated the same assurance to the Parliament. The purpose of this Act is to codify those assurances. This is really speaking the basic thing. I do not know why there should be any objection to this. I know there are two extreme views about this matter because people who believe in Hindi feel that English is being imposed on them, and those who want English to continue for some time feel that Hindi is being imposed on them. Sir, we have to accept one thing that those who want English to continue also must accept this basic thing that if this country has to function democratically, then we will have to have one of our

own languages as the link language. If they say that only because English is there—I am not anti-English; I do not believe in this 'hatao' business though I am a very keen supporter of Hindi; I am not also anti-English. At least certainly some people will have to take up a rational position in this country. English is also one of the leading languages of the world, a language of science, and it is a fact that historical accident has made a gift of this language to us. Not that we wanted it, it was an historical accident that has made a gift of this language to us. We certainly wanted British imperialism to quit, but we are not enemies of language because language connotes many good things also. But I am not here advocating the cause of English, but I just wanted to explain our position in this matter.

AN HON. MEMBER: You can.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I can do many things, but I do not want to do that. At the same time though I am not anti-English, there is no doubt in my mind that English cannot be the language through which we can run the democratic administration of the country. If we take a view of history, we find that in the last few centuries—some others may take a different view but this is my humble view in this matter—sometimes Persian was the official language of the country; sometimes Urdu was the official language of this country.

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AN HON. MEMBER: What about Sanskrit?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sanskrit was never the official language of this country. Sanskrit was certainly the language of scholars, it was the language of our culture. That is why, really speaking, it was inevitable for different scholars to move from one area to another and give us the image of the common culture of this country. I mention the classic example of the first and the great Shankaracharya, a young man of Malabar, who walked through the soil of India and reached the highest peaks of the Himalayas, Badrinath and Kedar-nath . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): In Kashmir also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: In Kashmir also, as Mr. Sapru reminded me very rightly. I am glad about that. But at the same time during the Muslim period or the British period, Persian and later English became the official language to administer and these were the languages of the upper classes because the administration was also of the upper classes. When we want to reach the people of India, when we want to know their urges, when we want to know their basic feelings so that we can translate them in our day-to-day administration, in our day-to-day policies, naturally the administration of this country will have to be run in an Indian language. This is a fact of life from which nobody should, in blindness, try to run away that Hindi has to become the official language and the link language. I am not using deliberately the words 'national language' because I feel—this is also my view—that all the languages which are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule are the national languages. But we at the same time want all people to function together and there has to be a link language. Without a link language—and that link language has to be an Indian language—there would be the beginning of the end of the unity of this country. These are the basic facts of political life. I do not know how people in their own enthusiasm for languages forget this thing. What we are concerned with today is not about the language. When we are discussing language, we are not, really speaking, concerned about the language, what we are concerned about is the integrity and unity of this country. And it is for that purpose that we are trying to find out the different instruments, and the link language of the country is going to be the major instrument for the unity of this country. Therefore, one has to take a balanced view of this matter. Those who are in politics—we are all in politics—should take the realities of life into account. And it is also a reality that there are some people who are having some misgivings about Hindi. This is also a reality. And these people want us to wait for some time, I know

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that even in some of the Southern States—and in Andhra—people in large numbers are learning Hindi. I know the hon. Member from Andhra, Shrimati Yashoda Reddy; my hon. friend, Mr. Reddy, made a Hindi speech yesterday. I stopped and listened to his speech.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Madras?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: And Madras also. I have not forgotten Madras. That is the most important State. In Kerala also, a large number of people are learning Hindi. But they do not feel that they have reached that stage where they can straightway say that we can immediately accept Hindi and participate in the administration, participate in the national life with the help of that language. That is their feeling. Is it not the responsibility of those who want Hindi to become the link language to understand the feelings and suspicions of their brethren? If we are not trying to understand them, really speaking, we are trying to strike at the very root of the unity of this country. Therefore, I would certainly like to make an appeal to those who come from the Hindi areas and who have very strong views on English, because I am not a less lover of Hindi. And as a lover, respecter and supporter of Hindi, I would like to make an appeal to them in the interests of Hindi and in the interests of Indian unity: Please try to understand the suspicions and misgivings of some of our brothers.

Sir, if we accept this basic approach, then the question about the other details of this Bill are unimportant, if I may say so. If we are prepared to accept this position, then the other thing becomes absolutely easy to understand.

Sir, this Bill consists of a major clause, clause 2; the Preamble, clause 1 and clause 3 are just the consequentials of it. And what are we suggesting therein? I do not want to go into it because we are going into the clause-by-clause discussion about this matter.

The main question which arose was this. When we say link language or

official language, the functions of the official language is to run the Central administration in that language and then that language also has to be used in communication between the Centre and the States; and at the same time that official language will also have to play a role as the language of communication between States and States. What is the position? We said that Hindi is the major language and it will have to grow. I know that some of the criticism has also arisen out of certain suspicions of what has not happened in the last 17 or 18 years. There may be validity in that criticism. I do not merely want to reply to criticism for reply's sake. There may be some reasons. Some things have not happened. But there may also be reasons, good justifications, for what has not happened. But it is the intention of this Government to see that all steps, and energetic steps, are taken to see that Hindi grows in the administration and takes its proper place. This intention is there. If once that suspicion is removed from the minds of people, then possibly much of the criticism that is levelled against the Bill would disappear.

Sir, the point that I was mentioning was that once we accept the role of the official language or the link language as the language of administration, then we must at the same time see that every Indian is enabled to come and participate in the administration; we should try to make it easy for him to come and participate because it is right of every citizen of this country, whether he comes from Kashmir or from Kanyakumari, or whether he comes from Dwarka on that side or Nagaland on the other; he has every right to come and participate in the Central administration. We will have to make it easy for him to come and participate in this matter. Once we take up this position that there will be some people who at the initial stages may not know Hindi, there also will be people who in the initial stages may not know English. Therefore, the question arose of how we allow the administration to run. And therefore, the necessity arose of accepting the principle of providing translations.

Sir, the Bill that was presented to the Lok Sabha had said—I may tell the history as the Bill went through—that that communication should be accompanied by a translation; a translation should accompany that communication. That was the original wording in that. And there were some feelings in some quarters that we are making it compulsory for the person at the despatching end, that he should know both the languages. I tried to argue about it. Really speaking, there is nothing which is exclusively a despatching or a receiving end; every end is both a receiving and despatching end. It is quite possible that a receiving end may consist of a very small staff. It may perhaps consist of one single man. Under the Central administration, I can imagine or conceive of that position. Possibly, a post office may consist of one single Post Master. I have taken an extreme case. Suppose he is from an area which is a non-Hindi area. And if he has to write an English communication and if we were to make it compulsory that he should also send Hindi translation, then we are making it difficult for him to function. So, we saw the difficulty of that and we accepted the amendment which says that we want to give a sort of assurance to those people. But at the same time, at the other end, if there is a person who is not knowing English, we do not want him compulsorily to have an arrangement for translation at his end. So, what we have done, what we have said, is that ultimately it will be the administration's responsibility to provide translations for them. We have neither said receiving or despatching end. We will have to go into this matter; particularly this position will arise as far as the different Ministries at the Centre are concerned or the different corporations and other heads of departments or offices spread all over the country are concerned. As far as the communication between a Hindi State and the Centre, there is no compulsion on the Hindi State to send in an English translation. Certainly, at the receiving end we will take all care to see that we translate it into English. Between the Hindi States and the non-Hindi States the arrangement is that the Hindi States can write in Hindi because they wanted

to write in Hindi. They say that this is their right to write in Hindi. We said, "All right. Do send it in Hindi because it is your right". That is a fundamental right. All right. Conceded. But at the same time they should accept the basic principle to which I made a reference that since there is some sort of difficulty at the other end, so they must agree to send an English translation of it. This is the position. But we have not made any compulsion on the non-Hindi States. They certainly can send an English translation, or else at the receiving end we have made arrangement, or we have provided that by mutual agreement also they can evolve certain systems. That also you must have seen in clause 2. That arrangement is there.

As far as I see, Sir, this is the whole law. Certainly, we are giving an assurance that "unless all the States agree to this position". This is really the basic assurance. This basic assurance is not understood by some of my friends. They do not know what the assurance given by the two Prime Ministers was. The assurance was that Hindi will not be imposed on other States' administration. And that assurance stands.

This is also a criticism of this particular provision by some of the other Members that we are giving some sort of veto to some of the non-Hindi States, as if we are surrendering the sovereign right of this Parliament and accepting some sort of an imposition on it to change its mind. That is not so. If we have faith in the future of Hindi, if we have faith in the unity of this country, and if we have faith in the goodwill of other brothers and sisters who are citizens of India, then I have no doubt in my mind, I have no suspicion in my mind, that ultimately even those who do not accept Hindi today, they will accept it tomorrow or the day after. In this country this is the only thing that will help us to proceed further, and proceed further with confidence.

I do not want to go into every argument. I know this is a sort of compromise proposition, and a compromise proposition may not please everybody.

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I am not, however, saying that because all are displeased, therefore it is a good proposition.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): It pleases the Government.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I may tell you that Government is not doing something for its own pleasure. Do you think it is a pleasure to have this sort of controversy? If you ask me personally . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: How can you say that it is a compromise formula? A Hindi-knowing candidate can come here and get himself appointed whereas the non-Hindi man has to come here with the knowledge of English. Is it not a disadvantage?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am prepared to answer these doubts also. But I thought that possibly you might raise this question when we come to the clause by clause discussion. I will answer that question of yours. But are you prepared to accept that one of the Indian languages will have to be the link language?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Why not two or three like some other countries?

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: That is not so because that stage has not come. And that position has been accepted in the Constitution, in the country. Now you cannot unmake the Constitution. (Interruptions.) Let it not be a continuous dialogue. Once you take the position that one of the Indian languages is to be the link language . . . (Interruption.) I know this is the inherent situation. Suppose we accept Tamil as the link language, what will be the position of the non-Tamil speaking people? Therefore, I concede that position. That situation is inherent, that these people whose mother-tongue is Hindi have got certainly some advantage. That position is there. I am not denying that position. This is the position. And in order to balance that position, what we have done? We have accepted at the same time, by way of the Resolution—if

you see the Bill and the Resolution, you will have to read them together in order to understand the policy . . .

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY (Madras): It is mischievous.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: This statement is mischievous, if I may say so.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU: One question.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI ABKAR ALI KHAN): No question at this stage.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am not ambitious to explain; but I will try to explain.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU: One basic question. You have all the time been harping on the Constitution. According to the Constitution, it insists that Hindi should be developed first and then further steps taken. I want him to answer that first. Develop Hindi first. What sort of Hindi do you want them to learn, Sanskritised Hindi or Hindustani Hindi? When you have not decided on that point you are going to switch over to Hindi. You are putting us into difficulties and you will ruin the whole administration.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I will try to meet your point. I am not going to sit down till I have answered your question. First of all I will try to be a little chivalrous and answer her question. She said, "Has Hindi developed?" May I ask a question to a Mother? Can you recognise your son when he is fully grown up? It is something like that position. Growing requires feeding. Unless you feed it, unless you use it it would not grow. Language is not something that you keep it in a laboratory and it will grow.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU: No, no.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: If it has to be a language, it has to be used in administration. It will tend to grow only by use in administration, by cultivation, by experience in courts. Language does not grow in a laboratory hall. It cannot grow unless it is used in Parliament, unless it is used in scientific adminis-

tration, unless it is used in the legal administration. She wants the language to grow first. She says, "You first of all develop the language". This is something like an unending controversy. My friend tells me unless you enter the water you cannot swim. I do not know whether you have learnt to swim. That is always the position. You say that unless you learn to swim do not enter the water. But unless you take a plunge into the water you will never learn swimming.

MISS M. L. MARY NAIDU: There are other languages that are well developed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Other languages are developed. At the same time I must say that Hindi also is a developed language. It is certainly not true that other languages are developed and Hindi is not developed.

Now let me answer my other friend's question. I have conceded that at the stage of recruitment there is an element of inequality. I will tell you how that element comes in. I was making a mention of the Resolution. In the Resolution we have accepted a policy decision that for the U.P.S.C. examinations all other languages will be the languages of examination. For example, I will take only one examination as an illustration, the highest service examination for which, I am told, the total marks are 1,450. Under this new system he will have to answer one paper of 150 marks in English. He will have to answer all the questions in his mother-tongue and she will have to answer all questions in her mother-tongue. To that extent there is no inequality. After that, an English-knowing man will have to learn Hindi. The provision is that the Hindi-knowing man will have to have working knowledge of English.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: I am not convinced by the hon. Minister. I will place all my doubts afterwards.

SHRI Y. B. CHARAN: Be prepared.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Let him finish.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I will try to be as constructive as possible. Because it is a question of doubts I will try to meet all their points. I am not ambitious enough to say that I will convince them. So to that extent, certainly the inequality is reduced. At the same time, the Resolution also says that the three-language formula is to be accepted in the educational system. Now, some people have got a very genuine doubt in their mind as to whether the Hindi States will implement the three-language formula. But I would not begin with suspicion. I would certainly not begin with suspicion. If they do not implement the three-language formula, then the Hindi-speaking people, to whichever party they belong, have to come and convince us about it, including me because I also belong to a non-Hindi State. Whatever feeling you have, don't suppose that you only have that feeling. The leaders of the Hindi speaking area will have to come and tell us how they do it. The only possibility that I visualise—I do not say it is a decision now—is that they will have to accept knowledge some other language and a compulsory paper in that also. But I do not want to start with a suspicion in the matter. If we accept that the link language will be one of the Indian languages, we cannot impose English on them . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: You said that we should not begin with suspicion. It is a good counsel. We will remember it. But may we ask you what your experience is up to now in the Hindi-speaking States, especially U.P.? Has there ever been an earnest attempt to have a South Indian language learnt there?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Our experience of Indian life has been quarrels, disputes and suspicion . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: In Kerala, Madras and Mysore, people have started learning Hindi.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I don't say you should believe because I am saying it. I do not want to start with suspicion. I do not want to start suspecting the people at large. This policy is a

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policy which they also accept and if they do not do it, ultimately we have to find out some way of reducing that inequality. I quite see the point. I know the point which is hurting many Members here. Therefore, there is a built-in arrangement in the policy which we are accepting that this inequality will be reduced as much as possible. And if we say that ultimately Hindi has to be learnt, some beginning to learn Hindi will have to be made and in this way we would bring about knowledge of Hindi . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Not by legislation; not at all by legislation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Then I would say. You forget about the legislation; you start persuading. You forget all about the legislation. Let us start persuading. I am trying to persuade you. But I am not succeeding . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: How can we forget the legislation?

(Interruption)

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Kindly withdraw the Bill. I will be your Hindi propagandist in Madras. I will be your banner-carrier and see that Hindi is learnt by a large number of people.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The hon. Minister has said that the Government was not very happy to intervene in those linguistic quarrels—I am broadly paraphrasing what he said. The Hindi States were not against English. I come from a Hindi State—from Bhopal. They were not against English. But what this Bill has done is to create feeling of revulsion against this international language which has been read voluntarily. The Bill has not satisfied the North; it has not satisfied the south. It has not satisfied any quarter. May I know why he felt it necessary to bring a Bill at this stage? It could have come after an agreement between the Hindi-speaking people and the non-Hindi-speaking people . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There was a regular demand.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Hon Member Mani belongs to that class of people who are only experts in post mortems. Suppose we had not brought forward this Bill, he would have asked "Why don't you bring forward a Bill to satisfy the people?" When you are in Bhopal, you speak for Bhopal and when you are in the South, you speak for the South. (Interruption.) We felt it was our responsibility. I know that to a certain extent people in the North are displeased and to a certain extent, people in the South are displeased. But both of them are our brothers. We do not want to misunderstand them. We want to understand their feelings. And I would say that this is the only rational way by which you can find a solution for this question. I know that this Bill would create some difficulty. But even then, the only manly and wise course that was left to the Government was to face the situation with some little courage. I, therefore, appeal . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: If I may interrupt him for a minute after much deliberations on how to implement Nehru's assurances, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on this question. But the feeling is that it is not being implemented in the form the Congress Working Committee wanted after much deliberations. And the Congress President also has been again and again voicing his opinion . . .

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Congressmen can be best understood by this side.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, this is a very important Bill. We have to ask the Home Minister some questions and he is also replying. You must allow us to ask questions. This is a very important Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): But see how many are standing now?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: These questions can be raised and answered when we go to the clause by clause discus-

sion. I do not want to take more time of this House. I certainly would make an appeal . . .

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: I want one small clarification. I raised this point about discrimination during this debate. The hon. Minister was pleased to answer in reply to a question by an hon. Member in the Lok Sabha that after the stage of recruitment, a non-Hindi man, during his probation period, has got to learn and have a working knowledge of Hindi. Now, what is the position in regard to a Hindi person? Should he or should he not have a working knowledge of English before that period? If he need not have, then it is discrimination and we oppose it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Is that not so?

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: It is not so.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am saying that even that Hindi man will have to learn and have a working knowledge of English.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: This is the answer I want. But it has not been said so earlier.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Now Mr. Mariswamy made an offer . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: My offer is that if you withdraw this Bill and the Resolution, I will become your Hindi propagandist in Madras. I will stay here and study Hindi at the feet of a Hindi Pandit, whomsoever you may recommend, and take lessons from him in Hindi and then go to the South and propagate Hindi by persuasion . . . (Interruption by Shri Chandra Shekhar) What is Mr. Chandra Shekhar saying? I am making an offer . . . (Interruption.) Why did you get up? I am talking to the Minister . . .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): I can also speak. Parliament is not your property . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Let me answer. When I can answer, why should you try to interrupt? I appreciate Mr. Mariswamy's offer. But really speaking, I appreciate your courage more than anything else. I do appreciate your offer. But you see, the administration of Government cannot depend upon personal guarantees. I would still appeal to the hon. Members to try to look at this Bill from that objective point of view which will help us to develop a new attitude towards the language problem and that attitude can be borne of faith in the unity of India. So I would make an appeal to the hon. Members to accept this Bill.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Now we want to ask for some clarifications.

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

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Clarifications are certainly allowed.

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You all sit down. My request to the House is that now the Bill has been argued, debated and discussed and the Home Minister has replied to the discussion. During his reply, certain queries were put to him and he tried to explain them. (Interruption) Now we will take up the amendments. Then there is the second reading and during the clause by clause consideration, if any Member wants to say anything, I will give him an opportunity. Then there is the third reading and if there is anything fundamental to be raised, that can be raised then. So let us proceed according to the established procedure. Now let me put Mr. Chordia's amendment to vote . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What you have said is a good thing. But there is one snag in what you have said. You may feel very clarified. But others may not feel clarified. Therefore if there is some confusion arising out of the speech which according to you is very brilliant

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

but may not be so according to others they should be given a little chance to ask one or two questions by way of clarification. In a matter like this dialogue is good. It is no use pursuing the rule of thumb.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): As I have already made it clear, some of the doubts will be cleared by our going through the second reading. (*Interruptions.*) All right, I will give only 10 minutes.

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I want to have one clarification. Under clause 2 when a communication is to be sent in Hindi and English, then which is more authentic or rather which is authentic out of the two versions? Suppose the translation differs from the Original. Then in that case there is nothing in the Bill which says that either the English version will be considered to be authentic or the Hindi version will be considered authentic.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: When you are sending a communication in two languages, it will be the liberty of the people at the other end to accept whatever they feel like.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is quite clear that according to the regular procedure we should go on with the first, second and third reading. That is the convention: that is the procedure. But I think it should also be obviously clear that this is a question which requires a great deal of discussion. Ordinary legislations, we know, have been given more time, three days or four days. Therefore, for a matter of such vital importance where the integrity or the unity of the country is involved—judging from the speeches made in the other House and made here we find that the people are not fully satisfied—would it not be possible to extend the discussion a little more?

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

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I put a question but due to interruptions it was not answered. The Congress President him-

self feels that the Government has gone back upon its promise to some extent and has watered down the Bill which should have been passed as it was. There is a suspicion and unless you remove that suspicion, it will create difficulties. That is one thing. Secondly, you say that one of the Indian languages has got to be made the link language. Granting that your standpoint is correct, which may not be, because I say two or three will be link languages. Then what will happen? We know that the Hindi-speaking people understand Hindi but the majority of the people do not understand it. Perhaps job-seekers may pick up Hindi but what about the 30 crores of Indian people? They are not going to learn Hindi. How can you reach the masses? When you speak of democracy, you must provide some means so that the administration is brought nearer to them. So I would like the hon. Minister to clarify these two points.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask the Home Minister whether he will collect all the questions and then reply or he will answer them one by one.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I have no choice; I will go by your advice in this matter.

(*Interruption*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right, one by one.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam, the hon. Member has asked a question but I think I have tried to answer that question before. He is again speaking about inequality. I said inequality is inherent in this situation and one has to find out ways how to remove this inequality, because in the Resolution we have not merely accepted the principle of developing Hindi, we have also accepted the principle of making efforts to develop all the languages. Those languages will be the languages of administration in different States, those languages will become in due course the

media of instruction of the university stage and also for U.P.S.C. examinations. So, language is such an issue that there are 40 crores of opinions in this country. One will have to find out some common understanding in this matter.

About the other thing, I am not as pessimistic as the hon. Member is. That 30 crores of people will not learn Hindi is not a fact. Even today outside the Hindi world crores of people are learning Hindi, it is a fact of life. What is the use of running away from facts? So, madam, when you are trying to build a new nation, you must have certain basic faith in the future of the country and I cannot create that faith by making my speech. I would request the hon. Member to have faith in India first.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Madam, I appreciate Mr. Chavan's observations as far as the Bill goes. Being a very honest, sincere and intelligent man . . . (Interruption) I am asking for a clarification on the Bill. Let me assure you that in spite of the amendments we do not object to it. I want to know from him why this Resolution was necessary. He himself says, "Whatever the suspicions of the non-Hindi people, I will see that they are rectified in the implementation of it." If so, why did you first of all have a Resolution? If you are prepared to give us the assurance now that you will make the Hindi people also learn some other language, did not the original Resolution give you ample scope? Even when it was an enabling provision, they made so much of noise. If you impose either English or another Indian language, will they not come and say "We do not want it"? During the transition period when we learn Hindi and they learn another language if you scrap English, how are you going to unite them or how are you going to have a link or a connection between the only Hindi-knowing people and the non-Hindi knowing people? I think I have tried my best to explain the position but if they do not follow it, I can only appeal to them, to these Hindi people, by reciting one Hindi couplet:

"या रब न वह समझे हैं
न समझेंगे मेरी बात ।
दे और ही दिल उनको
जो न दे मुझको जुबां और ॥ "

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam, I have had many discussions with the hon. Member outside this House and I have not succeeded so far in convincing her but I know she is very sincere in her criticism. I concede the point that she is very honest and sincere. She asked me a question: What is the purpose of this Resolution? And here is the purpose of the Resolution. Now we can legislate only in those matters which are the exclusive responsibility of the Union Legislature, but we are dealing with a problem about which it is much better that we lay down certain guidelines also, though they are outside the scope of the Union List, for example development of the regional languages, for example acceptance of the three-language formula. We would like to give some sort of sanctity to these guidelines by this sovereign Parliament so that in the country public opinion can be prepared on that, there could be education of the public mind on this issue. Therefore what does this Resolution say? The Resolution basically says five things. Firstly, it pledges itself for the development of Hindi. Secondly, it pledges itself for the efforts to develop other languages. Thirdly, it accepts the three-language formula. Fourthly it accepts the regional languages as the media of U.P.S.C. examinations. And fifthly, for which she has got some doubts, we have said that at the recruiting stage compulsory knowledge of either English or Hindi would be necessary. Now the original provision to which she was agreeable only again created a doubt because, as I said, we wanted to remove the doubts in the minds of all, but when people of the North also started asking whether you are trying to impose English by this back door method, the other alternative then was to say that neither Hindi nor English will be a compulsory language, and that, according to me, would have been an absurd proposition, because that would have meant chaos. We say

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

to the world that our official languages are going to be Hindi and English but at the same time those who want to come . . .

श्री राजनारायण : बड़े "नान हिन्दी एरिया" था वह।

श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण : देखिये आपकी इतनी बड़ी हस्ती है कि आपका विरोध करना हो तो पहले नमस्कार करना पड़ता है।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपको रोज नमस्कार कर दिया करता हूँ, नहीं तो क्या दुर्गत आप करा देंगे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: This is the only good thing you are doing, Mr. Rajnarin.

So, according to me—others may disagree with me—this is my honest view on that. When you say that English and Hindi are going to be the official languages and link languages of the country and at the same time you take the position that the knowledge of those languages will not be compulsory to those who want to come and join the services, then this is absolutely absurd as far as I am concerned. Therefore, it was absolutely logical to say; people who don't want Hindi, they say, "Have English as an associate language." And when it is made compulsory for the U.P.S.C. examinations, it is not logical I mean, they are making the argument just for the sake of reply.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why not you make it compulsory in the case of Hindi-knowing people that they must know another regional language just as in the case of non-Hindi-knowing people? That is the point.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I understand your point. That is what I was telling them. That is why I say the position is accepted in the acceptance of the three-language formula. That is my answer to it. But I know that there are some people who do not believe in this thing and I am asking them to wait for some time. Wait for some time. We are a growing nation. We are not saying

all the last words today. Let us grow. Let us see what is our experience about it.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Will it materialise?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I hope so.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मेरा निवेदन है कि यू०पी०एस०सी० की जो परीक्षा होंगी वह क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में होंगी। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषाभाषी जो है उनको कौन सी भाषा प्रवेश करने के बाद सीखनी पड़ेगी। दूसरे मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अपने यह बतलाया कि कुछ अंक अंग्रेजी के लिये रहें। मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं लेकिन जो दिक्कत है वह यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के, बिहार के हिन्दी भाषाभाषी क्षेत्र जो यूनिवर्सिटीज चलायेंगे वह हिन्दी में चलायेंगे। या तो आप इस पर प्रतिबंध लगायें। इसका समाधान आप कैसे निकालेंगे, क्या इसको आप बतलायेंगे?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not know what answer I can give, because I am not speaking on behalf of the universities here. I am speaking on behalf of the Government here. Because they have not done it my idea is not to impose English. The major point is that if once they get into service they will have to have ultimately a working knowledge of both the languages. This is the position.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody has spoken and the Minister has replied. I shall first put the Amendment standing in the name of Shri Chordia. The question is:

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

1. Shri Tarkeshwar Pande
2. Shri M. P. Shukla
3. Shri Niren Ghosh
4. Shri Rajnarain
5. Shri D. L. Sen Gupta

6. Shri Chitta Basu
7. Shri B. K. Gaikwad
8. Shri Banka Behary Das
9. Shri Narindar Singh Brar
10. Shri Jagat Narain
11. Shri Lokanath Misra
12. Shri Brahmanand Panda
13. Shri Sitaram Jaipuria
14. Shri Nirnanjan Varma, and
15. Shri V. M. Chordia

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

The House divided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ayes—17; Noes—102.

AYES—17

Bhandari, Shri Sundar Singh
 Chorida, Shri V. M.
 Gaikwad, Shri B. K.
 Ghosh, Shri Niren
 Jagat Narain, Shri
 Mani, Shri A. D.
 Misra, Shri Lokanath
 Panda, Shri Brahmanand
 Pande, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Patel, Shri Sundar Mani
 Rajnarain, Shri
 Salra Bhadauria, Shrimati
 Sen Gupta, Shri D. L.
 Shakuntala Paranjpye, Shrimati
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Sinha, Shri Ganga Sharan
 Sinha, Shri Rewati Kant

NOES—102

Abdul Shakoar, Moulana
 Abid Ali, Shri
 Abraham, Shri P.
 Amla, Shri Tirath Ram
 Ammanra Raja, Shrimati C.
 Anandan, Shri T. V.
 Anis Kidwai, Shrimati
 Arora, Shri Arjun
 Asthana, Shri L. D.
 Baharul Islam, Shri

Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
 Bhuwalka, Shri R. K.
 Bindumati Devi, Shrimati
 Chagla, Shri M. C.
 Chaman Lall, Diwan
 Chandra Shekhar, Shri
 Chandrasekhar, Dr. S.
 Chavda, Shri K. S.
 Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.
 Chetia, Shri P.
 Dass, Shri Mahabir
 Desai, Shri Khandubhai K.
 Desai, Shri Suresh J.
 Dharía, Shri M. M.
 Doogar, Shri R. S.
 Ghose, Shri Surendra Mohan
 Gilbert, Shri A. C.
 Goswami, Shri Sriman Prafulla
 Gujral, Shri I. K.
 Gurupada Swamy, Shri M. S.
 Hathi, Shri Jaisukhlal
 Iyer, Shri N. Ramakrishna
 Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri
 Karmarkar, Shri D. P.
 Keshavan (Thazhava), Shri
 Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
 Kothari, Prof. Shantilal
 Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Kurre, Shri Dayaldas
 Lalitha (Rajagopalan), Shrimati
 Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs)
 Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel, Kumari
 Mary Naidu, Miss M. L.
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Mishra, Shri L. N.
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Misra, Shri M.
 Mohammad, Chaudhary, A.
 Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed
 Mookerjee, Shri Debabrata
 Neki Ram, Shri
 Paliwal, Shri S. K. D.
 Pande, Shri C. D.

Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Pattanayak, Shri B. C.
 Pillai, Shri J. Sivashanmugam
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota
 Purkayastha, Shri M.
 Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta, Shrimati
 Puttappa, Shri Patil
 Ram Chander, Shri
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Ramaul, Shri Shiva Nand
 Ray, Shri Ramprasanna
 Ray, Shri S. P.
 Reddy, Dr. M. Channa
 Reddy, Shri M. Govinda
 Reddy, Shri N. Narotham
 Reddy, Shri Y. Adinarayana
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Salig Ram, Dr.
 Sapru, Shri P. N.
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Seeta Yudhvair, Shrimati
 Sher Khan, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
 Shyam Kumari Khan, Shrimati
 Siddhu, Dr. M. M. S.
 Singh, Dr. Anup
 Singh, Dr. Gopal
 Singh, Shri J. K. P. N.
 Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap
 Singh, Shri T. N.
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri B. K. P.
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tapase, Shri G. D.
 Tara Ramchandra Sathe, Shrimati
 Thanulingam, Shri P.
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Vaishampayan, Shri S. K.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Varma, Shri C. L.

Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrimati
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati
 Zaidi, Col. B. H.

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Similar amendments standing in the names of Shri M. P. Shukla and Shri Tarkeshwar Pande are therefore barred.

Now I shall put the original motion to vote.

The question is :

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

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we shall take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2: Substitution of new section or section 3

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think I shall put all the amendments to vote together.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know you may not like all the 44 amendments to be put to vote together. But they cannot be taken separately also. So we can take them up batch by batch.

Clause 2

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJ-PYE (Nominated): I beg to move:

1. "That at pages 1 to 3, for the existing clause 2, the following be substituted, namely:—

"2. For section 3 of the Official Languages Act, 1963 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), the following section shall be substituted, namely:—

"3. Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English lan-

guage shall, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,—

(a) for all the Official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.”

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I beg to move:

2. “That at pages 1 to 3, for the existing clause 2, the following be substituted, namely:—

‘2. For section 3 of the Official Languages Act, 1963 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), the following section shall be substituted, namely:—

‘3. Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, all the languages except Sanskrit specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution shall, from the date of the commencement of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967, be used—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union;

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.”

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri Niren Ghosh)

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I beg to move:

3. “That at page 1, line 10, for the word ‘may’ the word ‘shall’ be substituted.”

(The amendment also stood in the names of Shri N. R. Munuswamy, Shri M. Govinda Reddy and Shri Niren Ghosh).

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan): I beg to move:

4. “That at page 1, for lines 12 and 13, the following be substituted, namely:—

‘(a) for some specific purposes of the Union to be prescribed by the Central Government’.”

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia)

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I beg to move:

5. “That at page 1.—

(i) in line 12, the letter and brackets ‘(a)’ be deleted; and

(ii) in line 13, the word ‘and’ be deleted.”

(The amendment also stood in the names of Shri M. V. Bhadram, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Shri K. Damodaran and Shri Chitta Basu).

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

6. “That at page 1, after line 13, the following proviso be inserted, namely:—

“Provided that the Central Government shall lay down annually specific targets for the more extensive use of Hindi in the official business of the Union;”

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia).

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I beg to move:

7. “That at page 2, for line 1, the following be substituted, namely:—

‘Provided that English and all the other languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution shall be used for transaction of business and debate in Parliament.’”

(The amendment also stood in the names of Shri M. V. Bhadram, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Shri K. Damodaran and Shri Chitta Basu).

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): I beg to move:

8. “That at page 2, for lines 2 to 17, the following be substituted, namely:—

‘Provided that each State of the Union of India may use Hindi in

[Shri M. P. Shukla.]

addition to the English language for communication with the Union or for inter-State communication progressively so as to completely switch over to Hindi within ten years from the commencement of this Act:

Provided further that communications in Hindi may be translated in the regional languages of the receiving States or in the English language, as and where necessary, and provision for such translations shall be made in each State of the Union :

Provided also that there shall be no bar for the States or the Union to adopt Hindi as a medium for inter-State communications forthwith by mutual agreement amongst themselves."

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

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I beg to move:

9. "That at page 2, for lines 2 to 17, the following be substituted, namely:—

'Provided that Hindi shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has adopted Hindi as its official language.

Provided further that Hindi accompanied by a translation in English shall be used for purposes of communication from the Union to a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language :

Provided also that Hindi or English or the official language of the State concerned shall be used for the purposes of communication from a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language to the Union:

Provided also that Hindi or English or the official language of the State sending the communication shall be used for purposes of communication between one State and another."

(The amendment also stood in the names of Shri M. V. Bhadram, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Shri K. Damodaran and Shri Chitta Basu.)

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

10. "That at page 2, line 2, after the words 'the English language' the words 'along with Hindi' be inserted.

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA: I beg to move:

11. "That at page 2, line 2, after the words 'English language' the words 'in addition to Hindi' be inserted.

12. That at page 2, line 2, for the word 'shall' the words 'may continue to' be substituted."

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

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I beg to move:

13. "That at page 2, for lines 2 to 4, the following be substituted, namely:—

'Provided that the official language of the State concerned shall be used for purposes of communication together with a translation in Hindi of such communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language.'

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

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): I beg to move:

14. "That at page 2,—

(i) for lines 2 to 4, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(c) for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language';

(ii) in line 5, the word 'further' be deleted."

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA: I beg to move:

15. "That at page 2, at the end of line 4, after the words 'official language' the words 'for a period of ten years from the the commencement of this Act' be inserted."

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

SHRI RAJ NARAIN: I beg to move:

16. "That at page 2, lines 8 to 10, for the words 'such communication in Hindi shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language' the words 'such communication in Hindi shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the official language of the State concerned' be substituted."

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

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

17. "That at page 2, line 9, for the word 'shall' the words 'shall not' be substituted."

18. That at page 2, line 9, for the word 'shall' the word 'may' be substituted.

(The amendments also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI RAJ NARAIN: I beg to move:

19. "That at page 2, after line 10, the following further proviso be inserted, namely:—

'Provided also that the States which have adopted Hindi as their official language shall communicate with the Union in Hindi alone and the work of the offices of the Union situated within these States shall also be done in Hindi and necessary arrangements shall be made to provide such non-Hindi knowing officers as are appointed to work in these States with assistants and translators for a period of five years.'

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

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I beg to move:

20. "That at page 2, line 11, for the word 'also' the word 'further' be substituted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

21. "That at page 2, after line 17, the following further proviso be inserted, namely:—

'Provided also that Hindi shall be used for purposes of—

(i) communication between the Union and a State which has adopted Hindi as its official language; and

(ii) any reply by the Union to a communication in Hindi.'

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I beg to move:

22. "That at page 2, lines 24 to 26, the words "and any corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or any office thereof" be deleted.

23. "That at page 2, lines 27 to 29 be deleted."

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I beg to move:

24. "That at page 2, lines 30 to 34, for the words 'a translation of such communication in the English language or, as the case may be, in Hindi shall also be provided till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, office or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi' the words 'for a period of five years a translation in the English language shall also be provided' be substituted.

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

SHRI TARKESHWAR PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): I beg to move:

25. "That at page 2, for lines 30 to 34, the following be substituted, namely:—

'a translation of such communication in the English language or, as the case may be, in Hindi shall also be provided till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, office or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi or, as the case may be, the English language.'

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Madras): I beg to move:

26. "That at page 2, lines 31 to 34, the words 'till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, office or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi' be deleted."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I beg to move:

27. "That at page 2,—

(i) in line 32, after the word 'Department' the word 'or' be inserted;

(ii) in lines 32 to 34, the words 'or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi' be deleted."

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: I beg to move:

28. "That at page 2, line 33, the words 'a working' be deleted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

29. "That at page 2, after line 34, the following proviso be inserted, namely:—

"Provided that the time limit for acquiring a working knowledge of

Hindi shall not exceed five years from the commencement of this Act'."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA: I beg to move:

30. "That at page 2, line 36, for the words 'both Hindi and the English language shall be used for' the words 'only Hindi shall be used for' be substituted."

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

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I beg to move:

31. "That at page 2, lines 40 to 42, the words 'or by a corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or by any office of such corporation or company' be deleted."

32. "That at page 3, lines 6 to 8, the words 'or by a corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or by any office of such corporation or company' be deleted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I beg to move:

33. "That at page 3, after line 8, the following provisos be inserted, namely:—

'Provided that the Central Government or any Ministry, Department or office thereof or a corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or by any office of such corporation or company shall use Hindi only for the purpose of communication with a State which has adopted Hindi as its official language:

Provided further that Hindi communications received by any Ministry, Department or office of the Central Government shall be replied to in Hindi.'

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : I beg to move :

34. "That at page 3, lines 9 to 29 be deleted "

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

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I beg to move :

35. "That at page 3, lines 14 to 21, for the words 'due consideration shall be given to the quick and efficient disposal of the official business and the interests of the general public and in particular, the rules so made shall ensure that persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language may function effectively and that they are not placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages' the words 'the Government shall keep in view that popular Government will ultimately be run in the peoples' language and therefore, for the quick and efficient disposal of official business and for maintaining a balance in following this principle, shall make rules and the rules so made will particularly ensure that the persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language may function effectively and that they are not placed at a disadvantage only on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages' be substituted."

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

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY : I beg to move :

36. "That at page 3,—

(i) in lines 15-16, the words 'and the interests of the general public' be deleted ;

(ii) in lines 18-19, the words 'and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language' be deleted ; and

(iii) in line 21, for the words 'In both the languages' the words

'either in Hindi or in the English language' be substituted."

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY : I beg to move :

37. "That at page 3, lines 16 to 21, the words 'and in particular, the rules so made shall ensure that persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language may function effectively and that they are not placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages' be deleted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : I beg to move :

38. "That at page 3, after line 21, the following proviso be inserted, namely :—

'Provided that no employee willing to carry on his work in Hindi shall be required to carry on his work in English or required to furnish English translation of the note or communication received in Hindi.' "

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI TARKESHWAR PANDE : I beg to move :

40. "That at page 3, lines 24 to 29, for the words 'until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of the English language for the purposes mentioned therein have been passed by the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament' the words 'for a period of five years' be substituted."

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : I beg to move :

41. "That at page 3, lines 24 to 29, for the words 'until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of the English language for the purposes mentioned therein have been passed

[Shri M. P. Shukla.]

by the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament, the words 'for a period of ten years from the commencement of this Act :

Provided that a legislature of any State of the Union may, by a resolution adopted by a majority of three-fourths of its members, seek the permission of Parliament to continue the use of English within its jurisdiction for a further period of five years, for all or any of the purposes mentioned in the aforesaid sections :

Provided further that Parliament may grant such permission by adopting a resolution to this effect by both Houses of Parliament :

Provided also that no such permission may be granted beyond the aforesaid period of 15 years' be substituted."

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

SHRI JAGAT NARAIN : I beg to move :

42. "That at page 3, line 26, for the words 'by the Legislatures of all the States' the words 'by the Legislatures of the majority of the States' be substituted."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : I beg to move :

43. "That at page 3, lines 26-27, for the words 'the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language' the words 'the Legislatures of the two-thirds of the States of the Union' be substituted."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I beg to move :

44. "That at page 3, lines 26-27, for the words 'of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their offi-

cial language' the words 'of the majority of the States as have not adopted Hindi as their official language' be substituted."

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

The questions were proposed.

SHRI K. P. MALLIKARJUNUDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, I had given notice of my amendment No. 39 in the hope that I would be given a chance to speak on this Bill. But in spite of waiting for a chance all these two days I could not get a chance. So I am not moving my amendment.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated) : Madam, I want to speak on my amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, you may do so but briefly.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Shall I read out my amendment?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, just speak on it.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Madam, my amendment says that for the existing clause 2, you should substitute something. And it says that for the existing section 3 of the Official Languages Act, the following section should be substituted, namely :

"Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language shall, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,—"

Madam, the point is very clear that the English language should continue to be the associate language as before. In fact, when speaking on the Bill during the first reading, I said I did not know why this Bill was at all brought in. And many other Members have also expressed the same view. Things should have gone on as before. The Home Minister made some remarks

about having a link language that link being Hindi. Madam, we all know that today English is the link language in India and I feel that it should remain the link language in India, together with Hindi, if you like. We know that in a country like Switzerland there are three languages and that country has been getting on very well. When a small country like Switzerland can have three languages, it is difficult for a big country like ours to have two languages? And after all, English is an easy language and I also think that the people are eager to learn it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think these arguments have been advanced by you in your previous speech. You may give other arguments now.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE: The Home Minister said there is no use starting with suspicion. I should like to ask him—he is not here now—whether his experience of the last fifteen years does not confirm the suspicions. Is there not grounds for the suspicion that the Hindi speaking people are not keen on learning another regional language? They do not want to learn it.

I will not speak longer, Madam, because there are others waiting to speak on their amendments and I shall conclude by saying that I do press my amendment and I hope the House will accept it.

4 P.M.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Madras): Madam, what about my amendment?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which is your amendment?

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: No. 3 in the Consolidated List.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has already been moved.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are speaking on all the five amendments?

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Yes.

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Yesterday when I spoke on the Bill and the Resolution I made this position perfectly clear that there should be development of Hindi as a language acceptable to the different parts of India and nothing should be done which the other non-Hindi States cannot take in good grace. Consistent with that part of my submission yesterday these amendments have been tabled. I do not for a moment feel that India should not have a link language. India should have a link language and at the same time not Hindi till other States willingly accept it. The difference between my amendment and the amendment of the previous speaker, Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye is that she wants English language to continue while I want that all the Indian languages excepting Sanskrit be used. I am sorry yesterday in my speech I spoke that Mr. Rajnarain was not in favour of giving any translation of the Hindi version. He was not willing to give English version of the U.P. Government Hindi communications either to the States or to the Centre. His line is exactly the line which I have indicated here. He wants to give translation in all State languages other than English because he considers English as a foreign language. I do not go as far as that. Now even if English remains and if Hindi remains, then also there should some provision because there may be many Ministers who do not know English and even Hindi. He may know Telugu or Bengali. His Secretary writes an order. He has to understand it before he puts his signature. So my amendment is this:

“Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, all the languages except Sanskrit specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution shall, from the date of the commencement of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967, be used—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union;

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.”

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must be brief.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : I shall be very brief.

Now, he was saying here that so far as the language question is concerned we have tried to over simplify it. The Home Minister has said just now in reply that everybody will have the same difficulty or the same advantage but that position will be improved if this amendment of mine is accepted.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Amendments Nos. 2 and 3 are in your name also. But he has spoken. Have you any other new arguments?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Exactly. I have.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not agree with the basic approach that Mr. Chavan propounded that only one of the Indian languages has got to be made the link language. It is almost like Kant's Categorical Imperative, fully in dissonance with the objective reality of India. If that would have been acceptable to the overwhelming number of people in India I would have stood for that. As I said in my speech also it was better that in the Constitution no language was made the link language and ultimately in course of time perhaps this very Hindi would have possibly had the greatest chance of becoming at least the primary link language or even the sole link language. It could have had that chance but that chance has been destroyed. That is the reality. Let us face it. Now in a country which is composed of so many States having so many languages if you make a distinction then national honour and prestige are hurt. This is a vital thing. We fought for national honour, prestige and freedom but if by making one language you hurt all the languages then you hurt everybody's sentiments. You touch their hearts in the raw and by that process unity cannot be brought about. And what is the reality? Had it been the language spoken by 80 per cent of the people or had it been such a language with all the culture, science, poetry and what not, then the people should have voluntarily learnt it in

order to get more of culture, more of education, more of science, technology, art and all those things.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think you must now finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam, this is a most serious amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is what you said in your speech also.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The point is, don't make a distinction. You ask : would it lead to the disintegration of India if we accept this and how will it work? I say it can work. Now, some Central Government offices and Central Government undertakings are situated in different States of India. Naturally the officers deputed on behalf of the Central Government must, as of necessity, learn the language of the State in conducting the affairs of the Government and of those undertakings. Otherwise it cannot be conducted and the vast amount of work cannot be disposed of.

So far as communications are concerned, if only one crore or two crores of rupees are spent you can have a Translation Bureau and you can send all your communications to the State concerned in the language of the State concerned and have their communications also translated. It is not much of a trouble.

As regards offices situated in the Capital, perhaps as a measure of practical necessity officers working here will learn English and also to some extent Hindi. So, this thing worked. If it does work it cements, it puts all the languages on a par, on an equal footing and that precisely makes for Indian unity. Any other scheme is disruptive of unity. The others will feel that they have been squeezed out and they will fight for their very existence. Then, in course of time it may appear that all the fourteen languages will not be necessary. Some three or four languages would emerge and they would be the link languages, Hindi occupying the primary position in the hierarchy. It is quite feasible. That will cement Indian unity for ever. But by this pro-

cess you are imposing Hindi. Even last time, in 1963, when Lal Bahadur Shastri was there, the bitter controversy about the words 'may' and 'shall' was there. After that the Madras trouble started. Then, the Congress Working Committee came in . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN That will do

SHRI NIREN GHOSH. Now, you have backslided even from that position. I know that you are not going to put all the fourteen languages on a par. You are going to disrupt India. That is another thing. But even the minimum that was promised that it should be 'shall' for an indefinite period, you are not honouring. That was the Prime Minister's assurance. Even the Congress President Kamaraj is harping on it that you are going back on it. That assurance should be fully and wholly honoured, but you are backsliding on that, and I know not at what cost to the nation.

Thank you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) Madam, even though I differ on many other points with Mr. Niren Ghosh, on this point I agree with him. Now, the point is that Hindi is not a standardised language. That is why I want the continuance of English. A few days back, you will remember, when Mr. Sham Nath was the Deputy Minister in charge of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, there was a hue and cry in both Houses of Parliament about the introduction of what they call Chandni Chowk Hindi in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Many Hindi-speaking people started complaining saying that they did not understand what was being broadcast over the All India Radio. That shows what a great weakness the Hindi language has. If one State uses Hindi which is not understood by the other State, what is the language that I am going to learn? If I am going to learn Hindi, I am really in a state of confusion. I have been listening to many speeches, but ultimately I have not been able to make up my mind about what Hindi I shall have to learn. If that is

the difficulty for an objective onlooker—I neither belong to the South nor to the Hindi-speaking area, I have my own culture and I am proud of it—.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Guided by Rajaji.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA It does not matter. I am also proud of my leader. I do not let down my leader as you do. You do not even follow your leader Kamaraj. They are leaderless and rudderless all the time. I do not envy them. I pity them. Now, the point is if Hindi is imposed on me, what Hindi am I going to learn? That is the great difficulty for me. Therefore, Hindi has to be standardised before it can be imposed on the non-Hindi-speaking areas. They cannot go groping about what is Hindi. When Hindi does not have a connotation of its own, what Hindi are we to learn? Therefore, I would insist that till they standardise Hindi, English should be allowed to continue.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) I support the amendment moved by Mr. Niren Ghosh. Whenever we pass any legislation, let there be no ambiguity. This was discussed in 1963, whether 'may' should be used or 'shall' should be used. Their interpretation was that 'may' meant 'shall' and, therefore, they had used this word 'may'. In order to dispel apprehensions and doubts which the non-Hindi-speaking people may have and in order that it should be straightforward and simple, so as to be understood by the common people, it is better that we use the word 'shall', which is not ambiguous and which is clear in its meaning and content. I, therefore, strongly support the amendment moved by Mr. Niren Ghosh that instead of 'may' the word 'shall' be used. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Now, I come to Mr. Muniswamy's amendments. Let him speak on them.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY. With regard to amendment No. 3, I am also of the same opinion that the word 'shall' should be substituted for the word 'may'. Unless we unlearn what we have

[Shri N. R. Muniswamy.] learnt in English, 'may' does not mean 'shall'. The word 'shall' means mandatory. If they want to convince us by saying that 'may' means 'shall', it is an amazing thing. It sometimes also amuses me. Therefore, in spite of various arguments advanced by the Government saying that 'may' means 'shall', it will not be 'shall'. 'May' means 'may not' also. There are various decisions by the court saying that 'shall' is mandatory. 'May' only creates doubts. You will be pleased to see it, subsequent to these clauses, where you have used the word 'shall'. Even in clause 1, sub-clause (2), you have said translation of such communication in the English language or, as the case may be, in Hindi shall also be provided. Here 'shall' is used thereby meaning that it is one of compulsion. It is not 'may'. Here, if they had used 'may' instead of 'shall' I could understand it. But in a place where they ought to use the word 'shall', they have used 'may'. We are all aware that what is being laid down has to be implemented by the staff. It is in the implementation where we have got doubt. People who implement the orders of the Government will only use Hindi language because here 'may' is used. Therefore, I would request the Government to see that nothing will be lost by accepting our amendment, viz., instead of 'may' 'shall' be substituted. It will give no room for any doubt as regards implementation.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Just one word to illustrate the point made by my hon. friend, Mr. Muniswamy. Here I have a form for the supply of ration. Their office is situated in Parliament House. Both on the front side and back side it is printed only in Hindi. When I see it I look like an illiterate. Some friend told me to put my thumb impression, as if I were an illiterate. I felt it was humiliating. Unless the word 'shall' is incorporated, this would happen not only here, but everywhere else, throughout the country. So, it is a very important point.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): In spite of the exceedingly persuasive speech of the Home Minister, I still believe that the spirit of the assu-

rance given by the two Prime Ministers is not incorporated in the Bill. The substance of the assurance was that English shall be an associate language until the non-Hindi States decide to the contrary. Now, it means that the Centre at least shall be bilingual. The Centre will correspond both in English and Hindi. That is the meaning. Now, instead of using the word 'shall' in sub-clause (3) (i), they have used the word 'may'. It means that the Centre may also correspond in Hindi, but not in English. Nobody can accept that position. Now, it is against the spirit of the assurance. The substance of the assurance was that at least in the Centre both the languages shall be used. Now, if the word 'shall' had been used, that would have certainly respected the spirit of the assurance. As Mr. Mariswamy was pointing out, in the proviso to the clause 'shall' is provided. Why is 'shall' provided there? That is because it is compulsory for the Central Government in its correspondence with the non-Hindi State Governments to use English alone. That is the object. If that were the object in using the word 'may' also, then the word 'shall' should have been used and not 'may'. An hon. Member on this side was arguing very eloquently yesterday that 'may' means 'shall'. If that is so, there was no objection to the word 'shall' being used instead of the word 'may'. What happens in this. The object of the assurance of two Prime Ministers will certainly be defeated because the Centre may correspond in Hindi. It is not obliged to correspond with the other States in English. Of course according to the proviso it is obliged to correspond with non-Hindi States in English, but the object was that in all its Union correspondence it should use both languages. Now English is the only link between the people of different States. Until all the States have been able to follow Hindi, learn Hindi, English could only be the link language, and if this link language has to be disturbed, then Hindi knowledge must spread. Now by providing 'may', it gives a large loophole for the Centre to use only Hindi in its correspondence with those States. That was not the object. Looking at the atmosphere prevailing in the coun-

try, one day the Centre will be manned by a majority of Hindi-speaking people. It will inevitably come to that. The non-Hindi States will not be able to come up to that mark. There is already a spirit of hostility against non-Hindi people here. It has been openly expressed by important leaders. If we take that into consideration, it is all the more necessary that the Centre shall be obliged to correspond in English with all the States. Only then the spirit of the assurances given will be respected. Therefore, this amendment, although simple, being substitution of one word, is very important. It goes to the substance. By the use of the word 'may' it defeats the purpose of the assurance given. If you kindly look at (a) and (b), for all purposes of the Union of course they say English may be used, for the transaction of Parliament business, etc. If it was really the intention of the framers of the Bill that the Centre should correspond with non-Hindi States at least in English, what was the objection to adding after (b), (c) as I have proposed later in an amendment that sub-clause (c) shall be added that English shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language? It is provided in the proviso. But proviso is not as important as a substantive clause. In a substantive clause it should have been provided if it were the sincere and real intention of the framers of the Bill. Therefore, I have suggested that amendment that in the proviso the first part of the sentence "provided that the English language shall be used" shall be omitted and a new sub-clause (c) be added, namely :—

"(c) for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language".

The other amendments are simple. Of course in the other two provisos, now that I have asked the proviso number 1 to be given up, in the second proviso I have suggested that the word 'further' is not necessary; that will have to be removed. In the third proviso I have suggested the word 'further' being used.

In sub-clause (2) it is prescribed that if correspondence takes place between the Government Departments or offices or between corporations and companies in English or Hindi, a translation shall be sent. Basically I have no objection to this, but practical objection there is. Companies and Corporations deal in technical matters. When they deal in technical matters, they cannot correspond in Hindi. They can only correspond in English. If we omit "any corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or any office thereof", there is no harm done. It will still be open for the companies or corporations to correspond in Hindi if they like, but by adding that you will be compelling them to correspond in Hindi. May be you will have to engage translation staff, but why is it necessary to engage translation staff as long as they can carry on in English? Will it not be a burden on an already overburdened uneconomic public sector to have translation staff? Moreover, the translation staff cannot translate technical words so easily. So if correspondence has to take place and a translation has to go, it will take a long time. There will be delay. Already there is the redtape system which is not in the interests of business management. So I have suggested deletion of the words 'corporation' and 'company' wherever they occur. That covers many of my amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are talking on all your amendments?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: That is the object.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have got ten amendments. Please be brief.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I never waste the time of the House. In number four I have said the words "and the interests of the general public" be deleted. In a law, in a statute, what would be the significance of adding "and the interests of the general public"? A statute must be precise. It must be capable of only one interpretation and not many interpretations.

[Shri M Govinda Reddy]

Even if a measure by the Government is in public interest, anybody may say it is not in public interest, because it is an indefinable term. Therefore, I have suggested that the phrase "and the interests of the general public" be deleted.

Another amendment suggests deletion of the words "and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language". This is misplaced there. It should be like this "the rules so made shall ensure that persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union may function effectively". I have also suggested, "and that they are not placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language".

I think that is all

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr. Bhandari.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी: मैडम, मैंने सशोधन दिये हैं और मेरे जो सशोधन हैं वे इसलिये महत्व के हैं कि दो बातें हम उस हाउस में रद्द कर चुके हैं। मैंने शुरू से सदन के सामने एक बात रखने की कोशिश की कि इस बिल के द्वारा हमें यह कहा जा रहा है कि कुछ आश्वासनों को पूरा करना चाहते हैं लेकिन हम कुछ भी करना चाहें हम अपने सविधान से बंधे हैं। इस बात पर मैं जोर देना चाहता हूँ। आश्वासन और सविधान, अगर इन दोनों में से किसी को चुनना होगा तो सदन के नाते कानून बनाते समय हम सविधान के अनुसार ही चलना होगा।

श्री चौरडिया ने इसलिये कि जिससे इस सारे झमेले को हम ठीक प्रकार से, शांति से विचार कर सकें, एक सेलेक्ट कमेटी के लिये प्रस्ताव किया, उसको भी हमने रद्द कर दिया है। इसलिये अब कुछ मजबूरियाँ हमारे सामने आ गई हैं कुछ चीजों की इसमें। 'शैल' क्यों नहीं 'मे' क्यों है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे विधान में 'मे' है और जब तक यह यहाँ 'मे' है इस कानून में 'शैल' नहीं ला सकते।

श्री मुल्लिंग गोविंद रेड्डी (मैसूर) :
"शैल" लाया गया है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आपको लाना है तो पहले विधान में लाइये। यहाँ पर जो 343 अनुच्छेद है उसमें हमने जिस दिन से विधान स्वीकार किया, हिन्दी को केन्द्रीय तथा सम्पर्क भाषा के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया, मगर बाकी की दो चीजें नहीं होती तो जिस दिन से विधान हमारे देश में लागू हुआ, उस दिन से हिन्दी आ गई होती, कोई पाबंदी या बंधन न होते हुए परन्तु क्योंकि एक रात में सब कुछ बदलना संभव नहीं था हमने यहाँ 343 को दूसरे क्लाज में अपने राष्ट्रपति को यह अधिकार दिया कि वह अंगरेजी का उपयोग उन सभी कामों के लिये, जितने सविधान लागू होने के एक दिन पहले तक हम कर रहे थे, हम करेंगे। इसमें यहाँ पर क्लाज 343(2) में लिखा हुआ है "इंग्लिश लैंग्वेज शैल काटिन्गू टु बी यूज्ड फार आल दि आफिशल परपजेज आफ दि यूनियन" लेकिन 343 क जो तीसरा क्लाज है उसमें यह लिखा हुआ है कि पन्द्रह साल के बाद अंग्रेजी का उपयोग हो सकता है लेकिन हो सकता है—प्रेसिडेंट के कहने से नहीं पार्लियामेंट के कानून बनाने से और वह पार्लियामेंट का कानून भी "फार सच परपजेज एज मेबी स्पेसिफाइड इन द ला"। तो हमने दूसरे क्लाज में "फार आल आफिशियल परपजेज लिखा है। हम इसी चीज को तीसरे में भी लिख सकते थे, हम चाहते थे। हमने यहाँ नहीं लिखा है क्योंकि जो आगे हमारे दूसरे विधान में है कि हम धीरे धीरे हिन्दी का प्रोग्रेसिव यूज की तरफ जाना चाहत है। यह जो हमारा दृष्टिकोण है इसी दृष्टिकोण का यह तीसरा क्लाज 343 एक संकेत है, हम मजबूरी में अपने देश को नहीं डालना चाहते लेकिन हम अधिकार में भी नहीं रहना चाहते और अगर हम प्रोग्रेसिवली जो हमने आर्टिकल 343(1) में तय किया कि हिन्दी हमारे यूनियन की लिंक भाषा बनेगी, इसकी आज की हमारी मजबूरियाँ हैं, पन्द्रह वर्ष तक फार आल

परपजेज इस्तेमाल करने के बाद भी आज हम कर सकते हैं। इस बिल में जो भाषा है वह भाषा 343 की तीसरी उपधारा की भावना के विरोध में है क्योंकि आज 1967 है, पन्द्रह साल का हम समय पार कर चुके हैं, कोई यह कहे कि आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बिल में हम पास कर चुके थे तो मैं नहीं जानता विधि मंत्रालय ने आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बिल की इस धारा को इस अमेडमेंट बिल में दोहरा लिखने की क्यों जरूरत महसूस की—अफिशियल लैंग्वेज 1963 में पास हुआ था, पन्द्रह साल की सीमा उस समय हमने पार नहीं की थी और उस समय अगर फार आल परपजेज की भाषा हमने 1963 में स्वीकार की, हमने विधान का उल्लंघन नहीं किया, लेकिन आज 1967 में पन्द्रह साल की सीमा पार करने के बाद आज अगर हम फार आल परपजेज और भाषा का इस्तेमाल करते हैं तो वह आर्टिकल 343(3) के विरुद्ध है, उसके विपरीत है। यह धारा “फार आल परपजेज” संविधान हमें बनाने की इजाजत नहीं देता इसलिये मेरा सशोधन है कि हम यहां पर “फार आल स्पेसिफिक परपजेज” की बजाय यहां पर इसको बतलाएँ और यहां पर लिखें “और हम स्पेसिफिक परपजेज आफ दि यूनियन टु बी प्रेस्क्राइब्ड बाई दि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट”। यह हमारे कास्टीट्यूशन की भावना के अनुकूल की यह मेरा पहला सशोधन है।

इसके साथ ही मैंने दूसरी बात कही है कि आखिर हम इसकी तरफ बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो अगर हम इसकी तरफ बढ़ना चाहते हैं पन्द्रह साल के बाद स्पेसिफिक परपजेज का आपन उस दिन जेनरलीज करने की कोशिश की कि आल परपजेज भी तो स्पेसिफिक परपजेज है। आपको दस, 20, 50 परपजेज के लिये अंग्रेजी की जरूरत होगी, मुझे इसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं कि हमारी जितनी मजबूरियाँ हैं, कमजोरियाँ हैं कि अंग्रेजी को इस्तेमाल किये बिना हम काम नहीं कर सकते तो मैडम, मैं एक बात कहना चाहूँगा, और आखिर मे मनीष सदस्यों को भी एक बात की ओर

ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, कि केन्द्र में आज हम हिन्दी का उपयोग कर सकते हैं कि नहीं कर सकते हैं? आज हमने कुछ राज्यों में, लगभग आठ राज्यों में, हिन्दी की मार्फत प्रशासन का काम करना चालू किया है। मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूँ कि केन्द्र के प्रशासन का काम प्रान्तों के प्रशासन के काम से कुछ ज्यादा उलझा हुआ है, कुछ ज्यादा बढ़ा हुआ है, और उसमें आज अगर वह सारे राज्य हिन्दी में अपने प्रशासन का काम चालू करने को तैयार हैं, उन्होंने घोषणा की है कि 26 जनवरी से (*Time bell rings*) मैं रिपीट नहीं कर रहा हूँ, न ओवर इम्फेसाइज कर रहा हूँ, मैं अपने आप को लिमिट करूँगा। अगर आज वह सरकारी काम हिन्दी भाषा में कर रहे हैं तो ठीक है। हिन्दी के सीखने के लिये तो समय दिया जा सकता है। हिन्दी आज डेवलप हो और उसको हम सीखें।

अब मैं यहां पर साहित्य अकादेमी की चर्चा में नहीं पड़ रहा हूँ। हिन्दी की प्रगतिशीलता और उन्नति के लिये मैं हजार तरीके से गुंजायश अनुभव करता हूँ। प्रश्न है प्रशासन की भाषा। प्रशासन अगर हिन्दी प्रान्तों में हिन्दी भाषा में हो सकता है तो फिर केन्द्र के अंदर भी प्रशासन का काम हिन्दी में करेंगे। यह उन्हीं विषयों पर फिर खड़ा होगा जिनको हम समझते हैं प्रादेशिक प्रशासन के तरीके से। केन्द्रीय प्रशासन के तरीके में कुछ ऐसा अंतर है कुछ ऐसी नवीनता है कि अगर हिन्दी राज्यों का काम, प्रशासन का काम, हिन्दी में चल सकता है तो केन्द्र का प्रशासन का काम हिन्दी में सभी विषयों पर नहीं चल सकता। मैं स्पेसिफिक विषयों पर इसलिये अंग्रेजी की बात स्वीकार करने के लिये तैयार हूँ। इसलिये तो समय देने की बात है वह समय देने की बात है प्रशासन हिन्दी में करना, यह सिखाना। प्रशासन हिन्दी में करना सीखने को जितना समय चाहिये, जितनी उसमें रद्दोबदल की गुंजायश है, वह स्पेसिफिकेशन आप करिये और इसीलिये मैंने कहा है कि कि आप प्रति वर्ष इसकी बार बार रिपोर्ट

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

लीजिए कि हमने जो जो स्पेसिफाई किया कि इतने कामों के लिये हमें अंग्रेजी चाहिए, उसके बारे में आप रिपोर्ट दीजिए कि आप वही के वही खड़े हुए, पैर पीट रहे हैं या प्रोग्रेसिवली उस दिशा में आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। आज अगर आपको 500 विषयों के लिये अंग्रेजी की जरूरत है, आज अगर आप उसमें से कहे कि 490 बातों के लिये जरूरत है दस बातों के लिये जरूरत नहीं, तो हम इस सविधान की भावना के अनुसार जो हमने किया है उसके अनुसार, हम बढ़ते हुए दिखायी देंगे। लोगों को समाधान हो जायेगा, सतोष हो जायेगा, कोई तकलीफ उसमें से ऊपर खड़ी नहीं होगी। और इसी लिये मैंने कहा है कि आप उसके लिये प्रबंध करें कि आप प्रति वर्ष इसके लिये प्रोवाइड करेंगे कि यह कितने कामों के लिये और आपको जरूरत रही है। तीसरी चीज जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि यहाँ पर अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल 'एलाग विद हिन्दी' है, अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल हम करेंगे, लेकिन अंग्रेजी का सविधान में पृथक् अस्तित्व नहीं है। हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में काम करने के लिए अगर हम किसी को कहे तो उसके लिए हम स्पेसिफाई करें। यह बात तो समझ में आ सकती है, लेकिन स्पेसिफाई किये बिना सविधान में अंग्रेजी का अलग से अस्तित्व स्थापित नहीं कर सकते हैं और हिन्दी के साथ करते हैं। हिन्दी के साथ साथ हमको अंग्रेजी भी चलानी चाहिये। इसलिए मेरा सशोधन यह है कि जहाँ हमने अंग्रेजी की बात कही है वहाँ पर 'एलाग विद हिन्दी' हो।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Now you must wind up. You have taken ten minutes. There are so many amendments.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैं समझ रहा था कि मैं एक ही अमेन्डमेंट पर बोल रहा था। जब मंत्री जी भाषण कर रहे थे तो मैंने एक प्रश्न किया था, मगर मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उन्होंने उसका जवाब नहीं दिया और मैंने इस बिल के प्रथम

वाचन में भाषण दिया। मेरी इस सबब में जो भावना है वह मैं थोड़े शब्दों में रख रहा हूँ। यहाँ पर बात साफ है कि जो कर्मचारी हिन्दी जानता है हम उसको मजबूर नहीं कर सकते हैं कि वह अंग्रेजी ट्रांसलेशन वगैरा खुद दे। कही कही हमें व्यवस्था करनी पड़ सकती है कि उसको ट्रांसलेशन मिले, यह बात मैं मान सकता हूँ। आज अनेक प्रान्तों सब प्रकार से काम हिन्दी के माध्यम से केन्द्र के साथ किया जा सके, यह स्थिति नहीं है। लेकिन सारे प्रान्तों से आई हुई चिट्ठियाँ, चाहे वे हिन्दी में हों या अंग्रेजी में हों, उत्तर प्रदेश से आई हुई चिट्ठियों का अनुवाद जो अपने कर्मचारी हैं, जो अंग्रेजी नहीं समझ सकते हैं, उनके अनुवाद की व्यवस्था उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार नहीं कर सकती है, क्या उसके लिए उन्हें मजबूर किया जा सकता है। इसलिए मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जिन कर्मचारियों को हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी समझने में कठिनाई होती है, उनके लिए आपको इन्तजाम करना चाहिये और उनकी यह भी समझता हूँ कि ट्रांसलेशन के लिए जो "शैल" शब्द है, उसकी जगह "मे" शब्द प्रयोग किया जाना चाहिये। यह जो सशोधन दी है उसको मैं विद्वान् करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन सारी जगहों पर 'मे' शब्द आना चाहिये।

जहाँ तक केन्द्र का सबब है, मैं उसकी भावना को समझ सकता हूँ कि वह हिन्दी में काम नहीं कर सकती है। लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ जिन प्रान्तों ने हिन्दी को राजकाज की भाषा मान लिया है तो उन प्रान्तों से केन्द्र हिन्दी ही में बातचीत करे। ऐसे भी प्रान्त हैं जिनकी आफिशियल लैंग्वेज हिन्दी नहीं है, जैसे पंजाब, लेकिन उसने केन्द्र के साथ हिन्दी में ही लिखने का फैसला किया है। मैं नहीं समझता कि उस प्रान्त को हिन्दीवाला प्रान्त कहेंगे या नान हिन्दी वाला प्रान्त। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो प्रान्त या व्यक्ति केन्द्र को हिन्दी में पत्र लिखता है उसका जवाब उसको हिन्दी में ही देना चाहिये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do now.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Should I not move other amendments?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I told you that you would get ten minutes. You cannot go on like this. At this rate you will need two hours. You have given the amendments. Now you should have spoken on whatever you wanted to comment on.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : हर एक आदमी अपने अमेन्डमेंट में नहीं बोलना चाहता है ।

उपसभापति : यह बात नहीं है । You know the time is limited. I think you will also realise that we must pass this Bill. You cannot go on like this.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इसका सारा वजन मेरे ऊपर नहीं है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nobody has taken more than five minutes. I appeal to your good sense. We must pass this Bill. You must all have the good sense. You must have self-control. One should not go on.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैं खुद अपने पर नियंत्रण कर रहा हूँ ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nobody has taken more than ten minutes maximum. Give your salient arguments, one, two, three on each amendment that you want to speak on.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैं जल्दी समाप्त कर दूंगा । तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि केन्द्र को देश के किसी भी कोने से कोई व्यक्ति हिन्दी में पत्र भेजता है तो उसका जवाब हिन्दी में ही जाना चाहिये । इसी तरह से अगर प्रान्त हिन्दी में पत्र लिखते हैं तो उसका जवाब भी हिन्दी में जाना चाहिये । अगर यह स्वीकार कर लेते हैं तो जो लोग अंग्रेजी में पत्र लिखते हैं, जो प्रान्त लिखते हैं, उनको आप अंग्रेजी में ही जवाब भेजिये । जो लोग

आज हिन्दी में लिखने में कठिनाई अनुभव करते हैं, उनको मजबूर करने का कोई कारण नहीं है । आप उनको स्पैमिफाई कर दीजिये कि कौन कौन सा काम आप अंग्रेजी में करना चाहेंगे और इसकी आप फेहरिस्त बना लीजिये । आखिर सारी दुनिया को पता लगना चाहिये कि 20 वर्षों के बाद, एक फैसला करने के बाद उसके अनुसार कहां तक चल सकते हैं । अगर हम फिर भी हिन्दी को देश की सम्पर्क की भाषा न बना सके और अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से ही हमने काम किया तो यह हमारे देश के लिए लज्जा की बात होगी ।

इन विचारों के साथ मैं अपने क्लोज़ दो के संशोधनों को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, amendments Nos. 5, 7 and 9. Mr. Sen Gupta has spoken on them. These amendments stand in the names of others also. Mr. Bhadram, you want to say something on amendments Nos. 5, 7 and 9. But be very brief.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I heard the Home Minister very carefully. He put forth unconvincing arguments about the unity of the country. But the same thing has not been translated into the Bill. That is why the Bill has not satisfied many of the people, not only from the South but from the North also. To make it more clear, the proviso to sub-clause (1) in clause 3 is not very clear about the language to be used between the Union and the States. The first proviso reads:—

“Provided further that where Hindi is used for purposes of communication between one State which has adopted Hindi as its official language and another State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language, such communication in Hindi shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language;”

The third proviso is for communication between a State and the Union. The State is at liberty to use Hindi,

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English or the official language of the State. Similarly, the fourth proviso is with regard to communication between two States. In this connection I would like to say that the argument of the Home Minister has not convinced many of the Members in this House as to the purpose that would be served by this Bill. It is not going to bring unity as was made out by the Home Minister.

Mr. Lokanath Misra was referring to the language which one should learn in this particular context. I may bring to your notice, Madam, the type of language that is being used by many of the departments of the Central Government. I will give one example. In the Railways, for translation of the English words, I do not know which language they are using, Hindi, Sanskrit or some other language. For example, the Hindi translation of the word "railway signal" is "avat javat ut bait soochak"—that is, "avat", coming, "javat", going, "ut" going up, "bait" coming down, and "soochak" signal. This is the type of language that is being used in the Railways. Then for "neck-tie" the Hindi translation is "Kanth langot". And for the last wagon or bogie in a train the translation in Hindi is something very vulgar. The word used is a very vulgar word and I myself am ashamed to use that word.

AN HON. MEMBER: If it is given there, you can mention it.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM: The word used is "Ganpati".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have learnt enough Hindi. Stop it there.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM: This is not Hindi. Is this the language that you are going to learn? That is exactly why yesterday Dr. Gopal Singh was vehemently arguing that not sanskritised Hindi but Hindustani should be learnt. In the official translations also it is not being used. Therefore, the provisos that are there in sub-clause 1 are not quite clear and the provisos which I have suggested are very clear. I command my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My amendment, Amendment No. 7, is a simple one, "Provided that English and all the other languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution shall be used for transaction of business and debate in Parliament."

Now, having listened to the debate during the last few days, I have an impression as if this is a battle between the two extremist oppositions—the protagonists of Hindi on the one hand, the extremists, and the English protagonists on the other. That is why, you will have noted, in the course of the discussion, very few hon. Members paid attention to how we transact business in Parliament. Yet we are a federal Parliament. Yet we adopt a resolution which is supposed to place all the languages of the Indian Union mentioned in the Eighth Schedule in the same category, on an equal footing, subject to the fact that Hindi has to be ultimately the sole link language of the Indian Union. But even then, many of us do not have time to suggest what should be done in Parliament. Now we have been here for 15 years. And only two languages are spoken here mainly, almost wholly, English and Hindi. Hindi is advancing a little, but English is still dominant. But there are other languages, regional languages, "national languages" as we call them. They are hardly spoken. Anyone coming to this Parliament and listening to the debate for, say, a week or so, would not go with the impression that we are a multi lingual community, we have many rich languages of which we are proud, and which have a heritage of their own. No one would get that impression. For example, if I am called upon to speak here, I can only speak in English because I am well up in English. But I cannot speak in Bengali. Well, perhaps I can speak in Bengali, but it will not be recorded. I think it applies to many hon. Members. Yet, many of us feel that we can best express ourselves in our own mother tongue. That is very, very important. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, why do I say this thing? It is not a fact that we have. It is not a kind of slogan that we have given and press it every time. Assuming that we

had implemented this proposition, then perhaps many in the country would not have this kind of misgivings that they have to-day. Indian Parliament itself would be a vivid demonstration of unity in diversity, of mutual tolerance and confluence of many linguistic cultures and many things that go with it. But that is not the position now. That is why people have the feeling that since it is "either English or Hindi" and since Hindi has become the official link language, perhaps Hindi will take the place of all other languages certainly at the Union level in such a manner that the other regional languages would stand neglected, not only at the Centre in respect of what is their due, but also in the States. Such a position has arisen to-day. Now I think we should alter it. We should change this thing. They are languages anyway. Why can't I speak in Bengali? Yesterday, Shrimati Yashoda Reddy made a fiery speech in English and a good speech it was from her point of view. But she would have spoken with greater passion and with much more effectiveness had she spoken in Telugu. But she cannot speak in Telugu here. She can perhaps do, but it will not be recorded. Neither will we understand it. Therefore, I think there is a disincentive in this respect. Firstly, there is no arrangement for recording and secondly, there is no arrangement for translation, with the result the others who do not know that language would not be in a position to follow that speech. This is a serious omission and I do not know why the Central Government is not taking steps in this regard. Now it is not an executive wing of the Government. We are a federal Parliament. It has its own character and position. It has its own personality. People get elected to Parliament from various constituencies and they come from all regions, from different language groups and naturally that should be reflected here, not in theory, but in practice, in the very life of Parliament itself. Now, therefore, it should not be confused with the Union Public Service Commission or the executive wing of the Government. This has its own status, its own personality. It has its own projection of the nation as a whole.

We talk about unity in diversity. Here we sit together coming from different language areas, different regions, inheriting different types of linguistic and other cultures. But when we sit together, we do not find that common symphony which we can get by making such technical and other arrangements as are necessary. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, this is not a happy state of affairs. Seventeen years have passed since we adopted our Constitution. Well, people are going to the moon; they are trying to land on Mars, Venus and so on. But we cannot have that arrangement. See the galleries at your back. I have been here for 15 years and I find they are always vacant. Can't we instal proper apparatus there and have translators with necessary equipment to translate the various speeches in the different languages? Well, until you can bring about such a situation, they will remain vacant. Is it because we don't have money? Of course, we can find money. When the national emergency demands, we pass from Rs. 300 crores Defence Budget to Rs. 1,000 crores in no time. Can't we find some little money in order to make the necessary arrangements for translation? Science and technology are there. You can get a Bhilai Steel Plant from the Soviet Union or some other steel plant from other countries. Can't you get this equipment and apparatus from other countries? Now, I have been to many international conferences. Four or five languages are spoken there as a matter of routine. Translations are there. Transistors are used. You put something in your pocket and the speeches get translated and you listen to them. It is so simple to-day. It is not at all difficult, Madam, if the Government will take this matter seriously. It should be done. Now people say "Angrezi hatao". Mr. Rajnarain said it. But I am surprised that not one of his amendments contains this thing . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN : It is there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am very glad. Now "Angrezi hatao" is all right. I am in favour of it although I cannot speak in any other language unless I am allowed to speak in Bengali. But

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]
let its place be taken by all the regional languages in a particular sphere
5 P.M. like this. When you say 'Angrejee hatao' I entirely agree that it should go but let other languages come in. But that is not what is done. People think it is a small matter. But it is not so. We cannot demonstrate our sincerity for unity in diversity and our expression of faith in the equality of all the regional languages unless here in this Union Parliament we create such a living picture of things. This we are not doing. (*Time Bell rings*) Madam Deputy Chairman, workers are getting elected to Parliament and peasants are getting elected to Parliament. A peasant who comes from a remote village in Bengal, he is not expected to know either English or Hindi. How will he speak in Parliament? (*Time Bell rings*). Therefore, Madam, the whole thing is an internal arrangement as it were among themselves, English-speaking and Hindi-speaking people. Here they are settling things among themselves.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta, please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, if you are all the time asking me to wind up, I will sit down but I will be speaking on every single amendment. After all you know that nobody has spoken on it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given you ten minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then on every single amendment I will speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If everybody wants to speak like that, there will be no end.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All the time you are ringing the bell. I say I will sit down but I will be speaking on all the amendments. I did not want to do that. Anyhow, this is the trouble. When I speak on this important amendment, I am interrupted. Who is going to listen to us? Do you think this Government is going to listen to us? You know its attitude. I am not saying that is your attitude. This thing has not

been pleaded. During the last two days I have been following the debate and now you say 'Wind up'. It is all right; I will wind up. That way you are spoiling a good taste. I am asking, do the peasants and the workers have no right to speak their mother-tongue? They have to be allowed to speak in their own mother-tongue. I am anxious that their case should not go by default here. I should like to see this Parliament filled with people not like ourselves but filled with the sons and daughters of the working people from the peasantry, from the hearths and hovels and then it will be a living Parliament, somewhat symbolic of the spirit of the nation. You find that out of 50 crores of people 40 crores or so live in the villages. Such is the situation. Now are we providing for them? We are not providing for them. About 520 Members are there in that House and 238 or so in this House. Are we providing for them? We are conditioned by our own outlook, we are conditioned by our own social links. We think we come from the upper classes. Having had the advantage of education and all that is favourable, we think everything must be settled according to what we like. This is not leadership; this is not statesmanship; this is not farsightedness. In such matters this is not the attitude which should be taken. You have to bring the people together and establish your *bona fides* not by issuing sermons from the Treasury Benches but making a reality of the life itself in Parliament. Therefore, Madam, before I sit down I would appeal again to my friends that it is within the bounds of possibility, technically and economically it is within our reach to make a provision for such an arrangement, for simultaneous translations and it should be done.

I should like this Parliament to speak less and less in a foreign tongue or in a tongue of other people. I should like this Parliament to conduct its affairs in such a manner that the people can speak in their own language, in their mother-tongue. That way we will be touching the hearts of the people and one mother-tongue will approach another mother-tongue and the bonds

of unity will be created and strengthened in that process itself. All the regional languages should be allowed to be spoken, whether it is Malayalam, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil or any other language. All should be spoken each understanding the other through the mechanism of simultaneous translations. That way we will not only be just expressing ourselves in our mother-tongue, in our own language, but we will be creating lasting and enduring bonds among them. That is how we should arrange, Madam Deputy Chairman.

Madam Deputy Chairman, somebody says 'in a picturesque garden many flowers should blossom or are supposed to blossom. But have we got the gardener here who can show that all the flowers are blossoming with all their freshness and fragrance? No. We are stifling them if we are only leading two languages, English and Hindi, to the detriment of the other languages. That certainly is not the way for a nation to prosper. Therefore once again I appeal to the hon. Members to accept this amendment. I know the difficulties involved in making arrangements for all the 14 or 15 languages but let us rapidly move in that direction and we will find that it is possible; practical difficulties we can settle. All of you have spoken and made very good speeches emphasising the need for unity in diversity and the need for one link language. I entirely agree with you. I also appeal to the other friends here who are interested in 'Angreejee Hatao', I appeal to them to establish their *bona fides* in this matter by accepting this amendment. We cannot give equal status to all the languages merely in the theory or by saying certain good things about the regional languages. We have to practise them and we have to put every single language here in its rightful place. (Time Bell rings) I hope, Madam Deputy Chairman, many of my friends agree with me. After all who does not love and cherish his mother-tongue? But I think we require a little more courage and vision, decision and resolution, in order to see that this amendment is accepted and, what is more, implemented by the Govern-

ment by making the necessary arrangements. Thank you.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want to appeal to the House that I do not mind any one commenting on this amendment. There is nothing wrong in it, provided you offer new arguments why the amendment should be accepted. But if you repeat your speech all over again, it is not possible for me to give you time. Therefore if you have anything new, you say it in a few sentences, Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं इसके समर्थन के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का तहे दिल से समर्थन कर रहा हूँ। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी आखिर आते-आते हमारे रास्ते पर आ गए।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. Before you came, I moved this. The only thing is I do not like to move like a bulldozer.

श्री राजनारायण : अगर भूपेश जी की यही राय पहले से थी तो मैं शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।

माननीया, जैसा कि आपने कहा कि इसमें ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहिये, नई बात जोड़नी चाहिये तो नई बात में जोड़ रहा हूँ, लोकशाही और लोकभाषा। सरकारी पक्ष में जितने लोग बैठे हुये हैं उन सब से आपके जरिये मैं अदब से अर्ज कर के जानना चाहूंगा कि दुनियाँ की कोई एक नज़ीर दे दें कि जहाँ लोकशाही हो और लोकभाषा न हो। माननीया, लोकशाही लोकभाषा के बिना चल ही नहीं सकती।

مشری اکبر علی خان :- ایک سے زیادہ بھاشا

برسکتی ہے

†[श्री अकबर अली खान : एक से ज्यादा लोकभाषा हो सकती है।]

†[] Hindi transliteration.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे अकबर अली साहब शायद लोकभाषा का मतलब कम समझे । एक से ज्यादा राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हो सकती हैं, मैं राष्ट्रीय भाषा शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं कर रहा हूँ । लोकभाषा शब्द का प्रयोग कर रहा हूँ । बंगाल एक राज्य है तो बंगाल में बंगाली चले, वह वहाँ की लोकभाषा है, तामिलनाडु में तामिल चले, वह वहाँ की लोकभाषा है, लोकभाषा के माने पीपुल्स लैंग्वेज ।

श्री के० दामोदरन् (केरल) : लेकिन कांस्टीट्यूशन के हिसाब से वह राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं, नेशनल लैंग्वेजेज हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : जरा समझ लीजिये । सभी विभिन्न राज्यों की भाषायें और विभिन्न राज्य हमारे राष्ट्र में हैं इसलिये सब राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हो गई ।

कल की बहस में जो थोड़ी गड़बड़ी थी उसको मैं बता देना चाहता हूँ । शायद डा० गोपाल सिंह ने कहा था । नेशन और नैशनैलिटीज ये दो चीजें हैं । जो भी पोलिटिकल साइंस का विद्यार्थी होगा वह जानगा कि एक नेशन में कई नैशनैलिटीज हो सकती हैं, इसलिये नेशन और नैशनैलिटी में कंफ्यूज नहीं किया जाय । दोनों दो चीजे हैं Nation is equal to nationalities plus people.

यह श्री गुरुमुख निहाल सिंह जी से पढ़ कर जान लीजियेगा ।

डा० गोपाल सिंह (नाम निर्देशित) : आप को तो पढ़ा सकता हूँ, और की बात नहीं ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि यहां कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि बिना जाने ही बात हो जाती है । तो मैं बड़े अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ चागला साहब से आपके जरिये कि इंग्लैंड में इंग्लिश कब आई ।

पहली रपट इंग्लिश में हुई है 1399 में और पहला प्रोफेसर अंग्रेजी में जो हुआ वह 1758 में हुआ । अंग्रेजी के पहले लैटिन और फ्रेंच थी, फ्रेंच न पढ़े और कोई और पढ़े तो हजार हजार जुर्माना . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Be very quick, I am requesting you.

श्री राजनारायण : आप तो जो कहती हैं वह मैं शिरोधार्य करना हूँ ।

उपसभापति : मैंने तो आपको अर्ज किया, मैं तो अर्ज ही कर सकती हूँ ।

श्री राजनारायण : बता दिया जाय, सारी स्पीच में किसी ने यह कहा हो ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But what you are speaking has been spoken already. A lot of discussion has taken place. Clarifications have been sought and given. I have had all these things. Now please speak only on the amendments making the points 1, 2, 3.

श्री राजनारायण : किसी ने यह कहा कि 1391 में पहले पहले अंग्रेजी में रपट हुई किसी ने यह कहा कि 1758 में पहले अंग्रेजी के प्रोफेसर ने पढ़ाया । . . .

उपसभापति : वह तो ठीक है लेकिन इस सब बात का यह समय नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा तो हमको पांच मिनट से ज्यादा न दीजिये ।

उपसभापति : आप दस मिनट ले चुके हैं । दो मिनट और ले लें ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा तीन मिनट ही सही, आपने तीन मिनट कहा या दो मिनट कहा ।

उपसभापति : मैंने दो मिनट कहा ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमको तो आखीर में बोलना ही है, थर्ड रीडिंग होगी उसमें अपनी सब बात कहेंगे ही । हम अपना संशोधन नहीं मूव करेंगे, वह सरला जी करेंगी ही, वह है ही ।

मेरा प्वाइंट यह है कि कांग्रेस की कुछ शक्लें ऐसी बैठी हैं जिनकी दिल से इज्जत करता हूँ लेकिन दिल और दिमाग को दो जगह रखे, दिल में इज्जत है मगर दिमाग अलग है क्योंकि वह कुछ गांधियन सभ्यता में पले हुये हैं, तो मैं एक ही बात निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि गांधी जी का नाम या तो यहाँ लिया न जाय और अगर लिया जाय तो गांधी जी के कथनानुसार कुछ काम भी किया जाय। दो बातें हमारे सामने आई हैं, माननीया, मैं उनका जवाब देना चाहता हूँ। इस समय मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूँ, हमारे कोई मित्र हमको गलत न समझें, इन संशोधनों से या भूपेश गुप्ता के संशोधन से हिन्दी लादने का कोई सवाल नहीं, भूपेश गुप्ता के संशोधन से यही बात आती है कि हमारे राष्ट्र की जितनी भाषाएँ हैं जो लोकभाषाएँ हैं वह लोकशाही के लिये जरूरी हैं और वही प्रतिष्ठित हो, वही अपनी जगह ले, तो इस संशोधन को मानने में गुरेज न करे। आज जानबूझ कर कुछ लोग अपने राष्ट्र की जो भाषाएँ हैं उनमें झगडा लगा रहे हैं, मैं उनमें नहीं हूँ साफ कह दूँ, जो उर्दू को हिन्दी से लड़ाते हैं या हिन्दी को उर्दू से लड़ाते हैं, मैं उर्दू की उतनी ही इज्जत करता हूँ जितनी हिन्दी की इज्जत करता हूँ। एक मिनट आप, माननीया, यह भी समझने की कृपा करे। एक मिनट में समझे। आज जो हिन्दी बनाई जा रही है, आज जो अंग्रेजी शब्दों का ट्रांसलेशन हिन्दी में हो रहा है वह जनता की हिन्दी नहीं है, वह नौकरशाही की हिन्दी है, वह साम्राज्यशाही की हिन्दी है। कुछ पढ़े लिखे अंग्रेजी दिमाग वालों की एक विशिष्ट भाषा बनाना चाहते हैं। मैं हिन्दी जानता हूँ लेकिन अभी "अभियन्ता" मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। क्या क्या जो अनुवाद चला हुआ है वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। आज जो नौकरशाही है वह ऐसा क्लिष्ट अनुवाद कर रही है ताकि उसके लिये एक विशेष भाषा तैयार हो जाय। तो यह दोष यहाँ की जनता का नहीं है, यहाँ की लोक-

शाही का नहीं है, यह दोष यहाँ की नौकरशाही का है, यहाँ की कांग्रेस सरकार का है जिसने ऐसी नौकरशाही को रख कर एक गलत ढंग से संस्कृताइज्ड हिन्दी करा कर के हिन्दी भाषा भाषी लोगों को भी बदनाम करने की कोशिश की है।

इसलिये मैं भूपेश गुप्ता जी की तालिफ करता हूँ और इन लोगों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अब हिन्दी का विरोध करना छोड़ दे। आज जो सरकार हिन्दी चला रही है वह जनता की हिन्दी नहीं है, वह लोकशाही की हिन्दी नहीं है, वह तो सामन्ती, साम्राज्यवादी हिन्दी है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया (मध्य प्रदेश) : मैं पाँच मिनट लूँगा।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं जरा बोलना चाहता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Yes, take one minute.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He is just coming from Andhra How can he finish speaking in one minute?

उपसभापति : अच्छा, बोलिये। पाँच मिनट ले लीजिये।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : महोदया, हा, मैं आन्ध्र से आ रहा था और सदरन एक्सप्रेस को मद्रास के कुछ विद्यार्थियों ने पूरी ट्रेन को एक घंटे रोक कर के वहाँ पर कुछ लिखा, और उन्होंने क्या लिखा। उन्होंने लिखा कि तामिल को लिंक लेगुएज बनाई जाय। यही उस पर लिखा हुआ था। किसी ने यह नहीं लिखा उस ट्रेन में कि अंग्रेजी को लिंक लेगुएज बनाया जाय। यह मद्रास के विद्यार्थियों ने लिखा। इसलिये, माननीया, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि असल में झगडा तो यह है। हिन्दी का कोई झगडा नहीं है। हम यह नहीं चाहते

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

कि हिन्दी किसी पर लाद दी जाय लेकिन असल में झगड़ा यह है कि जो अंग्रेजी को कायम रखना चाहत हैं जो हिन्दुस्तानी में नोकरशाही की तरफ से साजिश चलाई जा रही है कुछ बड़े लोगों की तरफ से अंग्रेजी को कायम रखने की, मैं उसके विरुद्ध हूँ ; मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि यहां जितने भी अमेंडमेंट राजनारायण जी ने और और लोगों ने दिये हैं उसके बारे में भी कुछ सोचा जाय क्यों कि जिस ढंग से यह बिल और यह प्रस्ताव आया है उसी ढंग से इन दोनों को हम पास करते हैं तो फिर यह होता है कि हमेशा के लिये अंग्रेजी को इस देश में लाद दिया जायगा, इसमें इसकी बू आती है कि अंग्रेजी को हमेशा के लिये कायम रखना है। इसमें कोई वक्त की पाबन्दी नहीं है, कोई ऐसी चीज इस बिल में यह प्रस्ताव में नहीं कही गई है कि किसी ऐन वक्त के लिये अंग्रेजी रखी जा रही है और उसके बाद सारा कामकाज कोई देशी भाषा में होगा। सारा किस्सा यह हो रहा है कि अंग्रेजी को कायम रखा जाय और हमेशा के लिये कायम रखा जाय और इसमें यह भी कहा गया है कि जब तक कोई एक राज्य अंग्रेजी को कायम रखना चाहेगा तब तक सारे हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजी को कायम रखा जायगा। कोई एक राज्य जैसे कि नागालैंड यह प्रस्ताव कर दे कि हम अंग्रेजी को कायम रखना चाहते हैं तो इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर अंग्रेजी को लादा जायगा और अंग्रेजी को हमेशा के लिये कायम कर के रखेंगे। तो इसलिये माननीया, हम तो यह जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी भी लोक भाषाएं हैं, जितनी भी जनता की भाषाएं हैं, उसमें कामकाज हो, हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। अगर मद्रास में तमिल में कामकाज होता है या मद्रास का केन्द्र के साथ तमिल में पत्रव्यवहार होता है और उत्तर प्रदेश

के साथ हिन्दी में पत्रव्यवहार करता है और उसी तरह से अगर मद्रास से हिन्दी या तमिल में पत्रव्यवहार होता है और अगर तमिलनाड की सरकार उत्तर प्रदेश को तमिल में लिखती है तो हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है, उत्तर प्रदेश में तमिल का अनुवाद करने के लिये काफी लोगों को तैयार किया जायेगा और कामकाज अच्छी तरह से हो सकता है। हमारी कोशिश यह है जो एक विशिष्ट वर्ग इस देश में, अंग्रेजी भाषा की विशिष्टता के कारण, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के ऊपर हुकूमत करता है, जो कि पहले जमाने में संस्कृत के जरिये, उसके बाद फारसी के जरिये, उसके बाद अंग्रेजी के जरिये, कोशिश करता आया है और आज अंग्रेजी को कायम रखना चाहता है और हिन्दी को भी ऐसी हिन्दी बनाकर जो कि साधारण जनता समझ नहीं सके ऐसी हिन्दी को कायम करने की चेष्टा हो रही है उस विशिष्ट वर्ग के कारण इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि अब भी वक्त है, सरकार इस बात को समझ ले। ये अमेंडमेंट जितने भी दिये हैं उनको सरकार मान ले तो कोई काम बन सकता है। अगर नहीं मानती है तो फिर यह जो बिल और प्रस्ताव पेश किया जा रहा है यह तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा समस्या को अनर्थ में डालने वाला है, हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य को बिगाड़ने वाला है।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I want to know from my hon. friend if he is prepared to accept Tamil along with Hindi as the official link languages.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : हां मैं मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Then he should be prepared to have all the fourteen languages as the link languages and for that he should bring forward such an amendment. Is he prepared to do that?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : No, no. Certainly not. We cannot have Tamil as the link language. The link languages should be English and Hindi.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : हम तो इसके समर्थक हैं कि हिन्दी और तमिल हिन्दुस्तान की आफिशल लैंगुएज हो। अंग्रेजी को तुरन्त निकाल दो तो हिन्दुस्तान की चौदह भाषाओं को मान्यता देने के लिये तैयार हैं।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं धारा 2 की उप-धारा (5) में जो संशोधन चाहा गया है हमारे द्वारा, उस पर चर्चा करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इसमें जो बंधन लगाया गया है कि :

"and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament."

यह जो बंधन लगाया है यह उस आश्वासन के अनुकूल कहा जाता है। जब 1963 में इसी तरह की बात उठाई गई थी माननीय जवाहरलाल नेहरू के सामने तो उन्होंने जो शब्द कहे थे वह यह थे कि :

"It is said that when this matter comes up it should only be decided by representatives from the non-Hindi States in India. I have been unable to understand how this kind of a thing can be put down in the statute. That would create an extra-ordinary situation and would be a wrong precedent."

यह जवाहर लालजी के शब्द हैं। उनको बहुत कोट किया गया है और उन्हीं को मैं यहां पर कोट कर रहा हूँ। वह खुद कहते थे कि इस तरह का आश्वासन हमारे कानून में बांधना एक अच्छा प्रेसीडेन्ट नहीं होगा या अच्छी बात नहीं होगी, यह एक एक्स्ट्रा ऑर्डिनरी परिस्थिति होगी। तो इसका हल क्या है? हम नहीं चाहते उनके आश्वासन को तोड़ दिया जाय,

छोड़ दिया जाय। आश्वासन भावना की चीज है लेकिन आश्चर्य की बात है कि हम संविधान को दो तिहाई मत के आधार पर बदल नहीं सकते हैं मगर यह कानून बना रहे हैं कि जब तक सर्वसम्मति नहीं हो जाती तब तक यह व्यवस्था बदली नहीं जा सकती। अभी भी अवसर है, यदि आपको रखना ही है। मैं तो पहले कह चुका हूँ कि इसको रखा नहीं जाना चाहिये क्योंकि यह संविधान के विपरीत है, संविधान जिस आधार पर बना है, जो दो तिहाई बहुमत के आधार पर बदला जा सकता है, उससे भी ज्यादा इसको "एक्सीड" किया जाता है। यह जो सारी व्यवस्था है जिन के लिये बंधन लगा रहे हैं, यह सारा केन्द्रीय सरकार से संबंधित नहीं है इसके लिये सारे हिन्दी स्टेट और नान हिन्दी स्टेट के पूरा समर्थन नहीं देने तक हमको बाध्य किया जायेगा उनके द्वारा और इस तरह की व्यवस्था किया जाना न्यायसंगत नहीं हो सकता।

हम चाहेंगे कि मंत्री महोदय इसको असंवैधानिक मान कर वापस ले लें और अगर नहीं ले सकते हो तो जो संशोधन दिया है कि जिस तरह से संविधान में संशोधन को दो तिहाई मत के हिस्से से पारित किया जा सकता है उसी तरह से अगर दो तिहाई स्टेट्स एग्री कर लेंगी तो इस पर से ये बंधन हटा लिये जाय।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Shukla and Mr. Tarakeshwar Pande have the same amendments, except that Mr. Pande has amendments 25 and 40 also.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, मैं कल निवेदन कर चुका हूँ कि मैं इस विधेयक को संविधान के विरुद्ध मानता हूँ। यह प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न सदन संविधान से बंधा हुआ है और संविधान में अनुच्छेद 343 में हिन्दी इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा मान ली गई है और उसी अनुच्छेद

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

के अनुसार 1965 से इस देश की राष्ट्र-भाषा बन चुकी है। 1963 के विधेयक में जो राजभाषा विधेयक था, उसमें जो प्रावधान किया गया था उसके अनुसार “इंगलिश इन् एडीशन टु हिन्दी” चल सकता है। माननीय श्री भंडारी जी ने इस सबध में अपने विचार व्यक्त करते हुए बहुत ही विशद रूप से इस विषय को सदन के सामने रख दिया है। मैं नहीं चाहता, पुनः उन्हीं बातों को दोहराकर, सदन का समय लू। परन्तु मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सविधान में अंग्रेजी 1965 के बाद यदि रह सकती है तो सारे कामों के लिये नहीं रह सकती है, कुछ ही इन्ने गिने, चाहे जितनी भी उनकी सख्या हो, कामों के लिये रह सकती है और उनको विशिष्ट रूप से स्पेसिफाई किया जाय। इस विधेयक में जो सारे कामों के लिये अंग्रेजी को रखने की चेष्टा की जा रही है और साथ ही अकेल अंग्रेजी को ही चलाने की चेष्टा की जा रही है, हिन्दी को छोड़ कर, यह दोनों बातें सविधान के स्पष्ट प्रावधान के विरुद्ध हैं इसलिये मैंने जो सशोधन दिया है, सविधान के अतर्गत ऐसी व्यवस्था आ जाय, इसलिये मैंने कहा है कि स्टेट्स और यूनियन में, या स्टेट्स और स्टेट्स में जो पत्राचार हो उसमें हिन्दी भी अंग्रेजी के साथ साथ रहे और साथ ही यह आवश्यक न हो कि जहाँ कहीं जरूरी भी न हो अनुवाद की, वहाँ अनुवाद हो, उसका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी ही में न हो बल्कि प्रादेशिक भाषाओं में, क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में भी हो ताकि धीरे धीरे अंग्रेजी का प्रयोग हटे और क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं और हिन्दी के बीच सीधा सम्पर्क स्थापित हो, वह एक दूसरे के नजदीक आए। यह मैंने पहला सशोधन रखा है।

दूसरा सशोधन यह रखा है, महोदया, कि हम सारी योजना करते हैं, सन् 1952 से हमने राष्ट्र के विकास के लिये पच-

वर्षीय योजनाएँ बनाईं और पाच पाच वर्ष की अवधि रखी हिन्दी के विकास के लिये और राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रयोग के लिये हमने न कोई काम किया न ऐसी कोई योजना बनाई। अभी तक हम यह टालते चले जा रहे हैं। चाहिये तो यह था कि गत पन्द्रह वर्षों की अवधि जो सविधान में दी गई थी उसके अतर्गत हिन्दी का इतना विकास किया गया होता कि हिन्दी को आज राजभाषा के रूप में प्रयोग करने में इस देश के किसी कोने में कोई कठिनाई उपस्थित नहीं होती और ऐसा होता तो शायद जो उपद्रव, जो तूफान उठ खड़ा हुआ है वह नहीं होता। परन्तु वह नहीं हुआ। फिर भी यदि हम अनन्त काल के लिये अंग्रेजी को बनाने की व्यवस्था करेंगे तो निश्चय ही हिन्दी ऊपर कभी नहीं आ सकती। इसलिये मैंने कहा है कि दस वर्ष तक ऐसी व्यवस्था रहे कि हिन्दी के साथ अंग्रेजी भी चलायी जा सकती है लेकिन दस वर्ष के बाद फिर धीरे धीरे अंग्रेजी को हटाकर उसकी जगह हिन्दी और क्षेत्रीय भाषाएँ ले ले।

महोदया, पहली बात जो सविधान के सर्वथा विरुद्ध की जा रही है यह है कि अंग्रेजी तब तक चलती रहे जब तक हिन्दी न जाननेवाले राज्य, जिनको अहिदीभाषी राज्य कहते हैं, सब इस बात को स्वीकार न करे और वह स्वीकार करे अपनी प्रादेशिक विधान सभाओं के प्रस्तावों द्वारा। महोदया मुझे इसमें आपत्ति नहीं है कि प्रत्येक राज्य की सरकार हिन्दी को लागू करने में और अंग्रेजी को उठाने में सहमति देने का अधिकार रखे, परन्तु यह अधिकार तो इस प्रभुतामय ससद् का है। मैंने अभी निवेदन किया कि वह अधिकार सविधान के अतर्गत किसी को दिया ही नहीं जा सकता सविधान में ही प्रदेशों को, राज्यों को, जो अधिकार दिये गये हैं और सविधान के अनुसार ही जो दिये जा सकते हैं, वही यह ससद् भी दे सकती है। इस विधेयक के द्वारा हम कदापि

ऐसा अधिकार किसी राज्य को नहीं दे सकते। महोदया, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कल कहा, गृह मंत्री ने आज कहा, कि यह 'वीटो' नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ, वीटो शब्द का मुझे ज्ञान अत्यल्प है, मैं नहीं जानता वीटो की परिभाषा या अर्थ क्या है। लेकिन मैं यह मानता हूँ कि यह ऐसा निषेधात्मक प्राविधान है कि यदि यह बना रहे तो हिन्दी कदापि देश की राजभाषा हो ही नहीं सकती। हमने प्रस्ताव में व्यवस्था की है कि तीन भाषाएँ पढाई जाय। इससे अंग्रेजी सारे देश में हमेशा चलती रहेगी, जैसे जैसे शिक्षा का विकास होगा, शिक्षा सस्थाएँ बढ़ेंगी, वैसे वैसे तीन भाषा फारमूला में हम कहेंगे कि हिन्दी और प्रादेशिक भाषाएँ कम दायरे में रहेंगी लेकिन अंग्रेजी सब जगह बनी रहेगी। तो भविष्य कौन कहेगा अंग्रेजी छोड़ दो। तो इस तरह से यह विधेयक हिन्दी को जो राजभाषा है, उसको अपने पद से हटाकर क्षेत्रीय भाषा की हैसियत में ला रहा है और हमेशा के लिये उसे केन्द्र की राजभाषा के पद से हटा रहा है। यह सविधान को इस प्रकार निष्प्रभाव (सरकमवेट) कर देता है।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि इस विधेयक द्वारा हिन्दी जो हमारे देश की राजभाषा है वह एक सहेली भाषा के रूप में ही रह जायेगी और अंग्रेजी शासन की भाषा होगी। हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों को खुश करने के लिए, उनको सतोष दिलाने के लिए तथा उनकी भावनाओं को दबाने के लिये वह कानून में राजभाषा रहेगी मगर इस विधेयक द्वारा अंग्रेजी में ही काम होगा। हिन्दी तो सविधान के अनुसार पुस्तक में राजभाषा के रूप में रहेगी, मंदिर में उपासना की एक प्रतिमा के समान सविधान में राजभाषा रहेगी किन्तु "डी फैक्टो" राजभाषा-रानी तो अंग्रेजी हो जायेगी।

जो मैंने सशोधन दिया है उसमें इस बात की व्यवस्था है कि 10 वर्ष बाद प्रत्येक राज्य की विधानसभा इस सदन से अनुमति

मागे प्रस्ताव करके कि उसके यहाँ इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि अंग्रेजी अब भी कुछ दिनों तक चलनी चाहिये। जब इस तरह का कोई प्रस्ताव आता है तो यह सदन अनुमति दे और वह अनुमति पाच वर्ष में अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिये। इस तरह में दस वर्ष और पाच वर्ष यानी 15 वर्ष की अवधि निश्चित करके हम फिर हिन्दी को देश की राजभाषा के रूप में पूरी तरह से चला सकते हैं। आखिर किसी काम के लिए हम अवधि निश्चित करते हैं। जब हमने सविधान में अधिक से अधिक 15 वर्ष की अवधि रखी थी, तो आज इस विधेयक में 15 वर्ष की अवधि लाने में क्या आपत्ति हो सकती है। लेकिन महोदया, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार के काम ही ऐसे होते हैं कि जिस मसविदे को कैबिनेट स्वीकार कर लेती है, उस पर वह फिर आख मूँद लेती है। आखिर हम विकास के कार्य करते हैं और उसके लिए अवधि नियत करते हैं अगर हमारे अहिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों के मन में कोई सशय है कि अंग्रेजी कभी भी हटाई जा सकती है और हिन्दी कभी भी लाई जा सकती है। तो उसी तरह का सशय हिन्दी भाषाभाषी को भी है कि अंग्रेजी हमेशा बनी रहेगी और कभी भी हिन्दी नहीं आ पायेगी, तो मैंने इन दोनों के बीच का रास्ता ढूँढा है और उसको आप स्वीकार कीजिये। जैसा कि अंग्रेजी में "अप्रोप्रिएट" और "रिजनेबल" शब्द हैं, वह मेरे इस बीच के रास्ते के लिए उचित बैठते हैं और इतने रिजनेबल अवधि के लिए किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये जब सविधान ने पहले 15 वर्ष रखा था तो अब 15 वर्ष रखने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने सभी प्रस्तावों को ठुकरा देने की बात मान ली है। उसने इस विधेयक को प्रवर समिति में भेजने की बात

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

नहीं मानी लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उसको मेरी इतनी माँग तो अवश्य स्वीकार कर लेनी चाहिये ।

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa) Madam, I want to say that my friends coming from Hindi States should search their hearts. What have they done? Since the time when it was codified in the Constitution that Hindi is going to be the national language, the link language, what did these people do? Neither the representatives from the Hindi States nor the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan which had the chance of popularising Hindi did anything. Mahatma Gandhi wanted a composite language in the name of Hindustani which should absorb words from the different languages so that it will be a people's language and possibly it could have been accepted by this time. But without doing anything to popularise Hindi when the limitation of 15 years came to an end on 1st January 1965 they came forward to impose Hindi. And then a call of revolt came from the South. They protested and there was loss of property and all that. It is not only a question of Nehru's assurances. Article 43(3) of the Constitution specifically empowers Parliament to provide for the continued use of English after 1965 for such purposes as may be specified by law. So it is not only the assurances but the Constitution also says that English should not be ended unless and until all other sections of the Indian population accept it. For the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan there was a lot of chance to do something. There was a lot of money available with them. That money has not been properly utilised. Statistics show that within the last five years the examinees in this organisation have come down to 50 per cent. Without doing anything themselves, they now want to go against the assurances when this House is going to give their stamp to this Bill. So I would request my Hindi friends not to intervene in this way by bringing forward amendments but to whole-heartedly accept this legislation and create a sense of confidence in the hearts and minds of the non-Hindi-speaking people so that things can go on smoothly.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

हिन्दी भाषाभाषियों के सम्कार और परम्परा के प्रति मेरे मन में सद्भावना है और मैं उनका आदर करता हूँ। मेरा सशोधन बहुत छोटा है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि यह जो सारा विधेयक है, वह सविधान की परिधि और सीमा के विपरीत है। यह किसी न्यायालय के समक्ष टिक नहीं सकता है फिर भी सरकार ने इस बात की तरफ आख क्यो बंद कर ली है और उसको दिखलाई क्यों नहीं देता है समूचे हिन्दी भाषाभाषी विद्वान जो राज्य द्वारा पारितोषिक पा रहे हैं। जिनको सम्मान दिया जा चुका है वे उन सम्मानों को वापस कर रहे हैं। इस बात को आप क्यो नहीं देखते हैं। मैं उनकी सद्भावना और विरोध का आदर करता हूँ और उनके सम्मान में मस्तक झुकाता हूँ। मेरा अमेन्डमेन्ट बहुत छोटा है।

मेरा पहला सशोधन यह है कि जहाँ आप यह कहते हैं कि अनुवाद अंग्रेजी में भेजा जाय, वहाँ मे कहता हूँ कि हिन्दी में भेजा जाय। दूसरा सशोधन यह है कि जो आपने दस वर्ष का समय लगाया है, उसमें मैं चाहता हूँ पाँच वर्ष का समय लगा दिया जाय। मेरे सशोधन में बहुत बल है और मैं शुक्लजी की राय से और शब्दों से सहमत हूँ कि जब आपने निर्णय कर लिया है कि दूसरों की बातों को नहीं सुनेंगे तो इस चीज में अहंकार भरा हुआ है। अहंकार का हमेशा अंत होता है और इसीलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि मेरा जो छोटा सा सशोधन है उसको स्वीकार कर लिया जाय।

श्री रेवती कान्त सिंह (बिहार) :

माननीया, मैं इस समय सशोधन न० 13, 16 और 19 पर बोलूंगा, 34, 35 पर सरला जी बोलेंगी और उसने बाद राज-नारायण जी बोलेंगे।

माननीया, इस विवादास्पद बिल पर बोलने के पहले कई बार सोचना पड़ता है कि मैं बोलूँ कि नहीं। दुर्भाग्य मे मैं भी वैसे राज्य में पैदा हुआ हूँ जिस राज्य की भाषा हिन्दी है और पिछले तीन दिनों से इस सदन में हिन्दी वाला, हिन्दी फ़ैनेटिक्स, हिन्दी बल्गर लैंग्वेज है, ये सारी बातें सुनते सुनते ऐसा लगता है कि आखिर कौन-सा पाप हम लोगों ने किया कि हम उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, मध्य प्रदेश आदि में पैदा हो गये। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, यह जो हमारे पूर्वजों ने गलती की है उसका हम परिणाम भोग रहे हैं। और, वह गलती हुई संविधान में हिन्दी को राजभाषा मान कर। अगर संविधान परिषद् में हिन्दी के बदले किसी गैर हिन्दी भाषा को, तमिल, तेलगू, मलयालम, कन्नड, उड़िया, बंगला आदि में से किसी को भी राजभाषा मान लिया गया होता, तो मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हिन्दी इलाकों में हम इतने सहिष्णु हैं कि हम उसको शिरोधार्य कर लेते और आज ये गालियाँ हमको सुनने को नहीं मिलती।

जो यहाँ कहा गया, उन सारी बातों का मैं जवाब देना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन एक बात की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहा गया कि हिन्दी में 'नेक्टाई' का अनुवाद 'कंठ लंगोट' है। मैं चुनौती देता हूँ कि किसी भी स्टैंडर्ड डिक्शनरी में कोई नेक्टाई का हिन्दी अनुवाद 'कंठ लंगोट' दिखला दे। केवल गालियाँ देने के लिये ऐसे ऐसे शब्द क्वाइन कर लिये जाते हैं। नेक्टाई को हिन्दी में गलाबन्द या गले का बन्द कहते हैं। ऐसा कहने वालों के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि या तो वे हिन्दी नहीं जानते हैं या जानबूझ कर हिन्दी का उपहास करते हैं। हिन्दी का उपहास करना, जब तक भारत का संविधान लागू है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उस देश के संविधान का उपहास करना है।

पिछले 17 वर्षों में राष्ट्रीय शर्म की यह बेशर्म कांग्रेस हुकूमन संविधान तोड़ती रही है, संविधान की अवहेलना करती रही है जिसका आज नतीजा यह है कि हिन्दोस्तान में भाषा के सम्बन्ध में हम लोग इस पार्लियामेंट में बैठ कर के लड़ रहे हैं। पिछले 17 वर्षों में अगर हुकूमत ने जो संविधान में व्यवस्थाएँ की गई हैं उनके अनुसार काम किया होता . . .

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, I believe we are wasting our breath in moving amendments. The Government is not represented except by Mr. Ramaswamy. The Home Minister ought to be here. He ought to hear our arguments. Should he not reply? How can he reply to our amendments? He owes a duty to be present here. It is showing scant courtesy.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, the Home Minister himself should be called to be present in the House. Mr. Shukla is not here. Where is he?

AN HON. MEMBER: The House should stand adjourned now.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. Mr. Sinha, you must continue. Else I will pass on to the next speaker. There is a representative of the Home Ministry here. That is enough.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We are not casting any reflection, but it is an important Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is enough. This is only the amendment stage. (Interruptions) Please let him continue.

श्री रेवती कान्त सिंह: माननीया, मैं कह रहा था कि अगर सरकार ने संविधान के मुताबिक हिन्दी को और भारत की दूसरी भाषाओं को बढ़ाने का कदम उठाया होता, सक्रिय रूप से कुछ काम किया होता तो आज जो स्थिति पैदा हो गई है, यह स्थिति नहीं पैदा होती।

[श्री रेवती कान्त सिंह]

एक बात यह कही गई कि हिन्दी में संस्कृतनिष्ठ या संस्कृताइज्ड शब्दों की भरमार होती जा रही है और इसकी वजह से वह किसी की समझ में नहीं आती है मैं इस बात से बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ, पूरे तौर से सहमत हूँ, लेकिन फिर मैं कहूँगा कि यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि इस में भी हमारे पूर्वजों की गलती हुई है। संविधान में यह लिखा है कि भारत में देवनागरी लिपि में हिन्दी चलेगी और हिन्दी में शब्द संस्कृत से लिये जायेंगे। (Interruptions) जहाँ तक सवाल है संस्कृताइज्ड हिन्दी का मैं भी उसके विरुद्ध हूँ क्योंकि मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि भारत की भाषाएँ, भारत की प्रशासन की भाषा सेप्रेटोरिएट के एयरकंडीशन्ड मकानों में बैठ कर नहीं बनाई जा सकती, वह जन्मा कि खुरदरी जवान पर बनती है और वही से बनेगी। तो ऐसी भाषा बननी चाहिये जिस भाषा में संस्कृत और भारतीय भाषाओं के शब्द हों, उर्दू के अल्फाज हों अंग्रेजी के वर्ड्स भी हों और इस प्रकार की भाषा का मैं हिमायती हूँ।

अब मैं असल सवाल पर आता हूँ। हम लोगों का और खास तौर से हमारी पार्टी का यह उद्देश्य नहीं है कि हिन्दी किसी के ऊपर जबरदस्ती लाद दी जाय। जो हिन्दी नहीं पढ़ना चाहते हैं उन्हें हिन्दी नहीं पढ़नी चाहिये और न उनके ऊपर हिन्दी लादी जाय, हम बिल्कुल इसके हक में नहीं हैं। लेकिन जो अपने ऊपर अंग्रेजी लदवाना नहीं चाहते उनके ऊपर आप अंग्रेजी क्यों लादते हैं। ये सारे तर्क जो दिये गये हिन्दी के खिलाफ, अगर वे तर्क दिये जाते तमिल के लिए, तेलगू के लिए, उडिया के लिए, बंगला के लिए तो मेरी समझ में बात आ सकती थी, लेकिन तर्क दिये गये अंग्रेजी के लिये और कहा गया कि हिन्दी बड़ी बलगर है, बड़ी गन्दी भाषा है, इसलिये अंग्रेजी को रखना चाहिये। माननीया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपनी

मा अगर काली भी हो, लगड़ी भी हो, लूली भी हो तो अपनी मा है। दूसरी की मा अगर गोगी भी हो, मेनका भी हो रम्भा भी हो तब भी वह हमारी मा नहीं हो सकती है (Interruptions) हा, वह चाची हो सकती है, मौसी हो सकती है, हमारी मा नहीं हो सकती। भारत की जो हमारी भाषाएँ हैं वह हमारी मा हैं। अंग्रेजी हमारी मा नहीं हो सकती। अंग्रेजी की वकालत में हिन्दी की जो भर्त्सना करते हैं वे साथ साथ इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि अगर अंग्रेजी यहाँ पर रहेगी तो हिन्दी की कौन कहे, भारत की कोई भाषा पनप नहीं सकती, बढ़ नहीं सकती। तो सवाल हिन्दी के लादने का नहीं है, सवाल अंग्रेजी हटाने का है। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी बड़ी अच्छी भाषा है। शक्सपियर को पढ़ने के लिये, रूसो को पढ़ने के लिये हमें अंग्रेजी पढ़नी चाहिये। जहाँ तक ज्ञान के लिये अंग्रेजी पढ़ने का सवाल है उसमें हमारा या हमारी पार्टी का कोई विरोध नहीं है। लेकिन भारत में प्रशासन की भाषा अंग्रेजी को हम रखना नहीं चाहते क्योंकि भारत के प्रशासन की भाषा अगर विदेशी भाषा रहेगी तो भारत की जनता में और भारत के प्रशासन में जो खाई पैदा हो गई है वह खाई बनी रहेगी और वह मिटेगी नहीं। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि यहाँ भारत की भाषाएँ चले। इसके लिये जो हमने अमेडमेट दिये हैं 13, 10 और 19 उसमें हमने कहा है कि जो राज्य अपने यहाँ हिन्दी अपना चुके हैं वे केन्द्र से हिन्दी में पत्राचार करेंगे, जो राज्य गैरहिन्दी भाषाओं को अपना चुके हैं, अंग्रेजी के अलावा अपनी भाषाओं में वे केन्द्र से पत्राचार करेंगे। अगर वे चाहते हैं कि वे अंग्रेजी में पत्राचार करें तो वे करें, लेकिन हिन्दी वालों पर अंग्रेजी नहीं लादे। जहाँ दो राज्यों का सम्बन्ध है, हिन्दी इलाके के राज्य से गैर-हिन्दी इलाके के राज्य को हिन्दी में और

उसका अनुवाद उनकी क्षेत्रीय भाषा में, तमिल में, तेलगू में, या जो भी उनकी भाषा हो उसमें देने की व्यवस्था की जाय और वहां से जो आये उनकी अपनी भाषा में आये और अगर उनकी इच्छा हो वे अंग्रेजी का अनुवाद भेजें, नहीं तो हम हिन्दी वाले अपने यहां पर अनुवादक रख लेंगे, हम इतना मानने को तैयार हैं। लेकिन अंग्रेजी को कदापि मानने को तैयार नहीं क्योंकि अंग्रेजी रहेगी तो हिन्दी ही नहीं भारत की कोई भी भाषा फलफूल नहीं सकती है और भारत में जनतंत्र नहीं चल सकता। इन शब्दों के साथ में अपने संशोधन संख्या 13, 16 और 19 को उपस्थित करता हूं।

श्रीमती सरला भदौरिया (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, पैरा प्रथम के प्रथम भाग में "राजभाषा हिन्दी रहेगी" के स्थान पर "राजभाषा हिन्दी है" रखे जायें इसमें थोड़ा संशय उत्पन्न होता है। कोई कार्य हमें करना है या हम करेंगे, इस तरह से शब्दों के तोड़-मरोड़ से भावों को बिलकुल ठीक स्पष्ट नहीं किया जा सकता। इसलिए मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूंगी और इस हाउस से अनुरोध करूंगी कि जिसमें निश्चयात्मक भावना बने, जिससे निश्चय प्रगट हो ऐसे शब्द जोड़े जायें। जिस कार्य को हम करना चाहते हैं, जिसके लिए माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने भी कहा, जो उन्होंने अपने विचार प्रगट किए उसके अनुसार ही हम ऐसा संकल्प उपस्थित करना चाहते हैं। ऐसे शब्द उस संकल्प में आने चाहिए जिससे उस कार्य को हम गीघ्रातिशीघ्र कर सकें और फिर कभी कोई किसी प्रकार का विवाद उत्पन्न न हो। हम सरल हिन्दी जिसको हिन्दुस्तानी भी कहा जा सकता है ऐसी सरल हिन्दी को लागू करना चाहते हैं तो भी हमें ऐसे शब्दों का इस्तेमाल अपने संकल्प में करना चाहिए जिससे उस कार्य को आगे कर सकें और हमारे सामने किसी प्रकार का संकट उपस्थित न हो।

इसलिए पैरा 1 के प्रथम भाग में "राजभाषा हिन्दी रहेगी" के स्थान पर "राजभाषा हिन्दी है" शब्दों को जोड़ने का मैं अनुरोध आपसे करती हूं।

दूसरा संकल्प है कि पैरा 2 के प्रथम भाग के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाए, अर्थात् :—

"इस सभा का यह मत है कि जब तक अंग्रेजी एक विकल्प के रूप में भी उपलब्ध रहेगी तब तक भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास रुका रहेगा और इसलिए, यह सभा संकल्प करती है कि संघ का यह कर्तव्य होगा कि वह अंग्रेजी के प्रयोग को उत्तरोत्तर घटायेगा और अन्ततः समाप्त करेगा और प्रतिवर्ष सदन को इस बात की रपट देगा कि उसने राजकाज और सार्वजनिक जीवन के किन विशिष्ट क्षेत्रों में अंग्रेजी के प्रयोग को घटाया अथवा समाप्त किया है।"

तो धीरे-धीरे जो समाप्त करने की बात है, जो एक निश्चित संकल्प उपस्थित किया जा रहा है उसमें पैरा 2 के नीचे यह जोड़ी जाय। इसके अनुसार एक निश्चित मंतव्य के लिए एक निश्चित संकल्प उपस्थित हो जाता है कि अगर हम हिन्दी का कोई विकास करते हैं तो वह प्रगति हमारे सामने आती है, हमारे सामने उपस्थित होगी तो हम उसपर कुछ कह भी सकेंगे कि क्या कमी है, क्या कमी हमारे कार्य में रह गई, कितनी और सख्ती के साथ, कितनी दृढ़ता के साथ, कितनी कोशिश करके इस कार्य को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। ऐसे प्रश्न पर जो हमारे जनमानस से जुड़ा हुआ है, ऐसे प्रश्न पर जो हमारे जनजीवन से जुड़ा हुआ है, ऐसे प्रश्न को अगर हम इस तरह से देखते हैं, इस तरह से उस पर संकल्प करते हैं या निश्चय लेने हैं या प्रतिज्ञा करते हैं तो हम उस संकल्प को पूरा भी कर सकते हैं लेकिन अगर इस तरह से संकल्प को उपस्थित नहीं किया और कुछ संशय रह जाय, कुछ

[श्रीमती सरला भदौरिया]

भावना में मोड़ बना रहे या टालू दृष्टिकोण से उपस्थित करे जैसे अब तक टालते रहे हैं, 15 वर्ष का निश्चय करने के बाद कि 15 वर्षों में देश में हिन्दी लागू, उसके बाद भी आज हम हिन्दी को लागू नहीं कर पाए हैं। अहिन्दी प्रान्तों में आन्दोलन होते हैं और अहिन्दी आन्दोलन के कारण यह विधेयक उपस्थित करना पड़ा और इस विधेयक के कारण हिन्दी प्रान्तों में गड़बड़ियाँ हो रही हैं और वहाँ रोष या गुस्सा लोगों में आ रहा है। इस तरह का संकट देश के सामने, राष्ट्र के सामने, देश की जनता के सामने न आए ऐसा हमारा प्रयत्न होना चाहिए। हमारे देश के छात्र जिनको पढ़ना लिखना है, जिनको भविष्य बनाना है व आज अपनी किताबों को बंद करके उस भविष्य की तरफ न देखते हुए सोचते हैं कि हमारे ऊपर अंग्रेजी लादी जा रही है या अहिन्दी प्रान्त वाले सोचते हैं कि हमारे ऊपर हिन्दी लादी जा रही है, हमारे छात्र, हमारे विद्यार्थी जो अपनी तरक्की, अपना विकास, अपना मानसिक विकास करके देश के, राज्य के प्रशासन में हिस्सा ले, देश की तरक्की और उन्नति में हिस्सा ले, ऐसे छात्र ऐसे तेजस्वी लड़के मारे जायें, पीटे जायें, उनको ले जाकर जेलों में बन्द कर दिया जायें, उनके साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जायें, उनकी भावना को चोट पहुँचाई जायें उससे उनके मन और आत्मा को भी चोट पहुँच सकती है। मैं आपके माध्यम से यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि इससे हमारे देश के गौरवका और गरिमा का भी संबंध है, इसको हम अलग करके नहीं सोप सकते। ऐसे प्रश्न पर हमको बहुत ही गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए और इसको भी देखना चाहिए कि इसमें कोई कमी है तभी आज देश के बड़े बड़े साहित्यिक, लेखक, जिनको सरकार से मान्यताएँ मिली हुई थी, जिनको पद्मश्री, पद्म-विभूषण आदि की मान्यताएँ मिली हुई थी, उपाधियाँ मिली हुई थी उन्होंने क्यों उन्हें वापस कर दिया, जैसे समिन्त्रानन्द पन्त और महादेवी वर्मा वगैरह ने...

उपसभापति : अब समाप्त कीजिए।

श्रीमती सरला भदौरिया : मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहती। मैं भाषा के सम्बन्ध में कहना नहीं चाहती थी। चूँकि मेरा नाम आ गया इसलिए मैं बोली हूँ। मुझे अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्तों से और वहाँ के निवासियों से भी पूरी सहानुभूति है, मैं उनके लिये यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि वह बधाई के पात्र हैं, मैं जानती हूँ कि अगर हम कोई भाषा सीखते हैं और वह व्यवहार में नहीं ला पाते तो निश्चित रूप में हम उसमें तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं, उसमें विकास नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह कठिनाई निश्चित रूप में उनके सामने है लेकिन उनके साथ साथ उस पर ध्यान देते हैं, उसमें विकास करते हैं और प्रयत्नशील हैं लेकिन मेरा मत है, मेरे विचार से यह राजनीतिज्ञों की एक साजिश है कि वह स्वार्थवश अपने प्रभुत्व को स्थापित करने के लिये आज देश के ऊपर अंग्रेजी को लादना चाहते हैं। न हिन्दी प्रान्त में हिन्दी वाले झगड़ना चाहते हैं और न अहिन्दी प्रान्त के निवासियों का हिन्दी से झगड़ा हो सकता है। दोनों तरह के लोगों ने अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त किया है, मैंने तो देखा कि सदन में जितने भाषण हुये हैं, जितने भी लोगों ने विचार प्रकट किये हैं उनमें से अधिकांश इस विधेयक के विरोध में हैं लेकिन फिर भी आज हुक्मत आज सरकार, आज राजनीतिज्ञ, खास तौर से सत्तारूढ़ दल के राजनीतिज्ञ, इसको थोपना चाहते हैं, लादना चाहते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री महोदय और गृह मंत्री महोदय, इन दोनों की साजिश ने, एक तौर से दो शिकार ये कर रहे हैं, उत्तर के लोगों का, हिन्दी भाषी लोगों का और दक्षिण के लोगों का अहिन्दी भाषी लोगों का, दोनों का एक तौर से शिकार करना चाहते हैं और राष्ट्र के सम्मान और गौरव को गिराना चाहते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ, महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया।

श्री जगत नारायण : महोदया, यह जो संशोधन है इस पर चौरडिया साहब ने काफी रोशनी डाली है, उन्होंने पंडित जवाहरलाल जी का वक्तव्य पेश किया है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि इस किस्म की कोई लिमिट करना, यह बात नहीं हो सकती है।

महोदया, अगर सारे राज्य चाहें और सिर्फ नागालैंड न चाहे कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा बने तो यह बन नहीं सकती है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह दुस्त नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह इसलिये भी दुस्त नहीं है कि इस किस्म की कोई शर्त लगानी ही नहीं चाहिये क्योंकि जितनी भी तकरीरें यहां पर हुई सभी भाईयों ने आखीर में यही कहा है कि हमें यह मंजूर है, जो नान-हिन्दी स्टेट्स हैं उन्होंने यही कहा है कि हम हिन्दी को आफिशियल लैंगुएज मानते हैं, लेकिन हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमें टाइम मिले, टाइम मिलने के बाद हम चाहते हैं कि आप हिन्दी को लागू कर दें। जबरन हम भी नहीं चाहते, कोई नहीं चाहता, लेकिन यह बात भी बहुत ज़रूरी है, यह भी बड़ा ज़रूरी है कि एक भी स्टेट जब तक कहे तब तक हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा, नेशनल लैंगुएज नहीं मानी जाय। अगर इसी तरह यह पास हो जाता है तो यह ज़रूरी होता है हिन्दी पर, राष्ट्रभाषा पर, नेशनल लैंगुएज पर। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह तो नहीं होना चाहिये लेकिन अगर यह रखना है तो जो मैंने संशोधन दिया है कि मेजरिटी आफ दि स्टेट्स यह कह दें कि हिन्दी हो, मेजरिटी लेजिस्लेचर्स को पास कर दें कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा हो जाय तो फिर यह लागू हो जानी चाहिये। यही मेरा संशोधन है और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इसको मान लेगी। शुक्रिया।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chavan, do you want to reply to any of these amendments?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have nothing to say; we do not accept any of them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I shall take up amendment No. 1 of Shrimati

Shakuntala Paranjpye. She is not here but her amendment was moved.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : How is it so?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We are on the amendment No. 1 Your amendments will come later on. You are a master of procedure.

The question is :

1. "That at pages 1 to 3, for the existing clause 2, the following be substituted, namely :—

2. For section 3 of the Official Languages Act, 1963 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), the following section shall be substituted, namely :—

"3. Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language shall, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,—

(a) for all the Official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will put amendment No. 2 to vote.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I want division.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will count.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Division. I want division on this. I must have division.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right.

SHRI ABID ALI : One Member cannot ask for division.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Only on this will I allow division. After this, I will not allow one hon. Member standing up for division. Now the question is. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I seek a clarification.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Not now.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : It is very vital.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then you take the amendments together.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Sit down...

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is the dignity. They show when I want to make a submission. If they had kept quiet, they would have seen my reason. But immediately we get up, the whole lot shouts. You cannot treat me like that. You must realise by now. Anyway, I wish to say, that because the two amendments are mixed amendments, some people may feel that one thing should be supported. I think many of them may also feel like that. But unfortunately, if you ask... (Interruptions) One may feel rightly for it, others may feel in the other way...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

2. "That at pages 1 to 3, for the existing clause 2, the following be substituted, namely :—

'2. For section 3 of the Official Languages Act, 1963, (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), the following section shall be substituted, namely :—

'3. Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, all the languages except Sanskrit specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution shall, from the date of the commencement of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967, be used—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union ;

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.' "

The House divided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Ayes 7 ;

Noes 128.

AYES—7

Ghosh, Shri Niren
Kesavan (Thazhava), Shri
Murahari, Shri G.
Rajnarain, Shri
Sarla Bhadauria, Shrimati
Sen Gupta, Shri D. L.
Sinha, Shri Rewati Kant

NOES—128

Abdul Shakoor, Moulana
Abid Ali, Shri
Abraham, Shri P.
Ahmad, Shri Syed
Amla, Shri Tirath Ram
Anandan, Shri T. V.
Anis Kidwai, Shrimati
Arora, Shri Arjun
Asthana, Shri L. D.
Atwal, Shri Surjit Singh
Baharul Islam, Shri
Bhadram, Shri M. V.
Bhandari, Shri Sundar Singh
Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
Bindumati Devi, Shrimati
Bobdey, Shri S. B.
Chagla, Shri M. C.
Chandra Shekhar, Shri
Chandrasekhar, Dr. S.
Chavda, Shri K. S.
Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.
Chetia, Shri P.
Chinai, Shri Babubhai M.
Chordia, Shri V. M.
Das, Shri Banka Behary
Dass, Shri Mahabir

Desai, Shri Khandubhai K.
 Desai, Shri Suresh J.
 Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
 Doogar, Shri R. S.
 Gilbert, Shri A. C.
 Gujral, Shri I. K.
 Gurupada Swamy, Shri M. S.
 Hathi, Shri Jaisukhlal
 Iyer, Shri N. Ramakrishna
 Jahanara Jaipal Singh, Shrimati
 Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri
 Karmarkar, Shri D. P.
 Kathju, Shri P. N.
 Kaul, Shri M. N.
 Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
 Khan, Shri M. Ajmal
 Khaitan, Shri R. P.
 Kothari, Prof. Shantilal
 Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Kulkarni, Shri A. G.
 Kurre, Shri Dayaldas
 Mahanti, Shri B. K.
 Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.).
 Mary Naidu, Miss M. L.
 Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra.
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Menon, Shri Balachandra
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Misra, Shri M.
 Mohammad, Chaudhary A.
 Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed
 Mookerjee, Shri Debabrata
 Muhammad Ishaque, Shri
 Muniswamy, Shri N. R.
 Nandini Satpathy, Shrimati
 Neki Ram, Shri
 Pande, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Patil, Shri G. R.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Patra, Shri N.

Pattanayak, Shri B. C.
 Pillai, Shri J. Sivashanmugam
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota
 Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta, Shri
 mati.
 Puttappa, Shri Patil
 Ram Chander, Shri
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Ramaul, Shri Shiva Nand
 Ray, Shri S. P.
 Reddy, Dr. M. Channa
 Reddy, Shri M. Govinda
 Reddy, Shri N. Narotham
 Reddy, Shri N. Sri Rama
 Sadiq Ali, Shri
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Salig Ram, Dr.
 Sanjivayya, Shri D.
 Sapru, Shri P. N.
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Seeta Yudhvair, Shrimati
 Sen, Dr. Triguna
 Shah, Shri K. K.
 Shah, Shri M. C.
 Shanta Vasisht, Kumari
 Sherkhan, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Shyam Kumari Khan, Shrimati
 Siddalingaya, Shri T.
 Siddhu, Dr. M. M. S.
 Singh, Dr. Anup
 Singh, Shri Dalpat
 Singh Shri J. K. P. N.
 Singh, Shri Jogendra
 Singh, Shri Santokh
 Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap
 Sinha, Shri B. K. P.
 Sinha, Shri Ganga Sharan
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap
 Sukhdev Prasad, Shri
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tapase, Shri G. D.
 Tara Ramchandra Sathe, Shrimati

Tariq, Shri A. M.
 Thanulingam, Shri P.
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Vaishampayan, Shri S. K.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Varma, Shri C. L.
 Venkateswara Rao, Shri N.
 Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrimati
 Vimal Punjab Deshmukh, Shrimati
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati
 Zaidi, Col. B. H.

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:—

3. "That at page 1, line 10, for the word 'may' the word 'shall' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

5. "That at page 1,—

(i) in line 12, the letter and brackets '(a)' be deleted; and

(ii) in line 13, the word 'and' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

7. "That at page 2, for line 1, the following be substituted, namely:—

'Provided that English and all the other languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution shall be used for transaction of business and debate in Parliament.' "

The House divided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ayes—11; Noes—129.

AYES—11

Bhadram Shri M. V.

Das, Shri Banka Behary
 Ghosh, Shri Niren
 Gupta, Shri Bhupesh
 Kesavan (Thazhava), Shri
 Kumaran, Shri P. K.
 Menon, Shri Balchandra
 Misra, Shri Lokanath
 Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
 Sen Gupta, Shri D. L.
 Sinha, Shri Rewati Kant

NOES—129

Abdul Shakoor, Moulana
 Abid Ali, Shri
 Abraham, Shri P.
 Ahmad, Shri Syed
 Amla, Shri Tirath Ram
 Ammannaraja, Shrimati C.
 Annandan, Shri T. V.
 Anis Kidwai, Shrimati
 Arora, Shri Arjun
 Asthana, Shri L. D.
 Atwal, Shri Surjit Singh
 Baharul Islam, Shri
 Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
 Bindumati Devi, Shrimati
 Bobdey, Shri S. B.
 Chagla, Shri M. C.
 Chandra Shekhar, Shri
 Chandrasekhar, Dr. S.
 Chatterji, Shri J. C.
 Chavda, Shri K. S.
 Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.
 Chetia, Shri P.
 Chinai, Shri Babubhai M.
 Dass, Shri Mahabir
 Desai, Shri Khandubhai K.
 Desai, Shri Suresh J.
 Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
 Doogar, Shri R. S.
 Gilbert, Shri A. C.
 Goswami, Shri Sriman Prafulla
 Gujral, Shri I. K.
 Gurupada Swamy, Shri M. S.
 Hathi, Shri Jaisukhlal
 Iyer, Shri N. Ramakrishna

Jahanara Jaipal Singh, Shrimati
 Jaframdas Daulatram, Shri
 Karmarkar, Shri D. P.
 Kathju, Shri P. N.
 Kaul, Shri M. N.
 Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
 Khan, Shri M. Ajmal
 Khaitan, Shri R. P.
 Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Kulkarni, Shri A. G.
 Kurre, Shri Dayaldas
 Mahanti, Shri B. K.
 Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.).
 Mary Naidu, Miss M. L.
 Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Misra, Shri M.
 Mitra, Shri P. C.
 Mohammad. Chaudhary A.
 Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed
 Mookerjee, Shri Debabrata
 Muhammad Ishaque, Shri
 Muniswamy, Shri N. R.
 Murahari, Shri G.
 Nandini Satpathy, Shrimati
 Neki Ram, Shri
 Paliwal, Shri S. K. D.
 Pande, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Patil, Shri G. R.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Patra, Shri N.
 Pattanayak, Shri B. C.
 Pillai, Shri J. Sivashanmugam.
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota
 Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta, Shri-
 mati
 Puttappa, Shri Patil
 Rajnarain, Shri
 Ram Chander, Shri
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Ramaul, Shri Shiva Nand

Ray, Shri S. P.
 Reddy, Dr. M. Channa
 Reddy, Shri M. Govinda
 Reddy, Shri N. Narotham
 Reddy, Shri N. Sri Rama
 Sadiq Ali, Shri
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Salig Ram, Dr.
 Sanjivayya, Shri D
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Seeta Yudhvair, Shrimati
 Sen, Dr. Triguna
 Shah, Shri K. K.
 Shah, Shri M. C.
 Shanta Vasisht, Kumari
 Sherkhan, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Shyam Kumari Khan, Shrimati
 Siddalingaya, Shri T.
 Siddhu, Dr. M. M. S.
 Singh, Dr. Anup
 Singh, Shri Dalpat
 Singh, Shri J. K. P. N.
 Singh, Shri Jogendra
 Singh, Shri Santokh
 Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri B. K. P.
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap
 Sukhdev Prasad, Shri
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tapase, Shri G. D.
 Tara Chand, Dr.
 Tara Ramchandra Sathe, Shrimat
 Tariq, Shri A. M.
 Thanulingam, Shri P.
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Vaishampayan, Shri S. K.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Varma, Shri C. L.

Venkateswara Rao, Shri N.
 Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrlmati
 Vimal Punjab Deshmukh, Shrimati
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati
 Zaidi, Col. B. H.

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

9. "That at page 2, for lines 2 to 17, the following be substituted, namely:—

'Provided that Hindi shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has adopted Hindi as its official language:

Provided further that Hindi accompanied by a translation in English shall be used for purposes of communication from the Union to a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language:

Provided also that Hindi or English or the Official language of the State concerned shall be used for the purposes of communication from a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language to the Union:

Provided also that Hindi or English or the official language of the State sending the communication shall be used for purposes of communication between one State and another.' "

The motion was negatived.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Madam, I beg leave to withdraw my amendments Nos. 26, 28 and 37.

†Amendments Nos. 26, 28 and 37 were, by leave withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:—

14. "That at page 2,—

(i) for lines 2 to 4, the following be substituted, namely:—

†For the text of amendments vide Cols. 5475 and 5478, *supra*.

'(c) for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language:';

(ii) in line 5, the word 'further' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

20. "That at page 2, line 11, for the word 'also' the word 'further' be substituted.

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

22. "That at page 2, lines 24 to 26, the words 'and any corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or any office thereof' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

23. "That at page 2, lines 27 to 29 be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

27. "That at page 2,—

(i) in line 32, after the word 'Department' the word 'or' be inserted;

(ii) in lines 32 to 34, the words 'or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi' be deleted.

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

31. "That at page 2, lines 40 to 42, the words 'or by a corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or by any office of such corporation or company' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

32. "That at page 3, lines 6 to 8, the words 'or by a corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or by any Office of such corporation or company' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

36. "That at page 3,—

(i) in lines 15-16, the words 'and the interests of the general public' be deleted;

(ii) in lines 18-19, the words 'and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language' be deleted; and

(iii) in line 21, for the words 'in both the languages' the words 'either in Hindi or in the English language' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

4. "That at page 1, for lines 12 and 13, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(a) for some specific purposes of the Union to be prescribed by the Central Government;".

The House divided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ayes—2; Noes—129.

AYES—2

Bhandari, Shri Sundar Singh.
Chordia, Shri V. M.

NOES—129

Abdul Shakoor, Moulana
Abid Ali, Shri
Abraham, Shri P.

Ahmad, Shri Syed
Amla, Shri Tirath Ram
Ammanna Raja, Shrimati C.
Anandan, Shri T. V.
Anis Kidwai, Shrimati
Arora, Shri Arjun
Asthana, Shri L. D.
Atwal, Shri Surjit Singh
Baharul Islam, Shri
Bhadram, Shri M. V.
Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
Bindumati Devi, Shrimati
Bobdey, Shri S. B.
Chagla, Shri M. C.
Chandra Shekhar, Shri
Chandrasekhar, Dr. S.
Chavda, Shri K. S.
Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.
Chetia, Shri P.
Chinai, Shri Babubhai M.
Dass, Shri Mahabir
Desai, Shri Khandubhai K.
Desai, Shri Suresh J.
Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
Doogar, Shri R. S.
Gilbert, Shri A. C.
Gujral, Shri I. K.
Gupta, Shri Bhupesh
Gurupada Swamy, Shri M. S.
Hathi, Shri Jaisukhlal
Iyer, Shri N. Ramakrishna
Jahanara Jaipal Singh, Shrimati
Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri
Karmarkar, Shri D. P.
Kathju, Shri P. N.
Kaul, Shri M. N.
Kesavan (Thazhava), Shri
Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
Khan, Shri M. Ajmal
Khaitan, Shri R. P.
Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi
Krishan Kant, Shri
Kulkarni, Shri A. G.
Kumaran, Shri P. K.
Kurre, Shri Dayaldas

Mahanti, Shri B. K.
 Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.).
 Mary Naidu, Miss M. L.
 Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Menon, Shri Balachandra
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Misra, Shri M.
 Mitra, Shri P. C.
 Mohammad, Chaudhary A.
 Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed
 Muhammad Ishaque, Shri
 Muniswamy, Shri N. R.
 Nandini Satpathy, Shrimati
 Neki Ram, Shri
 Paliwal, Shri S. K. D.
 Pande, Shri Brahmananda
 Pande, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Patil, Shri G. R.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Patra, Shri N.
 Pattanayak, Shri B. C.
 Pillai, Shri J. Sivashanmugam
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota
 Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta, Shri-
 mati
 Puttappa, Shri Patil
 Ram Chander, Shri
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Ramaul, Shri Shiva Nand
 Ray, Shri S. P.
 Reddy, Dr. M. Channa
 Reddy, Shri M. Govinda
 Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
 Reddy, Shri N. Narotham
 Reddy, Shri N. Sri Rama
 Sadiq Ali, Shri
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Salig Ram, Dr.
 Sanjivayya, Shri D.
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Seeta Yudhviri, Shrimati
 Sen, Dr. Triguna

Shah, Shri K. K.
 Shah, Shri M. C.
 Shanta Vasisht, Kumari
 Sherkhan, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Shyam Kumari Khan, Shrimati
 Siddalingaya, Shri T.
 Siddhu, Dr. M. M. S.
 Singh, Dr. Anup
 Singh, Shri Dalpat
 Singh, Shri J. K. P. N.
 Singh, Shri Santokh
 Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri B. K. P.
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap
 Sukhdev Prasad, Shri
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tapase, Shri G. D.
 Tara Ramchandra Sathe, Shrimati
 Tariq, Shri A. M.
 Thanulingam, Shri P.
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Vaishampayan, Shri S. K.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Varma, Shri C. L.
 Venkateswara Rao, Shri N.
 Vidyawati Chaturvedi, Shrimati
 Vimal Punjab Deshmukh, Shrimati
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati
 Zaidi, Col. B. H.

The motion was negatived.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :

Madam. I beg leave to withdraw my amendments Nos. 6, 10, 17, 18, 21, 29, 33 and 38.

*Amendment Nos. 6, 10, 17, 18, 21, 29, 33 and 38 were, by leave, withdrawn.

*For the text of amendments *vide* cols. 5470—78 *supra*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

43. "That at page 3, lines 26-27, for the words 'the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language' the words 'the Legislatures of the two-thirds of the States of the Union' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Madam, I beg leave to withdraw my amendments Nos. 8, 11, 12, 15, 30 and 34.

*Amendment Nos. 8, 11, 12, 15, 30 and 34 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

41. "That at page 3, lines 24 to 29, for the words 'until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of English language for the purposes mentioned therein have been passed by the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament' the words 'for a period of ten years from the commencement of this Act:

Provided that a legislature of any State of the Union may, by a resolution adopted by a majority of three-fourths of its members, seek the permission of Parliament to continue the use of English within its jurisdiction for a further period of five years, for all or any of the purposes mentioned in the aforesaid sections:

Provided further that Parliament may grant such permission by adopting a resolution to this effect by both Houses of Parliament:

Provided also that no such permission may be granted beyond the aforesaid period of 15 years' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

25. "That at page 2, for lines 30 to 34, the following be substituted, namely:—

"a translation of such communication in the English language or, as the case may be, in Hindi shall also be provided till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, office or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi or as the case may be, the English language."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

40. "That at page 3, lines 24 to 29, for the words 'until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of the English language for the purposes mentioned therein have been passed by the Legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language and until after considering the resolutions aforesaid, a resolution for such discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament' the words 'for a period of five years' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

13. "That at page 2, for lines 2 to 4, the following be substituted, namely:—

"Provided that the official language of the State concerned shall be used for purposes of communication together with a translation in Hindi of such communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language'."

The motion was negatived.

*For text of amendments *vide* cols. 5470-77 *supra*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

16. "That at page 2, lines 8 to 10, for the words 'such communication in Hindi shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language' the words 'such communication in Hindi shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the official language of the State concerned' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

19. "That at page 2, after line 10, the following further proviso be inserted, namely:—

'Provided also that the States which have adopted Hindi as their official language shall communicate which the Union in Hindi alone and the work of the offices of the Union situated within these States shall also be done in Hindi and necessary arrangements shall be made to provide such non-Hindi knowing officers as are appointed to work in these States with assistants and translators for a period of five years'."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

24. "That at page 2, lines 30 to 34, for the words 'a translation of such communication in the English language or, as the case may be, in Hindi shall also be provided till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, office or corporation or company aforesaid have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi' the words 'for a period of five years a translation in the English language shall also be provided' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

35. "That at page 3, lines 14 to 21, for the words 'due consideration shall be given to the quick and efficient dis-

posal of the official business and the interests of the general public and in particular, the rules so made shall ensure that persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language may function effectively and that they are not placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency—in both the languages' the words 'the Government shall keep in view that popular Government will ultimately be run in the peoples' language and, therefore, for the quick and efficient disposal of official business and for maintaining a balance in following this principle, shall make rules and the rules so made will particularly ensure that the persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union and having proficiency either in Hindi or in the English language may function effectively and that they are not placed at a disadvantage only on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

44. "That at page 3, lines 26-27, for the words 'of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language' the words 'of the majority of the States as have not adopted Hindi as their official language' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

42. "That at page 3, line 26, for the words 'by the Legislatures of all the States' the words 'by the Legislatures of the majority of the States' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill

Clause 3—(Amendment of section 4 of the principal Act)

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :
I move :

46. "That at page 3, lines 32-33, for the words 'be inconsistent with the provisions of section 3' the words 'create hindrance in the extensive use of Hindi in the official business of the Central Government' be substituted."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

उपसभापति महोदया, मेरा इस संबंध में निवेदन है कि जो आफिशियल लैंग्वेज ऐक्ट है उसमें सब क्लज 4 में यह भाषा थी :—

"The President may, after consideration of the report referred to in sub-section (3) and the views, if any, expressed by the State Governments thereon, issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report."

यह जो अमेन्डिंग ऐक्ट है, उस अमेन्डिंग ऐक्ट में, उसका एक प्रोवाइजो जोड़ा गया है और उस प्रोवाइजो द्वारा राष्ट्रपति के अधिकारों पर कुछ पाबन्दी लगाई गई है। जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि वह उनके डायरेक्शन दे।

But it should not be inconsistent with the provisions of section (3). . ."

मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति हमारे देश के कांस्टीट्यूशनल हेड हैं और वे हम सबकी भावना का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। पहले जो बिल था उसके चौथे क्लज में पहले से ही यह व्यवस्था थी कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंटों की भावनाओं का ख्याल करके ही वे डायरेक्शन देंगे और मैं समझता हूँ कि इतना पर्याप्त था। इसके बाद प्रोवाइजो डालकर उनके अधिकारों को बांधना

कांस्टीट्यूशन के विपरीत है क्योंकि कांस्टीट्यूशन के आर्टिकल 53 में सबक्लाज एक में कहीं पर भी प्रेजिडेंट के ऊपर इस तरह की पाबन्दी नहीं लगाई गई है। उसमें यह भाषा है

The executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President.

इस तरह से प्रेजिडेंट के ऊपर किसी तरह की पाबन्दी नहीं है। फिर इस प्रोवाइजो द्वारा प्रेजिडेंट को यह कहना कि वे जो भी डायरेक्शन देंगे किसी कानून के अधीन देंगे, यह बात उचित मालूम नहीं देती है। हमने अपनी सर्वोच्च-सत्ता राष्ट्रपति के हाथों में सौंप दी है और उसके लिए हमें बड़ा अभिमान है। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि यहां पर जो "डायरेक्शन" शब्द आया है, उसको हटाया जाय।

इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि वे राज्यों की भावनाओं का विचार करेंगे और राज्यों की भावनाओं के संबंध में ओरिजिनल ऐक्ट के सबक्लाज चार में यह बात आ चुकी है। इसलिए इसकी जगह हम यहां पर यह कहें :

"Provided that the direction so issued shall not create hindrance in the extensive use of Hindi in the official business of the Central Government."

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी हमारे सर्वोच्च प्रतिनिधि हैं और सारे देश का विश्वास उन्हें प्राप्त है। आज जो हिन्दी बदलकर केन्द्र के साथ अपना संबंध रखने के लिए तैयार हैं, वे उनकी भावनाओं की इज्जत करेंगे। संविधान में आर्टिकल 342 के अनुसार जो व्यवस्था है, स्थायी व्यवस्था है कि हिन्दी हमारी सम्पर्क भाषा रहेगी। हम जो यह सुझाव देना चाहते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति को भाषाई समिति के आधार पर डायरेक्शन देना चाहिये, उसकी एका ही दिशा हो सकती है कि हिन्दी का उत्तरोत्तर उपयोग किस तरह से हो सकेगा और इस तरह से

[श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी]

हमने उनके हाथ बांध दिये हैं और साथ ही साथ पार्लियामेंट के भी हाथ बांध दिये हैं। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह से राष्ट्रपति के हाथ बांधने की कोशिश न करें। संविधान ने राष्ट्रपति को जो इज्जत दी है उसका कोई अर्थ होगा। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार मेरे संशोधन को स्वीकार कर ले।

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want to speak on this particular clause and this amendment. Now, I am a little surprised at his arguments, but perhaps he is consistent in his own way. The proviso here says "Provided that the directions so issued shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of section 3." Now that bigger section 3 is there. It is a composite thing. Here I find again a one-sided approach in this matter. For the time being we have adopted a compromise formula subject to the principle that Hindi ultimately shall be the sole link language. I do not believe in all the languages as link languages. Otherwise what is there to link? You link something with the other. Then there will be no link. Anyhow, therefore, I say it is wrong and it is a misconception. Mr. Bhandari is pursuing his own thing and I am also pursuing my own thing. Therefore, I oppose it not merely on technical grounds but I say this approach is not good. That is why the people feel that we are trying to impose something and we are trying to end the compromise by this kind of arrangement which has been suggested by him. After all under this measure the Government of the day would be under obligation to see that Hindi attains the status due to it under the Constitution, but subject to the limitations and arrangements that we have made for the time being. Madam, Deputy Chairman, therefore, he is wrong. And I am really surprised at the suggestion made by him, Madam, regarding the President. I am really surprised that suddenly he has developed love for the President.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : The institution of Presidentship we have never challenged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But you have to invest the President with certain powers.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : That we have already done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The President cannot act except on the advice of the Council of Ministers. I would like this Ministry to be dissolved any day but I would not like the President to act on his own. So here you are taking away the spirit of the entire thing. Anyway it is for the Government to ensure that it is implemented in the right way. It is for the President to give directions in such a manner that it should embody not only the letter but also the spirit of the enactment that we are adopting now. You are just now bringing in the other thing by the back door. The President is the constitutional head and he will not have any power. He has to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. I am saying this at a time when the Governor is being invested with special powers by them. I would not like this thing to be repeated in the Rashtrapati Bhavan. I may dislike Mr. Chavan and his Government but in no case will I accept the position when the President acts otherwise than on the advice of the Council of Ministers. It is an article of faith.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : My amendment does not envisage that it is against the advice of the Council of Ministers.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : महोदया, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो खंड 3 है विधेयक का, यह सर्वथा अनावश्यक है। कानून का मस्विदा बनाने वालों ने यह ध्यान नहीं दिया कि पहला जो प्राविधान है संविधान में, और आफिशियल लैंग्वेज ऐक्ट में उसके अन्तर्गत हमारा राष्ट्रपति चाहे तो कैसे कानून और विधान के विरुद्ध काम करेगा। हमारे राष्ट्रपति के पद की प्रतिष्ठा

और सम्मान के विरुद्ध है कि उनको इस विधेयक के अंतर्गत जो संविधान से एक छोटी चीज है जो स्थितियां उत्पन्न हुई हैं उनमें बांधा जाय। क्या वे मंत्रिपरिषद् के परामर्श के विपरीत काम करेंगे, क्या वे संविधान के विपरीत काम करेंगे। संविधान के अंतर्गत जो कानून कायदे शासन द्वारा बनाये जाते हैं, क्या उनके विपरीत वे काम करेंगे। यह उनके पद के सम्मान में संशय उत्पन्न करने वाला है और मैं समझता हूं कि यह इतनी छोटी सी बात है जिसको हमारे गृह मंत्री जी को मानने में एक क्षण देर नहीं होनी चाहिये। जो सम्मान और प्रतिष्ठा स्वयं संविधान दे चुका है हमारे राष्ट्रपति को, उसके होते हुये इसमें यह व्यवस्था करना उचित नहीं है और दूसरे यह अनावश्यक भी है क्योंकि जो कानून कायदे बने हुये हैं, क्या हमारी सरकार, क्या हमारे राष्ट्रपति उसके विपरीत काम करेंगे। तो हमारे विधान और नियम होते हुये इस अनावश्यक प्रावधान की क्या आवश्यकता है। इसलिये मैं आशा करता हूं कि मेरे इस सुझाव को माननीय मंत्री जी अवश्य मान लेंगे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I would like to be on record on this amendment. Madam, for the first time I agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta because here the President does not act as the President. The President acts on the advice of the Council of Ministers and the restriction that really speaking is accepted in this clause is the restriction on the Government. I can very well understand whether this amendment was necessary or not. But what is implicit in the very position is made more explicit by way of abundant caution. Really speaking the very purpose of the Act is to assure some people and we thought it much better to make things explicit where they were implicit. Therefore, this amendment is necessary. It is in no way derogatory to the high office of the President.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

46. "That at page 3, lines 32-33, for the words 'be inconsistent with the provisions of section 3' the words 'create hindrance in the extensive use of Hindi in the official business of the Central Government' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is another amendment for New Clause 4. That is barred because clause 2 has been accepted.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be passed".

The question was proposed.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am glad that our House known popularly as the House of Elders has shown great tolerance, great dignity and good behaviour while dealing with this Bill.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak on the third reading, on merits.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: Those who have differed from one another have put forward their points of view with laughter and with friendliness to each other even though this is such a serious problem, such a complicated problem. Madam, language touches not only the conscience, the sub-conscience, but even the unconscious part of the human mind and in

[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha.]

these matters emotions touch off. It is not very easy for a country where we have 14 or 15 languages in the Eighth Schedule. We are sitting here together coming from all parts of the country having different feelings. Mr. Tarakeshwar Pande might have one feeling, my friend sitting on the other side from the South might have other feeling and so on and so forth. But we have conducted ourselves with grace and dignity and I am very glad about that. This augurs well for the country.

Then, Madam, so far as the Bill is concerned, as the greatest jurist of our country, Mr. Setalvad, said, this is the best compromise under the circumstances. I also hold the same view. Mr. Chagla for whom I have the greatest respect said that unity should be the greatest consideration. Madam. I am one of those persons who hold that view but unity must come through the channels of language, through the channels of other constructive efforts of the nation. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government for having brought forward this Bill. In 1963 we brought forward this Bill. Again it has come in another form incorporating the assurances given by the illustrious Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. Now I come from a Hindi State, but I would like to tell Shri Bhupesh Gupta that Hindi is not my mother tongue though I come from a Hindi State. He should know it. My district of Muzaffarpur has a sangam, a composite dialect of Maithili, Bhojpuri and Magadhi. Maithili is the language in which a great poet has written. Bengalis claim him as their own poet, that poet Vidyapati, and the Hindi scholars claim him as their own poet. The great Rabindranath Tagore used to recite the lines :

इह भर बादर, माह भादर, सून मंदिर मोर,
सखि हे ! हमर दुखक नहीं ओर ।

So there is the language. I talk Bengali and I have told this August House many times that for the last forty-seven years I have been with Bengalis, lived their lives, and I am emotionally a Bengali, and I talk that language. I have read Sarat Chandra's works. I

have read Bankim Chandra's. I have read the great poetry of Rabindranath Tagore and other poets. My friend sitting there opposite, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, is a good scholar of Bengali; I am not; I have just a smattering knowledge of the language, but in our jail life my Bengali friends used to read it to me, and that made me very much proud of that language, and I am as much proud of any other of the fourteen languages of India. I am glad, on our side Mr. Reddy spoke in Hindi. Our friends Pandeji and Shuklaji should note this and appreciate this. Another friend, Shri Venkateswara Rao, made a marvellous speech. Mr. Damodaran coming from Kerala made a marvellous speech. We should see these bright aspects of the debate and not go by what A said or B said or C said. Do we realise what is surging in the hearts of those whose mother tongue is not Hindi? It is the duty of Hindiwalas to realise it. I am ashamed and I am sorry that in Hindi States riots took place. A man like Jayaprakash Narayan said that this is wrong, stop it. What happened, you know, in Patna? I hang down my head in utter shame. A thousand people went to his residence. Fortunately the gentleman was absent. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is one of the half a dozen greatmen of the country. He is a great man in all possible ways. One thousand people abused him right and left. And there is what is now happening in Madras. So every action, my friends the Hindi enthusiasts should know that every action has its reaction, and every reaction has its chain reaction. So, if we bargain for it, the country will go to pieces.

In 1921, Madam, when I was a youngster, I threw myself into the vortex of this national drama of freedom under the leadership of that great man, Mahatma Gandhi. It is now forty-seven years or forty-six years that I have been in this struggle. The new generation has come. Those who were not born, those who were not young enough to participate even in the 1942 movement, are here joining issue with us and talking with us. That is their privilege. I admire and adore the

youth, but they should know that we have also made some contribution. We gave up our lives. We gave up everything forgetting our family life and we sacrificed everything under the leadership of that great man, and fought not for this thing or that thing, not for this language or that language, but for India, but for Bharat Mata. I am one of those who feel that so far as the link language is concerned, I would like to make a respectful submission to Mr. Chavan, my great friend, that so far as the link language is concerned, it should be called Bharati. In Bihar, U.P. and other places, let them call it Hindi. And it should be written in Devanagari no doubt. It should have the numerals as decided by the Constitution, no doubt, but it must take as many words from Bengali, as many words from Tamil, as many words from Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati and other languages, as possible. It should be, it has to be somewhat different from the language used in Bihar or U.P.—they are the Hindi States. Unless we realise that, we do not know what is surging in the hearts of even Gujaratis though Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi taught them about Hindi. I know that in 1902, that great man whom Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to as the Father of the Indian Revolution, I mean Lokmanya Tilak, said in a speech addressing Marathis in Poona that Hindi will have to be the official language. I have got the book written on him by some gentleman—I forget the name of the author. Raja Ram Mohan Roy said it long ago. You should feel proud of them. Tagore used to read Kabir's. So in the matter of this language I would beg of the Hindi enthusiasts to be a little humble and to realise the dignity of this language, and my great friends should show good manners and show better behaviour towards those who do not speak Hindi. Why should this son of Maharashtra, this man who is known as Sawai Shrivaji, come and sponsor this Bill? His language is not Hindi. Why should he come? Is this an ordinary achievement? You should feel about that. I would beg to Shuklaji and Pandeji that they should feel proud of it when my friend, Shri Damodaran, comes and

speaks in that fashion, specially Shri Bhupesh Gupta when he talks like that. Shri Bhupesh Gupta said that Hindi has to be the national language. We should realise the importance of it. We should rather keep mum. Let Shri Mookerjee talk about Hindi. Let others talk about Hindi. The more we are silent about it, the earlier Hindi will become as the official language of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, before I call others to speak on the third reading, I do want the co-operation of the House. For how much time you want to speak on the third reading, let me know. We must do something. We must be reasonable. May I take it that we want to spend another half an hour on the third reading?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : One hour will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Fifteen minutes each.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think I will be able to give ten minutes to each one and I think that is reasonable at the third reading stage.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Fifteen minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Some of you may not even take fifteen minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Fifteen minutes.

DR. SYED MAHMUD (Bihar) : I won't speak for more than five minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is all right. Let Dr. Syed Mahmud speak now.

डा० सैयद महमूद : मैडम, डिपुटी चेयरमैन, मिस्टर चव्हाण ने निहायत कन्सी-लियेटरी और सुलहफुल स्पीच दीया और उन्होंने हर पहलू पर नजर डालने का आइन्दा वादा भी किया। उनकी तकरीर में एक जुमला मुझे बहुत रुहअफजा मालूम हुआ और वह जुमला यह था कि इस्तेजार्

[डा० संयद महमूद]

कीजिए, इस बिल की पास होने दीजिए, उसके बाद के तमाम पहलुओं पर मैं गौर करूंगा—एकही पहलू नहीं है, सैकड़ों पहलू हैं। गवर्नमेंट उन पर नज़र करेगी और गौर कर रही है। अगर यह सही है तो गवर्नमेंट ने और मिस्टर चव्हाण ने स्टेट्स मेनशिप का सबूत दिया है।

जबानें डिक्शनरी से नहीं बना करती, डिक्शनरी से अल्फाज निकालने से जबान नहीं बनती। जबान सैकड़ों बरह, दर्जनों बरह आवाम बोलते हैं तब कोई जबान बनती है। इंगलिस्तान में अंग्रेजी एक जमाने में मिल्डोनियन तरीके से बोली जाती थी लैटिन के अल्फास कसरत से इस्तेमाल होते थे तजरबे से उनको पता चला कि लैटिन का इस्तेमाल करना फैशन नहीं है और जबान को नुकसान पहुंचता है। और आज अंग्रेजी बोलने लगे।

मुल्क की किसी जबान को कोई मार डाल नहीं सकता हजार कोशिश की जाय। तारीख में ऐसी मिसालें मौजूद हैं कि 50 वर्ष, 60 वर्ष तक एक जबान को खत्म किया गया है मगर 50 वर्ष के बाद भी उस जबान को जब मौका मिला तो फिर नये सिरे से उभरी और जोर शोर से उभरी। इसकी कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये कि किसी जबान का बायकाट करे, उनके अल्फाज का बायकाट करे, उनको किसी तरह से तबाह कर के कोई जबान बनाई जाय। कभी कोई जबान ऐसे नहीं बन सकती।

एशिया में और खास तौर पर इस हिन्दुस्तान में मजहब का बड़ा जोर रहा है और अब तक है। पाकिस्तान मजहब के नाम पर बना लेकिन वहां क्या हुआ। जबान के मसले ने मजहब के जोर को भी गिरा दिया। सबको मालूम है कि पाकिस्तान की बंगाली पापुलेशन ने मजबूर किया कि पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट बंगाली जबान को भी नेशनल लेगएज माने और आज उर्दू

के साथ बंगाली जबान भी वहां नेशनल है। तो जबान की यह ताकत है। जबान को कोई नहीं मार सकता। अभी एक भाई ने तकरीर की, इस तरह इशारा किया, लेकिन मुझे उम्मीद है कि मिस्टर चव्हाण भी इस मसले पर गौर करेंगे कि हिन्दी की मुखालिफत साउथ वालों को सिर्फ इस वजह से है कि उनको तरह तरह की गलतफहमी है और सिर्फ साउथ के लोग ही नहीं नार्थ के करोड़ों इंसान हैं जो कि इस हिन्दी को नहीं समझते हैं जो कि आज है। अभी ऐसे हिन्दी तरक्की नहीं कर सकती। हिन्दी दा जो अपने को कहते हैं, हिन्दी-प्रेमी जो अपने को कहते हैं वह हिन्दी को सख्त नुकसान पहुंचा रहे हैं। हिन्दी क्या किसी लाइब्रेरी की जबान होनी चाहिये। लिट्रेरी जबान के लिये, जब किताब लिखे तब, जो चाहे इस्तेमाल करे लेकिन जो रोजमर्रा की बोलबाल की जबान है, यहाँ पार्लियामेंट में जो तकरीरे हो या बाहर जो तकरीरे हो, वह ऐसी होनी चाहिये कि आम लोगों को यहाँ वह समझ में आये। मैंने एक हिन्दी में एम० ए० पास को पी० ए० रखा लेकिन जो जबान आज आपके यहाँ जारी है उसको वह भी नहीं समझता। मैंने इसलिए हिन्दी का एम० ए० रखा कि वह जबान को समझे लेकिन उसने भी इसको पूरी तरह से समझने से इकार कर दिया। तो यह हालत है। जब तक हिन्दी को आसान नहीं करेंगे तब तक न तो साउथ में यह पापुलर होगी और न नार्थ में होगी और उसकी मुखालिफत दिन ब दिन बढ़ती ही जायगी। नार्थ में आज भी करोड़ों लोग हैं जो कि उसको नहीं समझते हैं और इस वजह से उसकी मुखालिफत है।

चव्हाण साहब ने ठीक कहा है कि वह हिन्दी को ही नेशनल जबान नहीं बल्कि और जितनी और जबानें हैं उनको मान लिया है। ठीक है, सब को मानना चाहिये। मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे साउथ के भाई भी

इनको समझेंगे। हमारे एक बड़े भाई ने, पुराने आदमी ने, एक निहायत अहम लफ्ज़ वहां कहा कि वह फीज भेज कर हिन्दी को जारी करेंगे, इस जुमले को साउथ ने पकड़ लिया है। यह तारीख में जायगा और नार्थ के खिलाफ साउथ में तरह तरह की गलतफहमी फैलती रहेगी। अफसोस है उन भाई ने, वह मेरे एक दोस्त हैं, उन्होंने माफी भी नहीं मांगी, उन्होंने अपना जुमला वापिस भी नहीं लिया।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उन्होंने कहा कि यह बात नहीं कही।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : वह डिनाई करते हैं।

डा० संयद महमूद : चव्हाण साहब ने पालिटिक्स में अपनी काबलियत दिखलाई, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में काबलियत दिखलाई है, वह निहायत काबिल होम मिनिस्टर हैं, और मुझे उम्मीद है कि आइन्दा भी काबलियत से इस मसले को देखेंगे, यह मसला सब से अहम मसला है, इसमें अहम मसला मुल्क में और नहीं है। यह मसला 50 वर्ष के बाद भी चलेगा अगर साउथ के लोगों को और नार्थ के करोड़ों लोगों को आसान हिन्दी बना कर के मुतमईन नहीं किया जायगा, चाहे आप एक नहीं पचास बिल पास करें। इसलिये मैं चव्हाण साहब को वह जुमला याद दिलाऊंगा कि इस बिल के पास होने के बाद वह देखेंगे, वह और उनकी गवर्नमेंट यह देखेगी, वह इस मसले के हर पहलू पर गौर कर रहे हैं और हर पहलू को तय करने की कोशिश करेंगे, तो मुझे उम्मीद है कि चव्हाण साहब पहले तो अपने खुद के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में देखेंगे कि वहां जो जवान इस्तेमाल हो वह ऐसी हो कि साउथ वाले और नार्थ के करोड़ों आदमी भी उसको आसानी से समझ पायें। पहले आप यहां से शुरू कीजिये। बहुत से बेचारे ऐसे हिन्दी प्रेमी पोएट

हैं जो कि इसकी कोशिश कर रहे हैं। जब तक आप भाषा समझेंगे नहीं तो नेशनल युनिटी कैसे होगी। सख्त बोलने से कोई समझेगा ही नहीं तो नेशनल युनिटी क्या होगी और क्या उस लैंग्वेज के साथ मुहब्बत होगी।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

डा० संयद महमूद : बहरहाल, जी तो चाहता है कि और कुछ कहूं लेकिन मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा। मैं समझता हूं कि थर्ड रीडिंग के ऊपर चव्हाण साहब जरूर कुछ कहेंगे और इस तरह का इत्मीनान दिलायेंगे कि आइन्दा के लिये वह यह देखेंगे कि हिन्दी जवान आसान हो और अपने यहां से ही शुरू करें कि आसान लैंग्वेज हो। जैसे कि आपने सब समझाला है और जैसे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के मामले में कामयाब रहे हैं वैसे ही इस मसले को हल करने में भी कामयाब होंगे, जो कि मुल्क में सब में अहम मसला है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let each Member take only ten minutes. There may be some who may not take even ten minutes.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Madam, May I suggest that only points which have not already been raised should be raised now, and not those points which have already been raised?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That we all know.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, and I think everyone will refer to only new points and if they are repeating then they will themselves feel conscious of it and sit down. Now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are now at the end of the deliberations on a problem which in order to be solved, would necessarily require a give and take approach and a spirit of compromise. It

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

is impossible to solve a problem of this kind which touches not only the intellect of man but also his emotions and the heart of man, without an approach of tolerance and mutual understanding. And naturally, when we have a compromise and a give and take approach on a matter like this, there will be parties on either side who would not be fully satisfied. We fully understand and sympathise with their sentiments even though we may not agree with what they say or stand for. Here is a problem which we must solve in a spirit of goodwill and mutual respect. If somebody does raise a somewhat extraordinary or extremist demand we know that in this kind of a thing there is no basic difference and naturally in criticising we must show tolerance and we should try to understand the other man's point of view. Whether the points of view are expressed by this or that linguistic group, the leadership of the country, the leaders of our cultural life must handle the problem tenderly and with the utmost care and sympathy so that what comes as a result of our wise approach may bring us all closer together.

To some extent we have succeeded in this. I know that the extremist point of view has not been satisfied. But the fact remains that here in Parliament, without deadlock, without very great confusion despite what might happen outside, we are now enacting a legislation. I know some may vote and others may not vote. But by and large, the consensus is for compromise and that is as it should be.

Madam Deputy Chairman, now we are only passing the law. A question like language which relates to the cultural link and to the cultural heritage of the whole nation, cannot be settled by legislation, by enactment or rules and regulations, without a cultural remoulding. Naturally questions like this, linguistic questions or any questions in a growing and developing society, cannot, therefore, be separated from the general, cultural and democratic resurgence of the people. Hence we must bear in mind that the processes of democracy are to be invoked in order to

find a solution to the problems that might crop up in practical life. Madam Deputy Chairman, I hope that in this matter we shall display, all of us, whatever our reservations and views may be, restraint and accord, tolerance and understanding. And if there are points to be settled let there be debate, let there be discussion. Let us learn from life itself. Let us see how things develop and draw lessons from the wholesome bosom of realities, instead of trying to suppose things, instead of apprehending that something might go wrong and instead of projecting ourselves in a manner as if we were committing aggression on any language.

Nothing of that kind. We have 7 P.M. to go together in the matter of language. Destiny has made it possible for us and beckons to us that in this matter at least, if not in others, we must try to live up to the ancient heritage of our country, the cultural traditions of our country and seek ways of accord and understanding whatever may be the temporary difficulties and divergence. Poet Rabindranath Tagore used to tell us all the time in his many writings, poems and other things that India must seek unity in diversity. It presupposes that there must be compromises between the divergent components that make the unity. That is how the unity is built.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I know that there are some people who are fond of the English language. As you know, I am also fond of that language. I don't claim to be an Englishman but some people not only are very fond of the English language but it seems that they feel they are Englishmen when they speak the English language. That is not so. English came to this country not in the normal course of things. It came into this country under a melancholy and tragic spell of history and naturally its growth was distorted. It vulgarised our cultural life; it stifled the streams of Indian heritage and civilisation and it enforced itself on an unwilling people. That is how it has developed. Today there is no point in glorifying English. We know it is a great language for the people there in England and certainly it has not lost its

international utility either but in a context like ours to glorify the English language is not a sign of patriotism because after all we are not a nation which has grown the other day. We carry with us thousands of years of civilisation, rich languages, cultural literature of which any man anywhere in the world can be proud. And are we to glorify the English language when out of the garden of ours we can pick a flower and make it the link language of the Indian Union at the same time ensuring that every flower in our garden blossoms in full in all its majesty, fragrance and beauty? That is how we should do. It is an irreverent idea to me when some people say that English must remain. English has got to go. We are a nation; we are a civilisation and from the vast cultural front of our country we can draw languages and sustenance for them. Therefore, I say the English language has clouded our ideas, perverted our vision and vitiated our outlook. Madam Deputy Chairman, when we discuss and deliberate in English we forget the teachings of our own writers, past and present. For example, if I speak in English I feel, perhaps not always but sometimes, that Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Sarat Chandra and others are not featuring in our mind; yet they are our cultural mainstay. It applies to any other language. Therefore, I say even in our cultural life English has played a negative influence. Of course, science and other things you develop. Not only that, in the political field also English came with perverted and distorted ideas which suited some centuries back to the British society. We are living in a fast changing world and are we to hug that still? I find Mr. Chagla and some others are very fond of English. They are afraid of what will happen to them. We are a passing generation. The new generation is growing in free India. They have not lived under the British or in such conditions. This generation is growing with the pride of patriotism, with the pride of freedom, in the glow of a new developing society. Let them grow with the genius of our culture and develop it fully and there need not be any vitiation of their ideas and thought

by the importation of a language that way. Therefore, it is an entirely wrong thing. I think a nation can never develop fully culturally or politically or as an entity, if I may say so, without its mother-tongue being placed in its proper place, and especially a nation like ours. Therefore, I think it is very correct that we should have our own language.

As for the link language, a link language has to be there. We cannot just do without that. Some people said, let all languages be link languages; let all languages be the language of the Centre. It cannot be, it is an impractical proposition. But it is no disrespect to the other languages but we have to find a common denominator even in our cultural life. What that language is, make a choice and once the principle is accepted the only language that merits acceptance in this respect is the Hindi language. There is no escape from it. I am sure if we can learn English and some of us speak, well, with all kinds of accents, why can't our masses learn Hindi provided we give them opportunity and encouragement and so on? After all, the identification of the people of Bengal with the people of Uttar Pradesh or the people of Tamil Nad will also develop a desire for mutual intercourse in the cultural life and in the political life also, there will develop a search for something which is common. And that will be a development in the right direction. We are not swimming against the current of life; we are swimming downstream and hence the problems will get solved if the masses come into their own. That is why I say I fully support this point of view, and the Constitution has made a right choice.

Finally, I would like to say that the regional languages should be given full encouragement. One of our drawbacks is again this English mentality. It is not the Hindiwallahs who have come in the way of West Bengal's transition from English to Bengali. It is the English mentality, the deadweight of English language that stands in the way. Don't try to blame the Hindiwallahs and Hindi for everything. What

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prevents the people of Bengal or the people of Gujarat or the people of Andhra Pradesh to switch over from English to their own language? Certainly it is not the Hindi people who are coming in the way ; it is the English mentality. A vested interest in language has grown, an elite has grown which thinks that its paradise may get lost should the regional languages come into their own position. Therefore I say the Central Government should take all care and display all affection for the regional languages so that the flowering of the regional languages takes place and in that context Hindi will seek ascendancy and with the blessings of all and the goodwill of all will attain the status of Union language.

Some people made certain remarks about Hindi which are not good. Well, we are not producing a link language for writing high literature or poem or other things. We want a link language which will be understandable to the people, in which the people can communicate with each other. We are not producing a link language in order to produce a Rabindranath Tagore or other people. We want a link language in order that people can talk to each other from the north to the south, from the east to the west and hence that language has got to be a popular language. It need not be a sophisticated and the so-called developed language as some elite understand it. Therefore I think there need be no apprehension on that score.

Once again before I sit down, I say the task is not just passing this Bill. We have passed the Bill ; it is only the bone. Flesh and blood has to be given to it by mutual discussion, mutual understanding, mutual sympathy, mutual toleration. That is the only way to solve a great noble problem like the problem under discussion today, the problem of language, the problem of union in diversity.

Thank you.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Madam ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Just five minutes.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Only three minutes, Madam.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I will take seven minutes.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : We are at the fag-end of this debate and in a few minutes this Bill is going to be passed and nothing is going to prevent the Bill from getting the assent of the President. We are also at the fag-end of the session. When I go back home to Madras I do not know what message I could carry to the students of Madras who are rightly agitated. Madam, I heard with great respect the speech of our Home Minister. He is sincere I agree but in a democracy will he be a permanent Home Minister in the Government? What would prevent my hon. friend, Mr. Rajnarain, from becoming the Home Minister in a few months or in a few years? And I shudder to think about the future of my people. Madam, I do not want to be an idle spectator and be present here to witness the massacre of India's unity. As I told you earlier, our unity is in peril. Nobody can prevent it. Unless, there is a change of heart in the Government as well as in our friends, the Hindi-lovers, nothing will prevent India from going to dogs. Therefore, something must be done, but with all our perseverance we could not do much. As a protest, I walk out and I do not wish to witness the massacre of Indian unity.

(The hon. Member and another hon. Member then left the House.)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : As a democrat, when the Bill is going to be passed by a majority in the House, I will have to accept it. I bow down to the wishes of the House once it is passed, but I want to record my sense of resentment at the way in which the pro-Hindi States have imposed it on the non-Hindi speaking people. (Interruptions). Now, let me have my say, because I have only five minutes. This morning I asked some of my friends what they thought about the link language. They said that the link language depends on how the pro-Hindi people are going to behave and they

elucidated one thing. He said Mr. Jayaprakash Narain and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia used to speak the same language, the same Hindi, but they could not understand each other. Life long neither could understand the other's speech. If Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Mr. Jayaprakash Narain could not understand each other, how do you expect . . .

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Ideologically ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : They did not understand each other's language. I put it figuratively. And if they were so, how do you expect the non-Hindi-speaking areas to understand the language of the Hindi-speaking areas? Therefore, tolerance is necessary and I would appeal to the Hindi-speaking areas. They are numerically strong. Physical force can never impose their language on the non-Hindi-speaking areas. They have to develop their language. They have not developed it yet. There are many other developed languages like Bengali, Tamil and Oriya which is my own language. Instead of developing Hindi, if they go on translating Rabindranath Tagore or Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, they have absolutely no originality. They should have something alluring in their language. You have to make your language interesting if you want more people to come voluntarily to your language.

Only one more point. In spite of the debate going on continuously for two days, I did not understand one thing. There is a great disparity between the pro-Hindi-speaking areas and the non-Hindi-speaking areas. In the non-Hindi-speaking areas, the child is burdened with an additional language. In the Hindi-speaking areas the child starts learning it from the day he is born. This is the difficulty, disadvantage and handicap with which a non-Hindi-speaking child has to start his life. When we talk of equality, when our Constitution gives equality to everyone, how can this inequality be tolerated? The non-Hindi-speaking child has the disadvantage and handicap of

having to learn a second language and it is imposed on him, while a Hindi-speaking child does not have that difficulty. I would like the hon. Home Minister to kindly explain that to me. I am not intelligent enough yet to assimilate anything from the discussion that took place.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated) : Madam, I will be very brief on this, the Third Reading of the Bill. I think we are launching upon a very important step on the success of which depends the future of our country. Maybe that this is also one of our experiments and experience may enable us to make certain changes in the decisions that we have reached. I believe that whatever has been now incorporated in the Bill will succeed and prepare the ground for further progress, if there is maximum of goodwill in every direction.

My speech today will be confined only to two points. One is that all regional languages have to be developed. More than that all our national languages, which do not happen to be regional languages, have to be developed. I would go still further. There should be a real national programme to develop as many languages as have the potentiality for development behind them. There are living forces which want to express themselves in those languages. That is the broad, tolerant attitude which a composite nation like ours can take.

The other point that I would like to re-emphasise is that if we have to create a favourable atmosphere for the reception of whatever decisions we arrive at, it can only be done if we try to carry out what was practically an understanding and agreement at the time of the Constituent Assembly. The Hindi which we want to develop as an official language must be Hindi which is developed in terms of article 351. The basis of that agreement, as I said earlier in my speech, was that the breaking up of the Constituent Assembly was avoided and prevented by a settlement, of which the two irremovable factors were these. One is the development of the

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.]

language as an official language which would be in accordance with article 351 and the other is the Schedule was created at that time with a view to fitting in with that agreement. Therefore, I think we should make it very clear that the Hindi which should be developed should draw from the materials available in all the languages of the country and these national languages are included in the Eighth Schedule. I would go beyond that too. I feel that if we make that approach, those who are today opposed to Hindi will give up their opposition. And if you prepare their mind for accepting the situation and also for reducing the period, there would be a demand for the continuance of English. Let us create the climate for a change of mind, if possible. At least it is our duty to create that climate of goodwill and I do hope that very definite steps in this direction would be taken. I will go further and suggest that it should help Government and strengthen their hands if they have a consultative committee to see that the development of Hindi is on the lines of article 351, which is in the Constitution and I think that consultative committee will, from time to time, make suggestions, so that the actual decisions of Government receive the greatest possible accord.

There is one note on which I would like to end. Let us try to create goodwill as much as possible after all the controversies of the last one or two months. If we do that I think we shall be able to justify our position as Members of Parliament and in this Parliament here we should set an example in the tone of our speeches dealing with matters relating to languages. If we do not do that, we will, on the contrary, increase the difficulties of the country.

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदया, इस विषय पर जितना जोर शोर मैंने इस वक्त देखा, मैं कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली का मेम्बर रहा हूँ, माडल कान्स्टीट्यूशन फार स्टेट्स एंड यूनियन की कमेटी का मेम्बर रहा हूँ लेकिन मैंने इतना जोर शोर और इतनी बदमजगगी पहले कभी नहीं

देखी। मेरा अर्ज करना यह है कि भाषा प्रश्न हमारे देश की एकता पर कभी भी तरजीह नहीं रख सकता। हम जब एक देश के रहने वाले हैं तो हम को सब भाषाओं की कद्र करनी होगी।

इस बारे में मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूँ और अब फिर निवेदन करता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषा को जो उचित महत्व नहीं मिला है वह सिर्फ हिन्दी भाषाभाषी लोगों की वजह से नहीं मिला है। वे स्वयं हिन्दी नहीं की बोलते हैं और अपने जनेऊ यज्ञोपवीत के निमंत्रण पत्र, विवाह के निमंत्रण पत्र अंग्रेजी में भेजते हैं। आप देखें कितनी फेमिलीज ऐसी हैं जिन में केवल हिन्दी का प्रचार होता है। जो आज ऐसी बातें कह रहे हैं वे अपने शहर में देखें कि उनके पड़ोसी और उनके रिश्तेदार किस तरह से पत्र भेजते हैं। जब वे खुद इसको महत्व नहीं देते हैं तो वे दक्षिण वालों को क्यों दोष देते हैं। उनको दक्षिण वालों को दोष देने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। उनको स्वयं इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि वे हिन्दी बोलें। इस हाउस में आप देखिये कि जो हिन्दी जानते हैं और हिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त के हैं वे अंग्रेजी में बोलने में फख समझते हैं। जब वे खुद ऐसा करते हैं तो फिर वे दक्षिण वालों पर गुस्सा क्यों करते हैं।

अब इसमें जिस प्रकार से शुरुआत हुई उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं अपने दक्षिण के भाइयों से कुछ निवेदन करूँगा। उन्होंने सब से पहले स्टेशनों आदि पर हिन्दी को पोतना शुरू किया। उसका रिपरकेशन यह हुआ कि आज सारे उत्तर भारत में विद्यार्थी लोग अंग्रेजी को पोत रहे हैं। तो इस चीज की शुरुआत वहाँ से हुई। उनको इस बात पर ध्यान देना चाहिये कि वे कोई ऐसा काम न करें जो कम से कम हिन्दी भाषा के लिये ऐसा मालूम हो कि वे उसका निरादर कर रहे हैं। कोई

भी हिन्दीभाषी मैंने इस हाउस में या कहीं ऐसा नहीं देखा जिसने किसी दक्षिण की भाषा का निरादर किया हो। अगर किसी ने निरादर किया भी होगा तो अंग्रेजी भाषा का किया होगा। तो मेरा अर्ज करना यह है कि हमें एक दूसरे की भाषाओं का आदर करना चाहिये।

अब हम इस बिल को पास करने जा रहे हैं। और मेरा यह निवेदन है कि इसके पास होने पर हम को इसके अनुसार कार्य करना चाहिये :

बीती ताहि बिसार दे,

आगे की सुध लेय ।

हमको ये सब बातें यहीं भुला देनी चाहिये और वह विधेयक अब जब कानून बन जाय तो इसको कार्यान्वित करने में हमको पूरा प्रयत्न करना चाहिये ।

DR. ANUP SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am one of those who had some misgivings about the desirability of bringing this legislation at all. I had also felt that the original version was better than the modified one. But after listening to the very cogent and conciliatory speech of the Home Minister I feel that some of the misgivings have been removed at least in my mind. But after listening to the very cogent and conciliatory speech of the Home Minister I feel that some of the misgivings have been removed at least in my mind. But one thing is quite clear judging from the speeches made in the other House and here that the very same people for whose benefit this Bill was brought, it has not satisfied them. But this is not the stage to say anything about it. I feel that the assurance given by the Home Minister should allay some of the misgivings. Of course, nobody says that he will continue to be the Home Minister for ever, but now that the Bill is going to be passed, I think the responsibility for its effective implementation and its acceptance by the people at large, particularly those in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, lies on the Hindi-speaking States. It will be their responsibility.

Secondly, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would say that those who have resorted to all kinds of hooliganism and lawlessness and indiscipline, I think, are not helping the cause of Hindi at all. I am reminded of that adage: God save me from my friends, I can take care of my enemies. They have vitiated the atmosphere. I would, therefore, request all those who claim to be protagonists of Hindi to have more tolerance and more forbearance, and to those who do not speak Hindi I would say that eventually, if not before very long, I think English will have to go. We can retain it for some purposes, but if anyone feels that English should have the same parity with Hindi, I think he is suffering from the legacy passed on to us by the British. I do not say that English should go because the British have gone, but no nation in the world can ever think of retaining or cultivating a foreign language, and English is a foreign language for the vast majority of the Indian people. Therefore, I would submit, Madam, that although as I said in the beginning I was not very enthusiastic about the Bill, after the explanation given by the Home Minister, particularly about why the Resolution was introduced. I feel that this is the best compromise, and a compromise very essentially in the very nature of things cannot satisfy everybody. But if we work it out in the spirit for which he has pleaded and for which all of us want to plead, I think the prospects of its implementation and acceptance will improve. Thank you.

(Some hon. Members stood up.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am giving a chance to those who have not spoken. Mr. Panda.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, this is the third reading of the Bill, and as the trend and temper of the House show and if you take the fate of the amendments as the forerunner, the Bill is going to be passed. I am not very unhappy about it because it is a compromise and nothing better could have been done. But one thing is, and I have no misgivings about it, that we are thinking of driving out English. It can

[Shri Brahmananda Panda.]

never be driven out. It has come to stay and it has become a part of Indian inheritance. What will be the language of our library, Madam? In one hundred years to come no Indian language can replace this library language. Therefore, I have no misgivings about it. What about modern art forms? In every Indian language they are now concerned with the universal man, not whether he comes from U.P. or Orissa or Bengal or any other place. We have many things to communicate with one another, and the English language has helped us in that way.

Another thing I wanted to point out. We are here not to express our personal feelings. We are here as statesmen to cope with realities. In that respect if we have to judge, many things that we have spoken here could have remained unspoken. Not only our angry young men shouted in the streets, we have also had our angry elders losing their heads. Unnecessarily suspicion and distrust were created because as statesmen instead of trying to cope with the realities and historical necessities of the situation, we began expressing our personal feelings.

Another thing I want to point out most directly to the Home Minister—let him not be engaged in talk aside—that anything that is happening in the south as a reaction is mostly due to the misgivings expressed by Mr. Kamaraj. Mr. Kamaraj may have his differences with Mr. Annadurai, but let him not misguide the south by expressing misgivings and sowing distrust or any other thing that will hamper the unity of India.

Madam, another thing I want to point out. This agitation in the south and north is doing a disservice to our democracy. We are thinking of how to check defections in the parties. I want to point out that when Mr. Rajnarain is very outspoken and vocal about Hindi, another S.S.P. Member in the Lok Sabha, we read in the papers, votes for the Bill. We have done a disservice to the party system also. Let us not indulge in such things. That will hamper the natural growth of our democracy.

Madam, before I finish I am happy that this Bill is being passed. The Home Minister smilingly and yet cleverly has stated, let us forget what has happened during the last so many years. We are ready to forget, but I want to make it clear to all Hindi protagonists that in due course when Hindi becomes the link language, it will in the process be also Anglicised, because we cannot resist the impact of technological civilisation. By picking up words from every language and piling them up together as suggested by some hon. Members, I think will be a *kichadi* and that will be no language. We should also know the course of history. The south has always been the citadel of something that ran away from the north. Whenever there was trouble in the north, the scholars with their burdens of scriptural texts ran away to the south and the south became the citadel of our culture. Even now, if anything happens to English, if English is beaten here, it will be sheltered in the south. It was only Sanskrit which could have united us. In Israel they could revise the Hebrew language. We could have done as well. As Bertrand Russell has put it, though our conscience is controlled by our culture our opinions have undergone a revolutionary change. Therefore, if we are to be rooted in our culture, we should also think of other things, of the revolutionary changes that are coming up in this technological age and we can not run away from it. Exclusiveness or isolation will not help us.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Karmarkar. No more from that side. (*Interruptions.*) If you yield your time to her and be chivalrous, I will call her. (*Referring to a lady Member.*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is the way of demonstrating chivalry.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore): I rise, Madam, Deputy Chairman, to congratulate the Government, firstly, on having fulfilled a rather hard task. As someone who has been in the national field for some time, I was one of those who were distressed by the turn that

this language controversy has been taking since the last four or five years as also during the discussion. And I think it was rather a difficult task for the Government to have tided anything with a sense of satisfaction. I must say that the difficult job has been done well. In fact, there are certain unsatisfactory features, as the Home Minister was pleased to say in the other House; for instance, the imbalance that is supposed to be created by recognising both Hindi and English for the purposes of all-India examinations and the like. I think we have now arrived at a stage where we have to forget these things. I have only one word for my Hindi friends as I shall have another for my South Indian friends. Whenever during the discussion we speak of non-Hindi States and of Hindi States, I think it is not only hurtful to the mind, but hurtful to truth also. There is nothing like non-Hindi States or Hindi States. For the purposes of the census it must be. But there is nothing like Hindi sentiment and non-Hindi sentiment. Very few members perhaps who advocated the Hindi cause know that during the last 10 or 12 years, Hindi has been compulsory in the so-called southern States like Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala and for some time in Tamil Nad also. But later on, it was abandoned. And if I myself am a little apprehensive that this compulsory nature of Hindi being taught to every boy and girl in the high school stage has been brought into jeopardy, I am afraid that I must lay it at the door of the so-called Hindi enthusiasts who, by their reasoning, have made it appear—though perhaps the general mass of the Hindi-speaking people do not share that view—that Hindi is coming like something being forced, something like being imposed and things like that. Therefore, not my advice, but my request to the Hindi-speaking advocates would be, make your Hindi a little understandable. Whenever you are in difficulties, do not borrow from the mother-tongue, Sanskrit, which is perennial, but adopt all the words which are common heritage today in Mysore, Kerala and other places, thousands of words which are current. I think that is the way. I re-

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member, some people boycotted the word '*hazir*'. '*Hazir*' means presence. Then they said, no, '*upasthithi*'. Why borrow a word which is understandable, if it is not hurtful? I myself can point out a few names here in this House. They say, for instance, for a bathroom, '*souchkhana*'. '*Souch*' would do. But they say '*souch prakosht*'. Who understands '*prakosht*'? This is the sort of spurious Hindi that is spoiling the cause of Hindi. Let us not make Hindi spurious. Let us make it a cause, language, of the people. Let it form part of the life of the people. That is one word.

My second word to my South Indian friends would be, let us not lose our heads. Ultimately—not because I am looking at Mr. Babubhai Chinai . . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): I am not a South Indian.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR: But you are better than a South Indian in this sense. I have always admired the Gujaratis. They have spread all over the world. Wherever they go they prosper. They go to Bangkok, learn the Thai language better than the Thai boys and girls. And wherever they go, they are able to prosper. Let us not be deluded by any sort of theoretical allegiance to the language of our mother tongue; we can never go forward. Let us learn Hindi by all means because we shall prosper in Maharashtra, we shall prosper in Gujarat, we shall prosper wherever it is. And I am quite sure, in my opinion, thanks to traditions, northern India has suffered from many more difficulties and, therefore, they are a little backward in many matters. South India is prospering. I have no doubt in my mind, even the worst enemies of Hindi in Madras, tomorrow if they come to feel that Hindi serves the purpose, the majority of the people will stand higher than the other majority of the people in Hindi because language is a *strong point in the South*. Let us not lose that advantage. Let everyone of us continue the tradition of making it a compulsory study. Let us compete with the Hindi engineers, with the Hindi doctors, with the Hindi profes-

श्री Shri D. P. Karmarkar.]

sors. Let us go and compete with them in their Hindi professorship and teach them a little Hindi. That should be the spirit, not the spirit of defeatism.

I will only close with one story. It is a story but it has a moral.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: A long story?

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR: Not too big a story. But it is instructive. Once I remember—when I used to occupy one of these Benches here, whenever a question used to be asked in Hindi, I always ventured to answer in Hindi and my experience has been this. One day a certain friend from Gorakhpur District came to me and asked, "What is your mother-tongue?" I said, "My mother-tongue is Kannada. My family tongue is Marathi. But we all live in Karnataka" and things like that. He said, "No, no.

आप जो कहते हो गलत बात है क्योंकि आप गोरखपुर डिस्ट्रिक्ट से आये हो, जो गलतियां वे लोग करते हैं वही गलतियां आप करते हैं।"

There is so much like that. Therefore, in the midst of this din, just I request my Hindi friends to make Hindi much more current like that. I should not like to lose our heads from the South.

In the heat of the language controversy, we say, "Hindi imperialism, we shall not learn Hindi". Let our ambition be like the Kerala nurse sisters who are spread in the whole of India. Wherever you go, in the hospitals of Assam or Gujarat, there are Kerala nurses. Like that, I hope that a day may come when the Southerners fully utilise their talent wherever there is competition. If it is in Gujarat, they would be better Gujaratis, if it is in Hindi States, they would be better Hindiites, anywhere like that. Let us not suffer from a spirit of inferiority complex or a spirit of defeatism.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : माननीया, मैं इस बिल के विरोध के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्रीशीलमन्न याजी : आप कहां से आते हैं ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt. Let him have his five minutes.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : मेरी मातृभाषा तेलगू है, मैं बिहार में पैदा हुआ, उत्तर प्रदेश में पढ़ा और आज यहां पर बैठा हूँ, इसलिए आप समझ लीजिए...

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : हिन्दी में स्पीच दिया।

श्री बाबूभाई एम० चिनाई : शादी किधर किया ?

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : शादी अभी नहीं हुई है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : लड़की की तलाश में हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अब ये शादी गुजरातमें करेंगे।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : इस भाषा के बारे में मैं बोलना चाहता हूँ तो मैं पहले से आपको यह बता दूँ कि मैं हिन्दी कभी पढ़ा नहीं हूँ, किसी शाला में नहीं पढ़ा और कभी तालीम नहीं पाया, फिर भी मैं हिन्दी में बोल लेता हूँ। अगर किसी भाषा में तालीम पाया तो अपनी मातृभाषा तेलगू में पाया, फिर भी हिन्दुस्तान की 5-6 भाषाएं बोल सकता हूँ और इसलिए भाषा के बारे में जब बहस होती है और जब लोग यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दी में कामकाज नहीं हो सकता या मातृभाषा में कोई कामकाज नहीं हो सकता या जब यह कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी कोई गैर भाषा है दक्षिण के लिए, तमिलवालों के लिए या तेलगू वालों के लिए तो मुझे हंसी आती है। अगर हिन्दी गैर भाषा है तो अंग्रेजी तो उससे भी गैर भाषा है।

जहां तक अंग्रेजी के समर्थन की बात है उसके बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी का समर्थन आज मुट्ठीभर लोग

जो सौ में दो है उनकी तरफ से होता है। जो बाबू वर्ग है हिन्दुस्तान में, चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश के बाबू हैं, चाहे मद्रास के बाबू हैं उनका समर्थन आज इंग्लिश को प्राप्त है क्योंकि वेस्टेड इंटरैस्ट एक विशिष्ट वर्ग बन गया है। वह चाहता है कि अंग्रेजी रहे और उनका आधिपत्य भी हमेशा के लिए रहे, हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर उनकी हुकूमत रहे और अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से वे सारी जनता का शोषण कर सकें। यह साजिश है हिन्दुस्तान के बाबू वर्ग की। इसको हमें समझ लेना चाहिये। अगर आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की ओर से यह मांग उठती है कि हमारा कामकाज अपनी भाषा में होना चाहिये, चाहे हिन्दी में हो, चाहे तमिल में हो, तो फिर समझ लेना चाहिये सरकार को। 20 साल तक इस सरकार ने इस भाषा समस्या को गोलमाल बना कर रखा। 20 साल के बाद यह बिल लाती है तो इससे शर्म की बात और नहीं हो सकती। जब हमारे देश को आजादी मिली उसी वक्त इस समस्या का हल होना चाहिये था लेकिन 20 साल तक इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर के हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर ऐसी समस्याओं को लाद कर रखा। हिन्दुस्तान में आज दो वर्ग बनाना चाहते हैं। शासक वर्ग की यह साजिश है। दक्षिण में जाकर यह कहा जाता है कि अगर हिन्दी आ गई तो हिन्दी की साम्राज्यशाही चलेगी, यह तर्क वहां दिया जाता है और उत्तर प्रदेश में जा कर यही अंग्रेजी पढ़ लिखे बाबू लोग कहते हैं कि अगर हम अंग्रेजी को हटा देंगे और हिन्दी को ला देंगे तो देश का बटवारा हां जायगा, देश टूट जायगा। तो दो तरह से लोगों को बांटने की साजिश इस देश में की गई है, इसको भी समझना चाहिये।

अगर भाषा की समस्या हल होनी थी तो हिन्दुस्तान में जो भाषाएँ हैं उन भाषाओं में अपने अपने प्रदेश में कामकाज होना चाहिये था। जब भाषावार प्रान्त बने तो उसके

बीज में यही था कि भाषावार प्रान्त में अपनी अपनी भाषा में काम होगा। हिन्दुस्तान जो भाषा के अनुसार बांटा गया उसका क्या आधार था। यह आधार था कि जो प्रान्त जिस भाषा के आधार पर बांटा गया उस प्रान्त में वह भाषा होगी लेकिन वह नहीं किया गया और आज हमारे सामने एक बिल लाय जिसमें यह कहा जाता है कि अंग्रेजी को अनन्त काल तक हिन्दुस्तान में कायम रखा जाय। इसका उद्देश्य यही है कि भाषा समस्या को अनन्त काल तक हिन्दुस्तान में एक बड़ी समस्या बना कर रखें, इसकी कोशिश हो रही है इस बिल के द्वारा और इस प्रस्ताव के द्वारा। तो अगर इस समस्या को अभी भी नहीं सुलझा पाय, ठीक नहीं कर पाये, और अभी भी अंग्रेजी चलायेंगे तो 10 साल, 5 साल या 20 साल के बाद फिर यही प्रश्न उठेगा, फिर विधेयक और प्रस्ताव आयेगा। तो मैं सरकार से पूना चाहूंगा कि इस समस्या का हल कब होगा। अगर इस सरकार को दम नहीं है इस समस्या को हल करने की तो वह इस्तीफा दे दे।

मेरा यह कहना है कि अगर इस समस्या को हल करना है तो सीधी सी बात है कि जहां जहां जो जनता की भाषायें हैं वहां वहां जनता की भाषा में कामकाज हो और बाद में हिन्दी अपने आप हिन्दुस्तान की लिंक भाषा बन कर रहेगी, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, क्योंकि अगर कोई भाषा हिन्दुस्तान में ज्यादातर लोग बोलते हैं, समझते हैं और जो दूसरी भाषाओं की बड़ी बहन सी है तो वह हिन्दी ही है और कोई भाषा नहीं है।

यहां पर कहा गया कि कुछ विशिष्ट किस्म की हिन्दी चलाई जा रही है। मैं भी उसके खिलाफ हूँ। अगर हिन्दी इस देश में चलेगी तो जो हिन्दी बाजारों और गलियों में बोली जा रही है वही हिन्दी

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

इस देश में चलेगी। मुझे याद है जिस दिन मैं राज्य सभा में आया और हिन्दी में अपनी तकरीर शुरू की तो एक कांग्रेसी सदस्य पीछे से कहने लगे कि बाजारू भाषा बोल रहे हैं तो मैंने कहा कि जो हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा है वह बाजारों और गलियों में ही बोली जाती है, एम० पी० क्वार्टर्स और मंत्रियों के घरों में नहीं बोली जाती। और जिस भाषा में हिन्दुस्तान की जनता बोलती है उस भाषा में कामकाज हो कर इस देश में रहेगा, चाहे सरकार कितने बिल लाये। इसलिये जितनी जल्दी हम भाषा की समस्या हल करेंगे और जितनी जल्दी हम अपनी भाषा में कामकाज करना शुरू करेंगे उतनी ही जल्दी देश का कल्याण होगा और यह समस्या दूर होगी। अंग्रेजी रखने की इस कोशिश से अनर्थ होने वाला है, यही मेरा कहना है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would appeal to the House. May I put the Third Reading to vote now?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tell me how much more time do you want?

श्री राजनारायण : मैं एक निवेदन आपसे करना चाहूंगा, चाहे कांग्रेस के हों या विरोध के, सब को मौका दें।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will give three to four minutes each. You must have some co-operation. I will give you three to four minutes each.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मेरा निवेदन है कि आप जो भी नयम बनायें शुरू से अन्त तक उसका पालन करें तब तो मेरी समझ में आ सकता है, अगर एक एक व्यक्ति के ऊपर डिसक्रिमिनेशन करना है तो आपकी मर्जी।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I hope you will co-operate with me. All right, five minutes each.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आप शुरू में बोलने न दें तो मैं क्या करूँ। आप पहले ही यह बता देंगी।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am appealing to you. You can give your salient points. Everybody must co-operate. You must be reasonable. You have spoken quite enough. If you have any new points, you may make them.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आपने शुरू में यह तय किया, यह रूलिंग दी कि दस दस मिनट बोलने की इजाजत देगी।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody has managed within five minutes.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि मैं आपसे कोई अनावश्यक अधिकार नहीं मांग रहा हूँ, यहां पर आपने जिस परिपाटी से बोलने की इजाजत दी उसी के आधार पर मैं मांगना चाहता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे रिव्क्वेस्ट करता हूँ कि आप सब को कायदे से चलने दीजिये। यह यत्न नहीं हो कि कुछ जबर-दस्ती लादा जाय।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not the point.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : महोदय, यह जो भाषा संशोधन विधेयक हम पास करने जा रहे हैं उस सम्बन्ध में जो सारा विवाद हुआ उसमें एक बात यह कही गई कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की उपेक्षा की नीति के कारण ही हिन्दी का इतने वर्षों में जितना विकास होना चाहिये था वह नहीं हो पाया। अब इस बिल के द्वारा भी हमने केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथ में हिन्दी के भविष्य को, विकास को, सौंपा है और जो शंकायें 17, 18 वर्षों तक बनी रहीं मुझ दुःख है कि उन शंकाओं के बने रहने की गुंजाइश

सरकार के उस अधिकार को सुरक्षित रखने से उसी तरह रहेगी क्योंकि उनके मार्गदर्शन में जो विकास हो सकता था वह हो नहीं पाया और इस बिल में भी घुमा फिरा कर के उसी तरह की चीज को हमने स्वीकार किया है।

दूसरे कल यहां पर श्री वेरो ने एक तर्क दिया था कि चूँकि हमारी भाषाओं की आठवें शेड्यूल में जगह नहीं थी इसलिये मजबूर हो कर हमें अंग्रेजी को अपनी आफिशियल लैंगुएज मानना पड़ा। मेरा उनसे निवेदन है कि हमारे संविधान में ऐसी कोई पाबन्दी नहीं है कि कोई भी राज्य उसी भाषा को आफिशियल लैंगुएज बना सकता है जो कि आठवें शेड्यूल में है। अगर वह चाहते कि अपनी ही भाषा वहां की राजभाषा बनाये तो यह उनके अधिकार की बात थी, संविधान की रीजनल लैंगुएज की धारा के अनुसार वह यह फैसला कर सकते थे।

तीसरे, यहां पर हिन्दी और गैर-हिन्दी क्षेत्रों में लोगों को बांटने की कोशिश की गई। नकारात्मक दृष्टि से यह ठीक हो सकता है लेकिन हिन्दी न जानने वाले क्षेत्र किस भाषा को जानते हैं इसका भी विवेचन करना चाहिये। मैं यह मान सकता हूँ कि कुछ लोग अंग्रेजी को आज अपनी मातृभाषा की संज्ञा देते हैं, मुझे उससे इंकार नहीं, वह किसी भी भाषा को मातृभाषा कहें, बहुत सी भाषायें मातृभाषायें हैं परन्तु सब जो मातृभाषायें हैं उनको हम अलग अलग रीजनल लैंगुएज मानेंगे या हम लिंक लैंगुएजेज मानेंगे यह कोई अनिवार्य नहीं है, मातृभाषा के रूप में, साहित्य की भाषा के रूप में आप किसी भी भाषा की सेवा करे, किसी को भी चिपकाये रखने की कोशिश करें उसमें किसी को विवाद नहीं, लेकिन मैं डा० गोपाल सिंह के उस तर्क को स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता कि लोग पंजाब में रहते हुये पंजाबी को

अपनी मातृभाषा नहीं मानते। मैं समझता हूँ, मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछता हूँ, उनके महाराष्ट्र में गुजराती लोग रहते हैं जिनकी गुजराती मातृभाषा है। वह त्रिभाषी सिद्धांत के अनुसार गुजराती पढ़ते हैं, मराठी पढ़ते हैं, क्योंकि मराठी रीजनल लैंगुएज है तो वह अब और कौन सी तीसरी भाषा पढ़ें। छागला साहब ने उन इन्टरनेशनल संबंधों के लिये अंग्रेजी की वकालत की तो इन्टरनेशनल संबंधों की दृष्टि से अंग्रेजी पढ़ें या राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से पढ़ें? आप कहते हैं गुजराती मातृभाषा है, मराठी क्षेत्रीय भाषा है और हिन्दी हमारी लिंक लैंगुएज है—त्रिभाषी फारमुला तो यह पूरा हो गया। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि जब हमने शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में भी रीजनल लैंगुएज का अधिकार दिया है, अब यूनिवर्सिटी के लोग तय करेंगे कि वह कितनी फैकल्टीज में रीजनल लैंगुएज में शिक्षा देंगे और कौन सी फैकल्टीज ऐसी हैं कि जहां अभी तक हमारी रीजनल लैंगुएज इतनी बलशाली नहीं बनी और हमें अंग्रेजी को चालू रखना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन में उन्हीं रीजनल लैंगुएजेज के आधार पर कुछ ऐसी विषय बनेंगे जिन विषयों के लिये हमको केवल अंग्रेजी लागू रखनी पड़ेगी। लेकिन उन थोड़े से विषयों को लेकर हम बाकी सभी विषयों की परीक्षा बड़ी सरलता से क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में ले सकते हैं जो श्री मारिस्वामी का आग्रह था कि कुछ इम्बेलेन्स होगा (Time bell rings) श्री मिश्र ने कहा कि इम्बेलेन्स होगा जिन विषयों की उच्चतम शिक्षा केवल अंग्रेजी में होगी वह सबके लिये अंग्रेजी है और जिन विषयों की शिक्षा केवल रीजनल लैंगुएज में होगी वह सब के लिये रीजनल लैंगुएज है। इस यू० पी० एस० सी० की परीक्षा को हम इस दृष्टि से करें। हां, इतना हम कर सकते हैं कि जो लोग हिन्दी पढ़कर और परीक्षा दे रहे हैं उनके लिये हम

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

भारत की किसी दूसरी आफिशल लैंग्वेज को उनके लिये कम्पलसरी कर दें और जो हिन्दी के अलावा भाषा में अपनी सारी पढ़ाई करते हैं, यू० पी० एस० सी० के एग्जामिनेशन्स में बैठते हैं वे फिर हिन्दी में अपना एक दूसरा विषय ले लें। अगर यह सिद्धांत रहे तो जो यह वजह है कि दूसरे पर ज्यादा बोझ पड़ जायेगा उस चीज की समाप्ति हो जायेगी। और हम सब को लेकर अपने विषयों में, जहां अंग्रेजी आवश्यक है, वहां कुछ दिनों तक चले हुए अपने प्रशासन काम कर भी लेगे, अपनी शिक्षा-दीक्षा में भी उससे बाधा उपस्थित नहीं होगी और इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस विधेयक में और इस रिजोल्यूशन में इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन करते ही यह चीजें उचित हो सकती थीं। अब मेरी यह प्रार्थना स्वीकार करेंगे यही मेरी आशा है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam, I would like to intervene.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister is intervening now because he cannot stay here long as he has something very urgent . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: My presence is necessary in the other House . . .

श्री राजनारायण : यानी इससे भी ज्यादा कोई काम है ? चव्हाण साहब से एक बात निवेदन करूंगा कि आप शुरू में भी हम लोगों के भाषण को सुने नहीं और अगर आपने अपने दिमाग को कह दिया है कि वह ब्रह्मा की लिपि है तो वह गलत है कियह डिसकशन संसद् का होता है समझने और समझाने का। जैसे जितने विरोध पक्ष के लोग बैठे हैं सब ने हमारा नाम लिया, हमारे मुद्दाव को समझा और समर्थन किया। यदि आप सुनेंगे नहीं तो जवाब क्या करेंगे।

श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण : मैं जवाब नहीं दे रहा हूं, मैं इन्टरव्हीन कर रहा हूं।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं रिक्वेस्ट करूंगा कि आप यहां पर रहें . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I hope I shall not be disrespectful to the House, but unfortunately the position is that my presence in the other House is necessary.

I thought this third reading was expected to raise some new points. Unfortunately I do not see any new points except the points of hon. Member Jairamdas Daulatram. I should make some mention about them. (Interruption.) Others have repeated their original theses. Jairamdasji has mentioned two points. One is that the development of Hindi should be on the pattern of Article 351. I entirely agree with him and it is not merely my agreeing with it, it is a Constitutional obligation. Hindi just cannot go as it is spoken in Allahabad or Banaras or any other city in Bihar or U.P. It will have to take contributions from other Indian languages. This is exactly what was expected. I quite agree, Madam, that the other languages have many things to contribute to Hindi because they are also developed languages. Sometimes we find that every language has got some words for which it is very difficult to find a correct translation. I can give instances, but this is not the occasion for it. I entirely agree with him that efforts for the development of Hindi will have to be done on that line. But when I say it is very necessary I know also that it is very difficult to do that because as things stand to-day, the people engaged in the development of Hindi are only Hindi-speaking people. Unless the other language groups take interest in the Government of Hindi, the contribution will not come. So we will have now to look to the future and undertake this responsibility. And we should ask our scholars to look into this aspect because sometimes words are coined in the meetings of groups of scholars, they are printed in books or they appear in the newspapers and then they become accepted words. But I can assure them that I was discussing this matter with the Education Minister . . .

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM: That is why I suggested a committee which will assist you in this matter.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: That is a good idea. I am not saying "No" to it. But I do not know whether a single committee is likely to be of any use. But certainly I will not say "No" to your suggestion. It is a good suggestion and coming as it is from you it will have to be very carefully considered.

The other point he made has also some relevance because there are people whose mother tongue is different from the language of the region where they live and naturally one will have to learn four languages perhaps in such cases. The three-language formula then becomes a four-language formula.

Now, hon. Member Bhandari was saying that English should be dropped. His main idea was that English should be dropped. Now if English gets dropped in course of time, I will not be sorry for it. But once you make a campaign for it with a view to having another language, then it becomes rather difficult. Let us consider the psychology of the nation, the psychology of the people. They may have the feeling that you want to drop English because you want them to accept Hindi. Madam, I have seen a very peculiar development in the course of this debate that those people who wanted English to be associate official language of this country, started opposing English when it was made compulsory at the recruitment level. It is not because of love for Hindi language. There are some other considerations in this matter. Once you say, "Don't have English", then those people will say "Don't have Hindi, we will have English, it is much better".

Therefore, I understand the problem of Sindhi—which we have included in the Eighth Schedule—which the hon. Member referred to. Now a Sindhi-speaking student, wherever he stays, will have to study Sindhi, because that is his mother tongue, he will have to learn the regional language, he will have to learn Hindi and perhaps also English . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The same is true of Urdu also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I can tell you that primary education has to be done in the mother tongue. There the study of mother tongue becomes absolutely essential and naturally so. But I can tell him that we have taken note of his suggestion. I do not want to comment further on this point. This matter will have to be considered in the course of implementing the policy in the administration. I know that the passing of this Bill and this Resolution is not the last word on it. We have to take great care for a period of many years during which he will implement this policy. For the acceptance of the policy itself there were so many difficulties. Now after passing this and after the emergence of this policy, we have to implement it. This is going to be a complex process. But I have certainly noted what he has suggested. He has also moved these amendments to the Resolution. I will request him in advance that he may withdraw his amendments.

I must say, Madam, that I heard a very scholarly speech from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to-day and with the thesis that he developed, I entirely agree. It was a very good speech and I must say I commend it to the House. I do not know what amendments he moved, but his main approach was something with which I agree. I hope my good friend, Mr. Rajnarain also—we have something to learn from him in other matters—will certainly take a balanced view of this problem of language and help us to remove this feeling of hostility in the country. Having said all we had to say and having argued very passionately about it, is it not our responsibility now that when we go out from Delhi after passing this Bill, we tell our people, "Let us forget this language controversy . . ."

8 P.M.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, हमारे पाम भदौरिया जी की चिट्ठी आई है कि गाजियाबाद के पास 200 आदमियों को

[श्री राजनारायण]

गिरफ्तार किया गया है और उनको डंडे से पिटाया गया है और जेल भिजवाया गया है।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : वहां पर दिल्लीका एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कैसे जायेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : वे लोग दिल्ली की सीमा में आ चुके थे और हजारों की संख्या में थे। इस तरह से 200 आदमियों को . . .

श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण : आप मुझसे मिलिये। यहां पर इस तरह की बातों को लाने की क्या जरूरत है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I certainly would like to make an appeal to the Members of this House and through this House to the people of this country that let us forget this language controversy and concentrate our energy on more constructive and more useful activities.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In view of this do you want the third reading to go on? The Home Minister has also to go to the other place. Can I put the motion to the House?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then take only five minutes, Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Madam, it is with a sense of bitterness that I wish to speak on the third reading of the Bill. It has not been a meeting of minds and peoples but it has accentuated disunity between the minds and the different peoples of India. That is my grievance. Not a single step has been taken towards the equality of the national languages of the 8th Schedule. That equality has not been conceded even in the matter of debate on the floor of Parliament. That is my sorrow and misfortune and the misfortune of India as well. I would congratulate the S.S.P. on one point. They have voted for an amendment which conceded the right of equality of all the national

languages in India. That they have done. I am not a lover of English, I do not want to retain English for ever. Let it be understood because the masses would never learn that language. If the equality of languages had been conceded, then the masses and the people would have been satisfied. If a demand has been raised in Tamilnad that Tamil should be made the link language, then I hope the D.M.K. has not made that claim only for Tamil but the D.M.K. makes that claim for all the languages flourishing in India and not for Tamil or for Hindi. I hope that that is the settled policy of the D.M.K. I would say that the 15 languages of India are like a chain that links and binds India together. If certain people have not yet understood this, obviously they have many more things to learn. May I say that the common denominator is that we are a family of nations and belong to India? That is the common denominator. Let that be understood clearly. So, this has sown the seeds of discord. We in Bengal have never had a language agitation, because we feel that any Chauvinism pollutes democratic conscience. But if things come to such a pass—Mr. Chavan has said that there is inherent inequality, he has recognised it—and if any language agitation is started in West Bengal, you cannot dream what it will be and even Tamilnad or U.P. or Bihar has not yet seen anything like that. It will come to that. You have taken a step towards disunity in India. I do not know where it will end unless the equality of all the languages is recognised fully, completely and clearly. But you seem determined not to do so. This legislation is the proof of that. It is a grave day for India that a Bill like this is passed against the national honour and prestige of the people of India. Let it be understood clearly.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I do not want to participate because you allow Members only who bully you but you do not allow Members who want to co-operate.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling you. There is no question of the charge that you are making against the Chair. It should be withdrawn. You must not make this reflection on the Chair. I am giving everybody an opportunity. If you do not want to speak, say so. But don't say that the Chair does not allow you. I am requesting you to limit the time. You can say the best points in five minutes. Mr. Raj-narain.

(Interruption.)

श्री राजनारायण : महोदय, मैं आप से और आपके जरिये सरकारी पक्ष से तथा विरोधी पक्ष से बहुत ही अदब के साथ अर्ज करूंगा कि वे धीरज से हमारी बातों को सुनें। पहले तो मैं विरोधी पक्ष से कहना चाहता हूं। यहां पर हमारे स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग हैं, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग हैं, डी० एम० के० के है, प्रजा सोशलिस्ट के लोग हैं, जनसंघ के लोग हैं। खैर जनसंघ को मैं नहीं कहूंगा, लेकिन जिनजिन लोगों ने मेरा नाम लिया है, हमसे कुछ जानने की बात की है, उनसे मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं पहली बात यह बताकर कि कोई हिन्दी कट्टरपंथी बने। मैं यह नहीं चाहता हूं कि किसी पर हिन्दी लादी जाय। मैं चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी अपनी स्वाभाविक यानी नैचुरल ढंग से बढ़े और उसकी बाढ़ में कोई रुकावट न डाली जाय। क्या यह सब को मंजूर है। मंजूर है, बहुत अच्छा।

माननीया, हमारे घर मंत्री जी चले गये। संविधान के 351 अनुच्छेद को देखा जाय, उसमें संघ का कर्तव्य लिखा है। यह राजनारायण का कर्तव्य नहीं है और नहीं श्री गोडे मुराहरि का कर्तव्य लिखा है और न ही जनता का लिखा है। इसमें यह लिखा है "हिन्दी भाषा का प्रसार और वृद्धि करना और उसका विकास करना संघ का कर्तव्य होगा। यह बात संविधान में 26 जनवरी सन् 1950 को लिखी गई। अब आप ही बता दीजिये कि जो लोग हिन्दी के कट्टर-

पंथियों को दोष लगाते हैं वह क्यों लगाते हैं? कहां हिन्दी के हैं कट्टरपंथ? अगर हिन्दी के कोई कट्टरपंथ होते और संविधान में जो लिखा है, वह भी न होता, तो उसको कोई लड़ा है। लड़ाई कहां हुई है। माननीया, ज़रा आप भी देखें, आप के राज्य में ही हुई है।

उपसभापति : यह पाइन्ट आप कह चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अभी सुना जाय, मैं दोहराऊंगा नहीं। मैं समय ज्यादा नहीं लूंगा। आसाम लड़ा है अलबन्ना बंगाल के खिलाफ, ज़रा भूपेश जी खयाल करें। आंध्र में तमिलनाड के खिलाफ तेलगू के पक्ष में आन्दोलन हुआ। महाराष्ट्र में गुजरात के खिलाफ मराठी के पक्ष में आन्दोलन हुआ। क्या ऐसा कोई आन्दोलन हिन्दी भाषाभाषी ने भी किया। नहीं किया। फिर भी एक दोष लगाया जा रहा है अनावश्यक, बेमतलब का हिन्दी के कट्टरपंथ का।

अब मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अंग्रेजी में कोई कट्टरपंथ मत बनो। यहां अंग्रेजी के कट्टरपंथियों से मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करूंगा कि वे अंग्रेजी के कट्टरपंथ क्यों बनते हैं, क्यों अंग्रेजी को हमेशा बनाये रखना चाहते हैं, उनको इसका क्यों शौक पैदा हो रहा है कि वे इंग्लैंड में पैदा होने वाले अंग्रेजों के समान अपनी जबान, अपनी तहज़ीब और अपना तमद्दुन रखें। यह सवाल हमारा उनसे है।

अब दूसरी बात की तरफ में जाता हूं। सरकारी पक्ष से कुछ निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। इतिहास की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होने दीजिये, श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी। इतिहास, तवारीख दोहराई जा रही है। सरकारी पक्ष के लोगो, आप की ज़िम्मेदारी बढ़ी है। 1947 की 14 और 15 जून को इस दिल्ली में जो ग़ज़ब हुआ, वही

[श्री राजनारायण]

गजब आज यह सदन करेगा अगर श्री चव्हाण के प्रस्ताव को मान लेगा, तो। माननीया, कहा गया 1947 की 14 और 15 जून कि तुम मुल्क के बटवारे की तजवीज को कबूल कर लो, एक दिन ऐसा आयेगा जब कि पुनः भारत और पाकिस्तान एक होगा। जो लोग न पढ़ें हों 14 और 15 जून, दिल्ली का इजलास, कांग्रेस का जल्सा, एक प्रस्ताव, वे पढ़ लें। मगर जब बन गया तो आज भारत और पाकिस्तान एक होने की हालत में नहीं है। उसी तरह से मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि जो गलती पाकिस्तान और हिन्दोस्तान के बटवारे के प्रस्ताव को मान कर के हुई है, आज उससे बड़ी गलती यह सदन करेगा अगर यह सदन श्री चव्हाण साहब के बिल को पास कर के कानून की शकल देने में मदद करेगा।

माननीया, हमको कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी भाषा का क्या हुआ। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि जो शुरू शुरू में प्रेसिडेन्सी टाउन कलकत्ता, बम्बई और मद्रास बने उनकी आमदनी देखी जाय और उत्तर प्रदेश की आमदनी देखी जाय। वहां पर औसत आमदनी आज है साढ़े चार सौ, पांच सौ रुपये फी आदमी सलाना और उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार की आमदनी आती है सिर्फ दो सौ रुपये और अगर देहात लिया जाय तो आती है 180 रु०। क्या यह फर्क नहीं है। अंग्रेजों ने अंग्रेजी का प्रभुत्व सब से पहले मद्रास में, कलकत्ता में और बम्बई में जमाया। उसका नतीजा आज यह रहा है कि वे हम को आज धमकियां दे रहे हैं, कुछ लोग, सब लोग नहीं। मैं तमिलनाडु हो आया हूं और तमिलनाडु को जानता हूं। तमिलनाडु की जनता अंग्रेजी पसन्द नहीं है।

1957 में जब अंग्रेजी हटाओ आन्दोलन हम लोगों ने चलाया तो यह सबक दिया गया कि धीरज रखो, 1965 के बाद

अपने आप आ जायगी। भूपेश जी, बसंटाइन को याद करो, केरेंस्की को याद करो, केमीनाफ को याद करो। जब लेनिन ने 4 अप्रैल की थैसिस दी माननीया, तो अकेला था लेनिन। उसने कहा : सोशलिस्ट रेवेल्युशन होगा थियरी आफ स्पार्टेनिटी, स्वतःवाद का सिद्धान्त। आज चव्हाण साहब हमको स्वतःवाद का सिद्धान्त बतला रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि अपने आप हो जायेगा, बिना प्रयत्न के बिना कुछ किये आ जायेगा।

(Interruptions)

मैं अब जवाब देना चाहता हूं अपने मित्र को जिन का नाम मैं नहीं जानता। उन्होंने कहा है कि दक्षिण यहां आ कर के कबूजा करेगा। मैं बहुत अदब के साथ अर्ज कर रहा हू कि आप धमकियां मत दो।

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I did not say that. He does not know my name. He also did not understand what I said.

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, मैं अंग्रेजी नहीं समझता हू। मैं आप के जरिये दक्षिण के दोस्तों से जो दक्षिण के नहीं हैं, अंग्रेजी के दोस्त ज्यादा हैं, अंग्रेजी के जो भक्त हैं, अंग्रेजी के लिये जो कट्टरपंथ हैं, यह कहना चाहता हूं कि रेड्डी साहब, हम को मुगलते में रखा गया। आज जो देशभक्त हैं, आज जो राष्ट्रभक्त हैं, आज जो मुल्क के गरीबों की तरक्की चाहता है, जो दक्षिण और उत्तर को एक मानता है, दक्षिण का गरीब, उत्तर का गरीब, दक्षिण का मेहनतकश, उत्तर का मेहनतकश, दक्षिण का विद्यार्थी, उत्तर का विद्यार्थी, दक्षिण का किसान, उत्तर का किसान, दक्षिण का मजदूर, उत्तर का मजदूर दक्षिण का दौलत पैदा करने वाला, उत्तर का दौलत पैदा करने वाला एक होगा और अंग्रेजी को हटा कर के रहेगा।

मैं श्री चव्हाण से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह बिल आप पास करा लेंगे तो अंग्रेजी हटाने का आन्दोलन तीव्र से तीव्रतर होगा, तेज से तेजतर होगा और उसको कोई माई का लाल रोक नहीं सकता ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The House divided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ayes—114; Noes—14.

AYES—114

Abdul Shakoor, Moulana
Abid Ali, Shri
Abraham, Shri P.
Ahmad, Shri Syed
Ammanna Raja, Shrimati C.
Anandan, Shri T. V.
Anis Kidwai, Shrimati
Ansari, Shri Hayatullah
Arora, Shri Arjun
Asthana, Shri L. D.
Atwal, Shri Surjit Singh
Baharul Islam, Shri
Bhadram, Shri M. V.
Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
Bhuwalka, Shri R. K.
Bindumati Devi, Shrimati
Chagla, Shri M. C.
Chandra Shekhar, Shri
Chavda, Shri K. S.
Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.
Chetia, Shri P.
Chinai, Shri Babubhai M.
Damodaran, Shri K.
Das, Shri Banka Behary
Deo, Shri Bira Kesari
Desai, Shri Suresh J.
Dharia, Shri M. M.
Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
Ghose, Shri Surendra Mohan
Gilbert, Shri A. C.

Goswami, Shri Sriman Prafulla
Gupta, Shri Bhupesh
Gurupada Swamy, Shri M. S.
Hathi, Shri Jaisukhlal
Iyer, Shri N. Ramakrishna
Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri
Karmarkar, Shri D. P.
Kathju, Shri P. N.
Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi
Kulkarni, Shri B. T.
Kumaran, Shri P. K.
Kurre, Shri Dayaldas
Mahanti, Shri B. K.
Mary Naidu, Miss M. L.
Mathur, Shri Harish Chandra
Mehta, Shri Om
Menon, Shri Balachandra
Mishra, Shri L. N.
Mishra, Shri S. N.
Misra, Shri M.
Mitra, Shri P. C.
Mohammad, Chaudhary A.
Momin, Shri G. H. Valimohmed
Mookerjee, Shri Debabrata
Muniswamy, Shri N. R.
Nandini Satpathy, Shrimati
Neki, Ram, Shri
Paliwal, Shri S. K. D.
Pande, Shri C. D.
Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
Patil, Shri G. R.
Patil, Shri P. S.
Patra, Shri N.
Pattanayak, Shri B. C.
Phulrenu Guha, Dr. Shrimati
Pillai, Shri J. Sivashanmugam
Punnaiah, Shri Kota
Purkayastha, Shri M.
Pushpaben Janardanrai Mehta, Shrimati
Ram Chander, Shri
Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
Ray, Shri Ramprasanna
Reddy, Shri M. Govinda

Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
 Reddy, Shri N. Narotham
 Sadiq Ali, Shri
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Sanjivayya, Shri D.
 Sapru, Shri P. N.
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Seeta Yudhvir, Shrimati
 Sen, Dr. Triguna
 Shah, Shri K. K.
 Shah, Shri M. C.
 Shanta Vasisht, Kumari
 Shyam Kumari Khan, Shrimati
 Singh, Dr. Anup
 Singh, Shri Dalpat
 Singh, Dr. Gopal
 Singh, Shri Jogendra
 Singh, Shri Santokh
 Singh, Raja Shankar Pratap
 Singh, Shri T. N.
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri B. K. P.
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap
 Sukhdev Prasad, Shri
 Tankha, Pandit S. S. N.
 Tapase, Shri G. D.
 Tara Ramchandra Sathe, Shrimati
 Thanulingam, Shri P.
 Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Tripathi, Shri H. V.
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Vaishampayen, Shri S. K.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Vidywati Chaturvedi, Shrimati
 Vimal Punjab Deshmukh, Shrimati
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati
 Zaidi, Col. B. H.

NOES—14

Bhandari, Shri Sundar Singh
 Chordia, Shri V. M.
 Ghosh, Shri Niren

Jagat Narain, Shri
 Murahari, Shri G.
 Pande, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Rajnarain, Shri
 Sarla Bhadauria, Shrimati
 Sen Gupta, Shri D. L.
 Shakuntala Paranjpye, Shrimati
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Sinha, Shri Ganga Sharan
 Sinha, Shree Rewati Kant
 Varma, Shri Niranjan

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I come to the amendments that were moved to the Resolution. I shall put them to vote.

Amendment No. 1 is in the name of Shri Vaishampayen. Do you press it?

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: Madam, I would like to make a submission.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No submission at this stage. Are you withdrawing or pressing your amendment?

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment.

**Amendment No. 1 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 2 is in the name of Shri Banka Behary Das and he is not present.

The question is:

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

'and to secure its enrichment by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule

*For text of amendment vide cols. 5065-66 of Debate, dated the 20th December, 1967

to the Constitution and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages'."

The motion was negatived.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 3.

**Amendment No. 3 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: While requesting permission to withdraw my amendment No. 4, can I be allowed to explain?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No explanation now. You want to withdraw it.

**Amendment No. 4 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

5. "That—

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

(ii) lines 6 to 11 be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 6.

**Amendment No. 6 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 7.

**Amendment No. 7 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 8.

**Amendment No. 8 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments Nos. 11, 12 and 13.

**Amendments Nos. 11, 12 and 13, were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

'And, whereas it is necessary to ensure that the just claims and interests of persons belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services of the Union are fully safeguarded;

This House resolves—

(a) that compulsory knowledge of Hindi shall not be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union services or posts excepting any special services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of Hindi may be considered essential for

[The Deputy Chairman.]

the satisfactory performance of the duties of the service or post; and'."

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:
Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 15.

**Amendment No. 15 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:
Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments Nos. 18, 19 and 20.

**Amendments Nos. 18, 19 and 20 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh):
Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 21.

**Amendment No. 21 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

'and having considered the same, this House recommends—

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 25 is in the name of Shri Rajnarain. Are you pressing it?

श्री राजनारायण : प्रैस करेंगे, बोलेंगे भी ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is nothing. You cannot speak now.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, इस प्वाइन्ट पर हम कुछ नहीं बोले हैं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, please sit down. You cannot speak at this stage on the Resolution.

श्री राजनारायण : इस सदन को सदन की प्रतिष्ठा से गिराने का प्रयत्न न किया जाय ।

(Interruption)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

(Interruptions).

The motion was negatived.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM: I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 26.

*Amendment No. 26 was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 27 stands in the name of Shri Rajnarain. Are you pressing it?

श्री राजनारायण : हम हर अमेन्डमेंट प्रैस करते हैं । कृपया हमको बोलने दीजिए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. Please sit down. No one else has spoken on his amendment. I shall put it to vote.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM: Madam, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 28.

*Amendment No. 28 was, by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 29.

*Amendment No. 29 was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments, Nos. 30 and 31 are in the name of Shri Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, इस पर भी नहीं बोलने देंगी ? यह कोई फैसला है सदन का ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

*For text of amendments *vide* col. 5071 of Debate, dated the 20th December, 1967.

[The Deputy Chairman.]

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 32.

**Amendment No. 32 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments Nos. 33 and 34 are in the name of Shri Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : अगर मैं बोलता हूँ तो कहा जायगा कि मैं सदन की सुरीति और शोभा को भंग कर रहा हूँ, तो अब मैं भंग करने का फैसला ले रहा हूँ। (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 35 is in the name of Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari. Are you pressing it, Mr. Bhandari?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Yes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

'This House resolves that arrangements should be made in accordance with that formula for

*For the text of amendment vide col. 5072 of Debate, dated the 20th December, 1967.

the study of two modern Indian languages including one of the Southern languages apart from Hindi in Hindi-speaking areas, and of regional language, Hindi and one of the modern Indian languages in the non-Hindi-speaking areas."

The motion was negated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 36 is in the name of Shri M. V. Bhadram.

The question is: ...

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

The motion was negated.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

37. "That—

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

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

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

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

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

The motion was negated.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

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

The motion was negated.

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि सदन की कार्यवाही मुचाऱु रूप से चलने दीजिये, कानून को तोड़िये नहीं, यह राज्य सभा है, यह इन्दिरा सभा नहीं है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : इस अहम मसले को इस तरह से प.स कर रही है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

39. "That—

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

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

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

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

The motion was negated.

श्री राजनारायण : यह सब हल्लडबाजी है। यह सदन की कार्यवाही है या क्या तमाशा है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : यह ढंग ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आश्चर्यचकित हूँ । दुनिया में कहीं कोई संसदीय परम्परा है तो वह रोती होगी कि आज राज्य सभा किस ढंग से चल रही है ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : मैं आपसे अर्ज करता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से यहां कार्यवाही हो रही है यह ठीक नहीं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Resolution to the vote.

The question is—

"WHEREAS under article 343 of the Constitution Hindi shall be the official language of the Union, and under article 351 thereof it is the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language and to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India ;

This House resolves that a more intensive and comprehensive programme shall be prepared and implemented by the Government of India for accelerating the spread and development of Hindi, and its progressive use for the various official purposes of the Union, and an annual assessment report giving details of the measures taken and the progress achieved shall be laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament, and sent to all State Governments ;

2. WHEREAS the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution specifies 14 major languages of India besides Hindi, and it is necessary in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the country that concerted measures should be taken for the full development of these languages ;

This House resolves that a programme shall be prepared and implemented by the Government of India, in collaboration with the State Governments, for the co-ordinated development of all these languages, alongside Hindi so that they grow rapidly

in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge ;

3. WHEREAS it is necessary for promoting the sense of unity and facilitating communication between people in different parts of the country that effective steps should be taken for implementing fully in all States the three-language formula evolved by the Government of India in consultation with the State Governments ;

This House resolves that arrangements should be made in accordance with that formula for the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the Southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking areas, and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non-Hindi-speaking areas ;

4. AND, WHEREAS it is necessary to ensure that the just claims and interests of people belonging to different parts of the country in regard to the public services of the Union are fully safeguarded ;

This House resolves—

(a) that compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English shall be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union services or posts except in respect of any special services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of English alone or Hindi alone, or both as the case may be, is considered essential for the satisfactory performance of the duties of any such service or post ; and

(b) that all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and English shall be permitted as alternative media for the All India and higher Central Services examinations after ascertaining the views of the Union Public Service Commission on the future scheme of the examinations, the procedural aspects and the timing."

The motion was adopted.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : जिस ढंग से यहां कार्यवाही चलाई गई है उसका विरोध में मैं बाहर जाता हूं।

(The hon. Member then left the House.)

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे अदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि जितनी कार्यवाही चली, गलत चली इसलिये आपकी कार्यवाही के विरोध में इस सदन से हमको त्याग करना पड़ेगा। मैं कहता हूं कि जितनी कार्यवाही हुई है सब गलत है।

(The hon. Member then left the House.)

(I) THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3)
BILL, 1967

(II) THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 4)
BILL, 1967

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

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. C.
PANT): Sir, I beg to move:—

1. "That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year, 1967-68, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

2. "That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services, during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1965, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the first Bill . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): One by one. You cannot take all the Bills together.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am going according to the Order Paper.

The first Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands of Rs. 30,67.12 lakhs voted by the Lok Sabha on the 21st December, 1967 and the expenditure of Rs. 40.01 lakhs for payment of court decrees etc. charged on the Consolidated Fund of India as detailed in the Supplementary Demands presented to the House on the 29th November, 1967. The net cash outgo arising out of the batch of Supplementary Demands would be only Rs. 22.65 crores. As detailed explanations have already been given in the Supplementary Demand Statements, I would confine myself to a few introductory remarks on some of the major items for which additional provision is required.

A Supplementary provision of Rs. 20 crores is required under the Demand Loans and Advances to meet the requirements of the public sector undertakings, due partly to shortfall in their internal resources and partly to larger outlays than originally provided for.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to make one point. From 11-00 to 8-30 we have been sitting non-stop. There must be some recess. We have not taken our meals or food. It cannot go on like this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): I suggest we adjourn the House for half-an-hour for dinner and then reassemble.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Give half-an-hour adjournment. We can sit again.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): I think it is a reasonable suggestion. We break at least for half-an-hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): You cannot go on non-stop.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): After Mr. Pant finishes if it is the wish of the House we can adjourn just for half-an-hour.