

[Shri P. L. Kureel Urf Talib]

by the Minister that he was arrested under a warrant.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, you have said that.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: But now I come to know that he has been arrested without a warrant.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If I am convinced, I would allow you to repeat it twenty times. It is not fair to this House, to yourself, to your reputation and the reputation of the House. You have brought to the notice of the House certain important facts which have been brought to the notice of the Government, and there should be an end to it.

MOTION REGARDING REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—continued

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, regarding the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, Shrimati Tara Ramachandra Sathe had not finished her speech. Yes, Shrimati Tara Ramachandra Sathe.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Sir, yesterday the hon. Members Shri D. B. Desai and Shri Govinda Reddy referred in their speeches to the Bill which was passed in the Mysore State Assembly, which states that the minutes and the proceedings of the meetings of the Municipal Council should be kept in Kannada or in English, if the Council so resolves. Shri Govinda Reddy stated that it was quite justifiable that the municipalities should be asked to keep its records, proceedings and minutes in the regional language and the official language of the State. I would have fully agreed with him if there would not have been this unique case. Apparently, his argument seems to be quite justifiable. But I do not agree with him because there are

some unique cases such as the Belgaum Municipality and the Nipani Municipality. I can give some more points to emphasise my statement. Firstly, the mother-tongue of more than 50 per cent. of the people of Belgaum City is Marathi, as Shri Govinda Reddy has stated. And, Sir, Kannada-speaking people are approximately 25 per cent. If all the minorities are taken together, they have less percentage than the Marathi-speaking people. Secondly, of the councillors who are elected to the Belgaum municipality, in the case of more than 70 per cent. of them their mother-tongue is Marathi. Not only is it that they know Marathi, but their mother-tongue is Marathi.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): But then they know Kannada.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE: They may be knowing; I do not know whether all of them know. But their mother-tongue is Marathi; that is the point I want to emphasise. The Belgaum municipality was started in 1858 and for more than a hundred years the minutes and proceedings of the Belgaum municipality are kept in Marathi, Sir. Why should we like to disturb that convention and why should we not allow the liberty to the councillors to have their minutes and proceedings recorded in a language they resolve to? Sir, I like to refer to the Nipani municipality also. There are some twenty-five members or so, and out of them only one municipal councillor is there whose mother-tongue is Kannada. So I request the hon. Minister and the Government to go into the matter in detail.

Sir, the hon. Mr. Govinda Reddy said:

"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?"

I agree with the hon. Member and I want to really congratulate him for this suggestion, which may help to solve the problem. Regarding this I can add that a Bill which has been passed in the Mysore Assembly states that if the Councils resolve to have it in English, they can do so. If the same option was given to have it in Marathi—if the councils resolve to have it in Marathi—I think the problem will be solved. So I request the Government again and again to go into the matter and to remove the grievances of the majority of the people as far as Belgaum and Nipani are concerned. Sir, the House will be surprised to know—and I know it on authority—that even the Marathi and the Hindi speeches made on the floor of the Mysore State Assembly go unrecorded in the official debates of the Assembly unless the Members themselves give the speech—after the speech is over—word for word, and when they do speak *extempore* on the floor of the House, I think nobody will agree with this that a Member should give the speech, word for word, after the speech is over, and I think the House will agree with me that there should be a steno in the Assembly to take down, word by word, all the Marathi and Hindi speeches. Sir, there are several more complaints from the Marathi-speaking people, but for want of time I will only give one or two grievances

The report under consideration, on page 98, in paragraph 589 says:

“Marathi speaking officials of the district having been transferred to Mysore, none of the Judges or Magistrates knows Marathi. They take down notes in English and the court clerk in Kannada on the basis of lawyers' translations in English or evidence tendered in Marathi. The matter has been referred to the Registrar, Mysore High Court.”

Sir, I like to know from the Government whether they got any report from the High Court.

I want to request the hon. Minister to go through the Mysore Financial Code, Volume I, Article 24, Clause 6. I learn from some citizens of Belgaum that the Mysore Financial Code subjects Marathi people to the humiliation of making thumb impressions if he or she is not able to sign in Kannada or in English, even though he or she can sign in Marathi, which has got a script and which is Devanagari. Sir, are they to be treated as illiterate people because they do not know English or Kannada, or in other words—I can put it this way—illiteracy is forced on them, and I request the Government also to consider this matter?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I may inform the hon. Member that it is no longer the case. If it is in Devanagari or if it is in any of the languages incorporated in the Constitution of India, his signature is accepted.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE: Sir, does he mean to say that they accept signatures in Marathi also?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Yes.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE: I should be happy if they do, I like to correct myself if what I said was wrong, but I again request the hon. Minister to go into that because I learnt it from some of the citizens of Belgaum. I would like to correct myself if the hon. Minister gives that information that the hon. Mr. Govinda Reddy gave.

Sir, we are discussing the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and this is with a view to safeguarding the linguistic minorities' interests, but then you will be surprised to know what the Representatives of Mysore on the Maharashtra-Mysore Border Disputes Committee say regarding this Commissioner in their report on page 204 in paragraph 378. And this is what they say:

[Shrimati Tara Ramachandra Sathe]

"Even the existence of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is not felt by the people in the border areas, much less his utility. It is obvious that there must be something wrong either in the Constitution or in the working of that institution."

I like to know what these words mean,

"that there must be something wrong * * * in the Constitution"

I quote further:

"It is not for us to examine the drawbacks and to suggest remedial measures. Suffice it to say that it is necessary that there must be a powerful machinery for supervision, investigation of the legitimate grievances and also for rectification of the wrongs caused to the minorities. If the officer now appointed has not got sufficient powers to deal with the problems effectively, it is for the Government to examine and to rectify the shortcomings thereof."

Sir, I like to know from the hon. Minister whether they have considered this paragraph and what steps in this matter have been taken by the Government. I should say that in spite of the appointment of a commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and the several reports submitted in the matter, things have not yet improved and the grievances of the minorities still stands as they were.

Lastly, through you, Sir, I like to request the Government to look into the matter and to safeguard the interests of the Marathi-speaking people who are, in fact, in a majority in Nipani, Karwar and Belgaum but are treated as a minority artificially made, and this artificial minority is nothing but a pure political creation.

Thank you.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Shyam Kumari Khan will make her maiden speech.

SHRIMATI SHYAM KUMARI KHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to pay my humble tribute to the very excellent report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, that we are discussing today. This report, Sir, is a great contribution, in my opinion, because it does not merely point out our defects, but it also shows, to a very limited degree, what advance we have made in the different States of India in this direction. Nobody has any objection to the suggestions of the Commissioner; everybody is agreed that these suggestions have to be carried out. The Chief Ministers' Conference and the National Integration Committee have all agreed that these suggestions should be carried out as early as possible. Therefore, Sir, willingness to act in this respect is there.

The problems are three-fold for the linguistic minorities of India. The first problem is that of education in the mother-tongue of the linguistic minorities. In my home State of Uttar Pradesh the largest linguistic minority—this report says—is that of those people who speak the language Hindustani; 11 per cent. of the people in U.P. speak Hindustani and, we all know, Hindustani has no definite script of its own. It can be written either in the Devanagari or in the Arabic script. Urdu-speaking and Urdu-writing population is 6.8 per cent. of the total population—p. 12 of the Report—1951 Census.

Sir, this country has been free for the last 16 years and Hindi has been imposed or introduced, whatever you might say, in all the schools of Uttar Pradesh. In the last 16 years the students of Uttar Pradesh have been reading Hindi, and I must submit, Sir, that the students must have acquired a certain amount of proficiency in that language in this period of time. This linguistic problem of the minorities has been seriously tackled since

1957 which is only six years ago when this Commission was formed. There is no doubt, Sir, that the linguistic minorities in Uttar Pradesh, and I dare say, in every State of India also, have been feeling dissatisfied even before that, but we have really taken the problem in hand only since 1957 in a very serious manner. Now six years is a very short time in the life of a nation. And so far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned, I would like to put some facts before you, Sir, so that you might know the measure of advancement that has been made.

In the primary stages, 49 districts have schools which teach Urdu. In 1955-56, 73,704 children were taking up Urdu with 2,610 teachers—p. 197. In 1960-61, which are the latest figures available, 1,11,779 pupils were learning Urdu with 2,534 teachers and 238 attached sections for Urdu. Therefore, Sir, in all these years Uttar Pradesh has almost doubled the number of pupils and increased the number of teachers together with attached sections for teaching Urdu.

In the secondary stage also, Sir, Uttar Pradesh has made some advancement. In 43 districts of Uttar Pradesh secondary schools are teaching Urdu. In 1955-56 there were 5,332 pupils with 100 teachers, whereas in 1960-61 there are 14,560 pupils with 267 teachers—pp. 238 and 239. The number of pupils in these six years has doubled with a proportionate increase of teachers. I recognise that the pace is slow and the minorities cannot feel very hopeful of getting a very quick return. But my humble submission is that we cannot charge the Government alone with responsibility for teaching Urdu or Hindi or other minority languages. It is for us, who are workers in the field, to go back to our various States, to try and form new private schools, not necessarily belonging to one community, but belonging to all. Urdu is a very beautiful language and I am one of those who is a lover of Urdu as also one who appreciates Hindi. But, Sir, it is necessary for every child in India to

learn Hindi first as the all-India language and, of course, to be educated in his mother-tongue at a very primary stage. We are building up on the social side Balwadis in every State of India. Every single Balwadi takes care of a child at a very tender age and teaches it in its own mother-tongue. That would be the basis for its further education. We can also go back to our States and encourage the opening of private schools which would take up this problem. Government, Sir, will take time because, I wish to point out to this House, they need trained teachers. They have set rules from which they cannot go back. They have to train their teachers and that takes some time. Therefore, Sir, my humble submission to the House is that if we take up this problem seriously after going back, the education of the child in its mother-tongue will not be neglected.

Another submission of mine is that the U.P. Government at least has formed a language committee, and though it is taking a long time to take a decision on the recommendations of that committee it is obvious that it has taken up the problem seriously. There is no doubt that unless the child is tackled the future is uncertain. An investment in the child ensures a good future. In this country we have various plans. We have invested in brick, mortar and cement in our plans but we have now to plan for the child, and its education in its mother-tongue. I am very glad, Sir, that we have taken up this question now. Every leader of ours is thinking on these lines and I do hope that we will be able to go ahead speedily in this direction.

There are two other points that affect the linguistic minorities very vitally. The education of the child is for the future, Sir. But in the present the very fact that court notices, Government orders, Government pamphlets are not in the language of the minority communities cuts at the very roots of our work because in the

[Shrimati Shyam Kumari Khan]
immediate present the minorities feel that they are not getting what is their due. It is psychological. They will, of course, be obliged to read these court notices in Hindi. They will be compelled to have them translated, but if they get them in their own language they would feel more secure as equal citizens of India as they undoubtedly are.

So far as the services are concerned, that is a very tender point with the minorities. In my own home State it is the Muslims, the Christians and the Anglo-Indians who are the main minorities. These minorities are all mainly city-dwellers and town-dwellers. Unfortunately, after the partition of India there was a regular campaign of hate and many of us were its victims. But I am glad to say that most of us took up the attitude that this cannot last and we immediately started working in the masses and trying to bring back that goodwill and that love for each other that always existed. But I must admit that the minorities did suffer. There is no use our denying this fact. The minorities suffered psychologically, and the minorities suffered because a certain percentage in services was introduced in my State. In my State what happened was that the Government itself ordered that the minorities would get jobs in the percentage in which they existed in the State. The British Government had no such percentages—with the result that the jobs of minorities were very often more than their actual proportion on a population basis. This led to recruitment being stopped for them. The result was that in towns, where the minority was 40 per cent., not a single job could be given to any member of that minority community for a considerable period of time and the consequent unemployment of youth gave rise to a feeling of frustration. My humble submission is that if there are to be percentages, they should be district-wise and not State-wise. There may be places where a minority will not be able to

get even 2 per cent. jobs. There may be places in which minorities will get 40 per cent. and 50 per cent. jobs. If such a method is evolved, the pinch will not be felt because the people in a particular town will get jobs according to their population basis, and they will feel that the Government is fair. I know that the Government does not want to make any distinctions. But unfortunately, this is the result when an overall State pattern is enforced with a fixed overall percentage. These are the three problems, Sir, that face the minorities, and I assure you on behalf of every one of us, who is working in the field, Sir, that every single problem of the minorities will be dealt with and looked upon by us with the greatest amount of sympathy. Sir, I am one of those who feel that the minorities must be brought up to the level of the majority. But there is a note of warning also that I want to sound. Too much of proportional representation, too many reserved seats are bound to affect the minorities themselves. No community can prosper if its children feel that they can get a job or work because they belong to that community. What I want is that there must be efficiency in this nation. Every single community must get jobs according to its own merit, and our children, whether of the majority or the minority, must feel and must know that they have to work for what they get, and it is their competence and their skill alone that will take them further.

MR CHAIRMAN: Some thirteen speakers have already spoken. I have a list of seven or eight before me. The Minister would reply at 2-30 because at three we have to begin something else. I would therefore request the hon. Members who still want to take part to be as brief as possible. If Members cannot put any limitation on themselves, they will probably agree to sit through the lunch hour but I will not be able to postpone the reply of the Minister beyond 2.30.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): May I make a submission? Why not postpone the discussion on tourism to the next Session?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Because I have already given more time than we have allotted to this.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: This discussion is very important and all sections should be given chance . . .

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): Yesterday I suggested that the discussion might be continued on this Linguistic Minorities Report instead of taking up certain unimportant discussions but unfortunately . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Every item on the agenda is important. Two and a half hours were allotted to this discussion. We have already spent five hours. There should be some limit. Even after seven hours, if some people want to speak, we cannot go on indefinitely. I quite see that people are interested in it and therefore I agreed to sit through the lunch hour. We will be able to finish the speeches, I hope, unless there are marathon speeches, by 2-30. I would now call upon Shri Satyanarayana.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, I join the innumerable number of praises and encomiums showered on the Commissioner's report for the excellent way in which the report has been prepared and presented for the consideration of this House. This Commission, as we know, is of recent origin, is the result of the partition of the country as well as the reorganisation of the Estates. We had the problem of multilingualism in the country which we wanted to solve. For that purpose we devised a method of reorganising ourselves on the basis of unilingualism in the States and a synthetic approach on the basis of unilingualism for a language to be constituted and to be integrated into one language which will serve the purpose of all-India forum. The ling-

uistic problem was entirely different before the independence of this country. It has assumed a new approach and new importance to-day as the minorities' problem. While discussing the linguistic minorities, I have been listening to the speeches delivered by a number of speakers, the various approaches that have been put forth and these approaches are of varied types. Probably they were necessary having regard to the local problems as well as the problem of sentiment, as well as the problem of approach, as well as the problem of correcting the difficulties that they are experiencing.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

We have two linguistic divisions in this discussion. One is the past experiences, the other is the future course of action that we will have to take in respect of the solution of the problem of the linguistic minorities. As we find, this particular problem, as I have been seeing, is more in the South rather than in the North. In the North probably the problem has not come to the forefront and if at all it has come, it has come to the forefront only in one direction, that is, Hindi versus Urdu. We in the South have been always feeling that there is absolutely no difference between Urdu and Hindi and we have always been told so when the numerical strength of the Hindi-speaking people was quoted to us that they are in a majority and therefore the others must accept this as the majority language as far as the common language is concerned but subsequently, having got Hindi accepted as the major language of this country, the definition is being given to us that Urdu is entirely different from Hindi and as a solution for the purpose of finding out whether Hindi and Urdu are two different languages or one, subsequently the South Indians were told that there is a language which is a *via media* or between both, that is, Hindustani. Neither Hindustani we have accepted nor we are accepting Hindi as the majority lang-

[Shri M. Satyanarayana.]

uage nor we are willing to accept Urdu as a prototype or as an equal to Hindi and there is still confusion. This confusion is entirely due to the fact that we are forgetting what we have decided as a final solution at the time of the Constituent Assembly for finding out a permanent solution for the linguistic problem of this country. Article 351 has clearly stated that before we integrate an all-India language, we should also integrate the multi-lingual States on a unilingual basis and these minorities in the unilingual States, as we have divided the States, have to adjust themselves to the particular official language which is likely to be made by the State Legislature as a unilingual language for the purpose of communication as an official language but that is being now fast developed in the States. We have different States on a unilingual basis. Each State is trying to develop its own language or being used as an official language. When we discuss this problem as the official language, it gives itself one particular form. When we discuss this as a minority language, it has a different problem. The Minority Commission Report has to be confined, according to articles 350 and 350B to the fact that the minorities should be respected in respect of imparting education as far as primary education is concerned. It does not at all deal with education as a medium in the high school courses or in the college courses or in the higher forms. Therefore, if that is satisfied, the minority problem is to be satisfied; otherwise the minorities' problem for the purpose of using the minority languages as a medium will present itself as a great problem if it has to be pursued till the end. That is the reason probably, at the time of the discussion of this minority problem, in the incorporation of this particular article 350 it was confined only to the primary stage. That is what we are just discussing. All the other problems connected with the medium of instruction and the medium at the college level as well as the high-school

level, are only questions of convenience of the States as well as the demand and supply in the State itself.

While discussing this, two or three things have been stated and I would like to deal with them. One is it has been repeatedly demanded that the Eighth Schedule has to be changed. This Eighth Schedule has a history of its own. In the Eighth Schedule the Indian languages are enumerated as fourteen languages. Among the fourteen languages, it may be noted that Hindi is one of them. If Hindi has been accepted as an all-India language, why should it be enumerated again as one of the fourteen? It is because it is a regional language as well as a language to be developed as a medium for official purposes in the all-India arena. So for that purpose, Hindi is used as one of the fourteen as well as one which will be developed—How?—with the co-operation of all the fourteen languages of India. If we just read carefully article 350, it clearly states that the development of Hindi as a Union language will take place in close co-operation with the development of all the other fourteen languages including Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit. Therefore the Eighth Schedule is not at all meant to be listed up as the Indian languages completely. It is listed up only on the basis of the regional languages in this country which are likely to be developed as media of instruction for the college courses, for the high-school course, for the public purposes, as for administrative medium. It is for that purpose this particular Eighth Schedule has been prepared. The Eighth Schedule is also mentioned at some other places, namely, article 344. In article 344 it is very clearly stated that when a Commission is appointed for the purpose of finding out the development of Hindi in this country, in order to enable Hindi to take the place of English as an all-India medium, the representatives mentioned in the Eighth Schedule also have to be taken into the Commission. These are the two places where the Eighth Sche-

dule languages are mentioned; otherwise the Eighth Schedule is neither exhaustive from the point of view of the list of languages nor in the development nor expansion. It was said that there should be more languages added to the Eighth Schedule. There was also a demand that English should be added to this Schedule. There was a demand that Sindhi should be added to this schedule. There were demands for adding a few more languages. In this country we have innumerable languages. There are listed languages and there are unlisted languages. There are spoken languages and there are languages that are both spoken and written. For instance, in the south there are rich languages like Tulu and Konkani, and in the north, Maithili, Baheli, Bhundeli, Bhojpuri and several languages, leave alone those tribal languages, which are not included in the list of languages. They are being used as spoken languages and not much useful purpose would be served by them for developing these other Indian languages. Maybe, when we are developed, we will have to take plenty of vocabulary from these also. But adding a few more languages to the Eighth Schedule is not at all relevant to this subject. What is relevant is whether the linguistic minority is being treated properly from the point of view of the development of their language. That is number one. The second point is how they are treated from the point of view of the medium of instruction in the primary stage; the third point is the use of the minority language for the purposes of communication, either written or spoken; and the fourth point is whether these people are being treated properly and justly or not. These form the subject matter which will come under the purview of a linguistic minority report. I am very glad to say, when I perused the whole of this Report, I found there were not many difficulties expressed. Only a few difficulties were mentioned. One of them relates to the use of Marathi in Belgaum. This has got a history of its own. Belgaum was not in Mysore before. It was added to it. When it came into Mysore, a

large number of people came into the Mysore State, and Mysore became their State. But if they try to have their language exclusively for the purposes of communication and for official business, it will be difficult. They will have to adjust themselves to the Kannada language. For instance, if you take minorities in India on the basis of languages, the largest population of such a minority belongs to the Telugu language. For instance, the whole total Telugu population of Andhra Pradesh is somewhere about 3 crores or 3.5 crores. But its minority population is something like 50 lakhs, living outside that State. If the Telugu people demand that their minority language should be treated on par with the official languages in these States, if the 30 lakh Telugu people living in Tamilnad or the 20 or 25 lakhs living in another State demand that they must use Telugu as the official language for all purposes of administration, for official business and so on, it would not be possible for those States to give them such facilities as they give to the local languages. It is not possible to meet such demands based on numerical proportions or literary importance. It should not be attempted.

While I listened to the speeches yesterday, I found linguistic fanaticism, linguistic parochialism and linguistic feelings again being raised, more or less, on the same basis on which we raised them prior to our independence. This should be put an end to. We will have to make a few adjustments in our life. We have to understand the difficulties. We will have to understand our position in the situations in which we are placed today. If anybody wants a language for literary attainment or cultural advancement or as a medium exclusively for the benefit of the human mind, then redress is to be got somewhere else, not from the Administration, not from the Government, but from institutions or from individuals who are highly educated, who are highly cultured. That is where it should be taken up.

[Shri M. Satyanarayana.]

In the south we have already got difficulties due to linguistic fanaticism. We have in the south difficulties and the D.M.K. has been asking for a linguistic State. I am very glad to see that they have now seen the folly of their demand and they have now changed. They have changed from a mono-lingual theory to a multi-lingual theory. They do not want that their movement should be confined to Tamil alone, but they want that it should be extended to other States also. In the same manner, as we have the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the south, in the north, we have more or less, a Hindi Munnetra Kazhagam. That also must change itself in the Hindi areas. We must also try to take every step needed so that there may not be any kind of difference between the people of one language and another. We should be able to see exactly what the other man is saying and what his point of view is.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Is there such an organisation?

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: Whether there is such an organisation or not is not the point.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Where is the Hindi Munnetra Kazhagam or D.M.K.?

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: It is not a question of the existence of any H.M.K. It is the type of demand I am referring to, demand made without understanding what the difficulties of the other areas are. I am myself an H.M.K. because I have been shouting for Hindi throughout India all these years. All I say is that I want only patience. I want time. I want tolerance. I want a policy to be pursued, with a certain amount of forbearance, waiting till such time when we are able to prepare ourselves mentally and intellectually. It is only for this purpose that I am saying all this.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): All this is totally irrelevant to the subject under discussion.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: I have myself been working for the propagation of Hindi in the south and I would like all my friends who have been helping me with their cooperation in my movement for the spread of Hindi, to keep patience, especially coming as it does from one who has devoted his whole life to this work. It will be helpful for the propagation of Hindi itself. It is being propagated with greater acceleration and progress and with greater understanding now and its popularity is even higher than before and it is going to increase. Therefore, keep patience. Do not be impatient of the D.M.K. or others. We have to keep patience so that we may be able to see our aim fulfilled and our plans implemented. It is from this point of view that I am speaking, not for belittling the importance of Hindi. Haste is sometimes likely to bring injurious results. Therefore, patience is required. That is the point of view which I would like to be taken.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Satyanarayana, you will have to wind up. There are far too many other speakers to speak. The time is very limited now.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: Madam, I am finishing. There is only one more point I want to make. These linguistic minorities are the creation of a Central Act. So the linguistic minorities should be taken care of by the Central Government. The institutions which are to take care of the linguistic minorities should be looked after and completely financed by the Central Government. The whole scheme of planning and financing should be done by the Central Government so that the linguistic minorities may feel quite safe and there will not be any kind of a feel-

ing against the Government whether or not they are getting their rights properly attended to. With these words, Madam, I support the motion.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not know whether within the short time at my disposal I will be able to place before the House the problems facing the linguistic minority in the Kasaragod Taluk in Kerala State. Madam, I appreciate the role played by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in highlighting the problems of the linguistic minorities in each State and bringing to the notice of the respective Governments these grievances and thereby being responsible for the redress of several of the grievances of the linguistic minorities. But I feel, Madam, that in order to implement the recommendations and the decisions made from time to time by several of the meetings, like the Chief Ministers' Conference and the National Integration Council, etc. the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities should be given more powers. I agree with the hon. Member, Shri A. D. Mani, in this matter. I also agree with the hon. Member, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, in requesting for the creation of a separate Ministry or a Minister in charge of linguistic minorities in order to deal with this subject.

Now, Madam, I would like to point out one of the main defects of this Report. Both these Reports, the Fourth Report and the Fifth Report, are based on the 1951 Census figures instead of on the 1961 Census figures. Because of the increase in the population, the whole picture may have changed in a different direction altogether. So I hope that the next Report at least will be based on the 1961 census figures. Even the 1951 census figures on which certain conclusions are based are misleading in certain respects because of the wrong classifications. As I said earlier, Madam, I am coming from Kasaragod area and if you take the distribution

of population in Kerala State which is given in Appendix XXX of the Fourth Report which is also taken as a basis for this Report, you will find that it says that the total population in Kasaragod Taluk is 4,11,031. This Kasaragod Taluk, which is described here is the Taluk as it was before the reorganisation of the State; now after the reorganisation this Taluk has been divided into Hosdurg and Kasaragod Taluks and mainly Kasaragod is the place where the linguistic minorities constitute a very good percentage. Even in the break-up of different groups of different linguistic minorities that is given here, the people speaking Konkani are shown as 17,907 and the Kannada-speaking people come to 27,844 which constitute only 6.78 per cent. So in this light they will naturally come to wrong conclusions saying that there has been sufficient justice for the Kannada-speaking linguistic minorities as revealed in Appendix XV of the Fourth Report where it is said that the Kannada-speaking minority being only 0.3 per cent of the total population, the number of linguistic minority pupils studying, who should be in the ratio of the total population, must be only 5283 but actually the students who are studying there come to 23,563 and so it is more than justice. These Konkani-speaking people and the Marathi-speaking people are said to constitute 7.98 per cent and in the last column there it is said that 'others' constitute about 17.16 per cent. The 'others' means people who are speaking Tulu. All these different minorities are actually people who have settled in this area practically a century back and have actually adopted Kannada as their own language. Now we have got very eminent poets and persons well known in the field of literature. Mr. Kayar Kinhanna Rai, the eminent poet, is supposed to be a Tulu-speaking person but he can definitely be classified as Kannada-speaking. So if you take into account all these people, the Konkani-speaking people, the Marathi-speaking people and the Tulu-speaking people as well,

[Dr. A. Subba Rao.]

then the percentage goes up to a very considerable extent, much higher than what it is. And if you take into account the number of students of linguistic minorities studying at present, then you will have a better picture and I hope the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities will take this into account in his next Report at least.

Now, Madam, the problem of linguistic minorities of two kinds. One is one of those linguistic minorities who are dispersed in the entire State and the other is of persons who are living in the border areas as a result of the reorganisation of the States. Now the problem of the linguistic minorities living in the border areas is the greatest but not so of others who have been living in that State for the past so many years even before the reorganisation of the States. These minorities who are dispersed in the entire State have already adapted themselves to the circumstances of the State but it is only with regard to the minorities living in the border areas that the problem is very acute. And the approach towards these people should be a different one. The approach of the States concerned should be to create confidence among these people. The facilities that have been there for these linguistic minorities before reorganisation should in no way be minimised as a result of reorganisation. That is an important factor to be borne in mind. If you take this aspect into consideration and examine the present situation the main problem arises with regard to education. Now, take primary education. The facilities that were available to these linguistic minorities in the border areas before the reorganisation should not in any way be minimised as a result of this reorganisation. This has been stressed by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities but I am afraid, if you go through the figures about the number of schools available for the linguistic minorities in that area

all these years, it will be evident that the number has decreased. In 1958-59 there were 203 schools for the Kannada-speaking people while in 1959-60 it has come down to 166, a considerable drop. I hope at least these facilities that were available before will be maintained in the future. This might be due to some kind of a stipulation by the respective State Governments about the pupil-teacher ratio in the schools. Now, as far as my information goes, the pupil-teacher ratio was 1 to 25 and it has been recently raised to one teacher for forty students as a result of which there will be a decrease in the number of teachers available. In certain areas there are teachers for four or five classes clubbed together in the primary schools. This is one of the difficulties facing the linguistic minority students.

With regard to the syllabus also, Madam, different States have different syllabi both for the primary as well as for secondary education. Because of the difference in the syllabi students who want to continue their education beyond the secondary stage in a college of the adjoining State, are not able to do so. Even though the purpose may be to refuse admission to such students, the authorities do not say so openly but they say that the students concerned are not having the requisite qualification for a particular group for which they want admission. For example, in Mysore the electives are introduced in the secondary stage while it is not so in Kerala State. So a student who has studied according to the syllabus obtaining in Kerala when he wants admission in a college which is situated in Mysore, if he wants to take up the first group, i.e., physics, chemistry and mathematics or the science group, he is refused admission because he is not having composite mathematics. So if the Central Government insists on having a uniform syllabus throughout all the States, this problem will be much minimised.

1 P.M.

With regard to the text-books also there is a lot of delay in getting text-books. In the primary school itself last year there was a considerable amount of delay in supplying text-books to students. The State Government has taken the responsibility of printing the text-books, but unfortunately the State Government constituted the Committee so late that it could not finalise the text-books, print them and give them in time. I hope that if the State Governments take sufficient care and if the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is able to bring pressure to bear on the respective States so as to prepare the text-books in time, then this difficulty also will be solved.

Now, there is another difficulty with regard to the training of teachers, which affects directly the students there. Now, we do not have facilities to train teachers in the minority languages in the respective States, both in respect of primary education and secondary education. If we have some sort of agreement between the two States by which we can send certain students from this particular State, students belonging to the minority areas, to the other State to be trained in their respective teachers' training institutes, then the problem of dearth of teachers in these areas can be solved. Again, there is another difficulty because of the different scales of pay. Especially in regard to the graduate, secondary trained teachers the difficulty crops up. The students who have been trained in the minority languages in the other States refuse to come and serve in this particular area. So, if the Central Government is able to persuade the respective State Government to have a uniform scale for the teachers, then this particular problem will be solved to a considerable extent.

Then, with regard to admission in the technical colleges and other educational institutions, every State insists on a domiciliary certificate. I think the recommendation of the

various Committees has been to dispense with the domiciliary certificate, but unfortunately because the respective States insist on the domiciliary certificate, it is very difficult for the students living in the minority areas to get admission in the adjoining State. I feel that the responsibility for looking after the interests of minorities is not only that of the respective State Governments, but also that of the State Government of the adjoining State. They must also co-operate and there must be some sort of understanding between these two State Governments in order to give full protection to the minorities.

I wanted to raise some more points but because of lack of time I cannot do it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The lunch recess is being cut down by half an hour. Therefore, the House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at five minutes past one of the clock.

2 P.M.

THE HOUSE REASSEMBLED AFTER LUNCH AT TWO OF THE CLOCK THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair.

श्री नफीसुल हसन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे इजाजत दीजिए कि मैं अकलियत के कमिश्नर को जो सु-बारकवाद इस ऐवान में दी गई है उसमें मैं भी शरीक हूँ। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब का मशकूर हूँ कि उन्होंने इस तजवीज को इस ऐवान में रखकर हम लोगों को अपने अपने ह्यालात का इजहार करने का मौका दिया। कल मैंने तमाम तकरीरें सुनी और मुझे बड़ी मसरत हुई कि मेरे बुजुर्ग श्री पी० एन० सप्रू और श्री जैरामदास दौलतराम साहब

[श्री नफीसुद्द हसन]

ने और चन्द मेम्बरान ने चन्द निहायत मु-आसिब ऐसी तजवीजें पेश कीं कि जिन पर अमल करने से यह ग्रहम और पेचीदा गुल्थी आसानी से सुलझ सकती है। मुझे भी उर्दू के मुताल्लिक कुछ अर्ज करना है लेकिन मैं इस बान को माफ़ कर देना चाहता हूं कि अगर मैं उर्दू के लिये कुछ कहना चाहता हूं तो उसके साथ साथ मैं हिन्दी का भी उर्दू से कम तरफदार नहीं हूं। हिन्दी हमारे मुल्क में राजभाषा हो चुकी है इस लिए चाहे हमारी मादरी ज़बान कुछ हो, हमारा सब का यह फर्ज होना चाहिये कि हिन्दी की तरक्की में सब लोग हिस्सा लें।

जहां तक उर्दू का मसला है, जो लोग उर्दू की तवारीख जानते हैं वे यह भी जानते हैं कि उर्दू किस तरीके से आई। असल चीज जो है वह तो हिन्दी ही है और उसमें कुछ चीजों का इज़ाफ़ा करके हमारे सामने ज़रूरत ने पेश कर दी। फ़ारसी जानने वाले जब इस मुल्क में आए तो उनका साबका यहां उन लोगों में पड़ा जो कारोबार करते थे और जो हिन्दी जानते थे। नो जाहिर है कि इस साबके की वजह से कुछ चीजें उन्होंने लीं और कुछ चीजें हिन्दी वालों ने लीं। उर्दू एक बुर्की का लफ्ज़ है जिस के माने हैं "छावनी का बाज़ार" और इस जवान की इबतिदा इस तरीके से हुई। बाहर से जो लोग आए वे ज्यादातर सिपाही थे और उनको अपना लेनदेन, कारोबार और खरीदने का काम उन लोगों में पड़ा जो यहां बाज़ारों में हिन्दी जानते थे। अब जाहिर है कि वे अपना मत-लब समझाने के लिये फ़ारसी जवान का इस्तेमाल करते थे और इधर से हिन्दी जवान का इस्तेमाल होता था और रफ़्ता रफ़्ता यह उर्दू जवान पैदा हुई। इस तरह से एक ने दूसरे को अपनी जवान समझाई और इस तरह से यह उर्दू जवान पैदा हुई। पहले इसका नाम हिन्दी ही था। जब हम पुराने शीरा के कागम को देखते हैं तो हमें पता चलता है कि

कि वहां उर्दू का नाम नहीं था और बाद में उसका नाम उर्दू रखा गया। बहर हाल ये जवानें मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दी वह उर्दू हैं जिनमें फ़ारसी के लफ्ज़ कम हैं, और उर्दू वह हिन्दी है जिसमें फ़ारसी के लफ्ज़ उसके मुकाबले में ज्यादा हैं, वरना ये दोनों जवानें एक हैं। बदकिस्मती से अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जो तरीका उन्होंने अख्तियार किया और बेकर सकते थे, वह डिवाइड एण्ड रूल का था। उनकी पालिसी यह थी कि तकसीम करो और हुकूमत करो और इसमें उन्होंने जवान के मसले को शह दी। मैंने खुद वह जमाना देखा है कि एक तरफ तो हिन्दी वालों की तरफ से यह कोशिश होती थी कि चाहे आम लोग उस लफ्ज़ को समझते हों, अच्छी तरह से जानते हों, चूंकि वह फ़ारसी का है, इस लिये उसको हिन्दी से निकालने की कोशिश करते थे। इसी तरह से उर्दू वाले यह कोशिश करते थे कि फ़ारसी या अरबी के लफ्ज़ आये और जिन शब्दों का ताल्लुक संस्कृत से होता था तो उनकी भी यह कोशिश होती थी कि इस तरह के लफ्ज़ न आये। इस तरह की जिद्दम जिद्दा की जिन्दगी गुजर गई लेकिन आज भी मैं यह देखता हूं कि उसका थोड़ा सा खमयाज़ा अब भी मौजूद है। लेकिन इतना मैं ज़रूर जानता हूं कि अब वह सूरत नहीं है। जैसा कि मुझे उम्मीद है और जैसा मैंने इस ऐवान में देखा है कि जो एक मिली हुई कल्चर का एक सरमाया हमारे पास है, उसकी मिल कर हिफ़ाजत करना हम सब लोगों का फर्ज है। उर्दू बाहर की जवान नहीं है। यह जवान यही पैदा हुई और यहीं परवान चढ़ी। उर्दू में एक खास बात है और मैं तो यह समझता हूं कि हिन्दी के लिए भी यह ज़रूरी है कि उसमें भी वह बात पैदा हो। वह बात यह है कि उर्दू में लचक है। उर्दू अंग्रेज़ी की तरह इन्कुलिजिव जवान है। उसे कोई एतराज नहीं है कि वह किसी लफ्ज़ को अपनी जवान में ले ले। वह अपने में अंग्रेज़ी को भी ले लेती है, अरबी के लफ्ज़ों को भी ले

नेती है, संस्कृत के लफ्जों को भी ले लेनी है, फारसी के लफ्जों को भी ले लेनी है। इस तरह से उसमें लचक है और वह इस तरह से तरक्की करती जाती है। मुझे अफसोस है कि हिन्दी बायों का जो तर्ज-अलम है वह हिन्दी को एक साहित्य की भाषा बनाने का है और वे लोग इसी क्रिक् में रहते हैं। जो आम लोगों की जवान है वह उसको लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैं भी थोड़ी बहुत हिन्दी जानता हूँ और यह मेरा फक्र रहा है कि यू० पी० असेम्बली में जब मैं डिप्टी स्पीकर और स्पीकर रहा तो मैंने वहाँ की कार्यवाही हिन्दी में चलाई। लेकिन कुछ तहरीरें, खासतौर पर गजट और कुछ चीजें जो मेरी तज़र से गुजरती थीं उनको समझने में मुझे बड़ी दिक्कत होती थी। हिन्दी की तरक्की के लिए मैं यह जरूरी समझता हूँ कि उसमें सहल शब्द रखने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिये। यह बात हरएक जानता है कि आम लोगों की जो जवान होती है वही आसानी के साथ सब लोग समझ सकते हैं और कोई दूसरी जवान उन पर थोपी नहीं जा सकती है। हमें आम लोगों की जवान को अख्तियार करना होगा। हमें इस बात को अख्तियार करना है और यह गवर्नमेन्ट के बस की बात नहीं है कि वह किसी के ऊपर कोई जवान थोप दे। अगर हम इस उसूल पर अमल करें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उर्दू हिन्दी में जो फासला है वह आसानी से कम हो सकता है।

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): The hon. Member is advocating the cause of Urdu being the minority language of a section in U.P. Even in this House the hon. Member is not doing justice to the language of a minority, that is, the hon. Member can speak in English, whereas he is speaking in Hindi.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You proceed, Mr. Hasan. You have just two minutes only. The Minister has to speak at 2.30.

श्री नफ़ीसुल हसन : मैं दो मिनट ही और लेना चाहता हूँ। बहरहाल मुझे सिर्फ यह कहना है कि तालीम के लिए हमारे कान्स्टीट्यूशन में जो बातें हैं और चीफ मिनिस्ट्रों की कान्फ्रेंस में जो फैसले किये गये हैं और जो अहकामात इस बारे में जारी किये गये हैं वे बिल्कुल ठीक हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि उन पर कहां तक अमल किया जा रहा है।

मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि तालीम में जहां तक इज्जतदाई तालीम का सवाल है यानी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन, वह मदर टंग में होनी जरूरी है और जहां कहीं मुमकिन है यह हो रहा है। अब इसके बाद सानवी या सैकेंड्री एजुकेशन जो है उसका मीडियम या जरिया तालीम उर्दू करीब करीब नहीं है कम अज कम उन जगहों में जहां हिन्दी है। लेकिन जो चीज खास तौर से गौर के काबिल है वह यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के कई स्कूलों में उर्दू एक अख्तियारी मजमन यानी आपशनल सब्जेक्ट की तरह भी नहीं पढ़ी जा सकती है। इसके लिए यह कहना कि हमारे पास इन्तज़ाम नहीं है या इतने लड़के नहीं हैं पढ़ने वाले कि हम इसका इन्तज़ाम करें, यह चीज ज़रा काबिले एतराज है।

एक बात मैं और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि उसूल यह भी मान लिया गया है कि जवान की नुनयाद पर नौकरी में कोई नोचे नहीं रह सकता। किसी की मादरी जवान कुछ भी हो, लेकिन नौकरी में सब के हकूक बराबर महफूज किये गये हैं। हमारे यहां पर उत्तर प्रदेश में जितने मुकाबिले के इम्तहान होते हैं उनमें अलावा उस बात के जो

[श्री नफीसुल हसन]

हमारे भाई सप्रू साहब ने कही कि हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में जवाब दिये जा सकते हैं मगर उर्दू में नहीं दिये जा सकते हैं, उससे बढ़ कर मैं एक बात अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि वहाँ पर मुकाबिले के इम्तहान में लाजिमी है हिन्दी मजबूत और वह भी हाई हिन्दी, एलिमेंटरी हिन्दी नहीं, और उसके सौ नम्बर या दो सौ नम्बर जो भी मुकर्रर है, उसका नतीजा यह है कि बिनकी मादरी ज़बान हिन्दी नहीं है उनको बड़ी कमी का मुकाबला करना पड़ता है और यह मुमकिन नहीं है कि वह सौ नम्बर जो है उनकी कमी वह दूसरे परचो से पूरी कर लें। मैं इसके लिये यह नहीं कहता कि हिन्दी न हो। हिन्दी हो, लेकिन एलिमेंटरी हो और हिन्दी की वर्किंग नालेज उस शख्स को ज़रूर होनी चाहिये जो सर्विस में जाना चाहता है। हिन्दी को एलिमेंटरी कर दिया जाय और २० या २५ पर सेंट नम्बर उसमें लाजिमी कर दिये जाय और अगर कोई उम्मीदवार उतने नम्बर हासिल नहीं करता तो वह सर्विस में न लिया जाय बजाय इसके कि मुकाबिले में हिन्दी के नम्बर जाड़े जाय। अगर यह तरीका अख्तियार कर लिया जाय तो जिन लोगों की ज़बान हिन्दी नहीं है उन्हें इनकी शिकायत बाकी नहीं रहेगी।

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY (Orissa): Sir, I am happy that I have this opportunity of participating in this discussion on the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. It is gratifying that a timely approach to the problem has been made; certain safeguards have been provided and certain achievements have been made. Time being limited, I shall be very brief in expressing my views.

The problem may be viewed from two aspects—one is a minority based on religion and the other is a minority

based on language. Of course, education is a common problem. As far as the first category of minorities is concerned, we often find a general tendency to locate the schools in religious institutions or attach them to religious institutions. In my humble view, educational institutions should be quite independent and secular. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Order, order. There is no time.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: It is about linguistic minorities.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: We are not discussing any religion.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: I am not discussing . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please develop your points. There is no time. We have to call the Minister.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: Anybody not belonging to the minority has a right to get admission into these institutions as well. There should be uniform rules of administration, a standard curriculum and a common code of conduct for the students and also for the teachers of all educational institutions whether established and administered by the State or by the minorities, privately or with the aid of State funds.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please come to the Report. That has nothing to do with the Report.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: I am coming to it.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is also a minority.

SHRI DHANANJOY MOHANTY: I am dealing with the same subject. Here is, of course, a provision under the Constitution that the minorities

shall have the right to establish educational institutions of their choice. But what is this choice? Is it the choice of language or of everything including the elements of religion and worship? In my humble opinion, this choice should be clearly defined.

Next, I will deal with the problem of the minorities based on language. I regret very much to say that many instances of half-hearted attention being paid by the authorities have come to our view. I would refer to the State of Bihar where the Oriyas are a minority. I would refer to the Report—it is given on pages 20 and 21—from where it may be seen that in the District of Singhbhum in 1960-61, the number of Oriya primary schools was 93. But most unfortunately, it has dwindled down to 36 in 1961-62. If they go on advancing at this rate and speed, I am afraid this language will be finished there. But that is nobody's intention. National solidarity and emotional integration, these things, do not aim at eliminating any language; on the other hand, they aim at the achievement that all languages should flourish well. We have complaints that during the last Census, papers were written in Hindi and the signatures were also obtained in Hindi, and it was found that even the most conservative Oriyas had been shown to be Hindi-speaking people in the Census. Settlement *parchas* were issued in Hindi and the objections that were raised had not been considered. Of course, I do not know what the present position is. It is complained that Oriya schools are not given attention, that they are not getting State aid, and they are bound to perish. In some schools, instead of Oriya teachers, Hindi teachers are being thrust, and the point is that the poor people cannot have all the means of establishing schools of their own. I would therefore submit that Government should be more alert in safeguarding the interests of these minorities who are in Bihar or in any other State.

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह भाषाई अल्पसंख्यकों के आयुक्त का जो प्रतिवेदन अपने सामने है उसकी मैं भी सराहना करता हूँ। ऐसा मेरा खयाल है कि कोई भाषा, कोई लैंग्वेज या कोई जवान जो होती है वह केवल हमारे जो विचार है उनको प्रकट करने के लिए और दूसरों के विचारों को जानने के लिए होती है और उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई भी किसी प्रकार का झगड़ा होना में समझता हूँ कि किसी प्रकार से भी मुनासिब नहीं है।

अभी नफीसुल हसन साहब ने उर्दू के बारे में फर्माया था। मैं भी उर्दू का हामी हूँ। ग्वालियर स्टेट में जहाँ मैं बकालत करता था वहाँ सरकारी आर्डर, गवर्नमेंट आर्डर, यह था कि लिपि हिन्दी होनी चाहिये और जवान उर्दू होनी चाहिये, उसी में सारे कानून थे और सारी कार्यवाही होती थी और उसमें किसी प्रकार की दिक्कत महसूस नहीं होती थी। लेकिन जब किताबों के तर्जुमे वगैरह होने लगे तब इस बात को समझा गया कि केवल हिन्दी या केवल उर्दू को लेकर ही कोई किताब अच्छी तरह से नहीं लिखी जा सकती है और हिन्दी के लिये यह आवश्यक समझा गया कि संस्कृत भाषा के आधार पर पुस्तकें लिखी जायें। इसी कारण से और दूसरे इस कारण से कि जो साउथ की जवान हैं वे संस्कृत से ज्यादातर मिलती जुलती हैं या उससे निकली हुई हैं और उनका भी इस प्रकार का आग्रह है कि वह इस प्रकार की जवान कुछ अच्छी तरह से समझ सकते हैं इस वजह से हिन्दी कुछ संस्कृताइज्ड हो गई है, वह संस्कृत भाषा के आधार पर लिखी जाती है और इसीलिये वह भाषा कुछ क्लिष्ट, कुछ मुश्किल होती है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें अपने आप को उस प्रकार से एडाप्ट करना पड़ेगा और करना चाहिये। हिन्दी को हमने राष्ट्र भाषा माना है और जब

[श्री राम महाराज]

राष्ट्र भाषा उसे हमने माना है तो उसकी जिस प्रकार से उन्नति हो सके वह रास्ता हमें आना पड़ेगा। जितनी भी माइना-रिट्रीज की लैंग्वेज हैं उनके बारे में भी मेरा खयाल है कि उन सब को अपना यथा-स्थान मिलना चाहिये। लेकिन मेरा एक निवेदन है और वह यह है कि इस वक्त जिस प्रकार से हम इंगलिश भाषा को देखते हैं और उसे जिस प्रकार से दुरुदराया जाता है वह मुनासिब नहीं है। हमने देखा है कि स्कूलों में हिन्दी के लिये और दूसरी भाषाओं के लिये काफी कोशिश की जाती है लेकिन इंगलिश की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह नहीं दी जाती है और इंगलिश की तरफ तवज्जह न करने का नतीजा यह है कि जो विद्यार्थी वहां से निकलते हैं वे जिस प्रकार की टेकनिकल एजुकेशन की आज जरूरत है वैसी टेकनिकल एजुकेशन को प्राप्त करने के काबिल अपने आपको नहीं पाते हैं। मेरा अपना तर्जुमा इस बारे में है कि जो लड़के स्कूलों से निकलते हैं वे मेडिकल में जब जाते हैं तो मेडिकल की किताबों को अच्छी तरह समझ नहीं पाते हैं और इसी तरह से जो इंजीनियरिंग कालेजों में और पालिटेक्निक्स में टेकनिकल एजुकेशन के लिये जाते हैं वे भी पुस्तकों को अच्छी तरह से नहीं समझ पाते हैं। इतना ही नहीं, वह एप्रिकल्चर की पुस्तकों को भी अच्छी तरह से नहीं समझ पाते हैं। तो जब कि हमें अपने देश की उन्नति के लिये इंडस्ट्रीज और एप्रिकल्चर दोनों की बहुत आवश्यकता है और इसके लिये हमें साइंस की भी बहुत आवश्यकता है तो आज हमें इंगलिश के ज्ञान की भी बहुत आवश्यकता है इसलिये इंगलिश का स्टैंडर्ड किसी प्रकार से न गिरे इसे हमें अवश्य देखना चाहिये। हम कोई भी रीजनल लैंग्वेज पढ़ायें, हिन्दी पढ़ायें, संस्कृत पढ़ायें लेकिन जिन विद्यार्थियों को अपना आगे भविष्य सुधारना है उनके लिये हमें इंगलिश की व्यवस्था जरूर करनी है और महज ऊपर के बजाम में ही इंगलिश को रखकर

हम इस लायक नहीं हो सकते कि साइंस और टेकनिकल पुस्तकों को उन्हें आसानी से पढ़ा सके। इसके लिये इस बात की बड़ी आवश्यकता है कि उनको नीचे की श्रेणी से, मेरे खयाल से तीसरे क्लास से जैसा कि पहले था, उस क्लास से ही उनको इंगलिश पढ़ायें। जब तक हमारे पास हिन्दी में या रीजनल लैंग्वेज में किताबें तैयार नहीं होतीं उस वक्त तक उनको यदि इस बात से भी महसूस रखें कि इंगलिश को वह अच्छी तरह से समझ सकें, अच्छी तरह से पढ़ सकें, तो हम अपने देश की उन्नति नहीं कर सकते और न अपने विद्यार्थियों का ज्यादा ऊंचा स्टैंडर्ड रख कर उनको देश के लिये उपयोगी बना सकते हैं। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि हमें इस बात की कोशिश अवश्य करनी चाहिए कि इंगलिश का स्टैंडर्ड किसी प्रकार से न गिरे। हमें हिन्दी भाषा में पुस्तकें लिखना आवश्यक है, जरूर लिखाई जानी चाहियें, उसके लिये जितना भी प्रयत्न हो वह जरूर करना चाहिये और उसमें किसी प्रकार की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये, रीजनल भाषाओं में भी पुस्तकें लिखाई जानी चाहियें लेकिन इंगलिश की जो बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकें हैं उनका अनुवाद न तो हम अच्छी तरह से कर पाते हैं और न जो अनुवाद की पुस्तक होती है वह अच्छी तरह से समझ में आ सकती है उसी प्रकार से जिस प्रकार से कि मूल भाषा में लिखी हुई पुस्तक समझ में आ सकती है, इसलिये इंगलिश का स्टैंडर्ड मेनटेन रखना बहुत आवश्यक है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि हम पुस्तकों को रीजनल भाषा में और राष्ट्र भाषा में लिखने का प्रयत्न करें लेकिन जब तक हम ऐसी पुस्तकें पर्याप्त रूप में तैयार नहीं कर सकते तब तक इंगलिश के स्टैंडर्ड में किसी प्रकार की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हम बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकों का तर्जुमा करने के काबिल नहीं हैं, इसलिये साइंस की जो छंटी छंटी पुस्तकें हैं उनको तर्जुमा करने के बजाय मूल रूप में अच्छे अच्छे विद्वानों से हिन्दी भाषा में ही लिखायें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है, अंग्रेजी

किताबों में तर्जुमा कराने के बजाय हिन्दी जो जानते हैं उनसे, जो अच्छे अच्छे माइस्टिस्ट और टेक्नालाजिस्ट हैं उनसे, किताबें लिखाये तो ज्यादा अच्छा है लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि जो अच्छे अच्छे टेक्नीशियंस हैं, जो अच्छे अच्छे काबिल लोग हैं उनको हिन्दी में या रीजनल भाषाओं में इतनी महारत नहीं है कि इन पुस्तकों को लिख सकें, फिर भी कुछ न कुछ रास्ता हमें इसके लिये निकालना पड़ेगा। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि इस बारे में हमको बहुत खास तौर पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। मैंने तो देखा है कि जो मैट्रिक पास या इंटरमीडियेट पास लड़के एग्रीकल्चर कोर्स के लिये जाते हैं वे एग्रीकल्चर की पुस्तकों को भी, जो कि अंग्रेजी में हैं, नहीं समझ पाते हैं और जो टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट्स, इंजीनियरिंग कालेज या मेडिकल कालेज में पढ़ने जाते हैं उनको तो बहुत ही मुश्किल पड़ती है। मैंने तो यहां तक देखा है कि जो लड़के इंजीनियरिंग कालेज में भर्ती किए गए उनको इंग्लिश पढ़ाना आवश्यक होता है और मैंने यह भी देखा है कि इंटरमीडियेट पास लड़के इंग्लिश में फर्स्ट ईयर में फेल हो जाते हैं, तो फिर आप गौर फर्मायें कि इंग्लिश का स्टेडर्ड इस वक्त कितना गिर गया है और मेरे ख्याल से उसको ऊंचा लाने की बहुत आवश्यकता है या कम से कम जिस तरह से पहले था उस तरह से मेन्टेन करने की आवश्यकता है।

चूँकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो रहा है इसलिये मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूँगा।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI R. M. HAJARNAV'S): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must confess that I am not much attracted by the expression "Linguistic Minorities". On the one hand it denotes an unwelcome responsibility on the State; on the other it may also connote a certain separateness in the citizens inhabiting that State. It may be that in a given State there are a substantial number of peo-

ple whose language is different from the majority. But certainly, in the matter of education, in the matter of other amenities, there ought not to be a wall which permanently separates one class of people in the State from the other citizens, and education of a citizen is not a privilege to be extended; it is a duty to be discharged by the State. It is realised now—now more than ever—it is realised now in some of the most progressive countries that education is an investment. If we study the educational literature of the most advanced countries—of the United States of America and the United Kingdom—today, it will be seen that their thoughts are mostly concentrated on the question how to raise the educational standard of its citizens, whether it be in the humanities or it be in the science subjects. There was recently a very valuable report of a Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Robin where he has advocated multi-fold increase of educational facilities which the United Kingdom should afford to its citizens, to its students. I may remind myself today that the educational budget of the United Kingdom is larger than the total budget of the Indian Union. Even so they find that the educational facilities which are afforded to its citizens are wholly inadequate and must be multiplied. If that is so, if education is an investment—it is both duty and an investment—then is it possible for any State to say that they shall keep a substantial minority, a substantial number of citizens in the State, half-educated, undeveloped? After all, what is language, but the bond which ties together the society? It is the primary bond it is the most tangible bond and it is through language that human personality develops. It is through that language that a personality pays back its debt to the society. It is through language that personality expresses itself, whether in art, whether in social services or in the professions. Therefore, it is the duty of the State, any enlightened State, in the modern context to see that each individual is given

[Shri R. M. Hajarnavis.]

the utmost facility to develop to the utmost extent his potentiality. And in what language can a man develop his personality except in the language which he has heard from his parents, from his relatives and a language in which he is going to talk to his children? Therefore, to assume that this is some kind of an unwelcome responsibility to be grudgingly discharged by the State, that it is a dole that you give to schools up to four years, is not to understand the responsibility, the duty which any State owes to its citizens.

Again, as I said, any State which allows its linguistic minority to be denied this, because it does not extend to it the facilities which are available to others, is again not true to the duty which the modern ideas, which the Constitution in its preamble casts upon that State. But it may be that there are limitations. There are crippling limitations of finance. That we understand. Everybody will understand that there are those limitations. But as regards the desire to give the best possible education to all the children in that State, there the State should so behave as to create no doubt in the mind of any of its citizens. As I said it is not a dole which is given to an unwelcome minority. It is a primary responsibility which it owes to every child. Potentially he is a great artist. He is a great dramatist. He is a great actor and a great scientist. And if his potential is not to be lost to the future generations, then the whole society owes to it that you give it the best education that you can. And, Sir, it is accepted that the best education can only be imparted in the language which is spoken around his cradle. Therefore, whether it is Urdu, whether it is Sindhi—it may be included or may not be included in the Eighth Schedule. . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Why not include it?

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: . . . may or may not be included but it ought to have all the facilities which any language enjoys in this country. I for one have no doubt about this subject. If there are boys who are desirous, as they would be desirous—I would be desirous. If my parents were Sindhis, if my language was Sindhi, I would certainly have expected to be educated in Sindhi. The moment I come home I speak to my people in Sindhi or whatever the language is, as I said, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, any language. If there is a substantial demand, then consistent with the limitations of finance, this duty must be cheerfully accepted by the State. I will not, therefore, go into the various points. Sir, as I indicated in one of my submissions to this House, all these speeches are not only addressed to Government but they are addressed to the nation. I express my gratitude to all the Members for they have studied the report with the attention and care that it deserves. They have also made very valuable contribution to this subject. As a matter of fact, the whole debate is a seminar on the question of national integration. I shall not single out any speech for special mention but there stand out the very wise words, sagacious words, inspiring words which fell from the elder statesman of this country, elder Members of this House, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. Nafisul Hasan, Mr. Sapru and in the other speeches which I have heard, and I must assure Mr. Chordia that I have also read his speech the main points of which I shall deal with somewhat later. There was also Mr. Santhanam's speech, which contains very valuable suggestions. All these speeches will be circulated to the State Governments. Theirs is the responsibility. Now, after all, the individual complaint can only be redressed by them. Then alone it will be for us to consider whether any specific action is necessary on our part. But I for one would like to believe that no action would be necessary, that every single grievance will be

redressed not only justly but generously.

At this stage I might give a word of advice, very friendly advice, advice with all humility to what are called the minorities. These minorities ought not to look to any authority outside the State for the redress of their grievance. They have a claim against the State, they have a duty towards the State. If what are their inalienable rights—rights of education, rights of employment—are denied to them, then in the first instance primarily and every time they must appeal to the good sense of their State authorities. Any kind of extra—I would not say extra-territorial—but any kind of appeal to authorities outside, in the first instance and every time, would be harmful to their interests ultimately. It shall be harmful to the language, to the culture in whose name they make the appeal. I have always liked to believe that wherever two languages meet, wherever two cultures meet, they are trading posts of culture. They are not points of conflict. They are trading posts where a culture trades with the other culture, borrows from the other culture. This is a kind of commerce in which the more adverse balance of trade you gather, the richer you become. Now, therefore, I suggest every point of contact between the two languages and the two cultures should be where both the cultures enrich themselves by intimate contact with the other. And I again appeal to the minorities wherever they are and also to the authorities in the States wherever they are, that as far as possible on the one hand there should be faith, there should be confidence in the fairness of the State authorities and secondly, there should be a readiness to allay all just apprehensions by proper and timely redress, and I would further appeal to them to be generous if they can. The largest single minority language in this country is Urdu. Now a good deal has been said and said by persons who know much more

about it than I do. Urdu has been spoken in this country for centuries. It has left its impress both upon culture and upon every language. My own mother-tongue happens to be Marathi. From the sixteenth or seventeenth century till about the nineteenth or twentieth century all the literature in Marathi bears such a strong impress of Persian that it is difficult to understand whether it is Marathi except for the Marathi verb or Marathi syntax. The whole sentence reads as if it is Persian. Some of the Persian words have disappeared, some have remained and in languages, I will remind the House in all humility, no Gresham's law operates. It is the bad words which go out and good words always remain. Therefore if there are Persian words in any language—there are plenty in my own language—we should not banish them because people are familiar with them they are current coins. The question would be which word would I choose, the word which would best convey, in the first instance, my sense, secondly a word with which my audience is familiar and third would be the grace whether the word would sound good. Therefore any attempt to outlaw words because of their origin is rendering the greatest possible harm to that particular language and I do not think it is likely to succeed. Let us not be frightened by it. If the people use that word, they are bound to use that word and if it is going to be substituted by an alien word, by an unfamiliar word, perhaps the people will not use that word and that word, that coin will go out of circulation.

I might state certain facts because it sometimes happens that we get an individual grievance and the individual grievance is always magnified and we get a wholly distorted picture of what is happening. I believe the House is familiar with the statements issued by the Government of India on the 14th July 1958, but I will read that again. It says:

[Shri R. M. Hajarnavis.]

"In areas or regions where Urdu language is prevalent—

(i) for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother-tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu;

(ii) training of teachers and provision of suitable text books in Urdu;

(iii) instruction in Urdu at the secondary stage of education;

documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices without the necessity of translation. . ."

One court found difficulty to reconcile the provision with the rules but the High Court of Allahabad subsequently changed these rules which permitted all documents written in Urdu to be accepted without either translation or transliteration.

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh): The case had to go to the High Court.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: But the rule was not there. Somebody forgot to change the rules and the Judge found himself bound by the rules. It happened. Important rules and regulations and notifications should be issued in the language of the area which is prevalent.

On this topic, together with education, language is also important in law. What is the function of law? Why is it that we have linguistic States? We have linguistic States because we find that the administration shall be closest to the people if it is carried on in the language which most people understand. That is the only *raison d'être* of the linguistic administrative units. They are not separate sovereign States as somebody said. They are merely administrative units. They are divided on the basis of language because the administration

can be carried on best in the language of the people. Why is it necessary that the administration should be carried on in the language of the people? It is because law is not something which shall penalise you, the existence of which you will know only when you have breached inadvertently that provision but because it is something enacted by your own people, who are elected, which has been debated and which has been promulgated so that everyone knows that law and if he knows the law, his obedience is commended to that law. Now I would expect that every officer, every authority who intends to enforce the law in a civilised society will explain that law to every person, to every citizen and tell him: 'This is the law and you are expected to conform to it', and not leave it so that he may find out what that law is in the courts. If that is so, in regard to every rule, if there is a substantial number of people who do not understand the language in which the rule or law is made, then it becomes the duty of any civilised administration to explain it in the language which those people understand. I expect every Sales Tax Officer, every Income-tax Officer, every officer, if the man does not know the language in which the form is to be filled in first of all to provide him with the translation. If there is a substantial number of persons, forms should be printed in the language, for printing will be very economical but if that is not done—it should be done in some cases—if there is a single man it should be explained to him. Suppose there is a man who does not know Marathi and he is in Poona and he is a Punjabi and does not know Marathi, I would expect the Sales Tax Officer or the Income-tax Officer or whoever that officer is, to explain it to him so that he can conform to the law and not leave him in ignorance of law, so that he had no opportunity of obeying that law and to find out what the law is only in the courts. Therefore it is the duty of every person enforcing the law or rule requiring every citizen

to do an act towards the administration, it would be his duty, to see that he gets that information in the language which he understands.

Coming back, as I said, the duty can be discharged very satisfactorily if there is a substantial number of people; you print a number of pamphlets in that particular language and distribute them to the people so that the people understand.

SHRI SYED AHMAD: I just want to ask. . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): He has not yielded.

SHRI SYED AHMAD: It is not a question of yielding.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: I will answer him.

SHRI SYED AHMAD The grievance is not against the Government of India or the directives that have been issued by the Government of India. The grievance is that notwithstanding the fact that there are enough finances with the people who are to implement the policy of the Government of India with respect to the linguistic minorities those policies are not implemented. That was the grievance of most of the Members, nothing against the Government of India or its policies.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: I may inform the hon. Member that if he has U.P. in his mind, there were 55,067 students in the primary classes in 1958-59. As against this in 1960-61 it was more than double. The number was 111,779. That is why it is very essential to ascertain the facts. It is more than double. Then I might also inform that the U.P. Government had appointed a committee under the Presidentship of Shri J. B. Kirpalani, M.P., who submitted his report last year. That report is before the U.P. Government and I am quite sure the Chief Minister would see her way to speedily implement the recom-

mendations of that Committee without further delay.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Let us hope.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: There is the question of Sanskrit. I myself studied Sanskrit and it is my regret that I did not study it longer but I think it is absolutely necessary that any student of languages if he intends to attain some kind of proficiency, whether it is in Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati—I do not know and I will not speak about the Southern languages—should study Sanskrit. How is this to be fitted in? There, if Sanskrit is to form an important part, an integral part of the education of children then the observation which I will permit myself at this stage is, it is an educational problem. I for one would think—but I am not an educational authority—that if a child begins to learn his mother-tongue, say, at the age of six and if he continues to learn it till the age of fourteen, then in these eight years I am sure the study of his mother-tongue can be combined with Sanskrit. And I am quite sure his knowledge of his own mother-tongue would improve, if it is allied to the study of Sanskrit. But then it is an educational problem. It would be quite possible to fit in Sanskrit in the three-language formula. The question whether the student can study four languages or three languages, is too much for me to answer. It is not a question which I can solve. But speaking purely as a layman, speaking purely as a parent, I think it should be quite possible for a student to learn from the age of 6 to the age of 14, enough Sanskrit so that it can be of help for the study of his own mother-tongue. And without a study of Sanskrit I do not think that the study of even the other four or five languages can be complete. I am told that Malavalam also has a large percentage of Sanskrit.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): So also Telugu.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: May be.

AN. HON. MEMBER: And Kanarese too.

SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS: I am quite sure that the article in our Constitution which speaks of language contributing to the common culture and its development, would be more effective if Sanskrit becomes a common language taught all over the country. But then that would depend upon the set-up at the secondary education stage and on the reorganisation of secondary education and whether the boy entering school at the age of six is going to leave it at the higher secondary level. These days, there is a bifurcation, I find, at about the age of eleven. What happens in my part of the country is that when the boy is at the age of eleven, he decides whether he is going to study the humanities or whether he is going to study the sciences and technology. And with the present need for scientific and technological studies, the study of Sanskrit is being neglected. This ought not to be the case. Recently, for about four or five years, a controversy has arisen, a deep and acute controversy in England, by Sir Charles Snow's lecture in which he brought out the separateness of the two cultures. He asked what a student of humanities knows about the second law of thermodynamics. There was a good deal of controversy on the point which he made. He appreciated that there ought to be a constant interchange between the humanities side and the science side. A man becomes a better scientist if he has some basic understanding, some basic conception, of the humanities. That again, as I said, is an educational problem, not a problem of implementing any safeguard of the linguistic minorities. All I can now say is that I do hope that, year after year, it will be our privilege to submit these reports about the linguistic minorities and I also hope that as time advances, the report shall become slimmer and slimmer and at the end of a few years very soon I

shall be able to come to this House and say that there are no linguistic minorities and there are no complaints. To that consummation I look forward.

MOTION RE PROMOTION OF TOURISM

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Now we shall take up the next motion, the one about promotion of tourism. Who will move it. Mr. Vajpayee? Your name stands first.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश):
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ
कि :

“पर्यटन संवर्धन सम्बन्धी विवरण
पर, जो ६ सितम्बर, १९६३ को राज्य
सभा की मेज पर रखा गया था, विचार
किया जाये।”

इस विवरण में मंत्री महोदय ने जो एक समिति कायम हुई थी पर्यटन के विस्तार करने के सम्बन्ध में विचार करने के लिये, उसकी सिफारिशों संक्षेप में हमारे सामने रखी हैं। अभी कमेटी की सिफारिशों पर सरकार ने क्या फैसला किया है, इस पर प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया है। मुझे विश्वास है कि इस विवाद में जो विचार व्यक्त किये जायेंगे, उनको ध्यान में रख कर सरकार झा कमेटी की सिफारिशों पर शीघ्र ही निर्णय करेगी।

कमेटी से यह कहा गया था कि वह इस बात का पता लगाए कि जो विदेशी यात्री हमारे देश में आते हैं उनकी संख्या कम क्यों हो रही है। जो आंकड़े दिए गए हैं उनसे यह कमी स्पष्ट है। सन् १९५९ तक हमारे देश में पर्यटकों की संख्या में वृद्धि होती रही। लेकिन सन् १९६० में और १९६१ में उनकी संख्या घटी और अनुमान लगाया गया है कि