

[Shri Arjun Arora.]

station at Kanpur was built at a huge cost on the Cantonment side, some 35 years ago. The British had to be careful to provide amenities for the Tommy. But now some 12 lakhs of people live on the city side of the Kanpur Railway station and there is not even a tinshed on that side. Some 8 years back the then Chairman of the Railway Board accompanied by a huge staff visited Kanpur and promised to build a suitable building on the city side of the Kanpur Railway station. But that promise has not been kept. Maybe the file is missing or something. It is time that something was done about it.

Then, Sir, the congestion at Delhi Station is alarming. Almost all trains coming to Delhi are delayed. They are not delayed in transit all through. They are deliberately delayed once they arrive within twelve or fifteen miles of the Capital. It will be interesting to find out the statistics of trains which arrive at Ghaziabad in time or Nizamuddin in time and then get delayed, over the remaining distance of twelve or fifteen miles.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Arora, I am sorry to interrupt you. If you have something more important to say you may continue later.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : I have not come to the important points yet, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Then you can continue later. We now begin the discussion allowed for in Rule 176.

DISCUSSION ON THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I find that the Home Minister is not here.

* Under Rule 176 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI) : I am here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, I know the Minister of State is here but I would like both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to be here. We have some criticisms to make against their conduct in this regard. I think it is but proper that in such a matter the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are present in the House. But it is most unfortunate that they are not here. I do not want to say anything more. It is for you to consider the matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Hathi is representing the Government and I hope they would also join soon.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : Who is going to reply to the debate ? Is it the Minister of State or the Home Minister ? What is the position ? A discussion on such an important issue should not be taken lightly.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Government will reply.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : The reply will have to be given immediately after the debate.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI : The Home Minister will reply. He is coming in a couple of minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Without seeing the script of the proceedings or hearing the speeches how will he . . .

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI : He will be here within five minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Ramaswamy. Before you begin I would like to say that three Members have given notice of the discussion, Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, and I allow them fifteen minutes each.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Twenty minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry I cannot extend the time. To the other Members I would allow ten minutes each, because the list that I have with me is a very long list. I am sorry. Even with ten minutes I would not be able to accommodate everybody.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : Is it not possible to extend the time by two more hours, tomorrow morning ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am afraid it is not possible. A limit is fixed in the rule and it is two and a half hours. I hope I will be able to extend the time a little. Let us now begin and see how the discussion proceeds.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب) :

لوک سبھا میں تو اس کے لئے زیادہ وقت دیا گیا تھا ۔ میرے خیال میں وہاں پر تقریباً تین یا ساڑھے چار گھنٹے دیے گئے تھے تو آپ بھی یہاں ٹائم بڑھا دیجئے ۔

†[श्री अब्दुलगनी (पंजाब) : लोक सभा में तो इसके लिए ज्यादा वक्त दिया गया था । मेरे ह्वाले में वहां पर तकरीबन तीन या साढ़े चार घण्टे दिये गये थे, तो आप भी यहां टाइम बढ़ा दीजिए ।]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not guided by what others do. I am not at all guided by what anybody else does. Mr. Ramaswamy might begin.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to raise a discussion on the situation arising out of the implementation of the official language policy by Government, with particular reference to the recent disturbances in the South.

Sir, on the 26th January 1950 all of us rejoiced over the inauguration of our great Republic and took a solemn pledge to preserve the freedom and integrity of the country. Fifteen years after, on the very same day, and up to the 13th February Tamilnad witnessed a mass upsurge, which was comparable only to the freedom struggle of 1942.

I want to make it clear at the outset that the movement was not anti-Hindi; it was against the language policy pursued by the Central Government. I condemn violence, I condemn the gruesome murders that were committed in my district and the other violence that took place in other districts. I also condemn the arson and destruction that took place there. I further condemn in no small measure the act of self-immolation. But you should understand the depth of feelings of the people there. Giving up one's own life for a cause is the greatest sacrifice one can imagine of. It needs some hear-searching on the part of all of us to find out why it happened, who is responsible for this and what is the remedy to prevent such a holocaust in the future, which will mar the fair name of our country in the eyes of the world.

Sir, we accepted Hindi—I confine myself to Madras—as the *lingua franca* of India during the freedom struggle out of sheer patriotism, when the Father of the Nation created a suitable atmosphere for it. We fought shoulder to shoulder with other Indians against the mighty British Imperialism. Since then many voluntary organisations were functioning in Tamilnad to propagate Hindi, of which, you all know, the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha was the foremost.

At Government level, in 1937, Rajaji tried to introduce Hindi in schools as a

†[] Hindi transliteration.

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy.]

compulsory subject. Mr. Ramasamy Naicker opposed it tooth and nail and used it for his own political ends. Then the D.M.K. took over and conducted so many agitations in which students seldom participated. The President of the Congress when he was the Chief Minister, and Shri C. Subramaniam who was then the Education Minister, convened an all parties conference of the Madras Assembly, which included my hon. friend, the D.M.K. leader Shri Annadurai, and they arrived at the three-language formula, and Hindi continued to be taught as an optional subject. Later on, some sort of incentive was given to it by taking Hindi marks into consideration for moderation purposes. In recent years the students were really studying Hindi with more enthusiasm than before.

I say all this, Sir, to make you realise how the Madras Government was endeavouring, against heavy odds, to propagate Hindi. When the Parliamentary Committee on the official language policy was set up, the Madras Government gave a practical and reasonable proposition in their third memorandum to the Committee and they said that it would be necessary to use both English and Hindi as the official languages of the Union for a prolonged period and that we have necessarily to be bilingual throughout the transitory period. Then, when the Official Language Act of 1963 was passed, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the famous assurance that English will continue as an associate official language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people wanted it.

Now, Sir, what happened on the eve of the Republic Day 1965? Postal bags containing letters were received in our State with Hindi addresses. Money Order forms, Radio Licence forms and even Telegram forms were sent in Hindi. Railway Warrants were issued to police in Hindi.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI RAM SUBHAG SINGH) : Totally incorrect.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : The railway wagons came with Hindi seal cards and Hindi invoices only.

SHRI RAM SUBHAG SINGH : It is totally incorrect. Those who did it were only spreading rumours to create trouble.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras) : On a point of order, Sir, Mr. Ramaswamy is a responsible Member of this House, and when he makes a statement he is prepared to prove it to the hilt. So I would appeal to the hon. Minister to just persuade him to get the proof; otherwise, till then, at least not to interrupt him, because I also feel that there is ample evidence in support of his statement.

SHRI RAM SUBHAG SINGH : Such rumours have taken the lives of so many people.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Government will have the opportunity to make their statement. In the meantime let the hon. Member please carry on without interruptions.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : I am told that tender forms of the C.P.W.D. were sent only in Hindi. The Madras Chamber of Commerce received a communication from a Department of the Finance Ministry in Hindi. Of course all of you know about the Food Ministry circular. I learn that the Home Ministry had issued circulars to the effect that as far as possible communications to local officers of the Central Government departments situated in Hindi-speaking areas should be sent in Hindi. Central Government officers in Hindi-speaking areas were asked to put notes in Hindi. What will happen to those non-Hindi officers in the P. and T., Customs and the Accountant-General offices, etc.?

There was also an instruction that Hindi should be used in committee meetings. It may be said that it is all a symbolic gesture. I agree. If it is a symbolic gesture, why did you not act likewise with regard to other national languages? When a money order form was sent in Hindi, what prevented anybody from providing a Tamil, Telugu, or Malayalam version in it?

The Prime Minister made a broadcast on the 12th at 9.30 P.M. in English first and then in Hindi. It was given in Tamil only on the 13th at 7.15 A.M. in the news

bulletin after twelve hours. Was not the broadcast meant to reach millions and millions of people and to put down the fire that was raging? Added to this the language papers published the report attributed to the Deputy Minister of Education that Hindi would become the medium of examination in the Union Public Service Commission from September 1965. At about that time the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly refused to take note of replies given in English by Ministers. Much publicity was given to the Prime Minister's speech that progress of Hindi should be hastened. All this incited the people, the common man as well as the intelligentsia. They were all surprised. It was asked whether this was the way the Government was keeping the promise of Panditji soon after his demise. Grave doubts had arisen in the minds of lawyers, doctors, officers and others.

Sir, you may see how the manner of the implementation of the language policy so hastily led to the agitation. I wonder whether even the Chief Minister of Madras was not bewildered over this unexpected and amazing manner of issuing circulars. What could the poor Chief Minister do? He could not assure anything more than quote Panditji's assurance. But that did not satisfy the agitators. They wanted some fresh undertaking from the Centre. Nothing came out and everything was in flames. The movement was getting momentum. I am sure no student or decent person approved of violence and arson. When the situation was out of control, the Chief Minister had to take strong action to restore law and order. The House would admire the courageous action taken by him to restore law and order, even facing letters of threats to his life.

Sir, it was a mass movement started and carried on by the students, supported by the public, instigated by certain political parties and exploited by unscrupulous elements. Madras students always stood in the forefront during the struggle for freedom. They had their idol in Nehru. They had immense faith in him and his party. They stand for the unity and integrity of India. They are not worried about a few jobs. They want national status to their own language. They demand

equal status to be given to it. They have got every right to claim to be first class citizens in the country as others have and no less. They want to take their rightful place just like any other citizen in the administration and governance of the country. They cannot tolerate any of the opportunities being denied to them to serve their country, the country of the Mahatma, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Subhas Chandra Bose. Nobody can ignore this spirit of the youth, the flower of the nation, the future rulers of our great Bharat. I can only quote Panditji's own words in this connection.

"For official purposes how can people go about from place to place and be links between different areas? Thus far English has been such a link language, and presumably it will continue to be that link language for some considerable time. I do not know. I am not prepared to put a limit to that."

And further on he says:

"But the main difficulty as was pointed out is, if Hindi is made such a language, it will mean a grave handicap to the non-Hindi-speaking people. That is a valid point and I think that any change which should be made should keep in view that it creates no handicaps for large sections of our people in the interests of the services and in other ways."

Let us not brush it aside as a single-party demonstration. It is something more than that. Shri Seth Govind Das, the greatest spokesman of Hindi, is reported to have said that the incidents which took place in Madras were not because of the language issue but because of some other political considerations. Sir, I would request the hon. the Home Minister not to entertain such a view. No doubt it is an exciting matter but there is no use getting excited. I would request you all to think over the issue most dispassionately and in a calm atmosphere and arrive at a sound solution which will allay the fears and apprehensions of the people in the South.

Perhaps it may look odd that a young Member like me should appeal to this House of Elders like this. But I have

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy.]

reason to do, Sir, because my hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee, and his party and also some in my own party, have misunderstood the whole thing. I want to reiterate that the Madras movement is not against Hindi. It is not to impose English on Hindi States. We are not against Hindi being the link language. If at all we can do anything to Hindi, it will be to develop it and not damage it. I hope my hon. friend will agree with me. Does he think that we will ever think of doing harm to Hindi? Our great statesman Panditji gave the country the assurance. When people thought, rightly or wrongly, that it was not adhered to and they started the agitation, it was Shrimati Indira Gandhi who dashed to the South and assessed the situation. And her assessment was remarkable. She has said that some rethinking is necessary in this issue. If language is going to destroy the unity of the country instead of creating integrity we have to think over it again. What does it mean? She did not just repeat her father's assurance. She feels that something else, and something more is necessary.

Sir, we want the nation to grow. We want the assurance of the late Prime Minister to be put into the Statute by the present Prime Minister. Let the *status quo* prior to Republic Day 1965, continue to remain for several years to come. Everybody knows that Hindi is not developed to such an extent now as to replace English in the art of administration. The glossary is not complete and the words that are coined do not convey the same meaning. Let us go slowly and steadily. After all, who is going to develop this language? It is we, non-Hindi-speaking people who will do it. You will develop it within the four corners of your States. But we will take it to the nooks and corners of the country, enrich it with our own words and ideas.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I may point out at this stage that you have to finish in another two minutes.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY: I may please be given five more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I will not be able to add to the time.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY: Here I would like to quote a few words of our present Prime Minister. Referring to Sethji he asks:

"Does he not support the idea of progressive use of Hindi, I would like to ask him, or does he want that Hindi should be straightaway introduced in all the States? I think I would not be unreasonable if I put that question to him, whether it would be a practicable proposition to introduce Hindi for all official purposes immediately or at once."

He will have to realise what the consequences would be of this kind of a step. We cannot in this matter succeed by merely force of authority. The wisest and the best solution in the circumstances is to help gradually in the development of Hindi and its use with the ultimate objective that the country will gladly learn it and our countrymen will be in a position to accept it as the official language of the Union. Conditions and circumstances change in a field of activity where men and their minds and thoughts matter. We cannot just stick to an end and not make any change in the light of the situation as it prevails. I hope this will be considered carefully by every section of the House."

Sir, the hon. the Home Minister is taking energetic steps to improve the efficiency of the administration and to root out corruption. The big machinery of administration is already suffering from want of efficiency. The Home Minister himself had said that delay in movement of files breeds corruption. If translation in Hindi and English has to be done on every file and correspondence then you can imagine to what extent efficiency will go down and corruption will increase.

Sir, therefore, let us not hasten things. There are bigger things to do. We are facing grave economic issues, political issues, international issues, the Chinese threat and so on. I submit, let the *status quo* before January 1965 continue for some more years with Panditji's assurance enshrined in the statute. Even here there is room for caution. Suppose the Official

Language Act is amended to this effect, even then the fear is rightly entertained whether there is any guarantee that this amendment is not also replaced by another provision by a simple majority. That is why there is a clamour for Constitutional amendment. Let us have the courage to do whatever is necessary to safeguard the guarantee. The assurance of Panditji does not mean a three-fourths majority or a nine-tenths of the non-Hindi-speaking States. Suppose all the southern States join together with the Hindi-speaking States to replace English and one non-Hindi-speaking State in the North opposes it, then the latter will carry the day.

(Time bell rings)

A few minutes more.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. I am sorry.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : As the initiator of the debate I may be permitted to conclude my . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry. I have already announced the time and I will not be able to give you any more time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me start by expressing our profound sympathies for the bereaved families of those who lost their lives in the tragic struggle in Madras, Andhra and other places. They are after all the victims of the Government policies, misconceived policies but now that we are discussing, on the eve of the Chief Ministers' Conference, we should try to concentrate our attention, I believe, on some suggestions to which I shall come towards the end of my speech. Mr. Chairman, it will be admitted on all hands that the language problem in India is far from sound. When we discussed in 1963, the Official Languages Bill, many of us thought that by and large the problem had been solved but today living has taught us that it has not been solved and the reasons for this

we have to go into in a critical way in the course of the discussion in this House. The first thing for us to do is to recognise the reality. The reality of life is much more compelling and instructive than even the Constitution of the country, not to speak of the assurances of the Government or of the Ministers. Mr. Chairman, the question that arises today immediately in our minds is, were these tragic happenings in Madras inevitable? My answer is an emphatic 'No', and here I should like to start with what the President of the Republic said in inaugurating or opening the Vithalbhai Hostel for the Members of Parliament :

"We have to ask ourselves whether we did everything in our power to avert such unhealthy developments. Political wisdom consists in anticipating events and forestalling them and abiding by the them wherever possible."

May I ask whether his Government did anticipate the events. I say that they did not anticipate the events and by their acts of commission and omission here in Delhi and in Madras, more especially in Delhi, they were provoking these events and that is one aspect of the tragic happenings. I think the wisdom of the Government was at a heavy discount; in fact, it disappeared and even today we do not see any signs of wisdom as far as the language question is concerned and I do not know, whether there exists a Prime Minister in this country or any effective or collective position of Government. Never have we in this Parliament faced a situation when the Government has proved on so vital and living a question so bankrupt as it is today. Therefore, greater responsibility devolves on us as Members of Parliament to bring our wisdom to bear on the subject, make up the terrible deficiency on the side of the Government and get them into the light of day and right kind of action. I shall try to address myself to that aspect of the matter.

As far as the situation is concerned, all I can say for the Government is—because I want to concentrate on the Central Government—that the Madras Government assumed a posture of aggressiveness and hostility towards the agitators. They did not even meet the students when they went

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

on a deputation to the Chief Minister. They thought that this problem of great dimensions involving deep emotions can be solved by the Defence of India Rules, by Black Maria and by police and military firing, by sending people in their hundreds to prison. That was no solution of the problem. A political solution and approach was altogether missing at least in the initial days of the developments. That is another side of the tragedy. Yet, it is known that if Mr. Bhaktavatsalam had, after the Anti-Hindi Conference at Tiruchi on the 17th January, talked to the students and tried to remove their apprehensions, the situation would not have taken this turn. Even when the events had taken place and there was an explosion, he relied on the police and the correspondent of "The Statesman" in his despatch stated, "The police thought that hostility to Hindi is the same as law and order". I need not go into that because, as I said, I want to come to the Central Government. Here is the Central Government which, in a situation of this sort, should have intervened and helped the Madras Government and should have given political leadership, wise leadership; but that Government failed completely.

Now, let me deal with the story of that Government. First of all, I should like to say, did we not know that the switchover, so-called, would take place on the 26th January, 1965. I would invite your attention to a circular of the Home Ministry issued in October, 1964 which says:

"Section 3 of the Official Languages Act, 1963, says that the use of English may continue for all purposes for which it was used immediately before that date. Though there is no time limit imposed on the use of English, it is desirable that efforts should be made for facilitating the use of Hindi for official purposes of the Union."

There was no reference to the Official Languages Act which had been passed and which, to some extent, represented or embodied the sentiments, if not assurances, expressed by the Prime Minister when we discussed the matter in this House and the other House. Then, a few weeks before January 26, 1965; the Hindi Directorate of

the Home Ministry was feverishly prodding the various Ministries to issue circulars and instructions in order to push Hindi and we are told by the Home Minister that some of the circulars had been withdrawn by the Ministry itself and that he did not know them. In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I should like to invite your attention to a book called, "Compilation of the Orders relating to Hindi" and at page 6, you will find that the Home Ministry issued some order on the 19th February, 1960, providing for entry of the fact of a person having passed a recognised examination in Hindi being entered in the Service Book.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI) : What year is that ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is 1960. You started then. I am coming right from the beginning, I am taking you to the original scene.

It is said that along with other entries relating to their educational qualifications, etc., an entry about a Central Government employee having passed a recognised examination in Hindi should be made in his Service Book. Another order provided for the payment of special emoluments for those who passed a test in Hindi and those who did not pass or who did not attend the classes were called upon to explain their absence. Such are the things. I can cite many more examples. The Hindi Directorate, in this matter, was being advised by the Hindi Salahkar Samiti, the Hindi Advisory Committee which was prodding the Government and its various Ministries to go ahead with the issuance of circulars and so on. Then, let us see what happened on the 26th of January and thereafter.

What happened on the 26th of January ? The Home Minister, before that, went to Kerala indulging in a lot of anti-Communist talk about Left Communists and what not but forgot that a burning question was hanging there. He never answered this. On the other hand, when he was returning from Kerala, he said in Madras, "There is no question of going back on Hindi". He did not explain the other things which was in

the spirit of the Act and was in the assurance of the Prime Minister. This is what he said. In a Zonal Council in Bengal he spoke in the same strain. He should have been in Madras instead of coming to the Zonal Conference in Calcutta and wasting his time there.

Mr. Chairman, on the 26th January, the hon. Home Minister spoke in the All India Radio. He delivered his address in Hindi and I have got a copy of it supplied by the Press Information Bureau. Here he began his speech like this :

"We are celebrating today the fifteenth anniversary of our Democratic Republic. I extend my greetings on this sacred day to my brothers and sisters all over the country. From this day, Hindi takes its place as the official language. It is a great day of rejoicing."

May I ask whether we were celebrating the switch-over day or the Republic Day? If we were celebrating the Union Republic Day then suddenly why did it become necessary for him to talk about Hindi in the very beginning of the sentence and paragraph? He should have said, "We are celebrating the Republic Day" and should have dealt with the subject matters that are common to all, whatever views we may have on the Hindi question or any question. Then, in another part of the same broadcast, he said, in Hindi :

"Hindi would be accelerated".

Then he said :

"Language is an event of great significance in our country".

May I ask as to why, even when he saw that the situation in Madras was so bad, he did not take the opportunity of explaining the assurances of Prime Minister Nehru to his audience and allay the fear and misgivings?

(*Interruption*)

Please do not disturb. I have no time.

Why did he not do so?

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I think the Home Minister's broadcast was misconceived and he was carried away by certain passions or pressures and it is for him to say what they were. Now, may I ask, will he him-

self admit practically his broadcast was misconceived? Instead of Republic Day he turned it into a Hindi Switch-over Day. We do not have any day provided in our Constitution or in our political practice which is called the Hindi Switch-over Day.

The coming to the speech of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, he spoke on the 11th of February, fifteen days after the events had taken place, on the All India Radio. There again the assurances of Nehru were not given and I am told that Mr. Subramaniam wanted those assurances to be given. In fact, he waited in Delhi to see that the broadcast was properly made but unfortunately under pressure of some people he did not do so and that is why he resigned. Now, why did he not speak earlier? I have found the answer after some research and investigation. He had wanted to speak earlier; in fact, the All India Radio was notified that he would broadcast on this language question but he did not do so because some people prevented him. The All India Radio had been notified earlier that the Prime Minister would be speaking but was suddenly told that the broadcast was cancelled. Let us know the facts. Therefore these are not so simple as all that. As far as Mr. Bhakt Darshan was concerned, he said that Hindi shall be the medium for Public Service examinations and so on. Now, who authorised him to say that? Well, it is the Government. The only person who has given a good account of herself, if I may say so, is a Member of this House, and a relatively newcomer in the Ministry; that is, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I shall not be uncharitable in this matter but our Prime Minister and the Home Minister, I do say, have miserably failed. Let us make a critical approach to the whole issue. Political failure on their part is writ large and today there is no escape from it; unless they critically review their own past and their own doings they will not be in a position to formulate a policy. Mr. Chairman, we are now told that they are going back even upon the assurance they had given earlier that the Official Language Act will be modified or amended.

The whole thing has become now a factional game. Today's *Statesman* carries a news item that factional considerations have come in. If they pass this amendment some

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

will take advantage of it, they say and if they do not pass, some others will take advantage and it is on the cards that some of them aspiring to high offices are suddenly becoming champions of Hindi and trying to jockey themselves into positions. Let us not gamble with the fate of the country, with the destiny of the nation. Here in Parliament the question must be decided in the true and democratic interests of the country. Mr. Chairman, I can give many examples to show how the Ministers on their part have miserably failed in this matter.

Now, what are my suggestions? First of all, to us the problem is not whether Hindi should become the link language; we are committed to it but the question is how it should become the Union official language. That is the point. Therefore our suggestion is, English should continue as an associate language along with Hindi until the State legislatures can have Hindi as the sole language or official language of the Indian Union. Mr. Chairman, in this connection I cannot but point out the fact that in Chapter XVII of the Constitution, whereas article 343 gives a mandatory provision for Hindi being the official language, article 345 makes it a matter of option for the States to make their regional languages official State language. The regional languages are downgraded in their status in the sphere of the State. We would like to see that the regional languages in the States' sphere get the same status as the official language in the Union.

The second point is this. The regional languages should, within a specified time, replace English as the medium of administration, at the level of law courts, education, at all levels including Universities. The rights of linguistic minorities should be safeguarded as provided in the Constitution. I am very sorry to state here that in Uttar Pradesh they are not even prepared to recognise Urdu as a regional language; nor do they do it in Bihar whereas it is so recognised in Hyderabad. All glory to Hyderabad, but Uttar Pradesh is not doing so. The Union Government should give grants and financial assistance for the development of regional languages and in Parliament and State legislatures every member should have the right to use his own mother-tongue and simultaneous transla-

tion should be provided. The competitive examinations for the All-India Services should be conducted in English as well as the languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Quotas should be fixed for different States in the Central Services. These are some of the suggestions.

What is important today is to conceive in the right way how the switch-over should be made. There cannot be a forced march on the question of national language; otherwise the nation will revolt. We have to seek unity in the midst of diversity. We must build up all the languages and culture into a common mainstream in a manner which finds voluntary acceptance, willing acceptance, among the people. The regional languages have got to be upgraded. Let the people in the country feel that what is taking place is not a switch-over from English to Hindi which may not be a regional language for many people in many States but what is taking place is a switch-over from English to the regional languages or the mother-tongue of the people and in that context we should develop the Union official language as the link language. I think this is very very important. The Government approaches the matter in an isolated way; that is absolutely wrong. You cannot solve the question of the language of the Indian Union apart from the solution of the problem at the State level, without taking into account the requirements of the States, without switching over in the States from English to the regional languages. Tamil Nad has neglected it; some other States are neglecting it. Therefore I say this is how it should be viewed.

Finally I would say this. We are now worried about the lobbying going on. We are told that we shall now get only a Resolution on the language question. The Resolution has no meaning whatsoever. We pass many Resolutions which are defied and disregarded by the Government. We cannot enforce it; we cannot go to a court of law or do any such thing. We passed a Resolution on the Assam language riots and that had not been implemented. We cannot do anything. What we need today clearly and categorically is a statutory guarantee. We not only want to incorporate the assurances of Nehru but we want further steps to be taken. Assurances have got to be incorporated in a statute but other steps also will have to be taken. If for example the

statutory provisions by way of enactments of the existing law are found wanting, then the question will arise, what about the Constitution. After all, there may be some people who may say that your amending the statute will be *ultra vires* the Constitution. I would not like to have the Constitution amended if I can realise my objectives which I have set before you by an amendment of the Act of Parliament. There I think we can get a broad measure of agreement. These are my suggestions and I hope the issue will be viewed in the true national interest and I think that Parliament will be vigilant about the factional game within the Congress Party. And I repeat that the Home Minister and the Prime Minister have miserably failed in this matter, and they are answerable to Parliament and the country for all the misfortunes that have overtaken us.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it should not have been left for the most regrettable and unfortunate events that have happened in some parts of the country to make us give a greater consideration to this language question. In enforcing article 343 the Government are perfectly in the right.

But the enforcement of article 343 has given rise to a situation which results in an anomaly, which the Government could have foreseen, which the leaders could have foreseen and which we also in Parliament could have foreseen. The real difficulty is this which I request you and very earnestly plead to my Hindi friends to realise. It is my purpose to explain what that anomalous situation is. Before going to explain that situation I would like to clear some wrong impressions which have prevailed, particularly in the minds of friends in the North. Mr. Ramaswamy has said that Madras is not anti-Hindi. It is very true. Just as the Jan Sangh persons who, when they were obliterating English on the signboards and when they were caught by the policemen, said : "Don't touch me" in English, so also in the case of those leaders who have led this movement in Madras, if you go and examine their homes, you may find that their children are studying Hindi. This House knows and I have repeated it here that, in a family of five children, at least three children in the South are studying

Hindi and many of them have passed the highest examinations. I have given examples before now. So, the South has taken to Hindi very earnestly. If they were against Hindi as a link language or even as a national language, the riots which had happened recently would have happened long ago and relentlessly this struggle would have gone on, but facts show that nobody is against Hindi. Please let them understand this. I also want another thing to be made clear. The South is not very fond of English. Our friends are very earnest and very vigorous in repeating that the South is slavish that they are very fond of English. It is not so. Instead of anybody crying : "*Hatao Angrezi*", English is dying. Anybody who goes to the South or anywhere else will see that the standard of English in the Southern States is going down. Everywhere the standards are falling. English is fading out. So, it will die a natural death. The patient is dying. Allow him to die a natural death. Why do you murder him ? The objection of the South is to this criminal mentality of murdering English. We do not want a campaign to be carried on against any language. Now, English, they say, is a foreign language. Now, in the South they justifiably say : Is Hindi a Vedic language ? Has Hindi no alien blood in it ? And when a Persian couplet is sung our Vajpayeeji jumps up with joy. Persian is not a Vedic language. It is not our ancestors' language. It was an invaders' language, no doubt, but there was good in it. We learnt it sometime by historical accident, but we appreciate the good in it. Today we do not hate Persian. Today we do not hate Urdu which is born of Persian. Today we are propagating Hindi again born of Urdu. But why should we hate English ? I can understand if the South says : Propagate English, encourage English or give to English permanent place. I can understand their objection. But the South is not saying that. The South is not lifting its little finger to give English a permanent place. All that the South says is : Do not hate English and do not say Hindi should come today, overnight. A language cannot be learnt overnight. It takes years and years, centuries, for a generation to learn a language.

I will now come to the anomalous situation because I have very little time. The

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

situation is this. Now, the Constitution visualises a period of 15 years within which time Hindi should become the national language. Now, within these fifteen years there can be roughly three generations. The first category is the new-born, those in the elementary schools. The second consists of those studying in the high schools and colleges. The third consists of persons like myself and yourself, Sir, we are in the field of action. Now, the third category is not anti-Hindi. The second is studying in the colleges. Now, nobody can expect me or Nandaji or Ram Subhag Singhji or you, Sir, go to the South and learn Tamil. It is beyond you. It is beyond and of us at our age now to learn Hindi. Now, it is also beyond the college going people to learn Hindi. One can pick up with great difficulty some working knowledge. I can understand that, but you are not saying that. So, as far as the first generation is concerned, the newly-born, the elementary school children are concerned, they will learn Hindi without your shouting, without anybody shouting. They are picking up Hindi. They are learning Hindi and when that generation comes up into the active field nobody need say: Hindi shall be the official language. They try to pick up Hindi now. The difficulty is only with regard to these two other categories. Now, I come to Delhi. I see the signboard which is in Hindi. There is no English and I do not know Hindi. I do not know what it is. Where am I to go? Now, Nandaji goes to Madras. Fortunately he is a Minister. Somebody is there to accompany him and to explain, but if a common man who knows Hindi only goes to the South what can he do? He does not know Tamil and in Madras he will find all signboards in Tamil. If we follow the Madras example in Mysore it will all be in Canarese. Now, I am more at home in England, I am more at home in Australia, in Canada and in America, but I am a foreigner in my own country. Is this not a ridiculous situation? Now, what is wrong if I say under the Hindi board you write it in English also until that first generation comes up? What is wrong if in Madras under the Tamil lines there are also English lines on the signboard, so that people from the North can follow? Because they do not know Tamil, they can follow English. What is wrong—I ask. It is not anti-

patriotic and people in the name of patriotism should not do this.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): There are signboards in the North in English. The Central Public Works Department and the State Public Works Department have put up signboards in Mirzapur, Banaras, etc. in English, not in Hindi.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I am not against raising any signboards in Hindi anywhere. My point is only this. As long as there are people who cannot learn Hindi by any means, as long as that generation which is learning Hindi comes up, allow them facilities to know things. Do not make them strangers or foreigners in their own country.

Now, Sir, this mentality that there should be no English in a Hindi signboard or no Hindi in a Tamil signboard shows that each has no consideration for the other. If Shri Ram Subhag Singh has no consideration for me, it is reasonable to expect why I should have any consideration for him. That is exactly what is behind the agitation in Madras (*Interruption*). I have no time please. They say that the Northern people have no consideration for our difficulties. We are learning Hindi. And if they have no consideration for our difficulties, why should we have any consideration for them? This argument might be stretched and will be stretched. If this mentality that we are seeing in Delhi and what some of our friends are saying is persisted in, I will not be an evil prophet. This argument will be carried to its logical conclusion. Wisdom should prevail. Let us not give room to any such thing. Language which is meant to unite the country should not divide the country. Now, it will divide the country if this mentality is persisted in. Nobody is opposed to Hindi. Please do not think so. And nobody wants English. Please do not think so. Only allow non-Hindi people to learn Hindi until the Hindi generation comes up. Please do not cry down English. That is all that I want to say.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश):

सभापति जी, मेरा दुर्भाग्य है कि मेरी मातृ-भाषा हिन्दी है। अच्छा होता यदि मैं किसी अहिन्दी प्रान्त में पैदा हुआ होता क्योंकि तब हिन्दी के पक्ष में कुछ कहता तो मेरी बात का ज्यादा वजन होता।

हिन्दी को अपनाने का फैसला केवल हिन्दीवालों ने ही नहीं किया। हिन्दी की आवाज पहले अहिन्दी प्रान्तों से उठी—स्वामी दयानन्दजी, महात्मा गांधी जी या बंगाल के नेता हिन्दी भाषी नहीं थे। हिन्दी हमारी आजादी के आंदोलन का एक कार्यक्रम बनी और 14 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत उसका समावेश किया गया। हमारे संविधान का जो पहला मसविदा बना उसमें अंग्रेजी के लिए पांच साल की अवधि देने का तय किया गया था लेकिन श्री गोपालास्वामी अयंगर, श्री अल्लादि कृष्णास्वामी और श्री टी० टी० कृष्णामाचारी, इनके आप्रह पर वह पांच साल की अवधि बढ़ाकर 15 साल की गई। हिन्दी अकों को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय अकों का रूप दिया गया, राष्ट्रभाषा की जगह हिन्दी को राजभाषा कहा गया। उस समय अहिन्दी प्रान्तों से हिन्दी का विरोध नहीं हुआ था। संविधान में जो बातें थी उनका विरोध या तो राजर्षि पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन जी ने किया जो अंग्रेजी नहीं चाहते थे या स्वर्गीय मौलाना आजाद ने किया जो हिन्दी की जगह हिन्दुस्तानी चाहते थे, मगर दक्षिण में हिन्दी के विरोध में आवाज नहीं उठी थी। लेकिन 15 साल में हमने क्या किया? यदि 15 साल में जैसा कि संविधान सभा ने निर्णय किया था और जैसा कि संविधान में लिखा गया था, हिन्दी पढ़ाने की व्यवस्था होती, तो फिर आज जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है, वह नहीं होती। लेकिन केन्द्र तो मद्रास में हिन्दी नहीं ला सकता था। मद्रास की सरकार ने हिन्दी को अनिवार्य नहीं किया, अनिवार्यता हटा ली गई। परीक्षाओं में पास होना भी अनिवार्य नहीं रहा और वहां हिन्दी की पढ़ाई एक मज्जाक बन कर रह गई।

हमारे दक्षिण के दो सदस्य बोले। उनका कहना है कि वे हिन्दी के खिलाफ नहीं हैं, दक्षिण के लोग हिन्दी पढ़ रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि वे ईमानदारी से काम ले। कितने लोग हिन्दी पढ़ रहे हैं और कितने लोग अंग्रेजी पढ़ रहे हैं? क्या यह सच नहीं है

कि हर साल अंग्रेजी पढ़कर निकलने वाले विद्यार्थियों की संख्या ज्यादा है, हिन्दी पढ़ने वाले लोगों की संख्या कम है? यह अनुपात हरदम बना रहेगा। हम अपने को धोखे में न रखें। मैं किसी भी अहिन्दी प्रान्त पर हिन्दी लादने के खिलाफ हूं। मद्रास में जो कुछ हुआ है उसने हमें बड़ा व्यथित किया है। लोकतंत्र की स्थापना के पन्द्रह साल बाद हम अपने देश की भाषा के विरोध में जल कर मर जायें इससे बढ़ कर लज्जा की बात और कोई नहीं हो सकती। दुनियाँ वाले हम पर हंसते हैं। लेकिन जो जल कर मर गए हैं उनकी भावना की कद्र करना चाहता हूं। यह बात अलग है कि वे हिन्दी के विरोध में मर गए, यद्यपि हिन्दी उनके ऊपर लादी नहीं गई है। मद्रास में राजाज हिन्दी में नहीं चलेगा, मद्रास में शिक्षा हिन्दी में नहीं चलेगी। कितने लोग केन्द्रीय सेवाओं में आते हैं? ऐसे लोग भी जल कर मरे हैं जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते थे। उनके दिल में अंग्रेजी का प्रेम कहा से आया? ताज्जुब की बात यह है कि जो लोग जन कर मर गए, उनकी जब से चिट्ठी निकली कि वे हिन्दों के लादे जाने के खिलाफ जल कर मर रहे हैं। सारा शरीर जन गया मगर चिट्ठी नहीं जली। वह चिट्ठी बाद में रखी गई थी। इस बात की भी जांच होनी चाहिए कि किसने लोगों को भड़काया और आत्म-हत्या के लिये प्रेरित किया। डी० एम० के० के एक नेता मेरे साथ माउथ वियानाम गये थे, वहां बौद्धों के जल मरने का दृश्य उन्होंने देखा। ताज्जुब नहीं है वहां में प्रेरणा लेकर उन्होंने अबोध लोगों को, निर्दोष लोगों को, आत्महत्या जैसे बर्बर काम के लिए प्रेरित किया हो।

हम नहीं चाहते कि हिन्दी कितनी प्रान्तीय भाषा की जगह ले। अंग्रेजी जब तक चलेगी तब तक तमिल का विकास नहीं होगा, बंगला समृद्ध नहीं होगी। अंग्रेजी केवल हिन्दी की दुश्मन नहीं है, अंग्रेजी हर एक भारतीय भाषा के विकास के मार्ग में, हमारी

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

संस्कृति की उन्नति के मार्ग में रोड़ा है। मगर मेरा कहना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है। अगर तमिल वाले यह नहीं समझते कि अंग्रेजी चलने से उनकी भाषा को योग्य स्थान नहीं मिलेगा तो मैं उन्हें समझा नहीं सकता। मैं उनसे एक ही प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आप अंग्रेजी चलाना चाहते हैं तो चलाइये, अनादि काल तक अंग्रेजी चलाइये, क्योंकि राजा जी यहीं तो कह रहे हैं कि “यावत् चन्द्र दिवाकर” अंग्रेजी चलनी चाहिये। जब तक गंगा और जमुना की धारा है तब तक अंग्रेजी चलनी चाहिये। किन्तु हमारे लिये अंग्रेजी गुलामी की नौक है। हम अंग्रेजी भाषा के खिलाफ नहीं हैं, अंग्रेजी बड़ी समृद्ध भाषा है, लोग उसे पढ़ें, और केवल लोग अंग्रेजी ही क्यों पढ़ें; फ्रेंच पढ़ें, जर्मन पढ़ें, रशियन पढ़ें। हमारे विद्यार्थी जो इन देशों में छात्रवृत्ति लेकर जाते हैं वे छः महीने में उन देशों की भाषा का काम-चलाऊ ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लाते हैं, लेकिन अगर वे शुरू से राजकाज, शिक्षा दीक्षा, अंग्रेजी में चलाना चाहते हैं, तो चलाएं मगर आचार्य विनोबा भावे का तीसरा सूत्र मान लें, कि हिन्दी प्रान्तों में अंग्रेजी लादी नहीं जायगी।

एक बात इस आंदोलन से साफ हो जानी चाहिये और मैं सरकार से कहता हूँ : जो हिन्दी वाले नहीं हैं उनको संतुष्ट करने के लिए जो भी कदम उठाना हो आप उठाइये लेकिन परमान्ता के लिये हिन्दी प्रान्तों पर अंग्रेजी लदी रहे दत्त स्थिति को छोड़ दीजिए। हम हिन्दी प्रान्तों में अंग्रेजी नहीं चाहते। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कारण है कि जब गुजरात में अंग्रेजी पढ़ाये जाने के सम्बन्ध में वहाँ की सरकार ने एक व्यवस्था की है कि अंग्रेजी आठवें दर्जे से पढ़ाएंगे, पाचवें दर्जे से नहीं, तो केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री अहमदाबाद में जाकर कहते हैं कि नहीं, अंग्रेजी आठवें दर्जे से नहीं पांचवें दर्जे से पढ़ाओ। गुजराती नहीं चाहते कि वे अंग्रेजी पढ़ें तो नई दिल्ली अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में अपनी ताकत

क्यों डाले? हम नहीं चाहते आप हिन्दी को लादें, मगर हम अंग्रेजी चलने नहीं देंगे। हिन्दी प्रान्तों में अंग्रेजी नहीं चलेगी, राजकाज में, शिक्षा में, विश्वविद्यालय में, रेल में, डाक तार में, पलटन में, हम अंग्रेजी को हटाएंगे। इसलिये नहीं कि अंग्रेजी से हमको घृणा है लेकिन इसलिये कि अगर अंग्रेजी चलेगी तो लोकतंत्र मजबूत बन जायेगा, अंग्रेजी अगर चलेगी तो भारत प्रगति नहीं करेगा। जनता का राज जनता की भाषा में चलना चाहिये। आज उत्तर प्रदेश में, बिहार में, राजस्थान में भी अंग्रेजी चल रही है क्योंकि सब नई दिल्ली की तरफ देखते हैं, दिल्ली से प्रेरणा लेते हैं। अगर नई दिल्ली और प्रान्तों में हिन्दी नहीं चला सकती है तो हिन्दी प्रान्तों में उसे अंग्रेजी चलाने का अधिकार नहीं होगा।

मैं एक मुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमारे गैर हिन्दी वाले हिन्दी को जोड़ भाषा (लिंग भाषा) मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, तो ईमानदारी से केवल मद्रास में, नई दिल्ली में कहना काफी नहीं है, भी कहना होगा। अतुल्य बाबू संसद में कहेंगे कि हमने हिन्दी मान ली है, बंगाल में कहेंगे नहीं हिन्दी लदेगी; श्री कामराज श्यामपुर में कहेंगे हिन्दी चलनी चाहिये और वहाँ सिन्डीकेट के सदस्यों के साथ बैठकर हिन्दी के खिलाफ होने वाले आंदोलन में आहुति डालेंगे—यह दुरंगी बात, यह दोमुँही बात बंद होनी चाहिये। आप ईमानदारी से कहिए कि हम हिन्दी नहीं मानेंगे। आप तय कर लीजिए, आप कौन सी भाषा मानते हैं? जिनकी भाषा हिन्दी नहीं है मैं उन्हें दावत देना हूँ कि वे अपनी सभा कर लें और उसमें निश्चय कर लें कि हिन्दी जोड़ भाषा नहीं होगी, हिन्दी राज भाषा नहीं होगी और हम जो भाषा तय करते हैं वह रहेगी। और अगर वे सब मिलकर एक भाषा तय कर लेंगे तो हम हिन्दी वाले पन्द्रह साल में उसकी सीख करके दिखाएंगे, उसे हिन्दी वालों पर लाद दो। मगर अंग्रेजी को हटाओ। लेकिन

वह खुद कोई भाषा तय नहीं करेंगे, हिन्दी नहीं चलने देंगे, और हमारे ऊपर अंग्रेजी लादे रखना चाहते हैं ।

एक सुझाव मैं और देना चाहता हूँ । कहा जाता है कि झगड़ा नौकरियों का है—बच्चों का भविष्य क्या बनेगा ? मेरा निवेदन है कि यूनियन पब्लिक सरविस कमीशन के लिये अंग्रेजी चल रही है । यह सिफारिश पहले भी की गई थी कि अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी और एक अन्य भारतीय भाषा का ज्ञान हर एक उम्मीदवार के लिए आवश्यक कर दिया जाय । अंग्रेजी में परीक्षा हो लेकिन उसके साथ हिन्दी का ज्ञान हो और हिन्दी के साथ एक अन्य भारतीय भाषा का ज्ञान अनिवार्य कर दिया जाय । अभी हिन्दी राज्यों में तीन भाषायी फारमुला नहीं चल रहा । चलना चाहिए । लेकिन जब तक नौकरी के लिए उसकी जरूरत नहीं होगी कोई दक्षिण की भाषा नहीं पढ़ेगा । यूनियन पब्लिक सरविस कमीशन के इम्तहान में जो भी विद्यार्थी बैठे उसे अपनी मातृभाषा के अलावा एक भारतीय भाषा को अनिवार्य रूप से जानना चाहिये । हिन्दी के अलावा एक और भाषा क्या हो, यह अहिन्दी वाले तय कर लें । अगर वे उर्दू तय करेंगे तो हम मान लेंगे, अगर वे पंजाबी के पक्ष में मत देंगे तो हम मान लेंगे । मगर वे एक भाषा तय कर दें और हिन्दी प्रान्तों के जो भी लड़के आएंगे उन्हें उस भाषा का पढ़ना अनिवार्य कर दिया जाय । अगर उन्हें नौकरी लेनी है तो वे उस भाषा को पढ़ेंगे किन्तु नौकरियों के कारण देश के सांस्कृतिक विकास को रोका नहीं जा सकता । कितने लोग केन्द्रीय नौकरियों में आते हैं ? चाहिये तो जनसंख्या के हिसाब से नौकरियों का कोटा तय कर दीजिए, चाहिये तो हिन्दी प्रान्तों को दस साल के लिये केन्द्रीय सेवाओं से वंचित कर दीजिए ।

हम हिन्दी वालों को समझाएंगे जाकर । मगर चित्त भी मेरी पट भी मेरी, यह नहीं

चलेगा । नौकरियों के लिए ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करना कि देश की एकता खतरे में पड़ जाय यह अच्छा नहीं है । इसलिए इस सवाल को जरा ऊंचे धरातल पर देखना होगा । अंग्रेजी पढ़ने में कितनी शक्ति, कितना समय, कितना धन खर्च होता है ? हमारे श्री गोविन्द रेड्डी कह रहे थे कि अंग्रेजी का स्तर गिर रहा है । क्योंकि हवा बदल गई है, वातावरण बदल गया है, लड़के प्राथमिक शिक्षा, माध्यमिक शिक्षा अपनी भाषा में शुरू करते हैं और फिर उनके ऊपर अंग्रेजी लादी जाती है । यह केवल हिन्दी प्रान्तों में नहीं है, अहिन्दी प्रान्तों में भी है । मद्रास में तामिल को, बंगाल में बंगाली को जो स्थान मिलना चाहिए वह नहीं मिला । इसलिए नहीं कि राजभाषा हिन्दी हो गई है, लेकिन इसलिए कि अंग्रेजी वहां पर अभी तक छाई हुई है । कुल दो फीसदी लोग अंग्रेजी जानते हैं । क्या वे चिरंतन काल तक अट्टानबे फीसदी अंग्रेजी न जानने वालों पर राज्य करते रहेंगे ? दो फीसदी लोग ऊंचे वर्ण के हैं, ऊंचे वर्ग के हैं और अट्टानबे फीसदी का शोषण करना चाहते हैं ।

भारतीय भाषाओं को लाने का निर्णय एक क्रान्तिकारी निर्णय है लेकिन अगर उससे देश की एकता खतरे में पड़ती है तो अहिन्दी प्रान्त वाले अंग्रेजी चलाएं मगर हम पटना में, जयपुर में, लखनऊ में अंग्रेजी नहीं चलने देंगे ।

شری این۔ ایم۔ انور : مگر

دلی میں چلنے دیجئے - دلی سب کی ہے -

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर : मगर दिल्ली में चलने दीजिये । दिल्ली सब की है ।]

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : दिल्ली के बारे में मैं एक बात कह दूँ। जो हिन्दी राजभाषा बनी है वह दिल्ली में ही पैदा हुई।

شری این-ایم-انور : ہونے

دو -

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर : होने दो।]

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : हिन्दी में मातृ-भाषा नहीं है, मैं घर में ब्रजभाषा बोलता हूँ, कोई मैथिली बोलता है, कोई भोजपुरी बोलता है . . .

شری این-ایم-انور : کوئی

اردو بولتا ہے -

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर : कोई उर्दू बोलता है।]

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : . . . हमने अपनी बोली छोड़ कर हिन्दी अपनाई, अब हम से इसे भी छोड़ने को कह रहे हो। तो दिल्ली का शासन किस भाषा में चले ? दिल्ली की जनता की भाषा में। दिल्ली के चीफ कमिश्नर कहते हैं कि दिल्ली यूनिन टेरिटरी है और इसलिए यूनिन की लेगुएज पालिसी वहाँ लागू होगी।

شری این-ایم-انور :

بونین سب کی ہے۔ سب زبان والوں

کی ہے -

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर : यूनिन सब की है। सब जवान वालों की है।]

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Tripura is also Hindi ?

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : इसका मतलब यह कि दिल्ली का शामन रीजनल लेगुएज में चले। रीजनल लेगुएज दिल्ली की क्या है ? हिन्दी है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पंजाबी।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : हिन्द के साथ पंजाबी चले कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, उर्दू चल सकती है, मगर अंग्रेजी नहीं . . .

شری این-ایم-انور :

انگریزی بھی ہو -

†[श्री एन० एम० अनवर : अंग्रेजी भी हो।]

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : . . . गृह मंत्रालय को इस सम्बन्ध में स्पष्ट निर्देश देना चाहिए। केन्द्रीय सरकार में आप अंग्रेजी चलाएं मगर दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में अंग्रेजी नहीं चलने दी जायगी।

मैं धमकी देना नहीं चाहता, अगर आन्दोलन मद्रास में हो सकता है तो भावनाएं और जगह भी उभारी जा सकती हैं। हमारी देशभक्ति को कसौटी पर मत कसिए। हम राष्ट्र की एकता चाहते हैं। जो लोग अंग्रेजी के द्वारा राष्ट्र की एकता की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं वे राष्ट्र की एकता का मतलब नहीं समझते। राष्ट्र की सच्ची एकता तब पैदा होगी जब भारतीय भाषाएं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करेंगी। और अगर भारतीय भाषाएं हर जगह अपना स्थान ग्रहण कर लें तो फिर “लिक लैंगुएज” के बनने में देर नहीं होगी। अभी मद्रास में तमिल नहीं आई, बंगाल में बंगला नहीं आई इसलिए वहां के लोगों को हिन्दी के खिलाफ भड़काया जा सकता है। एक बार वहां के आम आदमी समझ जाएं कि दो फीसदी अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हमें गुलाम रखने के लिए हिन्दी के विरोध का नाग लगा रहे हैं तो फिर अंग्रेजी नहीं रहेगी। अंग्रेजी नई दिल्ली से नहीं जायगी, अंग्रेजी को जाना होगा तो वह मद्रास से जाएगी, अंग्रेजी बंगाल से जायगी। अब जरा घड़ी की सुई को दूसरा रख दे कर घुमाना होगा। हिन्दी प्रान्तों को पूरा काम करना है। मुझे आशा है कि महाराष्ट्र भी, गुजरात भी, इसमें साथ देगा कि हम अंग्रेजी नहीं चलने देंगे।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश) अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी सम्माननीय सदस्य ने अपना भाषण इस वाक्य से प्रारम्भ किया कि वे इसे दुर्भाग्य मानते हैं कि वे हिन्दी प्रदेश और हिन्दी-भाषी क्षेत्र में पैदा हुए। मैं उल्टी बात कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इसे सौभाग्य मानता हूँ कि हिन्दी क्षेत्र में मेरा जन्म हुआ और इसलिए कि हिन्दी ने जो सम्कार दिए हैं उनसे मेरी समझ में यह बात आई कि हिन्दी भाषा किसी अन्य भाषा से दुश्मनी नहीं रखती, विरोध नहीं रखती। हिन्दी के संस्कार ऐसे हैं कि इसने इन चौदह भाषाओं को बराबरी से स्वीकार किया है। उनको लिया दिया है। विचारों के और शब्दों के आदान-प्रदान हुए हैं और इस बात के उदाहरण मौजूद हैं। विभिन्न भाषाओं के साहित्य में इस प्रकार के उदाहरण मौजूद हैं। हिन्दी एक प्रकार से मध्य देश की भाषा है और मध्य का यह स्वभाव होता है कि दिशाओं की तरफ फैले और दिशाओं का यह स्वभाव होता है कि केन्द्र की तरफ सिमटे। यह सम्बन्ध बराबर बहुत दिनों से चला आ रहा है। क्या हिन्दी में मराठी के अच्छे से अच्छे साहित्य का अनुवाद नहीं है, क्या हिन्दी भाषा में बंगाली के अच्छे से अच्छे साहित्य का स्थान नहीं है, क्या हिन्दी भाषा में तमिल भाषा के अच्छे से अच्छे कवि का सम्मान नहीं किया गया है? मैं उस दिन की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ—जिस 26 जनवरी 1965 का जिक्र हो रहा है उसके एक दिन पहले यहाँ 25 जनवरी को चौदह भाषाओं के प्रतिनिधि कवि एकत्रित हुए और उन्होंने अपनी अपनी भाषाओं के भावों की अभिव्यक्ति की, यहाँ की दिल्ली की जनता के सामने की, जो कि सारे भारतवर्ष में फैली और लोगों के पास सारी भाषाओं को पहुँचाने का माध्यम यह हिन्दी भाषा रही और हिन्दी भाषा के माध्यम से वे कविताएँ फैली। हम चौदह लोग, चौदह भाषाओं के प्रतिनिधि आपस में ऐसे मेलजोल

से बैठे थे कि हम हैगन हैं कि 26 जनवरी को यह क्या स्थिति पैदा हो गई दक्षिण में, जो कि नहीं होनी चाहिए थी।

मेरी समझ में तो यह बात आती है कि 26 जनवरी को जो हुआ वह सिर्फ इतना हुआ कि हम जो अभी तक नहीं कह सकते थे—यह तो कह सकते थे कि हमारा देश भारत है मगर विदेश में कोई पूछे कि तुम्हारे देश की कौन भाषा है जिसका हम जवाब नहीं दे सकते थे, तो 26 जनवरी 1965 को इस योग्य हुए कि यह कह सके कि हमारा देश जो है उसकी अमुक भाषा है और वह यह है। इस योग्य हुए। 26 जनवरी को, इस घोषणा को, इस तरह से नहीं लिया जाना चाहिए था। घोषणा का जिक्र आया, अभी भूपेश जी ने उस घोषणा का जिक्र किया जो कि महामंत्रों जी ने उस दिन की थी। उसमें स्पष्ट रूप से इस बात का उल्लेख है कि अंग्रेजी भाषा को वह दक्षिण से हटाना नहीं चाहते, वह जोड़ की भाषा बनी रहे और तब तक बनी रहे जब तक कि यह न हो जाय कि वहाँ के लोग हिन्दी में अभिव्यक्ति करने लगे। तो जब ऐसी स्थिति हो तब यह सब क्यों होना चाहिए। अभी हमारे भाई वाजपेयी जी ने बहुत ठीक कहा और मुझे भी यह कहना है कि किसी भाषा का दूसरे भाषा के प्रति यदि निरस्कार होगा तो वह गडबड है। भाषाओं का एक स्वरूप है। भाषाएँ आपस में नहीं लड़ती। विचार लड़ते हैं भाषा के माध्यम से और हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हम लड़ पड़ते हैं। हाथा-पाई तक, खून खराबी तक पहुँच जाते हैं। असल में होना यह था कि हिन्दी के विरोध में लोगों को नहीं भरा गया होता, उसे काला दिवस नहीं कहा गया होता, जो कि वास्तव में उजाले का दिवस था, प्रकाश का दिवस था, जो हमको इस योग्य बना रहा था कि हम अपनी भाषा का गर्व कर सकें। मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्ता को याद दिलाता हूँ कि कुछ साल पहले यहाँ रूस से एक कलचरल अटैची

[पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

आए थे, वाराणसीका उनका नाम था और वह हर हिन्दी की सभाओं में जा कर इस बात की चुनौती दिया करते थे, हिन्दी में बोल कर, वह रुसी थे और हिन्दी जानते थे, हिन्दी के लिए बोलते थे और उनको याद होगा कि एक सभा में, इंदौर के कालिदास ममारोह में जा कर उन्होंने इस बात की चुनौती दी कि आप इस योग्य हैं कि आपकी भाषा है और उसमें आप क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं? बार बार अंग्रेजी क्यों आपके सामने आती है? वहां से यह चुनौती आई और इस चुनौती का सीधा सादा उत्तर अब हमारे पास है।

यह काला दिवस क्या है, यह काला दिवस मनाने के कारण क्या है? यही जड़ है, यही बुनियाद है जिसने खूनखराबी पैदा की और जिससे दक्षिण में ये सब बातें पैदा हुईं जो हमारे सामने आईं वे बड़ी दुखपूर्ण हैं जिसमें बहुत से लोग काम आए। गलत हुआ सारा का सारा काम। आज हमें यह सोचना है कि हम किस दिशा में चल रहे हैं। हम उल्टे चल नहीं सकते जहां से चलना हम तय कर चुके हैं। स्वतंत्रता के आंदोलन के समय, कांस्टीट्यू-एंट एसेम्बली के समय, विधान निर्मात्री सभा के समय और उसके आगे पार्लियामेंट के समय जो हम निर्णय ले चुके हैं उसके आगे ही बढ़ सकते हैं, पीछे लौटना संभव नहीं है, प्रवाह उल्टा कभी नहीं लौटता है।

परन्तु यह बात सही कही गई कि हम अंग्रेजी भाषा का भी उतना ही सम्मान करें। जैसे अन्य भाषाओं में कवि हैं, लेखक हैं, उनके नाम से भाषाएं चलती हैं उमी प्रकार जब तक अंग्रेजी में अच्छे कवि हैं, अच्छा साहित्य है वह कैसे मिट सकती है और जिनको उसके माध्यम से सुविधा है वे जब तक उसका उपयोग करना चाहें करें, इसमें कोई झगड़ा पैदा नहीं होता। (समय की घंटी।)

मैं उस कार्यवाही के भी खिलाफ हूं जो कि जनसंघ के माध्यम से बोर्डों को काला करने

की बात हो रही है। जिस भाषा का विरोध अभी कहा गया कि वह नहीं होना चाहिये उसको पोछा जा रहा है। पोछने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, अपने आप स्थिति स्पष्ट हो जायेगी। ऐसी स्थिति बन गई है कि उसको काले आंदोलन का स्वरूप नहीं दिया जाय। यह काला हट जायेगा तो उजाला हो जायेगा।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) : Before I commence my speech, let me congratulate Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Govinda Reddy for their wonderful and enlightened speech. Sir, I must at this juncture express my deep sorrow and disappointment on the failure of this Government to understand the feelings of the people of the South. Sir, let me tell you at the outset that I am not an enemy of this Government nor an enemy of Hindi. I want that this Government should help the people to understand each other whereas this Government has taken a partisan view which is really unhelpful. This led to dangerous consequences. I am very sorry, Sir, our Home Minister made a speech in the Lok Sabha some two days ago. In his speech he has not cleared the already confused position. On the other hand he had confused the already confused state.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But that was some police Sub-Inspector's speech.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I would rather say it was a constable's speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I accept the amendment.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : It is unfortunate that we are living in a multiple society where 18 languages are spoken. Till the Britishers came we had so many divisions of this country. We had as many as 500 kingdoms in this sub-continent. It was the Britishers who first created an artificial unity, and later it was followed by our great Bapuji, Mahatma Gandhi, who by his love for one and all and by his sincere devotion

to service and love for all brought about this natural unity.

Sir, our nation even now is not strong enough. It is not as strong as any other nation in the world. We are in an infant stage and what we say is, that we should do nothing that would go against the building up of this nation. But what this Government is doing is exactly the opposite of what it should not do.

There is a feeling in the Southern States today that Hindi is being imposed upon them. The feeling is very intense and deep-rooted. You cannot easily erase this feeling by a few broadcasts by some Ministers. Even Mr. Kamaraja, a great friend of North and also a great friend of the Hindi protagonists and the captain of the Congress band wagon, had to admit this a few days ago when he said that opposition to Hindi in Tamilnad dates back to 1937. So it is agreed on all fronts that there is opposition to Hindi in Tamilnad, in the Southern States. The recent happenings demonstrate how Andhra, Kerala, and Mysore are also very much agitated. The Hindi protagonists and the Government have not done anything so far to change the minds of those who oppose Hindi. On the other hand, the present Government by its hasty actions in sending out circulars in Hindi and issuing provocative statements worsened the situation. Our great Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur, on the 20th of this month made a speech somewhere in Delhi in which he said that now the time has come for us to conduct all our conferences hereafter in Hindi. On the 25th, when Madras was in turmoil, he issued another statement exhorting that we must work to accelerate the switch-over to Hindi, when he knew full well that there was trouble and chaos in the Madras State. He knew also that the student population was very much agitated, they were having a big ordeal to convince the local Government that their fears were genuine. So such was the situation when this pronouncement was made that Hindi would become the official language.

The D.M.K., which has been against Hindi for the past two decades, declared that they would not accept Hindi and declared that the day when Hindi comes would be observed as a mourning day.

There is nothing new or novel about that. Our great Bengal leader, late Dr. B. C. Roy, observed one of the Independence days as a mourning day when the question of Berubari came up. Even he is reported to have told his Governor that she should not switch on the lights at Raj Bhawan on that day. I am told that the Governor took strong objection to this and said that Dr. Roy could not dictate to her. I am told, the late Dr. Roy told her—I do not know how far it is correct—that if she said so, she could have the electric connection direct from Delhi. So long as the Raj Bhawan was in Calcutta, he must dictate, what he wants. This is what Dr. B. C. Roy said, I am told. Likewise the D.M.K. announced that they would celebrate it as the mourning day. And it so happened that the day coincided with our Republic Day. If Hindi had come a day earlier or later, things would have been different. I must tell you Sir, that the D.M.K. had always associated itself with the earlier celebrations of both Independence Day and Republic Day since 1947. Mr. Annadurai, who is an hon. Member of this House, left his previous Party, that is, the D. K. Party mostly on this ground. The same D. K. Party has now become a favourite of the Congress Party. Sir, for this he received all-round appreciation in Tamilnad. You have to understand him properly. But unfortunately that understanding is very much lacking in this Government. This Government is treating them worse than the Chinese. They think they are aliens. They think they are to be pitted against and all that.

The other day I was hearing with my own ears the Home Minister's reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha. This Government was demanding of the D.M.K. Party leader to give up his demand for separation. And at long last when he gave up that demand, these people are calling them as cowards for having given up that demand. How cheap is it to term the action of the D.M.K. as coward? Is it to be taken as a serious statement by a responsible Minister?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Who is that Minister?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Mr. Nanda, the Home Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He has been talking too much.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, the Madras Government wanted to use the Republic Day as a cover to wipe out the D.M.K. by brute force that they have as Government. It is a blunder you committed on your part. The police and the military that you sent up there acted as if they were possessed by the ghosts of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. Even the students have not escaped the wrath of your might. When they went to meet the Chief Minister, they were abused by him and insulted, to say the least, in an indecent manner. Students were dubbed as having sold their souls for a packet of mutton biryani to stage the demonstration. When students complained that they were taught only in Hindi in the N.C.C. camp, the Chief Minister retorted that if they wore sarees instead of pants they would get exemption from the N.C.C.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about burning of railway stations ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Have some patience. Do not provoke me. I ask the House, through you, Sir, how this House would have reacted to that insult if they were in the shoes of the students. So the students' agitation gained momentum in Tamilnad and spread to the other States. Who is to blame for this ? If you ask me, I would squarely place the blame on the head of this Government and their agents, that is, the Madras Government, and also to a great extent on the broad shoulders of Mr. Kamaraj.

They are the guilty people and not the students of my State, who are the cream of our future leadership.

This Government had thought that by wiping out the D.M.K. in Madras they would wipe out all the opposition for their maladministration. I know also there was a conspiracy to do maximum bodily harm to the D.M.K. leader, Mr. Annadurai. When I referred this rumour to an important quarter. . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have to finish now.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, I want a few minutes more. When I referred this matter to an important quarter in the D.M.K., they confirmed it. They said it was a fact. Well, luckily that had not happened. Otherwise the whole South would have been in flames. Sir, even now persecution is in full swing. I have received a number of telegrams. As I had no time I am not able to read them out. Even now people are arrested under the D.I.R. and taken to places 300 or 400 miles away from Madras city. D.I.R. is to be used against the enemies of the State, and if anyone is enemy number one, it is the Government that had brought about all this disquiet, unrest and upheaval, and suffering for our people, and this Government that has created all this should therefore be proceeded against under the D.I.R.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please finish now

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Yes, Sir, I am finishing, and if I finish my speech abruptly without placing any concrete ideas, then I may be looked down as one making only destructive criticism without any constructive suggestions to offer. Now this is the solution to solve the problem. If we want to have India united, we must maintain the *status quo*, that is, retain English as the official language. Or, if you want to have India divided, then have Hindi. I have no complaints against those who advocate Hindi in a peaceable manner. Mr. Vajpayee was speaking as if we were all hankering after petty jobs here and his speech gave me the impression that it was a charity that he was bestowing upon us. Not at all.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will you please conclude now ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : So if you want India united, let us have English.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. I am sorry to be so rude, but since I have announced already the time factor, Members should also keep that in view.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I am coming from that part, and should I not be given enough time to speak, to tell you the actual condition? We have been branded as mischief-makers. Mr. Vajpayee was saying that some D.M.K. leaders had been to South Vietnam and seeing self-immolation there, advocated the same in the State of Madras. I should say it is a lie.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I speak with a heavy heart. I feel it, and all of us are suffering from the anguish caused by all that happened in South India. Our sympathies go to those that suffered due to disturbances in the State of Madras or Andhra or any other State. It is very easy, Sir, to prove that if the Government had taken sufficient care to inform the people at large what their actual policy was and if the Government had tried to take into consideration the feelings and sentiments of the people at large, the situation might have been saved, or at least might not have taken the ugly shape that it did take. It is also easy, Sir, to prove that if the Hindi enthusiasts had been a bit restrained in their enthusiasm and if certain leaders and parties of South India had not tried to foment agitation the way they did, the situation might not have taken that ugly shape. All the same, Sir, I am not interested today in explaining in detail what faults were ours and theirs. I only feel that the situation demands constructive statesmanship and positive leadership. Those who stand for English, I hope, would remember that English is, by and large, a foreign language and can be used as a medium of communication for our national purposes only as a temporary expedient, as a concession to our incapacity to transact business in an indigenous language of ours. On the other hand, those who stand for Hindi must also remember that their anti-English agitation is resented by many Indians, that this agitation has ceased to have an anti-imperialist impact on a great many Indians and that it has tended to generate even resistance against Hindi.

My friend, Mr. Reddy, was candid enough to say that the people of South India resent this agitation regarding "Hate English" though they are not against Hindi, that they are studying Hindi and that they are not

very fond of English. Constructive statesmanship therefore demands of us to stop, on the one hand, the anti-English agitation, and on the other hand to stop the anti-Hindi agitation. It also requires of us to promote the cause of Hindi and other Indian languages in a manner whereby cultural and social fellowship is fostered and promoted.

Sir, it hardly behoves our national dignity to equate Hindi or any other Indian language with any foreign language, be it English, French or Russian. Nor does it befit our statesmanship to so promote the cause of Hindi as to cause anguish or dismay among a large section of our countrymen, to give them an impression of imposition and to goad them to cry in anguish "Hindi imperialism". This impression of imposition has to be removed and Hindi enthusiasts have a great responsibility in this matter.

My friend, Mr. Vajpayee, reminded us that the cause of Hindi was promoted by great Indians born in Gujarat, like Swami Dayanand and Mahatma Gandhi, and I still feel, Sir, that Hindi can become the common Indian language or our national language only when the cause of Hindi will be taken up by some great leader who is not born in a Hindi area and I hope, Sir, that the Hindi enthusiasts would see that those belonging to non-Hindi States, who wish to promote the cause of Hindi, have an opportunity to promote the cause of Hindi in a manner they think proper and best.

I feel that cultural fellowship should be our watchword. We are a nation, not a conglomeration of nations. But the nation is composed of a number of linguistic units. To forge national unity in India, therefore, is not as easy a task as it would have been if all Indians had been speaking the same language. And yet, if there is a will to promote national unity, in the midst of linguistic diversities, national unity can be promoted and it should be promoted. We must all remember that the language is for the nation and the nation is not for the language and the cause of the language has to be so promoted that thereby national unity is fostered and strengthened rather than weakened. In order to promote cultural fellowship a few things are important, in my

[Prof. M. B. Lall.]

opinion. Firstly, both anti-Hindi and anti-English propaganda must stop. Instead of talking in terms of something negative, let us talk in terms that are positive. The children of linguistic minorities in each State must have adequate facilities for education in their mother-tongue. The nation is committed to that idea. But from various States, be it Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or any other State, there are complaints that the children of the linguistic minorities are not having adequate facilities for education in their own mother-tongue. Sir, we were wise enough to formulate the three-language formula, but unfortunately this three-language formula is not being implemented in many States. But it should be properly implemented both in spirit and in the letter. The Government of Uttar Pradesh must see that students in Uttar Pradesh are imparted education in one other modern Indian language besides Hindi. The substitution of Sanskrit for a modern Indian language just to satisfy the three-language formula will not satisfy the people of the non-Hindi-speaking States. In the same manner, I feel Madras must be prepared to educate their students in Hindi with greater care than is being devoted to it. There is something in what Mr. Vajpayee says that more students are studying English than are studying Hindi. That fact, I hope, will be duly taken note of by the representatives of South India present here in this House. Non-Hindi-speaking Indians, I am sure, must have facilities to transact business with the Centre in English. It has even been said, "Let us have all the fourteen Indian languages for transacting business with the Centre." This is an administrative impossibility. Let us not talk of things which cannot be implemented. Therefore, if there are persons who find it difficult to transact business in Hindi, let them be allowed to transact business in English at least for the time being. *(Time bell rings)*. I will finish in a minute.

Again, I feel that the Centre must be prepared to promote the advancement of all Indian languages in a coordinated manner. Something is being done in that direction, but more can be done by the Centre. I had invited the attention of the Education Minister some time back, when I was talking on the language question in this House, to this matter. Again I wish to say that the people

of the whole India must feel that the Union Government is anxious to promote the advancement of other Indian languages as much as the cause of Hindi. And lastly, Sir . . .

(Time bell rings)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am extremely sorry.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Madras has been the most unfortunate place in India in the last two months because it witnessed two tragedies. One was at Rameswaran where a tidal wave struck and within a few minutes many people lost their lives and crores of rupees worth of property was lost. The other wave was a human wave, a wave of enthusiasm, of violence and fury which raved over the whole of Tamilnad for four days and as a result of it more than 60 persons died, six inspectors of police were burnt alive and five persons poured petrol on themselves and burnt themselves at public places. It is a matter of great tragedy and it is a matter of great concern for all in Tamilnad and all in South India, and indeed for the whole of India that such ghastly things should have taken place. I want you to remember this aspect and consider this issue, this language issue with sympathy, understanding and tact.

I was rather taken aback by the speech of my hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee. I have great regard for him, but either he has misunderstood the viewpoint or has deliberately distorted the viewpoint. I don't know. I should like to inform him that the question is not one of English or Hindi. We want English and Hindi to continue together. We have stood by Gandhiji ever since 1919 when we accepted his leadership. We are one nation and we accept Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India and we stand solemnly and solidly by that and I can assume my hon. friend that we shall continue to do so. Let not Tamilnad be misunderstood by the propaganda of one or two individuals or one or two political parties, who are anti-Hindi and who are even anti-national unity. We are with you and the whole of Madras—barring a few—is solidly behind the Congress and we want you to strengthen us and give us courage.

I was amazed to hear Mr. Vajpayee say that he could not stand the sight of English.

I was reminded of the Vandals who came to Rome and tried to destroy the culture and civilization of Rome. But the Vandals were destroyed and the culture remained. Similarly the culture of India will remain, irrespective of whether they tar the English boards and posters here or the Hindi posters in Madras. The Vandals will cease to exist and the civilisation and culture will live for ages and ages, and the people who are lighting the fire will be consumed by that fire.

I was amused to hear Mr. Vajpayee taking objection to English because English is foreign. Shri Govinda Reddy has pointed out that there are many other things foreign. Even Hindi is a foreign language because it has been enriched by Urdu. Mr. Vajpayee has no objection to travel by a French Caravelle or to eat American wheat or Bangkok rice or to use machinery from Czechoslovakia or to plough with Russian tractors or to have a Swiss wrist watch and a transistor from Japan. Then why object to the English language? As a matter of fact, we must eliminate everything foreign, including English. But till we can replace them with something we have to keep them. I do not think Mr. Vajpayee will go to the extent of saying that we must not get American arms or Czechoslovakian machinery and that we shall have nothing but Indian weapons and nothing else. In pure logic it is *reductio ad absurdum*. I do agree with people who say that violence must not be encouraged and while supporting the demand of Madras I am not saying that violence should be tolerated. Violence must be put down with all ruthlessness because violence has no place in democracy. But let us not confuse the issue and violence should not be completely taken as an excuse of denying the fundamental and legitimate rights of the people.

If there are hunger riots demanding food, if people are denied food, if people starve and if people rise on that, will you, on that score, refuse them food just because they started violent action? I do not think any reasonable statesman who has foresight, thinking and who has got the general background will do this, will refuse food because people started violent action. Go into the basic question and solve it to the satisfaction of all. We here say that English and Hindi

shall continue for ever. I would only like to say that we have been more misunderstood and misrepresented. When there was agitation and resentment, Ministers themselves intervened. I would like to say that when people have first hand knowledge they will be able to appreciate the thing better. You have been good enough to send Parliamentary delegations to Nagaland. You have been good enough to send Members of Parliament to other places where there had been trouble. I would appeal here also to you, Sir, that if you or the Government would care to send a team of Members of Parliament to go into the question, it would be better. Let them go into the question, assess the situation. I do not want our words to be taken as gospel truth. Let other people from the Hindi areas, better still, those who think that we are using this as a political weapon to bamboozle the Central Government go there and see for themselves. They will realise that we are speaking the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, to use court language. Let them make a study and I am sure that most of the Members will come back with the feeling that there is a genuine grievance amongst the people of Tamilnad that they are being treated as second class citizens. There can be no greater protagonist of Hindi than Shri Ram Manohar Lohia. He is considered as an extremist. He visited Hyderabad and this did him some good. He has said that the compulsory study of Hindi must be stopped. He has said that the younger generation of Tamilnad, Kerala and Bengal are more violently anti-Hindi than the older persons. Hindi is a meaningless adjunct which must be removed, he says. He would think of devising a totally new policy. I am sure, Sir, that Members like Shri Vajpayee, if they go to Madras, Tripura, Calcutta, Trivandrum, etc., will return more enlightened than the Buddha himself and preach for ourselves.

I would like again to assure, Sir, that we are solidly at one. There should be no chance of misunderstanding on this issue, which has been created perhaps because of the activities of the D.M.K. or the Swatantra Party. These parties have taken advantage of the situation and have exploited it for their own party aims. There is a genuine feeling that it is a mass upsurge, mass feeling unanimously shared by every house and

[Shri I. S. Pattabiraman.]

every home in Tamilnad and I am sure the statesmanship of all the Members of Parliament will not forget the realities of the situation but will look at the real issue. We would like to have trust. We have trust and we will continue with that trust of our leaders, the wisdom of Parliament and we are sure that justice will be done to us and that the difficulties will be removed at an early date. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Thank you. You have finished in nine minutes. You said in nine minutes what others take twelve minutes to say.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I feel very sad, more sad that I can say, at this debate. I had imagined that we were a united nation, that the administrative unity which Britain had given us had also enabled us to evolve political unity. I feel disillusioned. I think that we have in this country a good deal of linguistic fanaticism and I will not conceal from this House the fact that for this linguistic fanaticism, partly of the responsibility or a great part of the responsibility resides with the Hindi-speaking people of this country. They have not cared to appreciate the feelings of the people of the South or the proud people of Bengal and it is, therefore, inevitable that there should be a feeling of resentment at the imposition of a language which has been accepted as the National Language by the Constitution. Mr. Chairman, we live in a scientific and technological age. We have to make rapid progress so that we may be able to solve our problems of poverty and underemployment. Is this the time to waste on these linguistic differences ? I do not think so. I think the solution was not a difficult one. I was re-reading my speech on the debate that we had on the Official Language Bill and the line that I took was that it was necessary in the interests of this country to incorporate in a statutory form—and it is not beyond the capacity of legal draftsmanship to so incorporate—these assurances. Had that been done, the South would have felt reassured. I do not know what a resolution means. I am not satisfied with the word 'resolution'. A resolution of the House of Commons, as we lawyers know—and the same is the case with us—has no binding

legal effect and I think, therefore, that the South was entitled and is entitled to demand some statutory assurance regarding the continuance of English as an additional language till such time as they are able to come into line with the people of the North. We have to remember that we have got fourteen national languages or regional languages in this country and I must pay my tribute to Shri Bhupesh Gupta for the speech that he delivered on this question. I honestly felt that I was, though sitting on these benches, in large agreement with the point of view which he presented before us.

PROF. M. B. LAL : You always accept him, by and large.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : Not only on the language but on other issues also you agree with him.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : 'Other issues also' might mean anything but there comes a stage in one's life when one . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Don't say that because the Jan Sangh will come with a brush and tar.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : . . . must be true to oneself and I think it is a testing time for conscience. I think we have not behaved in the right way. We have never shown the South the courtesy of learning any of their languages. We have never shown the South the courtesy of understanding the spirit of their culture.

And we wish to impose our own way of life, our own language on them. That is the feeling we have generated in the South; that is the feeling we have generated in Bengal and it will be an evil day for this country when this feeling spreads. Mr. Chairman, it is very easy to condemn people who resort to violence. I condemn them but I cannot withhold my admiration for the young men who burnt themselves alive. No one applauds suicide; there must have been some cause, some reason, for them to do so. Just go deeper into this matter; just try to analyse the causes which led

them to do a thing like that. You want to introduce, for example, Hindi as a medium of expression in the examinations simultaneously with English. I have been an examiner for very nearly forty years and I find that it is hard for an examiner to maintain equality of standards even when he is examining in a definite language. How will you be able to find a formula which will enable examiners to discover the merit of two candidates one of whom answers a question in Hindi and the other answers it in English? I am not a lover of the English language.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : I am; I do not deny it but I am not one of those who takes pride in this. I have some knowledge of the English language. I know that English is an international language today and we shall be setting back the clock of progress if we attacked the study of English language in our schools and our colleges. We were helped in our struggle (Interruptions). We have to be thankful to the English people that, whatever may have been their reasons, they introduced us to the English language and I should like to know whether it is possible for our young men to get a broad vision of their subjects by reading only Hindi authors of first rate importance.

(Time bell rings)

Sir, I will not abuse your patience and I will only wind up by saying that in this matter my sympathies are entirely, a hundred per cent, with the South and I agree with the view of Mr. Pattabhiraman that both Hindi and English should be recognised for the time-being.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, भाषा की समस्या को इस सरकार ने सत्रह साल तक इस ढंग से चलाया कि आज देश की परिस्थिति इस स्तर पर लाई गई कि हिन्दी हो या अंग्रेजी आज हमारे सामने यह सवाल उठाया जाता है कि हिन्दी होगी या

अंग्रेजी होगी। लेकिन मैं आपके सामने इस बात को रखना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के लिये अंग्रेजी का कोई सवाल नहीं उठता। असल में सवाल यह होना चाहिये कि हिन्दी हो या प्रान्तीय भाषाएं। देश की कौन सी भाषा में राजकाज चले इस चीज पर हम वादविवाद करते तो कुछ समझ में आता लेकिन अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि गांधी जी के बाद जितने भी लोग कांग्रेस के अंदर हैं और सत्ता में बैठे हुए हैं, कांग्रेस की तरफ से वक्तृता कर रहे हैं वे सब लोग इस मसले को खराब करते गए हैं और धीरे-धीरे करके हिन्दी लाने की जो नीति चलाई वह सत्रह साल तक ऐसे चलाई कि आज ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है कि अब हिन्दी को धीरे-धीरे पीछे हटाया जा रहा है। मैं हिन्दी का समर्थक नहीं हूँ, मैं चाहता हूँ कि अगर हिन्दुस्तानी में कोई अपनी दूसरी भाषा में सरकारी कामकाज हो, चाहे वह हिन्दुस्तान की कोई भी प्रान्तीय भाषा हो, तो मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं। तामिल हिन्दुस्तान की राजभाषा हो सकती है, इसमें मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं है और मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में तामिल जानने वालों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है बनिस्वत अंग्रेजी जानने वालों के। अगर इस चीज को संख्या के आधार पर तय करना चाहते हैं तो भी मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में किसी भी प्रान्तीय भाषा में बोलने वाले लोगों की संख्या अंग्रेजी बोलने वालों से ज्यादा होगी। लेकिन आज परिस्थिति गम्भीर है और इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी मैं सरकारी पार्टी के ऊपर रखना चाहता हूँ कि उनके द्वारा दो जीभ की भाषा चलती है, कोई कुछ कहता है कोई कुछ कहता है। जब मैं चागला साहब का एक बयान सुनता हूँ तो मुझे लगता है मैं इंग्लैण्ड के नाइट का वक्तव्य सुन रहा हूँ और कभी गोविन्द दाम का कथन सुनता हूँ तो दूसरे ढंग का सुनता हूँ। तो यह दो जीभ का जानवर बहुत खतरनाक है। यह जो दो जीभ की भाषा वाली नीति उन्होंने चलाई है इसका परिणाम यह हुआ

[श्री गोड़े भुराहरि]

है कि आज दक्षिण में इसका विरोध है। मैं इस चीज को मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि दक्षिण में जो नौजवान हैं वे आज हिन्दी के ज्यादा विरोधी हैं बनसिबत सन 1942 के नौजवानों के जब कि दूसरा जमाना था और उस वक्त वहाँ के लोग हिन्दी को अपनी भाषा बनाने के लिये तैयार थे। उसी मद्रास में जहाँ दक्षिण भारत हिन्दी प्रचार सभा का कार्य बड़े जोरों के साथ चला करता था आज वहाँ इसके प्रति विरोध है। किसका विरोध है? उन्हीं नौजवानों द्वारा विरोध है, जो सत्रह सत्रह साल के नौजवान इस सरकार ने अपने कार्यकाल में पैदा किये हैं। तो उन्हीं नौजवानों की तरफ से विरोध है। और क्या वजह है कि उनकी सारी नीति के फलस्वरूप हिन्दुस्तान में अपनी राजभाषा की बढोत्तरी करने के बजाय ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर दी गई है कि सत्रह साल में जिस सरकार ने इस देश के नौजवानों को पैदा किया है वे आज इसकी मुखालिफत कर रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि अगर इस समस्या का हल निकालना है तो पहले इस सरकार की बैठक हो, सरकार के लोग आपस में बैठें, उस बैठक में सभी प्रान्तों के लोग हों और सब आपस में बैठकर एक नीति तय करें और उसको देश के सामने और सदन के सामने लेकर आए। आज दो जीभ से बोलने में कोई फायदा नहीं है। भाषा की समस्या पर सरकार की कोई नीति नहीं है और दो कांग्रेसी जब बोलते हैं तो अलग-अलग भाषा में बोलते हैं, अलग-अलग नीति बनाते हैं। इस तरह से काम नहीं चलेगा। पहले आपस में तय करो कौन सी नीति चलेगी इस देश में, फिर हम लोगों को मौका मिलेगा आपकी नीति की आलोचना करने का। मैं आपको सुझाव देना चाहूँगा अगर आप लोग इस भाषा की समस्या को ठीक करना चाहते हैं तो जितने भी देश के नेता हैं, विभिन्न पार्टियों के नेता हैं सबकी बैठक बुलाओ और इस मसले पर एक राय से विचार करो। लेकिन एक चीज

साफ हो जानी चाहिये कि अंग्रेजी भाषा इस देश में चलने वाली नहीं है। पहले अंग्रेजी को खत्म करो उसके बाद जो नीति अपनाओगे वह हम लोगों को मंजूर होगी। मैं डी० एम० के० के दोस्तों से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर डी० एम० के० चाहता है हिन्दुस्तान में यह भाषा का मसला हल हो तो मैं उनको विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी को हटाकर वे चाहे जो भी भाषा संबंधी नीति पेश करेंगे उसको मानने के लिये हम सब तैयार होंगे और मैं जानता हूँ जो हिन्दी इलाके में बसने वाले हैं वे भी मानने के लिये तैयार होंगे। लेकिन घुमा फिरा कर एक ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा करना जिससे अंग्रेजी को कायम करने की कोशिश हो इस देश में, मैं कहूँगा यह देशद्रोह की बात है। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को हर सरकारी कामकाज से वंचित रखने के लिये एक साजिश हो रही है। मैं जानता हूँ कि लोग अंग्रेजी को कायम रखने की बात करते हैं। उनके मन में एक उद्देश्य यह है कि वे चाहते हैं कि मुट्ठी भर लोग जो अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे हैं उनके हाथ में सारी शासन की बागडोर हो। वे नहीं जानते जनता के सामने जायें, वे नहीं चाहते कि आम जनता के हाथ में कामकाज करने की बागडोर आए, उसके हाथ में शक्ति आए और इसलिये वह चाहते हैं कि कोई ऐसी भाषा में काम किया जाये जो सिर्फ एक मुट्ठी भर लोगों की जानकारी में हो। इसलिये मैं जानता हूँ कि इस समय जो नीति चल रही है वह पहले से ही चलती आ रही है जब कि हमारे देश में मुगलों का राज्य था। उस समय जो नीति राजा प्रजा के साथ चलाते थे वही नीति आजकल चलाई जा रही है। उस समय भी कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोग देश का शासन चलाते थे और आज भी वही नीति सरकार चलाना चाहती है ताकि उनके ही हाथ में सारी बागडोर रहे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब इस नीति को चलाने की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है अगर इस तरह की कोई परिस्थिति आई कि सरकार अंग्रेजी जनता पर लादना चाहती है तो फिर आप

जान लीजिये कि इस दश में विद्रोह होकर रहेगा। मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी प्रदेशों में अंग्रेजी लादने की क्या जरूरत पड़ गई है। यह कहना कि जो हिन्दी वाले प्रान्त हैं—जैसे राजस्थान है, बिहार है, उत्तर प्रदेश है या मध्य प्रदेश है, अगर यहां पर केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने कार्यालयों का कार्य हिन्दी के बजाय अंग्रेजी में चलाना चाहती है तो यह एक गैर जरूरी बात है और उसको इस तरह की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये। अगर हिन्दी प्रान्त वाले केन्द्र के साथ अपना पत्र व्यवहार अंग्रेजी में नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो उनको इसके लिए मजबूर नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। केन्द्रीय सरकार के जो कार्यालय प्रान्तों में हैं वे केन्द्र के साथ पत्र व्यवहार अंग्रेजी में कर सकते हैं लेकिन प्रान्त में रहकर वे भी अपना कामकाज उसी प्रान्त की भाषा में करें। यह ठीक है कि जो अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त हैं वे केन्द्र के साथ अपना कामकाज अंग्रेजी में कर सकते हैं लेकिन अपने प्रान्त में वे अपना कामकाज अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषा में ही करें। यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये कि वे भी अपना कामकाज अंग्रेजी भाषा में करें। अगर वे इस तरह की बात करेंगे तो वहां की जनता को यह हक होना चाहिये कि वह भी कामकाज में हिस्सा ले सके। वहां की जनता को मालूम होना चाहिये कि कोर्ट में क्या हो रहा है, दफ्तरों में क्या हो रहा है, किस तरह से प्रान्त का कामकाज चल रहा है, ये सब बातें वहां की जनता को मालम होनी चाहिये। अगर प्रान्त का काम वहां की अपनी भाषा में नहीं चलेगा तो वहां की जनता भी नहीं समझ सकेगी कि वहां पर किस तरह से कामकाज चल रहा है। लेकिन यह कहना कि वहां पर भी अंग्रेजी में कामकाज चलेगा बिल्कुल गलत बात है।

सरकार को इस बारे में कोई नीति अपना लेनी चाहिये कि जो अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त है अगर वे चाहें तो केन्द्र के साथ अंग्रेजी में व्यवहार कर सकते हैं लेकिन अपना जो कामकाज है, प्रान्त का जो कामकाज है, वह अपनी

भाषा में ही हो। जो हिन्दी प्रान्त है वे अपना सारा कामकाज चाहे वह केन्द्रीय हो या प्रान्तीय स्तर का हो वह हिन्दी भाषा में ही होना चाहिये। अगर इस तरह मे कार्य किया जायेगा तो कुछ सालों के बाद पता चल जायेगा कि अहिन्दी भाषी और हिन्दी भाषी प्रान्तों में किस तरह से काम चलता है। अगर इस तरह से हिन्दी वाले प्रान्त हिन्दी भाषा में काम करने लगेंगे और तरक्की कर लेंगे तो दक्षिण के लोग भी इस भाषा को मानने के लिए तैयार हो जायेंगे तथा वहां पर भी हिन्दी ही में कामकाज चलना शुरू हो जायेगा और वे भी केन्द्र के साथ अपना कामकाज हिन्दी भाषा में ही शुरू कर देंगे।

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार को पहले अपने मन में यह बात तय कर लेनी चाहिये कि उसकी नीति क्या होगी। अगर वह यह चाहती है कि दोनों ही बातें चलेगी और संविधान में तबदील करना होगा तो ऐसी परिस्थिति वह पैदा कर देगी जैसी की हम अभी मद्रास में देख चुके हैं। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि सारे देश में इस तरह की परिस्थिति पैदा हो जायेगी और जिसकी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर होगी। इसलिये मैं आपको चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की परिस्थिति देश में न लाइये और सरकार सब लोगों की राय लेकर एक ऐसी नीति अपनाये जो कि उचित हो और फिर उसको फिर सदन के सामने लावे।

श्री महाश्वर प्रसाद शुक्ल : सभापति जी, हम अपने देश के गौरवमय अतीत के गौरव और महान भविष्य के जोड़ में खड़े हुए हैं। हमारे देश की आजादी के बाद और विशेषकर हमारे प्यारे नेता श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के निधन के बाद, हमारे देश के सामने एक महान संकट इस समय आया हुआ है। हमारे मद्रास प्रान्त में जो कुछ भी हुआ है उसके लिये हमें महान दुःख ही नहीं है बल्कि हमारे

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

हृदय मे गहरी चोट हुई है और इस अवसर पर सत्य को किस तरह से प्रकट करूँ, किन शब्दों मे कहूँ, यह मेरे लिए बड़ा कठिन है।

मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ने 26 जनवरी के पूर्व और बाद को जो कुछ भी किया उसमे कोई ऐसी बात नहीं थी जिससे हमारे देश के किसी कोने मे किसी प्रकार की कोई भ्रान्ति पैदा हो। हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्ता ने गृह मंत्री जी के ब्राडकास्ट का उल्लेख किया था लेकिन वह भूल गये कि गृह मंत्री जी ने अपने ब्राडकास्ट मे हिन्दी न बोलने वाले प्रान्तों के विद्यार्थियों और जनता को क्या आश्वासन दिया था? मैं उनकी और इस सदन की जानकारी के लिए उनके ब्राडकास्ट के कुछ अंश आपके सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अपने ब्राडकास्ट मे यह कहा था

“जब तक हिन्दी को देश के सब लोग पूरी तरह अपना नहीं लेते तब तक उसे राजकाज के लिए सह भाषा के रूप मे रखने मे मूहलियत है। जैसा मैंने कहा 26 जनवरी से हिन्दी सघ की राजभाषा हो जायेगी, लेकिन इससे कोई नई स्थिति पैदा नहीं हो जायेगी। जिनको हिन्दी की जानकारी नहीं है, उनको दिक्कत नहीं होगी, क्योंकि ससद ने पहले से ही अंग्रेजी के सहभाषा के रूप मे प्रयोग होने की व्यवस्था कर दी है। इस मौके पर मैं खुला आश्वासन देता हूँ कि हिन्दी का राजकाज मे इस तरह प्रयोग किया जाएगा कि उससे सरकारी कामकाज मे अड़चन न आए और न हिन्दीनहीं जानने-वालों को इससे कोई दिक्कत ही हो। हिन्दी का कार्यश्रम तैयार करने मे अन्य भाषी इलाकों मे हिन्दी की तरक्की और सरकारी प्राधिकारियों को हिन्दी जानकारी का भी ध्यान रखा जायेगा। हिन्दी को लागू करने के सिलसिले मे केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बात पर भी पूरा ध्यान रखेगी कि केन्द्रीय सेवाओं मे भरती के मामले मे अन्य भाषी क्षेत्रों के लोगों को कुछ भी नुकसान न उठाना पड़े। केन्द्रीय सेवाओं

में भरती के लिये यह आवश्यक नहीं होगा कि पहले से ही हिन्दी का ज्ञान हो, हिन्दी सीखने की व्यवस्था उनके नौकरी मे आने के बाद की जायेगी।”

मान्यवर, मैं नहीं समझता कि इस आश्वासन देने के बाद कोई ऐसी बात रह जाती है जिसके लिये शका की जाय। मान्यवर, मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि हमने सब ने अपने सविधान की रक्षा के लिए शपथ ली है और भारत सरकार के ऊपर इस देश के सविधान और शासन व्यवस्था को चलाने की जिम्मेदारी है। सविधान मे जो कुछ भी निश्चित किया गया है उसकी यदि किसी प्रकार भारत सरकार उपेक्षा करे तब वह दोषी हो सकती है। सविधान की आज्ञा का पालन करने मे, सविधान के निर्देशों को कार्यान्वित करने मे भारत सरकार अगर कोई कदम उठाती है तो उसकी गलती नहीं है। गलती हमारी है, यह मैं मानता हूँ। इसमे गलती उन सब की है जिन्होंने मद्रास प्रान्त की भावनाओं को ठीक ठीक नहीं समझा। वास्तविक बात यह है कि हमारे बीच कुछ ऐसे राजनीतिक तत्व हैं जो समय समय पर अवसर देखकर ऐसी बातें किया करते हैं जिससे देश को हानि पहुंचती है। मान्यवर, मैं समझता हूँ कि मद्रास मे जो कुछ हुआ वह केरल के चुनावों को सामने रखकर किया गया है और जो हमारे बामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट भाई हैं उन्होंने डी० एम० के० वालों के साथ राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने के लिये वहां पर इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा की और इस तरह की बातों को सामने लाये जिससे जनता जल्दी भड़क उठे। वे लोग इस कार्य के लिए विद्यार्थियों को सामने लाये और इस तरह की गड़बड़ी वहां पर इन लोगों ने पैदा की। अगर इन सब बातों को वहां पर उनके सामने रखा जाता तो इस तरह की भ्रान्ति कभी भी पैदा नहीं होती।

मान्यवर, हमारे राष्ट्रपिता ने, जिन्होंने हमें जीवन दिया, जिन्होंने आत्मसम्मान दिया, जिन्होंने आजादी दी, जिन्होंने हमारे हृदयों

को स्पंदित किया और मस्तिष्क को चिन्तन दिया। उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई आरम्भ करने के साथ ही साथ इस देश की भावी समस्याओं को अच्छी तरह से समझ लिया था क्योंकि वे युगदृष्टा थे। वे जानते थे कि यह कई भाषाओं का देश है, कई जातियों और धर्मों का देश है और यहाँ हम सब को मिलकर साथ चलना है। इसका उन्होंने आरम्भ से ही एक स्वरूप दे दिया था और उनका 14 स्त्रीय कार्यक्रम चलाया था, जिनमें हिन्दु मुस्लिम एकता, अछूतों का उद्धार, राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रचार, ये प्रमुख कार्य थे। सारे देश में जो भावी व्यवस्था होगी उसका उन्होंने स्वरूप दे दिया था। इस देश में कांग्रेस के अन्दर भाषावार प्रान्त बनाकर तथा अखिलभारतीय कांग्रेस की भाषा हिन्दी का स्वीकार कर उन्होंने राष्ट्र का भावी स्वरूप क्या होगा यह स्पष्ट कर दिया था। उनकी यह कल्पना थी कि प्रत्येक सूबे का, प्रत्येक प्रान्त का कार्य वहाँ की भाषा में होगा और सारे देश के शासन का कामकाज एक ही भाषा में होगा जिसका नाम उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तानी भाषा दिया था। हिन्दुस्तानी की कल्पना राष्ट्रपिता की केवल वह नहीं थी जो आजकी हमारी हिन्दी या हिन्दुस्तानी है। हिन्दुस्तानी वह होगी जिसमें सभी प्रादेशिक भाषाओं का इस प्रकार योग होगा जिस प्रकार महा समुद्र में गंगा, जमुना, कावेरी और कृष्णा सब का जल पड़ता है। यह स्वरूप गांधी जी ने हमारे सामने रखा था।

मान्यवर, मुझे इस बात का खेद होता है और मैं भारत सरकार को एक बात के लिए दोषी ठहराता हूँ कि उसने पिछले 15 वर्षों में देश के आर्थिक विकास के लिए बहुत सी मुनियोजित कार्यक्रम बनाये, पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनाईं लेकिन भाषा के सिलसिले में, राष्ट्रीय एकीकरण के सिलसिले में, राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं को एक करने के सिलसिले में कोई भी योजना नहीं बनाई। अबतक इस सब में तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ होनी चाहिये थी लेकिन

उसने कोई भी योजना नहीं बनाई। यदि उसने ऐसी योजना बनाई होती, सभी भाषाओं का राजभाषा हिन्दी के साथ साथ विकास का कार्यक्रम बनाया होता तो शायद यह परिस्थिति आज पैदा नहीं होती। मान्यवर, सरकार ने सारे देश में हिन्दी के सबंध में एक नीति नहीं अपनाई। मद्रास प्रान्त में उन्होंने इस बात की खुली छूट दे दी जबकि अन्य प्रदेशों में हिन्दी शिक्षा को अनिवार्य किया गया लेकिन वहाँ पर हिन्दी शिक्षा का अनिवार्य करने पर जोर नहीं दिया गया। यहाँ तक कि उन्होंने हिन्दी की शिक्षा को न केवल अनिवार्य नहीं किया, वैकल्पिक किया और उसकी परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण होना भी आवश्यक नहीं समझा गया। हम कितना भी कहें कि हम हिन्दी को चाहते हैं कि वह राजभाषा, लिख भाषा, बने, लेकिन हम अगर उसका सिखाना शुरू नहीं करेंगे, तो वह कब समय आयेगा जब हम उसमें काम करना शुरू करेंगे। मान्यवर, यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने गांधी जी ने जैसा उठाया था, वह यह नहीं है कि हिन्दी का किसी प्रादेशिक भाषा से विरोध है। वास्तव में हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी की भी समस्या नहीं है। समस्या अंग्रेजी जानने वालों और अंग्रेजी न जानने वालों की है। हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजों ने अंग्रेजी का प्रारम्भ इसलिये नहीं किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में ज्ञान विज्ञान की तरक्की हो, अंग्रेजी भाषा में कोई महान दर्शन है, जिसका हिन्दुस्तानियों को ज्ञान हो। हिन्दुस्तान में, जिसको उन्होंने गुलाम बनाया था, वे ऐसे दुर्भाग्य चाहते थे, जो शासन में उनकी सहायता कर सके। आज यदि अंग्रेजी सरकारी नोकरियों में आने की कुजी न रहे, तो आप देखें कि हिन्दुस्तान के कितने लोग अंग्रेजी पढ़ते हैं। मेरे पिता ने मुझे अंग्रेजी पढ़ने के लिये इसलिये नहीं भेजा था कि मैं हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट का सदस्य हो जाऊँगा। उन्होंने यह समझा था कि यह किसान का बेटा अंग्रेजी सीख करके कुछ रोटी कमायेगा। इसी तरह से गांवों में बसने वाले लाखों हिन्दुस्त

[श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल]

अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी इसलिये पढ़ा रहे हैं कि उनको यह विश्वास नहीं है कि अंग्रेजी के अलावा भी कोई ऐसा साधन है जिससे सरकारी नौकरियों में वे आ सकते हैं। मान्यवर, उत्तर प्रदेश की ऐसी व्यवस्था 15 वर्ष आज़ादी मिलने के बाद भी है कि आज देशी भाषाओं के अध्यापक भी अंग्रेजी भाषा के द्वारा लिये जाते हैं। पहले मिडिल स्कूल में पढ़ाने के लिये, मिडिल पास कर के और नार्मल पास कर के केवल हिन्दी या उर्दू के ज्ञान से अध्यापक हो सकते थे। आज जब तक कोई हाई स्कूल पास नहीं होगा, एच० टी० सी०, जे० टी० सी० और जे० बी० टी० सी० में उसका प्रवेश नहीं हो सकता और वह अध्यापक नहीं हो सकता। वहाँ पर चपरासी भी हाई स्कूल पास लिये जाते हैं। पोस्टमैन भी हाई स्कूल और इटर पास लिये जाते हैं। गांव सभाओं के सेक्रेटरी भी हाई स्कूल पास होते हैं। आप ही बता दें कि जब तक आप छोटी छोटी नौकरियों के लिये भी अंग्रेजी को साधन बनाये रहेंगे, तब तक अपनी देशी भाषाओं को कैसे प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि जो स्थिति हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रांतों में है, वही स्थिति उन प्रांतों में भी है जहाँ अन्य प्रादेशिक भाषाएँ हैं। इसलिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि अंग्रेजी को शीघ्र से शीघ्र सरकारी नौकरियों में आने की कृजी के पद से हटा दिया जाय और तमिल भाषा भाषी प्रांत में, तेलगू भाषा भाषी प्रांत में, बंगला भाषा भाषी प्रांत में और इसी प्रकार जो हमारी 14 भाषाएँ संविधान में दी हुई हैं, उनमें से हर एक के क्षेत्र में सरकारी नौकरियों में, नीचे से ले कर ऊपर तक, आने का साधन वहाँ की प्रादेशिक भाषा हो। हर प्रदेश में जकाज का, शिक्षा का माध्यम तथा साधन वहाँ की प्रादेशिक भाषा हो।

मुझे खेद है कि जिन प्रदेशों ने भाषावार प्रांतों के लिए संघर्ष किया, बलिदान किया, जैसे तेलगू भाषा भाषी प्रदेश आंध्र, तमिल भाषा भाषी प्रदेश मद्रास, उन्होंने मुझे इस बात का

खेद है कि अभी तक अपनी भाषाओं को राज-भाषा का रूप ही नहीं दिया। बंगला जो हमारी इतनी गर्वीली भाषा है और जिस बंगाल के लोगों ने विदेशी चीजों का बहिष्कार हिन्दुस्तान में आज 40, 50 वर्ष पहले शुरू किया था, आज तक उन्होंने विदेशी भाषा को अपने ऊपर लाद रखा है।

हिन्दी का विरोध किर्मा भी प्रादेशिक भाषा से नहीं है। हिन्दी तो प्रादेशिक भाषाओं का उत्कर्ष चाहती है और उत्तर की जितनी प्रादेशिक भाषाएँ हैं जैसे बंगला, गुजराती, मराठी, इनमें तो कोई अंतर भी नहीं है। केवल चार भाषाएँ जो दक्षिण की हैं उनमें थोड़ा बहुत अंतर है।

मान्यवर, मैं समझना हूँ कि जो हमारा तीन भाषाओं का फार्मूला है उसमें अंग्रेजी का अनिवार्य स्थान नहीं रहना चाहिये। अंग्रेजी का अनिवार्य स्थान हटा करके ही किसी प्रादेशिक भाषा को स्थान देना चाहिये। धन्यवाद।

SHRI A K A ABDUL SAMAD (Madras) Mr Chairman, it is deplorable that the unhappy incidents in Tamilnad are belittled and attributed in a light and glib manner to the misunderstanding of the position of the mother tongue vis-a-vis Hindi and to misrepresentation by certain quarters. Not many things can be far from truth than this misleading of the happenings in the South.

To say that the college students who will, in one or two years time, be considered to be mature enough to enter life, their teachers who are considered fit enough to impart proper knowledge to the young students, the lawyers whose profession is to study the interplay of human nature and the affairs of men and the country, and many others, have not understood the intricacies of the language question is indeed a tall order. It is not one or two of the categories of the citizens mentioned, or it is not in one or two places, that raised the protest. Masses of them rose up. Seeing

that all these years the position of the mother tongue and the attachment of the people to it is not rightly understood by the authorities, and wanted to impress upon them their feelings in the matter, in a peaceful manner. Anyway, this was the idea and the object of the people who took up the agitation over the language question. It was a spontaneous upsurge on their part that impelled them towards this movement. Instead of meeting it in a considerate, sympathetic and tactful manner, the authority at the outset showed a hard and unrelenting countenance to it.

After all the young ones, who are our future hope, and the professors and lawyers are entitled to be listened to in a decent manner by the authorities. But this consideration was not given when the students came in a body to represent their feelings to the leaders in authority. All these things, I am saying, Sir, because it is unfairly being sought to place the blame upon the students.

I, coming from Madras, feel that I am in duty bound to place before the House what I know of the real nature of the situation. When more than 20,000 college students marched in a peaceful procession and came straight to the seat of the Government and wanted to represent their grievances to the Chief Minister, they were refused this simple privilege in a curt and provoking manner. When our young men wanted to see their own Leader, this was the unkind reception given to them. When they did not want to go to their classes until the authorities listened to them properly, they were told that their institutions would be closed and thereby he would save five crores of rupees spent on them. Is this the sort of language that is to be addressed to our young men?

Then again it was said of the students that they were acting in a senseless manner at the instance of certain political Party. The students know, though others may not know, that it is their own heart and mind that guided them in this matter and they did not need any goading or pressure from anybody else in this matter. The Chief Minister of Madras ought to have easily been able to understand that the students who

are the sons of the parents belonging to various parties, the lawyers of several political denominations and other classes of intelligentsia, who were all in sympathy with the object of the students, cannot be said to have been instigated by any political party or one set of politicians. But he was carrying on an insistent and provocative propaganda on these lines for a long time and aggravated the situation to a very distressing extent. Only when he was confronted by the unwavering preparedness of the students to suffer for their cause and by the genuine sincerity of them, he agreed in a measure to help their cause by promising to fight for statutory provision of bilingualism.

The fact that the students were not acting at the instigation of any political Party but on account of the spontaneous upsurge of their emotions has been, in a way, borne by the words of hon. Shri C. Subramaniam when he returned to Delhi from his recent visit to Madras. He said that "while it was true to some extent that certain unsocial elements took advantage of the disturbances to suit their own ends, there was no gain-saying the fact that there was spontaneous outburst against the Hindi policy of the Government of India. There was an emotional upsurge." This is what he said. It is also reported that till such time as he visited the South, during the disturbances, he himself could not get a correct idea of the depth of feeling of the masses over this issue.

The following words of the hon. Shri Sanjiva Reddy further corroborates the truth. He has said :

"The DMK might have given a political colour to the agitation but the students who were not attached to any political party were agitated in regard to the introduction of Hindi. There was no DMK in Vishakhapatnam but the students had demonstrated."

I may add that since Shri Sanjiva Reddy had spoken at Hyderabad, the students of Nellore, Kurnool, Hindupur and other places of Andhra also have come into the picture.

[Shri A K A Abdul Samad]

As I said, Sir, the students were carrying on their movement in a peaceful though earnest manner and the Chief Minister of Madras instead of meeting them with consideration and sympathy, confronted them with arrogant and coarse words and action. Again the police, though they were claiming that they were not indulging in firing at the beginning, resorted to gross excesses in various ways. For example, they entered the students' hostels, the premises of the colleges, broke open the doors of rooms wherein the students had taken refuge and manhandled them, beat the professors, broke the window of a closed room and burst tear-gas shells into it and so on. If they had wanted, the police could have simply arrested the students when they found them. But one could not understand the justification for indulging in such cruel excesses on the students and others who were under their power. Over and above this, it is amazing that the Chief Minister, in reference to such excesses, declared that it was at his instance that the police acted.

It need not be said that such excesses consequently increased in number and in volume. The reluctance of the Government to accede to their repeated demand for a judicial enquiry into these police excesses and firings is very significant. If their hands are clean and if they feel that their actions are above board, one cannot understand why the authorities should fight shy of a judicial enquiry.

Leaders of public opinion including, of course, the DMK leaders, appealed for the stoppage of the agitation and for peace, and for a judicial enquiry on the part of the Government. But there was no response from the Government to such appeals. This attitude of the Government and the continued excess of the police evidently help the movement to go on. But when the leaders continued their appeal for peace and when the two Ministers from the Centre resigned and the Chief Minister came out at last for the statutory provision of bilingualism in the country, the students saw that their elders and leaders were earnest and they responded at once and cried halt to their agitation.

I have to say in all fairness that the resignations of the two Central Ministers had a good, sobering and helpful effect on

the aggravated situation of Madras. Though we do not know—as we ought to know—what reasons they gave for their resignations and for what reason they had withdrawn their resignations, we cannot deny the substantial and salutary contribution the resignations made towards the soothing of the situation.

Though the agitation has ceased and the people are asking for a judicial enquiry into the happenings, the police have not stopped their activities in this connection. A considerable number of arrests are being made still, widely, in various parts of the State. Five of the DMK MLAs have been arrested.

I may mention one more poignant feature of the recent events in Madras. That is, about 2,000 children, aged between 10 and 12, were chased, captured and locked up in jails. Many of them have no homes to go to, and their fault was, loitering in the pavements as usual. They were all rounded up and treated roughly. This is a feature, Sir, that would indeed touch the human hearts of the entire public.

All these deplorable things happened in connection with the language question. The people knew that their mother-tongue cannot be destroyed, but they were afraid that the adoption of one of the national languages of the country as the official language of the Centre would place the people of other languages and their languages themselves, in a subordinate and disadvantageous position. From the time when Hindi was formally adopted by the Constitution of India as the official language, there has been a murmur about the reaction that it would produce in the country. As time went on it became pronounced and it has taken the present shape because of what happened in official circles round about 26th January, 1965. What the people feared was being accentuated by circulars and communications issued by the various departments of the Central Government.

Now coming to the actual language issue itself, the question is one of official language and not one of national language for the whole country.

According to the Constitution, article 343 speaks of official language and not of

national language, of the country. All the 14 languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution are the national languages of the country. But now the question is, as I said, one of official language of the Centre. In a country of several languages, if one language—for example, Hindi—is made the official language at the Centre, it indeed carries advantage to the people speaking that language. However much the people speaking the other languages may try, they cannot get the same proficiency as the people speaking that language. Quota and moderation schemes may be adopted. But the proficiency will surely and naturally show itself in the efficiency of carrying on their business in the offices. Though there may be a quota in recruitment, the promotion will be affected by the difference in the efficiency of the languages. In course of time, the people speaking the official language will, by natural consequence, dominate and eventually form a ruling class in the country. This will in turn create a feeling of second-class citizenship among the people speaking the other national languages. To say the least, it will be very harmful to the unity and the integrity of the country. This will be the result in a multi-lingual country like ours where there are more than one well-developed languages spoken amongst the people of the country and where one of such mother-tongues is preferred over the other languages, making one of those languages the official language of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Samad, I am afraid your time is up.

Yes, Mr. Kureel.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL *Urf* TALIB (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir,

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Kureel, I would give an opportunity later, you will have your chance. The Prime Minister was detained in the other House. He was to have made a statement here earlier. He has now come. I would ask the Prime Minister to make the statement on Orissa.

STATEMENT *RE.* ALLEGATIONS AGAINST SOME CHIEF MINISTERS AND OTHER MINISTERS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI LAL BAHADUR) : Mr. Chairman, as the House is aware, a Memorial, dated the 28th July, 1964, containing allegations against Shri Biju Patnaik, Shri Biren Mitra and some Ministers of the Orissa Government was submitted to the President on the 13th August, 1964. The Memorial was signed by Shri Rajindra Narain Singh Deo, Leader of the Opposition in the Orissa Vidhan Sabha, and 62 others of that State. Supplementary memoranda were submitted to the President on the 21st September, 1964 and on the 12th October, 1964.

I requested a Committee consisting of some of my Cabinet colleagues to examine the matter.

The Home Minister sent the Memorial dated the 28th July along with a statement of the supplementary allegations to Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra for their comments. Shri Biren Mitra was further informed that where an allegation was against any of his colleagues in the State Cabinet, he might also wish to have their comments before making his own observations.

The Committee carefully examined the comments received from Shri Biju Patnaik, Shri Biren Mitra and the Ministers concerned. The Committee came to the conclusion that their examination of the material available did not reveal that Shri Patnaik or Shri Mitra had personally derived any pecuniary benefit from the various transactions in which they were concerned. The Committee, however, found that in several transactions, improprieties were definitely involved for which responsibility had to be borne by Shri Patnaik and Shri Mitra. The Committee felt that the normal standards of public conduct had not been maintained. The findings of the Committee which were accepted by the Central Cabinet were communicated to Shri Patnaik and Shri Mitra. Shri Mitra has since submitted his resignation from