

(Amendment) Bill, 1963, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 16th December, 1963."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

MOTION RE REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Mysore):  
 Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Fifth Report of the Committee of Privileges presented to the Rajya Sabha on the 16th December, 1963, be taken into consideration."

Sir, in the report that I presented to this House yesterday, it was stated that the privilege matter involved certain legal issues. I would therefore like to apprise the House of the position before asking for longer time to present the final report. The matter arises out of statements contained in an affidavit filed in connection with a contempt application pending before the Bombay High Court. It has not been possible for us to ascertain as to when the application would be disposed of in the Bombay High Court and therefore a preliminary report was presented and we asked the House to give us more time to present the final report.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I move:

"That the House agrees with the recommendation contained in the Report",

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

MOTION RE REPORT OF COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the discussion on the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. The Minister had completed his speech yesterday. Now any Member desiring to speak can do so.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities on his Report. It is a comprehensive document and the most valuable parts of the document are the appendices attached to it. I feel that he has placed before us the constitutional issues involved in regard to this question of linguistic minorities in a very able manner and it is unnecessary for me, therefore, to go into the constitutional issues raised by the existence of these linguistic minorities. I would like to confine my remarks to a few points relating to a language which is the common inheritance of Hindus and Muslims; Christians and Anglo-Indians have also contributed to it. It is an Indian language. It is not a foreign language. It is not the language of Pakistan. It is a language of India. It grew up round about the town of Delhi, and therefore, it is permissible for us to have some enthusiasm and some love for this language, for this common heritage. Sir, the Report shows that there are Governments which have taken a liberal view of their obligations towards this language, I mean Urdu. I would like to mention Andhra Pradesh. I think Kerala has a good record and so has, for that matter, Bihar. But I must confess that I am not entirely satisfied with the position that this language occupies in my own State of Uttar Pradesh, and the Commissioner in restrained language has drawn attention to some acts of omission on the part of the Government of Uttar Pradesh with regard to this language.

Sir, one of the points that I would like to make is this. The Chief Minis-

[Shri P. N. Sapru.]  
ters' Conference has suggested that for recruitment to the State Services the lack of knowledge of Hindi should be no bar and that proficiency tests in English and Hindi should be held after the competition is held and during the period of probation. But for one reason or the other, Uttar Pradesh Government has not yet carried out this recommendation. We are told that this recommendation is under the consideration of the U.P. Government. We do not know how long that period of waiting is to be.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Next I would like to say a few words about the three-language formula. This three-language formula may be all right, though I am one of those who see no reason why there should not be a four-language formula. In European countries, students have to acquaint themselves with Latin, Greek, French and German. Most of the candidates who reach up to the higher secondary stage are acquainted with these languages. I do not think it will be a burden for our students to have even four languages. But now let us take this three-language formula. The three-language formula means that the student must know his mother-tongue; he must know his regional language, he must know a modern Indian language, and he must know Hindi. Now, the regional language in U.P. is Hindi, and so far as a modern Indian language is concerned, Sanskrit has also been included among the modern Indian languages according to the direction of the Director of Education. So far as the Prime Minister is concerned, he stated in a speech which he made some time back that Sanskrit would not be included among modern Indian languages. I am one of those who have got a great regard for classical languages. I think no education can be complete without a knowledge of the humanities and humanities mean the study of the classics. Sanskrit is not the only classical language in India. There are other classical languages also which have a claim. There is Persian. There is Arabic, and I do not

see any reason why we should not get acquainted with Greek, or Latin or Hebrew. But Sanskrit, of course, I know would play a very great part. According to the policy followed by the U.P. Government, the classical language is to be Sanskrit, unless the parents wish otherwise. But there is to be no special arrangement for any other language. If they want to substitute some other language for Sanskrit, then they must be content with the existing staff. This practically rules out any other language, and it places Urdu also in a specially difficult position. In Azamgarh, this rule has been made compulsory and it works hardship on those Hindus and Muslims there, because Hindus too would like to get acquainted with the culture of the Arab world or the Iranian world. It places the Hindus and Muslims at a disadvantage.

Another recommendation of the Chief Ministers' Conference was that there should be provision at the Primary stage for the teaching of the mother tongue. The directive on this point was quoted by Mr. Hajarnavis. The rule suggested by the States Reorganisation Commission was that there should be provision for a language other than the regional language or Hindi, where there are more than 40 students in a school or 10 students in a class. In Azamgarh, for example, there is a sizeable Muslim population and as far as I have been able to see, there is not a single Urdu teacher. Moreover, the effort has been to confine the operation of this rule district-wise. There are few districts where Urdu is the language—Moradabad, Bijnor, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr and Rampur. There the position is all right. But there are other large towns and small towns where there is no provision for any Urdu teacher and it is expected that if Urdu is to be taught, it will be taught by one of the teachers already in employment. This practically rules out Urdu altogether and it places the parents of those who want their children to read Urdu at a disadvantage. Recommendations have been made by the Kirpalani Committee that encouragement should be given

to maqtabs and old institutions like the *patshala* and we should like to know what is being done in regard to that. Though the Chief Ministers were not in favour of it, my view is that the district-wise formula is not quite just to the minorities and I think we should take the tehsil as the unit and, therefore, provision should be made for the teaching of Urdu at the Primary stage in tehsils where there is a sizeable proportion of Urdu-speaking population. A suggestion which was made in the Fourth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic minorities was that in order to be able to know whether the number forty in a school or ten in a class would be forthcoming or not, a register should be opened but no step has yet been taken to fulfil this requirement. Therefore, I think it would not be incorrect to say that Urdu has been receiving a little more than stepmotherly treatment and it is not right, it is not just that in a secular State like ours there should be any feeling of discrimination against a language which is the common inheritance of both Hindus and Muslims and Christians and Anglo-Indians.

I remember Madam, an incident that took place in the United Nations and I will just relate that. In 1954, I happened to be in the United States in connection with the session of the General Assembly and I was talking to a friend from Pakistan in Urdu and an American gentleman sitting next to us asked us, what language we were talking to which the Pakistani gentleman said "Urdu" and complimented me on my excellent Urdu. I told him that I would have appreciated this compliment had it come from one whose language was Urdu because he was a gentleman from Maharashtra who had migrated to Pakistan and his Urdu was poor. I would have appreciated this compliment had it come from one whose language was Urdu. It is my language and, therefore, if I speak it fairly correctly, I can take no credit for doing so.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): I think, Madam, it is the unique beauty

of Urdu that even those who do not understand it appreciate it most.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Even those who speak it badly.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I am not so poetic as my hon. friend, Mr. Anwar and poetry and myself are farther from each other.

Another rule which, I think works hardship on the Urdu-speaking population is this. For examinations connected with the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service and other combined examinations—Mr. Nafisul Husan will correct me if I am wrong—you can answer your papers either in English or Hindi. Urdu is not recognised for that purpose, and not only that, you have to offer Hindi as a compulsory subject at that stage. Now, I quite appreciate that the position of Hindi is somewhat unique in the sense that it is going to be the link language of the future and those who enter our services should have a fair knowledge of Hindi but we used to have in the old days, in the British days, a civil servant who used to come to this country without any knowledge of the Indian languages used to be posted to Uttar Pradesh and he used to learn in a few months Urdu or Hindi and it was at the stage when his probation period was about to end that he was required to pass an examination in Urdu or Hindi and obtain a certificate of merit in the particular language. I think, Madam, the proper thing is not to insist that candidates must have a knowledge of Hindi at the time of their examinations. The proper thing is to insist that they should have a knowledge of Hindi before they are actually confirmed.

I would also like, Madam, in this connection, to refer to a language which is not included in the Eighth Schedule but which is important, having regard to the fact that owing to circumstances over which they had no control, many Sindhis have had to migrate to Uttar Pradesh and other States. There is no provision, hardly any provision, for the teaching of Sindhi in our schools and Sindhi

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parents have a legitimate grievance in this matter. I hope, Madam, this will be looked into. The position of Sindhi is very much like that of the Nepali language. We know that Nepali is not one of the languages included in the Eighth Schedule but I think some special arrangements have been made for this language in some districts where there is a sizeable Nepali-speaking population.

Then Madam, I would like to say a word or two about tribal education. One of the difficulties connected with education of these tribal languages is that they have no script of their own.

You can use the Devanagari script for teaching them the tribal languages or you can use the Roman script for that purpose. In this matter I think, we have to be liberal-minded. We must consult in this matter the wishes of the tribal people themselves. It may be easier for them—some of them would like to go beyond the secondary stage, to the university stage—to learn one alphabet. The greatest difficulty in learning a language is not the language itself; the greatest difficulty in learning a language is the alphabet and it may be that the Roman script has been rather summarily ruled out for purposes of educating the tribal people.

So far as Urdu is concerned, in our province at one time many documents or most of the documents of a legal character used to be written in Urdu. That is not the case now; but it should be possible—and I think it is possible under the existing conditions—for petitions to be presented in Urdu and there should be special arrangements to help the litigants for this to be done.

I should like to say, just before I conclude a word against domiciliary restrictions on the employment of people in various States. It is the proud boast of our Constitution that there is no dual citizenship. In the United States as we know there is dual citizenship but here there is no dual citizenship and therefore there

should be no domiciliary restriction. But the States have got over this by using the language as the means of restricting the admission of persons who do not belong to the State into their services. This is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and it should be resisted strongly by the Centre.

With these remarks of a casual nature I should like to express once again my appreciation of the excellent work which characterises the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. It is a thorough Report, a report to which he has given thought and we are indebted to him for presenting a true picture of things as they are in the country.

SHRI D. B. DESAI (Maharashtra): First I must express my gratefulness to the Government that this Report has reached and has been taken up for discussion this year because last year we could not discuss this Report. Seven years after reorganisation we can definitely say that the plight of the linguistic minorities in the country has not improved to any ascertainable extent. Firstly I should say that the problem of the linguistic minorities has been created by the reorganisation of the States especially in the southern States, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Madras. There are two types of linguistic minorities. In every State there are bound to be certain linguistic minorities because from time immemorial certain people have gone for their business to different places. They have gone there for service and in the course of history they have been, say, absorbed in the local population. The other type is the minorities that have been created as a result of the reorganisation of the States and these minorities residing on the common borders of the States have a very peculiar problem. Of course these minorities could have been reduced by a correction of the boundaries but that is not the subject for discussion now. But I may say that the majorities in the particular areas have been turned into minorities in the vast unilingual States. Madam, as we can

see, there is not a single State in this country which has a population which can be called completely unilingual. According to the States Reorganisation Commission if in a State 70 per cent. of the population speak one language then it should be called a unilingual State. Now, none of the States in the country can be called unilingual but one thing is quite clear that all the States have been formed on the basis of language and therefore it is quite likely, and it is also a reality, that almost all the States are making efforts to make their regional language as the official language of the State.

In Mysore recently the State Government has declared that Kannada is to be the official language of the State. In Madras Tamil is going to be the official language; in Andhra Telgu and so also in Maharashtra and Gujarat. The regional languages are going to be the official languages of the States. So the first problem is whether the interests of the minorities will be safeguarded in the various States in the matter of official use of their language. I come from Belgaum and so I can speak with first-hand information and inform the House that here we are faced with a very peculiar hurdle. The State of Mysore is trying to Kannadise the entire population on the borders. I will quote an instance. In 1905 the first Kannada officer came to Belgaum as a District Collector. By the first stroke he ordered that the land records of the city of Belgaum shall be in Kannada. Since then the land records are kept in Kannada. The Kannada-speaking population which was 8 per cent. in Belgaum city in 1905 is now 23 per cent. and according to the 1961 Census it might be about 25 per cent. This is the sort of instance to show how the official State policy can be used to liquidate the linguistic minorities. Formerly it was one single officer. The former Government of Bombay was not a linguistic State with Marathi, Kannada or Gujarati. So it could not correct this position

but now with the official policy of the State we can see that Kannadisation is going on by leaps and bounds.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:  
(Mysore): What about the schools?

SHRI D. B. DESAI: I will give you all the details and the other facts also. What I want to emphasize here is, seven years after reorganisation can we say that the difficulties of the linguistic minorities have been reduced? I am certainly of the opinion that they have not been reduced. On the contrary, the plight of the linguistic minorities has increased, especially in Mysore State. It is very difficult for the linguistic minorities to continue their language, continue their education, continue their existence, their life in the State, as we are experiencing in the present conditions. I may say that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, who is appointed under the Constitution, is supposed to investigate it. "It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct." I want to know from the Government what procedure, what method of investigation has been followed by the Commissioner, whether the Commissioner has visited any linguistic minority area in the country or whether the Commissioner has forwarded the letters of complaints received by him from various minority organisations and minority people.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: May I interrupt the hon. Member for just a minute? A complaint was received from the Maharashtrians in Belgaum regarding a school. The Commissioner has gone into it at great length and he has supported with facts and figures that there is no discrimination against Marathi.

**SHRI D. B. DESAI:** I will just give from the Commissioner's Report evidence for the discrimination. The last Commissioner, Mr. Malik, had been to Bangalore and a number of States. My point is whether the Commissioner has actually visited the areas of minorities. We can find that he has not. Even the new Commissioner, Mr. Chanda, had announced his programme to visit Belgaum, but subsequently it turned out that he had cancelled his programme. We do not know why. On the contrary, we got information that the Mysore Government did not provide any facilities for the Commissioner to reach Belgaum. If that is the case, then it is very difficult for the Commissioner also to investigate these things. I want to emphasise one thing. If the Commissioner is authorised or is expected to investigate these complaints, then, is it going to be only on complaints? Suppose there are no organisations in the minorities, then who is to complain? The ordinary man has to go after his food first. He has to go after the needs of his daily life. Can he go to the Commissioner? Can he write to the Commissioner day in and day out making complaints? If there are no organisations then the complaints are bound to lapse. Automatically there will be no complaints and the Commissioner will have no work. After seven years we can find from this Report and the Report indicates that he has undertaken no trips in the various States. He has only visited the headquarters of the States. So, I want to request the Home Ministry to provide certain machinery, provide certain procedure for the investigation of complaints, namely, whether the safeguards have been applied to the linguistic minorities and whether they are already safeguarded.

Another point I want to make out here is regarding Mysore. We may go through this Report. On page 54 in para 332 it says:—

"The complaint was investigated and it was found that whereas on 1st November 1956 there were 783 Marathi schools with 81,289 pupils and 2,221 teachers therein, the number of such schools rose to 868 with 110,334 pupils and 3,046 teachers as on 1st April 1961."

I may request the hon. Member to read page 184 of the Report.

**SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:** I have read that.

**SHRI D. B. DESAI:** There he has given statistics as in 1960-61 regarding Marathi language in Mysore State. The total number of schools indicated here is 769 and the Commissioner says it is 868. Actual statistics show that it is 769 schools with some 1,00,500 students.

**SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:** What is the percentage of Marathi population and what is the percentage of schools they have, compared to the total number of schools? What is the percentage of Telugu population there and what is the percentage of Telugu schools they have? If at all there is any complaint, the Telugus must have a complaint, not Maharashtrians.

**SHRI D. B. DESAI:** All right. Let the Telugus complain.

**SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:** You have no grievance.

**SHRI D. B. DESAI:** The complaint is already here. I want to know whether the investigating authority has been supplied with the correct information or not. The Report says there are 863 schools, but the actual statistics which have been supplied to the Commissioner show that 793 schools are there. My point is that the investigation procedure or the method of investigation is faulty or there is no procedure or method. Again, I can give you a number of instances. I may ask the hon. Minister here whether he can say with some authority that the School Board of Mysore State has started any single school in the last seven years. The

School Board has started no schools. On the contrary, private organisations and individuals have started Marathi primary schools in Belgaum, Dharwar and Bidar. Subsequently, after two or three years, because of various complaints, with a threat to go to the High Court, we could get those schools recognised.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: There is no School Board in Mysore at all.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Perhaps the hon. Member does not know.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: In the integrated areas there were School Boards.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Now, there are School Boards. Perhaps the hon. Member should ascertain. I am from Belgaum. I know it very well. There is the municipal School Board. There is the district School Board in every district, in Belgaum, Karwar, Dharwar and Bijapur. There is the School Board and the School Board conducts the schools. Even after the elections of the Taluka Development Boards and District Boards—according to the new Act primary education is to be transferred to the Taluka Boards, but till now no decision has been taken. The District Boards continue as they were. So, I want to say that in the last seven years not a single primary Marathi school has been started by the District School Board or by other authorities in the border areas. On the contrary, private organisations started schools and subsequently got them recognised and even then there are certain difficulties. There are two private organisations conducting primary schools in Belgaum district. One is the "Shetakari Shikshan Samati" and the other is the "Belgaum Prathamik Shikshan Samiti". The Mysore Government has ordered that unless they introduce Kannada in the primary schools they will not be given grants. May I remind the hon. Member here that if he can ascertain from the Gov-

ernment or if he can ascertain from the Minister here, he will definitely see that such orders were sent to the education societies?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: You have got the circulars there in the appendix. You read them.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: You get that ascertained from the Minister. The question is whether the interests of the linguistic minorities in respect of educational facilities, the Marathi-speaking people of Belgaum, Dharwar and Bidar, have been safeguarded. I can positively say and with specific information on hand I can positively claim that the Marathi-speaking people have been ill-treated, have been receiving step-motherly treatment at the hands of the Mysore Government. That is one important point I have to make out here.

Another point is about education at the secondary stage. Generally in Mysore secondary education is conducted by non-official or private societies, but there are certain schools formerly conducted by the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 15 minutes. You may take another five minutes. The House stands adjourned till 2.30.

The House adjourned for lunch at one of the Clock.

The House reassembled after Lunch at half past two of the clock, The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Madam Deputy Chairman, when the House rose for lunch, I was dealing with the secondary stage of education regarding the linguistic minorities, that is, the Marathi-speaking people of Belgaum. I was referring to the instance of Sardar High School, one of the very old High Schools in Belgaum. It is a Government High School. Now

[Shri D. B. Desai.]  
the Government has taken a decision that the High School should be closed, that the buildings and other things should be given to Polytechnic, and that the Polytechnic building should be given away to K.L.E. Society for starting a Medical College. Our point is that this High School had a majority of Marathi-speaking students from its very inception. The Government tried to reduce the number by not supplying teachers or supplying rather very inefficient teachers I may say, but still the majority could not be reduced. They have now taken a decision to close the High School entirely.

The second instance to which I would like to refer is this. The Commission has referred to one of the important decisions of the South Zonal Council, which is that the facilities for the English medium in the secondary schools as they existed on 1st July 1958 should be ascertained and continued without change for the benefit of the children of the linguistic minorities and migratory students. There is the case of the St. Paul's High School in Belgaum. A letter from one of the parents has been referred to in the report. There the students who spoke Marathi were allowed to take Marathi as an optional subject. Now the school authorities in concurrence with the State administration have imposed Kannada and abolished Marathi as their optional subject. That has been referred to in the report. Just I want to request the hon. Minister to ascertain these facts.

Moreover, I want to draw the attention of the Minister to see how the Mysore State is imposing Kannada on the Marathi students in all the educational activities. Take the example of university education. The Karnatak University under whose jurisdiction Belgaum and Dharwar are included, has treated Marathi as an optional subject. I may tell the Minister here that when the Karnatak University was started, there were

27 students appearing for M.A. with Marathi. This year we had only 3 students. That means they have started to abolish Marathi completely from educational institutions, and this is the fate of the Marathi students in that area.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How do the three students appear? You said that students were not appearing with Marathi language.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: Only three are appearing this year. Because the Karnatak University has made Marathi as optional from the inception from the first year of the Degree course, therefore, automatically it is discouraged. In one or two colleges, that is Lingaraj College and R.P.D. College they started Marathi. From the Dharwar College Marathi is abolished.

Then I come to the official use of Marathi. Formerly the Bombay High Court and the Bombay Government had given specific instructions that Belgaum and Karwar should be treated as bilingual districts. In the Belgaum district as a whole 26 per cent of the population speak Marathi. But in Belgaum taluka the Marathi-speaking people are 52 per cent; in Khanapur 53 per cent; in Chikodi 36 per cent or so. After the declaration of the State Government that Kannada shall be the official language the original instructions given by the Bombay Government and the High Court now stand invalid. So we are facing a situation in which even in offices the Marathi language will be abolished.

I may quote another instance. The Mysore Legislature has passed one Bill regarding the Municipal Councils. There a language clause has been inserted. The clause says that the proceedings of the Municipal Councils shall be kept in Kannada and in English if the Municipal Councils so resolve. There is no mention of any other language except Kannada and English. The Belgaum Municipality



has a clear majority of Marathi-speaking people. The Nipani Municipality has a clear majority of Marathi-speaking people. The Mysore Government wants Kannada to be introduced there. For the last seven years the Mysore Government has tried to introduce Kannada in the municipal records, but due to the majority of the Marathi-speaking people and their resistance it could not happen. Now according to the law they are trying to impose Kannada in the municipal records also. The municipal records have been kept in Marathi from the inception, that is, for more than one hundred years. Now the Mysore Government is coming forward to impose Kannada and abolish Marathi from municipal records. Only I have quoted these instances just to repeat that in 1905 one officer came with Kannada language, and now in 1963 the Mysore Government with the same policy to oust the Marathi language from records, from schools, from even the tongues of the people . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Are they cutting tongues too?

SHRI D. B. DESAI: It is as good as that. If I do not know Kannada, I cannot speak, I cannot express my grievances, I cannot express my sentiments. Even the democratic right which the Constitution has given us is suppressed due to the suppression of the language. I do not want to emphasise this point further.

One point here which I want to emphasise is that the Linguistic Minorities Commission has recommended a number of things. Our complaints have been reported here but the replies given by the Mysore Government are contrary to truth. I cannot say here that they are false. They are not true; that much I can say. But the point here is whether the Commissioner has investigated all these things. The Commissioner is banking on reports received from the State

Government. The question is whether the reports are according to facts, whether they have been ascertained, whether they have been investigated.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS): I may inform him at this stage—I hope the hon. Member will permit me this intervention—that the Assistant Commissioner went to Belgaum, spent some time there, gave notice to all parties and collected all data. After that he made that report.

SHRI D. B. DASAI: May I know from the Minister why Mr. Chanda's trip has been cancelled?

Then the recommendations of the Commission are on the last page.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have two minutes more.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: I am just completing. There are various recommendations of the Commission here. I want to ask the Minister here whether there is any guarantee that these recommendations would be implemented. In the last four reports, and this is the fifth report, we have been getting recommendations from the Commission, and no recommendation has been implemented. I must say categorically that no implementation has been made. There was the three-language formula which was recommended by the South Zonal Council as well as the State Chief Ministers Conference. But in Belgaum again Kannada is imposed as the fourth language in addition to the regional language or the mother tongue, that is Marathi, Hindi and English. So there is no guarantee that the recommendations of the Commission will be implemented. In spite of all these irregularities, of the inability of the Commissioner to investigate all these things, still there are some recommendations. Those recommendations have been standing as they are for the last three years.

[Shri D. B. Desai.]

They are not being implemented. May I ask from the Government for any guarantee that these would be implemented?

And there is one thing more about which a number of people from our area reported to the Home Ministry. Here Hindi has been introduced from the fifth standard. There are some text-books in Hindi. At the end of each lesson, there is a passage given to be translated into Hindi. That passage is specifically given in Kannada with instructions to the teacher that in the non-Kannada schools the teacher should translate the Kannada passage into their mother-tongue and then ask the students to translate it into Hindi. It is a very funny procedure. I have to refer to this thing, and I request the Home Minister to see that these Marathi-speaking people get justice at the hands of the Home Minister at least.

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh): Justice of the Home Minister?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Madam, the extreme difficulties of the linguistic minorities which may occur in certain places have been fully explained by the previous speaker. But I wish to deal with certain points which are more or less common to all linguistic minorities in this country. As the Commissioner has pointed out in this very excellent Report, for which I pay him my tribute, so far as the linguistic minority is concerned, the three-language formula is automatically converted into a four-language formula, because the child has to learn its mother-tongue and it has to learn the regional language. I do not agree that they can escape learning the regional language, unless they are temporary residents. The linguistic minorities permanently resident in any State have to function in that State and they have to learn the regional language. Therefore, that is also an inescapable obligation. So,

that is a second language. And then, there is Hindi, there is English. Therefore, some formula has to be found which will not place an undue burden on the children of the minorities on account of this four-language obligation. My own suggestion will be that so far as these children are concerned, their mother-tongue and the regional language should be a sort of combined course. That is, for the children of the State, if the regional language has to be studied throughout the whole course, for one thousand hours, in the case of the children of the linguistic minorities, five hundred hours should be devoted to the regional language and five hundred hours to the mother-tongue, and the examinations and other things should be adjusted to this formula. Otherwise, the burden on the linguistic minorities will be too heavy.

Then the second point which I would like to take up is the position of Sanskrit. When I say Sanskrit, I mean to say that I have no objection to people taking up Urdu or Persian or even other classical languages. But for the vast majority of non-Muslim and non-Christian population, Sanskrit is a fundamental language which enshrines all the great truths of their religion and culture. Therefore, facilities for learning Sanskrit should be provided for them, and unless it is so, we shall be in the most unfortunate position that in free India, Sanskrit is in a worse position than under the British rule. I have been thinking hard about this, and I have got two suggestions to make to the Home Ministry to consider.

In those States where the mother-tongue is Hindi, I do not see any real useful purpose being served in forcing the children to learn some other regional language. Instead of that, if they are given the facilities and the choice of learning Sanskrit, the alternative being Urdu or Per-

sian—I do not want to repeat it; I do not say that it must be only Sanskrit . . .

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Any classical language.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: It may even be Urdu because I fully realise the difficulties of those people whose mother-tongue is Urdu, as explained by Dr. Sapru. Whenever I say Sanskrit, I always mean that option should be given to learn Urdu or Persian or any other language. If a child, boy or girl, in U.P. or Bihar learns Sanskrit, it will be easy for him or her to learn Bengali, Marathi, Telugu or Malayalam. The only language which may give trouble is Tamil. Even in the case of Tamil, a knowledge of Sanskrit will make it much easier. I can say with confidence that a boy or girl who knows Sanskrit can understand Rabindranath Tagore or Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* or any of the Telugu or Malayalam classics much better than if he or she learns directly Bengali or Marathi or Malayalam or Telugu. Therefore, it is our duty to preserve our great inheritance. I do not claim to be a scholar in Sanskrit but I can say this with confidence that as a classical language, Sanskrit is unrivalled and its literature has simply no parallel whatsoever in any other language including Greek and Latin. Therefore, I think it will be a great crime on the part of the Government of India if it does not provide proper facilities for the people of India to learn Sanskrit. Therefore, the first suggestion that I will make in respect of the Hindi States is that they should have the option of taking up Sanskrit as the third language. Provided this option is given, I have no doubt that a least 90 per cent. of the non-Muslim, non-Christian and non-Anglo-Indian boys and girls will take up Sanskrit, and Sanskrit will become enshrined. For a thousand years, owing to political confusions of all sorts, Sanskrit was practically driven out of North India to South India.

Maharashtra, Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala have preserved Sanskrit for these one thousand years but unfortunately, their position has become a little difficult because children have now to learn not only their regional language but also English and Hindi. All these are inescapable, and for them Sanskrit has to be learnt only as the fourth language. You cannot say that they should not learn Hindi, because we want Hindi to become the national language, and to preserve their contacts with all modern literature, they have to learn English. Therefore, to some extent, Sanskrit will decline in the South. And I want that it should be made up by intensive cultivation in North India. After all, North India is the birth-place of Sanskrit. They had betrayed their trust owing to political instability, and now that we have a free India and have got freedom, I say that it is the duty of every Indian belonging to the Hindi States to see that his child cultivates Sanskrit always, with the alternative that he may learn Urdu or Persian or any other language. That is what I have to say about Sanskrit.

Then, so far as primary education is concerned, the present formula is fairly satisfactory, and it is only a question of implementation. But in the matter of secondary education, the present position is altogether unsatisfactory. I do not think it is right to leave it to the State Governments to provide secondary education, in any major linguistic area, to the linguistic minorities. So, we have to evolve certain criteria, and I would say that in any town or any place where there are at least ten thousand people of a particular language it must be the obligation of the Central Government to provide a secondary school for the children of that minority with the teaching medium being their own mother tongue.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Central authority to provide for it?

**SHRI K. SANTHANAM:** The Central Government must take on the responsibility of providing secondary schools for the linguistic minorities in all the States. In Mysore, for instance, it will have a legal obligation; it will have the obligation, financial and moral, to start Marathi schools and other schools. Similarly it will be in all areas. It is only in that manner that a proper solution can be found. Otherwise I do agree with Mr. Desai there will be a continuous pressure, both financial as well as linguistic and chauvinistic pressure to eliminate the minority languages from the secondary schools, and I think it will create a lot of bitterness. Therefore the Central Government should squarely face the problem and take on the obligation. Of course you cannot say that all over Mysore secondary schools with Marathi as the medium should be established. Therefore certain criteria of population should be laid down. Whether it should be ten thousand or five thousand, or fifty thousand is a matter which has to be considered on merits, but having considered and decided on the criteria, wherever the prescribed criteria obtain, secondary schools with the required linguistic medium provided for should be established. Similarly I think it is the Central Government that should take on the obligation of maintaining a certain minimum number of secondary schools with English as the medium, everywhere, for the children of Anglo-Indians, of Christians and of certain others who are birds of passage, in the sense that officials from Bengal serve in Madras, or officials from Madras serve in Bengal, and they do not know what to do for their children since they do not propose to settle there, in the places where they serve—they are there for a few years, and if their children cannot be educated in, say, Bengal, then they will be in difficulty for want of educational facilities in the places where their parents work and with whom they have to live. So to meet the

needs of such children coming from a different State a certain number of English schools should be established in every State. Of course it may depend upon the actual number to be catered for, may depend upon the conditions prevailing. But a certain minimum number should be established, and to these English-medium schools proper hostels should be attached so that officers from other States may avail of such schools and such hostels, especially when we are insisting that 50 per cent. of the I.A.S. officers and I.P.S. officers and other all-India services should all serve outside their States. And if they are serving in out of the way stations their children may be put in the schools and hostels nearest to their places of duty in which case their children will not lose contact with their parents for long periods of time. So a certain number of secondary schools with attached hostels should be established.

Now coming to colleges there is a great deal of confusion about the medium of instruction. On the one hand, theoretically, it is said that ultimately the medium of instruction can be only the regional language, but again, side by side, it is said that this change-over should not come about unless a proper preparation is made. Now I have got some idea of this preparation in Madras. When Mr. C. Subramaniam was the Minister he fixed a date, so far as the humanities were concerned, for converting all colleges—except one or two—for shifting to Tamil as the medium of instruction, and for that purpose he established a Tamil publications bureau, of which I happen to be a member, and that bureau produced fifty to sixty books in all subjects, concerning economics, politics and other subjects—excellent books. But then who will read the books? Unless Tamil is used as the medium of instruction the books will be useless. If you say that we must have books, we must have transla-

tions, we must have proper literature before we can change over, and I say that now you are going in a vicious circle. Therefore my suggestion is that, from now on, English and the regional language should be made joint media for a whole generation, for, say, thirty years, so that there will be no hurry, there will be no confusion. And in every subject, for part of it some books may be prescribed in English and some books in the regional language, so that the students as well as the teachers will become competent to use both the regional language and English for all purposes of college and university instruction.

Recently I paid a visit to Saugar and met the Vice-Chancellor of the Saugar University. There, that entire university has been converted to Hindi, and the Chancellor told me that the position of the students there was pitiable, because they did not know English, they could not function in English at all, when the whole of India is functioning in English, and so these students are cut off in respect of their university life, their higher educational life from the whole country. Therefore, if the integrity of the whole country, if the integrity of the higher education in this country has to be maintained, I think there is no other alternative but that English must be one medium of instruction, and side by side, the regional language also. If this is done, then the movement from one college to another, from one university to another will become easy, and in due course all our professors and students will be able to function both in English and in the regional language, and ultimately in Hindi also. Thus this linguistic transition will become smooth. My one last suggestion—and I shall end with it—is that the Centre should establish at least two colleges in every State, one in which English and the regional language are joint media, and another in which English and Hindi are joint media. If these two colleges

in this manner are established in every State, it will provide for every kind of linguistic minority. The students may take either their own regional language and English or, if they come from outside, they can take Hindi and English.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: What do you mean by "joint media"? How can two languages be simultaneously employed?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: For instance, in every question paper, to start with, five per cent. of the questions will be in the regional language and ninety-five per cent. will be in English, and each year the regional language quota will increase by five per cent. till a level of fifty per cent. is reached, and thereafter, in respect of the question papers set for their examinations, each boy and girl will be allowed to answer them either in English or the regional language subject to the condition that fifty per cent. should be answered in one language and fifty per cent. in the other if they want to get full marks. Of course they may say that it does not appear to be very tidy to start with, that we must have one or the other. But I do not see any possibility of the transition from one to the other taking place in the foreseeable future. If the whole country says that English must continue for all time, then of course the position is simple. But psychologically, as a nationalist, somehow my entire mind and soul revolt against such an idea. On the other hand, if you say that in two years or five years you are going to get rid of English, I should say it will be destruction of higher education. Therefore this seems to be the only practicable solution, and it will give the time for all our professors to learn to function in the regional language also. Now today you cannot get professors who can lecture in philosophy or economics or anything in their own regional language. My proposal will give the time for the smooth transition. Let us take it easy

[Shri K. Santhanam.]  
and slow, and let the transition take place over thirty years. With these few remarks I think that this linguistic problem requires more detailed consideration. Now the major principles have been settled about the three-language formula, and the ultimate prevalence of the regional language in the university sphere, and Hindi as the Indian national language. But between the ultimate and the present there is going to be a long period of transition, and the problems of transition have to be very carefully analysed and practicable solutions have to be found.

Thank you, Madam.

3 P.M.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:  
Madam Deputy Chairman, I did not intend to take part in this debate although I have carefully read the report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. I sought your permission to speak just because I felt that it is my duty to speak to clear a wrong impression which Shri Desai has given to this House. It is one thing to say that a State should do its utmost to protect the interests of linguistic minorities, but it is quite a different thing to say that the State discriminates against minorities. The argument that my friend advances here is that the State has discriminated against minorities. After all, Belgaum was not with Mysore. It is an integrated area. It has come to Mysore only after the States' reorganisation. That, I suppose, my friend remembers very well. So he cannot attribute this charge of discrimination against the Marathis to the Mysore State as existing of old. It must be a new charge and let us see how far his case is borne out by facts.

Mr. Desai's purpose was to show that Mysore was appointing officers who speak Kannada. I should like to know whether the Government of Maharashtra has appointed any Kannada-speaking officers in Maha-

rashtra areas with large Kannada-speaking people. Has the Tamilian Government appointed any Marathi-speaking officers? It is in the nature of things that an officer who is appointed should be a Kannada-speaking man, but it is also a fact that he is a Marathi-speaking man. All those people who live in the border areas know both the languages of the area.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: How many Marathi-knowing officers are appointed there?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:  
Majority of them.

SHRI D. B. DESAI: There are only six as the report says.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I can challenge you. I can give names. The Government there have taken care to see that a man who is conversant with the people there, who can carry on, who can mix with the people there, who can make himself too understood by the people there, such a man is posted. Such a man is posted as Collector. Such a man is posted as a police official. Such a man is posted for the administrative duties as far as they can find such people. For instance, in Gulbarga, in Bidar, in all these places such persons were posted immediately after the reorganisation. True that in old Mysore only Kannada-knowing people have been posted. But for high-level posts, some Collectors, or people who knew Marathi as well have been posted there although they are Kannada-speaking people. That fact should be remembered by my hon. friend.

Madam, he made another point to say that the Municipal Councils are recording their proceedings in Kannada. If the State language is Kannada and the Municipal Council is recording its proceedings in Kannada, unless the Municipal Council resolves that it should be recorded in Marathi, what is wrong

with it? Can he quote one instance in Maharashtra where a Municipal Council's records its proceedings in Kannada or Telugu although there are thousands and lakhs of Kannada-speaking or Telugu-speaking people there? We do not make a grievance. As far as possible, the majority language should be the language in which the proceedings are recorded, and if there are people who want proceedings to be recorded in English, they are recorded in English. What is wrong therein?

He went on to point out some defects in education where he was completely wrong. As I was submitting to this House, this is a new area which has come into Mysore. Even in old Mysore—I do not know whether my hon. friend knows it or not—there are Marathi-speaking people living in the Bangalore city, for instance. We have a colony called the Surveyors' colony where Marathi schools exist since the 18th and 19th century. And then there are Marathi schools elsewhere also. Here in Appendices VIII, IX and X you will get these figures. There are Marathi schools and if Mysore wanted to discriminate, they could have as well said "No" to Maharashtrians; they need not have encouraged Marathi schools. It is very unfair to allege discrimination against a Government when that Government is just about to act on the recommendations of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner. No State Government, for instance, has acted on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission or on the recommendations of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities because the Governments are slow to act in this regard. They have not taken very quick action, I do admit. And he must know that I am also one of those in Mysore who belong to a linguistic minority, and if I have any grievance, I have a grievance because in my district we have Telugu-speaking people but we do not have one Telugu school. In the Kolar district,

which is full of Telugu-speaking people, we do not have more than one or two Telugu schools. I am not so unfair as my hon. friend to allege that the State has discriminated against us. Mysore was known as a cosmopolitan State. Mysore was known throughout as the most benevolent administration. Gujaratis and people of all nationalities have come and made their home in Mysore. Not that I have nothing to say but we Telugus have no complaints that they have discriminated against us. We did not carry on agitation for establishing Telugu schools because we were satisfied with Canarese and, therefore, we do not have Telugu schools today.

Similarly there are Tamilians. There is a lot of Tamilian population. Telugu-speaking population is 11 per cent. My hon. friend's language-speaking population is 6.24 per cent. I will read out from the Appendix the number of schools they have. Tamilians also are in a very large majority. They have concentrated groups in several cities and they have their own Tamil schools. The State has encouraged them. The State has given encouragement to every linguistic minority as much as possible, rather as is demanded. It was the first State in the whole of India, Madam, where the minority people, the Urdu-speaking, had a special system of education. There are Urdu primary schools, Urdu middle schools, Urdu high schools. They are running now even today managed entirely by the Urdu-speaking people. They were opened only for Muslims . . .

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, while I agree with our hon. friend in his claim that Mysore has provided this special facility to Urdu, let him not take the credit that Mysore is the only State. Madras is the first State.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I give due credit to Madras. I do not

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]  
mean to take credit for myself. But I was saying that it was the foremost to establish these schools. And I do not think that for a hundred of population you have as many Urdu schools anywhere else. Of course, I may not be quite correct.

**SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA (Nominated):** May I point out that the whole credit goes to the Urdu-speaking population who have got intense love for their language? They have always been agitating that their mother-tongue should be recognised. Wherever there are Urdu-speaking people, they have succeeded in getting Urdu schools.

**SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:** There was no agitation in Mysore for Urdu-speaking schools. In fact, the Government themselves sponsored Urdu schools just to encourage the special culture. I was just pointing out to show that discrimination is only a political stunt. It cannot be made by any fair-minded gentleman against the administration of Mysore.

Now, Madam, I come to Appendices VII and IX giving the number of Marathi schools. If the hon. Member refers to page 184 he will find that in Belgaum there are 534 minority language, Marathi, schools. In Bangalore city there are 2. In Bijapur there are 14. Dharwar has 13. North Kanara has 119. Bidar has 83. Gulbarga and Mysore have 3 and 1 respectively. In 1956-57 there were 590 Marathi schools, in 1957-58 there were 761, in 1958-59 it rose to 798, in 1959-60 there were 750 and in 1960-61 there were more than 769. Can anybody say, by looking at these figures, that there is discrimination in the matter of schools or anything of that sort?

**SHRI D. B. DESAI:** Is the hon. Member aware of the percentage of primary schools conducted by the private institutions? It was 40 per cent. of schools conducted by the private institutions.

**SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY:** May be. That is a new area to Mysore. If you look at the old Mysore pattern, most of the schools are Government-managed ones because this was a new entrant into Mysore, the high schools which were owned by the private institutions are continuing. What is wrong? I do not see the point.

Then he referred to some complaints. The Linguistic Minorities Commissioner has taken very good care to go into these complaints. The complaints were by Mr. Gadgil, the ex-Governor of Punjab and by the Vivek Vardhani Society. These two were the complainants. The Commissioner says in para 332:

"The complaint was investigated and it was found that whereas on 1st November 1956 there were 783 Marathi schools with 81,289 pupils and 2,221 teachers therein, the number of such schools rose to 868 with 1,10,334 pupils and 3,046 teachers as on 1st April 1961 . . ."

This is not discriminatory—

" . . . in the six districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka area i.e., Belgaum, etc. \* \* \* It was further learnt that there were no Marathi schools run by the Vivek Vardhani Society of Hyderabad"—

which was one of the complainants. In the next para, he says:

"Representatives of Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, Belgaum had complained about inadequacy of primary schools imparting instruction in Marathi. On investigation it has been found out that there are 35 Marathi schools in Belgaum City for 14,261 pupils as against 15 Kannada schools for 5,709 pupils. In the district as a whole there are 535 Marathi schools and 1,236 Kannada schools."

The Marathi population is only 50 or 52 per cent. in the city of Belgaum. I think these facts will make it clear that the charge of discrimination



against the State Administration is very unfair but if my friend says that the State Administration has to do everything in order to develop and encourage the minorities, I am one with him because I am also pleading for that.

There is one thing which I would suggest. Now the various recommendations of the S.R.C., the Chief Ministers' Conference, the Education Ministers' Conference and the South Zonal Council bring in some conditions precedent for establishing separate schools for minorities or for having classes for minority media. Those conditions are roughly that a certain percentage of population should be there, that in the classes there should be a certain percentage of students of the minority language and they also see the percentage of students as existing in a particular year. They take a year for instance. Now this is a very wrong way of judging things. For instance, where there are no existing schools for minority languages at all for instance as in the Telugu-speaking areas in Mysore, where there are no Telugu schools but if they want to have Telugu schools, if you take the present school strength into consideration, there could be no Telugu schools at all. So where is the question of getting a percentage of Telugu students in a class? There is no percentage. Therefore the attempt ought to be first of all to popularise the recommendations of the S.R.C., the South Zonal Council and that of the Chief Ministers' Conference. Very few people know of them. In fact the Mysore Government have issued a circular that the parents of pupils who want their children to take up their mother-tongue as the medium of instruction should intimate within three months in the year to the authorities concerned but which parent knows this? This must be widely publicised so that the parents of these minority community students know that they have facilities of this sort offered to them and they should take advantage of that. There is very

little knowledge. In fact there is very little knowledge of these healthy provisions for giving facilities for the linguistic minorities. I think the Commissioner's office can perform a very useful function if they give wide publicity to all these provisions. The State Governments issue circulars but generally what happens is the circulars are pasted in front of the educational offices and perhaps in front of the high schools and primary schools but which parent goes to read the circulars there? So they must widely publicise in the vernacular newspapers and see that pamphlets are printed containing the various facilities that are allowed to the minority linguistic groups so that they may take advantage of them. So we need not go into the secondary or university education at first. If the minority groups are not educated in their mother-tongue in the primary schools, there is no question of their taking up their mother-tongue in the secondary or at the university stage. So the primary schools are important to begin with. So in order to have the primary schools of these linguistic minorities, people belonging to the linguistic minorities must know that these are the recommendations of the S.R.C., that these are the recommendations made by the Education Ministers, that these are the recommendations of the South Zonal Council. The Commissioner should give good publicity to these recommendations. I appreciate very highly the report. I have nothing more to say. I do concede that the Mysore Government is slack in proceeding upon or acting upon these recommendations. I think every Government is slack but of my Government I can speak with authority that it is slack.

AN HON. MEMBER: Except Andhra.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I do not know and I am ignorant about Andhra but I think we are not as fast as we should be and I hope if the Minorities Commissioner helps the people to know these things,

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]  
 there will be popular movement also and popular demand also will be generated for these schools and I think the purpose of the Commissioner also will be fulfilled and the linguistic minorities will assert themselves certainly.

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी औरडिया:**

(मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, जो प्रतिवेदन सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया गया है, यह बहुत बड़ा है और मैं उस पर अपने विचार मध्य प्रदेश के क्षेत्र तक ही सीमित रखूंगा। हमारी अपनी भाषाएं, लिपि और संस्कृति है और कम संख्या के जो लोग हैं, उनको संविधान द्वारा कुछ संरक्षण इस सम्बन्ध में प्राप्त हैं और उसी बात को दृष्टि में रख कर हमारे कमिश्नर साहब ने यह रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की है। उन्होंने अपनी इस रिपोर्ट में अच्छी बातों और बुरी बातों का, दोनों का ही वर्णन किया है। उनके सामने जो कठिनाइयां और शिकायतें आई हैं, उनके बारे में मैं आपके सामने चर्चा करना चाहता हूं।

इस रिपोर्ट को देखने पर ऐसा लगता है कि उसमें जो बातें लिखी गई हैं, उनमें से कई बातें ठीक हैं। हम यह देखते हैं कि इतने वर्ष व्यतीत होने के बाद भी संविधान द्वारा जिन भाषाओं को संरक्षण मिला हुआ था, जितनी सुविधाये भाषाओं को मिलनी चाहिये थीं, वह नहीं मिल रही हैं। इसलिए पहली रिपोर्ट में जिन बातों की सिफारिश की गई थी, उन्हीं बातों के बारे में इस रिपोर्ट में भी कमिश्नर महोदय ने सिफारिशों को बदस्तूर जारी रखा है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair.]

अब जहां शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में संरक्षण की बात है और १९५६ में भारत सरकार के मेमोरेण्डम के अन्तर्गत जो संरक्षण प्रदान किया गया है, उसको भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतों के मध्य

मंत्रियों की जो कांफ्रेंस हुई थी, उसमें मान्यता दे दी गई थी। जहां तक प्राइमरी तक शिक्षा देने का सवाल है, वहां अब भी कई क्षेत्र ऐसे हैं, जहां पर लोगों को अपनी भाषा में शिक्षा प्राप्त करने की सुविधा नहीं है और न इस प्रकार की वहां की सरकार द्वारा कोई व्यवस्था ही की गई है, जिसके द्वारा वहां के लोग अपनी भाषा में अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा दिला सकें। मध्य प्रदेश में आदिवासियों की संख्या बहुत अधिक होने के कारण इतनी कठिनाई है कि जिसका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता है। उन लोगों की अपनी भाषा है, लेकिन लिपि नहीं है। उन लोगों की इतनी अधिक भाषाएं हैं, जिसकी वजह से उनके लड़के पढ़ नहीं पाते हैं। जब तक हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र नहीं हुआ था, तब तक वहां पर किसी भी स्कूल का पता नहीं था, लेकिन स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद कुछ स्कूल वहां पर खुल गये हैं। लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि इन स्कूलों में जो विद्यार्थी पढ़ते हैं, उनकी भाषा में समझाने वाला कोई नहीं है। जो समझाने वाले इन स्कूलों में हैं, वे उनकी भाषा को नहीं समझते हैं। जब तक उनकी भाषा में उनको नहीं समझाया जायेगा, तब तक वे इन स्कूलों में पढ़ सकेंगे, इसमें शंका है। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश क्षेत्र में ही मुड़िया, हलवी, फाकड़, भत्री, गोंडी, दोर्ला, दुर्वा, तेलंगा, मिरगान, चण्डार, गदवा आदि आदि कई तरह की भाषाएं हैं, जिनकी कोई लिपि नहीं है। अब यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आता है कि जब हम इन आदिवासियों के लिए भी कुछ करना चाहते हैं, तो क्या कारण है कि हम ऐसा कुछ माध्यम न निकालें कि जिसके द्वारा इन भाषाओं के जानने वाले लोग जो उनमें के ही हों, उनको हम शिक्षण दे करके इस योग्य बना दें कि वे अध्यापक बन सकें और वे प्राइमरी क्लासेज में और सेकेण्डरी क्लासेज में अध्यापन का काम कर सकें। उनकी भाषा के माध्यम से और यदि हमारी देवनागरी लिपि उनको पसन्द आ जाये, तो उसके द्वारा उनको सिखा करके अगर हम उनको पढ़ाना प्रारम्भ कर दें

तो सम्भव है कि हम उनमें शिक्षा का प्रसार भी ज्यादा कर सकें और उनकी जो भाषा है उसका संरक्षण भी कर सकें। इसके अभाव में हो यह रहा है कि हमारे चाहे गितने अच्छे इरादे हों कि हम उनकी भाषा का संरक्षण करें, मगर वे इरादे, केवल इरादे ही रह जाते हैं और संरक्षण हम नहीं दे पाते हैं और कई लोग जो एक भाषा सीखना चाहते हैं वह भी नहीं वे कर पा रहे हैं। इस दृष्टि से मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारे शासन द्वारा मध्य प्रदेश शासन को यह सुझाव दिया जाना चाहिये कि जिस क्षेत्र की भाषा जैसी भी हो, उस क्षेत्र के लोगों को ही हिन्दी अंग्रेजी का ज्ञान दे करके उनको अध्यापक के प्रयोग बना करके उन्हीं लोगों को वहां पर नियुक्त किया जाये और ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि अन्य भाषा जानने वालों को वहां पर और वहां की भाषा जानने वालों को अन्य स्थान पर नियुक्त किया जाये, जिससे कि वे लोग इस पढ़ाई-लिखाई का लाभ ले सकें।

दूसरे यहां पर यह व्यवस्था की गई है कि कार्यालयों में उन भाषाओं का प्रयोग किया जा सकता है, जो अल्पसंख्यकों की हैं। यह सिद्धान्त रूप से स्वीकार किया गया है, मगर दुःख तो इस बात का है कि जो बहु-संख्यक की भाषा है, उसको भी मान्यता नहीं है और यह अल्पसंख्यकों की भाषा की मान्यता हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में तो मुझे देखने को नहीं मिली। वैसे कहने को हम कहते हैं कि मराठी स्पीकिंग कोई आदमी मराठी में अपना प्रार्थना-पत्र दे, तो उसका उत्तर भी मराठी में मिलना चाहिये। कोई सिन्धी वाला सिन्धी में अपना प्रार्थना-पत्र दे तो सिन्धी में उसको अपना उत्तर प्राप्त करना चाहिये। ऐसी व्यवस्था इसमें है, परन्तु इस व्यवस्था का आज तक किसी को लाभ मिला नहीं। इतना ही नहीं, बहु-संख्यक लोगों की जो वहां भाषा है हिन्दी, उसमें भी देने पर उसका उत्तर अंग्रेजी में हमें मिलता है। मैं खुद अपने पत्र भेजता हूँ हिन्दी में और मुझे उत्तर मिलते हैं अंग्रेजी में।

तो ये जो सिद्धान्त की बातें हैं, इनको हमने किताबों में प्रदर्शनी की दृष्टि से या लोगों को दिखाने की दृष्टि से चाहे रख दिया हो, मगर कार्य रूप में इनका कुछ भी उपयोग नहीं होता। इसलिये हमें इस सिद्धान्त को तोड़ देना चाहिये या फिर इसको इस सिद्धान्त का पालन करवाना चाहिये कि माइनारिटी वाले जिस भाषा में प्रार्थनापत्र दें, उसी भाषा में उनको उत्तर मिले और ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि जैसे मैं पत्र देता हूँ हिन्दी में और मुझे उत्तर मिलता है अंग्रेजी में। ये पालनी और भी कुछ न कुछ ध्यान देना आवश्यक है।

इसी तरह से कई विस्थापित हो करके हमारे पुरुषार्थी भाई आये जिनमें पंजाबी भी हैं और सिन्धी भी हैं। इन लोगों में कई को आज भी हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी भाषा आती नहीं। मगर सेन्स टैक्स, इनकम टैक्स या जितने भी सरकारी फार्म होते हैं वे हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में होते हैं। उनके लिये चाहे जो भी प्रावधान हो कि उनको इस तरह के फार्म सप्लाय करना चाहिये, उनकी भाषा में फार्मस का प्रकाशन करना चाहिये, मगर इसके बावजूद उन बेचारों को बहुत कठिनाई उठानी पड़ती है। फार्मस उनकी भाषा में रहते नहीं, वही खाते उनकी भाषा में रहते हैं, हिसाब वे फिर तीसरी भाषा में करें और फिर उसके साथ एक हिन्दी का ट्रांसलेशन या अंग्रेजी का ट्रांसलेशन नत्थी करें, तब कुछ आगे काम हो। तो इस तरह से एक रिपोर्ट हर साल यहां आ जाय और उस पर विचार हो जाये, इससे कुछ काम होने वाला नहीं है। जब तक इस दिशा में हम ठोस कदम नहीं उठाते, तब तक इसमें कुछ हो सकेगा, यह संभव नहीं।

इसके अलावा आदिवासियों की भाषा के सम्बन्ध में यहां पर पेज ३, पैराग्राफ ३६ में बताया है। हमारी मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने उनके बारे में अभी तक कुछ भी निर्णय नहीं लिया है। यह बराबर कहा जाता है कि वहां द्राइबल्स की प्रब्लम है, आदिवासियों की

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]  
समस्या है, उनके लिये हमें कुछ विचार करना चाहिये, मगर इतने वर्ष हो जाने के बाद भी आप कुछ विचार नहीं कर पाये। तो इस दिशा में कुछ किया जाना अत्यंत आवश्यक है।

श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला हमारे यहां पर चल रहा है। सब चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की कॉफ्रेंस में वह स्वीकार किया गया। अब समस्या यह है कि उस श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला में संस्कृत का कहीं भी स्थान नहीं है। मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला के अंतर्गत हिन्दी, अंग्रेजी और संस्कृत को मुख्यतः मान्यता दी और हमारे कमिश्नर साहब ने उस पर ऐतराज किया कि यह चूंकि श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला के अंतर्गत संस्कृत आती नहीं, इस लिये इसको नहीं रखना चाहिये। मैं यह नम्र निवेदन करूंगा कि संस्कृत के माध्यम से दक्षिण भारत की भाषाएं और बंगाली, गुजराती आदि जानी जा सकती हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में जो मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने संस्कृत को एक लैंग्युएज मान करके उसको मान्यता प्रदान कर रखी है, उसमें हमारे कमिश्नर साहब को ऐतराज नहीं करना चाहिये। इतना ही नहीं, यह जो श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला है, उसमें संस्कृत को भी ऐडमिट करवा के यह व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि संस्कृत भी सब जगह पढ़ाई जाये। तो उसका इसमें जोड़ा जाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और इस मामले में जो मध्य प्रदेश सरकार का निर्णय है, उसकी मैं तारीफ करता हूं और हमारे जो कमिश्नर साहब हैं, उनसे मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं . . .

श्री एन० एम० अनवर : क्या आप मेहरबानी फर्मा कर यह बतला सकते हैं कि श्री लैंग्युएज फार्मूला में आप किस तरह से संस्कृत को वहां पेश करेंगे ?

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : जिस तरह से दूसरी भाषाओं को, तमिल को,

तेलगू को, गुजराती को, बंगाली को और दूसरी भाषाओं को पेश करेंगे।

श्री एन० एम० अनवर : यानी आपका यह मकसद हुआ कि जब हम नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, नार्थ और साउथ का मेल-मिलाप कराने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, तो ऐसी जवानों को आप नज़र-अन्दाज़ कर रहे हैं जो साउथ की या द्राविण स्टाक की हैं और उनके बदले अगर आप संस्कृत को पढ़ाना चाहते हैं, तो संस्कृत नार्थ की मानोपली नहीं है, संस्कृत साउथ की भी है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): That is all right, Mr. Anwar, but this is no interruption, you are making a speech.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: But, Sir, if you include Sanskrit then how is it a three-language formula?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): But his time is limited.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: It will be a four-language formula.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : माननीय अनवर साहब ने इंटरप्शन में जो अपना भाषण दिया, उसमें संस्कृत के महत्व को उन्होंने अच्छी तरह से समझा दिया और यह भी कह दिया कि संस्कृत केवल उत्तर भारत के लोगों की मानोपली नहीं और वह दक्षिण भारत की भी भाषा है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह स्पष्ट है कि संस्कृत को एक भाषा के रूप में रखना आवश्यक है और इस दिशा में कुछ अवश्य किया जाना चाहिये।

अब हमारे यहां पर एक शिकायत यह आई कि सिन्धी को आठवें शेड्यूल में नहीं जोड़ा गया है और इसकी वजह से हमारे यहां के कई सिन्धी भाइयों ने और उनकी जो संस्था

है उसने इसके लिये काफी शिकायतों की कि इससे जो कई प्रकार के लाभ हैं कम्पिटिशन के, रेडियो में ब्राडकास्ट के और कई तरह के, वे उनको मिल नहीं पाते। इसके लिये बड़े प्रयत्न किये गये, मगर इस वक्त जो स्थिति है, उसमें हमारी सिन्धी भाषा समाप्त होती जा रही है। हम लोग यह चाहते हैं कि उसका संरक्षण हो, मगर वह हो नहीं पा रहा है। इसके लिये कम से कम हमारे कमिश्नर साहब ने जो सुझाव दिया है, उतना तो किया ही जाना चाहिये। इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ११८ पर यह बताया है :

"Being neither a regional language of any State nor being included in the Eighth Schedule, the future of the language is in jeopardy and the Commissioner recommends that the same privileges be accorded to it as to the Nepali language in Darjeeling."

तो इस तरह से अगर हम आठवें शेड्यूल में इसको जोड़ कर, इसको पूरी मान्यता नहीं दे सकते तो कम से कम उसके समकक्ष ला करके एक कदम तो रखें, जिससे एक दो जनरेशन में जो सिन्धी भाषा भारतवर्ष से समाप्त हो सकती है, उसको रोका जा सके और उसका संरक्षण किया जा सके।

नौकरियों की बाबत भी इसमें यह है कि भाषा के आधार पर किसी तरह का प्रतिबन्ध नहीं होगा, परन्तु एक बात मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कई आधारों में से एक भाषा का आधार भी ले करके हमने प्रांतों का विभाजन किया है और अगर एक हिन्दी सूबा में कोई केवल अंग्रेजी और तमिल जानने वाला नौकरी करे या कलेक्टर बने, तो उसके लिये काश्तकारों से मिलने में या साधारण नागरिकों से मिलने में एक द्विभाषी की आवश्यकता रखना, यह कुछ न्यायसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता।

किसी भी कर्मचारी की नियुक्ति के समय कम से कम यह प्रतिबन्ध तो लगाना ही होगा, चाहे वह दक्षिण भारत का हो या और कहीं का हो, उसकी जो मदर टंग है, उसके बारे में तो कोई कुछ जोर नहीं देता है, मगर इस बात में तो जोर देना ही होगा कि जिस क्षेत्र में उसे नौकरी करना है उस क्षेत्र की रीजनल लैंग्वेज को वह जाने, उस क्षेत्र की लैंग्वेज की ग्रंडस्टैंडिंग उसे होनी चाहिये, उसकी नालेज होनी चाहिये और कम से कम इतना ज्ञान उसे होना चाहिये कि वह यह समझ सके कि क्या कौन चाहता है। मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश ने इसी आधार पर वहां की पब्लिक सर्विसेज के लिये, वहां की नौकरियों के लिये यह प्रतिबन्ध लगाया है कि हिन्दी का ज्ञान उसे होना चाहिये, लेकिन उस पर कमिश्नर साहब ने ऐतराज लिया है। मैं इसको ठीक नहीं समझता हूँ। जिस क्षेत्र में जो नौकरी करने वाला है, वह उस क्षेत्र की भाषा को नहीं समझेगा तो फिर द्विभाषी अमले को बढ़ा कर हम काम करते जाना चाहते हैं या क्या करना चाहते हैं, कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है। हम यह नहीं कहते कि उसकी अगर तमिल मदर टंग है या तेलगू मदर टंग और वह हिन्दी जानता है तो उस पर किसी प्रकार का प्रतिबन्ध लगायें लेकिन जो भी नौकरी करने वाले हैं, उन पर यह बाईंडिंग जरूर होनी चाहिये कि वे उस क्षेत्र की रीजनल लैंग्वेज का ज्ञान रखें। वे लोग इतनी परीक्षाएँ पास करते हैं और इतने बड़े बड़े अधिकारी बन करके आते हैं, तो उनको वहां की भाषा का भी ज्ञान होना चाहिये। जो मामूली लोग अपना व्यवसाय करने के लिये कहीं जाते हैं, वे भी आसानी से सभी भाषाओं का प्रयोग कर लेते हैं और रीजनल लैंग्वेज को समझने लगते हैं तो फिर अगर किसी आदमी को बंगाल में जा कर नौकरी करनी है, तो उसे बंगाली जानना चाहिये, गुजरात में जा कर नौकरी करनी है, तो गुजराती जानना चाहिये या किसी अन्य प्रान्त में जा कर नौकरी करनी है, तो उस प्रान्त की भाषा का ज्ञान होना

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया] चाहिये। ऐसी स्थिति में जो प्रतिबन्ध हमारे मध्य प्रदेश वालों ने और उत्तर प्रदेश वालों ने लगाया था उसे पर जो ऐतराज कमिशन ने लिया है, वह मैं ठीक नहीं मानता और उस दृष्टि से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसमें कुछ न कुछ किया जाना आवश्यक है, जिससे कि इस तरह के प्रतिबन्ध लगा सकें।

अब एक बात और गाई करने के लिये बताया है और वह यह है कि आर्टिकल २९ के अनुसार माइनारिटीज की लैंग्जुएज, स्क्रिप्ट और कल्चर को भी प्रोटेक्ट करना है, यह बात उन्होंने यहां दी है। लेकिन मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा खेद होता है कि हमारे यहां पर जो आदिवासियों का कल्चर है उसको सुरक्षित नहीं रखा जा रहा है और उस कल्चर को प्रति दिन समाप्त किया जा रहा है। ऐसा नहीं कि उसको समाप्त करने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने कुछ किया है मगर सरकार के मौन रहने का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि हमारे कई आदिवासी अपनी संस्कृति को छोड़ कर, अपने रीति रिवाजों को छोड़ कर, धर्म परिवर्तन करके अपनी सारी संस्कृति को समाप्त करते जा रहे हैं। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में बड़े स्केल पर, बड़े पैमाने पर इस तरह का कार्य चल रहा है कि उनका धर्म परिवर्तन होता है और वह अपनी संस्कृति को समाप्त करते हैं। इसके लिये हमारे पुराने मध्य भारत में और पुराने मध्य प्रदेश दोनों क्षेत्रों में कमेटियां बैठाई गई थीं—नियोगी कमिशन और रेगी कमिशन—और इन लोगों ने अपनी रिपोर्ट्स को कभी का शासन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर दिया था और दोनों कमिशनों की रिपोर्ट—एकीकरण हो जाने के बाद—मध्य प्रदेश के शासन के पास आई और मध्य प्रदेश शासन ने केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास ये दोनों रिपोर्टें भेजीं और मन्त्रिष्वरा मांगा, राय मांगी कि क्या क्या एक्शन लेना चाहिये, मगर बड़े खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वे दोनों रिपोर्टें दाखिल दफ्तर पड़ी हैं और हमारे केन्द्रीय शासन ने,

हमारे मंत्रालय ने उस पर कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया है। लाखों रुपया इन रिपोर्टों को तैयार करने में खर्च किया गया और इस बात के लिये खर्च किया गया कि हमारे संविधान के अन्तर्गत उनकी संस्कृति को सुरक्षित रखने के लिये जो प्रावधान रखा है, उसको सेफगाई करने के लिये जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाया है, वह अमल में आये और वह किसी लोभ के कारण या किसी और कारण धर्म परिवर्तन न करें और अपनी संस्कृति नष्ट न करें। इसी दृष्टि से वह प्रतिबन्ध लगाया गया है, मगर उसका ध्यान हमारी सरकार ने आज तक नहीं किया है और दिन प्रति दिन कंक्शंस हो रहे हैं और उनकी संस्कृति समाप्त होती जा रही है। क्या हमारे शासन का उद्देश्य यह है कि जो धन के आधार पर या लोभ के आधार पर धर्म परिवर्तन करा सकें, वह करा लें। एक जमाना था जब कि तलवार के आधार पर धर्म परिवर्तन होता था, लेकिन आज वह जमाना, नहीं रहा है, आज के जमाने में लोभ देकर प्रेम देकर या और किसी तरह से अपनी बना कर उनका धर्म परिवर्तन कराते हैं मगर कोई पढ़ा लिखा आदमी किसी धर्म के सिद्धांत को पान कर, समझ कर धर्म परिवर्तन करे, तो हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा मगर जब बेपढ़े आदमी से फुसलावा देकर, लोभ देकर, लालच देकर धर्म परिवर्तन करवाते हैं, तो वह न्यायसंगत नहीं होगा और उस पर रोक लगाना हमारे शासन का कर्तव्य है। ऐसी स्थिति में जब हम माइनारिटी के इंटरैस्ट को गाई करना चाहते हैं, उनकी संस्कृति का संरक्षण करना चाहते हैं, तो कम से कम अगर और कुछ नहीं कर सकें, तो इतना तो करें ही कि जो रिपोर्ट रेगी कमिशन ने और नियोगी कमिशन न दी है, उसे कार्यान्वित करने की कृपा करें और उसे कार्यान्वित करने की कृपा करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

(Time bell rings.)

वैसे तो मंत्री महोदय ने मेरी ओर कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं दिया है और इसका मुझे बड़ा खेद है। एक ही मंत्री यहां बैठे हुए हैं और वह भी अपनी बातों में इतने मस्त रहे हैं कि उनको कुछ भी पता नहीं है कि कौन क्या भाषण दे रहा है और क्या कह रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में समझ में नहीं आता है कि वह क्या जवाब देंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Hajarnavis, you have to come here.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: He has come here to talk with another Member, not to hear anybody.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: No, no, I am here, I am hearing.

श्री विमलकुमार मशालालजी चौरड़िया : इस तरह की बात करने से कोई काम नहीं चलेगा। बाद में ऐसा होता है कि मंत्री महोदय का कोई जवाब नहीं रहता है; क्योंकि उनका ध्यान नहीं है। वह यह कहते कि गलती हो गई, तो भी ठीक था; क्योंकि "टू अरर इज ह्यमन"। मैं कहूंगा कि मंत्री जी से गलती हुई, लेकिन वह अपनी एरर को नहीं मानते हैं। मैं कहूंगा कि जानबूझ कर उपेक्षा की जा रही है, यह कोई न्यायसंगत नहीं है। मैं बराबर १५ मिनट से भाषण दे रहा हूँ, लेकिन जन्होंने एक शब्द नहीं सुना है और फिर कहेंगे कि मैं पढ़ लूंगा, लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि पढ़ने वाले क्या हैं और कैसे पढ़ा जाता है। यह जो उपेक्षा हमारे शासन की है, इसको मैं घणित समझता हूँ। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर आपसे काम नहीं होना, तो दूसरी बात है, लेकिन यह कार्यवाही ठीक नहीं है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have to be more attentive to the Members.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, I have studied the latest Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities with great care and I have also studied, in earlier years the Reports for the preceding years and I have come to the conclusion that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities deserves every appreciation for the great labour, patience, perseverance with which he has tried to make the State Governments respond to his proposals for safeguarding the rights of the minority languages and I think it is an institution which has given us considerable experience as to how these matters should be handled. Among the many languages with which the Report deals is my own language—Sindhi. Of course, for my own language, I do consider, on merits and in justice that the legitimate place is the Eighth Schedule. But I do not propose to go into that question today. The Report also deals with numerous difficulties which my language has had to face at the primary and secondary stages in various States. With these questions also I do not propose to deal today. I do intend to take them up more fruitfully at a personal level with the Ministry or the State Governments or with the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Today, I shall speak on certain basic questions which affect the interests of all the languages including mine and much more, which affect the interests of the nation. I will make some concrete suggestions in this connection I do not think that the question of linguistic minorities is some kind of a minor question of mere linguistic minorities. It is basically linked up with the question of national integration both at the State level and at the national level. The feeling of consolidation inside the State, the sentiment which makes every section of the people in a State develop a warm-hearted State loyalty is involved in this and so also is involved the national feeling in the country as a whole. We know that it was over the language question, a minority language question, that blood was shed in the Brahmaputra Valley.

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.]

It was that shock which made us all realise that special steps have to be taken for national integration. We had big conferences and we have set up an Integration Council, all because the question out of which that most unfortunate event took place in my second home, Assam, showed us the weakness of our internal situation. And I do plead with the Government not to consider the question of linguistic minorities as a mere question of language. With the question of language are intertwined certain very vital sentiments of a human being. No one can read the Introduction of our Prime Minister to Mr. Pandit's English version of Raja Tarangini without feeling with him about the importance of the element of language in the human being's composition. I do therefore plead with the Government that we must deal with this problem as an important problem of national integration.

And the suggestions which I want to make are that there ought to be now not a mere Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities but we must have at the Centre a Minister for Minorities who may be a part of the Ministry of Home Affairs. We find half a dozen villages in Kannada-speaking areas not willing to be under the rule of the Marathi-speaking majority. I give one such illustration only. I found in another State soon after that State was created into a separate State based on language suddenly the language in small informal committee meetings changed. In a Committee of nine which included two people who did not speak the regional language, the latter found themselves entirely out of place because in the informal committee meetings they found that overnight the medium which everybody understood was replaced by the regional medium and those two could not fully participate. They might have understood others vaguely but they could not fully express themselves and they felt that

they two had no place in that Committee of nine and they felt themselves as outsiders. It is that psychological impact and reaction which we must avoid. I am one of those who believe that the acuteness of the minority problem, even the acuteness of the linguistic minority problem, is the reaction to the attitude of the majority. Wherever the majority considers the minorities in a State as part of the family, wherever the State majorities think that others are their younger brothers, not merely younger brothers but brothers, there will be no difficulty. The attitude towards the minorities or the linguistic minorities has to be one of family relationship, of oneness, of ownness, what we say in Hindi, of *apnapan*. But I find that that feeling does not exist. On the contrary what I find is that the feelings on account of language are becoming more acute. In every part of the country we have some focus of discontent. In every State there are a few small foci of discontent on the language question whereas a large-hearted long-visioned nation would encourage whatever languages there are in the country. The more liberally and generously is the language of a minority encouraged the less does the minority have the feeling of minority. They also begin to develop that feeling of *apnapan*. It is not merely safeguarding the rights of a minority; it is not merely the negative act which we have to do it is not simply that we have to prevent some difficulty but we have to encourage them and we have to see that they also feel that they are members of the same family, maybe younger members of the family, and therefore the majority in every State should cultivate deliberately and a develop—and we must have a definite programme of developing—that the language of the minority, let them feel that you regard their language as your own. Take for instance the State of Gujarat. The Gujarat State should encourage the Marathi language and make every Maharashtrian in Gujarat feel that Marathi is also considered as one of the languages of



Gujarat. I do not want to give more illustrations. It is that kind of feeling proceeding from the majority which is in political power which will make the linguistic minorities feel less as minorities. The acuteness of feeling, the conflict, the feeling of tension will disappear because they will feel that they are all taken care of; they will feel that they are allowed to develop and grow. I have no doubt that it is in that atmosphere that the minority language people will take more agreeably to the adoption of the regional language. Their whole attitude changes in such an atmosphere. Therefore I do plead that we should deal with this matter from a larger and higher standpoint and we must not regard it merely as a question of linguistic minorities. And here I am not addressing anything which the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has to hear but I am saying something which the Government as a whole should in my opinion attend to and consider. I therefore suggest that we should not only have a Minister for Minorities at the Centre but we should also have annual conferences where the Minister-in-charge of Minorities will preside and it should be attended by the officials from the States who have to deal with the minority language question along with the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. In such annual conferences the various difficulties, blocks and hindrances will be discussed and some kind of a way found out. And every two years there should be bi-annual conferences, presided over by the Home Minister at which the Chief Ministers of the States on whom has now been placed the duty of seeing to the rights of the linguistic minorities will also attend and in those conferences the broader questions of policy would be decided. More than that, the third thing that I suggest is that the treatment of minorities must now become formally a Central Union subject. We must include specifically and separately the treatment of Minorities as a Union subject. The Centre must take a more active, and in my opinion more directive part in regard to this matter because it is not a ques-

tion of a small minority in Madhya Pradesh or a small minority in Assam. It is a question of minorities which are spread all over India. No country in the world probably has a minority problem so complex as ours because our linguistic minorities are spread out. We do not find one State with one linguistic minority. We find languages which are majority languages in one State are minority languages in several other States and so throughout all the States we find the multiple minority language problem persisting. Therefore I suggest that we must deal with this question in a broader way, with a longer vision and absolutely in the context of national integration. I consider the question of the minority languages as one of the basic stones on which the foundation of national integration has to be laid and I do hope that whatever suggestions I have humbly made will be considered because I regard the matter as very very vital for national unity.

شری انیس قداوی (اتر پردیش) :

وائس چیرمین صاحب - لنگوئسٹک مائنارٹیز کمیشنر کی رپورٹ حسب معمول اس سال بھی آئی ہے - رپورٹ ہمیں یہ بتاتی ہے کہ کس کس زبان کے کتے بولنے والے ہر استیت میں ہیں - صوبوں کی حکومتوں نے ان کو کہا کیا رعایتیں دی ہیں - اس میں حالات پر تبصرہ بھی ہے اعداد شمار بھی ہیں - یہ بھی ہے کہ پچھلی سفارشوں پر کتنا عمل ہوا ہے - کئی ریاستوں نے چیف منسٹر کانفرنس کی ہدایتوں پر عمل کیا اور کن ریاستوں نے نہیں کیا ہندوستان کو آزاد ہوئے ۱۶ برس ہو گئے ہیں مگر اقلیتوں کی زبان کا مسئلہ ایسا

[شریمتی انہس قدوائی]

ہے کہ وہ آج تک طے نہیں ہو سکا۔  
دنیا کے اور بھی کئی بڑے ملک  
ہیں ان میں بہت سی زبانیں بولنے  
والے رہتے ہیں اسٹیٹس میں جو  
مختلف رہیں سہن رکھتی ہیں  
مختلف زبانیں رکھتی ہیں لیکن  
کہیں بھی ایسی پراہم پیدا نہیں  
ہوئی جیسی کہ ہمارے دیس میں  
ہوئی ہے۔ یہاں ہماری بولی بھی  
چھکڑے کی چیز ہی گئی ہے۔ بالکل  
آسان سی چھڑ تھی جس کو ریاستی  
حکومتوں کی ہفت دھرمی نے ایک  
بڑا اہم مسئلہ بنا کر سامنے کھڑا کر  
دیا ہے۔ سرکاری زبان ہندی قرار دینے  
کے بعد ہر صوبہ میں دو یا تین  
بولیاں مقامی تھیں جن کو اگر  
علاقائی طور پر ریجنل لہنگویج مان  
لھا جاتا ان کے اندرونی کام جو ہیں  
ان میں ان کو کرنے کی  
اجازت دے دی جاتی۔ پرائمری اور  
سیکنڈری ایجوکیشن تک ان کو  
پڑھانے کا بندوبست ہو جاتا اور جو  
روز مرہ کے سرکاری کام تھے وہ اپنی  
علاقائی زبان میں انجام دئے جاتے تو  
اتنی مشکل نہ پڑتی جتنی اب ہو  
گئی ہے۔

اب اس گھمبھ کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا  
ہے اور اس تنگ نظری نے یہ گولوا کر  
لھا ہے کہ دو پلج سالہ پلان ہمارے اوپر  
سے نکل گئے ہیں لیکن عام لوگوں کو

پتہ نہیں چلا کہ ان میں کیا کیا تھا  
اور انہیں کیا کونا چاہئے تھا جو کام  
کرنے چاہئیں تھے جو نشانے مقرر تھے  
وہ ادھوریہ دے گئے، وہ پورے نہیں ہو  
سکے۔ اب تیسری پوجنا چل رہی ہے  
کچھ لوگوں کو اس کے بارے میں  
جان کاری ہو گئی ہے اور ہر طبقہ کچھ  
نہ کچھ پلان کے بارے میں واقف ہو گیا  
ہے۔ مگر پچھلی بہت سی اصلاحیں  
ایسی تھیں جو ادھوریہ دے گئیں اور  
کاتج اندھیری اور کوآپریتھو کے پوزفل  
پروگرام ناکام ہو گئے مگر یہ گولوا نہیں  
ہوا کہ جو مائڈریٹی لہنگویج تھیں  
ان کو پوری طرح صوبے میں کاروبار کے  
لئے استعمال کیا جائے۔ ہندی سرکاری  
زبان ہوتے ہوئے بھی معلوم نہیں کچھ  
نادان دوستوں کے دماغ میں یہ بات  
کھسے گھس گئی ہے کہ جب تک  
قندے کے زور سے سرکاری زبان نہیں  
بدلتی جائیگی تب تک اس کو اہمیت  
حاصل نہیں ہو سکے گی۔ اس  
تعصب کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا ہے کہ آسامی،  
بنگالی، مراٹھی، پنجابی، تامل، تیلگو  
اور سب زبانوں کا مسئلہ اٹھ کھڑا ہوا۔  
سب سے غم اہم معاملہ یو۔ پی۔ کا تھا  
اور یو۔ پی۔ میں کوئی مسئلہ ایسا  
نہیں تھا جو اتنا مشکل ہو جاتا اور  
اٹلے چھکڑے کی بلہان بدلتا۔ یو۔ پی۔

میں ہندی اور اردو ساتھ ساتھ چلتی  
رہی چاہئے مجھے یاد ہے کہ جب  
ماسٹر یا مولوی ہم لوگوں کو گھر میں

پڑھاتے تھے تو وہ بھک وقت ایک چمک  
بہت کمزور تھیں چار زبانیں بچوں کو پڑھانیا  
کرتے تھے۔ اس میں ہندی پڑھنے  
والے بچے بھی آتے تھے اردو پڑھنے والے  
بھی عربی پڑھنے والے بھی اور فارسی  
پڑھنے والے بھی بچے آتے تھے۔ ایک  
آدمی بھک وقت ان سب کو تعلیم  
دیتا تھا۔ جو چھوٹے چھوٹے مکتب  
ہمارے گھروں میں ہوتے تھے اگر ان  
میں اس طرح کا انتظام ہو سکتا تھا  
تو گورنمنٹ کے جو بڑے بڑے اسکول  
ہوں ان میں ایک سے دوسری زبان  
کو آسانی سے کہوں نہیں پڑھایا جا  
سکتا ہے۔

کھیلنے والے ایلی ریورٹ میں یہ  
بتایا ہے کہ یہ۔ ہی۔ نے ایلی ریورٹ کا  
جائزہ تک لیا پسند نہیں کیا ہے۔  
حالانکہ چیف منسٹروں کو ہدایت  
تھی کہ ضروری آسانیاں مائندارتھز  
لہنگویچز کو دینے کے بعد وقتاً فوقتاً  
ان کو دیکھا بھی جائے۔ چیکنگ کیا  
جائے۔ لیکن اس پر عمل صرف آندھر  
پردیہ کی کپڑ اور مدراس کی سرکار  
نے کیا۔ ریورٹ میں یہ بھی بتایا گیا  
ہے کہ رام پور میں جس علاقہ کو  
اردو اسپیکنگ ایریا قرار دیا گیا ہے  
وہاں پر اردو پڑھانے کے لئے کوئی  
خاص انتظام نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔  
ابھی مسٹر سلیمان نے ایلی تقریر  
میں کہا تھا کہ ہندی صوبے یا ہندی  
ایریا والے۔ مہدی مسجد میں نہیں

آنا کہ ہندوستان میں کونسا صوبہ  
ایسا ہے کہ جس کے بارے میں کہا  
جا سکتا ہے کہ وہ ہندی کا ہے۔  
صرف ہندی کے کہنے سے وہ ہندی کا  
صوبہ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ ہم کہتے ہیں  
کہ ہماری بولی اردو ہے لیکن آپ  
کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں تمہاری ہندی  
ہے۔ یہ سراسر ہف دھرمی ہے اور  
اسی ہف دھرمی کی وجہ سے لوگوں  
کے اندر اتنی پگرنس پیدا ہو گئی ہے  
اتنا اختلاف پیدا ہو گیا ہے اور یہ  
ہی۔ ہر چیز میں بچھڑ گیا ہے۔

ہندوستان میں جتنی بولیاں ہیں  
میں اس بات کو ماننے کے لئے تیار  
ہوں کہ سب کی ماں سلسکرت ہے  
اور اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے  
لیکن سلسکرت کہیں بھی نہیں بولی  
جاتی اور جو تھیں زبانوں کا فارمولہ تھا  
اس میں یہ کہا گیا تھا کہ ہندوستان  
میں بولنے والے جو زبانوں میں  
جو گورنمنٹ کے شہدوں میں ہیں  
اور میں سے کوئی ایک جدید  
زبان ہو۔ تو سلسکرت اس تھری  
لہنگویچ فارمولے میں کس طرح  
نہیں آسکتی ہے۔ دوسرا سوال یہ  
ہے کہ گورنمنٹ نے جو انٹیلیجنٹ  
کانفرنس بلائی اس نے جو ریپورٹیں  
پاس کئے چھ منسٹروں کی کانفرنس  
بلائی گئی اس نے بھی کچھ چیزیں  
میں کہیں، کچھ ہدایتیں میں نذر اس  
کے بعد تمام اسٹیمس کو وہ فیصلے

[شریمتی انیس قدوائی]

بھجے گئے - تب یہ سوال اور یہ حق کہاں سے باقی رہ گیا کہ اسٹیٹ ان فیصلوں کو مانیں یا نہ مانے اگر سینٹرل گورنمنٹ اور اسٹیٹ کی گورنمنٹ کے نمائندے آپس میں بیٹھ کر کوئی فیصلہ کرتے ہیں - پرائم منسٹر کی چیز کو منظور کرتے ہیں - پراونس کے تمام نمائندے ان سب چیزوں کو منظور کرتے ہیں پھر اپنے صوبہ میں بیکھر ان باتوں پر عمل نہ کریں تو اس کے معنی کیا ہوتے ہیں ؟ اگر اس طرح سے ہر صوبہ کو من مانی کرنے کی چھوٹ دے دی گئی - جس طرح دو چار جگہ ابھی دے دی گئی ہے تو میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ معاملہ کبھی بھی طے نہیں ہو سکتا اور ایسی پراہم روز بروز پیدا ہوتی رہیں گی - ویسے تو کہا جاتا ہے کہ ہندی اردو میں بہت زیادہ فرق نہیں ہے - اس میں شک بھی نہیں ہے - مگر آئند نرائن صدانے اردو کلپنٹھن لکھنٹو میں جھسا کہ اپنی تقریر میں کہا تھا کہ مانسروڑ جھل سے تھن دریا نکلتے ہیں - ایک لکھا ستلیج اور تھسری برہمپتر - یہ تھن ندیاں الگ ناموں سے پکاری جاتی ہیں اور الگ الگ علاقوں میں بہتی ہیں - لیکن ان کو ایک دریا نہیں کہہ دیا جاتا - فائدہ سب کو پہنچتا ہے - یہی صورت ہے کہ ہندوستان میں جن زبانوں کی ماں سنسکرت ہو اور جس زبان

کی ماں عربی ہو نو دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ آیا وہ بولی جاتی ہیں ان کا کوئی تقریبچہ ہے ان کی کوئی لکھائی ہے یا نہیں - ان سب چیزوں کو دیکھنے کے بعد مائٹرائٹی کی زبانوں کا فیصلہ کرنا ہوگا - میرا خیال ہے کہ ہر پراونس میں جتنی بھی بولیاں ہیں وہ اپنا بھک گراؤنڈ رکھتی ہیں - زبان کوئی ایسی چیز نہیں ہے کہ جسے ہم اور آپ بدلائیں یا کوئی حکومت چاہے بنا لے - ہر زبان کی ایک تاریخ ہوتی ہے اس کی تہذیب ہوتی ہے اور ایک بہت بڑا بھک گراؤنڈ ہوتا ہے - ان تمام چیزوں کو لے کر صدیوں میں ایک زبان قبول ہوئی ہے - اسی طرح سے ہندی قبول کی گئی - اس طرح سے اردو قبول ہوئی اور اسی طرح سے ہندوستانی کی دوسری بڑی بڑی زبانیں بنیں - آپ ان میں سے کسی زبان کو آسانی سے مٹا نہیں سکتے ہیں لیکن جو آفیشل زبان ہے وہ عام طور پر کاروباری زبان ہوتی ہے وہ دنیا میں ہر حکومت میں ایک رکھی جاتی ہے اور وہ آفیشل زبان جو ہوتی ہے اس کو پھر سب کے لئے لازمی ہوتا ہے اس لئے ہم لوگ ہندی کی ترقی کے لئے اس کو بڑھا دینے کے لئے اس کو میں مقبول کرنے کے لئے کوشش کرنا ضروری سمجھتے ہیں مگر ساتھ ہی ہندوستان میں علاقائی زبانوں کو قائم

کرنے کے لئے جتنی کوشش کرنی چاہیئے وہ بھی کرنی ہے۔ اور وہ اب تک ہو چکی ہوتی اور سب زبانیں ہندی کے قریب آگئی ہوتیں۔ اگر یہ کشکھ نہیں ہوتی۔ پلڈت جی نے حال میں کہا تھا کہ آج کل ایک جہتی اور میل جول کی بڑی چرچا ہوتی ہے۔ اور اردو زبان میل جول بڑھانے کا ایک بڑا نمونہ ہے۔ بدقسمتی ہے کہ گاندھی جی کے سامنے ہندوستانی زبان کا ایک نظریہ تھا اور وہ نظریہ یہ تھا کہ ہندوستان کی جو آفیشیل زبان ہو وہ ہندوستانی سمجھی جائے اور ہندوستانی کو دونوں رسم الخط میں لکھا جائے۔ دیو ناگری میں اور فارسی میں لیکن اس کی کوشش نہیں کی گئی اور نہ اس کو کسی نے مانا۔ اب یہ سوال ہے کہ سبھی زبانوں کو الگ الگ مان لیا جائے گا یعنی تمام ریجنل لہنگویجز کو مان لیا جائے جہاں تک ابتدائی تعامد سے لے کر سیکندری تک پڑھانے کا سوال ہے وہ مادری زبان میں پڑھائی ہو در اقلیتوں کو اس کا موقع دیا جائے۔ انڈی سی بات پر مارا جھگڑا ہو گیا اور کشنر بے چارے بھی اس معاملہ کو طے نہیں کر پائے انہوں نے بھی اپنی رپورٹ میں لکھا ہے کہ کچھ استہمت ایسی ہیں جو اس بات کو نہیں مانتی ہیں۔ میں قہمتی منسٹر صاحب سے پوچھنا چاہتی ہوں کہ ہوم

منسٹری نے اس بات پر کوئی ایکشن لیا یا نہیں کیا وہ استہمت اس چہز کو منظور کرنے کا ارادہ رکھتی ہیں یا نہیں؟ کیا مائنارٹیز کے سیف گارنس میں یہ چہز شامل نہیں ہے۔

جہاں تک مسلمانوں کا معاملہ ہے مسلمانوں نے چھ سو سال کی کوشش کے بعد اپنا سارا مذہبی لٹریچر اپنی ساری تواریخ اور اپنے جتنے ادب تھے ہر چہز کو انہوں نے اردو میں ترجمہ کر کے اکٹھا کر لیا۔ اردو زبان کو کہیں سے لہکر نہیں آئے تھے وہ یہیں کے میل جول سے بنی تھی۔ اور یہاں اس میں سب چیزیں منتقل کر کے وہ مطمئن ہو گئے اور اب آپ اردو کو ختم کرنا چاہتے ہیں اس لئے مسلمانوں کو سب سے زیادہ پریشانی ہو گئی ہے۔ میرا یہ دعوں ہے کہ یو۔ پی۔ میں ساٹھ سے ستر فی صدی آدمی تک اردو بولتے ہیں۔ اور لکھتے پڑھتے ہیں۔ اگر لکھتے پڑھتے والوں کی تعداد ان سولہ برس میں گھٹ بھی گئی ہوگی تو بھی ۵۰ فی صدی سے نیچے نہیں آئی ہے۔ آج بھی کروڑوں آدمی ایسے ہیں جو اس زبان کو بولتے ہیں لکھتے ہیں اور پڑھتے ہیں یہ بھی کچھ علاقے ایسے ہیں کہ جن کو کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ ہندی اسپیکنگ ایریا ہے کچھ کو کہا جاتا ہے کہ اردو اسپیکنگ ایریا ہے اور ان میں کوئی آسانہاں نہیں دی گئی ہیں۔ اس لئے یو۔ پی۔ کے معاملہ میں جبکہ کشنر نے بھی اپنی رپورٹ میں

[شریمنی انیس قدوائی]

اس کا تذکرہ کیا ہے یہ خاص طور پر  
آپ لوگوں کے لئے قابل توجہ ہے۔

سولہ برس کے اندر پریڈیڈنٹ  
آف انڈیا کے سامنے ۲۰ لاکھ دستخط  
اردو والوں نے پیش کئے۔ اس ہیچ  
میں ہزاروں بار کوششیں ہوئیں۔  
کرپلانی کمیٹی بنی اور معلوم نہیں  
کتنی کمیٹیاں بنیں اور کتنی کانفرنسیں  
ہوئیں لیکن ان سب نے جواب میں  
ہم کو یہی کہا تھا ہے کہ ہم امید  
کرتے ہیں کہ اب سب معاملات طے  
ہو جائیں گے مگر پھر بھی یہی ہوتا  
ہے کہ وہ جو دشواریاں ہمارے بچوں  
کو اور ہم لوگوں کو ہو۔ پی۔ کے اندر  
ہوتی ہیں وہ بدستور قائم ہیں۔  
بہار اور مدھیہ پردیش کے بارے میں  
وہاں کے لوگ زیادہ اچھی طرح  
سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ وہاں کیا  
پوزیشن ہے۔ لیکن میں نے جو کچھ  
دیکھا ہے وہ یہی ہے کہ جو کشمکش  
ہو۔ پی۔ میں ہے وہی مدھیہ پردیش  
میں بھی ہے اور وہی حالت مجھے  
بہار میں بھی ملنے میں آئی۔  
جہانگیر آباد ہے دہلی میں  
نسبتاً کم ہے لیکن پھر بھی یہاں  
ایسی چیزیں ہیں کہ جن سے بعض  
وقت یہ اندیشہ پیدا ہو جاتا ہے کہ  
کہیں یہاں بھی ہو۔ پی۔ کی طرح  
لوگوں میں بے چینی نہ شروع ہو  
جائے۔ جب دہلی کی اسمبلی بھی

تو ہم ہی لوگ ایک وفد اس کے  
سامنے لے کر گئے تھے انجمن ترقی  
اردو کی طرف سے اور ہم نے درخواست  
کی تھی کہ دہلی جو اردو کا گڑھ  
ہے اور اردو جہاں سے نکلی ہے وہاں  
تو اس کو ریجنل لیگسلیٹو کمیٹی  
حکومت دی جائے اور یہاں دہلی  
اور اردو دونوں زبانوں میں گورنمنٹ  
کی کاروائی ہو۔ جہاں تک اس  
گورنمنٹ کا سوال ہے وہ قریب قریب  
ہماری بات ماننے کے لئے تیار تھی  
مگر اس ہیچ میں وہ گورنمنٹ ہی  
ختم ہو گئی۔ بعد میں ہم نے گورنر  
کے سامنے اس معاملہ کو رکھا اور  
گورنر نے وعدہ کیا مگر یہ کہا کہ  
میں ذرا پلنگاہوں سے اس بارے میں  
پوچھ لوں کہونکہ پلنگاہی بھی یہاں  
بہت کثرت سے آباد ہو گئے ہیں۔  
ہم کو اس پر کوئی اعتراض نہیں  
تھا۔ پلنگاہی بھی یہاں ہیں اور  
اس لئے اگر پلنگاہی زبان بھی رکھ  
لی جاتی تو ہمارا کچھ نقصان نہ  
ہوتا۔ ہمارے جیسے لوگ دنیا کے ہر  
زبان کے ادب کی عزت کرتے ہیں۔  
ہر لٹریچر قابل احترام ہے اور جو  
کچھ بھی لکھا ہے وہ عرق ریزی کے  
ساتھ بڑی محنت کے ساتھ لوگوں نے  
لکھا ہے۔ چاہے پلنگاہی کی زبان  
میں ہو چاہے اردو میں ہو یا دہلی  
میں ہو چاہے تامل میں ہو تو لکھو میں  
ہو یا کسی زبان میں ہو ہم کو

اس پر کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہوتا -  
مگر وہ مسئلہ گاروباری ضروریات کا بھی  
ختم ہو گیا - آج دھارم میں بدستور  
وہی حالات موجود ہیں -

ایک بات میں اسکولوں کے بارے  
میں کہدوں کہ جب تہری لہنگویج  
فارمولہ کا سرکلر گورنمنٹ کی طرف  
سے گیا تو اس میں جو چھڑ طے کی  
گئی وہ یہ تھی کہ جس کی جو  
مادری زبان ہو اس میں اس کو  
تعلیم دی جائے - اس ایریا کی جو  
زبان ہے اگر وہی مادری زبان ہو تو  
اس کو رکھا جائے ہندی بولنے والوں  
کے علاقے میں کوئی تہسوی زبان  
ہندوستان کی مروجہ زبانوں میں سے  
اور انگریزی یا کوئی جدید یورپی  
زبان رکھی جائے - لیکن اسٹیمٹ  
گورنمنٹ نے ہر جگہ جو سرکلر بھیجا  
اس نے بارے میں پہلے تو معلوم  
نہیں ہوا لیکن جب ان کی کانفرنس  
ہوئی تو پتہ لگا کہ خاص طور پر  
کہا گیا ہے کہ اردو یا سنسکرت کو  
رکھا جائے - اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ  
میں ایک ہی دستخط کی بابت  
بتا رہی ہوں کہ وہاں سولہ اسکول تھے  
جن میں سے تھوڑے نے سنسکرت منظور  
کی اور تھوڑے نے اردو - نو اردو یا  
سنسکرت تو اس میں کہیں آئی  
ہی نہیں تھی مگر یو - پی - گورنمنٹ  
نے جو سرکلر بھیجا اس میں یہی  
ہے -

اس کے علاوہ ڈائریکٹر آف ایجوکیشن  
نے لکھا کہ طلباء کے سرپرستوں کی  
اکثریت جو دوسری زبان پسند کرے -  
اور اس کے ساتھ یہ شرط بھی لگا دی  
کہ مناسب استغاث کی موجودگی بھی  
ضروری ہے - جناب عالی استغاث تو  
ہم گھر سے بنا کر نہیں نکالے - استغاث  
تو گورنمنٹ کے ٹریننگ کالج پیدا کرتے  
ہیں اور اگر گورنمنٹ کے ٹریننگ کالج  
ایسے ہیں جو ضروری استغاث فراہم  
نہیں کر سکتے تو گورنمنٹ کو استغاث  
فراہم کرنے کے لئے اور ٹریننگ کالج  
کھولنے چاہئیں - لیکن وہاں پر  
دہاتوں میں یہ کہدیا گیا کہ چونکہ  
ضروری انتظام نہیں ہو سکتا ضروری  
استغاث نہیں ہے اس لئے اردو میں  
تعلیم نہیں دی جا سکتی - یہ چند  
چھڑیں تھیں جو میں نے آپ کے  
سامنے رکھیں اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ  
وہ اسٹیمٹ گورنمنٹس چاہوں نے ان  
چھڑوں کو منظور نہیں کیا ہے - ان  
تین اسٹیمٹ کو چھوڑ کر یہ کسی  
فلمافہسی کی بنا پر نہیں بلکہ  
پولٹیکل مصلحت کی بنا پر چاہتی  
ہیں کہ کسی طرح سے اسکولوں میں  
ایسے حالات پیدا کر دیئے جائیں جس  
سے ریجنل لہنگویج کا کلا گھونٹا جا  
سکے -

ان چند الفاظ کے ساتھ میں  
گورنمنٹ سے درخواست کروں گی کہ  
اس رپورٹ کی جو سفارشات ہیں

[ شریعتی انیس قدوائی ]

ان کو وہ منظور کرے اور گورنمنٹ جو  
طے کر چکی تھی اور انٹیکرپشن  
کانفرنس نے تھری لہانگویج فارمولہ کہ  
جس طرح سے منظور کیا تھا ا جو  
جو طریقہ منظور کئے گئے تھے مائٹارٹھز  
کے سہف گارڈ وفیہ کے بارے میں ان  
پر پوری طرح سے عمل کیا جائے -

میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ مطالبہ ٹھیک  
ہے جیسا کہ جو ہمارے محترم دوست  
شری چرام داس دولت رام نے کہا ہے  
کہ مائٹارٹھز کے لئے ہم ملستری کے  
اندر ایک ملستری مقرر کیا جائے -  
میں نے دو سال پہلے ہی یہ کہا تھا کہ  
کمشنر ہمارے لئے اتنا کامیاب نہیں ہو  
سکے گا کیونکہ اس کے پاس کوئی پیار  
نہیں ہے کوئی اختیارات نہیں ہیں -  
وہ صرف ایک رپورٹ ہم کو سال میں  
دے دیا کرے گا جو ہم ہاؤس میں  
دیکھ کر اس پر بات چیت کر لیں گے -  
اس لئے صرف رپورٹ کی ہم کو  
ضرورت نہیں ہے - ہم کو عمل درآمد  
کی ضرورت ہے اور عمل درآمد ایک  
ملستری ہی کر سکتا ہے - اس لئے  
اگر ایک قبیلی ملستری ہم ملستری  
کے اندر ہو تو وہ پاورفل طریقہ سے  
اسٹیٹس کو مجبور کر سکتا ہے کہ  
وہ ان تمام ہدایتوں پر عمل کریں  
اور اللہتوں کے متعلق صحیح قدم  
اٹھائیں -

†[ श्रीमती अनिस किववई ( उत्तर  
प्रदेश ) : वाइस चैयरमन साहब लिंगविस्टिक  
माईनोस्टीज कमिशनर की रिपोर्ट हमें बतानी है  
स साल भी आई है । रिपोर्ट हमें यह बताती है  
कि किस किस जुवान के कितने बोलने वाले  
हर स्टेट में हैं । सूबों की हुकूमतों ने उनको  
क्या क्या रिआयतें दी हैं । उसमें हालात पर  
तपसरा भी है, एदादो शुमार भी हैं । ये भी है  
कि पिछली सिफारिशों पर कितना अमल  
हुआ है । कितनी रियासतों ने चीफ मिनिस्टर्स  
कान्फ्रेंस की हिदायतों पर अमल किया । और  
किन रियासतों ने नहीं किया । हिन्दुस्तान को  
आजाद हुए १६ वर्ष बीत गए हैं मगर इन  
अकलीयतों की जुवान का मसला ऐसा है कि  
वो आज तक तह नहीं हो सका । दुनिा के  
और भी कई बड़े मुल्क हैं उनमें बहुत सी जुवानें  
बोलने वाले रहते हैं, स्टेट्स हैं जो मुख्तलिफ  
रहन-सहन रखती हैं मुख्तलिफ जुवानें रखती  
हैं लेकिन कहीं भी ऐसी प्रोब्लम पैदा नहीं हुई  
जैसी कि हमारे देश में हुई है । यहां हमारी  
बोली भी झगड़े की जड़ बन गयी है । बिल्कुल  
आसान सी चीज थी जिसको रियासती हुकूमतों  
की हठ धर्मी ने एक बड़ा अहम मसला बनाकर  
सामने खड़ा कर दिया है । सरकारी जुवान  
हिन्दी करार देने के बाद हर सूबे में दो या तीन  
बोलियां मुकामी थीं जिनको अगर इलाकाई  
तौर पर रीजनल लैंग्वेज मान लिया जाता  
उनके अन्दरूनी काम जो हैं उनमें उनको करने  
की जाजत दे दी जाती प्राईमरी और सेकेंडरी  
एज्युकेशन तक उनको पढ़ाने का बन्दोबस्त  
हो जाता और जो रोज म र्ग के सरकारी काम  
थे वो अपनी लाकाई जुवान में अंजाम दिए  
जाते तो इतनी मुश्किल नहीं पड़ती जितनी  
अब हो गयी है ।

अब स कशमकश का नतीजा यह हुआ है  
और इस तंग नजरी ने यह गवारा कर लिया है  
कि दो पंचसाला प्लान हमारे ऊपर से निकल  
गए हैं लेकिन आम लोगों को पता नहीं चला कि  
उनमें क्या क्या था और उन्हें क्या करना चाहिए  
था जो काम करने चाहिए थे जो निशाने मुकर्रर



थे वो अधूरे रह गए वह पूरे नहीं हो सके। अब तीसरी योजना चल रही है कुछ लोगों को इसके बारे में जानकारी हो गयी है और हर तबका कुछ न कुछ प्लान के बारे में बाकिफ हो गया है। मगर पिछली बहुत सी स्कीमें ऐसी थीं जो अधूरी रह गयीं और काटेज इंस्ट्रुटी और कोऑपरेटिव के यूजफुल प्रोग्राम नाकाम हो गए मगर यह गंवारा नहीं हुआ कि जो माइनोरिटी लैंग्वेज थीं उनको पूरी तरह सूबे में कारोबार के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाये, हिन्दी सरकारी जुवान होते हुए भी मालूम नहीं कुछ नादान दोस्तों के दिमाग में यह बात कैसे घुस गई है कि जब त- डंडे के जोर से सरकारी जुवान नहीं बनायीं जायेगी तब तक इसको ग्रहणीयत हासिल नहीं हो सकेगी। इस तास्सुब का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि आसामी, बंगाजी और मराठी पंजाबी, तामिल, तेलगू और सब जुवानों का मसला उठ खड़ा हुआ। सबसे गैर अहम मामला यू० पी० का था और यू० पी० में कोई मसला ऐसा नहीं था जो इतना मुश्किल हो जाता और इतने झगड़े की बुनियाद बनता यू० पी० में हिन्दी और उर्दू साथ साथ चलती रहनी चाहिए। मुझे याद है जब मास्टर या मौलवी हम लोगों को घर में पढ़ाते थे तो वो बयक वक्त एक जगह बैठकर तीन-चार जुवानें बच्चों को पढ़ाया करते थे, उसमें हिन्दी पढ़ने वाले बच्चे भी आते थे उर्दू पढ़ने वाले भी, अरबी पढ़ने वाले भी और फ़ारसी पढ़ने वाले भी बच्चे आते थे। एक आदमी बयकवक्त इन सब की तालीम देता था। जो छोटे छोटे मकतब हमारे घरों में होते थे अगर उनमें इस तरह का इन्तजाम हो सकता था तो गवर्नमेंट के जो बड़े बड़े स्कूल हैं उनमें एक से दूरी जुवान को आसानी से क्यों नहीं पढ़ाया जा सकता है।

कमिश्नर ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह बताया है कि यू० पी० ने अपने खैया का जायजा तक लेना पसन्द नहीं किया है। हालांकि चीफ़ मिनिस्ट्रों को हिदायत थी कि जल्द ही आसानियां माइनोरिटीज लैंग्वेजिज को देने

बाद वक्तन फवक्तन उनको देखा भी जाए। चैकिंग किया जाय लेकिन इस पर अम्ल सिर्फ़ आन्ध्र प्रदेश केरल और मद्रास की सरकार ने किया। रिपोर्ट में यह भी बताया गया है कि रामपुर में जिस इलाके को उर्दू स्पीकिंग एरिया करार दिया गया है वहां पर उर्दू पढ़ाने के लिए कोई खास इन्तेजाम नहीं किया गया है। अभी मि० सन्थानम ने अपनी तकरीर में कहा था कि हिन्दी सूबे या हिन्दी एरिया वाले मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि हिन्दुस्तान में कौनसा सूबा ऐसा है कि जिसके बारे में कहा जा सकता है कि वो हिन्दी का है? सिर्फ़ हिन्दी के कहने से वो हिन्दी का सूबा नहीं हो सकता। हम कहते हैं कि हमारी बोली उर्दू है लेकिन आप कहते हैं कि नहीं तुम्हारी हिन्दी है। यह सरासर हठ धर्मी है और इसी हठ धर्मी की वजह से लोगों के अन्दर इतनी बिटरनस पैदा हो गयी है इतना इख़्तिलाफ़ पैदा हो गया है और यू० पी० हर चीज में पिछड़ गया है।

हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी बोलियां हैं मैं इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार हूं कि सब की मां संस्कृत है, और इसमें कोई शक नहीं है लेकिन संस्कृत कहीं भी नहीं बोली जाती। और जो तीन जुवानों का फ़ार्मूला था उसमें यह कहा गया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में बोली जाने वाली जो जुवानें हैं जो गवर्नमेंट के शिड्यूल में हैं उसमें से कोई एक ज़दीद जुवान हो। संस्कृत इस चीज़ लैंग्वेज फ़ार्मूले में किसी तरह नहीं आ सकती है। दूसरा सवाल यह है कि गवर्नमेंट ने जो इंड्रेशन कान्फ़ेंस बनाई, उसने जो रिजोल्यूशन पास किये, चीफ़ मिनिस्ट्रों की कान्फ़ेंस बुलाई गई, उसने भी कुछ चीजें तह कीं, कुछ हिदायतें दीं और सबे बाद तमाम स्टेट्स को वो फैसले भेजे गए। तब यह सवाल और यह हक़ कहाँ से बाकी रह गया कि स्टेंट इन फैसलों को मानें या न मानें? अगर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट की गवर्नमेंट के

[श्रीमती श्रीमती किदवई]

मा न्दे आपस में बैठ कर कोई फैसला करते हैं, प्राइम मिनिस्टर किसी चीज को मंजूर करते हैं, प्राविन्स के तमाम नुमाइन्दे इन सब चीजों को मंजूर करते हैं, फिर अपने सूबे में बैठ कर न बातों पर अमल न करें तो इसके माने क्या होते हैं ? अगर इस तरह से हर सूबे को मनमानी करने की छूट दे दी गयी, जिस तरह जो चार जगह अभी दे दी गयी हैं, तो मेरा खयाल है कि यह मामला कभी भी तय नहीं हो सकता और ऐसी प्रबलमोज बरोज पैदा होती रहेंगी। वैसे तो कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी और उर्दू में बहुत ज्यादा फर्क नहीं है और इसमें शक भी नहीं है मगर, आनन्द नारायण सदा ने उर्दू कन्वेन्शन लखनऊ में जैसाकि अपनी तकरीर में कहा था कि मानसरोवर झील से तीन दरिया निकलते हैं एक गंगा, सतलुज और तीसरा ब्रह्मपुत्र, ये तीन नदियां अलग नामों से पुकारी जाती हैं, और अलग अलग इलाकों में बहती हैं, लेकिन इनको एक दरिया नहीं कह दिया जाता, फायदा सब को पहुंचता है। यही सूरत है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जिन ज़बानों की मां संस्कृत हो और जिस ज़बान की मां अरबी हो, तो देखना यह है कि आया वो बोली जाती है, उनका कोई लिटरेचर है, उनकी कोई लिखाई है या नहीं। इन सब चीजों को देखने के बाद माइनारिटी की ज़बानों का फैसला करना होगा। मेरा खयाल है कि हर प्राविन्स में जितनी भी बोलियां हैं वो अपना बैकग्राउण्ड रखती हैं। ज़बान कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है कि जिसे हम और आप बना लें या कोई हुकूमत चाहे बना ले। हर ज़बान की एक तारीफ़ होती है, उसकी तहजीब होती है और एक बहुत बड़ा बैकग्राउण्ड होता है। इन तमाम चीजों को ले कर सदियों में एक ज़बान डेवलप होती है। इसी तरह से हिन्दी डेवलप की गयी। इसी तरह से उर्दू डेवलप हुई और इसी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की दूसरी बड़ी-बड़ी ज़बानें बनीं।

आप उनमें से किसी ज़बान को आसानी से मिटा नहीं सकते हैं, लेकिन जो आफ़िशल ज़बान हो वो आम तौर पर कारोबारी ज़बान होती है, वो दुनिया में हर हुकूमत में एक रखी जाती है, और वो आफ़िशल ज़बान जो होती है, उसको पढ़ना सबके लिए लाज़मी होता है। इसलिए हम लोग हिन्दी की तरक्की के लिए, उसको बढ़ावा देने के लिए, उसको अबाम में मक़बूल करने के लिए कोशिश करना ज़रूरी समझते हैं। मगर साथ ही हिन्दुस्तान में इलाकाई ज़बानों को कायम करने के लिये जितनी कोशिश करनी चाहिए वो भी करनी है। और वो अब तक हो चुकी होती, और सब ज़बानें हिन्दी के करीब आ गयीं होतीं अगर यह कशमकश नहीं होती। पंडित जी ने हाल ही में कहा था कि आजकल यकजहती और मेलजोल की बड़ी चर्चा होती है और उर्दू ज़बान मेल-जोल बढ़ाने का एक बड़ा नमूना है। बदकिस्मती है कि गांधी जी के सामने हिन्दुस्तानी ज़बान का एक नज़रिया था और वो नज़रिया यह था कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो आफ़िशल ज़बान हो वह हिन्दुस्तानी समझी जाय और हिन्दुस्तानी को दोनों रस्मूलख़त में लिखा जाय, देवनागरी में और फ़ारसी में, लेकिन इसकी कोशिश नहीं की गई और न इसकी किसी ने माना। अब यह सवाल है कि सभी ज़बानों को अलग अलग मान लिया जायगा यानी तमाम रीजनल लैंग्वेज को मान लिया जाय। जहां तक इन्तर्दाई तालीम से लेकर सेंकंडरी तक पढ़ाने का सवाल है, वह मादरी ज़बान में पढ़ाई हो और अक़ल्लियतों को इसका मौक़ा दिया जाय। इतनी सी बात पर सारा झगड़ा हो गया और कमिश्नर बेचारे भी इस मामले को तै नहीं कर पाये। उन्होंने भी अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि कुछ स्टेट ऐसी हैं जो इस बात को नहीं मानती हैं। मैं डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब से यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि होम मिनिस्टरी ने इस बात पर कोई एक्शन लिया या नहीं। क्या वो स्टेट इस चीज को मंजूर करने का इरादा रखती है या नहीं?

क्या माइनारिटीज़ के सेक्रेटरीज़ में यह चीज़ शामिल नहीं है ?

जहां तक मुसलमानों का मामला है, मुसलमानों ने छै सौ साल की कोशिश के बाद अपना सारा मज़हबी लिटरेचर अपनी सारी तबाख़ और अपने जितने अदब थे, हर चीज़ को उन्होंने उर्दू में तर्जुमा करके इकट्ठा कर लिया। उर्दू ज़बान को वे कहीं से ले कर नहीं आये थे, वो यहीं के मेल-जोल से बनी थी। और यहां इसमें सब चीज़ें मुन्तकिल करके वो मुतमईयन हो गए और अब आप उर्दू को ख़त्म करना चाहते हैं। सलिए मुसलमानों को सबसे ज्यादा परेशानी हो गयी है। मेरा यह दावा है कि यू० पी० में साठ से सत्तर फी सदी तक आदमी उर्दू बोलते हैं और लिखते-पढ़ते हैं। अगर लिखने-प ने वालों की तादाद इन सोलह बरस में घट भी गयी होगी, तो भी पचास फी सदी से नीचे नहीं आई है। आज भी करोड़ों आदमी ऐसे हैं, जो इस ज़बान को बोलते हैं, लिखते हैं, और पढ़ते हैं। फिर भी कुछ इलाके ऐसे हैं कि जिनको कहा जाता है कि यह हिन्दी-स्पीकिंग एरिया है, कुछ को कहा जाता है कि उर्दू-स्पीकिंग एरिया है और उनमें कोई आसानियां नहीं दी गयीं। इसलिए यू० पी० के मामले में जबकि कमिश्नर ने भी अपनी रिपोर्ट में सका तज़करा किया है, यह ख़ास तौर पर आप लोगों के लिए काबिले तवज़ो है।

सोलह बरस के अन्दर प्रेजिडेंट आफ इंडिया के सामने बीस लाख दस्तख़त उर्दू वालों ने पेश किये। इस बीच में हज़ारों बार कोशिशें हुईं। क़ुपलानी कमेटी बनी और मालूम नहीं कितनी कमेटियां बनीं और कितनी कान्फ़रेंसें हुईं। लेकिन इन सब के जवाब में हमको यही कहा गया है कि हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि अब सब मामलान तै हों जायेंगे। मगर फिर भी यही होता है कि जो दुश्वा-रियां हमारे बच्चों को और हम लोगों को

यू० पी० के अन्दर होती हैं, वह बदस्तूर कायम हैं। बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में वहां के लोग ज्यादा अच्छी तरह समझ सकते हैं कि वहां क्या पोज़ीशन है। लेकिन मैंने जो कुछ देखा है वह यही है कि जो कशमकश यू० पी० में है वही मध्य प्रदेश में भी है और वही हालत मुझे बिहार में भी सुनने में आयी जहां तक अन्दाज़ा है। दिल्ली में निस्बतन कम है, लेकिन फिर भी यहां ऐसी चीज़ें हैं कि जिनसे बाज़ वक़्त यह अन्देशा पैदा हो जाता है कि कहीं यहां भी यू० पी० की तरह से लोगों में बेचैनी न शुरू हो जाये।

जब दिल्ली की एसैम्बली थी तो हम ही लैंग एक वक़द उसके सामने लेकर के गये थे अन्जुमत तरक्कीए-उर्दू की तरफ से और हमने दरखास्त की थी कि देहली जो उर्दू का गढ़ है, और उर्दू जहां से निकली है वहां तो इसको रीजनल लैंग्वेज की हैसियत दी जाये और यहां हिन्दी और उर्दू दोनों ज़बानों में गवर्नमेंट की कार्रवाई हो। जहां तक इस गवर्नमेंट का सवाल है, वो करीब-करीब हमारी बात मानने को तैयार थी मगर इस बीच में वह गवर्नमेंट ही ख़त्म हो गयी। बाद में हमने गवर्नर के मागने इस मामले को रखा और गवर्नर ने वायदा किया, मगर यह कहा कि मैं जरा पंजाबियों से इस बारे में पूछ लूं, क्योंकि पंजाबी यहां बहुत कसरत से आबाद हो गये हैं। हमको इस पर कोई एतराज नहीं था। पंजाबी भी यहां है और इसलिए अगर पंजाबी ज़बान भी रख ली जाती तो हमारा कुछ नुक़सान न होता। हमारे जैस लोग दुनिया के हर ज़बान के अदब की इज्जत करते हैं। हर लिटरेचर काबिले एहतसाम है। और जो कुछ भी लिखा है वह अक़रेज़ी के साथ, बड़ी मेहनत के साथ लोगों ने लिखा है। चाहे पंजाबी ज़बान में हो चाहे उर्दू में हो या हिन्दी में हो, चाहे तमिल में हो, तेलुगू में हो या किसी ज़बान में हो हमको इस पर कोई एतराज नहीं होता

[श्री रती शर्मा स विद्वांसः]

मगर वह मसला कारोबारी जरूरियात का भी खत्म हो गया। आज दिल्ली में बदस्तूर वही हालात मौजूद हैं।

एक बात मैं स्कूलों के बारे में कह दूँ कि जब श्री लैंग्वेज फार्मूला का सर्कुलर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से गया तो उसमें जो चीज तय की गयी वह यह थी कि जिसकी जो मादरी ज़बान हो उसमें उसको तानीम दी जाये। इस एरिया की जो ज़बान है अगर वही मादरी ज़बान हो तो उसको रखा जाये। हिन्दी बोलने वालों के इलाके में कोई तीसरी ज़बान हिन्दुस्तान की मुख्य ज़बानों में से और अंग्रेज़ी या कोई ज़दीद योरपी ज़बान रखी जाये। लेकिन स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने हर जगह जो सर्कुलर भेजा उसके बारे में पहले तो मान्यता नहीं हुआ लेकिन जब इन की कांफ़ेंस हुई तो पता लगा कि खास तौर पर कहा गया है कि उर्दू या संस्कृत को रखा जाये। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि मैं एक ही डिस्ट्रिक्ट की बातें बना रही हूँ कि वहाँ १६ स्कूल थे जिनमें से १३ ने संस्कृत मंजूर कर लिया और ३ ने उर्दू। तो उर्दू या संस्कृत तो उसमें कहीं आती ही नहीं थी मगर यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट ने जो सर्कुलर भेजा है उसमें यही है।

इसके इलावा डाइरेक्टर ऑफ़ एजुकेशन ने लिखा कि तुलना के सरपरस्ती की अवसरियत जो दूसरी ज़बान पसन्द करे। और इसके साथ यह शर्त भी लगा दी कि मुनासिफ़ स्टाफ़ की मौजूदगी भी जरूरी है। जनाबेआला स्टाफ़ तो हम घर से बनाकर नहीं निकालते। स्टाफ़ तो गवर्नमेंट के ट्रेनिंग कालेज पैदा करते हैं। और अगर गवर्नमेंट के ट्रेनिंग कालेज ऐसे हैं जो जरूरी स्टाफ़ फराहम नहीं कर सकते तो गवर्नमेंट को स्टाफ़ फराहम करने के लिए और ट्रेनिंग कालेज खोलने चाहिए। लेकिन देहातों में यह कह दिया गया कि चूँकि जरूरी

इन्तज़ाम नहीं हो सकता, जरूरी स्टाफ़ नहीं है इसलिए उर्दू में तानीम नहीं दी जा सकती। यह चन्द चीज़ें थीं जो मैंने आपके सामने रखीं। इसका यह मतलब है कि वो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स जिन्होंने इन चीज़ों को मंजूर नहीं किया है। उन तीन स्टेट को छोड़कर यह किसी गलतफहमी की बिना पर नहीं बल्कि पोलिटिकल मसलहत की बिना पर चाहती हैं कि किसी तरह से स्कूलों में ऐसे हालात पैदा कर दिये जायें जिससे रीजिनल लैंग्वेज का गला घोंटा जा सके।

इन चन्द अलफ़ाजों के साथ मैं गवर्नमेंट से दरखास्त करूंगी कि इस रिपोर्ट की जो सिफ़ारिशें हैं उनको वह मंजूर करे और गवर्नमेंट जो कुछ तय कर चुकी थी और इंटेग्रेसन कांफ़ेंस में श्री लैंग्वेज फार्मूला को जिस तरह से मंजूर किया या और जो जो तरीके मंजूर किये गये थे माईनोरीटीज़ के सेफ़गार्ड वगैरा के बारे में उन पर पूरी तरह से अमल किया जाये।

मेरा खयाल है कि यह मुतालिबा ठीक है जैसा कि हमारे मोहतरिम दोस्त श्री जैरामदास दौलतराम जी ने कहा है कि माईनोरीटीज़ के लिए होम मिनिस्ट्री के अन्दर एक मिनिस्टर मुकर्रर किया जाये। मैंने दो साल पहले ही यह कहा था कि कमिश्नर हमारे लिए इतने कामयाब नहीं हो सकेगा क्योंकि उसके पास कोई पावर नहीं है, कोई अख्तियारात नहीं है। वह सिर्फ़ एक रिपोर्ट हमको साल में दे दिया करेगा जो हम हाउस में रखकर उस पर बातचीत कर लेंगे। इसलिए सिर्फ़ रिपोर्ट की हमको जरूरत नहीं है। हम को अमल-दरामद की जरूरत है और अमल-दरामद एक मिनिस्टर ही करा सकता है। इसलिए अगर एक डिप्टी मिनिस्टर, होम मिनिस्ट्री के अन्दर हो तो वह पावरफुल तरीके से स्टेट्स को मजबूर कर सकता है कि वह इन तमाम हिदायतों पर अमल करें और अक्लीयतों के मुतल्लिक सही कदम उठावें। ]

**SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS:** Sir, I just want to say this. May I express my apology to the House and especially to my friend, Mr. Chordia, because while he was speaking I appeared to be in conversation with another Member. I might assure him that I was trying to get certain facts relating to the very subject of this discussion from an hon. Member of this House. There were certain issues raised relating to a sensitive spot, and I also knew it as he himself remarked, and I am going to reply to it tomorrow. I will read everything which has fallen from the hon. Member with very great care which I always do. I apologise to him for the lapse.

**SHRI A. D. MANI** (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the House has had an opportunity of discussing these four years the report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and I am glad to say that as a result of the work of the Commissioner and the work of the National Integration Conference the so-called minority languages' situation in the country has considerably improved. Sir, in the years to come the regional languages will develop in all the States services of the Union and perhaps after five or ten years serious difficulties may be encountered by the minority communities in various States in the matter of education and in the matter of employment. Already certain language and regional pressures there are in our body politic, and I may refer here to an observation made by the Commissioner in his report that in West Bengal for certain posts which were advertised the qualification that was insisted upon was that the person must have good power to speak in Bengali. This would rule out members of the minority linguistic communities in the State services of West Bengal. It is again significant—I am not criticising the West Bengal Government but I am only quoting what the Commissioner has said—that when the attention of the West Bengal Government was drawn to this matter, no reply so far had been received from the West Bengal Government.

Today the position is that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has a statutory status by virtue of the fact that he holds his office under article 350B of the Constitution and he has to carry out the obligations cast upon him under article 350A of the Constitution. Government has been coming forward with so many Constitution (Amendment) Bills and I would suggest to Government that in view of the fact that the regional languages are being developed, article 350A should be amended to give more powers to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. I should like to read out the text of the article—

“It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage ....”

I want to emphasise on the words “at the primary stage.”

“... of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.”

I would like this article of the Constitution to be amended to provide that the President may issue directions to the States when he feels that the language minority groups are being discriminated against in respect of employment in any State and that they are not being given facilities for higher education. Under this article, all that the linguistic minority group can ask for is education only up to the primary stage, not at the secondary stage and not at the collegiate stage. I think that this article should be amended so that it will enable the President to give directions on the basis of the recommendations that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities may submit to him from time to time.

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

The second point that I would like to mention is that in view of the regional languages being developed in every State—and I have no complaints against such development—the Union Government must provide the safeguard that in every State, provision is made for education in the Union language or the Union associate language. The Union associate language after 1965 is going to be English, and the official language is going to be Hindi. It should be made compulsory for every university in the country to allow the students to appear in either English or Hindi, not necessarily in the regional languages and not necessarily in the minority languages. As long as the avenues are open for a minority linguistic group to get education in English or Hindi, it will enable them to improve their chances of appearing for the examinations concerned, and these two languages should be made obligatory and compulsory on the part of the universities concerned. Otherwise, while we will be developing the regional languages, we will be loosening those bonds which hold India together.

The third point that I would like to make is that unfortunately, few good text-books have been published in the so-called minority regional languages in every State.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: May I ask the hon. Member to explain? When a particular regional language is declared as the State language—which means that that State language has to be used as the official medium for the purpose of carrying on the administration—and when that language also has to receive the same attention as the medium in order to enable any man whoever uses it to use it efficiently, how can that language be eliminated from the medium of instruction from the primary stages?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am not suggesting that the regional language should be eliminated. What I am suggesting

is, if I am a student of the Madras University and I get education only in Tamil which is the regional language and if I happen to come from Sindh or from Punjab, I should be in a position to say that the Madras University holds examinations in Hindi and English also. If there is no instruction provided in the colleges, the university regulation should be so amended as to permit a student to sit privately for the examination. He must have the necessary opportunity for learning the Hindi language, and that is the only way in which he can get adequate opportunities or chances for employment not only in that State but in other States also.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: That is the three-language medium.

SHRI A. D. MANI: That is the three-language medium. The three-language medium has been suggested by the Chief Ministers' Conference. The three-language medium should be insisted upon as a necessary obligation cast upon the President under article 350A which I read out just now.

The point that I would like to make is that the Central Government itself should publish model text-books in the regional minority languages, and it has been one of the recommendations of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. We cannot leave the publication of minority languages text-books to the State Governments, some of whom may be accused of indifference to the development of minority languages.

The fourth point that I would like to make is that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has stated in his Report that pamphlets should be published in every State giving information on the rights of the minorities under the Constitution and the opportunities that are open to them for getting primary education in terms of article 350 and other matters. I am not in favour of more pamphlets being issued upon the rights of

minorities. What I am interested in is to see that the right of the minorities should not only be protected but the right of the minorities should be the foundation also for national unity. If we go on publishing pamphlets giving information about the rights of minorities, we will not be developing what I may call an all-India sense of unity.

I am not in favour of the suggestion made earlier in the debates that a Minister should be appointed in the Ministry of Home Affairs to look after minority affairs. As the Prime Minister has said, there is not going to be a second list under the Kamaraj Plan, and let not one more job be added to the Ministry without any well-defined functions. What I would like to say is—and this is very important—that in every State, the State Government should constitute a Minority Languages Board which will meet from time to time and tell the State Government what steps should be taken by it to see that they get the necessary linguistic protection under the Constitution.

Sir, I would like to make a reference to the demand made that the electoral rolls should be published in the minority languages. The Election Commission has partially considered this matter in the case of Punjab. But if we go on publishing the electoral rolls in the minority languages and the regional languages, what will happen is that we will not be developing the all-India language after 1965, namely, Hindi. We have taken the decision to make Hindi the all-India language. And Sir, as a person who has passed two examinations in Hindi and whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, I would like to say that having taken the decision to make Hindi as the all-India official language, we should decide to make it the national language also, so that in course of time, as English has been adopted by the immigrant community of North America, we can make Hindi the real national language of the country, maybe, fifty years hence.

I would like to mention about the electoral rolls. We have got to see that the electoral rolls are published in Hindi and English and in the regional languages.

AN. HON. MEMBER: What about the minority?

SHRI A. D. MANI: The minority community must blend itself with the local surroundings and learn at least one of these three languages. If not the regional language, it at least should learn the all-India languages, namely, English or Hindi.

Sir, in our anxiety to protect the minority languages, I do not want that we should develop those specious seeds of separatism which are ingrained in our minds. On account of our tradition and on account of the fact that the Indian society is based on caste and other considerations, already so many forces of division are working in our minds and we do not want the minority languages to be made a cardinal issue, as if this is the only thing which is important. Far more important is the Indian national unity.

I would like to make a reference to the craze—I would say, a widespread craze—of the various State Governments having sign-boards in the local regional languages. Even the mileage is indicated in the Devanagari script (*Interruption*). Yes. It is because you have never travelled all over India. You have been sitting in Madras under the shadow of Shri Kamaraj Nadar.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please proceed and make your points. You have only two minutes more.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am sorry that Mr. Mani suffers from terrible ignorance as usual. I was applauding his proposal.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Imagine the condition of the tourists who come to India and who go from State to State

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

and their trouble in finding out the directions on the roads. They find that the sign-boards are in the regional languages. At least, as far as the road signs are concerned, they should always carry the national languages also on the sign-boards.

Sir, one more point; the national language will be Hindi and English also will be an official language—I know my friend, professor Ruthnaswamy, does not like the expression “national language” of India.

Now I would like to make reference to the position of Sindhi. Under the Constitution . . .

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): I rise on a point of order; I do not think the Constitution provides for English as the national language of India.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I am only saying that English will be an associate official language after 1965, and in terms of the constitutional provision I would like all sign-boards to have letters engraved or painted in Hindi and the associate official language—which is English—after 1965.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA: No, it should be in Hindi and the Regional language.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): He has just one or two minutes more; please do not interrupt him.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I was making reference to Sindhi, that Sindhi should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Sindhi community has suffered great privations after partition and large islands of Sindhis are to be found in almost every part of India. They have contributed to the economic development of the country, and if they feel very strongly about their language, we should take all steps to preserve it and the best thing that we can do—whatever the deficiencies in the

script, or whatever the deficiencies in Sindhi literature—is to include Sindhi as one of the languages recognised by the Constitution in its Eighth Schedule.

Sir, I would also like to make the plea for the preservation of Urdu and the development of its culture. There is a good deal of dissatisfaction in U. P. and I would like to say that the extent to which we extend our sympathetic and generous support to Urdu will be an expression of our demonstration of national solidarity and of our being above communal and other pressures.

Thank you.

شری پیارے لال کرہیل د طالبہ

(اثر پردیش): جناب والا - میں زیادہ وقت نہیں لوں گا - مختصرہ قدوائی صاحبہ کی حمایت میں اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کروں گا - جو کچھ مجھے کہنا چاہئے تھا اس کا بہت سا حصہ انہوں نے کہہ دیا ہے -

ہمارے دیہش میں جمہوریت ہے اور ہماری جمہوریت کی بنیاد سیکولرزم پر ہے - اس ملک کی اقتصادی حالت گاہ سماجی حالات کا زیادہ تر دارومدار اکثریت اور اقلیتوں کے تعلقات پر ہے - اور جناب والا - جہاں تک کہ اکثریت اور اقلیتوں کے تعلقات کا تعلق ہے یہ ایک بہت اہم مسئلہ ہے اور اس پر جتنا ہمیں دھیان دینا چاہئے اتنا ہم نہیں دے رہے ہیں - مرکزی سرکار کو اس کام کے لئے یا اس مسئلہ کی طرف جتنا دھیان دینا چاہئے وہ نہیں دے رہی ہے - اقلیتوں



حقوق کا تحفظ اور ان کے زبان کے تحفظ اس دیش میں بھی اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ اس دیش کا بغوارہ ہوا تو محض اس وجہ سے کہ اکثریت اور اقلیتوں کے تعلقات ٹھیک نہیں تھے۔ اور ابھی بہت سے مسئلے ایسے ہیں جو محض اقلیتوں اور اکثریت کے تعلقات ٹھیک نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے اس دیش کے اندر ہیں۔ جیسا کہ کئی صاحبان نے کہا ہے یہاں سینٹر کی سرکار میں ایک ایسا منسٹر ہونا چاہئے جو کہ اقلیتوں کے مسئلے کو ہر پہلو سے دیکھ سکے اور ان حقوق کا تحفظ کر سکے انکے حقوق کی حفاظت کر سکے اور ان اقلیتی زبان کے ساتھ جو بے انصافی ہوتی ہے وہ بے انصافی نہ ہونے پائے یہ کام اس منسٹر کے سپرد ہونا چاہئے۔

اس کے علاوہ میں خاص طور پر ایک بات کی طرف آپ کی توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ جہانتک اردو زبان کا تعلق ہے سارے دیش کے اندر کچھ لوگوں کے دل میں کچھ ایسا خیال ہے کہ یہ زبان باہر کی زبان ہے۔ جو ذرا سا بھی تواریخ سے یا ہمارے اتہاس سے واقف ہیں وہ جانتے ہیں کہ اردو زبان ہندوستان میں پیدا ہوئی اس کی پرورش ہندوستان میں ہوئی اور جیسا کہ آپ جانتے ہیں اس کی ترقی میں مسلمانوں نے ہندوں نے عیسائیوں نے یہاں تک کہ

انگریزوں نے بھی حصہ لیا۔ یہ کہنا غلط ہے کہ یہ مسلمانوں کی زبان ہے یہ مسلمانوں کی زبان کسی حالت میں نہیں ہو سکتی ہے یہ ہماری یکجہتی کا ثبوت ہے اس کی تفریق میں اس دیش کے سبھی آدمیوں نے سبھی قوموں نے کچھ نہ کچھ حصہ لیا ہے۔ زبان کے ساتھ دشمنی نہیں ہونی چاہئے زبان خود بہ خود پیدا ہوتی ہے اور خود بہ خود اُسکی پرورش ہوتی ہے اور خود بہ خود لوگوں کے دلوں پر قابض ہو جاتی ہے۔ اردو بان خود بہ خود پیدا ہوئی اس میں زیادہ الفاظ ہندی کے آپ کو ملے گئے۔ فارسی کے بہت کم ملے گئے۔

یہ زبان یہاں کی زبانوں سے نکلی ہے۔ یہاں کی زبانوں کے کئی الفاظ اس اردو زبان کے اندر شامل ہیں اس لئے اس غلط فہمی سے ہم کو نکل جانا چاہئے کہ یہ زبان کسی ایک قوم کی زبان ہے۔ کوئی زبان کسی ایک قوم کی کسی ایک صوبہ کی نہیں ہو سکتی ہے۔ . . .

श्री एन० एम० अन्वर : यह तो मुश्तरका ज्ञान है ।

شری پھارے لال کریمل طالب :

اس لئے میں کہہ رہا ہوں۔ میں اس کی اہمیت کی طرف دھیان دلاؤں گا۔ آزادی کے بعد ہم نے اردو زبان کی ترقی کے لئے کچھ نہیں

[شری پیارے لال کریل مطالبہ]

کیا - جو ہمیں کرنا چاہتے تھا - اردو زبان کی ترقی پر ہماری اقلیت اور اکثریت کے تعلقات کا بڑا بہاری دارو مدار ہے - ہم خاص طور پر دیکھتے ہیں کہ یو - پی میں اندرونی طور پر کچھ اور ہوتا ہے اوپر سے وہ جو کچھ بھی کہیں مرکزی سرکار کے پاس سے ہدایات جاتی ہیں اور یو - پی سرکار کہتی بھی ہے کہ ہم اردو کے لئے بہت کچھ کر رہے ہیں مگر پس پردہ کیا ہو رہا ہے - اس کے ساتھ دشمنی نہامی جا رہی ہے یہ کوشش کی جا رہی ہے کہ اردو کی ترقی نہ ہو - لوگ اردو پڑھیں نہیں اور اردو زبان آگے نہیں بڑھے - اگر آپ فور سے دیکھیں اسکولوں میں دیکھیں، کالجوں میں دیکھیں، یونیورسٹیوں میں دیکھیں اردو کی ترقی کے لئے کسی قسم کا موثر قدم نہیں اٹھایا جا رہا ہے بلکہ اردو کی طرف استہپ مدد ملی ترقی ملت ہو رہا ہے اس کے ساتھ انصاف نہیں ہو رہا ہے جیسا کہ ابھی محترمہ قدرانی صاحبہ نے بتایا کہ اسٹاف کا سوال پیدا کرتے ہیں اور یہ بتاتے ہیں کہ اگر اسٹاف ہو—اسٹاف پیدا کرنا آپ کا کام ہے — بہت سے لوگ تو اس وجہ سے اردو نہیں پڑھتے ہیں کہ فلاں اسکول میں فلاں کلاس میں اسٹاف نہیں ہے اور نہیں محبوبور گیا جانا ہے کہ وہ دوسری

زبان پڑھیں اردو نہ پڑھیں - ہم تو تعجب کرتے ہیں کہ اردو مسلمان نہیں کانسٹ زیادہ تعداد میں پڑھتا تھا - کانسٹوں کے علاوہ اردو کو عیسائی لوگ اینگلو انڈین لوگ پڑھا کرتے تھے - مگر آپ آہستہ آہستہ ایسی فضا پیدا کر رہے ہیں کہ اردو کے خلاف ایک لہر پھیل گئی - اور کانسٹ بھی آہستہ آہستہ اردو کو پڑھنا چھوڑ رہے ہیں مسلمانوں کے علاوہ دوسری قومیں بھی اس زبان کو پڑھنا چھوڑ رہی ہیں - مسلمان بھی چونکہ سہولتیں نہیں ہیں اسکولوں اور کالجوں میں اس لئے اس زبان کو چھوڑنے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں - میں آپ کو بتا دوں گا کہ ہندوستان اردو کا مرکز رہا ہے د ہندوستان میں لکھنؤ سب سے زیادہ مرکز رہا ہے - دہلی اس کے بعد دوسرا مرکز رہا ہے -

श्री एस० सत्यनारायण : श्रीर हैदराबाद भी है ।

[شری پیارے لال کریل مطالبہ]

تیسرا مرکز حیدرآباد رہا ہے - ان جگہوں نے اردو کو حتم دیا یہاں اردو کی پرورش ہوئی اردو نے ترقی کی - یہاں یہ ترقی کی کہ اردو وہاں سے نکل کر پنجاب پہنچی اور لاہور بھی ایک مرکز بنا - آج بھی میں بالکل یقین کے ساتھ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ جتنا اردو کے جاننے والے ہمارے ہندوستان میں ہیں جتنے

اردو کے شاعر ہمارے ہندوستان میں  
ہوں جتنے انشاپردار و فہرہ یہاں ہیں  
اتنے پاکستان میں بھی نہیں ملیں  
گے۔

श्री एन० एम० अनवर : आप भी तो  
शायर हैं ।

شری پیارے لال کریل مطالبہ :  
کون پوچھتا ہے کہ میں نے بھی اردو  
میں تین کتابیں لکھی ہوئی ہیں  
جو لاہور میں مکتبہ اردو ۱۹۳۰ء  
میں نکلی ہیں۔ میں جب مرکزی  
اسمبلی کا ممبر تھا تو آل انڈیا ریڈیو  
سے اردو میں تقریریں کرتا تھا۔ لیکن  
آج آزادی کے بعد کسی آدمی نے  
نہیں پوچھا کہ آپ تقریر کر سکتے  
ہیں آپ آل انڈیا ریڈیو سے اردو  
میں کوئی بات کر سکتے ہیں یا  
اپنی نظم پڑھ کر سکتے ہیں۔  
کسی آدمی نے مجھ سے ایسا نہیں  
کہا۔ ظاہر ہے آپ کی اس طرف  
توجہ ہی نہیں ہے آپ چاہتے ہی  
نہیں ہیں۔ یہاں تک کہ الیکشن  
کے دوران میری کتابیں تین دنوں کی  
سامنے پڑھی کی گئیں کہ یہ تو اردو  
دان ہے یہ ہندی نہیں جانتا یہ تو  
فارسی جانتا ہے اور اس کو تھک  
نہیں ملتا چاہئے۔ میں ۱۹۵۷ء کی  
بات کرتا ہوں۔ جب میں کانگریس  
کے اندر تھا۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Kureel, make  
other points, if you have any.

شری پیارے لال کریل مطالبہ :

I have got many points.

میں نے اس بات کو سمجھتا  
ہوں کہ اردو کی طرف دھیان نہیں  
دیا جا رہا ہے۔ میں پرزور سفارش  
کروں گا کہ یہاں سرکار کی طرف سے  
ایک ایسی کمیٹی بنائی جائے  
ایسا کمیشن بنانا چاہئے جو  
اس بات کو معلوم کرے کہ آزادی کے  
بعد اردو زبان نے کتنی ترقی کی ہے  
اور کیا وجہ ہے کہ اردو زبان کو  
جتنی ترقی کرنی چاہئے تھی نہیں  
کی ہے اور وہ سرکار کو یہ سمجھا دے  
کہ وہ اردو زبان کو قبول کرنے کے  
لئے آگے جا کر کیا کیا کریگی۔ یہ  
بہت اہم سوال ہے۔ پاکستان ہمارا  
نہیں ہے۔ پاکستان کو یہ کہنے کا  
موقعہ نہیں ملنا چاہئے کہ اردو  
زبان کے ساتھ بے انصافی ہو رہی ہے۔  
ہمیں اس سے کہیں زیادہ ترقی کرنی  
چاہئے۔ ہمارے سلوڈھان میں بہت  
سے پراویزن ہیں اور اس چیز کے لئے  
بھی دو تین پراویزن ہیں جن کی  
طرف سے آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہنا  
ہوں۔ ہمارے پارت ۳ میں کچھ  
آرٹیکلس ہیں جن کو میں یہاں پر  
آپ نے سامنے پڑھنا چاہتا ہوں۔

Article 29 says:

"(1) Any section of the citizens  
residing in the territory of India or  
any part thereof having a distinct  
language, script or culture of its own  
shall have the right to conserve the  
same."

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ]  
اس میں آگے کہا گیا ہے -

Article 30(1) says:

"All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice."

اگر ہم اردو کے انستیتی ٹیوشن چلانا چاہتے ہیں اردو زبان کو ترقی دینا چاہتے ہیں تو اس کے لئے سرکار کو امداد دینی چاہئے - مگر میں دیکھتا ہوں جہاں تک اردو کا تعلق ہے ہماری سرکار کی طرف سے ایسے انستیتی ٹیوشن کو جہاں تک اردو پڑھائی جاتی ہے جن میں اردو پڑھانے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے - ان کو کسی طرح کی امداد نہیں دی جاتی - اس میں ایک اور پریوین ہ آرٹیکل نمبر ۳۵ سیکشن ۲ میں -

Article 30(2) says:

"The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

اس کے بعد ڈائریکٹو پرنسپل میں یہ بات دی ہوئی ہے - ٹھیک، ہے ہندی سرکاری زبان ہے - ہندی قومی زبان ہے - نیشنل لہنگویج ہے اس کی ترقی کے لئے ہمیں کوشش کرنی چاہئے - جتنی بھی کوشش ہم کر سکتے ہیں اتنی کرنی چاہئے اس میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہے -

مگر جہاں تک ریجنل لہنگویج سوال ہے - اس کے بارے میں کھنڈیہ سرکار کو، اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹوں کو ہی بارے میں ہدایت دینی چاہئے کہ وہ ان کے بارے میں بھی دھیان دے - جیسا کہ سلوڈھان میں کہا گیا ہے -

Article 347 says:

"On a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify."

Then, in Chapter IV, article 350 says:

"Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be."

Then again article 350A says:

"It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

جذاب والا - بہت سے لوگ جو اردو جانتے ہیں پرانے لوگ جو اردو جانتے ہیں جب کوئی درخواست عدالت میں پیش کرتے ہیں تو اس

کو دلی کی توکری میں قال دیا جاتا ہے اور پہاڑ دیا جاتا ہے - میں نے یہ اسی وجہ سے یہ چیز پڑھی ہے - ہائی کورٹ میں کوئی بھی آدمی اردو میں درخواست نہیں دے سکتا ہے - اگر کوئی آدمی اردو جانتا ہے خود درخواست بنا سکتا ہے تو وہ دوسری زبان میں درخواست بنانے کے لئے یا ہندی میں بنانے کے لئے پیسہ کیوں خبچ کرے - اس کو بھی ادھکار ہونا چاہئے کہ عدالت میں اردو زبان میں درخواست پیسہ کرے یا کسی زبان میں اگر وہ پیسہ کرنا چاہتا ہے پیسہ کر سکتا ہے اور اس میں کسی طرح کی پابندی نہیں ہونی چاہئے - میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ ضلع لیول اور ہائی کورٹ کے اندر اردو میں درخواستیں پیسہ کرنے پر اعتراض کیا جاتا ہے اور وہ درخواستیں نہیں لی جاتی ہیں - میرا اس معاملہ میں ذاتی تجربہ ہے - مجھے ہندی کم تھی ہے اور میں ہندی سمجھنے کی کوشش کر رہا ہوں میں اردو پڑھتا جانتا ہوں - میں نے جب کبھی اردو میں درخواست دی تو اس کو منظور نہیں کیا گیا - اس بارے میں سوشلسٹ پارٹی نے ایجنڈیشن کیا کہ ہائی کورٹ میں ہندی اردو میں بحث کرنے کی اجازت ہونی چاہئے - پہلے وہ درخواست ہندی اردو میں نہیں لی جاتی تھیں اور نہ ہندی

میں بحث کرنے کی اجازت دی جاتی تھی لیکن ہمارے ایجنڈیشن کے بعد انہوں نے ہندی اردو میں درخواست دینے کی اجازت دے دی اور ہندی میں بحث کرنے کی بھی اجازت دے دی - اس چیز کے لئے ہماری سوشلسٹ پارٹی نے اس بارے میں آندولن کیا تھا - اس لئے میں گورنمنٹ سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس قسم کا جزو دستوری کمیشن ہوتا ہے وہ نہیں ہونا چاہئے - اگر کوئی آدمی ریجنل لیگ ویجنز یا اپنی مادری زبان میں درخواست دینا چاہتا ہے تو اس کو پوری اجازت دی جانی چاہئے - جب ہم پریزیڈنٹ کو کیلڈریہ سرکار کو اپنی زبان میں درخواست دے سکتے ہیں تو عدالتوں میں مادری زبان میں درخواست دینے میں کیوں اعتراض کیا جاتا ہے - میں زیادہ نہیں کہنا چاہتا ہوں لیکن جو چند سفارشات کمیشن کی طرف سے کی گئی ہیں ان کو پڑھ دینا چاہتا ہوں - میں اس چیز پر زیادہ وضاحت سے نہیں کہنا چاہتا کیونکہ میرے پاس وقت نہیں ہے اور اس کے چند پیراگراف کو پڑھ کر میں اپنی اسپیچ ختم کر دوں -

In Chapter III, the Report says:

"The States Reorganisation Commission suggested that the Government of India should adopt in consultation with the State Govern-

[شری ہمارے لال کریل دھالہ]

ments a clear Code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State Administration and take steps under Article 347 to ensure that this Code is followed. The Commission made certain recommendations in this regard, most of which were accepted by the Government of India and were included in the Government of India Memorandum 1956. The decisions of the Chief Ministers' Conference on this subject are as follows:—

(a) No State is completely unilingual and therefore wherever publicity is required other languages in use in the area should be employed.

(b) Where at least 60 per cent. of the population of a district speaks or uses a language other than the official language of the State the same should be recognised as the official language in that district in addition to the State official language."

کمیشن نے اب تک جتنی لینگویسٹک مائنورٹیز کے بارے میں سفارشیوں دیں ان پر ابھی تک عمل نہیں کیا گیا۔ چیف منسٹرس کانفرنس نے جو ریکمہنڈیشن کی ہے اس کے بارے میں میں نے تین چار باتیں بتائیں ہیں ان پر ابھی تک عمل نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔ جہاں تک یو۔ پی۔ میں اردو کا تعلق ہے وہاں ۶۰ فیصد لوگ اردو بولتے ہیں۔ یہ کہنا کہ صرف مسلمان بولتے ہیں غلط بات ہے۔ وہاں بہت سے ادنیٰ طبقے کے لوگ اور پست اقوام لوگ اردو بولتے ہیں، مسانی بولتے ہیں، ایلنگو انڈین بولتے ہیں اس طرح سے یو۔ پی۔ میں اور دلی میں اردو

بولی جاتی ہے۔ مدھیہ پردیش، بہار، پنجاب، راجستھان اور آندھر پردیش میں بھی بہت سے ایسے لوگ ہیں جو اردو بولتے اور سمجھتے ہیں۔ اس لئے میں سرکار سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک یو۔ پی۔ کا تعلق ہے اس میں اردو کو ریجنل لینگویج بنانے کا انتظام جلد سے جلد کرنا چاہئے۔ میں آپ کے سامنے پوراگراف ۳ کو پڑھ دینا چاہتا ہوں۔ جس میں یہ لکھا ہے۔

"(c) Whenever in a district or a smaller area a linguistic minority constitutes 15 to 20 per cent. of the population it would be desirable to get important Government notices and rules published in the language of the minority."

تو میں سرکار سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کمیشن جو سفارشی کرتا ہے اس پر پوری طرح سے عمل کرنا چاہئے۔ چیف منسٹر کی کونسل میں جو سفارشیوں ہوتی ہیں ان پر بھی عمل کرنے کے لئے اسٹیٹس کو ہدایتیں بھیجی جانی چاہئیں۔ اگر ہم ان باتوں کو نہیں کرتے ہیں، ان سفارشیوں کو عمل میں نہیں لاتے ہیں تو لینگویسٹک مائنورٹیز کی جو رپورٹ ہے، جو ہر سال ہمارے سامنے پیش کی جاتی ہے، وہ بالکل بیکار ہو جاتی ہے۔ اگر ہم اس چیز کو اچھی طرح سے عمل میں لاتے ہیں تو اس سے اکثریت اور اقلیتوں کے

جو تعلقات ہیں وہ خوش گوار ہو  
جانیں کے اور اس طرح سے نیشنل  
انٹیکریشن اچھی طرح سے ہو  
جائے گا -

میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرنا چاہتا  
ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے اس موقع پر  
بولنے کا موقع دیا -

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब'  
(उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनाबेवाला मैं ज्यादा  
वक्त नहीं लूंगा। मोहतरमा किदवई साहिबा  
की हिमायत में अपने ख्यालात का इजहार  
करूंगा जो कुछ मुझे कहना चाहिये था उसका  
बहुत सा हिस्सा उन्होंने कह दिया है।

हमारे देश में जम्हूरियत और हमारी  
जम्हूरियत की बुनियाद सैक्यलरिज्म है।  
इस मुल्क की इस इक्तसानी हालत का  
समाजी हालात का ज्यादातर दारोमदार  
अक्सरियत और अक्लीयतों के ताल्लुकात पर  
है। और जनाबेवाला, जहां तक अक्सरियत  
और अक्लीयत के ताल्लुकात का ताल्लुक  
है यह एक बहुत अहम मसला है और इस पर  
जितना हमें ध्यान देना चाहिये उतना हम  
नहीं दे रहे हैं। मर्कजी सरकार को इस काम  
के लिए या इस मामले की तरफ जितना  
ध्यान देना चाहिये वह हमारी मर्कजी  
सरकार नहीं दे रही है। अक्लीयतों के  
हुकक का तहफुज और उनके जुबान का  
तहफुज इस देश में बड़ी अहमीयत रखता  
है। हम देखते हैं कि इस देश का बंटवारा  
हुआ तो महज इस वजह से कि अक्सरियत  
और अक्लीयतों के ताल्लुकात ठीक नहीं  
थे। और अभी बहुत से मसले ऐसे हैं जो महज  
अक्लीयत और अक्सरियत के ताल्लुक ठीक  
न होने की वजह से इस देश के अन्दर हैं। जैसा  
कि कई साहेबान ने कहा है कि यहां मॅटर  
की सरकार में एक ऐसा मिनिस्टर होना  
चाहिये जो कि अक्लीयतों के मसले को हर  
पहलू से देख सके और उनके हुकूक का तह-

फुज कर सके हुकूक की हिफाजत कर सके  
और इन अक्लीयती जुबानों के साथ जो  
बेइन्साफी होती है वह बेइन्साफी न होने  
पाए। यह काम इस मिनिस्टर के सुपुर्द होना  
चाहिये।

इसके अलावा मैं खास तौर पर एक बात  
की तरफ आपकी तवज्जो दिलाऊंगा कि  
जहां तक उर्दू जुबान का ताल्लुक है सारे देश  
के अन्दर दिल में कुछ ऐसा ख्याल है कि यह  
जुबान बाहर की जुबान है। जो जरा सा भी  
तवारीख से या हमारे इतिहास से बन्धित  
हैं वह जाते हैं कि उर्दू जुबान हिन्दुस्तान  
में पैदा हुई। इसकी परवरिश हिन्दुस्तान  
में हुई और जैसा कि आप जानते हैं इसकी  
तरक्की में हिन्दुओं ने, मुसलमानों ने, ईसा-  
इयों ने और यहां तक कि अंग्रेजों ने भी  
हिस्सा लिया। यह कहना गलत है कि यह  
मुसलमानों की जुबान है। यह मुसलमानों  
की जुबान किसी हालत में ही हो सकती  
है। यह मारी यक़ज़हती का सबूत है इसकी  
तखनीक में इस देश के सभी आदमियों ने  
सभी क़ौमों ने कुछ न कुछ हिस्सा लिया है।  
जुबान के साथ दुश्मनी नहीं होनी चाहिये  
जुबान खुदबखुद पैदा होती है और खुदब-  
खुद परवरिश होती है और खुदबखुद लोगों  
के दिलों पर काबिज़ हो जाती है। उर्दू जुबान  
खुदबखुद पैदा हुई। इसमें ज्यादा अलफाज़  
हिन्दी के आपको मिलेंगे। फारसी के बहुत  
कम मिलेंगे। यह जुबान यहां की जुबानों  
से निकली है यहां की जुबानों के कई अलफाज़  
इस उर्दू जुबान के अन्दर शामिल हैं। इस-  
लिए इस गलतफहमी से हमको निकल जाना  
चाहिये कि यह जुबान किसी एक क़ौम  
की जुबान है। कोई जुबान किसी एक क़ौम  
की किसी एक सूबे की नहीं हो सकती है....

श्री एन०एम० अनवर (मद्रास) : यह  
तो मुश्तरका जुबान है।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब' :  
इसीलिए मैं कह रहा हूं। मैं इसकी अह-

[ श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' ]  
मीयत की तरफ ध्यान दिलाऊंगा। आजादी के बाद हमने उर्दू जुबान की तरक्की के लिये कुछ नहीं किया जो हमें करना चाहिये था। उर्दू जुबान की तरक्की पर हमारी अक्लीयत और असरियत के ताल्लुकात का बड़ा भारी दारोबमदार है। हम खास तौर पर देखते हैं कि यू० पी० में अन्दरूनी तौर पर—ऊपर से आप जो कुछ कहें मरकजी सरकार के पास हिदायात जाती हैं और यू० पी० सरकार कहती है कि हम उर्दू के लिये बहुत कुछ कर रहे हैं। मगर पसेपदी क्या हो रहा है। इसके साथ दुश्मनी निबाही जा रही है। यह कोशिश की जा रही है कि उर्दू की तरक्की न हो, लोग उर्दू पढ़ें नहीं और उर्दू जुबान आगे बढ़े नहीं। अगर आप गौर से देखें, स्कूलों में देखें, कालेजों में देखें, यूनिवर्सिटी में देखें उर्दू की तरक्की के लिये किसी किस्म का मुअसिर बंद नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। बल्कि उर्दू की तरफ स्टेप मदरलो ट्रीटमेंट हो रहा है इसके साथ इन्साफ नहीं हो रहा है जसा कि अभी मोहतरमा किदवाई साहेबा ने बताया कि स्टाफ का सजाल पैदा करने में और यह बताते हैं कि अगर स्टाफ हो—स्ताफ पैदा करना आपका काम है। बहुत से लोग तो इस वजह से उर्दू नहीं पढ़ते हैं कि फलों स्कूल में फलों ब्लास में स्टाफ नहीं है और उन्हें मजबूर किया जाता है कि वह दूसरी जुबान पढ़ें, यह उर्दू न पढ़ें। हम तो ताज्जुब करते हैं कि उर्दू मुसलमान नहीं, कायस्थ ज्यादा तादाद में पढ़ते हैं। काय थों के अलावा उर्दू को ईसाई लोग, एंगलो-इंडियन लोग पढ़ा करते थे। मगर आप आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता ऐसी फिजा पैदा कर रहे हैं कि उर्दू के खिलाफ एक लहर फैल गयी और कायस्थ भी आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता उर्दू को पढ़ना छोड़ रहे हैं मुसलमानों के अलावा दूसरी कौमों भी इस जुबान को पढ़ना छोड़ रही हैं। मुसलमान भी चूंकि सहूलियत नहीं हैं स्कूलों और कालेजों में इस लिये इस जुबान को छोड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मैं आपको बता दूँ कि हिन्दु-

स्तान उर्दू का मरकज रहा है और लखनऊ सब से ज्यादा मरकज रहा है। दिल्ली उसके बाद दूसरा मरकज रहा है।

श्री एम० सत्यनारायण और हैदराबाद भी है।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' :  
तीसरा मरकज हैदराबाद रहा है। जिसने उर्दू को जन्म दिया। उर्दू की परवरिश हुई, उर्दू ने तरक्की की, यहां तक तरक्की की कि उर्दू वहां से निकलकर पंजाब पड़ोसी और लाहौर भी एक मरकज बना। आज भी मैं बिल्कुल यकीन के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि जितना उर्दू के जानने वाले हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में हैं, जितने उर्दू के शायर हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में हैं, जितने इन्शाह पवांज वगैरह हैं उतने पाकिस्तान में भी नहीं मिलेंगे।

श्री एन० एम० अनवर : आप भी तो बड़े शायर हैं।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' :  
कौन पूछता है कि मैं भी तीन किताबें लिखी हुई हैं जो कि लाहौर से १९३० ई० में निकली हैं मैं जब मरकजी असेम्बली का मेम्बर था तो आल इण्डिया रेडियो से उर्दू में तकरीरें करता था। लेकिन आज आजादी के बाद किसी आदमी ने नहीं पूछा कि आप तकरीर कर सकते हैं, आप आल इण्डिया रेडियो से उर्दू में कोई बात कर सकते हैं या अपनी नज़म पेश कर सकते हैं। किसी आदमी ने मुझसे नहीं कहा। जाहिर है कि आपकी इस तरफ तवज्जो नहीं है। आप चाहते ही नहीं हैं। यहां तक कि इलेक्शन के दौरान मेरी किताबें टंडन जी के सामने पेश की गई कि यह तो उर्दूदां है, यह हिन्दी नहीं जानता, यह तो फारसी जानता है इसको टिकट नहीं मिलना चाहिये। मैं १९५७ ई० की बात करता हूँ। जब मैं कांग्रेस के अन्दर था।



THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Kureel, make other points, if you have any.

I have got many points.

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' :  
इसलिए मैं इस बात को समझता हूँ कि उर्दू की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मैं पुरजोर सिफारिश करूँगा कि यहाँ सरकार की तरफ से एक ऐसी कमेटी बननी चाहिये, एक ऐसा कमीशन बनना चाहिये जो इस बात को मालूम करे कि आजादी के बाद उर्दू जुबान ने कितनी तरक्की की है और क्या वजह है कि उर्दू जुबान को जितनी तरक्की करनी चाहिये थी नहीं की है और वह सरकार को यह सुझाव दे कि वह उर्दू जुबान को डेवलप करने के लिए आगे जा कर क्या करेगी। यह बहुत अहम सवाल है। पाकिस्तान हमारा नेबर है। पाकिस्तान को यह कहने का मौका नहीं मिलना चाहिये कि उर्दू जुबान के साथ बेइन्साफी हो रही है। हमें इससे कहीं ज्यादा करक्की करनी चाहिये। हमारे संविधान में बहुत से प्रोवीजन हैं और इस चीज के लिए भी तीन प्रोवीजन हैं जिनकी तरफ मैं आपकी तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे पार्ट ३ में कुछ आर्टीकिल्स हैं जिनको मैं यहाँ पर आपके सामने पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। ...

Article 29 says:—

"(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."

इसमें आगे कहा गया है।

Article 30(1) says:—

"All minorities, whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice".

अगर हम इंस्टीट्यूशन चलाना चाहते हैं उर्दू जुबान को तरक्की देना चाहते हैं तो इसके लिए सरकार को इमदाद देनी चाहिये। मगर मैं देखता हूँ कि जहाँ तक उर्दू का ताल्लुक है हमारी सरकार की तरफ से ऐसे इंस्टीट्यूशनों को जहाँ उर्दू पढ़ाई जाती है जिनमें उर्दू पढ़ाने की कोशिश की जाती है उनको किसी तरह की इमदाद नहीं दी जाती। इसमें एक और प्रोवीजन है आर्टीकिल नं० ३० सेक्शन २ में।

Article 30(2) says:—

"The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the arrangement of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

इसके बाद डाइरेक्टव प्रिन्सिपल में यह बात दी हुई है। ठीक है कि हिंदी सरकारी जुबान है। हिंदी को भी जुबान है। नेशनल लैंग्वेज है इसके लिए हमें तरक्की करनी चाहिये। जितनी भी कोशिश हम कर सकते हैं उतनी करनी चाहिये, इसमें कोई एनराज नहीं है। मगर जहाँ तक रीजनल लैंग्वेज का सवाल है इसके बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार को स्टेट गवर्नमेंटों को इस के बारे में हिदायत देनी चाहिये कि वह इनके बारे में भी ध्यान दें। जैसा कि संविधान में कहा गया है।

Article 347 says:—

"On a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify".

[ श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' ]

Then, in Chapter IV, article 350 says:—

"Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or the State, as the case may be."

Then again article 350 A says:—

"It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities".

जनाबेवाला बहुत से लोग जो उर्दू जानते हैं पुराने लोग जो उर्दू जानते हैं जब कोई दरखास्त अदालत में पेश करते हैं तो उसको रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दिया जाता है और फाड़ दिया जाता है। मैंने इसी वजह से यह चीज पढ़ी है। हाई-कोर्ट में कोई भी आदमी उर्दू में दरखास्त नहीं दे सकता है। कोई आदमी उर्दू जानता है खुद दरखास्त बना सकता है तो वह दूसरी जुवान में दरखास्त बनाने के लिए या हिन्दी में बनाने के लिए पैसे क्यों खर्च करे। उसको भी अधिकार होना चाहिये कि अदालत में उर्दू जुवान में दरखास्त पेश करे या किसी जुवान में अगर वह पेश करना चाहता है पेश कर सकता है और इसमें किसी तरह की पाबन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिये। मैं देखना हूँ कि जिला लेवल और हाईकोर्ट के अन्दर उर्दू में दरखास्तें पेश करने पर एतराज किया जाता है और वह दरखास्तें नहीं ली जाती हैं। मेरा इस मामले में जाती तजुर्बा है। मुझे हिन्दी कम आती है और मैं हिन्दी सीखने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। मैं उर्दू वा परशियन जानता

हूँ। मैंने जब कभी उर्दू में दरखास्त दी तो उसको मंजूर नहीं किया गया। इस बारे में हमारी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने एजेंटेशन किया कि हाईकोर्ट में उर्दू में दरखास्त देने की और हिन्दी में बहस करने की इजाजत होनी चाहिए। पहले वह दरखास्तें उर्दू में नहीं ली जाती थीं और न हिन्दी में बहस करने की इजाजत दी जाती थी लेकिन हमारे एजेंटेशन के बाद उन्होंने उर्दू में दरखास्त देने की इजाजत दे दी और हिन्दी में बहस करने की इजाजत दे दी। इस चीज के लिए हमारी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने इस बारे में आन्दोलन किया था। इसलिए मैं गवर्नमेंट से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस किस्म का जो डिसक्रिमिनेशन होता है वह नहीं होना चाहिये। अगर कोई आदमी रीजनल लैंग्वेज या अपनी मादरी जुवान में दरखास्त देना चाहता है तो उसको पूरी इजाजत दी जानी चाहिए। जब हम प्रेसीडेंट को, केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपनी जुवान में दरखास्त दे सकते हैं तो अदालतों में मादरी जुवान में दरखास्त देने में क्यों एतराज किया जाता है। मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ लेकिन जो चन्द सिफारिशें कमीशन की तरफ से की गयीं हैं उनको पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। मैं इस चीज पर ज्यादा बजाह्त से नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि मेरे पास वक्त नहीं है और इस पैशग्रीफ को पढ़कर मैं अपनी स्पीच खत्म करूँगा।

In Chapter III, the Report says:—

"The States Reorganisation Commission suggested that the Government of India should adopt in consultation with the State Governments a clear Code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State Administration and take steps under Article 347 to ensure that this Code in followed. The commission made certain recommendations in this regard, most of which were accepted by the Government of India, and were included in the Government.

of India Memorandum 1956, The decisions of the Chief Ministers' Conference on this subject are as follows:—

(a) No State is completely unilingual and therefore wherever publicity is required other languages in use in the area should be employed.

(b) Where at least 60 per cent. of the population of a district speaks or uses a language other than the official language of the State the same should be recognised as the official language in that district in addition to the State official language".

कमीशन ने अब तक जितनी लिग्विस्टिक माई नोस्ट्रिज के बारे में सिफारिशें दीं उन पर अभी तक अमल नहीं किया गया। चीफ मिनिस्टरस कांफ्रेंस ने जो रिकमेन्डेशन की हैं उसके बारे में मैंने तीन चार बातें बताई हैं उन पर अभी तक अमल नहीं किया गया। जहां तक य० पी० में उ० का ताल्लुक है वहां ६० परसेन्ट लोग उर्दू बोलते हैं। यह कहना कि सिर्फ मुसलमान बोलते हैं गलत बात है। वहां बहुत से अदना तबके के लोग और पसून अकवाम लोग उर्दू बोलते हैं। ईसाई बोलते हैं। एंगलो इंडियन बोलते हैं। इसी तरह से य० पी० में और दिल्ली में उर्दू बोली जाती है। मध्य प्रदेश, बिहार, जवान, राजस्थान और आंध्र प्रदेश में भी बहुत से लोग हैं जो उर्दू बोलते हैं और समझते हैं। इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक य० पी० का ताल्लुक है उस में उ० को रिजनल लैंग्वेज बनाने का इन्तजाम जल्द से जल्द करना चाहिये। मैं आपके सामने पैराग्राफ ३ को पढ़ देना चाहता हूं जिसमें यह कहा गया है :—

"(c) Whenever in a district or a smaller area a linguistic minority

constitutes 15 to 20 per cent. of the population it would be desirable to get important Government notices and rules published in the language of the minority".

तो मैं सरकार से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि कमीशन जो सिफारिश करता है उसपर पूरी तरह से अमल करना चाहिये। चीफ मिनिस्टर की काउंसिल में जो सिफारिशें हुई हैं उन पर भी अमल करने के लिए स्टेट्स को हिदायतें भेजी जानी चाहिये। अगर हम इन बातों को नहीं करते हैं उन सिफारिशों को अमल में नहीं लाते हैं तो लिग्विस्टिक माईनोस्ट्रिज की जो रिपोर्ट है जो हर साल हमारे सामने पेश की जाती है वह बिल्कुल बेकार हो जाती है। अगर हम इस चीज को अच्छी तरह से अमल में लाते हैं तो इस से अक्सरियत और कक्कीयतों के जो ताल्लुक हैं वह खुश गवार हो जायेंगे और इस तरह से नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन अच्छी तरह से हो जायगा।

मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करना चाहता हूं कि आप ने मुझे स मौके पर बोलने का मौका दिया है।

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to welcome the Fifth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities covering the full calendar year 1962. After listening to the emotional effervescence of my good friend, Mr. Kureel Talib in defence of Urdu as a language of the Christians, the Anglo Indians, the Kaysthas, the Muslims, and of every good community. I feel that I am much relieved of a responsibility which otherwise I wished to discharge.

Sir, it is now evident from the wonderful defence that he had put up for this language that there are as many as 90 to 100 millions in this country who belong to what you call the Urdu minority, a minority that is spread over the length and breadth of

[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

this country and even in the distant nooks and corners of this great sub-continent. But Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not take any chauvinistic view although I know that Urdu is my mother-tongue. But then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I belong to the joint family of linguistic pantheon where Urdu is my mother-tongue, but Tamil is my father-tongue, Telugu is my sister-tongue and Canarese is my brother tongue. Well, let me tell you that there are very many languages of the country for which I claim kinship because my uncle and cousins can speak in these languages infinitely much better.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): What about English?

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: English is my official tongue, but Hindi is my beloved tongue, Arabic my grand-father's tongue, Persian my grand-mother's tongue and Sanskrit my fore-fathers' tongue. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have no sympathy for any one particular language to the total exclusion of all the other languages, nor have I any animus, any antipathy, any allergy against any language. Therefore, viewed with that background I welcome the observations of some of the distinguished Members in this House. Mr. P. N. Saprú, as he began this debate, gave proof of abundant catholicity. Indeed I admire all Kashmiri Brahmins not only for their beauty but also for their catholicity, for their dress and vision, for their sense of love and goodwill for all the languages of India, and that is the reason why probably the forces of national solidarity and emotional integration have come to be very safe in the hands of Kashmiri Brahmins.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Only Brahmins.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Kashmiri Brahmins, Sir,—

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Kashmiris, not only Brahmins.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Yes, including Mr. Tariq.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I am also a Brahmin.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: What is the real secret by which we have to preserve these minority languages in this country? It is not by the safeguards which the Constitution has provided for and the series of Commissions and Committees that have tried to fortify these minority languages in the course of their recommendations to which ample reference has been made by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. It is not by these paper safeguards that we are going to ensure the future for our linguistic minorities. The greatest proof of minority languages is the goodwill that we enjoy from the majority community. Let us try to fill the dry bones of the Constitution with the flesh and blood of love and goodwill of the majority and that way, I feel, I must congratulate the Commissioner for some of the purple passages that I see in this report, as an eloquent tribute and testimony to the statesmanship that is now observed in the Southern State and particularly headed by the State of Madras which I have the honour to represent in this House. I am very pleased that even in the course of the speech that you made, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in reply to some of the points raised here, the glory belongs to the South, whether it be the Mysore State or the Madras State, or the Kerala State or the Andhra State. These are the States where we do not have much of this problem. The Telugus in Tamilnad, the Tamils in Andhra and equally the Urdu minority in every one of these four States had been having very little or no problem so far as the safeguards for their language are concerned. That is the spirit which we have to foster all over the country.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): And yet linguistic.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Now I come to You, and reveal where it is linguistic. Nevertheless, why then do we have this problem hanging as a Damocles' sword

over our heads in the North, particularly in the belt which speaks Hindi as its regional language? Believe me, it was very sickening for me to hear how—I am not speaking of any observations expressed on the floor of the House but I am here quoting chapter and verse from the report of the Commissioner—if any of the minority languages had come in as a casualty under the new dispensation with the advent of our freedom, it is that most beautiful language for which Mr. Sapru and Mr. Mani and Mr. Kureel had executed their tremendous defence, i.e. Urdu. I ask, why has Urdu come in for so much of this liability? Is it because that you are not able to bear its intrinsic superiority? Is it because that you have jealousy for its literary embellishments and cultural excellence? Is it because that it is a eyesore to you that it carries the tradition of the composite culture that we have inherited through centuries? This language which I must say, owes much of its genius to the collective wisdom that we have inherited through the centuries from Sanskrit, from Brijbasha, from Prakrit, not to speak of Arabic and Persian. Yet, as Mr. Sapru very eloquently asked, how are we going to extend our token of goodwill of love and sympathy for the Arab world and for Persia when you want to knock the bottom of their tradition in this country and yet pretend to be friends with them who constitute thirty or thirty-five countries along the members of the United Nations in the world to-day? I ask, in the very interest of our own safety and security, for the very preservation of our non-alignment, it becomes but meet and necessary and a paramount responsibility that we have got to preserve that language and foster it and as my esteemed friend and great parliamentarian, Mr. A. D. Mani, said, that will be the proof of our generosity. That will be the proof of our national solidarity. The strength of a chain depends on its weakest link and break that link and you break that chain. Where is this national consolidation when you want to trample this amalgam of composite culture—Urdu—under your feet?

Here is the report which gives abundant proof that there are certain States which despite the safeguards provided for in the Constitution, have not been able to implement them, in spirit and in letter. There are still mental reservations and that only speaks that little minds and great States go ill together. It is not good for this country, it is not good for the statesmen of this nation, particularly a very great nation where we have got in the spectrum of our public opinion, different facets of our minorities that we should have to arrogate unto ourselves the spirit of jingoism or chauvinism in the name of nationalism. Therefore I say, such men as Mr. P. N. Sapru, who happily have come here to this House, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. A. D. Mani, Mr. Kureel Talib and Mr. Santhanam really did yeoman service for the preservation of our national solidarity and really gave a beacon light for our posterity by trying to see that these linguistic minorities are not only effectively safeguarded but they are considered as members of the common family and that with a sense of brotherhood and fraternity we have to see that we encourage their language and culture and their recruitment to our public services. After all, for a democracy, the good conduct certificate for the majorities vests with the minority. It is not for you to say that you are running the Government good yourself. That does not become a certificate. Only an idiot praises himself.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa):  
The Opposition must say.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Yes. The Opposition constitutes the minority opinion. From every point of view, a linguistic minority, a racial minority, a religious minority, a political minority will have to sit in judgment over the conduct of the majority in a democracy and a certificate of good conduct from such minorities will be the most tremendous and eloquent testimony to the vitality of our national solidarity and to the statesmanship of our national leadership.

[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

Therefore, I believe that in all these matters, what is required is that we must have a large heart and a good mind that can live up to the challenge of our situation. Therefore, I feel that with the flesh and blood of love and goodwill we have to fill the dry bones of our Constitution. These safeguards are mere scraps of paper, not worth even the ink that has been wasted on these pages, unless it be that they are translated into action, unless it be that they are converted into reality, unless it be—and the wearer only knows where the shoe pinches—that I, as a linguistic minority, because Urdu is my mother-tongue as a racial minority—because I belong to the Dravidian stock—and as a religious minority—because I am a Muslim—as a regional minority—because I am of the South—unless I try to give expression to the good conduct of the majority, I believe there cannot be an assurance of safeguard for the minority which the founding-fathers of our Constitution have provided.

A very valuable observation was made by that distinguished Governor of this country, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Ex-Governor.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Once a Governor, always a Governor. From out of the blood spilt in the Brahmaputra valley came the cry for the cause of national integration. Mark the words, the cry came because he felt that linguistic fanaticism has raised its ugly head dividing the communities in Assam horizontally and vertically. Then it was the country's leadership which had been challenged to face the problem of national integration. It is a very sad commentary that after fifteen years of our freedom, we still should have to find out ways and means of how best we can foster our national integration. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must give a warning to the minority groups myself, particular-

ly to the Muslim community spread all over this country, to the fifty, sixty millions of the Muslims of India. Let me give them this warning, born out of my own experience, and my love for their welfare that they have got to join the common stream of national life. While I can understand and applaud the provisions about the mother-tongue at the primary stage, at the secondary stage, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is different. Let me tell you, that the Urdu minority which numbers some 80 to 90 millions in this country, they should take to the regional language, to the language of their environment, the language of their surroundings, the language of the market-place, as their language for instruction, for education and for employment, and for their national get-togetherness, particularly, when Hindi is so close to Urdu. That is but meet and proper. I can give the example of that great educationist, leader and founder of the Aligarh Muslim University, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan when a century ago presented this formula to the nation and said that the community in order to be lifted from the backwaters of our society, should begin to impart education in English, should take to English education, which had been dubbed as "haram" by the divines, by the religious leaders of the community, in their hatred for foreign rule I say, let us remember this and address ourselves to this work, and in the interest of the solidarity of the country, lest we be left in the backwaters of society, let us see that we adopt the regional language as our own. That is exactly what I have myself provided for in the institutions which are under my management, the Islamia College, Vaniya, Badim the Islamiah High School at Pernambut, and so on.

AN HON. MEMBER: How are their accounts?

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Their accounts are wonderfully fool-proof.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Your time is finished.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the development of Tamil language?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You must conclude now.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Two more minutes and I am done. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have a few observations to make with reference to Tamil. Why should the headquarters of this Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities be located at Allahabad? That itself is proof of a certain dominance. The Uttar Pradesh, the State to which the Prime Minister belongs, has not given a good account of itself in matters of the linguistic minorities. It is the worst sinner and I am sorry I have to lay this charge at the door of Uttar Pradesh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You proceed to the next point.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, my State in the South has Tamil . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have only one more minute.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am developing my point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You are developing nothing.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Tamil?

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I feel that the headquarters should be shifted to a more cordial atmosphere. After all it is the climate of public opinion, of goodwill and love that must be fostered for the linguistic minorities in the country.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, one more point and I am done. I have got the highest admission for the most ancient language that this country has ever produced. While Mr. Santhanam and Mr. Chordia pleaded for Sanskrit and that its study should be provided for in all the States, I was very happy, because they played into my hands. I myself said long ago that there should be this four-language formula, not three-language formula.

AN HON. MEMBER: Now it will be a four-language formula.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: There should be this four-language formula for the solution of this problem. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sanskrit is anterior to the other languages and I want the entire country to start learning it right from the base so that all the communities and sections may be equally placed in the matter of acquiring proficiency in that language, the language of our ancestors, our forefathers rather than allow Hindi language which is dominating some 50 or 60 or 80 millions of this country in order to have a superiority over the rest of the country, and that naturally impedes the progress of national solidarity.

One more point and I finish. Of all the languages of the world, the most ancient is a language which has been in existence for some 17,500 years or so, and that is Tamil, a language which has been living there since Adam dropped from Heaven. Adams Rock is in Tamilnad.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Adam spoke Tamil?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Order, order.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I want Tamil to be known all over this country. There must be a National Institute for Tamil Culture at the capital of India.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): You want Tamil dominance?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You conclude now.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am only saying that we must try to preserve a language which has never been a dead language, a language which has been living for the last 17,000 years and more, a wonderful language of solidarity, harmony and love for all.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): We are discussing the linguistic minorities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Let him finish.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am talking about Tamil which the hon. Member does not know.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I know.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Mr. Anwar, you must conclude now. You have already exceeded your time.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Yes, Sir. I conclude now. I only say that there must be a National Institute of Tamil Culture at the Headquarters of the Republic of India here for disseminating the glories of this most ancient language of the world, the language of love and goodwill for all humanity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Shrimati Tara Ramachandra Sathe.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, before you call on another hon. Member, please give me an opportunity to refute the allegations made by Mr. Anwar, that Uttar Pradesh has not treated the Urdu-speaking people properly. That is wrong, absolutely wrong.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate the hon. Minister for placing this Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities—the Fifth Report—before the House for consideration. I fully agree with the hon. Member, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, that it is the duty of the majority to make the minorities feel that they are treated as younger brothers, as members of the same family. I remember one saying—Do to others as you would like others to do to you. This is a golden rule of life and, Sir, we must remember that in one State one language may be the majority language, but it is the minority language in some other States. So, I feel that we must create confidence in the minorities, in the people speaking the minority language as also in the religious minorities, and give them every facility that is needed. Sir, I feel that it is the duty of the Members of this House to put the grievances, if any, of the minorities in the different States before the Union Government and request the Government to look into the matter.

Sir, the decision taken by the Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council regarding electoral rolls has not been implemented. To quote from the Report, on page 97, paragraph 587, it has been stated:

"Inasmuch as the people of the country are expected to take a serious interest in the election to panchayats and local bodies and they have already begun to do so, it is desirable that the decision of the Southern Zonal Council is implemented without any further loss of time. This would appear possible only if, as suggested by the Election Commission, the Southern States amend their existing laws to enable publication of electoral rolls of panchayat and local bodies in minority languages."



I would request the Government to look into this matter.

The hon. Member, Mr. Desai, and also Mr. Govinda Reddy, mentioned in their speeches about the minutes or the proceedings of the Belgaum Municipality. I would like to refer to that matter and say something more about it. According to some, it is learnt that the Mysore Assembly has passed a Bill which says that the proceedings shall be kept in Kannada and in English if the Municipal Council so resolves. That is to say that the minutes of the proceedings

shall be kept like that. As the hon. Member himself explained, in Balgaum the population is 52 per cent Marathi-speaking. Secondly, I would like to say something about the proportion of the membership of the Municipal Council itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You can continue tomorrow. The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday the 18th December, 1963.