

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari.]

had gone into the question. The President, in according sanction to this measure, must have undoubtedly taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission, whose Report has gone through the process prescribed by the Constitution. Therefore, while obviously there is a lacuna in regard to fulfilling the mandatory provisions of article 344, that does not prevent the Government or this House from taking any action, because the provisions of article 349 are clear. They are, in regard to this Bill, the President has before him a Report and he must have considered that Report and, therefore, he must have accorded sanction to this particular measure in terms of the procedure laid down by article 349. I think my hon. friend, Shri Santhanam, was quite right in saying that in regard to the majority of the clauses covered by the Bill, the provisions of article 343 (3) are absolutely self sufficient. The Government can take the power and we have to accept that Government has the power to bring forward a measure of this nature. Some hon. Members said that article 343 has some relation to article 348. Yes, it has relation to article 348 in relation to those subjects mentioned under article 348. There is a procedure prescribed for the purpose of taking action under article 348. They are again enumerated in article 349. It is a question generally of procedure. So, prima facie in regard to the major part of the provisions of this Bill, article 343 (3) governs and I think there can be no doubt at all in the minds of hon. Members because the language is very clear. I may also submit in all humility that the provisions of article 349 are satisfied in the circumstances of the case and the mere fact that action has not been taken in the manner prescribed in article 344 does not vitiate the particular measure before the House.

I thank you.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am sure anyone will not accuse me of being hasty. I have carefully listened to all the arguments that have been given and have allowed all the arguments to work on me. I have, after hearing all the sides of this question, come to the conclusion that the motion of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri can be moved and there is nothing which prevents me from asking him not to move it. Therefore, I request Shri Lal Bahadur to move it. If you agree, we may adjourn now and take it up in the afternoon.

AN. HON. MEMBER: He may move and then adjourn.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES BILL, 1963.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI LAL BAHADUR): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the languages which may be used for the official purposes of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purposes in High Courts, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Mr. CHAIRMAN: We now adjourn to meet in the afternoon at 2 o'clock when the Home Minister will make his speech.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister.

श्री गोडे मुराहरी (उत्तर प्रदेश):
जपसभापति महोदया, मैं एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called the Home Minister.

श्री मोडे मुराहरी : व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है, प्वाइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Now the motion is being discussed. The Home Minister will speak. You have had your say.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: This is a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There can be no point of order now. What is the point of order?

श्री मोडे मुराहरी : यह जो बिल हमारे सामने रखा जा रहा है यह हमारे संविधान का धारा ३४३ के खिलाफ है । इसको इन्ट्रोड्यूस नहीं करना चाहिये ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That point has been discussed as a point of order, and the Chairman has given his ruling. That cannot be reopened now. The Home Minister.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Madam Deputy Chairman a number of constitutional points were raised in regard to this motion. I am a layman completely so far as legal matters are concerned. I therefore left it to the legal luminaries of this House to thrash it out amongst themselves, and I am glad that Members themselves cut out each other in the arguments advanced from both sides. I as a practical man feel that the steps taken by Government are correct and that this particular step of coming up with this Bill is an exceedingly important and highly practical measure. It is clear that after January 1965 English would have no place in the country if we did not legislate under article 343(3) of the Constitution. So, the framers of the Constitution themselves had contemplated that a situation might arise in which it may not be

possible to use Hindi for all purposes or for specific purposes, and hence they had provided clause (3) in article 343 of the Constitution. To my mind there can be no doubt on the point that Parliament has full authority to legislate on this matter and allow English to continue in addition to Hindi.

Secondly, in regard to the appointment of another Commission to which a reference was made by Vajpayeeji and others, I am not prepared to argue one way or the other on the legal implications, but again as a practical man I feel that it would not have been advisable to appoint another Commission when a Commission had already been appointed and its report submitted to the President on the basis of which the President decided to appoint a Committee of Members of Parliament, and that Committee also took a fairly long time and submitted its report. What was the point, Madam, in appointing another Commission in 1960 or later immediately after the whole matter had been fully discussed? Madam, I am not here referring to legal matters. As I said, as a practical man, Government has to take practical view of things. So, would it have served any purpose to appoint another Commission? If it had been appointed five or ten years later, one could understand that views might have changed, conditions would have changed, and things could be considered in a fresh context. But immediately after the Committee of Members of Parliament had submitted its report, to have appointed another Commission to go through the same questions and more or less in the same context would not have been desirable at all. In fact it would have created an adverse effect on the country. Again controversies would have arisen, and there would have been discussions both in the public and in the Legislatures, etc. So, I think the Government took a wise decision under the leadership of my predecessor, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, that a new Commission should not be ap-

[Shri Lal Bahadur.]
pointed. Of course as was claimed by my colleagues, Shri Hajarnavis and Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, and others, even legally it was not invalid or in any way wrong.

Then, Madam, in regard to article 349, I need not quote it. It is clearly provided that if we want to introduce any other language in regard to judgments, decrees, etc. of High Courts or the Supreme Court, Parliament will have to legislate. In this Bill we have kept out the Supreme Court altogether. In the Supreme Court English remains. In regard to High Courts we have only provided that if the State Government so desire, they can introduce the regional language or Hindi along with English. So far as the proceedings of the High Courts are concerned there is an enabling provision in the Constitution itself, but so far as decrees, judgments, etc. are concerned a fresh legislation has to be made, and therefore in clause 7 of this Bill we have provided it and left it to the discretion of the State Governments to provide for the use of any other regional language or Hindi side by side with English for purposes of decrees, judgments, etc. For that also there is a clear provision in the Constitution. We have given careful consideration from the legal as well as practical points of view—I am mainly concerned with the practical point of view at present—and we felt that it was essential to come up with this Bill at this moment.

Madam, there has been a good deal of discussion on this matter, especially the question of what our official language should be for the Union Government, for some time past. But during the last fortnight or so there has been concentrated thought given to this problem, and there has been a good deal of discussion both in Parliament as well as outside. I can say, Madam, that by and large this Bill has been supported. I

know that there are strong views held on this matter, but the Prime Minister gave clarifications concerning this Bill and in regard to other matters in the other House. I also, Madam, made every effort to clarify many other points and remove misunderstandings. It is possible to have had some doubts or suspicions in regard to this Bill when it was actually presented before the Lok Sabha.

I now feel, Madam, that in the changed context—the Lok Sabha has amended the Bill on important issues—and also with the clarifications given, it should now be possible for the hon. Members of this House to give consideration to this measure and lend their support to it.

With your permission, I shall try to deal, as briefly as possible, with some of the provisions of the Bill. The two important provisions are clause 3 and clause 4 of the Bill. Under clause 3, English has to continue, as I said, in addition to Hindi. There has been a good deal of discussion on the words 'may' and 'shall'. It has been suggested—and notices of amendments have also been given here—that 'may' shall be substituted by 'shall'. I do not want to enter into legal discussions but if we have to enact in the background of the provisions of article 343 of the Constitution, 'may' seems to be the only appropriate word to be used in this clause. The word 'may' will enable English to continue and give an opportunity for the progressive use of Hindi during the interim period. If 'may' is substituted by 'shall' it might raise many practical problems. It will mean that each and every user of the language will have to use both the languages simultaneously. It would not be possible, for example, for the Madras Government to write to the Central Government only in English. It must be accompanied by a Hindi version of that communication. Similarly, if the Rajasthan Government wants to write to the Central Government in Hindi, they will not be able to do so only in Hindi; It

will have to be accompanied by an English version.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): May I ask one question? So long as 'may' is there about English and 'shall' is there about Hindi from the 26th January, 1965 would it be regular for any State Government to send any correspondence without being accompanied by a translation in Hindi, as Hindi 'shall' be the official language of India? Whether Hindi should be accompanied by English or not may be doubtful. A Hindi State may send a correspondence to the Centre only in Hindi and it may not be accompanied by an English version. Because it is only 'may' it may not be accompanied by an English version. On the other hand, I think neither Madras nor Andhra Pradesh shall be able to send any correspondence in English alone without being accompanied by the Hindi version. Therefore, Hindi is dominated by 'shall' while English by 'may'.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Is it the hon. Minister's contention that there must be always translations because the word 'may' according to the scheme of this legislation means that a correspondence even after fifteen years, after 1965, may come in English provided it fulfils the requirements of clause 3 of this Bill? Well, that point should be cleared up.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Madam, if the words of clause 3 are seen and read, they will make the position clear.

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

If we put 'shall' there,

"the English language shall, as from the appointed day, continue to be used".

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Hindi is compulsory. . .

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: 'May' or 'may not' is not the point. If the hon. Member is suggesting 'may' and if he is suggesting that it would be 'shall' it will not make any difference. What I mean to say is this. Well, of course, Mr. Sapru has also been a judge and a lawyer. I would like him to discuss it with Shri Sachin Choudary and other eminent jurists of our country. It is a matter which should be discussed between the lawyers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is a practising lawyer. Is he a jurist?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Anyhow, he is an eminent lawyer now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Earning lawyer.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: But if the word 'shall' is used here, then it will be 'shall continue to be used'. That is, English shall continue to be used in addition to Hindi. That is, whenever any Hindi communication is sent, it shall be accompanied by English. I do not want to create that situation nor do I want to envisage a situation in which... (Interruption) Please do not interrupt. It is becoming impossible for me to speak. If the hon. Member wants to put any question, he may do so at the end. So, this is my interpretation. It is possible that my interpretation may not be 100 per cent correct but I feel that what I have said is right and I have consulted legal experts, and I feel that this situation will arise, in case the word 'may' is substituted by 'shall', that each and every communication will have to be accompanied both in English as well as in Hindi. And not only that. A legal objection might be raised. Suppose anyone, a Government servant, is using English, it might be said that he cannot use English alone, he must write in Hindi also.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): Every nothing on the file.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Every noting on the file will have to be done in both languages. So, that is the legal opinion. I am not only expressing my own opinion because I do not know much of law. Yet, I have discussed it fully. Well, of course, on every matter there can be two opinions and in the field of law, one does not know what the right opinion is. The bigger the lawyer is, the greater are the chances of his being successful in the law courts, in spite of his case being absolutely weak. And with all due respect to the Judges, well, they also arrive at their own conclusions and Judges also differ. There are dissenting judgments. I mean, in these matters, I am prepared to accept, there may be two interpretations. But on my own and with my way of thinking, I do feel that it would create enormous difficulties and it might make the working of this Bill or the implementation of this Bill fairly cumbersome.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): Have you considered Mr. Santhanam's opinion that if it is 'may', then every Hindi letter must be accompanied by an English letter? Have you considered it?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: I have considered it. Mr. Santhanam had raised this matter earlier also and when he raised that issue, I did consult, and I felt that there were difficulties, and it was not necessary to substitute 'may' by 'shall'. And, Madam, on the other hand, it all depends on the intention of the Government. Whatever laws might be made, who implements them and how they are implemented is an important matter and if there is distrust against the Government or those who want to execute them, well, nothing can help the situation and Government can do almost anything it likes. But, as I have said, the purpose behind this clause is that we want English to continue because we feel that we cannot give up English in the present circumstances. And if Government had not been serious and had

not been honest, it would not have been necessary for me to bring forward this Bill. I would, as well have waited till December, 1964 because it is only from January 26, 1965, that English has to be discontinued and Hindi would have taken its place.

But in order to obviate misunderstandings and misapprehensions in the minds of the people living in the non-Hindi speaking areas we felt that it was essential, long before that date, that we should come before this House with this Bill in order to give them complete satisfaction, so that they may not have to face any handicaps or difficulties in future, even after 26th January, 1965.

It is in this context, Madam, that we should consider this motion, and in the context, as I feel, even the word 'may' being there will not cause any special difficulty or problem. 'May' here means that English will continue to be used, and of course for any major change, if it has to be made, various processes will have to be gone through, constitution of a Committee of Members of Parliament, consultation with the State Governments, and Committee's submitting a report making its recommendations thereon—progress made in the use of Hindi—etc., to the President for his consideration. So these various steps are to be taken, and I think it is clear proof of the fact that the intentions of the Government are pure, and we have absolutely no ulterior motive in this regard.

Madam, there is, on the other hand a strong feeling among those who come from the Hindi-speaking areas that we are giving a go-by to Hindi. In fact it is strange how, in regard to this particular Bill or to a measure of this kind, two extreme views could be held and placed before the country or placed before this House. It is said that Hindi is being relegated to the backward, and English will continue throughout this period. And it is further said that even after this ten-year period the appointment of a Commit-

tee is just an eye-wash, is a way to lull the emotions of the people insofar as adoption of Hindi is concerned. I do not want to say much on that subject. I can only say that the fears and doubts expressed by those who come from Hindi-speaking areas are not at all justified. I must say that Hindi has considerably progressed during the last few years, and if we see the progress which has been made since 1947, it would be found that it is something remarkable. Before 1947 the position of Hindi, insofar as various matters and subjects were concerned was—if I might use that word—low in the list even as compared to other regional languages of the country. But during the last fifteen years the progress has been so rapid; indeed, enormous progress has been made, and I might say that a large number of books, standard books, have appeared, have been published on literature, history, geography, economics, science etc. Whatever field you might look into, you will find that most valuable books have been written and as I said standard books, which could be taken advantage of. I might even admit before the House that although I came from a Hindi area, I cannot really comprehend and understand many of the books written in Hindi—not that it is difficult Hindi. It is a different matter; the point is I have not progressed along with the development of Hindi, I am behind the times, I must admit it, it is people like me who are behind, and sometimes I feel that my generation perhaps may not be able to catch up with the development of Hindi. The next generation will do so, but a man like me, of course, who knows something of Hindi—not much of it—feels that I am so backward, and I have not been able to catch up with the progress of Hindi. So Hindi has made progress, as I said at some other place, both by official efforts and by non-official efforts. I could never imagine, I mean, when I saw the two volumes of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code wholly translated into Hindi by the Commission appointed by the Law Ministry of the Government of India, I was

really surprised. But they have done that job; they have completed that job, quite a difficult job, Madam. So it is both, I mean, Governmental as well as non-official efforts which have contributed to this progress and development of Hindi. But it is a different matter that, in spite of this progress, Hindi has yet to be learnt by millions of our people. It is one thing to develop literature and the language as such; it is quite another to make it a common vehicle, for its being used by the general population as a whole, and then essentially make it usable in the administration. Even today if we will go into the matter fully, we will find that Hindi is not understood, specially in the South, by the people as a whole. In the administration also I find that it is not possible by the officers coming from various States, not only from the South but from other areas also where Hindi is not the regional language, that it is not possible for them to work in the Secretariat without the use of English language; they have still to do their work in English, and if Hindi is made in any way obligatory, they will be faced with a very difficult situation indeed. Besides that it has also to be realised that the advantages of English are obvious. I am not one who is well versed in that language; in fact, I know my own limitations. Yet I would not like to deny the value and importance of the English language. It is no doubt a historical accident that English has assumed an important place in our country but, Madam, there were many things which should not be imbibed, which we should not imbibe from Englishmen. But it would be unfortunate if we gave up learning of English only because it had come from the Britishers. English language, by itself, is one of the richest languages in the world; it has assumed an exceedingly important place as an international language. It is, therefore, that I make bold to say that if even two per cent of our people know the English language, it would be advisable to take advantage of that situation and continue to learn it as one of the foreign languages both for

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our national and international requirements.

Having said this, Madam, it must also be admitted that English could not be continued as our national language or could not be accepted as our national language, or as our official language for ever. It will have to give place to one of the common languages of India.

In the other House the hon. Mr. Frank Anthony, who is a great supporter of the English language, said that he had made Hindi compulsory in all the schools which are run by the Anglo-Indian community or, if I might put it in a different way, in all those schools where the medium of instruction is English. So even in those schools they have made Hindi compulsory and from early stages of the student's school career. I am mentioning Mr. Anthony merely because he holds a very particular view and very strong view. I can interpret it differently that there are others also who hold that view or might be supporting his view that what they suggest is a "prolonged bilinguism", exactly the two words used by the Madras Government in their memorandum which they submitted to the Committee of Members of Parliament. And that "prolonged bilinguism" is being provided in clause 3 of the Bill.

Madam, Hindi is the official language of the Union according to article 343(1), but along with Hindi English will continue and we have fixed no time limit for the same. But then the main point arises as to whether we have to keep quiet, remain just passive, and do nothing during this period to encourage one common language throughout the country. How will this country be integrated? How will we remain one if all the State Governments have their own regional language as the official language of their State? How long will they wait? It is quite obvious that the State Governments will encourage the regional language. They have already started doing so. In fact, most of the State Governments have adopted the re-

gional language as the official language of their State. Their medium of instruction is already the regional language in their schools and colleges. And there are talks of introduction of regional language in the Universities. Of course, strong opinion is held on that matter. And I know that important educationists hold that view. Yet it is not an immediate issue. However, the regional languages are well developed, and there is a demand from thousands and millions of people living in the States, people who know the regional language only, that their medium of instruction should be the regional language, and also they want that the administration should also be run in the regional language. From the administration they should get the replies of their letters, their receipts, they should get other forms and other documents from the Government in the language which they are able to understand, which they can fully understand. That is the general feeling of the people and which has to expand. Naturally also.

During the last 150 or 200 years under the British regime no importance was attached to the regional language at all. And naturally Englishmen were concerned that a very few people should really read. They were not very particular that literacy should expand and increase in this country. They wanted to carry on the administration. And for that they were keen that people should learn English, and some people only. And naturally those who learnt English and served the Government were more with the British Government. It was that purpose, I mean, it was with that view that the British Government wanted English to be learnt by a few. They were perhaps afraid that if perhaps the regional languages were allowed to grow and develop, there would be a revolution and they might have to get out of India. So, if that was the situation before 1947, it is but natural that the people living in every part of our country may now keenly desire to develop the regional languages, and almost compel the

Government or appeal to the Government, or make them agree that the regional languages should expand and be used more and more. If that is the position—and it is so—what will happen? How do we inter-communicate? How do we talk with each other? How do we meet each other?

AN. HON. MEMBER: Through Sanskrit.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: In another 100 years or 50 years or 60 years I have no objection to Sanskrit being used. But we cannot wait for fifty years. This country must go ahead. Every year, in fact every minute is precious and valuable for us. So we cannot be bogged into these things, merely in language problems. We have to do many other things, much more important. Naturally, the most important thing is that we must build up the economy of our country and remove our poverty and unemployment. Further I do not want to go into the matter.

Madam, I was only suggesting that there should be some way, some language which must serve as a common bond, and it is, therefore, that article 343(1) of the Constitution provided, after a good deal of deliberation, that Hindi should be the official language of the Union. I do not want to say that Hindi is, as I said, understood everywhere and by all. I have already said that about it. But it must also be admitted—I hope the hon. Members will agree with me—that Hindi is the one language which is understood the most in all the States, north, east and west. I went to Manipur. There was a big gathering, a public meeting, I enquired as to whether I should address in English or in Hindi. The reply came from the audience that I should address in Hindi because they understood Hindi, and they were able to follow Hindi. English, they said, most of them would not be able to understand. Hon. Members might also be aware that there is a good deal of tension between the hill tribes

and the other people living in Assam, that is, those who speak Assamese. On one matter the hill tribes are quite clear. They say they are prepared to learn Hindi not only prepared, they will learn Hindi. But they are very keen that they should also be able to work in their own tribal language.

Similarly if we go to Manarashtra or Gujarat, we will generally find that they know Hindi. In fact, I was surprised when in Maharashtra I was presented with some welcome addresses by the municipal boards, not in Marathi, they were presented to me in Hindi. I was a bit surprised. In other places I used to get these addresses in the regional language and translation made of the same in English. But there in Maharashtra they presented it in Hindi itself. In Gujarat also, more or less the same position exists. The same position is there in that State also.

I have talked of east, west and north, but I might mention that I do not think there is any other State in the country, apart from the northern States, where Hindi is being learnt on such an extensive scale as in Madras, Andhra, Kerala and Mysore. And with your permission, Madam, I would like to compliment Shri Satyanarayana, who is sitting Here, one of the Members of this House, who has done enormous work in this field. I was impressed with the Dakshina Hindi Prachar Sabha, an organisation which was founded by Gandhiji long back—I think in 1914 or 1918; he will correct me.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA (Nominated): Nineteen hundred and eighteen.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Gandhiji was a far-sighted man. He did not believe merely in slogans. He had always a constructive approach. I remember that he asked his son, Shri Devadas Gandhi, to go to Madras and take up this work. So he was an idealist but essentially a practical man

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and a far-sighted man. Who could then have imagined it? Now of course we are trying and we will try to do that but even at that time, without any Government help he founded this institution which has done yeoman work during all this period. Only a few months before, 10 months before, when I went to Madras—I do not forget that scene and I have often repeated it and I hope you will not mind it if I repeat it again—when I went to deliver an address, a Convocation Address, to the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, then I put the same question. In fact never before in Madras had I spoken in Hindi. I had always spoken in English. Naturally I asked the question whether I was required to address the students gathered there in Hindi or English and there were 3,000 boys and girls sitting there who were to take their degrees and there came the quick reply: 'Not a word of English under this shamiana or on this platform' and I spoke in Hindi. Every word of it was understood. So this is the position. We are absolutely mistaken and I would specially appeal and request our friends who live in the Hindi-speaking areas to understand this.

AN. HON. MEMBER: You were addressing the Hindi Prachar Sabha and it was natural . . .

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: No. May I ask the hon. Member, if I go to U.P. or if he goes to U.P. and puts that question: "How many people can understand Telugu or Tamil?" he will find that there will be very very few people indeed except those who may have come and inhabited themselves in that area. What about Manipur, what about Maharashtra, what about Gujarat? That is not the point. I am merely saying . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): They do not want to learn : : : (Interruptions).

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: It is true that till now no encouragement as

such was given to learn the other languages of our country and it was bad but the Hindi-speaking people have now realised its importance and perhaps the hon. Member might be aware that in U.P. special classes have been opened, special scholarships are being given of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per month to boys learning Tamil, to learn Telugu and to learn the other languages.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Telugu also?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Specially the South Indian languages. The U.P. Government have stated that the South Indian languages should be learnt and for that they are giving special scholarships. The point is, I do not say that many of them have learnt but the atmosphere has changed and its need has been fully realised. What I wanted to say is, there is a desire throughout the country, provided of course the politicians keep out for a short while—I also belong to the same category, but if we will just keep quiet for a short while and allow the people to carry on with the things themselves as provided in this Bill and as is the policy of the Government of India and the other State Governments—I have no doubt that there will be no trouble, no struggle, no conflicts and the people will readily agree to one common language which might be used from one end of the country to the other.

However, I only wanted to say that there has to be a common language and if there is no common language, I have no doubt that we might disintegrate. We will not remain a solid and united country. It is in this context that I appeal to hon. Members to accept one common language and what that common language should be, well, the Constitution has already decided. Even from the practical point of view and considerations, I say that there is a large part of our country where Hindi even in the non-Hindi areas, is partly understood. If we are able to teach people Hindi, and give them opportunities to learn it, it will not

take much time to develop this language in the other areas also.

I have taken much time of the House but in regard to clause 4, I need not say much. It has already been provided in clause 4 that a Committee of Parliament will be appointed after 10 years. Formerly this clause was drafted in a slightly different way. We have clarified it. The appointment of the Committee will have to be done through a Resolution which would be placed in either House of Parliament, of course with the previous consent of the President. This Committee will be a Committee of the Members of Parliament, I might make it clear. It would not be a Parliamentary Committee. We have decided that the Members of this Committee will be elected through single transferable vote. The purpose behind this is that different views should be represented on it and Members from different States should be represented on it. In fact in the last Committee of Members of Parliament about two-thirds of the Members of that Committee came from the non-Hindi-speaking areas. Then it has been decided that the report of this Committee will be laid before both the Houses of Parliament. The President will cause it to be laid on the Table of both the Houses and the report will also be sent to the State Governments. It will only be then when Parliament has discussed it, when the President has received the views of the State Governments, that the President will consider the recommendations of the Committee finally and make his recommendations thereon.

Clause 5 of course is very simple. It only provides that on and after the appointed day, of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President, there shall be a translation in Hindi published, etc. Now it will be incumbent for the Hindi version also being produced and the Hindi version will be the authoritative text in Hindi.

In clauses 6 and 7 it has been entirely left to the State Governments to take action as they thought best to provide the Hindi translation of the laws of their State, if the official language of that State is other than Hindi. So, it will have to be the regional language. Of course, Bills and laws may be or will be enacted in the regional language but a Hindi translation has to be provided and the English version, of course, will have to be there but this step has to be taken only when the State Governments consider it advisable or necessary. Similarly, in the case of High Courts also, if Hindi is to be used or the regional language has to be used, it will be entirely the responsibility of the State Governments to introduce it and consider the advisability of its introduction. So, we have left it to the option of the State Governments but, as I said, we do want that the use of Hindi should expand as far as possible in course of time and this might help us in going ahead in that direction.

Insofar as the wishes of the Prime Minister are concerned, I would not like to go into that matter as the Prime Minister himself will be intervening in the debate. I hope he may be able to do so tomorrow. So, I shall leave that matter for him to deal with.

In a nutshell, Madam, the Bill provides for three things. First is the continuation of English so that it does not cause any inconvenience to the non-Hindi speaking people nor put handicaps on those who are in service today or would be joining it in the future. Although it is not directly concerned with this Bill, I deliberately mention it because of the lurking fear which is mostly amongst those who are working in the Secretariat or in other offices of the Central Government and also amongst those who want to sit for the competitive examinations to join these services later on. So, it has to be made perfectly clear that we do not want that those who come from the non-Hindi speak-

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ing areas should feel handicapped because of their not knowing Hindi. Those who are working at present and those who want to join later on will have to face no difficulties. It is a different matter that when they enter into service they learn Hindi or they are taught Hindi. It has also to be done voluntarily, on a voluntary basis, and we are already doing that but there should be no difficulty in employment, there should be no handicap in regard to their promotion or increments, etc. We do not conceive of these things and I want to make it absolutely clear that they will not have to suffer in any way. They will remain as they are today and they will have every opportunity to grow and develop. So, number one, as I said is the continuation of English without causing any inconvenience to others, and during the interim period there should be progressive use of Hindi so that the ultimate change-over is made smoothly. Nothing should be done to create any difficulties, as I said, especially for the non-Hindi speaking people and if any further decisions have to be taken, well, we have provided that a Committee of Members of Parliament should be appointed and I do think, Madam, that this would be an important committee which is bound to take different opinions in the country into consideration and take a reasonable view of things. The House will itself see that we are providing special safeguards so that no precipitate action is taken. English continues, there will be no imposition of Hindi, progressive use of Hindi will be continued under proper schemes prepared by the Government. After ten years a Committee of Members of Parliament will be appointed to go into this question and submit its report. As I said just now, the Report will be laid on the table of both Houses. It will thereafter be sent to State Governments and it will only then that the final decision on the advice of the President be taken.

Madam, the basic question, therefore, is, are we to live and function in

an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust? Will this atmosphere be really good for the healthy growth of the country? Would it be advisable to create such an atmosphere? We are passing through a most difficult period of transition. The laws, as I said, have their own place but the implementation is to be done by Government and how can the people continue to have distrust in the Government when the Government is merely the mouthpiece of the Parliament and we have to carry out its policies? I would like to say that this Parliament has solved some of our most delicate problems, political and economic and others. It should not, therefore, be beyond our ingenuity to find a solution to this language issue. I would also like to appeal to Members not to think in extremes and may I also add never in terms of direct action? We are a peaceful and constitutional people and let us live up to the same ideals. It is our duty to carry the people along with us. I am indeed grateful to the non-Hindi speaking friends for the broadmindedness they have shown generally on this matter and especially in regard to the provisions of this Bill. As citizens of a free country, it is an obligation cast upon the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking people to carry the other with them. Let us, therefore, handle the present situation with a sense of purpose and unity and not with any sense of narrow self-reservation. Unity is supreme. Keeping in view this important factor, everyone of us will have many a time to suffer a good deal. Still, there can be no doubt that we have to maintain the unity and the solidarity of the country at all costs. Before I conclude, Madam, may I make a humble appeal to the Members of this House to exercise as much restraint as they can in speaking on this matter? Every word which is uttered in this House will have its impact on millions of our people outside. It is therefore essential that the Parliament creates the right atmosphere in the country and gives the proper lead.

Thank you.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR (Nominated): I want clarification on two points. Will the ignorance of the English language be a handicap in the State service? A man in the State service knows the State language and he knows Hindi but he does not know English. Will it be a handicap in the service in the State?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: It is entirely for the State Governments to decide. If the regional language is the official language of the State, the officer or the official will not feel handicapped in any way if he does not know English but my own personal opinion is that for some time to come it would be good if we generally know English.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR: Another point I want to know is, is it permissible to introduce any Bill in either House of Parliament in Hindi originally, English translation being given? If there is a difference of opinion about the interpretation between the Hindi and the English versions, which shall prevail in the end?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: Madam, it is quite clear and I do not think there can be any bar to non-official motions being originally moved in Hindi but I think I should be honest completely, Madam, in this regard. If there is any difference of interpretation and if the matter has to be considered by courts of law, the authoritative version, I think will have to be English. The court of law can only decide.

3 P.M.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: May I say a word about this? After the 26th January . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kalelkar is asking for clarifications.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: It is in connection with this clarification that has been just given. After 26th January, 1965 it would be the inherent right of every citizen of India to introduce any Bill in Parliament in Hindi and that Bill as it is introduced will be the authoritative Bill. I do not think there can be any doubt on this point.

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: There is some doubt but I do not want to go into that at present. When the matter is considered clause by clause we will clarify that. But it is clear in the Bill and it is provided that it will be an authoritative text in Hindi, if Mr. Santhanam will see the wording in the Bill. It was not at all necessary to have added those words 'in Hindi'. It would be an authoritative text in Hindi; that is what is said there. Those two words are very significant but I do not want to enter into details just at present.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR: That is the crux of the whole thing. The authoritative Hindi translation is authoritative only in Hindi but in the court it will be the English version which means that we are under the rule of a foreign language and our culture will have to suffer the humiliation of accepting the English interpretation for all the things in the whole country.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, the Home Minister has been saying that after 1965 Hindi will become the principal language but if the Hindi version is not to be taken as the authoritative version, how will Hindi become the principal language?

SHRI LAL BAHADUR: If it is in Hindi, it will be considered the authoritative text in Hindi; similarly there will be English and it will be considered the authoritative text in English. And the regional languages will also be there and it will also be considered the authoritative text in the

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regional language. It will be for the courts to decide as to what should be final.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the Home Minister has clarified fully.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam, the debate is taking place before the question is put before the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are two amendments that could also be taken up.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the languages which may be used for the official purposes of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purposes in High Courts, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be referred to a Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha consisting of the following Members:—

- (1) Shri Bhupesh Gupta
- (2) Shri Rohit M. Dave
- (3) Shri B. K. Gaikwad
- (4) Shri Abdul Ghani
- (5) Shri A. D. Mani
- (6) Shri Sitaram Jaipuria
- (7) Shri P. L. Kureel Urf Talib
- (8) Shri V. M. Chordia
- (9) Shri G. Murahari, and
- (10) Shri A. B. Vajpayee

with instructions to report by the first day of the next Session."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I hope you have taken permission of the hon. Members mentioned?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Yes, Madam.

شری پیارے لال، کریبل دے طالب:

(اگر پردیس): چونکہ یہ بل سلوڈھان

بھلگی ہے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ

اس سے سلوڈھان کے اوپر گتھارا گھات
ہوتا ہے - سلوڈھان کی کئی دھاراؤں
الگھن ہوتا ہے - اس لئے میں

پروٹسٹ کے طور پر اپنے موشن کو واپس
لےتا ہوں -

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'नालिव' :
(उत्तर प्रदेश) : चूँकि यह बिल संविधान
भंगों है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से संविधान
के ऊपर कुठाराघात होता है। संविधान
का कई धाराओं का उल्लंघन होता है,
इसलिये मैं प्रोटैस्ट के तौर पर अपने मोशन
को वापस लेता हूँ।]

The questions were proposed

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह बिनकर (बिहार) :
मेरे अमन्डमेन्ट का क्या हुआ ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now general discussion. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do we proceed?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are now having general discussion on the Bill and the amendment.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, this language issue before us is undoubtedly a grave and significant issue, and in this matter the approach must be national and patriotic and at the same time dynamic and progressive. Conservatism and bigoted ideas or parochialism and partisan approach, I submit, Madam Deputy Chairman, have no place when we deal with this vital question. The question of the Union official language is undoubtedly one which must receive the attention of the entire country because in the right solution of it is involved also the larger problem of national integration and indeed the flowering of the genius of our nation. After 13 years of the Constitution and nearly 15 years of independence it is surprising that we should still be debating as to whether Hindi or English should be

†[]Hindi transliteration.

the Union language. I say we are debating because some people have raised a debate over this matter. This in itself, in my view, is the most distressing thing and a sad commentary on our public affairs. The basic question was indeed settled by article 343 of our Constitution which says that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. In our view this was the correct decision from every point of view. In fact there can be no other choice in the matter of the Union official language than Hindi.

Are we then reopening the debate either here or on a national scale on this basic question? It looks as though some people in the country—some of them are influential—are trying to do so directly or indirectly. Among them I find not only hon. Members of Parliament like Mr. Frank Anthony in the other House but also such people as Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Master Tara Singh and some not so famous but quite a good deal of noisy I.C.S. men. I should draw your attention to the speech made by Shri C. Rajagopalachari only the other day in Madras. I think he spoke on the 29th of this month and this is the report:

"Mr. Rajagopalachari emphatically stated that the unity of the country could be preserved only by the continuance of English as the official language of the Union. He said that the very fact that the D.M.K. leader and himself had come together on the same platform testified to the fact that imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi people against their will would damage the unity."

I am quoting from THE HINDU of 1st May, that is, yesterday. It is surprising that a learned man who has a very great language—the Tamil language is one of the finest perhaps that we have—is saying such a thing today and he has tried to point out that the unity between himself and the D.M.K. is the symbol of the unity of the Indian people. Nothing could be more fantastic than such a kind of utterance coming from so alle-

gedly wise a man as Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Here again, I would invite your attention to what Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, has said. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, has the "Statesman" of today:—

"The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, yesterday pleaded for the retention of English as the official language as it was not only an international language but was also spoken and understood in all parts of this country."

This is what Master Tara Singh says.

Here, we have been receiving memoranda from a number of signatories. Among them is Mr. V. P. Menon, former Governor of Orissa, and certain other people claiming to be eminent. They are pleading that English should remain the official language of the Indian Union for all time to come. According to them the English language should remain. In this memorandum they say:—

"The adoption of two languages, Hindi and English, whatever be their relative status, for the official purposes of the Indian Union and the regional languages within their regions will only lead to unnecessary confusion and expense, which should, therefore, be avoided. All communications which transcend the boundaries of linguistic regions should be conducted in the common all-India language, English."

Lest I should be taken as provincial-minded in this matter, I would invite your attention to a rather interesting letter to the editor of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" of yesterday by one M.L.C., Prof. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, of Calcutta. I may mention here that he is a Professor in the Scottish Church College, an M.L.C. of the Opposition side. Incidentally, he had also been my professor in my old student days. He has been pleading that English should not only be retained as the official

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language of the Union, but should be recognised and designated as a national language and included in the Eight Schedule to the Constitution. To my great scheme . . .

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): Prof. Bhattacharyya sails with you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, I can read out. To my great sorrow and shame, I must say that Prof. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya quotes the Senate of the University of Calcutta, of which my hon. friend tried to become the Vice-Chancellor at one time. They passed a resolution in which it is said that English should also be recognised as a national language. Now, therefore, you will see that the so-called elite, the upper class people, English-educated people, do want that English—some of them, not all—should continue.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: It is not a fact. The Calcutta University Senate never passed any resolution that English should be the official language.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I shall quote. This is the resolution:—

“That the Senate views with concern the main recommendations of the Official Language Commission as presented in its majority report,”

Then, it goes on to say and the relevant portion I shall read out here:—

“(1) that each of the fourteen major languages listed in our Constitution be recognised as a national language of India, and that English be also recognised as such.”

This is the text of their resolution of 1958. I am surprised Prof. Ray is forgetting this resolution. I am glad. Forget it.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: The meaning of it is not what the hon. Member suggests.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has read it out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Forget, it is all right. I have no quarrel. It is to my external shame that there are still some people in West Bengal supposed to be English-educated, who are trying to make out that English should eternally remain the official language of the Indian Union, that English should remain the language even of the State of West Bengal, that English should continue as the medium of instruction in the University and used as the language of the High Court. Now, I hope Prof. Ray will completely and unequivocally dissociate himself from such a company.

Now, this is the position. I do not want to go into it. Therefore, you will see that powerful opposition is there and that is why progress has not been made. That is why the resistance comes.

The Government is answerable for many of its failures. It was the duty of the Government to propagate Hindi in the right, democratic manner. But instead of doing so, it took a routine administrative approach to the language and did not take all necessary measures to make Hindi easily acceptable and well received by people in the non-Hindi speaking regions. I charge the Government on that score because of its failures and the Reports of the Official Language Commission and of the Parliamentary Committee will bear testimony to what I am saying as far as the official default and responsibilities go.

At the same time, when we discuss such matters we must also self-critically view as to how we, members of the public, not connected with offices or officialdom, had to view in this matter. Can we say

that we have acted in the spirit of the Constitution, that we must have as speedily as possible fostered the progress of a national language, which is our own, not a foreign language? And English is a foreign language. I think we should plead guilty to the nation. As leaders and men of public opinion we should not hesitate to plead guilty to the nation and admit our mistake in a self-rectifying spirit. Instead of that, we should not always try to indulge in acrimony against each other or forget our own responsibilities in this matter by pointing our accusing finger at the Government. The Government is undoubtedly to be accused for many of its activities in this field. Now, the standpoint of people like Mr. Rajagopalachari is wholly misconceived and, if I may say so, borders on contempt for our great national heritage. Is it their contention that India cannot find a Union Official Language from her own treasure house of languages? If it were so, I would be in favour of adopting a foreign language as a national language or the language of the Indian Union in this particular case.

The real issue before the country in the year of grace 1963 is not any more whether English or Hindi should become the official language of the Union.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: Are we discussing the official language or the national language? There are fourteen national languages, but the official language is only one, and now two.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The official language is only one. I agree. I will come to that. The Professor will bear with me. I am not an academician or a pedant, but certainly I have more common-sense in relation to public affairs. Now, might I tell you—he is quite right—Hindi is one of the many national languages and we have chosen Hindi as the official language? We are not going to discuss why we

have chosen Hindi rather than Bengali or any other national language.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: I agree with you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He should agree with me. The real issue before the country is not any more today whether English or Hindi should become the official language of the Union. The issue is how and in what manner we can replace English by Hindi as the Union Official Language. That is what we should discuss. This means the question in principle, the basic question, if you like, is settled that Hindi must be the official language, and we cannot go back on our constitutional pledge, a commitment that we logically made. What is not yet settled but cries for a wise, democratic solution is how this change-over is to be brought about. Let us apply our mind and ingenuity to this practical question instead of raising the debate of English versus Hindi, which has been long settled by our national traditions, by our heritage, even by our written Constitution.

Might I recall to mind the words of Mahatma Gandhi in the year 1921 when he wrote in his article in "Young India"? This is what he wrote:—

"It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj."

This is what he said. Seven years later—in 1928, Gandhiji wrote:

"Surely it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a

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nation cannot keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Among the many evils of foreign rule, the blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of this country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul."

I stand by every syllable of these wise and patriotic words of the departed leader.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are speaking English.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Whether I can speak in Hindi or not is not a material point. Who am I before the great nation of ours? Let me go down the drain, but the nation has to live with honour and dignity. If I have not done it, I am ashamed of it, I am not proud of it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can still do it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Certainly I shall have to learn it. But here I am discussing this subject. This kind of poser should not be made. I can retort.

Let me deal with the protagonists of English in this respect before I pass on to other aspects. What is their contention, Madam? That English is a national language, we should include it in the Eighth Schedule, it should remain the Union language for all time to come, and so on. This is their idea. They say that unless we get this thing done, the unity of India will not be maintained.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I should like to say that the English language is undoubtedly one of the richest languages in the world. We

prize the English language. But we want to retain it as a tool language for our intercourse with the outside English-speaking world in order to imbibe the knowledge of science, technology and so on, to be acquainted with the literature. I have in mind those who are specialising in this line. But let us not try to make out today that the English language gave us Shakespeare and Milton. The English language certainly made it possible for some elite people to study English literature, Milton and Shakespeare. But what really the British brought with the English was perverse ideas regarding our ways and cultural heritage. That must be realised. Out of an evil thing you can get a good thing. But Mahatma Gandhi pointed out that the soul would be robbed if we went that way. The English language imparted their ways of thinking to a small number of people to culturally enslave them, to make them an appendage of the imperialist rule, to make them subserve the interests of imperialism just to blight the future of the country, and that is why we find that we had those toadies and other people coming from those English-knowing sections of the community.

Madam, in that connection certainly we had our Mahatma Gandhi, we have our Jawaharlal Nehru, we had our Ram Mohan Roy, we had our Rabindra Nath Tagore, we had our Srinivasa Iyengar, we had many other leaders and men of letters and so on; but these were exceptions. We did so despite the attitude of the British and their imposition of English on us.

English was definitely an imposed language out and out in our country. This must be realised. It was an imposition by the British rule. A wide gap developed between the English-speaking and English-knowing stratum and the masses of the people on the other. Under the British the English language has been an unmitigated assault on the culture of our people.

Some people say that if English had not come, there would not have been

the freedom movement. This is a fantastic argument. May I say in jest that if the British had not come, there would have been no English language here nor these blind protagonists of English today.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: May I point out to my friend that but for English he would not have learnt Communism or Karl Marx?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can tell you that the Russians produced the greatest socialist revolution first. They did it in the Russian language, they learned Karl Marx in Russian. We do not want Karl Marx to be confined to the elite. We want Karl Marx to go to the millions of peasants and workers, and that is possible only in the regional languages including Hindi, not in the language you are championing along with Shri Rajagopalachari in the beaches of Madras.

They say that the English language has roused our patriotism, and this they advance as a justification for retaining the English language. May I ask these hon. men: Did the leaders of the 1857 rebellion against the British, mis-called the Sepoy Mutiny, go into battle action with Harrow or Oxford accent, or did they go into the freedom fight speaking their language, carrying in their heart of hearts the love and affection of the people? The greatest liberation struggle which was launched in the middle of the last century was led, manned and conducted by people who had no knowledge of English but whose hearts were filled with flaming patriotism and loving passion for the country. It is a defamation of the people when you say that if they had not learnt English, the freedom movement would not have grown in our country. I know, Madam Deputy Chairman, that even in these years when Gandhiji took the stage, he realised that the freedom movement must be brought about in the language of the people, that the freedom urges should be translated into prac-

tical action by means of a language which the people understood, and there you got the incentive to regional languages. Poet Rabindranath Tagore gave patriotism and love for their country to the people of Bengal, I can say, in the language of the people. We had been roused into the flaming patriotism against the British, whether you have in mind the movement which is called the terrorist movement or any other movement, because we got the writings of such men as Poet Tagore and Nazrul Islam in the Bengali language. Therefore, let me say that even in this respect these hon. Members are profoundly mistaken and wrong. They look at problems with their own glasses. They think they are in the right, the favoured few, the chosen people of the God, and what they think as right is right for the entire people. I think that stage is over now. We are shaping our democratic institutions, and therefore we would like the people to be associated as the makers and participants of the affairs of our State, and that is not possible unless the flowering of the regional languages and Hindi as the Union official language takes place in the country.

Madam Deputy Chairman, it is said that there are people who speak English. Yes, but this is not their mother-tongue. I speak English. English is not my mother-tongue. Certainly it is the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indian community who are also part of the citizens of India. But we are not taking away their right to learn things in their mother-tongue. Every facility should be given to them. If we had not given, we should give them, we should give them more. I have no doubt in this respect. But to say that just because some members of the Anglo-Indian community speak English, it has become our mother-tongue or it has become a national language will be doing offence to our history, to our culture, to everything that is Indian. It is one of the languages which are spoken and used by some sections of the people. Cherish them, preserve them, give them assist-

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 ance, nurse them, minister to their needs, make them feel that in this garden of India where so many languages are flourishing and have blossomed already their language, their mother-tongue will have its place, but it cannot have the place of a national language, certainly cannot have the place in the context of the Union official language that is given to Hindi. This is what they should be told. Therefore, I say, here again you find that there are only a few people. In the 1951 Census it is shown that of the six crores of literates in India, only 38 lakhs spoke English. The number is one per cent. And now in the latest Census the situation has not materially changed. Therefore, it has to be that we have to choose a language and retain it in its preponderant position when it has a historical background of this kind, considering the position it occupies in the reality of life. Such is the position as I have just indicated. Which language then are we to choose? Well, only one language merits the support of the country and of the people and that is the Hindi language. Why? It is because 42 per cent of our people speak that language. In four States it is clearly the official language and if you take into account people who speak all the languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule, Hindi-speaking people account for 46 per cent of the entire total, nearly half. Naturally, it is historically determined, factually asserted, as to which should be the official language of the Indian Union. Can we go back from history? Can we unsettle the settled facts of life, facts established in life and accepted by so many people? It is better to have this language, in every way possible, as our Union language.

Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, the protagonists of English have no case. This is a vested interest of some people who know English. They want to keep everything to themselves. They thrived in the period of the British. Let them not take advantage

of the same position any more. We want our men of letters, our men of science, our technicians to go into the universities conducting their affairs in the regional languages. We want this intercourse between the people of one State and another State, between Hindi-speaking people and non-Hindi-speaking people, to take place in the Hindi language which is our own Indian language. We would like to dethrone the English language from its present position and we would like to re-enthroner our own national languages in all their majesty in the throne of our life and culture. That should be our approach.

Now, well, let it not be said that a great and ancient nation like India and a great people like the Indian people got confused about the question of language, did not know how to find their own bearing and did not know a language from their own languages, to make it the official language of the Union.

Madam, in this connection, I should like to stress upon one fact that along with it, the regional languages should be promoted in the States. They should become the official languages, whether it is Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Hindi. Well, these should be the main official languages everywhere. The tempo is also slow. You have in Bengal, for example, certain educated, English-educated, people, selfish in their intellectual outlook, defiant of the interests of the masses, people who have lost perspective. They like the English language to continue in its present dominant position. Let them read Shakespeare and Milton; let them get acquainted with works on science, medicine, art and literature as much as they like in order to bring them to the masses in the Bengali language, in the language they understand. As far as Bengal is concerned, I am ashamed again to say in this House that ours is one of the States where Bengali has not yet in fact been accepted and established as the official language of

the State Only the other day, after thirteen years of Constitution, an announcement has been made....

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU
It has been.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA. Well, I am sorry for that. Imagine, the land of Sarat Chandra, Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath Tagore, such great men of letters and literature could produce better results than these people have done. I charge the Congress Government for this failure. That is what I would like to say. Professor Satyen Bose said that the Bengali language was capable of bringing about the quickest possible transition from English to Bengali by translations and so on. We know that it is possible but it is not being done. Well, there are people who somehow or other love English in the same way as Romeo was in love with Juliet. That is what I say. It was a tragedy in private life, the story of Romeo and Juliet. Are we going to repeat the same tragedy in our public life just because some gentlemen are so madly infatuated with the English language? That is what I would say. Therefore, I think that the Government have failed. And if you read the Report of the Language Commission, you will find that two dissenting notes are there, one by the late Dr Subbarayan and another by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, again a Bengali. What an attack they launched against Hindi. And they wanted to make out that unless we had the English language as the all-India language as the language of the Union the country would be ruined. I cannot think of such a vast abuse of intellectual powers and so on. In this Report again you will find how the Government failed in the matter of propagating Hindi. Now I know about all these Hindi Prachar Samities and so on. This Government mismanages things. It has mismanaged even our own national language. Over the past fifteen years it had ample opportunities to inspire confidence among the people to make Hindi acceptable to them, with loving care and affection,

in the non-Hindi-speaking regions. But this Government set about the task in such a tardy manner, in such a misconceived manner, that it created in many places hostility, inspired resistance and gave rise to misunderstanding and we are expiating for the sins of this omission. Therefore, I say that we should take the task in all seriousness. English must go from its present position, no matter what happens. I have been to international conferences and so on. I must tell with shame that when we talk among ourselves we have to speak in English because we do not have one language of communication between us, Indian citizens, who come from the South and from the North. Such is the state of affairs. All these things should be put an end to today. We have a common language. Given the goodwill given the right approach, we can certainly learn it. Many more people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas understand Hindi than people who understand English there. In fact, English is understood by nobody and is misunderstood by many. This is the position. I have seen the protagonists of English. I mean the English that they talk. It is better that it is not spoken or talked in in this country. It is an assault on the English language itself, but they would continue it. I say, save the English language also.

In this connection I would like to say that the regional languages in the States and Hindi at the Union level must be official languages. It should allow of many a flower blossoming but at the same time the flowers must be integrated into the schemes of things so that we are one nation. It is not merely a sentiment or expression, it is not something that we talk about, it is not something that we discuss in the Integration Conferences and so on. It is something which is established in mutual understanding and exchange of opinions between the peoples living in the South and in the North in the East and in the West, among the various linguistic groups in our country. How can we bring that about unless we have a language of our own? What

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]
is that language unless we accept willingly and ungrudgingly Hindi as that language? Therefore, I say here in all seriousness that this matter must not only be supported here, we must take the cause to the country and make the people understand the significance and importance of it, not only in the context of our living conditions today but also with our eyes on the future. That is now we should view this matter.

As far as the other points are concerned, I have one or two words to say and then I will finish. As far as 'may' and 'shall' are concerned, we shall discuss this matter. I say that 'shall' should have been utilised here instead of 'may' because the change-over should not be brought about by violent methods—not in the physical sense, by giving offence to the other people—and the approach should be one of mutual accommodation and mutual tolerance. If I am sure that I am standing on *terra firma*, on strong ground, certainly I should be confident that I can impart my ideas to the other men, those who do not understand Hindi. It is possible to do so and that is how it will be done. I therefore say, English, the way it has been kept, is good, but at the same time I must say that I think much of the fears would have been removed if the word 'shall' had been used. Well, I am not a lawyer in the practical sense of the term, by accident. I am a lawyer just as Mr V. T. Krishnamachari is a politician here by accident. Now the position is this. I think that people in the non-Hindi speaking regions would have been satisfied if you had used the word 'shall'. We should consider it.

As far as Parliament is concerned, Parliament should discuss it. The report should come to Parliament, but before that it should go, not to the State Governments only but more to the State Legislatures. Let them discuss it. You should collect the opinions of the people and bring it along,

and when you give your final judgment and the President should issue directions according to the opinion of Parliament formulated after considering the opinions of the State Legislatures, and many others concerned through that Committee which is provided for here. We have an amendment to that effect; therefore I do not speak on this subject either.

Madam Deputy Chairman, finally I would like to make another point. First of all I should like to say that, since we have so many languages in our Constitution as national languages, Sindhi should be made a national language and included in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution. I do not see as to why Sindhi should be kept out of it. Secondly, in Parliament there should be provision for simultaneous translation. Science and technology make it easily possible today. Why should people not be in a position to speak in their own languages, specially when they are not in a position to speak either in Hindi or in English? Why should others not have the benefit of these speeches being translated to them in the other national languages when they cannot understand these languages? I think this should be done because, in Parliament, people from among the masses will come—peasants, workers and so on. Therefore, Madam, I think it should be considered—simultaneous translation into different languages of speeches that are made in different languages when it becomes necessary. Here, under article 120 I cannot speak in Bengali because I can speak in English. Why should it be so? I would like to know. If I choose to speak in my mother-tongue, I should be allowed to speak. Of course, sometimes, for some reasons of expediency you may waive the general rule, but this constitutional provision I do not like. Why should Members of Parliament let you have in advance a copy of the speech that they may like to deliver in other languages than in Hindi or English? I do not understand that also. They

should be given the right of equal status. Parliament is the Parliament of India, represents the States, represents the people speaking different languages. Therefore, necessary provision should be made. You can make an exception only in respect of Sanskrit. This is another point.

As far as the Union Services are concerned, nobody should suffer, non-Hindi-speaking people should not suffer at all, in the matter of recruitment and promotion. Again on that we have an amendment, to which we shall return. But I think arrangement should be made for moderation in the examinations. Those who take these examinations for Union Government services in the Hindi language, a language other than their own mother-tongue, moderation should be provided for in their favour. As for those who opt to take the examinations in Hindi, they should take a compulsory paper in some other modern Indian language, and in that case also moderation may be provided for. But that is how we should balance the situation.

Madam Deputy Charman, I do not wish to say anything more. I think the subject-matter can be discussed dispassionately and in an objective manner. I agree with the hon. Home Minister and in fact I must say I appreciate the approach of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister although I am not fully satisfied with everything that has been provided for in the Bill. If we discuss the matter dispassionately with the right perspective before us, in mutual tolerance, in a spirit of patriotism and confidence in our future, it should not be difficult for us, given the goodwill and the right application of our ingenuity, to find a complete national agreement over this matter. Very nearly they have come to it, I wish they had gone a step or two further so that we could have brought about complete unity. On questions of principle do not compromise, but on practical questions you compromise, accommodate the other man as far as possible, and I think, if we take this reasonable approach, inflexibility in

regard to principles, namely, that we must have Hindi as the Union Official Language, and flexibility in regard to the practical implementation of the decision, I think it is possible for us, for the entire country, for the people of India speaking many languages in all parts of the country, to put their heads together and to arrive at a common, agreed, national solution to one of the finest and one of the most significant problems of our times. We must live in India in unity; in unity, is diversity. We have provided for diversity in the reorganisation of States as linguistic States and given the regional languages the status of Official Languages in the States. Must we not then find out a via media for unity in the whole country? And that is to be provided for by making as speedily as possible, but rightly and democratically, Hindi as the Union Official Language.

Thank you.

श्री एम० सत्यनारायण उपसभापति महोदया, मेरे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त का अंग्रेजी भाषण सुनने के बाद मेरी हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि मैं अपने विचार अंग्रेजी में रखूँ। उन्होंने हिन्दी का जैसा जबर्दस्त यहाँ पर समर्थन किया, अब उसमें बहुत ज्यादा कहना नहीं रह जाता है। मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ और समर्थन करते समय मुझे बहुत बड़ो खुशा नहीं होता है, अफसोस होता है। अफसोस इसलिए है कि १५ साल पहले यह भाषा का मामला हमारे सामने संविधान सभा में एक बर्ग के छत्ते जैसा खड़ा था। उस वक्त किसी भी तरह में हमने सम्भाल लिया, बहुत ज्यादा बहस करने के बाद, आपस में बहुत ज्यादा धीगा धीगी होने के बाद, लोगों के विचार समझने के बाद, देश को शान्त करने के लिए, अपने को शान्त करने के लिए सब लोग एक फैसले पर पहुँचे और एक फैसला किया। वह फैसला हमारे संविधान में लिखा है, जो साफ है और

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

जिस के ऊपर इस वक्त चर्चा हो रहा है । वह नवें अनुच्छेद में विवरित है और यह नवां अनुच्छेद पढ़ने से पता चलेगा कि देश की भाषा का समस्या पर हमने पूरी तरह से विचार किया और विचार करने के बाद यह निश्चय किया कि हमें अपनी भाषाओं को कैसे बढ़ाना चाहिये और अन्य भाषाओं को जोड़ने के लिए कड़ी का निर्माण करना चाहिये । जैसा आपको मालूम है कि हमने ३५१ धारा में साफ बता दिया था कि हिन्दी जिसका विकास, जिसका प्रचार देश में होना चाहिये, उसको पूरा करने का काम संघ सरकार को सौंप दिया गया है, ताकि संघ सरकार समूचे देश को देखते हुए, समूची भाषाओं को देखते हुए जिस कदर इसका प्रचार करना चाहिये, बढ़ाना चाहिये, विकास करना चाहिये, वहां किया जाय । लेकिन बड़े अफसोस की बात यह है कि इन १३ सालों में हमने जो काम किया, वह बिल्कुल काम ही नहीं हुआ, अपूर्ण ही नहीं बल्कि काम की बात हमें मालूम नहीं हुई । इसका कारण यह है कि जिस वक्त हम लोग इसके ऊपर मोच रहे थे, उस वक्त हम लोग एक बहुत बड़े विचार और बात के ऊपर ध्यान न दे सके । वह बात यह थी कि हमारे देश की जो कड़ी-भाषा है, जो जोड़ने वाली भाषा है, वह तब तक नहीं बन सकती जब तक हमारे देश की प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का विकास पूरी तरह से नहीं होगा । प्रान्तीय भाषाएँ हमारी दृष्टि में थीं और हमारा वह क्लोज साफ बतला देता है कि यह हिन्दी—जो मैं अंग्रेजी में आपके सामने पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ :—

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilat-

ing without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other language."

इससे साफ मालूम होना चाहिये कि जिसको हम यूनियन की भाषा बनाना चाहते हैं, वह हमारी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का सहारा लेकर, उनकी मदद लेकर, उनको साथ लेकर उनके सम्पर्क में रह कर बढ़ेगी । अगर हिन्दी प्रान्तों की भाषा नहीं बनेगी, हिन्दी प्रान्तों की भाषा होकर नहीं बढ़ेगी और प्रान्तों के सम्पर्क में नहीं रहेगी, तो वह हिन्दी हमारी आल इंडिया या अखिल भारतीय भाषा नहीं होगी । यह इसमें साफ कहा गया है । बहुत से लोग यह मानते हैं कि एट्थ शेड्यूल में हमने जो १४ भाषाओं का जिक्र किया है वह नेशनल लैंग्वेज के ख्याल से हमने उसको किया है । बात तो साफ इसमें यह है कि १४ भाषाओं का इसमें जो जिक्र है वह १४ भाषाएँ हिन्दी को मदद पहुँचाने के लिये वहां पर रखी गई हैं ।

श्री सन्तोष कुमार बसु : कैसे होगा ?

श्री एम० सत्यनारायण : कैसे होगा, इसमें जो कहा गया है उसको मैं समझता हूँ और जैसा कि मैं समझता हूँ, मैं आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ ।

१४ भाषाएँ हमारे देश की प्रान्तीय भाषाएँ हैं और जो बहुत ही अच्छी और विकसित भाषाएँ हैं जिनके सहारे से हिन्दी आगे बढ़ेगी और बढ़ते बढ़ते दो चीजों का ख्याल इसमें रखा गया है । एक तो इसमें यह कहा गया है कि हिन्दुस्तानी नाम का, उस समय जो विशेष रूप से हमारे सामने विवाद था, उस विवाद को दूर करने के लिये हिन्दुस्तानी नाम की भाषा में जो शब्द आये, जिस तरह के अलफ़ाज़ उसमें आये, उन सब को भी हिन्दी में

ले लेना चाहिये। यह कह करके कि हिन्दुस्तानी इस देश की भाषा नहीं है, उसमें मे कोई शब्द नहीं ले सकते, उसे अलग नहीं करना चाहिये। एक यह खयाल था। दूसरा खयाल यह था कि १४ भाषाओं का हमारे देश में जैसे जैसे विकास होता रहेगा, वह विकास यूनिशन सरकार की तरफ से और साथ साथ प्रान्तीय सरकारों की तरफ से जो होता जायेगा, उसके साथ साथ हिन्दी भी बढ़ेगी। यह कहा गया कि इसी तरह से हमारे देश की भाषाएं बढ़ सकती हैं। इसमें यह नहीं कहा गया है कि ये नेशनल लैंग्वेज हैं और अंग्रेजी को भी इसमें जोड़ दिया जा सकता है। इंग्लिश अंग्रेजी को भी इन १४ भाषाओं में जोड़ने का कोई अर्थ नहीं रहता, क्योंकि जैसा कि आपको मालूम है, मविधान में दो ही जगह पर एंथ्रॉपिक शिड्यूल का जिक्र आया है, एक तो धारा ३५१ में आया है और दूसरा पार्लियामेण्टरी बिलों के निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में आया है, जिसमें कि यह साफ मालूम हो जाय। ये बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि यद्यपि हमने हिन्दी को बढ़ाने के लिये चौदह भाषाओं का जिक्र इसमें किया लेकिन इन तेरह सालों में, पन्द्रह सालों में, इन चौदह भाषाओं को खूब अच्छी तरह से बढ़ाने के लिये जो सबसे पहला काम होता चाहिये कि चौदह भाषाओं का अपना अपना एक आश्रय रहे, अपना अपना एक राज्य रहे, इन चौदह भाषाओं को खयाल में रखते हुए हमने अलग अलग भाषावार राज्यों में अपने देश को बांटा। यह दूसरा कदम है। इस कदम का खयाल रखते हुए हम आज यह पश्चाताप नहीं करेंगे, हम आज यह दुख प्रकट नहीं करेंगे कि हमने हिन्दी को कड़ी, यानी भाषाओं को जोड़ने वाली एक सहयोगी भाषा के तौर पर, उस हद तक नहीं पहुँचाया जिस हद तक हम पन्द्रह साल में पहुँचाने की उम्मीद रखते थे। ऐसा कोई अफसोस आज करेंगे, तो यह समझना चाहिये कि पन्द्रह सालों में हमारे सामने जो काम था वह इतना ज़ादा था कि उस कार्य के वास्ते जिनका समय हम दे सकते थे, उतना समय हम दे नहीं सके। दूसरी बात

यह है कि यह हो नहीं सकता कि जब तक इन सब भाषाओं को अपना राज न मिले तब तक उनका विकास भी बराबर होता जाय। अब यह स्थिति आ गई है कि तेरह साल के बाद अब हमारे सामने धारा ३५१ के अनुसार हिन्दी भाषा को बढ़ाने के वास्ते, उसका विकास करने के वास्ते प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का पूरा पूरा सहारा मिल गया है और उस सहारे से हिन्दी को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये। उस सहारे को लेते समय हमारे सामने जो सवाल आते हैं उनमें सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि हमारे यहां दो तरह के दल इस समय मौजूद हैं जो कि एक दूसरे के साथ बराबर टकराते रहते हैं, एक दूसरे के साथ टक्कर लगाते रहते हैं। एक तो हिन्दी को आज ही हमारे देश की राजभाषा बनाना चाहिए, ऐसा दल है और किसी भी हालत में हिन्दी को हमारे देश में राजभाषा बनाएं तो देश की इस समय जो एकता है वह टूट जायगी, इस वास्ते हिन्दी की बजाय अंग्रेजी को बनाना चाहिये, यह दूसरा दल है। यह दल जिस प्रान्त से मैं आता हूँ, उस प्रान्त में बहुत ही जबरदस्त है और वह दल बराबर इस बात को कहता रहता है कि हिन्दी अगर हमारे देश में आ गई तो हमारा देश टूटेगा और देश की एकता टूटेगी। मैं इस बात को बहुत समझने की कोशिश करता हूँ, आज ही नहीं बल्कि चालीस साल से मैं इसको समझता आ रहा हूँ और इसी खयाल से इन चालीस सालों में हिन्दी के साथ साथ प्रान्तीय भाषाओं को भी सिखाने का पूरा प्रबन्ध हमने अपने सगठन में किया। किसी भी व्यक्ति को हमने अब तक हिन्दी नहीं सिखायी, जिसको अपनी भाषा अच्छी तरह से नहीं आती है। अपनी भाषा में जब तक वह निष्णात नहीं होगा, हिन्दी में भी निष्णात नहीं हो सकता। इस वास्ते हमने दोनों भाषाओं को साथ साथ सिखाया। मैं गृह मन्त्री का बहुत ही आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने दक्षिण भारत के कार्य का यहां पर जिक्र किया है और दक्षिण भारत के कार्य

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

का जिक्र जो किया है, वहां पर चालीस वर्षों में हजारों लाखों और करोड़ों लोगों ने जिस तरह से हिन्दी सीखी है उससे उत्तर भारत के लोगों को हर्ष होना चाहिये कि उसमें उन लोगों ने जो समय लगाया, जितनी शक्ति लगाई, जितना पैसा उन्होंने लगाया पूरी तरह से अपनी तरफ से लगाया और करोड़ों रुपया उन्होंने उसके लिये खर्च किया और वहां पर वर्षों उन्होंने यह काम किया, जिस नजारे को हमारे गृह मन्त्री ने उस रोज देखा वह नजारा ऐसा है कि वह एक बहती हुई नदी है, उस रोज उन्होंने जो देखा उसके पहले भी उतने ही हजार उसमें दो साल, चार साल या पन्द्रह साल पहले भी, देखने में आते थे। वहां पर यह धारा हिन्दी की वह रही है लेकिन आज मुश्किल यह है कि जितनी इसमें जल्दी मचाई जायेगी उसमें उतना उसका नुकसान होगा। हर एक काम अपने समय पर हो जाना है। समय के साथ लड़ने वाले अपनी सारी शक्ति लगायें जिसमें समय के अंदर काम कर सकें, लेकिन समय इतना हमारे सामने थोड़ा है और काम इतना ज्यादा बड़ा है कि समय के अन्दर सभी काम हम लोग नहीं कर सकते। इस वास्ते यह काम ज्यादा वक्त लेगा तो लेगा, लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि जिस वक्त इस बात के ऊपर चर्चा हो रही थी यह सोचा गया था कि अपने उत्साह को खयाल में रखते हुये हम १५ साल में इस काम को खत्म कर सकेंगे और हिन्दी को राजभाषा की गद्दी पर हम बिठला सकेंगे। आज अफसोस यह है कि १५ साल तो करीब हो गये, १३ साल हो चुके हैं और आज हम यह उम्मीद लेकर चले हैं कि दस साल में और ये दो साल लेकर १२ साल में यह काम हम लोग कर सकेंगे। मुझे तो ऐसा मालूम हो रहा है कि इन १५ सालों में नहीं बल्कि यह कहा जाय कि १३ साल में जब हम यह काम नहीं कर पाये तो आगे इन १२ सालों में हम इस काम को सम्पन्न कर सकते हैं इसमें मुझे सन्देह हो रहा है और सन्देह

इसलिये हो रहा है कि अब तक केन्द्र की सरकार को जिस दक्षता के साथ और जिस चुस्ती के साथ इस काम को आगे बढ़ाने का कदम उठाना चाहिये, उन्होंने उसको उठाया नहीं। उठाया नहीं तो इसकी शिकायत होनी चाहिये, लेकिन शिकायत तो मैं नहीं करना चाहता क्योंकि उनके पास कार्य कई तरह के दूसरे थे, लेकिन इस बिल को पारित करने के बाद अगर १२, १३ साल के बाद ही इस प्रस्ताव को लेकर इस पार्लियामेंट के सामने आये कि इन १२ सालों में भी वह काम नहीं हो सका, १५ साल और बढ़ना चाहिये, तो इस समय हमारे सामने जो स्थिति है वह स्थिति नहीं रहेगी, इसमें भी भयकर स्थिति हमारे सामने खड़ी हो जायेगी। वह स्थिति यह होगी कि आज हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी इन दो चीजों में एक बहुत बड़ी टक्कर चल रही है, लेकिन उस वक्त देश की १४ भाषाएं और हिन्दी के बीच बहुत बड़ी टक्कर चलेगी। यह मैं आपके सामने स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूं। आज भले ही अंग्रेजी की तरफदारी हम लोग करें, लेकिन अंग्रेजी इस देश में आज चल नहीं रही है। यह स्पष्ट रूप से मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं। आप किसी भी लेजिस्लेचर में जायें, मद्रास जो अंग्रेजी की इतनी तरफदारी करता है, आज एक भी फीसदी मद्रास असम्बली में अंग्रेजी बोलने वाले नहीं हैं। वहां पर पूरी पूरी तमिल चलती है। आन्ध्र प्रदेश में या केरल में या कर्नाटक में किसी भी जगह आप जायें, वहां पर वहां की भाषा चलती है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But in Bengal some Ministers refuse to speak in Bengali.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA: That is his privilege to speak in any language.

वैसे ही यू० पी० में, बिहार में, राजस्थान में या किसी भी असम्बली में आप जायें, सिवाय अपनी मातृभाषा के, अपनी प्रांतीय भाषा के, किसी और भाषा में वे चल नहीं सकते। इसलिये उस वक्त हिन्दी कहाँ रहेगी!

उस वक्त तक अंग्रेजी धीरे धीरे ढलनी चली जायेगी, मिर्फ सेटर में रहेगी और सेटर में भी इने गिने लोगों की रहेगी और तब तक इने गिने लोग वहाँ में आ करके यहाँ सेटर में अंग्रेजी का नाम ले करके, अंग्रेजी का बल ले करके किसी भी तरह का अगड़ा पैदा करे तो इस देश के लिये बड़ी भयानक स्थिति होगी। इसलिये उत्तम यह है कि कल ही से हमें यह काम शुरू कर देना चाहिये कि हमारे देश की सहयोगी भाषा हिन्दी और प्रांतीय भाषाओं के बीच में किस तरह से मेल जोल बैठाया जाये। इसके लिये मैं आपके सामने कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ। एक तो सुझाव यह है कि चाहे भले ही हम लोग इस देश में लाखों हिन्दी पढ़ाने वालों को तैयार करें, जैसा कि हम लोग तैयार करते हैं, लेकिन उससे हिन्दी राजभाषा नहीं बन सकती। हिन्दी राजभाषा तब बसेगी जब कि कोई भी व्यक्ति हिन्दी में काम करने के लिये आये तो उसकी शिक्षा में हिन्दी का स्थान हो, उसकी बोलचाल में हिन्दी का स्थान हो, उसकी सम्पर्क में हिन्दी का स्थान हो और उसके काम करने की जगह पर हिन्दी का स्थान हो। उनका साथ जब तक हिन्दी का सम्पर्क नहीं होगा तब तक हिन्दी को उस आत्मविश्वास के साथ वह प्रयोग नहीं कर पाएगा, जिस आत्मविश्वास के साथ हिन्दी का प्रयोग करके वह हिन्दी वालों के सामने खड़े हो करके यह कह सकता है कि हम भी उतनी ही अच्छी हिन्दी जानते हैं जितनी अच्छी हिन्दी आप जानते हैं। आज एक बहुत बड़ा भारी भय हिन्दी और अहिन्दी वालों के बीच में हो गया है। एक तो हिन्दी वालों के बीच में यह भय हो गया है कि अंग्रेजी बहुत अच्छी तरह से पढ़-लिख कर दक्षिण भारत से जो लोग आते हैं और अंग्रेजी में काम करते हैं उनके साथ अगर हमको अंग्रेजी में काम करने के लिये कहा जाये तो हम उनके साथ टक्कर नहीं ले सकते। बात तो सच यह है कि आज अंग्रेजी दक्षिण भारत में आज तक के आकड़ों से भी

वहाँ के लोगों की माधरता के अनुपात में कम है बनिस्वत उत्तर भारत के।

उत्तर भारत में खाम करके पंजाब में माधरता के अनुपात में अंग्रेजी आज 4 P.M. १०० में १३ लोग बोलते हैं जहाँ कि दक्षिण भारत में १०० माधरों में ७ लोग ही अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं इसलिये अंग्रेजी का अधिक से अधिक प्रचार माधरता के अनुपात में पंजाब में है, यून पी० में है और बंगाल में है, दक्षिण भारत में बहुत कम है। ये सब बातें आपको आकड़ों से मालूम हो सकती हैं, कोई अगर देखना चाहे तो आफिशियल लैंग्वेज कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में देख सकता है, मेमम रिपोर्ट में भी देख सकता है और किसी और जगह भी देख सकता है। तो यह समझना बिल्कुल गलत है कि दक्षिण भारत में अधिकतर लोग अंग्रेजी जानते हैं इसलिये अंग्रेजी चाहते हैं। हाँ, यहाँ आने वाले अंग्रेजी जरूर जानते हैं और यहाँ आने वाले अंग्रेजी जरूर चाहते हैं, क्योंकि वे हिन्दी में अच्छा काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहूँगा कि मैं कई ऐसे आई० ए० एस० आफिसर्स का जानता हूँ जो कि उतनी ही अच्छी तरह से हिन्दी में काम कर सकते हैं जितनी अच्छी तरह में अंग्रेजी में काम करते हैं, वे हिन्दी में लिख सकते हैं, हिन्दी समझ सकते हैं, हिन्दी में समझा सकते हैं और हिन्दी में काम कर सकते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दी में काम करने समय उनको वह विश्वास नहीं मिलता है जो कि उनको अंग्रेजी में काम करते समय मिल सकता है। इसलिये इस वजह से हिन्दी का विकास उतना नहीं हुआ कि इस्तीमान के साथ हिन्दी का उपयोग हो सके। उनमें यह विश्वास नहीं होता है कि जो मैं कह रहा हूँ वह वही कह रहा हूँ जो कि मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और हम जो समझते हैं उसको दूसरा भी समझता है या नहीं, इसके लिये उन्हें विश्वास नहीं है। तो जब तक ऐसे विश्वास के साथ हिन्दी का विकास नहीं हो तब तक हिन्दी

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

राजभाषा नहीं बन सकती है, यह स्पष्ट बात है। तो इसको राजभाषा बनाने के बाद कई तरह के कार्य करने की आवश्यकता है और वह कार्य अभी तक हम नहीं कर पाये हैं।

इस बारे में सबसे पहले मैं यह मुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी यूनिवर्सिटीज में यह सुविधा हो—हर एक यूनिवर्सिटी में चाहे वह कर्नाटक में हो, तामिलनाडु में हो और चाहे केरल में हो, किसी भी यूनिवर्सिटी में हो, मेंटल गवर्नमेंट ऐसी कोशिश करे कि वहाँ जो लोग हिन्दी माध्यम से बी० ए० पास करना चाहें उनको उस तरह की सुविधा मिल जाये। अंग्रेजों के द्वारा करना चाहें तो अंग्रेजी में करने की सुविधा हो, हिन्दी में करना चाहे तो इसमें करने की सुविधा हो और प्रान्तीय भाषा में करना चाहें तो प्रांतीय भाषा में करने की सुविधा हो। जब तक तीनों भाषाओं में माध्यम के तौर पर उनको शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा तब तक वे हिन्दी में अच्छी तरह से काम करने का विश्वास नहीं पा सकते हैं और यह विश्वास उन्हें नहीं हो सकता है कि मैं हिन्दी अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन इस काम को कर सकती है। होम मिनिस्ट्री इस काम को कर सकती है, एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री इस काम को कर सकती है, ये दोनों करना चाहें तो यह आसानी से हो सकता है, यह मुश्किल नहीं है। आज सारा एजुकेशन यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन द्वारा नियंत्रित हो रहा है और अगर वह इस चीज को अपने ऊपर ले लें और जहाँ कहीं भी हिन्दी मीडियम के कालेजेज हों जो कि वहाँ की यूनिवर्सिटी से एफिलियेटेड हों और उनमें हिन्दी मीडियम के द्वारा बी० ए०, एम० ए० या लाँ या ह्यूमैनिटीज के जो सबजेक्ट्स हैं कम से कम उनमें हिन्दी मीडियम के जरिये जो ज्ञान प्राप्त करना चाहें उनको इसके लिये मौका दे दिया

जाये, तो बहुत सुविधा हो सकती है और यह बहुत आसानी से हो सकता है। सबसे बड़ी मुश्किल यह है कि अगर दक्षिण भारत में कोई व्यक्ति यह समझे कि मैं हिन्दी बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ तो चूँकि वहाँ पर हिन्दी बोलचाल की भाषा नहीं है, इसलिए हिन्दी के बोलचाल की भाषा न होने की वजह से उनको पुस्तकीय भाषा ही आ जाया करता है, वे बहुत अच्छी तरह से परीक्षार्थ पाम कर लेते हैं, अच्छे अच्छे शब्द जानते हैं, अच्छे अच्छे व्याख्यान सुन सकते हैं और समझ सकते हैं, लेकिन अच्छे अच्छे व्याख्यान नहीं दे सकते। इसके लिये क्या किया जाये यह तो सम्भव नहीं है कि हिन्दी प्रान्त के लोगों को दक्षिण भारत में ले जाकर बैठाया जाये, यह भी सम्भव नहीं है कि दक्षिण भारत से ले जाकर लोगों को उत्तर भारत में, हिन्दी प्रान्तों में, रखा जाये। यह सम्भव नहीं है लेकिन इस देश में आज यह सम्भव है कि वहाँ के हजार हजार, दो दो हजार अच्छे अच्छे लोगों को उत्तर भारत में लाकर पढ़ाया जाये और वैसे ही हजार हजार, दो दो हजार अच्छे अच्छे विद्यार्थियों को उत्तर भारत से ले जाकर दक्षिण भारत में पढ़ाया जाय। मगर सच्ची बात तो यह है कि हमारा हिन्दी का जो काम हो रहा है वह अहिन्दी वाले कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हिन्दी वालों ने कितना काम किया है, कितना क्या किया है? उन्होंने कहा कि मेरी भाषा दूसरी दीख रही है—ऐसा वह मानते हैं, ऐसा मानने से ही बहुत बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। जब हम लोगों ने हिन्दी के प्रचार का काम किया तो कभी हमने यह नहीं सोचा कि हिन्दी देश की कोई पराई भाषा है, हमने सोचा कि हिन्दी मेरी अपनी भाषा है और उसे अपनी भाषा की तरह सीखना आवश्यक है—जैसे कि हमने संस्कृत सीखी। संस्कृत भी इस देश में ऐसी कैसे बनी? संस्कृत किससे बनाई गई? पंजाब की नहीं, यू० पी० की नहीं, बिहार की नहीं बल्कि समूचे देश की भाषाओं को लेकर के उसमें से जो निचोड़ निकल सकता है उसको ले करके उससे उमका साहित्य बना,

उसकी भाषा बनी, उसके शब्द बने। एक मिसाल आप लेना चाहें तो एक मिसाल हम ले सकते हैं, "अमर कोष" एक पुस्तक को ले लीजिये जिसमें लिस्ट ग्राफ मिनानिम्स हैं, जिसमें हिन्दुस्तान की सभी भाषाओं के शब्द भरे हुए हैं, वे इसलिये नहीं हैं कि वे ससृजन के शब्द हैं, किसी भी भाषा को ले लीजियेगा उसका कोई न कोई मिनानिम्स वहाँ पर मिलेगा। तो अमर कोष में अमरसिंह ऐसा इसलिये कर सके कि उनको पूरे हिन्दुस्तान का खयाल था, पूरे हिन्दुस्तान का दृश्य उनके सामने था, पूरी शक्ति लगा कर उन्होंने समूचे देश की भारतीय भाषाओं को सीख करके सब शब्दों को बटोर करके उनसे ऐसा कोष बनाया। ऐसा काम हिन्दी वालों ने कितना किया है? यह काम उन्हीं के करने का है। देश की जा भाषाएँ हैं—मिर्क क, ख, ग सीखन से काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों में जाकर वहाँ पर वर्षों रहे और उनसे भाषाएँ सीखें और उन्हें सीखने के बाद उनका जो माहिर्य है, उसका अपनी भाषा में अनुवाद करें और उनका अनुवाद करना ही काफी नहीं है बल्कि उनका प्रचार करें, वे ऐसा करें ताकि हिन्दी भाषा में भी भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं के शब्द आकर के अपना घर बना सकें और तब जब कोई अहिन्दी वाला सीखेगा तो यह सोचेगा कि इसमें मेरा साहित्य है, इसमें मेरी भाषा है, यह मेरा शब्द है और वैसे ही हिन्दी वाले भी समझेंगे कि यह भी मेरा है, वह भी मेरा है, समूचे देश की जितनी भाषाएँ हैं सब मेरी हैं। यह चीज जब तक हमारे सामने नहीं आयेगी तब तक यह जो इंट्रेशन करना चाहते हैं, जो एक दूसरे को मिला करके देश में एकता पैदा करना चाहते हैं, वह हो नहीं सकता।

भाषा जो है वह मनुष्य के लिये एक बहुत अभिमान की ही वस्तु नहीं, प्रेम की ही वस्तु नहीं बल्कि उसके चाहने की वस्तु है, एक कुटुम्ब की वस्तु है, किन्तु कुटुम्ब की वस्तु कुटुम्ब तक ही सीमित नहीं रहे, अपने इर्द-गिर्द तक ही सीमित नहीं रहे बल्कि समूचे देश

तक सीमित हो जाये और इस देश के हर एक माधारण से साधारण व्यक्ति तक पहुँच जाये, इसे जब तक इनने विस्तृत समाज में ले जाने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हमारे देश की एकता बनी नहीं रह सकती।

यह एक बहुत ही बड़ा काम है, असाधारण काम है, साधारण रूप से चल नहीं सकता है। यह गवर्नमेंट ही नहीं कर सकती बल्कि दूसरे लोगों को यह काम ज्यादा से ज्यादा करना चाहिये। मैं गृह मन्त्री से खाम तार पर कहूँगा कि इस कार्य को देखें—यद्यपि यह कहा गया है कि यह सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट की ड्यूटी है, लेकिन सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट की ड्यूटी यह है कि हजारों सार्वजनिक सम्थाओं को, सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ताओं को प्रोत्साहन देकर यह कार्य आप कराये तो यह बहुत आसानी से होगा, लेकिन आप अपनी तरफ से अफसरों को भेज कर यह काम कराने की कोशिश करेंगे तो एक जगह से यह पुकार उठेगी कि सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट द्वारा हमारे ऊपर यह भाषा थोपी जा रही है। भाषा थोपी कहाँ जा रही है? यह कहाँ जा रहा है कि हम लोगो ने हिन्दी को अपने देश की राजभाषा मान लियी, सर्व-साधारण की भाषा मान लिया आम भाषा मान लिया, लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि कुछ राज्य ऐसे भी हैं कि जो उसको वालंटरी तौर पर पढ़ाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उसे कम्पलसरी नहीं बनाना चाहते हैं। हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि कम्पलसरी न बनाने का क्या खयाल है—जबकि हमने मान लिया है कि यूनियन के हम नागरिक हैं, उनके साथ मिले रहना चाहते हैं और हम यहाँ पर पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्स भेजना चाहते हैं जब ऐसा मानते हैं कि समूचा देश एक है, तो इतना होते हुए हिन्दुस्तान की भाषाओं को जोड़ने की जो कड़ी हो सकती है उसको अगर वह सीखना नहीं चाहे, उसको अलग रखना चाहे, तो देश के साथ किन द्रोह करते हैं, कितना अन्याय करते हैं उसका वह देखते नहीं हैं। पता नहीं कि इसमें पार्लियामेंट किस तरीके की है जो कि वहाँ के नागरिकों को

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

नुकसान पहुँचाने के लिये है—हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है ? इसलिये ऐसे लोगों के चंगुल में साधारण से साधारण नागरिक न फंसे इसके लिये अधिक से अधिक प्रचार करने की आवश्यकता है । अब वहाँ पर सार्वजनिक तौर पर जो कार्य हो रहा है उसके कार्य करने वालों में यह ताकत नहीं है कि वहाँ की पालिटिक्स के साथ वे लड़ सकें, अगर वे लड़ें तो बहुत मुश्किल है कि वे खुद तबाह हो जायेंगे इसलिये यहाँ मेट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट की यानी केन्द्रीय सरकार की शक्ति की आवश्यकता है और वह शक्ति जैसा कि मैं देख रहा हूँ आज के गृह मन्त्री में है—उनमें वह सारा विवेक है, सारी ताकत है, उनका इसके प्रति प्रेम है, सतुलन है और उसको आगे बढ़ाने की शक्ति है और खुशकिस्मती से वह इस भाषा को बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं, इससे ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की सभी भाषाओं में उनको प्रेम है । इस दृष्टि में मैं आशा रखता हूँ कि आगे के तीन चार साल में ही हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसी योजना बनाई जायेगी जिससे कि हमारे देश की भाषाओं का एक बहुत ही अच्छा उपयोग हमारे सार्वजनिक कार्यों में हो सकेगा और हिन्दी जो हमारी सहयोगी भाषा है वह बहुत अच्छी तरह से चल सकेगी ।

अब इसमें जो अलग अलग चीजें दी गई हैं जो कि लाइयरो के हाथ में हैं उसके बारे में उन्होंने बातचीत की है, मेरा काम तो हिन्दी को फैला करके उसको अगले दस साल में इस योग्य बनाना है कि फिर हमारे सामने सरकार कोई ऐसा बिल न लाये और इसमें "मे" होना चाहिये या "शैल" होना चाहिये इस तरह की चीजों के ऊपर बहस करने का कोई मौका न आये—ऐसा मैं विश्वास रखता हूँ ।

उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपका बहुत शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना टाइम दिया ।

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI (Madras):
Madam, while I was hearing the lucid

explanation offered by the Home Minister, I was almost convinced of his ability in tight-rope walking. He has tried to present the present Bill as the best convenient measure that could be thought of under the present circumstances and he has made it also appear to be as harmless as possible, but permit me to say that after the clarification offered by the Home Minister here and elsewhere, I stand unconvinced. I rise to oppose this Bill, conscious of course of the numerical factor—the political arithmetic working in this Assembly but I think apart from political arithmetic, this august House will pay some attention to political ethics and democratic liberalism, for democracy does not merely mean majority rule but it means fundamentally, also recognising, sanctifying and safeguarding minority rights and even minority sentiments. That is why I think—even though I am almost alone or, if I may take my colleague Prof. Ruthnaswamy along with me—I cannot find any other support in any part here. The Home Minister has stated that we in the opposition side strike at one another. This is a problem wherein everybody else strikes at me and yet I think I would be failing in my duty if I did not present what I feel sincerely before this august assembly. Therefore it is that I say that I am thoroughly dissatisfied with the present Bill. I am dissatisfied with the present Bill because it does not satisfy the sentimental objection raised to Hindi being made the official language and that sentimental objection comes not from a small part of India but from the southern side of India as a whole. Of course, my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, especially today he wanted to drive out English and, therefore, he was very harsh in presenting English, even the romantic characters of Shakespeare like Romeo and Juliet were presented in a very harsh manner, but let me remind him that I am proud of Tamil and I am not as proud of English as I am of Tamil and in my State Tamil is the

official language. Mr. Gupta's friends ought to have informed him that I make English speeches only here and in my State I speak in Tamil. I speak and write in Tamil in my State. Though it is run by the Congress, as far as language is concerned, they have made Tamil as the official language and they made Tamil also the medium of instruction in higher classes. I would very much like my friend, Mr. Gupta, to influence his Government as I have to a certain extent influenced my Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sorry, I cannot.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: I sympathise for his inability but I would like to tell him that I plead for English, I speak for English not because I am enamoured, not because I think English ought to be given a higher place than my own mother tongue but I plead for English just because it is the most convenient tool, it is the most convenient medium which distributes advantages or disadvantages even. Very many arguments have been advanced to say that India has got to have a common language and if that base is accepted, one of the Indian languages alone can become the common language. Nobody doubts if India is a unitary State this argument is logical. India is a federal State, Indian society is plural, our political system is composite and in a plural society and a composite political system, to plead for a single common language will, I think, create injustice unawares, create handicaps unawares to some section of the society. That is why the rudimentary principle—nobody can misunderstand that and nobody need offer more explanation for having a common language—becomes impracticable. India is not a country. India consists of various ethnic groups, India consists of various language groups and India has been termed very correctly as a sub-continent and therefore it is that we are not able to find out that common working medium as far as official language is

concerned. Even today my hon. friends of the Congress would forgive me for saying that the Congress has presented and the Government has accepted two National Anthems, Vande Mataram and Jana Gana Mana. Neither of these two National Anthems are of Hindi language. They come, just as my friend, Mr. Gupta, comes, from Bengal. That shows that whatever may be the claim that the hon. Home Minister may make that Hindi has progressed very much, how can I be compensated when I am told that Hindi is becoming progressive when I have got a language five thousand years old and when I am not able to make that language the official language of India?

I will say that of all the languages, barring Sanskrit which has become a dead language, Tamil consists of literature that goes back to five thousand years. I may tell, Madam Deputy Chairman, for the information of the House that the President is going over to our part of the country to release the English edition of the ancient Tamil work TOLKAPPIYAM. TOLKAPPIYAM is a grammatical work written more than three thousand years ago. We possess such an inheritance. Let not my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, feel that we are acting like some toadies and, therefore, we want English. No. He has stated that he pleads for Hindi and he wants Hindi to become the national language and official language and yet he did not attempt to learn Hindi and speak in Hindi.

Shri BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not have the time.

Shri C. N. ANNADURAI: But he had time to learn Das Capital; he had time to learn the underlying difference between Russian Communism and Chinese Communism. He has had time for reading everything except Hindi and yet he spoke for Hindi here and had a dig at others saying that Shri C. Rajagopalachari said something at a big meeting. It was not so awkward as he has presented. I sat by his side when he addressed the meeting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I read out "The Hindu". I did not know what he said. I read from "The Hindu."

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: For his edification I would, with your permission, Madam Deputy Chairman, read out . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: On a point of order, Madam. Is conversation between two Members allowed?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is why I am asking Mr. Gupta not to interrupt.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: He was saying, Madam Deputy Chairman, while I was sitting beside him:

"Because of the Hindi question there is estrangement between myself and my old friends and because of the language question my inveterate enemy, the DMK, is sitting by my side."

This is what he said and he asked the audience to draw the lesson by saying,

"Here you find an example of language dividing and language uniting".

He said, "English is uniting and Hindi is dividing". He presented it in such a manner.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There you are.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: Therefore, if Mr. C. Rajagopalachari or anybody of his way of thinking pleads for English, it is not because they are enamoured of it or they are not enamoured of their own mother tongue. The Home Minister was very sincere when he dealt with the two grammatical phrases "may" and "shall" and he said that they are capable of two interpretations. After modestly saying that he was not a lawyer, not well-versed in law, he said, the word "may" is capable of two interpretations and he also stated a very dangerous political principle. He said that the Bill or any law passed by any Government will be effective and fruitful only when we know who implements it

and how it is implemented. This is the worst part of this Bill. Any law should be so easy of interpretation, not of double interpretation, any law should be workable not only by august individuals like the Home Minister but even by ordinary political people who are to come after him. If the Home Minister were to assure me that everything will be all right if the Act is simply implemented properly, I will have the fullest confidence in Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri but may I ask if Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri is going to be here for all times to come? Should he not become the President of India? Therefore, just to say, "Well, look at me. I am here and I will implement it properly . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If he becomes the President of India, he gets more powers.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Please do not interrupt.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to the whole speech.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: This is a running commentary.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: That is the highest compliment that an opposition party can pay to the ruling party and he deserves it. And therefore I say that any law should not be left to the vagaries of future Governments.

Another dangerous thing that the Home Minister stated was this. While we were discussing this, he said there were the courts to decide. Madam Deputy Chairman, if every Act is to be taken to the court and if for the implementation of every Act we have to be at the beck and call of courts and judgments, if we have to rely on the lawyers and the judges—and the Home Minister has made very pungent remarks; we know that the lawyers differ, the judges differ—where is the certainty? Why do you enact such an imperfect Bill throwing us to the wolves, asking us to go to the courts to know the real meaning or the judicial meaning of the simple word 'may'? The Home

Minister has stated that if 'may' is replaced by 'shall' there may arise so many difficulties. Difficulties do arise but the Law Department remains there to ease out the difficulties and present a Bill acceptable to all. I do not think that the Law Department which is able to prepare Bills every week even curtailing Fundamental Rights, is too poverty-stricken in ideas and inefficient to present a perfect Bill. Therefore on the face of it and on the interpretation offered by the Home Minister himself, I think that the Bill is imperfect.

Another very curious thing, the Home Minister was saying. Of course he presented it in a very sweet manner. He said, 'I went to Madras to the Hindi Prachar Sabha Convocation and when I met thousands of graduates there I was wondering whether I should address them in English and they said, speak in Hindi.' Is it any wonder, Madam Deputy Chairman, for the Home Minister to address in Hindi in a Hindi Convocation. To whom does it do credit? The amazing part of it is that the Home Minister was doubtful whether Hindi would be understood there in the Hindi Prachar Sabha Convocation. He was doubtful whether Hindi would be understood and that is why he enquired there in what language he should speak. Therefore let us not fall in for such things. I would request the Home Minister to leave such funny things to younger people and present more cogent, more logical and more responsible arguments in support of the Bill.

Now, I would like to deal with this question under three or four broad headings—the problem of language during the Constituent Assembly proceedings, the experience gained during these 15 years; thirdly we should take into consideration the Prime Minister's assurance and fourthly we should find out whether this Bill gives effect to that assurance of the Prime Minister.

First of all, let us take the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. Now, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta,

was proving here that English can never be the official language because it is a foreign language and only Hindi can be the official language and he said there are only a handful of people, toadies and lackeys . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I gave the percentage.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: You just go through your speech later.

. . . who question Hindi and plead for English. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have got here the remarks made on the floor of the Constituent Assembly by Mr. B. Das of Orissa. He accepted Hindi. After accepting Hindi he has stated,—

"But that does not mean that we have no apprehensions, we have no suspicions, we have no fears. The fears and suspicions that we harbour today were harboured by us till a couple of years ago when officialdom was manned by the English. When the Civil Service examinations were held in London naturally the Englishmen preponderated in the Service. Now that the Civil Service and other examinations are being held in Delhi naturally hereafter the Hindi-speaking province . . .

Madam, Mr. Das was very prophetic.

"...I am not talking of the immediate future but 15 years hence—the people of the Hindi-speaking provinces such as U.P. and C.P. will preponderate in the Civil and other Services."

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): He had been proved wrong. The U.P. people get the least number of places in the Services now 15 years after independence and Madras gets the largest because of your dear English.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is the Governor of Uttar Pradesh now.

AN HON. MEMBER Not he, he is another person

SHRI C N ANNADURAI I thought that a close friend of the Congress will understand who this B Das was. This is another person who was a Member of the Constituent Assembly. Then another Member, Dr Subbarayan, also pleaded for the retention of English or alternatively he pleaded for Hindustani with Roman script. I am pointing this out because the language clause introduced in the Constitution, though it may be an agreed solution, was at best a compromise and in all compromises we have got every legitimate right for a reappraisal and rethinking. My friend was saying that as far as Hindi was concerned it was a settled fact that Hindi is to become the official language in 1965 and nobody could question it. No, Sir. That is not the case, because our Constitution is flexible, our political system is democratic and we have got every right to amend the Constitution and we are adepts in amending the Constitution.

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

We are amending the Constitution for the sixteenth time and I would plead for a reappraisal of the language issue and ask this august House to inform the Government that instead of allowing this bitterness to grow, this rancour to continue, instead of two camps being created artificially, they should take up a reappraisal of the language question and keep till that time the *status quo*. If that is done, I would be perfectly satisfied with the motives of the Government. Were not alternatives offered to the Home Minister by his own party men at the party conclaves? Were all the members of the Congress Party fully satisfied with the Bill? Did it not need the entire cajoling of the Home Minister and the persuasion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister, to coax them? Am I divulging any secret when I say that? Did it not appear in all the papers? Were the Congress MPs from the southern

States satisfied? Did they not fight for the word 'shall'? Did they not fight for the deletion of the clause relating to the Reviewing Committee? What was offered to them? Of course, I do not have personal contact with the Home Minister but even from a distance he is a charming man and to his party people he ought to be very charming. Therefore he had a charming way of dispelling their suspicions but the problem is not their suspicions. The people suspect the motives behind this Bill. It may be argued that 42 per cent of the people . . . (*Time bell rings*.)

PROF M B LAL (Uttar Pradesh). He should be given more time.

SHRI N M ANWAR. He must be given more time.

HON MEMBERS Yes he must be given time.

SHRI C N ANNADURAI It was stated that Hindi has got the claim to become the official language because it was spoken by 42 per cent of the population. If this 42 per cent were to be scattered throughout the length and breadth of India the argument would be logical and it would be ethical also but this 42 per cent is concentrated in compact and contiguous areas. It is not spread over. Therefore if 42 per cent is taken into consideration you are conferring a permanent perennial advantage on a compact and contiguous area in India and conversely permanent disadvantage to other areas. And therefore, it is that this 42 per cent cannot be taken into consideration. If Hindi were to be spoken throughout India even by 20 per cent of the people then we can say that of all the languages Hindi is known from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Twenty per cent of our population do know Hindi and therefore, let Hindi become the official language. I can understand it though I cannot support it. I can understand the logic behind it. But what is the logic behind presenting this 42 per cent in a compact area of UP, Bihar, Rajas-

than and Madhya Pradesh as an argument. It was Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari who once said India, that is Bharat, that is U.P.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Shri Shyama Prasad Mookerjee said that.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: Shri Shyama Prasad Mookerji said it and T. T. K. repeated it once. I distinctly remember it. It first emanated from Bengal. All revolutionary thoughts emanate from Bengal.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR (Nominated): You are repeating both of them.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: Just because the elders are keeping quiet I have to do it. Therefore, the 42 per cent. entrenched in a compact area cannot be taken as an index of ethical majority. It is merely an arithmetical majority. Therefore it is that I say that Hindi has no claim to become the official language. As the Home Minister was saying, we have had linguistic States working in full harmony. We have developed our regional languages. We do not even call them regional languages. We call them the national languages. In my State Tamil is the national language and it is the official language. Each of these national or linguistic States is developing in its own way. I would very much request Members of this House to come along with me and note the present political situation and find out whether your official language problem fits in. Here you have got linguistic States fully conscious of their nationalism. They are developing their national languages. Just as they are developing their national language, Telugu in Andhra, Malayalam in Kerala and Tamil in Tamil Nad, so also in U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and other places, they have got every right to develop Hindi as their national language, as the official lan-

guage there. I found from the papers that in Punjab, which is considered to be bilingual—Hindi and Punjabi—the Leader of the House was saying some days back that he found great difficulties in making Hindi become the official language there. Therefore, I would request, I would plead with Hindi States to make their language their State official language. Work it out and make it acceptable to everyone else, if they want it.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: What is your solution to the problem of a common language for the whole of India?

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: Maybe my solution to the problem is negative, not positive. I will present it in this way. Keep the *status quo* by amending the Constitution. Let there be a solution not necessarily by us. We are not the last scions of India. Perhaps we are more confused. We have got more political rancour. In future times a proper solution may be arrived at. Therefore, let us not seal it. Let us have the *status quo* maintained by an amendment of the Constitution. I do not say it is my solution. It is my request, it is my pleading and I would say that on a solution of this issue depends the entire political future of South India, especially Tamil Nad.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Why not the Hague Court?

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: I know I am facing the Home Minister and in facing him I say as a Gandhian he should give me the right of protesting against what I consider to be evil and unjust. I am prepared to take any consequence, and I am not alone in Tamil Nad. And therefore it is that I would say; Respect the feelings of people who have got a hoary language, who think that by the imposition of Hindi as the official language there will be political rancour.

Well, arguments are advanced that English is a foreign language. Again.

[Shri C. N. Annadurai.]

I give an example which may perhaps irritate my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. In the United States of America, only 20 per cent. of the people went from the British Isles. Of the 80 per cent. of people, some of them went from Spain, some from Portugal, some from Italy and other European countries. Yet America has chosen English as the official language. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, smiles: "Oh, that Anglo-American conspiracy." We are well aware of it. Yet I would say that Americans have got as much self-respect as we have got. Then, they thought that if they could adopt English as the official language, they could convey the sentiments of so many people. Again, I would give another classical example. Ireland was fighting England, as ferociously, as if not more ferociously than, the Congress fought the British. In Ireland De Valera said: "If we are given the option whether we want Ireland or the Gaelic language, I would give up Ireland and I would keep the Gaelic language." When Ireland became free, the Irish Parliament met and decided that Gaelic should be the official language and along with it English should be the official language as well. After all, we do not have any rancour or hatred towards the Britishers. We happen to be members of the Commonwealth, though my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, would like India to be in some other group. Fortunately or unfortunately India is a member of the Commonwealth. You can remain in the Commonwealth. You can use all technology. You can look at the world through the window of English, but English is a foreign language. It will be considered to be derogatory to us if the Britishers were to remain here and say, take it. Then, we will have to resist it. But now there is no question of imposition of English by the British. As a matter of fact, as my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, said, the Britishers would very much like English to get out of India be-

cause of the low standard of English here. Therefore it is not as if there is any imposition of an alien language by an alien power. We ourselves, for the sake of convenience, for the sake of expediency, because of the force of circumstances, are asked to choose this medium, which happens to be foreign to U.P., foreign to Madhya Pradesh, foreign to Tamil Nad, foreign to Andhra and, therefore, the advantages or disadvantages are evenly distributed.

Now, suppose Hindi becomes the official language. The Prime Minister has been saying that Hindi should be simplified. If a language becomes the national language, take it from me, from my experience of the working of the Tamil language, the pressure will be to make it more and more pure and not more and more simple. You can never simplify the language after making it official or national. If you come to our part of the country, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you will find new words taken from the old vocabulary of Tamil. In the case of Tamil mixed with Sanskrit, the mixture has been taken out and there is purity of language there. That alone will happen in Hindi States. When that happens and when we are asked to learn simple Hindi, is it not a handicap race? For Hindi knowing people in Hindi States, Hindi is the mother-tongue, Hindi is the State official language. Hindi is the medium of instruction and Hindi is the Union official language.

How many advantages have they got? How many disadvantages have you put on us? Hindi is not our mother-tongue, though if we learn Hindi, we can speak as our esteemed friend, Shri Satyanarayana.

PROF. M. B. LAL: You are sure of that.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: I am coming to that. You want curios in North India. That is to say, however efficient, however proficient we may become in any language, unless it is our

mother—tongue, it cannot offer us advantages as that language would offer to members of that group, and that is why we say that behind this Language Bill there is the political problem. You may not be aware of it. The hon. Minister has stated at the fag end of his speech that there is no ulterior motive. There cannot be ulterior motive when such gentlemen are handling such things. But I say, whether you have a motive or not, the consequence will be that. The consequence of the imposition of Hindi as the official language will create a definite, permanent and sickening advantage to the Hindi-speaking States. That was what was stated by Shri B. Das of Orissa in the Constituent Assembly, by Dr. Subbarayan and by very many others. And even in the Rajya Sabha some years back when an allied question was discussed, my hon. friend, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar, raised his voice of warning. Therefore, do not think that it is merely confined to the D.M.K. In this problem the D.M.K. occupies only a very small place. It depends upon the future of this Bill whether the D.M.K. is to occupy a greater sphere or occupy the same sphere. But let me tell this House through you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, with all respect that if Hindi is imposed as the official language, the D.M.K. will unfold its relentless fight, its relentless agitation against this imposition of Hindi whatever be the consequences.

The other day I heard the Home Minister saying. "During the emergency the Parliament is empowering me to take what action I like". I am aware of it and being cognisant of it my conscience will not permit me to keep quiet if this imposition of Hindi were to become a fact. The entire South will revolt against this. When I say the entire South, I know that there are Andhra's Malayalees and others who will say: "No, no. We are not with you." I am aware of that. But those people who understand the significance of the Hindi menace and those people who realise the conse-

quences of the Hindi menace, they are with me.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Madras minorities are with you.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: It is simply because I am in a minority I am pleading. If I had been in a majority, I would have carried the day. Therefore, it is not an accusation. Because you are saying that, I have to point out that the Congress Party itself controls power not because it is in the majority, but it controls power through minority votes.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Largest single block of votes.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: The Congress Party got during the last elections 72 per cent. of the seats in the Lok Sabha on an aggregate poll of 45 per cent of the votes in its favour, whereas the opposition groups got 28 per cent. of the seats despite that fact that they polled 55 per cent. of the votes. (Interruption) Please do not provoke me into presenting these stark realities. Therefore, I would say that it is not a question of majority or minority. It is a question of justice and freedom, it is a question of consultation and concord, it is a question of amity and affection or animosity. You will have to decide it in that way and not through numbers. Therefore, it is that I say I request the Home Minister, though the Bill is passed by the Lok Sabha, to withdraw the Bill, to take the Prime Minister's assurance into his consideration, and that is the last item that I want to press upon him.

What is the Prime Minister's assurance? Before saying what the Prime Minister assured, I would ask the Home Minister to go into the genesis of that assurance—why was it given, when was it given, how was it given and to whom was it given. A Prime Minister of a State will not go on giving assurances to anybody at any time. An assurance from the Prime Minister becomes necessary because he finds a

[Shri C. N. Annadurai.]

sort of political atmosphere in the country that needs soothing, that needs assuaging, and it was at that time that the Prime Minister had come forward to dispel our apprehensions. He stated that English would continue as the associate official language. Why not we include the words "associate official language"? Well, somebody may ask: "Are you not satisfied with the title? It is official languages". But if I were to be satisfied with the title, my friend, Mr. Vajpayee, would be dissatisfied because it is official languages and not official language. Therefore, I have got nothing against Mr. Vajpayee. I can understand his words, and as a matter of fact in politics as well as in other things extremes can understand extremes. It is only the mixtures that create difficulty. My friend, Mr. Vajpayee, is swearing by Hindi. I appreciate his courage. I wish my State also contains as many Vajpayees as possible. He is fighting for his language, fighting not only for his language to become the State official language but to become the all-India official language, and if my friend, Mr. Vajpayee, were to be given full scope, he would make it even a world language. I like him very much for that. But what the Congress Government has done is this. They on the one hand went on encouraging the Hindi people, and on the other hand they went on giving confidence to us also. Wherever there were occasions to meet people who wanted Hindi as official language they said: "Do not be afraid. Let 1965 dawn, Hindi will become the official language", and Shri Vajpayee was thoroughly satisfied. That is why the present Bill dissatisfies him, because another ten years' lease of life is given to English and he turns round and asks: "Where is my Hindi?" You have given rich assurances to us. You have stated that English will remain as an associate language indefinitely. The word "indefinitely" was explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this way: "As long as you want, as long as the non-Hindi people want; and I

will leave the entire question to be decided not by Hindi-knowing people but by non-Hindi-knowing people." Now by giving assurances to us and by encouraging men of Mr. Vajpayee's persuasion you are creating unnecessary rancour between myself and Mr. Vajpayee. If you are to allow Mr. Vajpayee to develop Hindi in his U.P. and if you are to allow English to be the link between me and Mr. Vajpayee, I could not get a better friend than Mr. Vajpayee. Therefore, I think that through this Bill you are creating political rancour, and so the Prime Minister's assurance has not been carried out through this Bill. Of course clause by clause people argue. Well, the Prime Minister stated that English would continue. English continues: How? Not as an associate official language along with Hindi, but for some purposes which the Government will decide. But the Prime Minister has stated that English will remain as an associate official language, and if the Prime Minister's assurance is to be fully carried out, I would request the Home Minister to drop this Bill, gird up his loins, take the consequences that may arise out of it because they are courageous people, and bring forward an amendment of the Constitution maintaining the *status quo*, that is keeping English as the official language. Please do not think that because it is foreign we should discard it. This is the age of getting know-how and technical assistance from any country that gives them and therefore, let it be the technical assistance that the English people have given to us or handed over to us till, as my hon. friend here put it, a permanent solution is thought of in a calmer mood perhaps by people who come after. Therefore, it is that I would very much request the Home Minister to drop this Bill, because I may tell him that the moment this Bill was discussed, the calm atmosphere in South India had been disturbed. Everywhere, in every town, in Tamil Nad, you can find two groups discussing this problem, discussing it not in an amicable way, but discussing it with political rancour. And when

the Home Minister has stated that the enemy is there to be driven out, is it the proper time to create such a discord? Is it the proper time for disturbing the political concord and political climate? As a sagacious statesman, the Home Minister should look into the matter and drop this Bill, amend the Constitution, keep English as the official language till the non-Hindi-speaking people decide about it. When I am saying this, I am not being ludicrous because a member of the Planning Commission, Shri Shriman Narayan, has stated only last week that the non-Hindi-people only should decide the question. And another member of the Congress Party itself, in a meeting presided over, I think, by the Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, was kind enough to say—I remember to have read his name as Mr. Misra—only last week that a blank cheque should be given to the non-Hindi people, let them write the dead-line. That is political magnanimity, that is political sagacity. And through this Bill, the political sagacity and statesmanship expected of you is being thwarted and you are driving a wedge into the calm political atmosphere and the united outlook that you have created during the one year and more. Therefore, with a lone voice, though it might be as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta stated, a noisy voice, I would plead with the Home Minister to consider this as the feeling of the official representative of the D.M.K. and the unofficial emissary of the non-Hindi States of the South, those people who understand the menace of Hindi and its consequences. Therefore, I plead before the Home Minister for a reappraisal of the language issue, pending that reappraisal, for an amendment of the Constitution, for maintaining the *status quo* and keeping English as the official language.

Thank you.

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय श्री अण्णादुरे साहब का भाषण इस बात की दलील है कि सरकार को इतना कमजोर विधेयक क्यों

लाना पड़ा और वही भाषण इस बात की भी दलील है कि इतना कमजोर विधेयक लाने पर भी शास्त्री जी लोकप्रिय कैसे हो गये। अतिवादियों के बीच से चलने वाले आदमी का यही हालत होती है।

“जाहदे तंग-नजर ने मुझे काफिर समझा,
और काफिर यह समझता है मुसलमान हूँ मैं।”

अण्णादुरे साहब ने जितनी बातें कही हैं उनमें से एक भी बात ऐसी नहीं थी जो हम लोगों ने पहले नहीं सुनी हों। संविधान परिषद् के सामने ये सारी बातें आई थीं। खैर, संविधान परिषद् में तो मैं नहीं था, राजभाषा आयोग के साथ देश का दौरा करने का थोड़ा मौका मुझे मिला है। उस दौर के सिलसिले में ये सारी दलीलें, ये सारे तर्क हमने सुने और जब विचार किया जाने लगा, जब विचार के बाद भी इन सारी बातों को सोच समझ कर हमें इस निष्कर्ष पर आना पड़ा कि हिन्दी को छोड़ कर इस देश के सामने और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। अब एक बात है कि हिन्दी का समर्थन हिन्दी भाषी करें इसमें पूरी शोभा नहीं है। पटना में या लखनऊ में हिन्दी के लिये अगर मैं जोर से बोलू तो उसमें कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है, लेकिन संसद् में चौदह भाषाएं हैं। यहां हिन्दो का पक्ष समर्थन करने के लिये जब हिन्दी वाला खड़ा होता है, तब उसकी आत्मा में एक संकोच पैदा होता है। मगर, जो वस्तु-स्थिति है वह यह है कि देश में जब जब भाषा का विवाद छिड़ता है, हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे बिना नहीं रह सकते कि हिन्दी इस देश के लिये अनिवार्य है। ऐसे लोग देश में हैं जो देश की एकता तो चाहते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दी के लिये जिनके भीतर कोई खास उत्साह नहीं है। ऐसे लोग भी जब भाषा के सवाल पर विचार करने लगते हैं तब उनका यही मत बनता है कि अंततोगत्वा, देर या अंबेर, हिन्दी को जोड़ने वाली भाषा के रूप में स्वीकार करना ही पड़ेगा।

[प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

इस स्वाभाविक प्रक्रिया के अपवाद केवल दो प्रकार के लोग हैं। एक तो वे लोग जो राष्ट्रीय एकता की गर्दन पर तलवार झुला कर अपनी राजनीति चलाते हैं। और दूसरे कुछ संप्रदायवादी लोग, जिनके प्रतीक श्री फ्रैंक एन्थनी हैं, जिन्हें हिन्दी केवल इसलिये नहीं सुहाती है कि हिन्दी के भीतर से उन्हें कोई ऐसी चीज उभरती दिखायी पड़ती है जिसे वे पसंद नहीं करते हैं, जिनको फिक्र सारे हिन्दुस्तान की कम, कुछ थोड़े से लोगों की ज्यादा है। मेरा ख्याल है, संविधान ने हिन्दी पर काफी बंदिशें लगा दी हैं और हिन्दी का स्वभाव भी जोड़ने वाला है, तोड़ने वाला नहीं है। राष्ट्र भाषा पद के लिए हिन्दी चुनी क्यों गई? इसी जोड़ने वाले गुण के कारण। मेरी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है। मेरी मां हिन्दी नहीं बोलती है, मैथिली बोलती है। टंडन जी की मां भी हिन्दी नहीं बोलती थीं, अवधी बोलती थीं। हिन्दी का एक लक्षण यह है कि मातृभाषा वाला लगाव हिन्दी के साथ बहुत कम लोगों का है। और जिन्होंने हिन्दी को मातृभाषा के ही समान प्यार करके अपना लिया है, उनकी संख्या ज्यादा है। अगर दिल्ली का तख्त नहीं टूटा होता और अगरवाले और मारवाड़ी बिहार की तरफ न भागे होते तो बिहार में हिन्दी उतनी जल्दी नहीं पहुंची होती।

हिन्दी का बहुत कुछ स्थान वही है जो पहले संस्कृत का था, संस्कृत मातृभाषा के रूप में बहुत कम जगहों पर चलती थी; इसीलिए वह देश भर की भाषा थी। चूंकि मातृभाषा वाला लगाव संस्कृत के साथ कम लोगों का था, इसलिये संस्कृत देश भर की भाषा बन गयी। मैं कहता हूं, हिन्दी का भी यही स्वभाव है। किसी अन्य भाषा को गाली दीजिए तो बड़ी लड़ाई पैदा हो जाय, लेकिन हिन्दी को लोग रोज ही गालियाँ देते हैं, और हिन्दी वाले चुप रहते हैं। यह नीति नहीं है, इस में कारण यह है कि मातृभाषा वाला हमारा राग हिन्दी के साथ नहीं है।

एक बात और है और वह यह कि राम मोहन राय से लेकर गांधी जी तक, पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी, देश के प्रत्येक भाग के नेता यह प्रस्ताव करते आये हैं कि हिन्दी का विकास अन्तः प्रांतीय प्रयोग के लिये किया जाये, लेकिन यह प्रस्ताव सूझा कैसे? इसलिये कि संस्कृत में एक विचित्र शक्ति है। मैं आपको डा० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी का मत बतला रहा हूं। संस्कृत ने उत्तर में कई भाषाएं पैदा कर दीं, लेकिन एक भाषा उसने ऐसी भी उत्पन्न की जो गुजरात से असम तक बिना सीखे भी टूटे-फूटे रूप में थोड़ी बहुत समझ ली जाती है। हिन्दी सीखे बिना भी उत्तर में हिन्दी से काम चल जाता है। भारत के अन्य किसी भाग में ऐसी भाषा नहीं पैदा हुई जो आस पास के सभी क्षेत्रों में समझी जा सके। इसीलिये नेताओं का ध्यान हिन्दी पर गया और पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी सारे देश ने उस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया है।

मेरा ख्याल है कि भाषा के मामले में अब वह अवस्था नहीं है कि हम उस पर हिन्दी की तरफ से या अंग्रेजी की तरफ से विचार करें। पन्द्रह वर्ष में सूखे में तैरने का अभ्यास हम लोगों ने बहुत किया किन्तु हिन्दी की प्रगति केन्द्रीय शासन में कहीं नहीं हुई। हाँ, हिन्दी के विकास के लिये कुछ थोड़ा काम हुआ है। मगर एक बड़ी बात, जो इन पन्द्रह वर्षों में घटित हो गई, वह यह है कि प्रादेशिक भाषाओं का जागरण बड़े जोर से हुआ है।

5 P.M.

जैसा कि सत्यनारायण जी ने कहा, इस देश में अभी ऐसी विधान सभाएं कम हैं जहाँ दो, तीन प्रतिशत से अधिक लोग अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं। देश में वयस्क मताधिकार प्रचलित है, इसलिए जनता के आदमी चुन कर सभाओं में आते हैं। उन्हें यदि अंग्रेजी में बोलने को कहिए तो अपनी बातों को छिपा कर रख लेंगे; क्योंकि अंग्रेजी में बोलना उनके लिए बहुत कठिन है। और इस पार्लियामेंट का क्या हाल है? आज अंग्रेजी भाषा की विलक्षणताओं को लेकर विवेचन चलता रहा। उसे दो चार कानूनदां

सदस्य ही समझ रहे थे। बाकी लोग केवल तमाशा देख रहे थे। विदेशी भाषा का यही पुरस्कार है।

तो स्वराज्य के बाद भारत में सबसे बड़ी घटना यह घटी है कि प्रादेशिक भाषा का जागरण, प्लावन की गति से होने लगा है और इस जागरण पर रोक न तो वाइस चान्सेलर्स लगा सकते हैं न शिक्षा शास्त्री लगा सकते हैं, न अंकुश उस पर भारत सरकार लगा सकती है। और अंकुश किसी को लगाना भी नहीं चाहिये क्योंकि यह स्वराज्य का परिणाम है, यह जनता के उठने की भावना का परिणाम है। जनता के भीतर जब उत्साह पैदा होगा तो वह उत्साह भाषाओं में जाकर प्रकट होगा। इसलिये भारत की सभी भाषाएं उठ रही हैं।

उस दिन लोक सभा में प्रधान मंत्री ने यह कहा कि कठिनाई यह है कि प्रादेशिक भाषाएं तो लगभग पहुंच गई, लेकिन लिंक भाषा का प्रचार नहीं हुआ है। यह दोष किसका है? भाषाओं का जागरण क्रान्तिकारी घटना है और जब कोई क्रान्तिकारी घटना घटित होती है तब उसका मुकाबिला भी क्रान्तिकारी ढंग से किया जाना चाहिये। जिस दिन सरकार ने भारतीय भाषाओं के लिये दरवाजा खोला, उसी दिन सरकार को इस बात के लिए तैयार होना था कि जितने दिनों में प्रादेशिक भाषाएं फैलती हैं उतने ही दिनों के भीतर कड़ी-भाषा के रूप में हिन्दी का भी प्रचार कर दिया जायेगा। लेकिन भारत सरकार का हाल कुमारी कुंती का हाल हो गया है। कुंती को एक ऋषि ने एक मंत्र सिखाया था कि इस मंत्र से जिस देवता को बुलाओगी वह चले आयेंगे। कुंती ने एक दिन सूरज का आह्वान किया और सूरज उसके कमरे में पहुंच गये। तब कुंती घबराने लगी। सरकार ने भी क्रांति का आह्वान तो कर दिया, क्रांति को न्योता तो दे दिया, लेकिन क्रांति आकर जब दरवाजे पर खड़ी हुई तब सरकार

घबरा रही है और उस घबराहट का प्रतिबिम्ब इस बिल पर भी पड़ा है। जितनी भी चतुराई से चलिये, सच्चाई की पकड़ से आप नहीं बच सकते। अतिवादी तरह तरह के होते हैं, लेकिन सच्चाई यह है कि देश का भविष्य फ्रेंक एंथानी के साथ नहीं है, वह सेठ गोविन्द दास के साथ है।

श्री ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद सिंह : उनके साथ भी नहीं है।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : भविष्य उनके साथ इसलिये है कि संयोजक भाषा जब भी आयेगी, वह हिन्दी ही होगी, अंग्रेजी नहीं।

एक चोर देश के मन में और चल रहा है। वह यह कि अगर प्रादेशिक भाषाओं प्रदेशों में आ गयीं, तब भी संयोजक भाषा के रूप में हम अंग्रेजी का प्रयोग करेंगे। Every language for itself and English for us all. यह सुझाव राजा जी ने भी दिया था। लेकिन सोचने की बात यह है कि अंग्रेजी का घरातल सारे देश में गिर रहा है। अब ग्रेजुएट और एम० ए० भी अपनी बात अंग्रेजी में नहीं कह सकते। द्विभाषी प्रणाली अब शुरू हो रही है और जो भी चाहे वह अंग्रेजी में अपना काम कर सकता है। लेकिन यह समस्या का समाधान नहीं है। मुश्किल यह है कि लिंक भाषा के रूप में अंग्रेजी को अगर हम कायम रखेंगे तो वह सिर्फ दफ्तरी एकता की भाषा होगी, शासकों और शासितों के बीच वह एकता पैदा नहीं करेगी। और माफ कीजिये, स्वराज्य के बाद भी यह एकता हमने पैदा नहीं की है। एक उभार या राष्ट्रीयता का जिसके कारण नेता अगर अंग्रेजी में बोले तब भी जनता उसे ऊपर उठा देती थी। अब वह बात नहीं चलती है। अगर चलती है तो जिस भाषा में नेता नोट लिखते हैं उसी में वोट मांग कर वे देख लें कि नतीजा क्या होता है। इसलिये आज दफ्तरी एकता की जो भाषा है, वह भाषा

[प्रो० रामयारी सिंह दिनकर]

राष्ट्रीय एकता की नहीं हो सकती। इसके विपरीत हिन्दी अगर टूटी फूटी भी चलेगी तो यह संभव है कि दक्षिण के लोग उत्तर में आकर लोगों के बीच अपनी बात समझा सकेंगे। अगर उत्तर के लोग भी चाहेंगे तो दक्षिण वालों को अपनी बात समझा आयेगे। इस प्रकार अखिल भारतीय दृष्टिकोण का निर्माण होगा, अखिल भारतीय व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण होगा, अखिल भारतीय नेतृत्व बना रहेगा। तब देश एक रहेगा।

मुझे श्री अण्णादुरै के भाषण के बाद इस विधेयक से अपना विरोध प्रकट करने में कुछ संकोच होने लगा है। लेकिन मुझे भी अपनी बात कहनी ही पड़ेगी और कोई उपाय नहीं है। जहां तक वर्तमान विधेयक का संबंध है, यह विधेयक ऐसा है जिसको देखकर न घी के दिये जलाये जा सकते हैं, न जिसका स्थापना ही किया जा सकता है। असल में जो लोग भाषा के सवाल को देश के सवाल से बड़ा मानते हैं उनकी राह इस विधेयक ने नहीं रोकी। अगर जिनकी नजर में देश पहले आता है और भाषा की बात बाद को आती है, उनके लिये इस विधेयक ने कठिनाई पैदा कर दी है। ऐसा लगता है कि दो कठिनाइयों के बीच में पड़ कर सरकार वह काम भी नहीं कर सकी जो उसकी नजर में जरूरी दिखलाई पड़ता था। देश में दो तीन सालों से जो आंदोलन चलता रहा है उसका प्रभाव इस बिल पर बहुत जोर से पड़ा है। हम लोग इस आशा में थे कि जैसा कि संविधान में आदेश है, अंग्रेजी के प्रयोग पर छोटा मोटा प्रतिबन्ध भी लगता चलेगा और १९६५ में आकर अगर सर्वत्र नहीं तो बहुत सी जगहों पर सिर्फ हिन्दी में काम चलने लगेगा। लेकिन वह स्थिति नहीं पहुंच सकी। इसकी सारी जवाबदेही हम अगर सरकार पर नहीं डालें तब भी बहुत अधिक जवाबदेही सरकार पर डालनी ही होगी।

लोक सभा ने बहुत बड़े बहुमत से इस विधेयक को पास कर दिया। इससे यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि संसद सदस्यों के हृदय में इस विधेयक के लिये बहुत बड़ा उत्साह है। असल में जिस शील का पालन सरकार ने नहीं किया, उस शील का पालन सदस्यों ने किया है। यह समय ऐसा नहीं था कि यह विधेयक लाया जाता। इसलिये सदस्यों ने अपनी आंतरिक पीड़ा छुपा ली और एकता को सामने रखकर माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को खुला रास्ता दे दिया। लेकिन शास्त्री जी विनम्रता के अवतार हैं, वे भाव प्रवण व्यक्ति हैं वे देश की भावना को समझते हैं। जब उनका विजय रथ लोक सभा से पारित हो रहा होगा, तब उन्होंने उस दर्द को भी देखा होगा, जिसने जवान नहीं खोली है उस वेदना को भी समझा होगा, जो सारी बहसों के बीच मूक और निर्वाक रही है। महत्व केवल उन्हीं बातों का नहीं है जो शब्दों में कही जाती हैं। महत्व उनका भी है जो कही जाने से छट जाती हैं। मुझे एक शेर याद आता है :

खमोशी का भरोसा करने वाले,
खमोशी दर्द की गम्माज भी है।

लेकिन वह दर्द कौन है, वह पीड़ा कौन है, इसका मैं थोड़ा इजहार करना चाहता हूँ।

इस दर्द की कहानी इस तरह शुरू होती है कि जो लोग राजभाषा आयोग के सदस्य थे उनको १९५६ में ही यह अन्देशा हो चला था कि १९६५ वाली अवधि शायद पूरी नहीं होगी। पीछे जब उसकी रिपोर्ट पर संसदीय समिति बैठी तो संसदीय समिति की रिपोर्ट से यह अन्देशा और भी पुष्ट हो गया। और जब अप्रैल, १९६० में राष्ट्रपति का आदेश जारी हुआ तब तो यह निश्चित हो गया कि अब अंग्रेजी की आयु बढ़ेगी। इस स्थिति के स्पष्ट होते ही सारे हिन्दी प्रांतों में एक खलबली मच गई। धीरे धीरे हिन्दी प्रांतों में एक मत पैदा हुआ कि अगर एक अवधि

असफल हो गई, तो दूसरी अवधि लगा देनी चाहिये। इस मत के समर्थन में काफी लोग थे, यद्यपि अतिवादी इसके साथ नहीं थे। और इस मत का समर्थन अहिन्दी प्रांतों में भी था; लेकिन सरकार इस मत को कबूल नहीं कर सकी। लिहाजा अब जो बिल आया है, अवधि के प्रसंग में, उससे अधिक से अधिक इतना ही अर्थ लिया जा सकता है कि १९७५ में अगर हिन्दी किसी प्रकार अंग्रेजी के समकक्ष लायी जा सके, तभी हम देश से यह अपील कर सकते हैं कि अब अंग्रेजी पर प्रतिबन्ध लगे या न लगे, इसका विचार करो। और अगर कहीं हिन्दी उस अवस्था में पहुँची ही नहीं (जिसकी घोर आशंका है) तो इस बिल के जरिये हम अंग्रेजी को निरवधि आयु दे रहे हैं, ऐसा मुझे लगता है।

यही वह जगह है जिसको मैं अपनी वेदना की जगह कहता हूँ। यही वह व्यूह है जिसमें से होकर अंग्रेजी अपने लिये स्थायी स्थान बनायेगी। यही वह बिन्दु है जिस पर संविधान के सभी भाषा विषयक मसूबे खारे में पड़ने वाले हैं। जब तक अंग्रेजी को हिन्दी की सौत बनने का कानूनी अधिकार नहीं था तब तक हिन्दी का भविष्य सुरक्षित था। एक बार यह अधिकार अगर अंग्रेजी को मिल गया तो यह संभव है कि हिन्दी कभी भी देश की प्रभावशालिनी राष्ट्र भाषा नहीं बन सके। और यह जाहिर है कि धारा ४ के जरिये, व्याजान्तर से हम अंग्रेजी को यह निरवधि आयु दे रहे हैं। यही कारण है कि जो लोग हिन्दी के हितैषी होते हुए भी इस बिल का समर्थन कर रहे हैं उनके भीतर एक बार यह भाव झाँकी मार जाता है कि, हो न हो, हिन्दी अपने पहले मोरचे की लड़ाई हार गई और इस बिल के स्वीकार कर लेने के बाद हमें पीछे हटकर किसी दूसरे मोरचे पर उसके लिये संघर्ष करना होगा।

मैं देश की सारी स्थिति को समझता हूँ। सरकार की विवशतायें क्या हैं, यह भी

मैं जानता हूँ। लेकिन इस स्थिति में एक चुनौती है जिसे हमें स्वीकार करना चाहिये। वह चुनौती यह है कि अभी भी दस बारह साल का समय हमारे पास है। अगर मजोर से काम करें तो हिन्दी को, अंग्रेजी चाहने वालों को कष्ट पहुँचाये बिना, उस स्थिति में हम ला सकते हैं जहाँ वह अंग्रेजी के समा-नांतर चल सके। लेकिन सरकार के पुर्जे इस तरह चलेंगे या नहीं, यह चिंतनीय विषय है।

असल में देश जिस कठिनाई में है, उस कठिनाई का कारण सरकार की अकर्मण्यता है। राजभाषा आयोग के जन्मे राष्ट्रपति ने यह काम सौंपा था कि तुम प्रोग्राम फेज आउट करो। हिन्दी कैसे चले, इसका कार्यक्रम बनाओ। यह १९५६ की बात है। लेकिन सरकार ने कार्यक्रम बनाने की कोई सामग्री आयोग को नहीं दी। निदान आयोग कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं बना सका। आयोग की रिपोर्ट में यह कहा गया कि यह कार्यक्रम सरकार को स्वयं बनाना चाहिये। तब भी सरकार ने कोई सुचिंतित योजना तैयार नहीं की। एक बार शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने कोई योजना निकाली थी जो केवल खानापूरी की बात थी। राजभाषा आयोग की सिफारिश थी कि हिन्दी की प्रगति की रिपोर्ट प्रति वर्ष पार्लियामेंट में आनी चाहिये। वह रिपोर्ट भी पार्लियामेंट में नहीं आयी, या एक दो बार आई भी तो उसमें शासन में हिन्दी की प्रगति की कोई सूचना नहीं थी। जब राजभाषा आयोग पर संसदीय समिति बनी तब संसदीय समिति ने भी इस पर जोर दिया कि हिन्दी शासन में कैसे दाखिल होगी, इसकी सुनिश्चित योजना बनायी जानी चाहिये। यह १९५८ की बात है। लेकिन यह योजना अब तक भी बनी है या नहीं, यह हममें से कोई नहीं जानता। सरकार की दीर्घसूत्रता का एक प्रमाण यह भी है कि संसदीय समिति की रिपोर्ट १९५८ में प्रकाशित हुई और राष्ट्रपति का आदेश उस पर अप्रैल, १९६० में

[श्री० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

निकला। और यह तो है ही कि राष्ट्रपति के आदेश में परीक्षादि में हिन्दी को लाने की जो बात थी वह अब तक भी काम में नहीं लाई गई। यह काम करने का सही तरीका नहीं है।

आज एक बहुत अच्छी बात हमने यह देखी कि मंत्रियों के धरातल पर हिन्दी के मामले में काफी एकता है। कृष्णमाचारी जी ने हिन्दी के विधेयक पर अपना मत दिया, यह एकता का प्रमाण है। आज मंत्रियों के स्तर पर जो एकता है, वही एकता अफसरों के स्तर पर भी होनी चाहिये। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि एक अफसर तो प्रस्ताव लेकर दौड़ता फिरे और बाकी लोग उसको बाधा पहुंचाये। अगर बाधा पहुंचती है तो उसे दूर करना चाहिये, क्योंकि हिन्दी का निर्णय संविधान का निर्णय है और संविधान के प्रति जिम्मेवारी एक आदमी की नहीं है, वह जिम्मेवारी हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी की है। धन्यवाद।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to lend my support to the Bill which has been moved by hon. the Home Minister. Though this Bill is a very short one, it is a very vital Bill and any decision that we might take on this Bill, and any opinion that we might express while discussing this Bill are likely to have far-reaching repercussions on the future of this country. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the question before us in a calm and dispassionate manner.

It is unfortunate that the appeal made by hon. the Home Minister that

this Bill should be discussed in a practical manner taking into consideration the realities that we are facing, the complicated nature of the problem that we are facing, has been ignored. There have been attempts on the part of some of the speakers, who spoke on this Bill, to take up a partisan attitude, an attitude based more on some of the principles that were held dear by them rather than in terms of the realities before us. There is no use ignoring the fact that the desire of our Constitution-makers was that within fifteen years after the Constitution came into force India would be in a position to solve the problem of official language and the various parts of the country, the various points of view that were expressed in the Constituent Assembly and the various views that were expressed then would be taken into account by the Government and by the people and serious attempts would be made to see that some solution could be found. The Bill, that is before us is really an admission of our failure to solve the problem of official language. It is true that this Bill does give a new life to English as the official language, and that too for an indefinite period. Why had we to do this when there was a general desire on the part of the Constitution-makers that on the 26th January 1965 Hindi shall be the official language? It was the wish of the Constitution-makers that on 26th January 1965 Hindi should be the official language and that wish of the Constitution-makers has not been fulfilled because of the fact that we were not able to make full use of the fifteen years that were available to us in order to find out an acceptable solution to the problems of the official language. During these last 15 years there has been a rapid progress of the regional languages including Hindi but Hindi has also developed more as a regional language than as a language which has spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and which has been made more acceptable during that period. We have to find out the reasons why it was not possible within the last 15

years to make Hindi a language acceptable to all the parts of the country. Where exactly have we failed, what exactly are the reasons which have been responsible for the failure on the part both of the Government and the people? This question is not something which was ignored by the country. Time and again this question had come up for active consideration at the highest level. Commissions were appointed to go into the problem. A Parliamentary Committee was appointed to go into this problem and in the innumerable discussions, seminars, meetings and discussions this question had come before the country. The various political parties had offered their own solutions and had advocated certain steps which ought to be taken in order to see that language became a cementing force rather than a dividing force in our country. My own Party has, on more than one occasion, made some concrete suggestions in this matter. It was suggested that there ought to be Language Institutes in all the principal cities of India wherein the various languages in the country could be studied and attempts might be made to find out how the form and shape of Hindi could be changed so that it became an acceptable language throughout the country. It was also suggested that there ought to be continuous exchange of students from one part of the country to another, specially with a view to finding out how the language problem could be solved by actual trial and error. It was suggested by us long ago that in the various universities in the country more than one Indian language should be taught so that again a cementing force could be built up and ultimately we may be in a position to find out how Hindi could be made a language acceptable throughout the length and breadth of the country. In spite of these various suggestions, in spite of these various discussions, unfortunately neither the Government nor the people of this country have succeeded in finding out a solution of this very thorny problem. As long we have not been able to find out a solution of this problem, it would

be unwise to impose any language as an official language throughout the length and breadth of the country. Shri Annadurai was quite right when he said that it is not just a question of political arithmetic, that there are other considerations involved. The 42 per cent. of Hindi-speaking people are living in compact and composite areas while Hindi is not so well known and the people have not been able to master Hindi in other parts of the country. If Hindi is suddenly made the sole official language throughout the length and breadth of India, then there would be certain difficulties regarding the transaction of official business and even carrying out discussions among the various States and between the State and the Centre and it would be difficult to find a language which is suitable for that purpose. In some of the States now we have the regional languages as the official languages and I have heard that these States are finding it very difficult at times to carry on any correspondence with the other States. The State from which I come, namely, the State of Gujarat, has accepted the regional language, Gujarati, as the official language. I was told by one very important officer in the State of Gujarat that when he is carrying on any correspondence with the State of Madras, he finds it very difficult to carry on the correspondence because of the fact that the only typewriter that he has in his office is a Gujarati typewriter. He addresses his letters in Gujarati to the office situated in Madras. There is no one in that office to understand the Gujarati language. Therefore the letters remain unanswered and some very important and vital functions of the State are held up for a very long time. Therefore the solution does not lie in making the regional languages as the State languages of the various parts of the country and then to leave the matter at that because we are a nation, we are a country in which the various parts are vitally inter-connected, problems are common, issues are common, and continuous correspondence is absolutely necessary. So we have to

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.]
find out some solution whereby this correspondence, this official business among the various States of the country and between the States and the Centre could also be carried out without any difficulty.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue on another day.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 3rd May 1963