

[Mr. Chairman]

elected to be a member of the said Committee.

THE EMPLOYEES' PROVIDENT FUNDS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1963

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES BILL, 1963—Continued

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Gujarat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while the House adjourned on Thursday, I was submitting that during the last twelve years after the Constitution came into force, the various regional languages, including Hindi, have made rapid progress and in many States these languages have become the official languages. While all the development is to be welcomed, it does not solve the problem of inter-State transactions as well as the transaction between the States and the Centre. It is this problem which we are still to solve. We have now got nearly 12 more years to discuss this question and to solve it, in case this Bill becomes law, and it becomes a regular statutory provision that after 10 years, another Committee might be appointed to go into the question of the official language. In that case, we have still got 12 more years and I think these 12 years should be utilised more energetically and more fruitfully than the past 12 years which we have not been able to utilise to the same extent. In this connection, we have to take certain steps on the expert

level because so far Hindi has not been accepted as a link language and has not even developed as a link language with the result that there is a lot of resistance on the part of the non-Hindi speaking areas regarding Hindi becoming the official language. It is only for the experts to find out how best Hindi can be made the link language and for that purpose, the suggestion perhaps that there ought to be language institutes in all the State capitals of India as well as in the important educational centres might be considered. We have got the testimony of Prof. Dinkar who has some authority to speak on this matter that Hindi can be made the link language, a language which can become acceptable to the whole country. This could become acceptable only if Hindi is able to absorb a large number of words from the South Indian languages including Tamil. These are not any fantastic ideas when one considers that Telugu, Malayalam and other South Indian languages have been able to absorb a large number of Sanskrit words, and if these languages that have not got their origin in Sanskrit, could easily adopt words from Sanskrit, I see no reason why it should not be possible for Hindi to accept and absorb a large number of words from the South Indian languages which have not got Sanskrit as their origin.

We have got also another glorious example of Urdu which has also been able to synthesise the rich Persian language and the languages of India and create a language of which Indian can justly be proud. We have got past precedents in the matter and if the experts really apply their minds to this problem and are determined to solve this problem, it can be solved on that level.

Then there is also the question of the political aspect which has to be taken into consideration. I am sure that even after the experts have evolved a language which can be acceptable to all the parties of the

country, there will be a political resistance to it. That was quite clear from the speech of Mr. Annadurai yesterday. His whole thesis seems to be that India is not a nation, India is not a country and in order to support that thesis, in order to emphasise this point of view perhaps he is carrying on this relentless fight against Hindi being accepted as an official language. It would be an additional argument for insisting that India is a sub-continent and is not a nation. This is purely a political question and we have to fight it on the political front. We have to carry on the propaganda in all parts of the country in favour of full integration of every part of our country into a nation and to insist that anyone who tries to come in the way of this complete integration of the various parts of the country into a nation will not be serving not only the cause of India but also of this part of Asia because in the modern world it is only by building up sound, strong, big nations that it will be possible for us to maintain peace and to work for prosperity of the people inhabiting this part of Asia. This has become quite clear from the developments elsewhere. We have the example of the attempts at Malaysia being brought into existence. We have the United Arab Republic also being born with a large number of States being part of that Republic. we have the Central American Union, we have the Western American Union, we have the South American Union. They are all attempts to integrate and not to disintegrate. Here also we have to see that this integration process goes on unhindered and we can help that process if we are in a position to build up a language acceptable to all.

Then there is also the question of realising the genuine difficulties of those who are not prepared at this stage to accept Hindi as the official language. We have to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards this point of view. It is no use bringing in the argument of 42 per cent. of people

speaking Hindi because as it has been rightly pointed out by Shri Annadurai yesterday, it is only in a compact area that the Hindi-speaking people are concentrated. In the non-Hindi-speaking areas, we find that perhaps English is better known than Hindi and even those who know Hindi, large numbers of them, know English also and are more at home in English than in Hindi. This is the practical reality which we cannot ignore and we have to take steps to see that a link language that might be evolved is really acceptable and becomes popular in all parts of the country. Apart from evolving a language, there is a political task of popularising that language and making it a part and parcel of the intellectual equipment of as many citizens in India as possible. In this case a special heavy responsibility rests on the protagonists of Hindi. They should not become impatient because of the resistance that is being offered by people who so far have found it difficult to master this language. They should adopt a sympathetic attitude and give a clear indication that the Prime Minister's assurance that Hindi will not be made the sole official language of India without the full consent of the non-Hindi-speaking area will be honoured and honoured fully. It is for the protagonists of Hindi to give this assurance and this clear indication. The Government has already given that assurance and the Home Minister was pleased to repeat that assurance in this House also, but apart from the Government assurance, it is necessary that the protagonists of Hindi should also give that assurance that they will go on carrying on propaganda, they will try to convince, they will try to facilitate the mastering of the Hindi language in all parts of the country. It is only after they have succeeded in winning over a large number of people who have not got any special political axe to grind in the matter but who have got genuine difficulties when they are opposing Hindi as the sole official language. It is only then will Hindi be accepted

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.]

as the sole official language. If that clear assurance is given by the protagonists of Hindi, it will be easier for everyone to create a sense of oneness, a sense of sympathetic understanding and genuine endeavour to spread a national language which is our own because, whatever we may say, English is a foreign language and cannot continue to be the official language for all time to come. In this connection, Sir, there is a very good provision in clause 6 of the Bill which is now under consideration in which it has been suggested that for certain purposes an authorised Hindi translation of State Acts would be made compulsory. Here we have got an actual machinery meaning that Bills which have been based in the regional languages will have to be translated into Hindi and if at the time these translations are undertaken, attempts are made to retain as many words as possible of the original regional language in the Hindi translation and thereby all these words are absorbed into Hindi, perhaps it will be easier for us to reach the goal in the quickest possible time.

Lastly, Sir, as long as we have not been able to reach the goal, it will be necessary and desirable that all the regional languages that I see are developing very fast are given some importance and status at the Centre also and here I wholeheartedly support the suggestion that arrangements should be made for simultaneous proceedings of the House in the fourteen national languages that have been included in the Schedule to our Constitution.

AN HON. MEMBER: Fourteen?

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: Yes, fourteen. Translation should not be at all difficult. It has been done in Moscow. There are simultaneous translations. I do not know what is the cost involved but it should be possible even in this country.

SHRI LALJI PENDSE (Maharashtra): Not only in Moscow but it is done in all international conferences.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: Yes, it is done in all international conferences.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruptions, please.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: He is only helping me, Sir, by giving some information. This is being done in all international conferences and I do not see why it should not be done here also. This will help in creating a better atmosphere and in creating better understanding among the various people speaking various languages and thereby giving a language which can become the link language. We may call it Hindi or by some other name but a new link language will have to be created out of the synthesis of the various languages in our country. It is only by that that we will be able to solve this problem.

[Shri Maithilisharan Gupta was allowed by the Chair to speak while sitting.]

श्री मैथिलीशरण गुप्त (नाम-निर्देशित):
सभापति महोदय, मैं इस विशेष कृपा के लिए
आपका अनुगृहीत हूँ। मैं अस्वस्थ नहीं होता
तो ऐसी धृष्टता नहीं करता। मैं पहले अंग्रेजी
के पक्षपातियों को, जिनकी विजय हुई है,
बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीराम

अंग्रेजी के पक्षपातियों,
लो अंग्रेजी बनी रही।
आप माननीयों के मन में,
जो अभीष्ट था, हुआ वही।
अपने ऐसे मतवालों के साथ,
पाइये सुख सन्तोष।
अवश आज हम हिन्दी भाषी
न दें देव को भी क्या दोष।
क्या स्वदेश का ऐक्य हमीं पर,
नहीं आप पर कुछ दायित्व ?
क्षमा कीजिये, तो फिर-

कैसे आवेगा उसमें स्थायित्व ।
 वह देशात्मभाव क्या,
 जिमसे करे विदेशी भाषा होड ।
 लोकतंत्र वह क्या,
 नगण्य हों जहा बीस-बाईस करोड़ ?
 जय शंकराचार्य, रामानुज,
 जय चैतन्य, राममोहन
 इसी धरा की कामधेनु से
 किया जिन्होंने दिव-दोहन ।
 आप उन्हीं की पुण्य-भूमि के
 जान हमारे चिर श्रद्धेय,
 विध्य-हिमालय, गंगा-यमुना,
 राम-कृष्ण ही है निज देय ।
 व्यापक हुई हमारी हिन्दी
 तो क्यों उम पर यों आक्रोश ?
 स्वयं आपकी भी है वह तो
 लेकर अपना धन-जन-कोश ।
 प्राप्त राष्ट्रभाषा के नाते
 उसका आप और सबसे
 स्वल्प पदों के पीछे फिर भी
 रहें उपेक्षित वह कब से ।
 शासन करे आप थोड़े में
 हम बहुतों पर जी भर के,
 बाट हृदय-परिवर्तन की
 हम हरेगे धोरज धर के ।
 भावुक हों अथवा बौद्धिक हों
 किन्तु जान रखें यह आप,
 अपने अनाचित्य पर सबको
 करना पड़ता है अनुताप ।
 पाया है हमने स्वराज्य,
 पर क्या स्वबोध हमें आया ?
 हम परावलम्बी है अब भी,
 ग्रहण गया, न गई छाया
 हो सकना है भला और क्या
 किसी अर्थ का यहां अनर्थ
 जाना था जिम अंगरेजी को
 वह आ गई मदा के अर्थ ।
 हम स्वदेश में भी विदेश की
 अनुकृति के अभिलाषी है ।
 अपनों के द्रोही निर्मोही
 घर-भावक पर-भाषी है ।

कैसे हम स्वाधीन हो गए,
 स्वयं हमीं को विस्मय है ।
 एक महामानव ही आकर
 दिला गया हमको जय है ।
 अंग्रेजों से बचा लिया है
 बापू ने धोरज के साथ,
 हंत न विकना पड़े अंत में
 हमको अंग्रेजों के हाथ ।
 जो कर देना नहीं चाहते
 उनको भी देना पड़ता ।
 तो हिन्दी के लिए उचित है
 क्या विधान का यह जड़ता ।
 निज विधि पूरी करवाने में
 शासन करना नहीं प्रमाद
 एकमात्र हिन्दी ही उसका
 सिद्ध हो रहा है अपवाद ।
 भाव उसी का नहीं,
 देश की सब भाषाओं का यह भंग
 फूल और फल सकती हैं
 वह अपनी बहनों के ही संग ।
 सच तो यह है यहा देश का
 बंदर-बांट उन्हीं को इष्ट,
 तुच्छ स्वार्थवग हिन्दी के प्रति
 जो है अमहनशील अशिष्ट ।
 मन का नहीं, मान का है
 यह प्रश्न हमारे लिए प्रधान,
 स्वयं विधान बना कर उससे
 मुकर जाये हम हा भगवान ।
 दे न मके विश्वास हमें जो
 क्या है उसका आश्वामन,
 पहले स्वयं प्रतिश्रुति देकर
 अप्रस्तुत है अब शासन ।
 हिन्दी का उद्देश्य यहा है
 भारत एक रहे 'अविभाज्य',
 यों तो रूस और अमरीका
 जितना है उसका जन-राज्य ।
 बिना राष्ट्रभाषा स्वराष्ट्र को
 गिरा आप गूगी अममर्थ
 एक भारती बिना हमारी
 भारतीयता का क्या अर्थ ।
 अंग्रेजी को रखने का जो

[श्री मैथिलीशरण गुप्त]

किया गया है अम इतना
उससे हिन्दी के विकास का
कार्य न हो जाता कितना ।
न कि दूर से भी हिन्दी से
पर-शासन ने सीधे बात,
निज शासन ने निकट बुला कर
किया आज उस पर आघात ।
हो वा न हो राजभाषा
पर वही प्रजा की वाणी है,
वही राष्ट्र की अर्थ वाहिनी
जन जन की कल्याणी है ।
पर-भाषा से द्वेष करेगा
भला कौन निज भाषा-भक्त
मातृ रूपिणी सबकी वाणी,
वह अशक्त वा रहे सशक्त ।
किन्तु विमाता बन विदेश की
कोई माता आवेगी,
तो वह यहां पूतना की गति
आप अंत में पावेगी ।
हंसे में चुप रहते कैसे,
एन्थोनी-से वीर विशाल,
मिली ओढ़ने को उनको ही,
ब्रिटिश सिंह की सूखी खाल ।
हिन्दी को भय नहीं किसी का,
मैंने अपनी व्यथा कही,
मैं मत देने में स्वतंत्र हूँ,
मुझे एक संतोष यही ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, before I refer to some of the points referred to by the hon. Shri Annadurai and Dr. Dinkar, I would like to place a few views before you which are also intimately connected with this.

Sir, certain observations have been made regarding English language. I quite appreciate that while we were under the domination of the British our reactions were entirely different but now as free citizens of independent India I acknowledge that on account of the English language we have been able to achieve to a great extent administrative and to a certain

extent political unity and the English language has opened the door of knowledge of science and technology to us and for it we are really happy. I am also happy that the Government through its three-language formula has suggested the continuance of English and in that way we are linked not only with those who speak English in India but we are linked throughout the world with the English-knowing people and on account of this policy I am able to give my greetings to all the English-speaking peoples of the world.

While I say that I must admit—and I will show when I refer to the speech of Shri C. N. Annadurai—that the decision to replace English by Hindi has been a deliberate one, taken in consultation with the representatives of all the States and we have come to this conclusion that Hindi will replace English as the State language or as the Prime Minister calls it as link language and it will not affect any other language. In fact, it will help the growth of the regional languages because as has been pointed out, in Federal India we have got to encourage and help regional languages as well as replace English by an Indian language. Taking all these considerations that are relevant to this subject. Hindi has been chosen, rightly chosen, and it will be the *lingua franca* of India. At the same time let us appreciate that apart from the fact that there is sentimental objection on the part of some of our friends from the South, by and large and generally speaking the South also welcomes this decision. When I say this I am not stating my view. In order to understand that situation you have to go to the nationalist movement of 1920. Since 1920 till 1950 when the Constitution was framed, at every stage, as at every Congress session, this has been made clear and again I say in consultation with the representatives of South India and other parts of India that English will be replaced in course of time. But when to be replaced, I am sure, for that we will have to consider

two factors. One is the inherent difficulties of the situation and the other is the sentiment of our friends in southern India. So far as the inherent difficulties are concerned, I am sure, the hon. Home Minister is perfectly right when he said that even though there is no opposition but there is fullest co-operation to switching over to Hindi in 1965, it is practically impossible; efficiency will suffer, the administration will suffer and the progress and advancement of the country will suffer if we switch over in this automatic way. On this question of when to switch over I would certainly plead with my hon. Hindi-speaking friends to appreciate the apprehensions of the people on the basis of economic and political domination and on the basis of language in services there is a great apprehension that it will give an undue vantage to people of Hindi-speaking areas if Hindi is introduced at the Centre, in Parliament, with undue haste. Again I am glad that the Home Minister has given an assurance that the services will not be affected.

Now, coming to my friend, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, I am very happy and I welcome him to Parliament because that is the way; that is where we can exchange our views, where we can persuade each other, where we can argue with each other and as representatives of not only the States but of the whole of India when a decision is taken by Parliament, I am sure Mr. Annadurai will honour and respect it as anybody else. Now, what is the position that he has taken? He has pointed out three main points. First, he referred to the discussion of this question in the Constituent Assembly and with great difficulty he could find only Mr. Das who could in a very lightway help or support him. But what about the other representatives? The great Mr. Satyamurti was there; my friend Mr. Santhanam was there. And I am sure there were several other representatives from the South. Not only that: there was the great Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar with whom I had the honour of being a

junior and discussing this matter. And although he differed in many respects I can tell you that he said that—of course he said Hindustani—Hindustani will have to replace English. A greater or more brilliant man in law I have not seen but of course he said it will have to take time and that it should not be done with haste otherwise it will do great harm. Now, after all these things, after the representatives have come to this conclusion, after the Language Commission's recommendations, after the deliberations in the Constituent Assembly, after the decision reached during the freedom movement, this is being done. My friend Mr. Annadurai is very young but I am sure if he had been in the freedom struggle he would have given his support to the introduction of Hindi at a proper stage. But unfortunately in Madras politics developed in a queer way. His associations were mostly with the Justice Party; then came the D.K. and then came the D.M.K. I can quite understand that they have their own difficulty but let me point out that so far as the nationalist struggle is concerned, those people who were there attached great importance to this fact but those who were simply thinking of their own rights as the Muslim League or the D.M.K. of course took a slightly different view.

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Now, he referred to the 15 years' experience. That was his second point. What is the experience of fifteen years? Here my friend was blaming and charging the Government that they have not done sufficiently to advance Hindi. Here my friend says in fifteen years you have harmed us. But he has not given a single instance how during these fifteen years the South has suffered. I think, with your permission, I will pay my humble tribute to the Education Ministry and to the Government of India for having moved very cautiously. They have all the respect and desire to advance Hindi. They took into consideration the genuine difficulties. Really the position, as I

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan]
 see it, is this Since 1955—it may be a year or two earlier—after the hard effort of the Education Ministry, the States in the South and the other States have started Hindi as a compulsory language in most of the States Now, Sir, for a student who has taken up Hindi, in order to become a graduate, it will take some time I think the period will be about 1970-75 Then, to adjust the whole thing in the environment, in the departments and in public life, you will have to see that an atmosphere is created which will be very propitious for Hindi I would only give you one instance When my father wanted to learn English, my grandfather knew it He called him and said “You have started learning English Do you want to become a Feringhi?” He replied “Sircar, I will not do that” Then, he was able to send out, of four sons, three sons for education to England So what I say is patience is required Therefore, I would appeal to my friend, Prof Dinkar, and his friends to exercise patience, to exercise control These things should grow in the natural course When the people of South India learn it, I am sure they will be more enthusiastic than my friend, Prof Dinkar So far as the services are concerned, my learned friend has not given any instance where injustice has been done to the people of the South

Now, the third point he mentioned was about the Prime Minister's assurance Coming to the Bill, I do feel that in a substantial measure the assurance of the Prime Minister has been fulfilled and kept in this Bill I do feel it was a great hour of trial for the Government They had a difficult task I am happy that they have come out of this difficulty with strength I am reminded of Shakespeare when he says —

“There is a tide in the affairs of men,

Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune,

Omitted, all the voyage of their life

Is bound in shallows and in miseries”

I congratulate the Government of India I congratulate the Home Minister I congratulate my dynamic leader Through their wisdom, through their far-sightedness, through their statesmanship, we have been able to evolve a formula What is that formula? According to the Constitution as it stands, English as the link language and official language for use in Parliament and other official purposes will cease in 1965 Now, it may not cease It will continue to be used, of course, with Hindi I am quite sure there is a difference, as it has been said I will not go into the question of “shall” and “may” But the Government could not take any other decision I would appeal again to my Hindi friends It is for them to come forward and say Yes, for ten years you use the word “shall” Let it be bilingual Let Hindi and English be used That would be more graceful So far as the Government is concerned, I quite appreciate it They have to balance the difficulty They have to see to the commitments that the Government has already made They have to see to the unity and strength of the country I am sure if it is a choice between language and unity of the country, I would undoubtedly vote for the unity of the country I do not mind whether it is Hindi, whether it is English whether it is Tamil or whether it is Kannada So, that is the main consideration When we are discussing this Bill, let us look at it from this point of view In a difficult position, we had to bring out some solution Regarding this my friend, Mr Reddy, has given a formula and I have seen it in his amendment I would commend it for the consideration of the Home Minister because I think that to a certain extent it meets the objections of Hindi-speaking as well as the non-Hindi speaking people I would not go into details

at this stage. So, what I submit is that so far as the assurance of the Prime Minister is concerned, continuance of English after 1965 has been fulfilled.

Now, they refer to the other aspect, namely, the consent and willingness of the non-Hindi speaking people. I would with great respect ask you: Is it right to put it in the law, that such and such thing will not happen unless the non-Hindi speaking people will agree? Will it be proper from the constitutional point of view? Will it be proper from the democratic point of view to give the right of veto to any section of the people? I suppose no one would say that we should put this in the Constitution itself. At the same time, what have we provided in the Bill? We have provided that after ten years a Review Committee will be appointed. That Committee will give its report which will be sent to all the Governments of the States. After getting their opinions and after having discussions, it would be placed before both Houses of Parliament. I am sure both Houses of Parliament will discuss it. Only after taking all these factors into consideration, the Government will decide and take the responsibility for the decision that it will make. So, the substance and the essence of the assurance of the Prime Minister, I respectfully submit, is met, but we cannot put anything which would either create a permanent difficulty or which would give an undue preference or the right of veto to any section.

So, I feel that these are political matters. We are not to look at it from the point of view of legality or formality. This is a political matter and, if I may say so, this is a human matter. This cannot be looked at from the point of view of narrow technicalities. With great respect I feel, whether it is Swami Rameshwaranand or whether it is Shri Sampath—they may be very good persons—they are unfit for the democratic age.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): What about Mr. Annadurai?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No. I would not put Mr. Annadurai in that place. I think Shri Sampath and Swami Rameshwaranand are the persons who are fit for an autocratic age.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think you might avoid the biographical references.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Right, Sir. I leave it there. I respectfully submit that so far as this Bill is concerned, it is a happy compromise, the only possible compromise. It is a compromise which meets the sentiments of the South, which meets the assurances of the Prime Minister and which is in the best interests of the country.

I support the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister will intervene at this stage.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU): Mr. Chairman, this question which is before the House has been discussed in the other House and in the country for some considerable time. Criticism has been made, I believe, in this House also of the fact that this does not fulfil or carry out the assurances or pledges that I gave. I confess, Sir, that I am wholly unable to understand that criticism. What is this Bill? It is essentially a Bill removing a certain barrier in the Constitution which laid down that English would practically cease to be the official language of the Centre after 1965. It removes that barrier. It does not put another date even except to say that in ten years' time there should be consideration of how Hindi has progressed and other questions like that. I should have thought that that in itself was as much as one could expect from any point of view, and it was suggested that one should put in in the form of a statute, when this matter comes up, that it should only be decided by

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representatives from the non-Hindi States in India. I have been unable to understand how this kind of thing can be put down in a statute. That would create an extraordinary situation and would be a wrong precedent, I think. But what I said was—I do believe in it, I have repeated it there and I wish to repeat it here—that any change which affects the South, any change in the language policy which affects not the South only but the non-Hindi speaking areas, should have their assent, or to put it differently, no change should be made in this respect which puts a handicap on those who do not know Hindi. Now, we at the present moment are dealing with Hindi and English as official languages of the Centre. It must be recognised, and I entirely agree with Mr. Annadurai when he said, that India is a multilingual country, and to some extent also there are various ethnical differences, but they overlap so much that it is very difficult to draw a line. Even in this multilingual country we know that there are two groups of languages, one derived in the North from Sanskrit and relatively resembling each other fairly closely and a group in the South of which Tamil is the most ancient, very ancient language, coeval, I believe, with Sanskrit, which, although entirely different, has added to it a number of words from Sanskrit. I believe an attempt is being made to retain what is called the purity of the Tamil language. It is not for me to say anything about it except to venture to say that it is always a good thing for any language, whatever it may be, to absorb words from other languages, whether classical or other. It is a sign of the life and the richness of the language, it is the capacity of it to absorb words from other languages. Only the dead languages stop absorbing words. That is a sign of their not being alive. The English language which has spread and grown greatly and is probably the most widespread language in the world today has an amazing capacity for absorbing words, adapting words for its own

use from other languages. Therefore, it is not for me to say what should be done to the Tamil language because I am no scholar in Tamil, but I would be sorry to learn that any language has shut its door to outside words. I think the process which is already going on in North India certainly and to some extent in the South too of absorbing words from other languages and giving its own version of words of other languages is a happy one, is good for all the languages. It makes them richer and brings them somewhat closer.

We have decided, and perhaps the House knows, that as far as possible all technical and scientific words should be based on international usage, maybe with certain minor changes in them to make them fit in with the genius of the language, but it should essentially be international words. If that is done, as I hope it will be done and it is being done, that means two or three things. One is that we keep in touch with an international language which is growing very fast dealing with technical and scientific terminology, adapting that terminology in India with minor variations. We bring the Indian languages close together in regard to that terminology, whether it is Tamil or whether it is Bengali or Hindi or Marathi or Gujarati or any other language. As a matter of fact the proportion of technical and scientific words in all the advanced languages is growing very rapidly. In numbers alone they are almost overwhelming. The other parts of the language probably will go on in the world as they are. So, all these efforts to bring the languages of India somewhat closer together are to be welcomed therefore, and any effort to keep them apart, to keep them rigid, to keep them unabsorbing of other words is to weaken them, to prevent their growth. To some extent I have had some opportunity of observing these forces at work as President of the Sahitya Academy which is interested not in one but in all the languages of India, and as a matter of fact we

have included English also in our list. It has made me happy to see this interchange going on. Books are being published in all the Indian languages and the same books are being translated from one language into another, and thus the contacts of the literary figures are brought closer and the languages also are brought closer.

Now, what is our policy? We have said in our Constitution that there are 14 national languages of India including Sanskrit. We have given them all the honour of being national language of India. Some may be more prevalent than others. The only thing said about Hindi was that in future it should be the link language, the language for official purposes of the Central Government. Essentially the national language character would apply to all the languages. Today I think Mr. Annadurai said that Tamil is the official language of Madras State. I welcome that, and I do not see why all other languages should not be official languages in their respective regions, and they are, in fact, becoming both in education and official and other purposes. That is bound to grow. If they grow as they are bound to, what should be their contacts with each other? That is a point we have to consider. How can they influence each other? How can they deal with other parts of the country? For official purposes how can people go about from place to place and be links between different areas? Thus for English has been such a link language, and presumably it will continue to be that link language for some considerable time. I do not know, I am not prepared to put a limit to that. I do not know how long it will be. It may gradually, while being still a link language, become perhaps a little less so in use, although it is so, it can be so, nothing to prevent it. But the main difficulty as was pointed out is, if Hindi is made such a language, it will mean a grave handicap to the non-Hindi-speaking people. That is a valid point and I think that any

change which should be made should keep in view that it creates no handicaps for large sections of our people in the interests of the services and in other ways. But, first of all, after much thought and much discussion and argument, we decided to give it a special place in our Constitution. I think, if I may venture to say so, that the decision taken then was a right decision. Anyhow, it was a decision taken and we cannot deal with it lightly. But when we find that to some extent at this stage it comes in the way—that particular decision—that is, not to allow English to continue as such a language, we bring this Bill forward to remove that barrier so that English should continue as such, so far as this Bill is concerned, indefinitely or till some other action is taken. Or it may be that the other action, while possibly encouraging Hindi, may also give a place to English. I do not know myself. My own conception is that in some form or other, English is likely to be used in India apart from foreign purposes, for link purposes also, for a considerable time. I do not like the idea, as has been suggested by some friends, that English should be made the official language of India for these purposes more or less for ever. It is not that; I hope that I am not too narrowly nationalistic in this matter but I do think that we would create a big barrier between the English-knowing people, however big in number they might be, and the other masses of India, and that is not a good thing. The masses of India will really come into contact with the regional languages; that is true; they should come into contact with the link languages too—a sufficient number of them, not all. I do think that we will not weaken the minds of our masses if we continue to function basically in the English language. It is not the functioning in the English language that I object to but it is the psychology surrounding it which I think is a bad psychology. I say so without offence to anyone because I have myself suffered from that psychology, being a member of what is,

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 called the new caste that arose in the 19th century which has continued even now, the English-knowing caste in India, which considered itself somewhat superior to those people who did not know English. It is a fact; even today it is so unfortunately. I do not mind, and I would like English to be as widespread as possible, and I think it is going to be; because English is now the compulsory second language in our schools, probably far more people will know English in future than they have done in the past. But however much they may know, it cannot spread to the hundreds of millions of our people, and this kind of feeling, this kind of a vested interest even in our social life, even in other things, apart from the official life, is a bad thing. It has a limiting factor and it limits the growth of our own languages to some extent and gives a rather spurious importance to persons who know bad English to put their heads over the people who know very well the other languages of India. I do not think that is right. Therefore, I do believe that however much we may consider English important, however much we may encourage its teaching and use, English cannot be described as a national language of India, it should not be. How then are we to face the present situation? All the national languages develop. They should develop and that is the right way for even Hindi to develop in its own States which are widespread, and these create a certain strong basis for its being used for other purposes, even inter-State purposes. That is all right. But, nevertheless, as a link language, should we develop it, should we use it progressively or not? Everyone knows it. At least I do not think anyone claims that Hindi is a far superior language to the other national languages of India; in some ways the other languages are better. So far as the South is concerned, as I said Tamil is much more ancient, coeval with Sanskrit but because of various circumstances, Hindi is not

only a widespread language in India; not only in numbers but in other ways Hindi has developed and is developing. Without any official patronage, Hindi is a kind of *lingua franca*, not perhaps for the peasantry, all of them, but in cities one can get on with Hindi. And I mentioned the other day that even our cinema world was helping to propagate Hindi. There are so many factors working for it. It is not conceivable for me that any other language could progress as much as Hindi has done in extent and in numbers. You will remember, Sir, that some time ago we suggested the three-language formula in which was suggested the regional language plus Hindi plus English. Where the regional language was Hindi, he was asked to learn some language of the other areas in India, especially the South. All this was based upon the idea of spreading the knowledge of the various languages in India as much as possible, to bring them nearer to each other. It is quite extraordinary that we in India object to learning another language. It is a most ordinary thing in Europe and other places for a person to learn at least three, if not four languages. And I can mention the countries. Everybody knows the cases of Switzerland and Yugoslavia where they have two or three scripts, I think four or five languages, all official. So, I do not see any difficulty about it, about persons in the north learning the languages of the south and the people in the south learning the languages of the north. Of course, education, though it opens out many doors, is sometimes a bit of a burden to carry but it is a desirable burden, and we should carry it.

So, who are the critics of the present Bill? They are the Hindi critics and the anti-Hindi critics, on both sides. The Hindi critics think that extending the life of English is not necessary, is not desirable, is harmful. Well, I entirely disagree with them. In the circumstances as we are situated today, I think this is

inevitable, that has to be done. But I go further than that. I say, if Hindi has got to progress—and it applies also to other languages of India—it can only progress really in the modern world, not because it has got some very fine master-pieces of literature in it of the past, which is so, but modern ideas have come to India practically only in the 19th century through the English language chiefly. A few translations have not brought them; through the English language they had to come to our writers and others. Hindi has progressed more in the 19th century than through long periods previously because of its contact with the foreign living languages, with foreign ideas. And so others. Bengali which has made tremendous progress, which is a very rich language, has progressed because of the ideas that have come to it from the West because the West happened to be a living, dynamic place in the world, changing rapidly, and we were rather static. Therefore, I believe that a language, not English particularly but any language, representing the modern world is an essential thing for us to know, to vivify, to encourage, to strengthen and to make Hindi dynamic. That applies to every language in India, I think. Therefore, some kind of association with English is, I think, essential for the development of Hindi. Otherwise, we shall fall into the position, which we had been in for a long time, not from the language point of view, but generally in life, being cut off from the modern world, cut off from modern ideas, and living an inward-looking life of our own, without taking advantage of the changes in the world. We want to become dynamic; we are becoming dynamic. Language plays a very important part, and therefore, I consider it important from the point of view of both the growth of India and the association of India with the modern world, which is so important for the languages of India to remain in close contact with the dynamic languages of the Western countries which represent this new world today. Of those

languages it so happens that we are more acquainted with English than any other language. I am equally happy to be acquainted with and I would like large numbers of people to be acquainted with French or Russian. They are all dynamic growing languages, but English is obviously easier for us and we draw on it. Therefore we keep it and use it over though we may do progressively more and more work in Hindi or Tamil or Bengali or whatever the language might be. It seems to me a very vital point that if we continue psychologically attached to English—practically, I do not mind what the attachment is, and I think it should remain, but psychologically, attachment to English, which brings about certain complexes in our minds, social groups, etc., which will come in the way of the growth of our languages, well, that, I think, is bad. Therefore, I do not want to give that place of English permanently although, in practice, I would welcome its association in some way, and it is bound to be associated in some way, whether you call it from official association or not. Thus, Sir, whether you look at it from the point of view of those who are protagonists of Hindi, or that of those who are afraid that Hindi will mean a handicap for them, I think the way we have suggested in this Bill is as happy a compromise between extreme views as is possible in this imperfect world. I do not say it is perfect, and in some things, even now, I admit that at least in some of the States where sometimes bilingual people live on the borders and other places difficulties arise, difficulties not created by the language, but difficulties in working and implementing it, and objections are raised. Well, that is a Governmental matter which should be looked into and should be remedied. But I do not think that, in the general approach of this Bill, or the actual propositions laid down, there is anything which can really be criticised unless one takes up an attitude, say, from the Hindi side, that we must remove English completely from this country, which I

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entirely disagree with, and I think Hindi will suffer more. Hindi may be used, of course, by more clerks and others in offices. That is possible. But the progress of a language does not depend on the number of clerks and the like using it, but on the inner growth, the dynamic growth of a language. I think Hindi has got enormous capacity for that dynamism provided it does not keep its mind and windows closed—that is very important—which it has always tended to do in the past. The controversy between Hindi and Urdu was an example of that. Hindi can become ever so much stronger as a language by keeping its mind open to English words, to Urdu words, to Persian words, to Tamil words—whatever it may be—also Russian words. It will thus become stronger and bigger keeping the basic framework of the Hindi language but accepting words from some other languages which can be fitted into the genius of the Hindi language. This applies to every language. But this narrow outlook of thinking that Hindi will grow merely by pushing it into an office—I can understand, it may be done, gradually will be done, no doubt—that way, the language will not grow. The language will probably remain a stilted language as it had tended to become in the early years since independence. It had made rapid translations of vocabularies producing words which have no history behind them, which have no meaning except for the elite and that, I think, injured and harmed Hindi more than anything else. A language is a living, dynamic, growing language; it is like a beautiful flower which grows. You cannot pull it out of the ground expecting it to grow more rapidly, and I am afraid Hindi has been much *misused in this manner* by the very people who want it to grow. We all, I hope, want it to grow. I certainly want it to grow, because I think it is a fine language and it has the makings of an infinitely richer language. Although I think that foreign

languages are necessary for our scientific and technological development, even then I believe that, essentially, scientific education in our schools must be given in the regional languages because, otherwise, the burden on the child of learning a foreign language so as to learn something else, is too great. At a somewhat later stage, if he wants to learn scientific or technological steps a little more, he will have to learn some other languages—there is no help for it. Every scientist knows at least three, if not four, languages. Otherwise he cannot get on. At the present moment about 50,000 new books are appearing every year for the scientific and technological subjects. It is not a question of translation. No translation bureau can cope with this situation. Therefore, I submit, Sir—I cannot bind down, I cannot say what will happen in the future, but I do think—the circumstances existing in India have been created and are being further created by us, that is, by Parliament, by Government, etc., which makes it next to impossible for any major step to be taken, which will put a big handicap in the way of any part of India over the language issue. Certainly, as I have said, you must always bear in mind that no change is made which puts that handicap, and do not think any such change will be made. After all, the major languages being the national languages, they develop. They come into contact with each other and people get to know more than one language, and in addition we have used all other languages also. We are encouraging, for instance, the use of French in the Pondicherry area. Why? Pondicherry area is a small area, but it has got a background of French education, French learning and French speaking there. We want to develop that language, one of the great languages of the world. We want to develop it, not only for its own sake, but so that it may influence our own languages, whether it is Hindi or any

other language, more especially Tamil, which is there, because languages have an enriching effect by keeping in contact with another language, and I do not understand the narrow-minded outlook which is afraid of another language and thinks that if the other language grows, it will limit somehow the growth of its so-called rival languages. This rivalry in languages is a wrong approach to this question, especially in India. It is a big country; it has many languages, fortunately closely allied to each other, and even those which are not closely allied are, in some basic ways, allied. Some of my friends have suggested that Sanskrit should have been made the national language of India. Now, I have great respect for Sanskrit, and I think Sanskrit embodies, more than anything else, the great culture of India, culture and thought of India, but I do not agree and cannot agree to calling it a national language of India. It will be as bad as calling English a national language. Not psychologically, but practically asking millions of people to know Sanskrit will be a terrible thing. I should like more and more people to learn Sanskrit, and I hope they will do so because that will enrich their own languages.

So, I feel, Sir, that the opposition to this Bill is more sentimental on either side than logical. I do not think this is going to harm—certainly it will not harm—the progress of Hindi. What I am apprehensive about is that Hindi will be harmed by the strong advocates of Hindi; I am really apprehensive about that. They will make it a stilted language, and they will make it a narrow-minded language representing a narrow-minded people.

Sir, language is the biggest expression of the kind of people we have. I believe Milton has written somewhere, "Show me the language of the people, and without knowing them at all, I can tell you what they are"—whether they are people of character, people of learning, people of ability

because a language represents that. If you bring up a language full of artificial words, stilted phrases, you really affect the character of a people, and I am afraid our character has been affected in the past few generations by this kind of thing plus also the dominance of English. I do not like this dominance of English affecting our character and mind. I do think it is important for us to derive benefit from English, for Hindi and Gujarati and Marathi and Tamil, if I may say so, all these languages to derive benefit from their association with English as from their association with French or German or Russian

Again, I beg to say that this particular Bill is really limited to indeed removing a barrier which came in the way of English not being continued after 1965. If anybody is opposed to that, then, of course, he should express himself and vote against it. But if anybody agrees with that, and especially those who wanted English to continue, I do not understand at all how they speak against the Bill or oppose it. At the most it can be said that they accept this Bill. But they are not quite happy at what might happen in the future. All one can say about the future is that we can create conditions which will govern the future but we cannot control the future. All kinds of curious things are happening in this world. We are passing through enormous revolutionary changes all over the world chiefly because of scientific and technological developments. And that is why it is most necessary that we should take no steps, linguistically even, which limit knowledge of these developments, scientific and technological, from coming to us. And that makes it necessary for association with foreign languages. But at the same time it is equally important and most important that our people must have a sense that we are using their own languages and that we are not depending on

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a foreign language however much we may take its help. So, we have to steer between these two. And I think what is suggested in this Bill is eminently right from that point of view. It is not a kind of artificial compromise between two extremes.

Sir, I can well admit that sometimes an extreme view or the view of some extreme people is the right one. A compromise is not always a good thing; it may have no virtue in it. We have just a mean of both the extreme views. And I think that this is not a compromise in this sense but a very reasonable, logical and practical way of looking at the problem that we have to face, because the problem of languages is always a difficult one.

We have seen the difficulties come up even between two States after this linguistic States Reorganisation Committee. I think our Constitution has dealt with it very wisely, recognising all these languages as national languages and providing for link languages also. What the distant future will be, I do not think any one in this House can say.

Sir, I mentioned the other day in the Lok Sabha a certain new development which does affect language. Because of the growth of scientific and technological phrases and words a new language is developing which is very largely a language of symbols. It is quite extraordinary to open a book and find that probably three-fourths of the book is of symbols and nothing else, except a quarter, maybe a few words here and there. Those symbols are common throughout the world for scientists and people who understand technology. And they read it. So in a sense a common script of a symbolic type is developing, is bound to develop. Now, that was the reason why when the Constitution was being made, it was decided, and wisely decided, that inter-

national figures should be used, by us for official purposes and the like, the international figures being, of course, in their origin Indian figures. Perhaps some people do not realise that one of the biggest discoveries of Indian thinkers was the discovery of the zero sign, discovery of the metrical sign system which spread from here to Arabia and from there to Europe and were called Arabic numerals, the Arabic numerals being essentially Hindu numerals, of Indian origin. Those numbers and numerals have developed and developed into tens of thousands of symbols today representing various forms of mathematical and scientific thought. And if we stick to the old ways, we shall be left behind and not participate in the progress of the human race. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that it is right, as of course this Bill says, that English as an additional or associate official language should continue to be there, and meanwhile we should do all that we can to encourage the regional languages because it is through them only that we can reach the people. It is very important that education should spread. And education will ultimately spread certainly if the schools teach only through the regional languages, whether they are Hindi, Bengali or Tamil, it does not matter. They have to be encouraged.

Thirdly, we have to encourage and make it easier for Hindi to occupy the place gradually as a link language. We should do all we can for that purpose but, again, whatever we do should be done not in a forcible way, in a forceful way to coerce other people to accept it as an all-India language. But let us go into that. There are all kinds of forces in India at work which are making it grow, but by overdoing it we will spoil that growth as we shall spoil it by obstructing it. Therefore, Sir, I beg the House to consider this Bill as a good Bill and to pass it with as great a majority as possible.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी के भाषण को बड़े ध्यान से सुना है और इस विधेयक के समर्थन में उन्होंने जो तर्क प्रस्तुत किये हैं उन पर विचार किया है। इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है कि जिस वर्तमान परिस्थिति का हवाला देकर इस बिल का समर्थन किया जाता है वह परिस्थिति सरकार ने स्वयं पैदा की है। संविधान सभा ने निर्णय किया था कि १५ वर्ष तक अंग्रेजी राजकाज की भाषा रहेगी और उसके बाद प्रांतीयों में प्रांतीय भाषाएँ और केन्द्र में अंतःप्रांतीय व्यवहार के लिये हिन्दी भाषा काम में लाई जायेगी। यह निर्णय सर्वसम्मति से हुआ था; और इस विश्वास के साथ हुआ था कि १५ वर्ष में शासन हिन्दी को और अपने कर्मचारियों को, अपने अफसरों को इस योग्य बना देगा कि १५ वर्ष की अवधि के पश्चात् राजकाज की भाषा के रूप में अंग्रेजी का आवश्यकता नहीं होगी। अब यदि हिन्दी इस योग्य नहीं बनी और केन्द्रीय शासन के कर्मचारी हिन्दी के माध्यम से शासन नहीं चला सकते तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी किसके ऊपर है? केन्द्रीय शासन इस जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकता। होना तो यह चाहिये था कि शासन अपनी कमी के लिये क्षमा मांगता और उस कमी को दूर करने के लिये थोड़े समय की अवधि और दी जाये यह प्रस्ताव लेकर संसद् के सामने आना। लेकिन शासन ने जो कर्तव्य नहीं किया, उसके लिये खेद का प्रकटीकरण कहीं नहीं है। अवधि को थोड़ा बढ़ाने की बात भी नहीं है। संविधान ने १५ वर्ष का मर्यादा निर्धारित की थी, जिसके फलस्वरूप हिन्दी और अन्य भारतीय भाषायें १५ वर्ष के लिये निर्वासित कर दी गईं। अब यह विधेयक १५ वर्ष के निर्वासन को अनंत काल के निर्वासन में बदलना चाहता है। इस विधेयक का तारीफ के रूप में यह पेश किया जाता है कि हम अंग्रेजी के प्रयोग पर समय की कोई सीमा नहीं लगा रहे हैं। क्या संविधान सभा ने जो सीमा लगायी वह गलत थी? क्या भारतीय

संविधान के निर्माता गलत निर्णय लेने के दोषी थे? असली कारण यह है कि स्वतंत्रता की जो ज्योति संविधान के निर्माण के समय हमारे हृदयों में जाग रही थी वह आज मंद हो गई है, दब गई है। राष्ट्र के सांस्कृतिक और साहित्यिक जागरण का प्रश्न पड़े पड़ गया है और मुट्ठी भर नौकरियाँ भाषा के महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न पर निर्णयक बन कर सामने खड़ी हो गई हैं।

इस विधेयक के द्वारा हिन्दी को नाम के लिये राजभाषा बनाया जा रहा है। अधिक से अधिक वह अनुवाद की भाषा होगी, ऐसा अनुवाद जो अदालतों में नहीं चलेगा, क्योंकि हाई कोर्ट में, सुप्रीम कोर्ट में तो अंग्रेजी चलती रहेगी। नाम का राजभाषा हिन्दी और राज करेगा अंग्रेजी। दिल्ली में यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। एक बार यहाँ अंग्रेजों ने नारा लगाया था—“खल्क खुदा का, मुल्क बादशाह का और हुक्मत अंग्रेज बहादुर की”। इस विधेयक के बाद क्या होगा? राज होगा प्रजा का, राजभाषा गिनी जायेगी हिन्दी और राज चलेगा अंग्रेजी का।

यह सवाल हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी का नहीं है। यह मेरा दुर्भाग्य है कि मैं एक हिन्दी प्रान्त में पैदा हुआ हूँ, लेकिन पैदा होना किस के हाथ में नहीं है। मैं हिन्दी प्रान्त में पैदा हुआ हूँ, इसलिये यदि मैं अंग्रेजी को हटाने का बात करूँ तो मैं प्रतिक्रियावादी बन जाता हूँ, मुझे नाम घरा जाता है, मुझे देश की एकता के मार्ग में बाधक समझा जाता है। हिन्दी किसी प्रांतीय भाषा की जगह नहीं लेना चाहती। हिन्दी राजसिंहासन पर बैठने के लिए इतना उत्सुक नहीं है। लेकिन अंग्रेजी कब तक हमारे राज काज की, शिक्षा की, न्यायालय की भाषा बनी रहेगी, इसका उत्तर देना होगा।

प्रधान मंत्री जी का भाषण परस्पर विरोधी बातों से भरा हुआ है। एक ओर वह कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी जानने वालों की जाति बन गई है, जो अपने को बड़ा समझती है,

[श्री ए० बी बाजपेयी]

अंग्रेजी न जानने वालों को छोटा समझता है और वह इसे अच्छा नहीं मानते। लेकिन अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का जाति को कम करने के लिये वे कुछ करना नहीं चाहते। उल्टे वे इस जाति को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, अंग्रेजी और भारतीय भाषाओं के संघर्ष को उग्र बनाना चाहते हैं। अंग्रेजी जानने वालों और अंग्रेजी न जानने वालों के बीच में जो दीवार खड़ी है वे उसे बाहना नहीं चाहते, वे उसे गिराना नहीं चाहते, वे उसे कुछ ऊँचा करना चाहते हैं। चाहते हैं या नहीं मगर हो यह ही रहा है। हमारे देश में अंग्रेजी जितने लोग जानते हैं? सभापति जी, मैंने १६ साल तक अंग्रेजी पढ़ी है, लेकिन मैं अंग्रेजी में अपने का अपनी उत्कटता से प्रगट नहीं कर सकता जितना मैं अपनी मातृभाषा में कर सकता हूँ। देश में ऐसे लोग हैं जो बड़े अंग्रेजीवादी हैं, जो शायद अंग्रेजी में भी अच्छी अंग्रेजी लिखने का दावा करते होंगे, लेकिन ऐसे लोगों की संख्या कितनी है? अंग्रेजी राज्य में जब अंग्रेजी के बिना नौकरी नहीं मिलती थी, प्रोत्साहन प्राप्त नहीं होता या तब एक फीसदी से ज्यादा लोग अंग्रेजी नहीं जान सके। १५ वर्षों में हम हिसाब लगाकर देखें अंग्रेजी जानने वालों की संख्या बढ़ी है या हिन्दी जानने वालों की संख्या बढ़ी है। मैं ऐसे आंकड़े उपस्थित कर सकता हूँ, जो यह प्रमाणित करेंगे कि अहिन्दी प्रांतों में भी अंग्रेजी जानने वालों से हिन्दी जानने वाले अधिक हैं। दो फीसदी की भाषा राजकाज की भाषा रहे तो यह लोकतन्त्र नहीं है, लोकतन्त्र का मखौल है। लोकतन्त्र का अर्थ है जनता का राज्य, मगर जनता का राज्य, जनता की भाषा में चलना चाहिये। दो फीसदी लोग कैसी अंग्रेजी जानते हैं इसकी चर्चा न करना ही ठीक होगा। हमारे देश में जैसी अंग्रेजी बोली जाती है, लिखी जाती है, उसे अगर शेक्सपीयर और मिल्टन कभी पढ़ें या सुनें तो शायद कब्र में वे छुपटाने लगेंगे। लेकिन, अंग्रेजी के साथ एक सम्मान जुड़ा है, जो अंग्रेजी बोलना नहीं जानते वे भी अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं;

क्योंकि अंग्रेजी बोलने से शान बढ़ती है, अंग्रेजी बोलने से प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ती है।

1 P.M.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) Those days are gone.

श्री ए० बी बाजपेयी मेरे साथ एक विरोधी दल के सदस्य दिल्ली कार्पोरेशन के चुनाव में भाषण देने गये। वे इस सदन के नहीं हैं, कोई यहाँ बैठे हुए सदस्यो पर मदेह न करे। वे अंग्रेजी पढ़े नहीं हैं मगर अंग्रेजी छोटते हैं। जनता को संबोधन करके वे कहने लगे कि कांग्रेस के पास पहले ही 'पावर' ज्यादा है अब हम उसको 'ओवरपावर' नहीं करना चाहते हैं। दिल्ली के श्रोता अंग्रेजी से परिचित हैं, वे हमने लगे। लेकिन लोगों की हसी को उन्होंने समझा कि उन्होंने कोई बहुत पते की बात कही है। फिर बाद में उनका कुरता खींचा गया और कहा गया कि पावर के आगे ओवर लगाने से उसका मतलब बदल जाता है। लेकिन अंग्रेजी की यह बारीकी वे नहीं समझते यद्यपि अंग्रेजी बोलने का शौक उन्हें जरूर चढ़ता है। एक दूसरे सदस्य हैं, उनसे गांव के लोग मिलने आये। गांव के लोगों से अंग्रेजी बोली जाय इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। मगर नई दिल्ली के वातावरण में एक ऐसा जादू है जो अंग्रेजी बुलवाता है। वे कहना चाहते थे कि मेरे पास समय नहीं है, बाद में आना। कहने लगे come behind, I am not vacant at the time. यह उदाहरण हैं अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): We have got in Bengal Ministers who are interesting in the same way.

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी क्या यह भाषा हमारे राष्ट्रीय जागरण का माध्यम बन सकती है? क्या यह भाषा हमारे राष्ट्र की आत्मा को अभिव्यक्ति का साधन बन सकती है? क्या यह भाषा जनता को आर्थिक और सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिये प्रोत्साहित करने का काम कर सकती है? प्रधान मंत्री जी ठीक कहते हैं

कि अंग्रेजी भाषा से हम भारत की जमता के हृदय तक नहीं पहुँच सकते। मगर यह कहते हुए भी वे अंग्रेजी को बनाये रखना चाहते हैं, अंग्रेजी की अवधि को बढ़ाये रखना चाहते हैं। क्या यह इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि दक्षिण में कुछ लोग हैं जो अंग्रेजी के मोह में पड़े हुए हैं? मैं यह मानन के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। मैं अभी कर्नाटक के दौरे पर गया था। मैं रामदुर्ग गया, मैं गोकक गया। ये बड़े नगर नहीं हैं, गाँव हैं। और जब भाषण करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ तो मेरे भाषण का कन्नड़ भाषा में अनुवाद किया जाय, या न किया जाय, यह प्रश्न पैदा हुआ, और कन्नड़ में अनुवाद करने के लिये एक हमारे कार्यकर्ता खड़े भी हो गये। मगर लोगों ने कहा हमें अनुवाद की आवश्यकता नहीं है, हम हिन्दी समझ सकते हैं।

श्री अर्जुन अरोडा : यह प्रोफेसर रत्नस्वामी को समझाइये।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : कुछ ऐसे हैं जो समझने से इनकार करते हैं। वे अगर चाहें तो समझ सकते हैं। और अगर उन्हें समझने में कोई कठिनाई भी हो तो भी यह जरूरी है कि वे आने वाली संतति के पँरों में अंग्रेजी की जंजीर न डालें। जो पीढ़ी बीत गई वह भविष्य के लिये बंधन का कारण न बने। जो भूत है वह भारत के उज्ज्वल गले में भार बन कर न लटक। कुछ लोगों के लिये आज समझने में मुश्किल हो सकती है, उनके लिये व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। लेकिन भारत के सम्पूर्ण सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक और शैक्षणिक विकास को मुट्ठी भर लोगों के अंग्रेजी के मोह के कारण सदा सर्वदा के लिये रुद्ध नहीं किया जा सकता। मैं आंध्र प्रदेश में राजमहेन्दरी गया, वहाँ मेरे हिन्दी भाषण के अनुवाद की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ी। जसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा, राजमहेन्दरी के ६ सिनेमा घरों में मेरे ६ सिनेमा घरों में हिन्दी के चित्र चल रहे थे। और यहाँ कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी विदेशी

है। अंग्रेजी अपनी है और हिन्दी विदेशी है।

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Nobody said that.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I think you and Mr. Annadurai better settle the matter.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : No, no. It is not a question of Mr. Annadurai and myself. Let Mr. Akbar Ali join with me.

हिन्दी अगर विदेशी भाषा होती तो क्या हिन्दी के चित्र अहिन्दी प्रांतों में चल सकते थे? और चित्र देखने जनता जाती है, चुने हुए लोग नहीं जाते। मैं नहीं समझता, जनता अंग्रेजी को बनाए रखना चाहती है। अंग्रेजी को कौन रखना चाहता है, इसका हम जरा विश्लेषण करें। श्री अण्णादुरै अंग्रेजी को बनाए रखना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उनकी स्थिति मैं समझ सकता हूँ क्योंकि वे तो भारत को राष्ट्र मानने के लिये ही तैयार नहीं हैं। उनके लिए भारत एक जमीन का टुकड़ा है जिसे बांटा जा सकता है, काटा जा सकता है। मेरे लिए भारत जीता जागता राष्ट्र पुरुष है। मैं नहीं जानता हिमालय को देख कर उनके हृदय में क्या भावनाएं उठती हैं, लेकिन जहाँ भारत की भूमि का सागर चरण धुलाता है उस कन्या-कुमारी के तट पर खड़े हो कर मेरे हृदय में जो भावनाएं उठती हैं वे हिन्दी को दूसरे पर लादने की भावनाएं नहीं हैं। जो राष्ट्रीयता में विश्वास नहीं करते, जो भारत को एक राष्ट्र नहीं मानते वे अगर अंग्रेजी को बनाए रखने की बात करें, अन्तर्प्रान्तीय व्यवहार के लिये हिन्दी को लाने का विरोध करें तो किसी को आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिये। मुझे तो अपनी सरकार पर हंसी आती है। एक तरफ तो एन्टी सेडेशन बिल पास किया जा रहा है और दूसरी तरफ मेरे मित्र श्री अण्णादुरै के हाथ में एक नया हथियार दिया जा रहा है। क्या यह आवश्यक था कि

[श्री ए० बी बाजपेयी]

यह विधेयक इसी समय लाया जाता ? क्या १९६५ तक अंग्रेजी को चलाने की पूरी छूट नहीं है—क्या १९६५ तक हम प्रतीक्षा नहीं कर सकते थे, क्या संकट काल जिसका हवाला दे कर पहले विधेयक न लाने की बात कही गई थी, वह समाप्त हो गया है ? अभी दो वर्ष बाकी है । कांग्रेस पार्टी का प्रचंड बहुमत है । वह थोड़े ही दिनों में कोई भी विधेयक संसद् से पास करा सकती है । इस विधेयक को इतनी जल्दी क्यों लाया गया, इसका कोई संतोषजनक उत्तर नहीं दिया गया है सिवाय इसके कि श्री अण्णादुरै अब भारत से पृथक होने की मांग तो नहीं करेंगे—वह कानून से जुर्म बनाया जा रहा है—मगर वे हिन्दी का बहाना बनायेंगे और पृथक्तावादी शक्तियों को उभारने के लिये हिन्दी का हौवा खड़ा करेंगे और अंग्रेजी की वकालत के नाम पर भारत से अलग होने की प्रवृत्ति को बल प्रदान करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे । लेकिन आज मैंने देखा कि सारा प्रयत्न श्री अण्णादुरै को यह समझाने के लिये किया गया कि इस विधेयक से अंग्रेजी हटने वाली नहीं है—आप भरोसा रखिये, अंग्रेजी चलेगी, कयामत तक चलेगी, कोई सीमा नहीं है । मेरा निवेदन है कि संविधान में पन्द्रह वर्ष की अवधि रख कर, एक लक्ष्य सामने बना कर जो शासन तंत्र अंग्रेजी को नहीं हटा सका, हिन्दी को नहीं ला सका, वह जब लक्ष्य विहीन हो जायगा तो कितना पीछे पड़ जायेगा, यह समझने के लिए विशेष बुद्धिमानी की आवश्यकता नहीं है । आखिर सरकार वही है, सरकार के कर्मचारी वही हैं, सरकार को चलाने वाले अफसर भी वही हैं जिनका अंग्रेजी के साथ निहित स्वार्थ जुड़ा हुआ है । शास्त्री जी के भाषण में ऐसी कोई योजना सामने नहीं आई जिस से पता लगे कि जो काम पिछले १५ सालों में नहीं हो सका वह आगे दस साल में हो जायेगा ।

विधेयक के अनुसार १० साल के बाद एक समिति बनाई जायेगी जो हिन्दी की प्रगति की रिपोर्ट देगी । क्या इतनी लम्बी अवधि आवश्यक है ? बड़ी विचित्र बात है कि यहां केन्द्रीय शासन के हर एक मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट प्रति वर्ष आती है । कोयले की कितनी प्रगति हुई, बिजली कितनी पैदा हुई, खाद कितनी पैदा हुई, इसकी प्रतिवर्ष रिपोर्ट आती है । मगर हिन्दी कितनी आगे बढ़ी, अंग्रेजी कितनी पीछे हटी, इसकी रिपोर्ट १० साल बाद आयेगी । मैं समझ सकता था कि अगर कहा जाता कि हम १० साल का लक्ष्य इसलिये निर्धारित करते हैं कि इस बीच में हिन्दी आगे बढ़ जायेगी, फैल जायेगी ; हमने गलती की कि हम अपने कर्मचारियों को नहीं सिखा सके, हम बोपी हैं । कुछ विरोध भी है जो राजनीतिक रूप ले सकता है इसलिये थोड़ी अवधि बढ़ा दीजिये । लेकिन उस अवधि के बाद फिर उस में से निकलने के लिए कोई रास्ता न छोड़ा जाय । विधेयक के अनुसार जो समिति बनेगी वह विचार करेगी, वह सिफारिश करेगी, वह रिपोर्ट देगी और फिर सरकार विचार करेगी । अभी राजभाषा आयोग की पहली रिपोर्ट पर सरकार अन्तिम निर्णय नहीं ले सकी । उसके बाद जो पार्लियामेंट की कमेटी बनाई गई थी उस पर भी अन्तिम निर्णय नहीं ले सकी । दूसरा आयोग कायम नहीं हुआ, दूसरी समिति नहीं बनी । क्या हम यह विचार कर लें कि १० साल के बाद जो समिति बनेगी, उसके सामने ऐसी स्थिति आयेगी, जिसमें अंग्रेजी को चलाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी । काश, ऐसा होता । मगर पिछले १५ सालों से इसकी गवाही नहीं मिलती । और इसलिए इस विधेयक का विरोध बढ़ जाता है । बड़ा धर्म संकट होता है जब इस विधेयक का विरोध श्री अण्णादुरै भी करते हैं और मैं भी करता हूं । वे पृथक्तावादी हैं और मैं राष्ट्रवादी हूं । वे विघटन के अप्रदूत हैं और मैं संगठन का संदेशवाहक हूं । मेरे लिए देश सब से बड़ा

है और अन्य प्रश्न गोण हैं। इसलिये वे धम दिया दे सकते हैं, मैं नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

एक माननीय सदस्य धन्यवाद।

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी यह धन्यवाद देने की बात नहीं है। मैं यह कह कर आप के ऊपर उपकार नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं लडाई सरकार और हिन्दी समर्थकों की नहीं है, लेकिन अगर शासन यह समझता है कि केवल अंग्रेजी के हिमायती ही विरोध कर सकते हैं और अंग्रेजी के विरोधी विरोध नहीं कर सकते हैं तो यह गलतफहमी उसे दूर कर लेनी चाहिये। जो और प्रान्त है उनमें भी एक जागरण आ रहा है। जैसा श्री दिनकर जी ने कहा हम आन्ति का आह्वान कर रहे हैं और उससे डरने की गलती नहीं कर सकते। एक ओर हम प्रान्तीय भाषाओं को आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं, उन्हें राजकाज का माध्यम बना रहे हैं, विश्व-विद्यालयों तक उन्हें शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाया जा रहा है। अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि वैज्ञानिक विषयों की शिक्षा प्रादेशिक भाषाओं के द्वारा होनी चाहिये। दूसरी ओर हम नई दिल्ली में अंग्रेजी की जड़ मजबूत करने जा रहे हैं। अगर कलकत्ते से, बम्बई से, मद्रास से अंग्रेजी हट गई तो क्या नई दिल्ली में रह सकती है? अगर हम नई दिल्ली में अंग्रेजी रखना चाहते हैं तो या तो प्रान्तों में अपनी भाषाएँ आयेगी नहीं और अगर प्रान्तों में आयेगी तो देश की एकता के लिये खतरा बन कर आयेगी। आखिर प्रान्तों को केन्द्र से जोड़ने की कड़ी कान सी होगी? क्या अंग्रेजी होगी? लेकिन अंग्रेजी का स्तर गिर रहा है। इंग्लैंड से अंग्रेजी के प्रोफेसर बुला कर भी हम अंग्रेजी का स्तर ऊँचा नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप उत्तर प्रदेश की परीक्षाओं के परिणाम उठाकर देखिये। अंग्रेजी में फेल होने वाले विद्यार्थियों की संख्या बढ़ रही है। यह शिकायत हर यूनिवर्सिटी का वाइस चान्सलर कर

रहा है। केवल उत्तर प्रदेश में ही नहीं, अन्य प्रदेशों में भी अंग्रेजी का स्तर गिर रहा है। मगर यह कोई रोने की बात नहीं है। अंग्रेजी का स्तर और गिरेगा क्योंकि अंग्रेजी की आयु खत्म हो रही है। ऊँची शिक्षा में अंग्रेजी पढ़ाने का विरोध नहीं है, लोग अंग्रेजी भाषा पढ़ें, जर्मन पढ़ें, फ्रेंच पढ़ें, रशियन पढ़ें, हम अफ्रीका की भाषा पढ़ें, अनेक भाषाओं को पढ़ना चाहिये, इसका विरोध नहीं है। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि जिस तीव्र गति से भारत की आर्थिक, सामाजिक प्रगति करनी है क्या अंग्रेजी उस गति से चल सकती है? अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि हम भाषा के साथ और विषय भी पढ़ें। आज हमारे विद्यार्थियों की सारी शक्ति अंग्रेजी भाषा को रटने में खर्च हो जाती है और विषय अलग रह जाते हैं। जो पास हो कर आते हैं उन्हें न तो भाषा आती है न विषय ही आते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति कब तक चलेगी? अगर प्रदेशों में प्रान्तीय भाषाएँ आनी हैं, आनी चाहिये, तो नई दिल्ली में अंग्रेजी कैसे चलती रहेगी? यही कारण है कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में भी बंगला नहीं आई। अब १ तारीख को पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार जाग गई और कह दिया कि बंगला में राजकाज चलेगा। सरकारी घोषणा तो हो गई है उसे अमल में लाया जायेगा यह भी अभी विश्वास के साथ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। इस प्रकार की घोषणाएँ केन्द्रीय सरकार से भी पहले सुन चुके हैं। नई दिल्ली की ओर सब लोग देखते हैं। नई दिल्ली की नजर किधर है इस पर उनकी दृष्टि रहती है। और आज भी नई दिल्ली भाषा के सवाल पर स्पष्ट विचार नहीं रखती, परस्पर विरोधी बातें करती है। एक विभक्त दृष्टिकोण है जो हमारी भाषा के लिए ठीक नहीं है। सविज्ञान के अनुसार हम भारत में प्राथमिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य कर रहे हैं, हम भारतीय भाषाओं को शिक्षा का माध्यम बना रहे हैं और पचायत से ले कर पालियामेन्ट तक हम बालिंग्मतधिकार पर चलने वाले

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

लोकतंत्र को प्रतिष्ठापित देखना चाहते हैं। लेकिन साथ ही हम अंग्रेजी को लाद रखना चाहते हैं। यह दोनों बातें साथ नहीं चल सकती हैं। नौकरी की बात कही जाती है और मेरे मित्र श्री अण्णादुरे का सबसे बड़ा तर्क यह है कि अंग्रेजी हट गई तो जो अहिन्दी प्रान्त हैं उन्हें 'डिमण्डवान्टेज' होगा, जिमका अर्थ यह है कि उन्हें नौकरी कम मिलेगी और जो हिन्दी-प्रान्त वाले हैं वे फायदे में रहेंगे, उन्हें नौकरी में ज्यादा रखा जायेगा। क्या नौकरी का सवाल इतना बड़ा है? आखिर कन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों की संख्या कितनी है? २० लाख से ज्यादा नहीं है। तो या हम २० लाख के लिए ४५ करोड़ की उपेक्षा करें, ग्रबहेतना करें क्या नौकरी के लिए कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती है कि जिससे अहिन्दी प्रान्तों के हिंदी की रक्षा हो? क्या हमारे ने ॥ओं की बुद्धिमत्ता के लिए यह ऐसा प्रश्न है जिस का कि वह कोई हल नहीं खोज सकते? लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ अंग्रेजी के हिमायतियों से कि अंग्रेजी में यूनिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन की परीक्षाएँ चलती हैं इसलिए अहिन्दी प्रान्त बहुत आगे बढ़ गये हैं, उन्हें इस मुगालते में नहीं रहना चाहिये। अभी ६ अप्रैल को पी० टी० आई ने एक समाचार दिया है, मैं उसकी कुछ बातें आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। उनका कहना यह है कि पिछले १५ सालों में १९४८ में १९६२ तक इंडियन एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस के लिए जो भी विद्यार्थी चुन कर आये उनमें आन्ध्र के विद्यार्थियों का प्रतिशत ३६ था, बम्बई का २५ प्रतिशत, मैसूर का ४५ प्रतिशत। केवल मद्रास का प्रतिशत अधिक है—२३ प्रतिशत। लेकिन सभी अहिन्दी प्रान्त नौकरियों में पिछड़ जायेंगे यह कहने का कोई अर्थ नहीं है। अंग्रेजी चल रही है फिर भी उत्तर प्रदेश, मद्रास से थोड़ा ही कम है, बहुत कम नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश, बंगाल से ज्यादा है। उत्तर प्रदेश गुजरात से ज्यादा है, महाराष्ट्र

से ज्यादा है। उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों को नौकरियाँ मिल जायेंगी, इसलिये मैं हिन्दी की बकालत नहीं करना और मद्रास के लोगों को नौकरियाँ नहीं मिलेंगी इसलिए अंग्रेजी की बकालत की जाये, यह उचित नहीं है। हम नौकरियों के लिये ऐसी व्यवस्था कर सकते हैं कि किसी भी प्रान्त के, किसी भी भाषा के बोलने वालों को कठिनाई न हो। जब कोई उम्मीदवार पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के द्वारा चुन लिया जाये, उसको परीक्षा मातृभाषा में ली जाये तो चुनाव के बाद हम उसे हिन्दी सीखने के लिये थोड़ा समय दे सकते हैं। क्या यह अंग्रेजी काल में नहीं होता था? अंग्रेज तो उत्तर प्रदेश के जिलों में जाकर डिप्टी कमिश्नर बन कर काम चलाऊ भाषा सीख लेते थे। एक यह भी सुझाव दिया गया है कि आज जिस अनुपात में जिस प्रान्त से लोग आल इंडिया सर्विसेज में लिये जाते हैं, हम निर्धारित कर दें कि उसी अनुपात में अंग्रेजी के हटने के बाद भी लिये जायेंगे। इस के लिये आवश्यकता हो तो संविधान में संशोधन कर दिया जाये, लेकिन मुट्ठी भर नौकरियों के लिये भारतीय भाषाओं के जागरण को रोका नहीं जा सकता। मैंने कहा कि हिन्दो विरोध आन्ध्र में नहीं है, कर्नाटक में नहीं है, केरल में नहीं है। दक्षिण के नाम से ऐसा दिखाया जाता है कि जैसे भारत में उत्तर और दक्षिण ही हो, पूर्व और पश्चिम हो ही नहीं। हमारे यहाँ अनेक झगड़े पहिले से ही हैं। अब उत्तर और दक्षिण का भी झगड़ा चल रहा है। मैं कहता हूँ कि उत्तर कहाँ खन्म होता है और दक्षिण कहाँ गुरु होता है? हमारे लिये तो महाराष्ट्र भी दक्षिण में है, मगर तमिलनाड और बंगाल में कुछ विरोध है। लेकिन यह विरोध हिन्दी से नहीं है, उनकी अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं से भी है। यह अंग्रेजी के व्यामोह का परिणाम है, यह पराधीनता की देन है, यह हमारी विवृति का द्योतक है, यह हमारे स्वाभिमान के प्रतिकूल है और उसके साथ समझौता नहीं हो सकता।

श्री राजगोपालाचारी का भी नाम लिया जाता है। वह बड़े बुजुर्ग नेता है। मेरे उनके मतभेद हैं, किन्तु मैं उनके प्रति हलके शब्दों का प्रयोग नहीं करना चाहूंगा। मुझे याद है कि एक बार उन्होंने कहा था कि भारत की स्वतंत्रता बंगाल और पंजाब के लिए नहीं एक सकती। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय भाषाओं का जागरण और प्रचलन भी बंगाल और मद्रास के मुट्ठी भर लोगों के कारण नहीं एक सकता और अगर वह सकेगा तो भारत की स्वतंत्रता अधूरी होगी, भारत की आर्थिक क्रांति, सामाजिक प्रगति बेमानी होगी। दो फीसदी या मुट्ठी भर लोग शासन में, उद्योग में, व्यापार में, शिक्षा में अधिकार जमा कर बैठे रहे और ९८ फीसदी जनता को वासन से, शिक्षा से और अधिकार के पदों से वंचित कर दे यह परिस्थिति विस्फोटक है, इस से क्रांति के बीज छुपे हुए हैं। इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि अंग्रेजी के हिमायती धमकियाँ न दें, अंग्रेजी के विरोधी भी धमकियाँ दे सकते हैं और अभी तो हिन्दी जानने वाले जागे नहीं हैं और हमने उन्हें जगाया भी नहीं है और हम उन्हें जगाना भी नहीं चाहते हैं क्योंकि भाषा पीछे है, देश पहिले है। लेकिन हम जिस देश को पहिले कहते हैं वह देश अंग्रेजी से अपने स्वत्व की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता।

कहा जाता है कि अंग्रेजी खिडकी है, दुनियाँ को देखने की खिडकी है, मगर अंग्रेजी की खिडकी से हम ही दुनिया को नहीं देखते, दुनिया भी हमको देखती है। दुनिया देखती है कि एक प्राचीन, पुरातन राष्ट्र जिस की भाषायें विकसित हैं, समृद्ध हैं, एक विदेशी भाषा को ले कर उसकी झूठन में अपना काम चलाये जा रहा है। अमेरिका में मैंने देखा कि जो भारतीय विद्यार्थी अपने घरों को अंग्रेजी में चिट्ठियाँ लिखते हैं, उनके अमरीकी मित्र उनसे पूछते हैं कि क्या आपकी कोई भाषा नहीं है, जिसे सुन कर उन के ऊपर घड़ो पानी पड़ जाता है। जब भारत का कोई राजदूत नास्को में अंग्रेजी में परिचय पत्र पेश करता है और गोवियत सरकार उस परिचय

पत्र को वापिस कर देती है तो वह तमाचा राजदूत के मुँह पर नहीं लगता, नई दिल्ली के देवताओं मुँह पर लगता है। खिडकियाँ ठीक हैं। मगर खिडकियों के लिये नींव तो चाहिये, दीवारें तो खड़ी करें, छत तो बनायें। यहाँ नींव नदारद है, दीवारें गायब हैं, छत का पता नहीं है और खिडकियाँ खोली जा रही हैं। यह भारत का राष्ट्र भवन बनाया जा रहा है, था जयपुर का हवा महल तैयार किया जा रहा है? मेरा निवेदन है कि ऐसा कोई भी तर्क जो हमें राष्ट्रीय धारा से दूर ले जाता है वह भाषा की समस्या को हल करने में सहायक नहीं हो सकता। अंग्रेजी के साथ मेरा कोई द्वेष नहीं है। हम अंग्रेजी का बहिष्कार नहीं करना चाहते। मैंने निवेदन किया कि ऊँची शिक्षा, ऊँची कक्षाओं में अंग्रेजी चल सकती है, लेकिन अंग्रेजी राज काज की भाषा नहीं होनी चाहिये। यह केवल हिन्दी के विकास को ही अवरोध नहीं करेगी, यह भारतीय भाषाओं के लिए सकट का कारण बनेगी। यह हमारे आत्मनेज को प्रगट होने से रोकेंगी।

नेफा में हमारी जो सैनिक पराजय हुई, लोग कहते हैं कि उसका एक कारण यह भी है कि अफसर अंग्रेजी में सिखाते हैं और जवान अंग्रेजी जानते नहीं। सैनिक शिक्षा अंग्रेजी में दी जाती है और जवान मातृभाषा जानते हैं। जवानों और अफसरों के बीच में अंग्रेजी की दीवार खड़ी है। मुझे गलत न समझा जाय, उन चीनी सैनिकों को हम देखे जिन्होंने हमारी सीमा पर खड़े होकर हमारी भाषा में नारे लगाये क्योंकि वे हमें जीतने के लिये आये थे। हमें जीतने के लिये वह हमारी भाषा सीखें, यह चीनी समझ सकते हैं, मगर हम जीवित रहने के लिये अपनी भाषा सीखें यह हम समझने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं।

श्री मुल्लगि गोविन्द रड्डी हम चायना के प्रोपेगंडा में फस गये।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, मेरा निवेदन है कि इस विधेयक के स्वरूप में परिवर्तन किया जाये और एक मर्यादा निश्चित की जाये जिसके बाद किसी समिति के, आयोग के निर्माण के लिये गुजायश नहीं रहनी चाहिये। हम एक लक्ष्य निर्धारित कर दें कि तब तक अंग्रेजी चलेगी, उसके बाद नहीं चलेगी और इस बीच में अंग्रेजी को हटाकर भारतीय भाषाओं को लाने के लिये योजनाबद्ध और दृढ़तापूर्वक प्रयास किया जाये।

मैं सुझाव दूंगा कि केन्द्र में एक हिन्दी मंत्रालय की स्थापना की जाये जिसकी रिपोर्ट प्रति वर्ष सदन के सामने रखी जाये।

राष्ट्रपति के आदेशानुसार केन्द्रीय लोक सेवा आयोग की परीक्षाओं के लिये अगले सत्र से हिन्दी को वैकल्पिक माध्यम बनाया जाये।

संसद के समक्ष पेश किये जाने वाले सभी विधेयक हिन्दी में पेश किये जायें और साथ में उनका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद भी हो। इस विधेयक में जो व्यवस्था की गई है कि हिन्दी में विधेयक पेश किये जायेंगे मगर अदालत में उन्हें अधिकृत नहीं माना जायेगा, यह व्यवस्था ऐसी है जिसे कभी स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता।

साथ ही केन्द्रीय सरकार हिन्दी के विकास के लिये एक पंचवर्षीय योजना तैयार करे और उसके लिये विपुल धनराशि दे। विश्व के अच्छे से अच्छे साहित्य को भारतीय भाषाओं में लाने का एक प्रचंड प्रयास किया जाये। हिन्दी प्रान्तों के साथ केन्द्र उनकी भाषा में पत्र व्यवहार करे।

यह अंग्रेजी का व्यामोह जो हमारी आत्मा को खाये जा रहा है, हमारे स्वाभिमान को कुंठित कर रहा है, हमारे सांस्कृतिक और साहित्यिक विकास के मार्ग में रोड़ा बन कर खड़ा हो गया है। अंग्रेजी का यह व्यामोह एक बार यदि नई दिल्ली से दूर हो जाये तो फिर कलकत्ता या मद्रास में कोई कठिनाई पैदा नहीं होगी।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can tell you that Calcutta is not so bad as you make out. We are all for Bengali.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Dr. Ray.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, I am happy to associate myself with the supporters of this Bill; indeed, to extend my fullest support to the measure. I am sorry I cannot speak as surcharged with emotion as my previous speaker did. I shall just speak in a very cold, calculating manner.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

Sir, it is crystal clear that this is a compromise Bill, at the same time a very realistic and practical one—reasonable, balanced and fully adequate in the context of the relevant situation. We must not forget that Parliament legislates in a given time and space, in a given context.

The point at issue is a very simple and transparent one. There are as many as fourteen national languages in our land in varying stages of evolution, each one existing by its own right but each one understood by those born to and reared up by the language and circumscribed more or less within its own geographical frontiers. Of these fourteen there are however two languages only which may be said to have a wider claim, geographically at any rate. One is English which for historical reasons, which I need not enter into, is spoken and understood all over India, but only by two per cent of the entire population which, unfortunately, is perhaps today the dominant minority. The other is Hindi-Hindusthani spoken by at least 42 per cent of the entire population but understood over by far the largest segment of the country and by at least 60 per cent. of the total population. Obviously, by sheer logic of mathematics Hindi has, therefore, a much better claim to be recognised as the link and hence the official language of the Federal Republic of India.

When this claim was recognised and inscribed into the Constitution, it was only as the most convenient and practical arrangement in the linguistic context of our country. This did not and does not even now involve any question as to the superiority or inferiority of Hindi to any other language or languages of India. We did not concede this claim to English not because it was foreign. We have accepted so many things foreign including this parliamentary democracy, including even the very mode and manner of doing and thinking in the present context of the world. Therefore, its being foreign is not the main reason, but because being a language of two per cent. of the population it did not meet and does not meet even today the demands of the situation in which we find ourselves,—the demands of inter-communication in a democratic society and in an increasingly socialist economy of a linguistically federal country. This is sheer logic of facts. There is therefore no escape from Hindi being recognised as the link and official language of India. Let us have no illusion that eventually the writing of the Constitution will have to be honoured not because of our sentiments and emotions but because of the very, sheer logic of the facts of the social situation.

I have said "eventually," because everybody knows and recognises that Hindi has not yet reached such an evolved stage as to answer to the complex demand of the contemporary society. Language is a social product. It grows and expands with the growth and expansion of the society itself horizontally and vertically. All the modern Indian languages reflect the characteristics of a society which was by and large rural and agricultural, and it is no cynicism to say that our languages have not yet been able to catch up with the demands of an increasingly scientific and technological civilisation, urban and industrial economy, and a politically democratic and humanistic set-up. Therefore, it will take some time for Hindi to re-

place English entirely which for historical reasons still serves us as an associate or additional link or official language of our country.

The present Bill, therefore, extends to English another ten years' lease of life at the end of which the position of Hindi will be reviewed by a Parliamentary Committee and their report considered by the President as well as by the State Governments and finally by the Parliament itself. It will be for the Parliament at that time to decide whether Hindi will be the only link and official language or whether English would be extended a further lease of life as an associate or additional language. This is all that the Bill seeks to do, nothing more, nothing less, and I do not see any reason why there should be any opposition to its basic proposition or to any of its clauses.

The crux of the problem therefore is, are we prepared to advance the cause of Hindi in the next ten years and, if so how and to what extent? I agree with my hon. friend, Dinkarji that we have not done during the last fifteen years all that was possible to do to further the development of Hindi. Coming from Bengal, I know that there is a great dearth of Hindi teachers there. You all know that a language cannot be taught by one who is not born to it. A language is not mere grammar or syntax or words. It has its shades of meaning, nuances, idioms and phrases, accents, pronunciations, and so on and so forth, and one who is not born to the language cannot teach it well. Therefore, this Government should have found avenues to build up teachers that could serve as such in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. This is one thing.

Secondly, and here I hope my Hindi friends will not take me amiss I have noticed it with regret that scholars and intellectuals in the Hindi-speaking world never write in Hindi. They write in English and the results of their research or their intellectual

[Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy.]

pursuits are hardly ever written in Hindi. Take, for instance, a man like Dr. Kothari, one of the front-rank men in science. He has never written a line, to my knowledge, about any of his scientific researches in Hindi. But there were others before him like Sir Jagadish Bose who wrote as many pages in Bengali as he did in English, like Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray who wrote almost as many pages in Bengali as he wrote in English. Speaking humbly for myself, if I have written one thousand pages in English, I have written four thousand in Bengali. This is how the cause of the language is advanced, expanded and deepened, and unless we take measures of this kind, unless we can persuade our leading intellectuals, scholars and writers to write in their languages, in this case, to write in Hindi, the language will not achieve that flexibility, that richness and resilience and that modern accent which enable a language to express the demands of a very complex civilisation. I am not giving any piece of advice, it does not lie in my mouth to do so. But I would ask those who love Hindi and who want Hindi to develop, to consider these points, and unless some such steps are taken, ten years hence we shall find ourselves in the same position as we do today.

Lastly, I am proud to come from a State of this big land of ours Bengal. I felt sorry about the way in which the previous speaker, my esteemed friend, Shri Vajpayee, spoke about Bengal. I also felt sorry when my esteemed friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, spoke yesterday sigling out two instances, mentioning a letter written to "The Statesman" by Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharya, and about a resolution on national language, not on the official language, by the Senate of the Calcutta University, forgetting all the time that beginning from Raja Ram Mohan Roy through a galaxy of names like those of Keshab Chandra Sen to Bhudev Mukhopadhyay . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How can I ever forget them? I never forget.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: These were the men throughout the nineteenth century . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I pointed out exactly for the same reason. I was astonished. Mr. Bhattacharya is also a member of the Senate. I read out a resolution given by him. That was why I was shocked. Is it not a fact that Mr. Surajit Lahiri, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in his speech at the Convocation at Calcutta said that English should remain the medium of instruction in the Calcutta University and he pleaded for it?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): The Emotional Integration Committee recommended . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit also joined him. In her Convocation Address she said that English should remain the medium of instruction. These are exceptions. That was what I pointed out.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: These are exceptions indeed, and certain solitary voices. Even when Mr. Surajit Lahiri said that at the Convocation he was questioned and was told that he had no right, as a spokesman of the University, to speak in that way. Anyway . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is good.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay and Sarada Charan Mitra, even in those distant days, they thought of Hindi as being the link or the official language of India. Even in those days of British domination, they stood up and pleaded for Hindi being recognised as the link and official language. In fact, as Dinkarji reminds me, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay became the leader of the

Hindi movement and the cry came out of Bengal that this was pre-eminently the language which should be accepted as the official language of the entire country. Today, more than fifty years later I re-echo those sentiments on the floor of this House.

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ

(اُتر پردیش) : وائس چیئرمین

صاحب - اس سے پہلے کہ میں اپنے
وچار اس سدن کے سامنے رکھوں میں
یہ کہہ دینا اُچت سمجھتا ہوں کہ
یہ جو بل ہمارے سامنے لایا گیا ہے وہ
سنودھان کے ورودھ ہے - سنودھان
میں اس کی ۳۵۱ دھارا کی جو
مذشاء ہے اس بل میں اس کا الگ
ہوتا ہے - اس طرح سے ہمارے
راسٹریٹی جی نے اس بل کو سدن
میں لانے کے لئے جو سوپرکریٹی دی
ہے وہ ان ایڈی کوڈیت ہے جیسا کہ
سنودھان کا پروسیچر ہے اس کے مطابق
یہ بل نہیں لایا گیا ہے اور اس سے
دھارا ۳۲۹ اور ۳۲۳ کا الگ ہوتا ہے -
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ جو بل لایا
جا رہا ہے وہ غیر قانونی طور پر لایا
جا رہا ہے اور یہ رت کا موضوع بن سکتا
ہے - ہم سب لوگ مانتے ہیں کہ
سنودھان ایک بوٹر گرنٹھ ہے اور سب
بازوں کو ہم سنودھان کے مطابق مانتے
اور کرتے ہیں اس کی مریدان قائم
رکھتے ہیں اور چاہتے ہیں کہ سرکار
ہر دم کو سنودھان کے مطابق کرے
تو پھر یہ سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ
اس طرح کا بل اس سدن میں سرکار

کیوں لا رہی ہے - سنودھان کوئی
ایسی چیز نہیں ہے جس کو جب
جاہیں تبدیل کر دیا جائے جب
جاہیں ادھر ادھر کر دیا جائے جو
جاہیں اس میں جوڑ دیا جائے یا
اسے فلیکسیبل بنا دیا جائے - سنودھان
جو بلتا ہے وہ ہمیشہ کے لئے مکمل
وتا ہے اس میں معے کی گنجائش
نہیں دھتی - آج سرکار کی اکثریت ہے
اس لئے وہ جو چاہے کر سکتی ہے -
صرف یہ نہیں کر سکتی کہ مرد کو
عورت بنا دے اور عورت کو مرد بنا دے -
ہماری سرکار یہی نہیں کر سکتی
لیکن باقی سب باتیں کر سکتی
ہے -

ہمارے سنودھان میں ہندی کو
راشٹر بھاشا مانا گیا ہے - یونہی نہیں
مان لیا گیا ہے اس پر عرصہ تک
وچار ہوا - ہمارے دیس کے بڑے بڑے
ودوانوں نے اس میں بھاگ لیا - دکن
بھارت کے لوگوں نے، اتر بھارت کے لوگوں نے،
پنجاب، بنگال اور سب پرانتوں کے لوگوں نے
اس میں بھاگ لیا اور غور و خوض
کے بعد طے ہوا کہ ہندی ہماری راشٹر
بھاشا ہونی چاہئے - جہاں تک زبان
کا سوال ہے کدستی، تھیوڈس، اسپیلی
نے ایک ڈرافٹنگ کمیٹی بنائی تھی
جس کے تئی - تئی کرشناماچاری،
راج گوپال آچاری جو اب ہندی کے
مخالف ہیں اور انگریزی چاہتے ہیں
اور شری گوپالا سوامی آٹھنگر اور سنگتام

آشری پیارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ :
 اس کمیٹی کے ممبر تھے۔ ان سب لوگوں نے اس بات پر غور کیا کہ ہندوستان کی کونسی راشٹر بھاشا ہو سکتی ہے۔ ان لوگوں نے بہت غور و خوض کے بعد یہ فیصلہ کیا کہ ہندی ہی ایک ایسی بھاشا ہے جو کہ سارے دییش کی راشٹر بھاشا بن سکتی ہے۔ اور اس کو بنایا گیا اب سرکار اپنی کمزوری کو چھپانا چاہتی ہے کیونکہ اس نے ابھی تک اس کی ترقی کے لئے کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھایا اور صحیح طور پر کوشش نہیں کی کہ ہندی سارے ملک کی راشٹر بھاشا ہو سکے۔ ہماری سرکار کو راج کرتے ہوئے پلندہ سال ہو گئے لیکن اس نے ہندی کو راشٹر بھاشا بنانے کے لئے تیزی کے ساتھ کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھایا حالانکہ سلودھان میں یہ دائریکتیو دیا ہوا ہے کہ ہندی کو راشٹر بھاشا کے روپ میں سرکاری کام کاج میں لایا جائے لیکن ہماری سرکار نے اس کو نہیں کیا۔ سرکار نے اس طرف بہت لاپرواہی اور غفلت کی۔ اور ان سب چیزوں کو چھپانے کے لئے وہ اس طرح کا بل لا رہی ہے۔ سرکار کی جو اس طرح کی اپیزمنٹ پالیسی ہے اس سے وہ ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے حکومت کی گدی پر بیٹھا رہنا چاہتی ہے۔ ہماری سرکار کی اس اپیزمنٹ پالیسی کی وجہ سے ہمارے دییش کا بتوارہ ہوا۔

اس اپیزمنٹ کی پالیسی کی وجہ سے ہمارے پردھان منتری جی نے کشمیر میں "پلے بی سائٹ کرنے کا ذکر کیا جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ یہ کشمیر کی پرابلم انڈی کٹھن ہو گئی ہے۔ کیونکہ پردھان منتری نے اپنے منہ سے ایک بات نکالی۔ اور اس طرح سے کشمیر کی سمسیا کو جٹل بنا دیا۔ اس سب کی ذمہ داری نہرو حکومت پر ہے۔ آج سرکار اس سدن میں جو بل لا رہی ہے اس سے وہ پھر دییش میں زبان کا جھگڑا کھڑا کر رہی ہے اس کی ذمہ داری کس پر آتی ہے؟ اس کی مجرم کانگریس سرکار ہے اور کانگریس ہی گناہ گار ہے۔ آج اس بل کو لاکر سرکار ایک مٹے ہوئے جھگڑے کو پھر سے کھڑا کر دینا چاہتی ہے۔ جس سے سلودھان سبھا میں بھاشا کے معاملہ پر بحث ہوتی تھی تو بحث مباحثہ کے بعد ہندی کو راشٹر بھاشا مانا گیا لیکن آج سرکار ایک ایسا بل لا رہی ہے جو دییش درودھی ہے دییش کے خلاف ہے۔ میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ سرکار اس طرح کی بات کیوں کر رہی ہے۔ میں اس سلسلہ میں ایک بات کہنا چاہوں گا جو ہانما گاندھی نے کہی تھی، یہ بات بہت پرانی ہے۔

کسی نے ان سے سوال کیا کہ کسی پاتھک نے اور اس کا جواب دیتے ہوئے مہاتما گاندھی نے کہا تھا۔ میرے

خیال میں ۱۹۱۸ء کے لگ بھگ
کی بات ہے انہوں نے جو کہا تھا وہ
دہندہ سوراہ ۲۲ دہندہ ہوم رول ۲۲ اور
دہندہ انڈیا ۲۲ میں چھپا تھا - سوال
یہ تھا :

"Do I then understand that you
do not consider English education
necessary for obtaining Home Rule?"

مہاتما جی نے اس کا جواب دیا
تھا :

"My answer is yes and no. To
give millions a knowledge of Eng-
lish is to enslave them. The foun-
dation that Macaulay laid of educa-
tion has enslaved us. I do not sug-
gest that he had any such intention,
but that has been the result."

اس کے بعد وہ کہتے ہیں :

"We write to each other in faulty
English, and from this even our
M.As. are not free. Our best
thoughts are expressed in English.
The proceedings of our Congresses
are conducted in English. Our
best newspapers are printed in Eng-
lish. If this state of things conti-
nues for a long time, posterity will—
it is my firm opinion—condemn and
curse us."

یہ اس وقت مہاتما گاندھی نے
کہا تھا - کتنا عرصہ ہو گیا اور ابھی
تک ہم آزاد ہونے کے پندرہ سال کے
بعد بھی ہندی کو راشٹر بھاشا صحیح
طور پر نہیں بنا سکے - اس طرح سے
ابھی ہمارے پردھان منتری جی نے
تقریر کی ہے - وہ بہت سی باتیں
کیا کرتے ہیں اور بہت عرصے سے کرتے
چلے آ رہے ہیں - آپ ذرا ان کی باتوں
پر غور کیجئے - آج کی تقریر ان کی

دیکھیے کوئی فرق نہیں ہے - انا
عرصہ گذر جانے پر بھی وہ وہی بات
کہہ رہے ہیں - میں چلند بائیں آپ
کے سامنے ان کی بھی رکھنا چاہتا
ہوں - شری جوالہ لال نہرو نے
کنستٹی ٹوینٹ اسمبلی میں ۱۳ ستمبر
۱۹۴۹ء کو کہا تھا -

"But at the same time it created
a great gulf between us, who knew
English, and those who did not know
English, and that was fatal for the
progress of the nation. That is a
thing which certainly we cannot
possibly tolerate today. Hence this
problem. However good, however
important English may be, we can-
not tolerate that there should be an
English elite, and a large mass of
our people not knowing English.
Therefore we must have our own
language."

یہ ۱۹۴۹ء میں کہا تھا اور
اس کے بعد آج ۱۹۶۳ء ہے پھر بھی
وہ آج وہی بات کر رہے ہیں - وہی بات
آج وہ پھر دوہرا رہے ہیں - اس دوران
میں ہندی کو صحیح طور پر راشٹر
بھاشا بنانے کے لئے سرکار نے کوئی قدم
نہیں اٹھایا - کتنا رویہ انہوں نے
ہندی کے پرچار کے لئے دکنش بھارت
میں خرچ کیا - وہاں کے لوگوں نے
خود لاکھوں روپیہ ہندی سیکھنے کے لئے
خرچ کیا مگر ہماری سرکار نے کچھ
نہیں کیا - ہماری سرکار کتنا وظیفہ
ان لوگوں کو دیتی ہے تاکہ وہ
ہندی سیکھیں - کتنی ایسی سوسائٹیاں
ہیں جو ان کو ہندی پڑھانے کی
کوشش کرتی ہیں - کتنے ایسے لوگ

[شہری پیارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ]

ہیں جو ان کو ہندی کا پیغام پہنچاتے ہیں۔ آج کانگریس اپنی غلطی کو چھپا کر کے اس قسم کا بل یہاں پر پاس کرانا چاہتی ہے۔ اس کا مطلب صرف یہ ہے کہ وہ اپنی حکومت قائم رکھنے کی طرف زیادہ دھیان دینا چاہتی ہے۔ اپنے سوارتھ کو پورا کرنا چاہتی ہے اور ہندی کو صحیح طور پر راشٹر بھاشا بنانا نہیں چاہتی ہے۔ آج بلنگال اسمبلی میں انگریزوں کے خلاف بل پاس ہوا ہے۔ ہمارے ڈاکٹر شیاما پرساد مکرچی نے ۲۲ ستمبر ۱۹۴۹ء میں کانسٹیٹیوٹ اسمبلی میں کہا تھا۔ انہوں نے یہ بات ضرور کہی تھی کہ کتنی ہندی نہیں ہونی چاہیئے، سہل ہندی ہونی چاہیئے۔ اس میں سنسکرت کے الفاظ نہیں ہونے چاہئیں۔ بہرکیف انہوں نے جو کچھ بھی کہا ہو انہوں نے اپنی سمتی دی تھی کہ راشٹر بھاشا ہندی ہو۔ انہوں نے یہ کہا تھا :

"If you want that Hindi is to really occupy an all-India position and not merely replace English for certain official purposes, you make Hindi worthy of that position and allow it to absorb, by natural process, words and idioms not only from Sanskrit but also from other sister languages. I can speak Hindi in my own way. Mahatma Gandhi spoke Hindi in his own way. Sardar Patel speaks Hindi in his own Gujarati way. If my friends from Uttar Pradesh or Bihar come and say that theirs is standard Hindi, which

they have laid down, anyone who cannot speak this language will be tabooed. It will mean a bad thing not only for Hindi but it will be a bad thing for the country. I am glad, therefore, that provision has been incorporated in the draft article—suggestions as to how this language should develop in this country."

تو انہوں نے یہ بات کہی تھی۔ میرے خیال میں اس وقت اس کے خلاف کوئی آواز نہیں اٹھی تھی۔ اور نہ کسی قسم کی سمسٹیا کھڑی ہوئی تھی۔ اب اس سمسٹیا کو دوبارہ کھڑا کیا جا رہا ہے۔

اب دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان میں کونسی بھاشا صحیح معنوں میں راشٹر بھاشا بن سکتی ہے۔ ہندی ہی کو لے لیجیئے۔ اتر پردیش میں ہندی بولی جاتی ہے۔ بہار میں ہندی بولی جاتی ہے۔ اڑیسہ میں بھی زیادہ تر لوگ ہندی کو سمجھ لیتے ہیں۔ پنجاب میں بھی سمجھ لیتے ہیں۔ دلی میں بھی سمجھ لیتے ہیں۔ راجستھان میں بھی سمجھ لیتے ہیں۔ یہاں تک کہ کشمیر سے کنیا کماری تک لوگ اس کو سمجھتے ہیں۔ آندھر پردیش کے لوگ بھی ہندی کو سمجھ لیتے ہیں۔ ہندی اور اردو ملی ہوئی بولی تو ہندوستان میں سب جگہ سمجھی جاتی ہے۔ آج آپ دیس کے کسی کونے میں چلے جائیئے، آپ آپ کیل میں چلے جائیئے، آپ

مدرس میں چلے جائے - ہندی
میں آپ اپنا کاروبار نکال لینگے - وہ
لوگ ہندی کو سمجھ لینگے کہ آپ
کیا کہنا چاہتے ہیں -

آپ کے سامنے اب میں ہمارے
آفیشیل لنگویج کمیشن نے جو آنکڑے
دئے ہیں وہ رکھنا چاہتا ہوں -
آسامی بولنے والے جو لوگ ہیں وہ
تقریباً پچاس لاکھ ہیں - بلنگلہ بولنے
والے دو کروڑ اکیاون لاکھ ہیں - یہ
اس کمیشن کے فیگرس ہیں جو میں
آپ کے سامنے دے رہا ہوں - گجراتی
بولنے والے ایک کروڑ تریسٹھ لاکھ ہیں -
ہندی، اردو، ہندوستانی اور پنجابی
بولنے والے اور اس کو سمجھنے والے
قریب پندرہ کروڑ ہیں - کٹ بولنے
والے چودہ لاکھ ہیں - ملیالم بولنے والے
ایک کروڑ تیس لاکھ ہیں - مراٹھی
بولنے والے دو کروڑ ستر لاکھ ہیں - اڑیہ
بولنے والے ایک کروڑ اکتیس لاکھ ہیں -
سلسکرت بولنے والے پانچ سو پچپن ہیں -
تامل بولنے والے دو کروڑ پینسٹھ لاکھ
ہیں، تیلگو بولنے والے تین کروڑ
انتالیس لاکھ ہیں - دوسری بھاشائیں
بولنے والے قریب قریب تین کروڑ
آدمی ہیں - بھارت میں دو پرکار کی
تہذیبیں بڑھتی رہی ہیں - ایک
تو دراوڑ تہذیب ہے اور دوسری آریہ
کنچر ہے - ہمارے دراوڑ تہذیب کے
ماتحت چار زبانیں ہیں - تیلگو ہے،
تامل ہے، کٹ ہے اور ملیالم ہے -

میں سے بھی دو زبانیں جو ہیں وہ
سلسکرت سے نکلی ہیں اور زیادہ تر
الفاظ ان میں سلسکرت کے ہیں -
ان تمام زبانوں کو جاننے والے جو لوگ
ہیں ان کی مجموعی تعداد میرے
خیال میں زیادہ سے زیادہ نو کروڑ
کے لگ بھگ آتی ہے - باقی تقریباً
چھتیس کو جو لوگ ہیں وہ اڑیہ
بھاشائیں بولتے ہیں اور اگر ہم یہ
لگا لیں کہ وہ لوگ جو ہندی کو
سمجھ بھی لیتے ہیں تو میرے خیال
میں ۲۲ کروڑ لوگ ہندی کو جانتے
ہیں - اب سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ
جس زبان کو ہم نہایت آسانی کے ساتھ
سمجھ سکتے ہیں اور آسانی کے ساتھ سیکھ
سکتے ہیں اور جس کو بولنے والے
سب سے زیادہ ہیں وہ ہماری راشٹریہ
بھاشا کیوں نہیں بن سکتی - میں
نے خود کسی سکول میں ہندی نہیں
سیکھی، ایک لفظ میں ہندی کا نہیں
جانتا تھا اور نہ ہندی پڑھائی کسی
نے مجھ کو - لیکن آج میں ہندی
پڑھ لیتا ہوں، ہندی بول بھی لیتا
ہوں اور کوشش کر رہا ہوں کہ زیادہ
سے زیادہ سیکھوں - میں فارسی کا
اسکالر رہا ہوں اور میں نے فارسی
میں کتابیں بھی لکھی ہیں - میں
اردو کا بھی اسکالر رہا ہوں اور میری
اردو میں بھی کتابیں چھپی ہوئی
ہیں - میں پشتو بھی جانتا ہوں -

[دشوری پیارے لال کربیل دطالبہ]

پنجابی میں اچھی طرح سے جانتا ہوں - مگر اس کا یہ مطلب نہیں کہ میں چونکہ ان زبانوں کو جانتا ہوں تو ان میں سے ہر زبان کو راشٹر بھاشا بنایا جائے - راشٹر بھاشا ایک ایسی بھاشا ہونی چاہیئے جو ہر آدمی آسانی سے سمجھ سکے اور آسانی سے سیکھ سکے - بغیر کسی کی مدد کے میں نے ہندی کے بہت سے حروف سیکھے ہیں اور بغیر کسی کی مدد کے میں نے ہندی لکھنا سیکھا ہے اور اب میں کوشش کر رہا ہوں کہ میں ہندی میں اس سدن میں بولوں - شروع سے لے کر سنٹرل اسمبلی میں بھی، لوگ سبھا میں بھی اور یہاں پر بھی ایک بار میں انگریزی میں بولا جب شروع شروع میں میں سوشلسٹ پارٹی کا سدسیہ ہو کر آیا تھا - اب میں نے یہ پرتگیا کی ہے کہ میں انگریزی میں نہیں بولوں گا بلکہ ہندی میں بولوں گا - اس طرح سے یہ کوئی ایسا سوال نہیں ہے جس کو ہم سمجھ نہ سکیں - جو ہمارے ساؤتھ انڈیا کے لوگ ہیں، دکشن بھارت کے لوگ ہیں ان سے میں ان پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج آپ انگریزی کے لئے سوال اٹھاتے ہیں اور یہاں انگریزی بولتے ہیں لیکن آپ اپنے یہاں پر اخباروں کی اشاعت دیکھئے کہ کتنے ان کی اپنی زبانوں میں اخبار

نکلتے ہیں - کئی انگریزی میں اخبار نکلتے ہیں اور کتنے ان کی زبانوں کے اخبار فروخت ہوتے ہیں اور کئی انگریزی کے - انگریزی جاننے والوں کا ایک تھوڑا سا پرسنٹیج ہے جو اس زبان کو یہاں قائم رکھنا چاہتا ہے اس لئے تاکہ وہ اپنے پرہیز کو، پرہیز کو قائم رکھ سکیں، غریبوں کے اوپر اپنا دباؤ ڈال سکیں - تو میں یہ کہونگا کہ ہندی ہی ایک ایسی زبان ہے جو صحیح طور پر یہاں کی راشٹر بھاشا بن سکتی ہے -

اب میں اس سدن سے اور سرکار سے پرارتھنا کروں گا کہ یا تو سرکار اس بل کو واپس کر لے اور اگر اس بل کو پاس کرنے کا ارادہ رکھتی ہے تو میں سرکار سے ایک بات کہوں گا کہ یا تو وہ استعفیٰ دے دے اور اس لنگویج ایشو پر دوبارہ چناو لڑے اس طرح آپ جلتا کا ووٹکٹ لیں تب ہم سمجھیں کہ آپ اس دیہ کی جلتا کی ضرورت اور ان کے جذبات کا احساس کرتے ہیں - اس طریقے سے اس بل کو لانا نامناسب ہے یہ میں سمجھتا ہوں، سراسر ایک دیہ دروہی کام آپ کر رہے ہیں -

۱۴ نیشنل زبانوں کی آل انڈیا لنگویج کنونشن جو ۱۹۶۲ء میں دلی میں ۱۱-۱۲ اگست سنہ ۱۹۶۲ء کو ہوئی تھی اس نے بھی اس بل کی

مخالفات کی تھی۔ تقریباً دیس کے کونے کونے سے اس کی مخالفت ہوئی ہے مگر اس کے باوجود آج سرکار یہ بل سدن میں لا رہی ہے۔ میں سرکار سے پرزور گزارش کروں گا کہ وہ اس بل کو پاس کرنے سے پہلے جلتا کی رائے لے، جلتا کا ووٹ لے، جلتا کی اوپینین پر غور کرے اور اس کے بعد وہ اس کو پاس کرے۔ آپ کہتے ہیں کہ انگریزی کے بغیر کام نہیں ہو سکتا ہے۔ یہ بالکل غلط ہے۔

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आप का वक्त खत्म हो गया है ।

شری پیدارے لال کريل دهطالبہ :

میں کہتا ہوں آپرلیمینٹ میں یہاں سے زیادہ پرتیشٹ لوگ انگریزی جانتے ہیں مگر انہوں نے انگریزی بھاشا کی جگہ انگریزی لنگویج کو اپنی راج بھاشا بنایا ہے۔ موجودہ زمانہ میں اسرائیل کی مثال آپ لے لیجئے۔ پندرہ سال اس کو بنے ہوئے نہیں ہوئے۔ اس نے دو ہزار سال پرانی بھاشا ہیبرو جو قریب قریب دنیا سے نہست و نابود ہوگئی تھی اس کو پھر سے زندہ کر کے اپنی راشٹر بھاشا بنایا اور اس میں اس کا سارا راج کاج چلایا جاتا ہے۔ اسی بھاشا میں وہاں اسکول، کالج اور یونیورسٹیاں کھولی گئی ہیں۔ اسی طرح سے آپ چمن، جاپان، انڈونیشیا، برما،

تورکی اور تمام اُس پاس کے دیسوں کو لے لیجئے۔ جاپان کی موجودہ تری محض ان کی لنگویج کی وجہ سے ہے۔

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान):
आपका वक्त हो चुका है तालिब साहब,
मैंने आपको चार मिनट ज्यादा दे दिये हैं ।

شری پیدارے لال کريل دهطالبہ :

میں اس سدن سے پھر درخواست کروں گا اور خاص طور پر کانگریسیوں سے کہ وہ اس بل میں اپنا ووٹ سرکار کے حق میں نہ دیں۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ لوگ سبھا میں بھی اور یہاں بھی بہت سے ایسے سدسیہ ہوں گے جو یہ کہیں گے کہ یہ جو بل آیا ہے اس کو نہیں آنا چاہیئے تھا۔ کانگریس کے بہت سے سدسیوں کی بھی یہی رائے ہے۔ وہ بھی سرکار کو تصوروار مانتے ہیں۔ انکی بھی مانگ یہی ہے۔ ایک شری شیونرائٹ ہیں جو لوگ سبھا کے سدسیہ ہیں، انہوں نے کہا ہے لوگ سبھا میں : دہاکر آج اس ہندی بھاشا کو جلتا پھیلانا چاہیئے تھا، انہوں نے نہیں پھیلایا ہے تو یہ کس کا دوش ہے، گورنمنٹ کی ذمہ داری ہے۔ اس کے لئے میں گورنمنٹ پر لانچمن لگانا چاہتا ہوں۔ نہرو سرکار پر میرا چارج ہے کہ آج پندرہ برس کے اندر اندر دیس کے اندر ہندی اتنی

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ]
 نہیں پھیلی جتنی پھیلنی چاہیئے
 نہی - ۴۴ میں ان کے ہلدے بہ شن
 پڑ رہا ہوں -

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान)
 अब बस कीजिए ।

شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ :

اب میں زیادہ نہ کہنے ہوئے صرف
 اپنا ہی کہوں گا کہ اگر کانگریس نے
 آدمیوں کو آپ آراں کر دیں تو میرے
 خیال میں ان میں سے نو فیصدی
 میرے ساتھ سمیت ہوں گے۔ اپنا کہتے
 ہوئے میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرتا
 ہوں -

†[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील "तालिब"
 (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, इस से
 पहले कि मैं अपने विचार इस सदन के सामने
 रखूँ मैं यह कह देना उचित समझता हूँ कि
 यह जो बिल हमारे सामने लाया गया है वह
 संविधान के विरुद्ध है । संविधान की धारा
 ३५१ की जो मंशा है इस बिल में उस का
 उल्लंघन होता है । इस तरह से हमारे राष्ट्रपति
 जी ने इस बिल को सदन में लाने के लिये जो
 स्वीकृति दी है वह इनएडिक्वेट है जैसा कि
 संविधान में इसका प्रोसीजर है उसके मुताबिक
 यह बिल नहीं लाया गया है और इससे धारा
 ३४६ और ३४४ का उल्लंघन होता है । मैं
 समझता हूँ कि ये जो बिल लाया जा रहा है वह
 गौर कानूनी तौर पर लाया जा रहा है और ये
 रिट् का मौजू बन सकता है । हम सब लोग
 मानते हैं कि संविधान एक पवित्र ग्रन्थ है
 और सब बातों को हम संविधान के मुताबिक
 मानते और करते हैं । उसकी मर्यादा कायम
 रखते हैं और चाहते हैं कि सरकार हर काम को
 संविधान के मुताबिक करे, तो फिर यह समझ
 में नहीं आता कि इस तरह का बिल इस सदन

में सरकार क्यों ला रही है । संविधान काई ऐसी
 चीज नहीं है जिसको जब चाहे तबदील कर
 लिया जाये, जब चाहे इधर उधर कर लिया
 जाये, जो चाहे उसमें जोड़ दिया जाये या उसे
 फ्लेक्सीबल बना दिया जाये । संविधान जो
 बनता है वह हमेशा के लिये मुकम्मल होता है
 और उसमें मुइस्मे की गुजाइश नहीं रहती ।
 आज सरकार की अक्सरियत है, इसलिये वह
 जो चाहे कर सकती है । सिर्फ़ यह नहीं कर
 सकती कि मर्द को औरत बना दे और औरत
 को मर्द बना दे । हमारी सरकार यही नहीं
 कर सकती लेकिन बाकी सब बातें कर सकती
 है ।

हमारे संविधान में हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा
 माना गया है । यू ही नहीं मान लिया गया है ।
 इस पर असें तक विचार हुआ । हमारे देश के
 बड़े बड़े विद्वानों ने इसमें भाग लिया । दक्षिण
 भारत के लोगों ने, उत्तर भारत के लोगों ने,
 पंजाब बंगाल और सब प्रान्तों के लोगों ने इसमें
 भाग लिया और गौरो-खौज के बाद तय हुआ
 कि हिन्दी हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा होनी चाहिये ।
 जहां तक जबान का सवाल है कान्स्टीट्यूएण्ट
 असेम्बली ने एक ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी बनाई थी
 जिसके टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी, राजगोपाला-
 चारी जो अब हिन्दी के मुखालिफ़ है और
 अंग्रेजी चाहते हैं और श्री गोपाला स्वामी
 आर्यंगर और सन्तानम इस कमेटी के मेम्बर थे
 इन सब लोगों ने इस बात पर गौर किया कि
 हिन्दुस्तान की कौन सी राष्ट्र भाषा हो सकती
 है । इन लोगों ने बहुत गौरोखौज के बाद यह
 फैसला किया कि हिन्दी ही एक ऐसी भाषा है
 जो कि सारे देश की राष्ट्र भाषा बन सकती है
 और इसी को बनाया गया अब सरकार अपनी
 कमजोरी को छुपाना चाहती है क्योंकि उसने
 अभी तक उसकी तरक्की के लिये कोई कदम
 नहीं उठाया और सही तौर पर यह कोशिश
 नहीं की कि हिन्दी सारे मुल्क की राष्ट्र भाषा
 हो सके । हमारी सरकार को राज करते हुए
 १५ साल हो गये लेकिन उसने हिन्दी को
 राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने के लिये तेजी के साथ कोई

कदम नहीं उठाया हालांकि संविधान में यह डायरेक्टिव दिया हुआ है कि हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में सरकारी काम काज में लाया जाय लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने इसको नहीं किया। सरकार ने इस तरफ बहुत लापरवाही और गफलत की। और इन सब चीजों को छुपाने के लिये वह इस तरह का बिल ला रही है। सरकार की जो इस तरह की अपीजमेन्ट पोलिसी है इससे वह हमेशा हमेशा के लिये हुकूमन की गद्दी पर बैठी रहना चाहती है। हमारी सरकार की इस अपीजमेन्ट पोलिसी की वजह से हमारे देश का बटवारा हुआ। इसी अपीजमेन्ट की पोलिसी की वजह से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने काश्मीर में प्लेबीसाइट करने का जिक्र किया जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि काश्मीर की प्रोबलम इतनी कठिन हो गई है, क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने मुँह से एक बात निकाली, और इस तरह से काश्मीर की समस्या को जटिल बना दिया। इस सबकी जिम्मेदारी नेहरू हुकूमत पर है। आज सरकार इस सदन में जो बिल ला रही है उससे वह फिर देश में जुबान का झगड़ा खड़ा कर रही है। इसकी जिम्मेदारी किस पर आती है, इसकी मुजरिम कांग्रेस सरकार है और कांग्रेस ही गुनाहगार है। आज इस बिल को ला कर सरकार एक मिटे हुए झगड़े को फिर से खड़ा कर देना चाहती है। जिस समय संविधान सभा में भाषा के मामले पर बहस हुई थी तो बहुत बहस मुबाहसे के बाद हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा माना गया। लेकिन आज सरकार एक ऐसा बिल ला रही है जो देशद्रोही है, देश के खिलाफ है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि सरकार इस तरह की बात क्यों कर रही है। मैं इस सिलसिले में एक बात कहना चाहूँगा जो महात्मा गांधी ने कही थी, यह बात बहुत पुरानी है।

किसी ने उनसे सवाल किया, किसी पाठक ने, और उसका जवाब देते हुए महात्मा गांधी कहा था। मेरे खयाल में १९१८ ईस्वी के लगभग की बात है, उन्होंने जो कहा था वो

“हिन्द स्वराज्य,” “इंडियन होम रूल” और “यंग इंडिया” में छपा था। सवाल यह था :

“Do I then understand that you do not consider English education necessary for obtaining Home Rule?”

महात्मा जी ने इसका जवाब दिया था :

“My answer is ‘yes’ and ‘no’. To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them. The foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us. I do not suggest that he had any such intention, but that has been the result.”

इसके बाद वह कहते हैं :

“We write to each other in faulty English, and from this even our M.As. are not free. Our best thoughts are expressed in English. The proceedings of our Congress are conducted in English. Our best newspapers are printed in English. If this state of things continues for a long time, posterity will—it is my firm opinion—condemn and curse us.”

यह उस वक्त महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था। कितना अर्सा हो गया और अभी तक हम आजाद होने के १५ साल के बाद भी हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा सही तौर पर नहीं बना सके। इसी तरह से अभी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने तकरीर की है। वह बहुत सी बातें किया करते हैं और बहुत अर्से से करते चले आ रहे हैं। आप जरा उनकी बातों पर गौर कीजिये। आज की तकरीर उनकी देखिये कोई फर्क नहीं है। इतना अर्सा गुजर जाने पर भी वह वही बात कह रहे हैं। मैं चन्द बातें आपके सामने उनकी भी रखना चाहता हूँ। श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कांस्टीट्यूएन्ट असेम्बली में १३ सितम्बर, १९४९ ई० को कहा था :

“But at the same time it created a great gulf between us, who knew

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील "तालिब"]

English, and those who did not know English, and that was fatal for the progress of the nation. That is a thing which certainly we cannot possibly tolerate today. Hence this problem. However good, however important English may be, we cannot tolerate that there should be an English elite, and a large mass of our people not knowing English. Therefore we must have our own language."

यह १९४६ ईस्वी में कहा था और उसके बाद आज १९६३ ईस्वी है फिर भी वह आज वही बात कर रहे हैं। वही बात आज वह फिर दोहरा रहे हैं। इस दौरान में हिन्दी को सही तौर पर राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने के लिये सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया। कितना रूपया उन्होंने हिन्दी के प्रचार के लिये दक्षिण भारत में खर्च किया। वहां के लोगों ने खुद लाखों रूपया हिन्दी सीखने के लिये खर्च किया मगर हमारी सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया हमारी सरकार कितना वजीफा उन लोगों को देती है ताकि वह हिन्दी सीखें। कितनी ऐसी सोसाइटियां हैं जो उस का हिन्दी पढ़ाने की कोशिश करती हैं। किन्ते ऐसे लोग हैं जो उनको हिन्दी का पैगाम पहुँचाते हैं। आज कांग्रेस अपनी गलती को छुपा करके इस किसम का बिल यहाँ पर पास कराना चाहती है। इसका मतलब सिर्फ यह है कि वह अपनी हुकूमत कायम रखने की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहती है। अपने स्वार्थ को पूरा करना चाहती है और हिन्दी को सही तौर पर राष्ट्र भाषा बनाना नहीं चाहती। आज बंगाल असेम्बली में अँग्रेजी के खिलाफ बिल पास हुआ है। हमारे डाक्टर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने १३ सितम्बर, १९४६ ईस्वी को कान्स्टीट्यूट असेम्बली में क्या कहा था। उन्होंने यह बात जरूर कही थी कि कठिन हिन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिये, सरल हिन्दी होना चाहिये। इसमें संस्कृत के अल्फाज नहीं होने चाहिये। बहर कौन उन्होंने जो कुछ भी कहा हो, उन्होंने अपनी

सम्मति दी थी कि राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दा हो। उन्होंने यह कहा था:

"If you want that Hindi is to really occupy an all-India position and not merely replace English for certain official purposes, you make Hindi worthy of that position and allow it to absorb, by natural process, words and idioms not only from Sanskrit but also from other sister languages. I can speak Hindi in my own way. Mahatma Gandhi spoke Hindi in his own way. Sardar Patel speaks Hindi in his own Gujarati way. If my friends from Uttar Pradesh or Bihar come and say that theirs is standard Hindi, which they have laid down, anyone who cannot speak this language will be tabooed. It will mean a bad thing not only for Hindi, but it will be a bad thing for the country. I am glad, therefore, that provision has been incorporated in the draft article—suggestions as to how this language should develop in this country."

तो उन्होंने यह बात कही थी। मेरे स्थान में उस वक्त इसके खिलाफ कोई आवाज नहीं उठी थी। और न किसी किसम की समस्या खड़ी हुई थी। अब इस समस्या को दुबारा खड किया जा रहा है।

अब देखना यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में कौन सी भाषा सही मानों में राष्ट्र भाषा बन सकती है। हिन्दी को ही ले लीजिये। उत्तर प्रदेश में हिन्दी बोली जाती है। बिहार में हिन्दी बोली जाती है। उड़ीसा में भी ज्यादातर लोग हिन्दी को समझ लेते हैं। पंजाब में भी समझ लेते हैं। दिल्ली में भी समझ लेते हैं। राजस्थान में भी समझ लेते हैं। यहां तक कि काश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी तक लोग इसको समझते हैं। आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लोग भी हिन्दी को समझ लेते हैं। हिन्दी और उर्दू मिली हुई बोली तो हिन्दुस्तान में सब जगह समझी जाती है। आज आप देश के किसी कोने में चले जाइये।

आप केरल में चले जाइये। आप मद्रास में चले जाइये। हिन्दी में आप अपना कारोबार निकाल लेंगे। वह लोग हिन्दी को समझ लेंगे कि आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं।

आपके सामने अब मैं, हमारे आफिशियल लैंग्वेज कमिशन ने जो आंकड़े दिये हैं, वह रखना चाहता हूँ। असामी बोलने वाले जो लोग हैं वह तकरीबन पचास लाख हैं। बंगला बोलने वाले दो करोड़ इक्यावन लाख हैं। ये इस कमिशन की फिगर्स हैं जो मैं आपके सामने दे रहा हूँ। गुजराती बोलने वाले एक करोड़ तरेपठ लाख हैं। हिन्दी, उर्दू, हिन्दुस्तानी और पंजाबी बोलने वाले और उसको समझने वाले करोब पंद्रह करोड़ हैं। कन्नड़ बोलने वाले चौदह लाख हैं। मलयालम बोलने वाले एक करोड़ तैतीस लाख हैं। मराठी बोलने वाले दो करोड़ सत्तर लाख हैं। उड़िया बोलने वाले एक करोड़ इक्कीस लाख हैं। संस्कृत बोलने वाले पांच सौ पचान हैं। तमिल बोलने वाले दो करोड़ पैमठ लाख हैं। तेलुगू बोलने वाले तीन करोड़ उन्नालीस लाख हैं। दूसरी भाषायें बोलने वाले करोब करोब तीन करोड़ आदमी हैं। भारत में दो प्रकार की तहजीबें बढ़ती रही हैं। एक तो द्राविड़ तहजीब है और दूसरी आर्यन कल्चर है। हमारे द्राविड़ तहजीब के मानहन वार ज्ञानें हैं। तेलुगू है, तमिल है कन्नड़ है और मलयालम है। उनमें से भी दो जवानों जो हैं वह संस्कृत से निकली हैं और ज्यादातर अफाज उनमें संस्कृत के हैं। इन तमाम जवानों को जानने वाले जो लोग हैं उनको मजबूरी तयदाद मेरे ख्याल में ज्यादा से ज्यादा नौ करोड़ के लगभग आती है। बाकी तहजीब छत्तीस करोड़ जो लोग हैं वह आर्या भाषायें बोलते हैं और अगर हम यह लगा लें कि वह लोग जो हिन्दी को समझ भी लेते हैं तो मेरे ख्याल में ४२ करोड़ लोग हिन्दी को जानते हैं। अब सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि जिस जवान को हम निश्चित आसानी के साथ समझ सकते हैं और आसानी के साथ सीख

सकते हैं और जिम्को बोलने वाले सबसे ज्यादा हैं, वह हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा क्यों नहीं बन सकती। मैंने खुद किसी स्कूल में हिन्दी नहीं सीखी। एक लफज मैं हिन्दी का नहीं जानता था और न हिन्दी पढ़ायी किसी ने मुझको। लेकिन आज मैं हिन्दी पढ़ लेता हूँ, हिन्दी बोल भी लेता हूँ और कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा सीखूँ। मैं फारसी का स्कालर रहा हूँ और मैंने फारसी में किताबें भी लिखी है। मैं उर्दू का भी स्कालर रहा हूँ और मेरी उर्दू में भी किताबें छपी हुई हैं। मैं पस्तो भी जानता हूँ। पंजाबी मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। मगर इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि मैं चूँकि इन जवानों को जानता हूँ तो उनमें से हर जवान को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाया जाय। राष्ट्र भाषा एक ऐसी भाषा होनी चाहिये जो हर आदमी आसानी से समझ सके और आसानी से सीख सके। बगैर किसी की मदद के मैंने हिन्दी के बहुत से हुरफ सीखे हैं और बगैर किसी की मदद के मैंने हिन्दी लिखना सीखा है और अब मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि मैं हिन्दी में इस सदन में बोलूँ। शुरू से लेकर सेंट्रल असेम्बली में भी, लोक सभा में भी, और यहाँ पर भी एक बार मैं अंग्रेजी में बोला जब शुरू शुरू में मैं सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सदस्य हो कर आया था। अब मैंने प्रतिज्ञा की है कि मैं अंग्रेजी में नहीं बोलूँगा बल्कि हिन्दी में बोलूँगा। इस तरह से यह कोई ऐसा सवाल नहीं है जिसको हम समझ न सकें। जो हमारे साउथ इंडिया के लोग हैं, दक्षिणी भारत के लोग हैं, उनसे मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज आप अंग्रेजी के लिये सवाल उठाते हैं और यहाँ अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं, लेकिन आप अपने यहाँ पर अखबारों की इशाअत देखिये कि कितने उनकी अपनी जवानों में अखबार निकलते हैं। कितने अंग्रेजी में अखबार निकलते हैं और कितने उनकी जवानों के अखबार फिरोख्त होते हैं। और कितने अंग्रेजी के। अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का एक थोड़ा सा परसेंटेज है जो इस जवान को यहाँ कायम रखना

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील "तालिब"]

चाहता है इसलिये ताकि वह अपने प्रभाव को, प्रभुत्व को कायम कर सकें, गरीबों के ऊपर अपना दबाव डाल सकें। तो मैं यह कहूँगा कि हिन्दी ही एक ऐसी ज़बान है जो सही तौर पर यहाँ की राष्ट्र भाषा बन सकती है।

अब मैं इस सदन से और सरकार से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि या तो सरकार इस बिल को वापिस कर ले और अगर इस बिल को पास करने का इरादा रखती है तो मैं सरकार से एक बात कहूँगा कि या तो वह इस्तीफा दे दे और इस लेंग्वेज इश्यू पर दुबारा चुनाव लड़ें। इस तरह आप जनता का वॉइकट लें तब हम समझे कि आप इस देश की जनता की जरूरत और उनके जजबात का एहसास करते हैं। इस तरीके से इस बिल को लाना नामुनासिब है, यह मैं समझता हूँ। सरासर एक देशद्रोही काम आप कर रहे हैं।

चौदह नेशनल जवानों की आल इंडिया लेंग्वेज कन्वेंशन जो १९६२ में दिल्ली में ११, १२ अगस्त, १९६२ को हुई थी उसने भी इस बिल की मुखालफत की थी। तकरीबन देश के कोने कोने से उसकी मुखालफत हुई है मगर उसके बावजूद आज सरकार यह बिल सदन में ला रही है। मैं सरकार से पुरजोर गुजारिश करूँगा कि वह इस बिल को पास करने से पहले जनता की राय ले, जनता का वॉइकट ले, जनता की ओपीनियन पर गौर करे और इसके बाद वह उसको पास करे। आप कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी के बगैर काम नहीं हो सकता है। यह बिल्कुल गलत है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आपका वक्त खत्म हो गया है।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" :
मैं कहता हूँ आयरलैंड में यहाँ से ज्यादा प्रति-
शत लोग ग्रेजी जानते हैं मगर उन्होंने
अंग्रेजी भाषा की जगह आइरिश लेंग्वेज को

अपनी राजभाषा बनाया है। मौजूदा जमाने में इजराइल की मिसाल आप ले लीजिये, पन्द्रह साल इसको बने हुये नहीं हुये। इस में दो हजार साल पुरानी भाषा हिब्रू जो करीब करीब दुनिया से नेश्तोनाबूद हो गई थी उसको फिर से जिन्दा कर के अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा बनाया और उसमें उसका सारा राज-काज चलाया जाता है। इसी भाषा में वहाँ, स्कूल, कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटियां खोली गई हैं। इसी तरह से आप चीन, जापान, इंडो-नेशिया, बर्मा, टर्की और तमाम आस पास के देशों को ले लीजिये। जापान की मौजूद तरक्की महज उनकी लेंग्वेज की वजह से है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आपका वक्त हो चुका है तालिब साहब, मैंने आपको चार मिनट ज्यादा दे दिये हैं।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" :
मैं इस सदन से फिर दरखास्त करूँगा और खासतौर पर कांग्रेसियों से कि वह इस बिल में अपना वोट सरकार के हक में न दें। मैं जानता हूँ कि लोक सभा में भी और यहाँ भी बहुत से ऐसे सदस्य होंगे जो यह कहेंगे कि यह जो बिल आया है इसको नहीं आना चाहिये था। कांग्रेस के बहुत से सदस्यों की भी गहरी राय है। वह भी सरकार को कुसूरवार मानते हैं उनकी भी मांग यही है। एक श्री शिव-नारायण है जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं, उन्होंने कहा है लोक सभा में "अगर आज इस हिन्दी भाषा को जितना फैलाना चाहिये था उन्होंने नहीं फैलाया है तो यह किसका दोष है, यह गवर्नमेंट की जिम्मेदारी है, इसके लिये मैं गवर्नमेंट पर लांछन लगाना चाहता हूँ। नेहरू सरकार पर मेरा चार्ज है कि आज पन्द्रह वर्ष के अन्दर अन्दर देश के अन्दर हिन्दी इतनी नहीं फैली जितनी फैलनी चाहिये थी"। मैं उनके हिन्दी भाषण से पढ़ रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
अब बस कीजिये।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील "तालिब" :
अब मैं ज्यादा न कहते हुये सिर्फ इतना ही कहूँगा कि अगर कांग्रेस के आदमियों को आप आज़ाद कर दीजिये तो मेरे ख्याल में उनमें से नब्बे फीसदी मेरे साथ सहमत होंगे। इतना कहते हुये मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।]

श्री एम० पी० शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राजभाषा के संबंध में जो विवाद इस समय इस माननीय सदन में और इसके बाहर सारे देश में चल रहा है, वह हमारे सामने नया नहीं है। पिछले चालीस वर्षों से जब से हमने अपने राष्ट्र-पिता के भव्य सपने को देखा और अपने देश में स्वाधीनता का संग्राम पूज्य राष्ट्रपिता गांधी जी की रहनुमाई में आरम्भ किया तब से ही हमने अपनी राष्ट्रीयता की एक भव्य भावना का दर्शन किया था। पूज्य राष्ट्रपिता ने हमें जो भारत राष्ट्र की एक अभिनव कल्पना दी थी उसमें उन्होंने पहले से ही स्पष्ट कर दिया था कि इस देश को विदेशी दासता से मुक्त करने के बाद जो शासन होगा, जो समाज का निर्माण होगा और एक महान राष्ट्र बनेगा उस राष्ट्र की अभिनव कल्पना में हिन्दी का एक प्रमुख स्थान होगा। मान्यवर, राष्ट्रीय पराधीनता से मुक्ति पाने के लिये उन्होंने हमें जो साधन दिया था, उसको हम चौदह सूत्रीय रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के नाम से जानते थे। उन कार्यक्रमों में राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी का प्रचार एक मुख्य कार्य था। गांधी जी ने यह समझा था कि इस देश की जनता के मानस को स्पर्श करने के लिये कभी किसी पराई भाषा का आश्रय नहीं लिया जा सकता है और जब उन्होंने इस देश के स्वाधीनता संग्राम का संचालन किया और उसे जब जन जन का संग्राम बनाया तो उन्होंने अहिन्दी भाषाभाषी होते हुये और अंग्रेजी का महान पंडित होते हुये भी हिन्दी और देशी भाषाओं के माध्यम को अपनाया। मान्यवर, इसके पूर्व लोकमान्य तिलक ने भी

मराठी भाषाभाषी होते हुये और अंग्रेजी का प्रकांड पंडित होते हुये हिन्दी भाषा के माध्यम को अपनाया और भारतीय जन जन के मन में "स्वराज्य हमारा जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है" यह मंत्र फूँका। इसके पूर्व महर्षि स्वामी दयानन्द को इस देश में सामाजिक व धार्मिक क्रांति का सन्देश पहुंचाना अभीष्ट हुआ तब उन्होंने अहिन्दी भाषाभाषी होते हुये भी हिन्दी के माध्यम को अपनाया। इसी प्रकार बंगला भाषी होते हुये भी राजा राममोहन राय ने इस देश में हिन्दी के माध्यम को अपनाया था। हिन्दी किसी राज की आश्रित नहीं रही है, किसी कानून के आश्रित नहीं है, हिन्दी इस देश की जनता की भाषा है। अभी तो इस देश में जनता का शासन है, किसी निरंकुश शासन में भी हिन्दी की उपेक्षा करने का साहस किसी को नहीं हो सकता। फिर कोई जनतन्त्रीय सरकार हिन्दी की उपेक्षा कैसे कर सकती है।

मान्यवर, हमारे जिस देश ने जगत को आदि वाणी दी थी, वह स्वाधीनता के इतने वर्षों बाद आज इस बात पर विवाद करे कि इस देश की राजभाषा का स्वरूप क्या हो, यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। जिस देश में चौदह महान भाषायें हैं, एक से एक ऊंची भाषायें हैं, जहां तमिल जैसी पुरानी भाषा है, जिसका इतिहास ५००० वर्ष पूर्व से आरम्भ होता है और जो एक बहुत अच्छी भाषा है, जहां बंगला भाषा है जिसमें रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर जैसे महाकवि ने संसार को सन्देश दिया है, जहां तेलुगू भाषा, गुजराती भाषा, मराठी भाषा है और हिन्दी भाषा है, जिसने तुलसी और सूर को जगत को दिया है, ऐसी भाषाओं के होते हुये हमारे लिये यह अभिशाप है, शर्म की बात है कि हम स्वाधीनता के बाद इस सावरेन समुद्र में इस बात पर विवाद करें कि हमारी राजभाषा हिन्दी रहे या अंग्रेजी रहे। जब हमने स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई लड़ी थी उस समय हमने केवल अंग्रेजों से राजनैतिक दासता की मुक्ति के लिये

[श्री एम० पी० शुक्ला]

अभियान नहीं किया था। हमारा प्रयास अंग्रेजी दासता की मुक्ति के साथ साथ अंग्रेजी भाषा की दासता से मुक्ति पाने के लिये भी था। वास्तव में यदि हम किसी ऊँचे से ऊँचे, सम्य से सम्य और विज्ञान तथा साहित्य में और कई प्रकार से श्रेष्ठ जाति के मनुष्यों का शासन स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते तो हम किस प्रकार किसी विदेशी भाषा को चाहे वह कितनी ऊँची हो, कितनी ही धनी हो, चाहे उसमें कितना ही साहित्य भंडार हो, चाहे कितना वैज्ञानिक ज्ञान हो, उसकी दासता को स्वीकार करें। यह न केवल हमारे लिये राष्ट्रीय अपमान की बात है, बल्कि हमारे देश के गौरव के प्रतिकूल है, जिसकी कि इतनी बड़ी सांस्कृतिक और साहित्यिक परम्परा है और जिसका इतना बड़ा इतिहास है और जो हजारों वर्षों से संसार में अभिनव सन्देश देता आ रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में इस देश पर कोई एक विदेशी भाषा शासन करे, यह हमारे लिये लज्जा की बात है।

मान्यवर, हमें यह देखकर क्षोभ होता है कि हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग अंग्रेजी भाषा का समर्थन कर रहे हैं जिनकी न तो मातृभाषा अंग्रेजी है, न पितृभाषा अंग्रेजी है। हम इस देश के हजारों वर्षों के इतिहास को देखें तो ज्ञात होगा कि हमारे भारत पर प्रधानतः जो विदेशी आक्रमण हुये हैं वे हमारे भारतीयों के ही कारण हुये हैं। हम भारतीयों ने अंग्रेजों को मदद दी, जिससे अंग्रेजी राज आया और हमारी मदद से यहां कयम रहा। आज दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हम भारतीयों के ही सहारे अंग्रेजी भाषा की दासता भी हमारे ऊपर लद रही है।

मान्यवर, हिन्दी के समर्थकों को हमारे ये अंग्रेजी का समर्थन करने वाले भाई बड़े अच्छे अच्छे विशेषणों से अपनी प्रिय

अंग्रेजी भाषा में विभूषित करते हैं। वे हमको हिन्दी फोनेटिक कहते हैं, हिन्दी इम्पोरलिस्ट कहते हैं, हिन्दी इन्थुजियास्ट कहते हैं, हिन्दी शावनिस्ट कहते हैं, प्रतिक्रियावादी कहते हैं, संघर्ष करने वाले कहते हैं। वे हमें यह भी कहते हैं कि हम देश की एकता के घातक हैं। मान्यवर, पिछली एक शताब्दी में इस देश में यदि किसी एक व्यक्ति ने हिन्दी का सबसे बड़ा समर्थन किया है, जिससे यह हिन्दी राजभाषा का रूप लेने में समर्थ हुई है तो केवल एक राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी हैं, जिनके योगदान और प्रेरणा के बल से हिन्दी को यह सम्मान प्राप्त हुआ है।

मान्यवर, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन प्रयाग, राष्ट्रभाषा प्रचार समिति, वर्धा, दक्षिण भारत हिन्दी प्रचार समिति यह सभी न केवल गांधी जी की प्रेरणा अपितु उनके सक्रिय योगदान एवं मार्ग दर्शन से ही समूचे देश में हिन्दी का प्रचार कार्य करने में समर्थ हुये थे। एक नहीं अनेक बार उन्होंने हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा के संबंध में जो विचार व्यक्त किये हैं उनको यदि मैं इस माननीय सदन के समक्ष रखने का प्रयास करूं तो मेरे लिये पर्याप्त समय उपलब्ध नहीं होगा। उन्होंने एक स्थल पर कहा है, "यदि मेरे पास एक निरंकुश शासक का अधिकार होता तो मैं विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से अपने देश में अपने लड़के लड़कियों की शिक्षा को तुरन्त बन्द कर देता और सभी अध्यापकों व प्रोफेसरों से कहता कि इस परिवर्तन को तुरन्त लागू करो, नहीं तो नौकरी से बरखास्त किये जाओगे और यह ऐसी बीमारी है, जिसका तुरन्त इलाज होना आवश्यक है"। एक दूसरे स्थल पर उन्होंने कहा है, "अंग्रेजी भाषा के साम्राज्य से यदि हम बाहर नहीं निकले तो करोड़ों गरीबों का क्या होगा? क्या हमारे सभी प्रयत्न हिन्दुस्तान के समुद्र में अंग्रेजी भाषा को जो जानने वाले हैं, उनके लिये ही हैं?"

मान्यवर, यदि उपरोक्त सभी संज्ञायें एवं विशेषण पूज्य गांधी जी पर लागू हो सकें

हैं तो वे सभी सहर्ष हमको भी स्वीकार हैं। किन्तु यदि गांधी जी ने हिन्दी भाषा को इस देश की राष्ट्रीय एकता का प्रतीक समझकर इस देश को अपनाने की सलाह दी और यदि इस देश की जनता पर शासन करने वाले शासन तन्त्र को इसे अपनाने की प्रेरणा दी तो गत ४०-५० वर्षों से उनके पगों का अनुसरण करने वाले हम सभी भारतीयों के लिये हिन्दी का समर्थन, इस देश की स्वाधीनता का समर्थन तथा देश की एकता का समर्थन हैं एवं इस देश के आत्मगौरव का प्रतीक है तथा इस देश के गणतन्त्र की बुनियाद को सुदृढ़ और शक्तिशाली बनाने वाली तथा इस देश की रागात्मक और भावात्मक एकता के स्वप्न को साकार बनाने के लिये उचित कदम है। जो यह समझते हैं कि हिन्दी के द्वारा देश की एकता भंग होगी, मैं समझना हूँ वे हिन्दी के साथ अन्याय करते हैं। यदि कोई भाषा इस देश की एकता को जोड़ सकती है तो वह हिन्दी ही भाषा हो सकती है। यही कारण है कि सभी विवादों को ध्यान में रखते हुये हमारी संविधान परिषद् ने संविधान में ३४३ धारा को स्वीकार किया और स्वीकार करके अंग्रेजी के संबंध में पिछले विवादों को हमेशा के लिये समाप्त कर दिया। इस तरह से जो एक उलझी हुई समस्या को सुलझाया उसको अब किसी प्रकार उलझाना हितकर नहीं होगा। इस संबंध में उस समय जो स्थिति थी उसका कुछ उल्लेख, उसकी कुछ चर्चा करते हुये भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति. . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
अब आप खत्म कीजिये।

श्री एम० पी० शुक्ल : मुझे पांच मिनट का समय और चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आप एक दो मिनट और ले सकते हैं; क्योंकि बहुत से स्पीकर्स हैं।

श्री एम० पी० शुक्ल : कृपया पांच मिनट देने की कृपा करें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
आप दो मिनट में अपनी स्पीच खत्म करें।

श्री एम० पी० शुक्ल : भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति श्री राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी ने जो उस समय संविधान सभा के अध्यक्ष थे। इस विषय पर जो विचार व्यक्त किये उनको मैं आपके सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :

"So the conclusions that we arrive at are these:

1. A common language for all-India purposes is necessary.

2. That common language will have to be studied on a fairly extensive scale by people all over the country whatever their own language may be.

3. That language cannot be English but will have to be an Indian language.

4. Of Indian languages, Hindi or Hindustani is best fitted for this purpose.

5. But Hindi or Hindustani will have to give up the policy of boycott of words of foreign origin and to make its door open for entry of words from other languages.

6. These additional words must come in the first place from the various provincial languages and from dialects. Even words of purely foreign origin may not be altogether excluded.

7. In view of the above, the controversy between Hindi and Hindustani is futile.

8. With all the additions to the vocabulary that can be made with the help of other languages, there will still remain the need for coining a large number of words to express modern ideas very largely of a technical nature and the source from which these additional words have to be derived is Sanskrit."

[श्री एम० पी० शुक्ल]

मान्यवर, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी के समर्थन में, कोई तर्क नहीं है, केवल हमारे उन साथियों को जो अंग्रेजी भाषा का समर्थन करते हैं कुछ संशय तथा भय है। वे समझते हैं कि हिन्दी भाषा आने से उनके राजनीतिक तथा दूसरे प्रकार के अधिकारों में कमी होगी अथवा वे नौकरी में अंग्रेजी जानने की वजह से नहीं आ सकेंगे। इस देश में अंग्रेजी जानने वाली जनता केवल एक फी-सदी होगी, मुश्किल से दो फी सदी होगी और उस दो फीसदी अंग्रेजी जानने वाले लोगों की राय ली जाय तो उसमें भी बहुमत अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में नहीं होगा। हमारी देश की राष्ट्र भाषा क्या हो, यह प्रश्न हमारी संविधान परिषद् के सामने था और उसने इसका फैसला संविधान में धारा ३४३ में तय कर दिया है, उसको अन्तिम रूप दे दिया है। अब उसको विवाद का विषय बनाना उचित नहीं होगा, मैं आपकी आज्ञा से प्रिअम्बुल को पढ़ना चाहता हूँ :

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,
having solemnly resolved to consti-
tute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMO-
CRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure
to all its citizens:

JUSTICE
LIBERTY.....
EQUALITYand
FRATERNITY.....

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEM-
BLY this twenty-sixth day of Nov-
ember, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT,
ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES
THIS CONSTITUTION.

उक्त संविधान परिषद् में जो भी हमने स्वीकार किया अपनी स्वेच्छा से स्वीकार किया है। हमने अपनी स्वेच्छा से हिन्दी को एक राजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार किया और सारा देश कर रहा है। इस संविधान का बालन, अनुशीलन और उसको कार्यान्वित करना हमारा परम कर्त्तव्य है और उसके

विपरीत जाना हमारे कर्त्तव्य के विपरीत है।

मान्यवर, मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी का किसी रीजनल भाषा से कोई विरोध नहीं है। कांग्रेस की सन् १९२० से सदा यह नीति रही है और इसीके आधार पर कांग्रेस ने भाषावार प्रांत बनाया था, कांग्रेस ने हमेशा ही राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में हिन्दी भाषा को ही स्वीकार किया था और उसको संविधान में जगह दी। मान्यवर, इसी आधार पर प्रांतों का बंटवारा हुआ और सारे देश के विभिन्न राज्य क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं के आधार पर ही बने। हमारे यहां गांव सभाओं से लेकर विधान परिषदों तक, न्याय पंचायतों से लेकर उच्च न्यायालय तक, प्रारम्भिक पाठशालाओं से लेकर उच्च पाठशालाओं तक तथा विश्वविद्यालयों तक क्षेत्रीय भाषायें समान रूप से विकसित हों, यह हमारी अभिलाषा है। लेकिन लिंक भाषा के रूप में अगर कोई भाषा हो सकती है तो उसका स्थान हिन्दी भाषा ही ले सकती है। हम तामिल, मलयालम, तेलुगू और दूसरी प्रादेशिक भाषाओं को हिन्दी से कम नहीं अधिक समझते हैं उनका आदर करते हैं, उनके साहित्य का समर्थन करते हैं, तथा उनकी समृद्धि चाहते हैं। लेकिन हम यह भी अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं कि अंग्रेजी भाषा के रहते कोई भी क्षेत्रीय भाषा पनप नहीं सकती है। जब तक अंग्रेजी को राजाश्रय मिलता रहेगा, तब तक हमारी सब भाषायें गिरती रहेगी। तब तक न हम विज्ञान में उन्नति कर सकते हैं और न ही जनता के जनमानस को ही स्पर्श कर सकते हैं तथा न इस देश में भावनात्मक एकता की बुनियाद पूरी कर सकते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मान्यवर, मैं अपने विचार सदन के सामने रखता हूँ।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) :-
आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हिन्दी का पक्ष पति

होते हुये हिन्दी के हित में मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ। मेरे दिल में परसों तक हिचकिचाहट थी। मैं मानता था और वह सच भी है कि यह जो विधेयक है, यह हमारी कमजोरी का द्योतक है। दूसरा मुझे यह भी शक हुआ और है कि यह विधेयक हमारी जनता के प्रति कोई न्याय नहीं कर रहा है। परन्तु डी० एम० के० के नेता के भाषण सुनने के बाद मेरी हिचकिचाहट कुछ कम हुई और मैंने यह सोचा कि आज की परिस्थिति में जहाँ यह विधेयक लाया गया है, उसमें और कोई रास्ता नहीं था, जिससे हम आज की स्थिति में कोई मार्ग निकाल सकते हैं।

श्री तारेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आप भयभीत हो गये ?

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण : भयभीत नहीं हुआ। इस देश की आजादी को मैं सब से अधिक महत्व देता हूँ। इस आजादी के रक्षण में यदि किसी बात की अधिक से अधिक आवश्यकता है तो वह इस देश की एकता तथा एकात्मकता है। जहाँ झूठे या सच्चे किसी खतरे से इस एकता को धक्का पहुँचता दिखाई देता है तो मैं सावधान हो जाता हूँ और उस सावधानी में कुछ गलती हो जाय तब भी उसे बर्दाश्त कर देता हूँ। श्रीमन्, मैं अंग्रेजी का विरोधी नहीं हूँ। आदतन अंग्रेजी का विरोधी बन नहीं सकता। मैं हिन्दी किसी स्कूल में पढ़ा नहीं। मेरी प्राथमिक शिक्षा मिडिल तक मराठी में हुई है, हाई स्कूल और अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा मेरी अंग्रेजी में हुई है और जिस जमाने में मैं अंग्रेजी पढ़ता था उस जमाने में हाई स्कूल और कालिज में माध्यम अंग्रेजी था। सोचने और पढ़ने की मुझे अंग्रेजी में आदत हो गई है। यह कोई अच्छी बात है यह मैं नहीं मानता, क्योंकि इस आदत से मैं पंगु बन गया हूँ, अपने ही घर में पराया बन गया हूँ। मैं एक इमीटेटर बन गया हूँ और महात्मा जी के शब्दों में कहा जाये तो इस अंग्रेजी ने, इस देश में इमीटेटर्स पैदा कर दिये हैं। महात्मा जी के शब्द ये हैं :

"No country can become a nation by producing a race of imitators".

मैं अपने दिल से पूछता हूँ कि क्या इस देश में जो मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे हैं, उनका राज्य है या चालीस पैंतालीस करोड़ जनता का राज्य है? जब यह सवाल मेरे सामने उठता है तो फिर मुझे महात्मा जी की याद आती है कि यह क्योंकर हो रहा है। यह इसलिये हो रहा है कि हमारी स्वराज्य की जो कल्पना थी वह आज नहीं रही। महात्मा जी ने एक जगह लिखा है :

"If it is to be of and for only the English knowing Indians, English is undoubtedly the common medium. If it is to be for and of the starving millions, of the illiterate millions, of the illiterate women, of the suppressed 'untouchables' Hindi is the only possible common language."

Some who want to get at the masses would regard Hindi not merely as an alternative but the only possible medium.

तो जब हम जनता का ख्याल करेंगे तो हमें पता चलेगा कि हम यह क्या कर रहे हैं। आप सोचिये कि इस देश में २२ करोड़ हमारे वोटर्स हैं, मतदाता हैं। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहूँगा कि इन २२ करोड़ वोटर्स में कितने ऐसे होंगे कि जिन को स्वप्न में भी यह ख्याल होता है कि हम विधान सभा में चलें, हम पार्लियामेंट में चलें। एक जबरदस्त खाई अंग्रेजी ने हमारे मतदाताओं के और जो प्रतिनिधि यहां आते हैं उनके बीच या अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखों के बीच पैदा कर दी है। लाचार हैं वे बेचारे ! और इस लाचारी का एक प्रमुख कारण यह है अंग्रेजी। मालिक बने बैठे हैं मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी वाले। कहने को कहा जाता है कि यह जनता का राज है of the people, by the people, for the people, कहीं हैं वे for, of and by मुझे तो कहीं दिखाई नहीं देते। मुझे तो मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजी वाले ही चारों तरफ

[श्री देवकी नन्दन नारायण]

दिखाई दे रहे हैं। एक मराठी में कहावत है : "जगि धन्या धतुरा गडया मजीदा भिरतो" मालिक नाम का रह जाता है और मजीदा भिरता है मुनीम को। जनता नाम मालिक है और असल में मालिक बने हुए हैं मुनीम। यह आज देश की हालत है और इस देश में यह विपरीत भाव इस कारण से पैदा हो गया कि हमें अंग्रेजी का इतना मोह है कि हम उसे छोड़ नहीं सकते। मैं भूल गया, यह कहा जाता है कि अंग्रेजी बहुत सुन्दर भाषा है, बहुत बड़ी-चढ़ी भाषा है और अंग्रेजी हमारे लिये सारे दरवाजे खोल देती है। मुझे याद आयी लोकमान्य की बात :

"Good Government is no substitute for self-government," i.e. Swaraj.

यानि अंग्रेजी सुन्दर है, बड़ी-चढ़ी है तो क्या वही हमारी भाषा की जगह ले सकती है, क्या वह हमारी गवर्नमेंट की भाषा बन सकती है ? यदि स्वराज्य जनता का होना है तो जनता की ही भाषा में वह हम को चलाना होगा, तब वह जनता का राज्य बन सकता है। सन् १९२१ में महात्मा जी को कल्पना थी। इसलिये उन्होंने हमें आगाह किया था। उन्होंने कहा था :

"Mind, today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother tongues".

हम आगाह नहीं हुए और आज क्या देख रहे हैं कि हमारे राज काज में अंग्रेजी १६ वर्षों के बाद भी अपना स्थान बनाये हुए है। अंग्रेजी के तरफदारों से मैं पूछना चाहूंगा :

Is India a nation? Is India one country and one nation or many countries or many nations?

कल हमारे डी० एस० के० के नेता यहां भाषण कर रहे थे तो उन्होंने कहा "इन्डिया इज नाट ए कंट्री"। जो हिन्दुस्तान को एक देश नहीं मानता, एक राष्ट्र नहीं मानता, जो यह

मानता है कि यह अला अला देशों का एक समूह है वह यह कह सकता है कि हिन्दी हमारे राजभाषा नहीं है। परन्तु समूह कहते हुए तो मैं यह नहीं समझ सका कि अंग्रेजी जैसे इस फेडरेशन की भाषा बन सकती है ? और जब वह यह बात कह रहे थे, तब मैं यह समझ सका कि डी० एस० के० वाले पृथक् क्यों होना चाहते हैं। वह कहते हैं कि यह हिन्दुस्तान अलग अलग देशों का बना हुआ है, फेडरेशन है और इसलिये वह मानते हैं कि इस में से हर कोई देश अलग हो सकता है। यह प्रत्यक्ष ही बात है। मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान एक राष्ट्र है, एक देश है। हिन्दुस्तान का जो फेडरल कानस्टीट्यूशन बना है वह इसलिये नहीं बना है कि हिन्दुस्तान में दस देश हैं। वह इसलिये बना है कि एक एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मेसेसिटी हम को प्रतीत हुई और हमें यह दिखाई दिया कि हम चौदह भाई हैं और चौदह भाई बहुत दिनों से एक जगह जब कुटुम्ब बड़ जाता है रह नहीं सकते, अलग अलग घर कर रहे लगते हैं। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम भाई नहीं रहे। हमने फेडरेशन माना इसलिये नहीं कि वह अलग अलग देशों का समूह है। तो यह कहना कि हिन्दुस्तान देश नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान राष्ट्र नहीं है, यह हिन्दुस्तान के प्रति मेरे ख्याल से बहुत बड़ा प्रभाव है। यह सब कोई मानता है कि भारत के लिये एक कॉमन भाषा की आवश्यकता है। यहां तक कि हमारे डी० एस० के० के नेता जब कल बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने भी यह माना परन्तु वह इतना ही कहते हैं कि हिन्दी नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान की कोई भाषा नहीं, परन्तु अंग्रेजी

"It is an irony of fate that we would rather have a language that is foreign to all than one which is the mother-tongue of the people of any part of this country."

भारत की १४ बेटियों में से एक बेटी यदि ऊंचे ओहदे पर पहुंच जाती है तो दूसरी १३ बेटियों को खुशी होनी चाहिये, आनन्द होना चाहिये। यह ही हमारी संस्कृति है, यही हमारी

परम्परा है। परन्तु हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि इस देश में पड़ोसी की निन्दा और दूर पराये से प्रेम, हिन्दी से द्वेष और अंग्रेजी से प्रेम पाया जाता है। हमारा इतिहास भी इसका साक्षी है—पृथ्वीराज से द्वेष और मोहम्मद गौरी से दोस्ती। दुख है कि यह बात उस देश में अब तक मौजूद है और हम अपने इतिहास से कोई सबक नहीं सीख पाये हैं। हमारे अण्ण, दुरै साहब ने कहा आप हिन्दी हमारे ऊपर लाद रहे हैं, इससे यह होगा :

“It confers a permanent and perennial advantage on the compact and contiguous areas in India and conversely permanent disadvantage to the other areas.”

मैं जब यह सुन रहा था तो मुझे मरहूम कायदे आजम जिन्ना साहब की बातें याद आ गईं। वे भी यही कहते थे और उसी बिना पर उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े करवाये और मुझे डर है कि डी० एम० के० के दिल और दिमाग में यही बात रही तो वे उसी रास्ते से जाने की कोशिश करेंगे जिससे कि कायदे आजम जिन्ना साहब गये थे।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : वह रास्ता बन्द हो चुका है।

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण : वह जमाना भले ही गया है, डी० एम० के० वाले क्या सोचते हैं, इससे मैं आगाह करना चाहता हूँ आप को। यही कारण है कि जिस वक्त एन्टी सेशन का बिल उस राउस में दाखिल था और जिस वक्त वोटिंग हुई उस वक्त डी० एम० के० के सब मेम्बर बाहर चले गये।

परन्तु यह एडवान्टेज और डिसएडवान्टेज है क्या? डी० एम० के० के नेता के भाषण का निचोड़ यदि कुछ है तो वह यह है कि नौकरियों में दक्षिण को डिसएडवान्टेज पहुंचेगा और उत्तर को एडवान्टेज पहुंचेगा। नौकरियों का मामला इस संघर्ष की जड़ में है। हिन्दी से जो संघर्ष है वह नौकरियों के सिलसिले में है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा—मैं नहीं जानता

कि इस में मेरे साथ और कोई है या नहीं—खासकर आदरणीय गृह मंत्री जी से मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अच्छा होगा यदि

Central Services are distributed among all the States on population basis.

मुझे विश्वास है कि ऐसा आप कुछ कर देंगे तो आपस की स्पर्धा कम हो जायगी और हिन्दी का विरोध बहुत जल्द खत्म हो जायगा। ये जो हमारी सेन्ट्रल सर्विसेज के लोग हैं वे अपनी ही जिन्दगी की फिक्र नहीं करते बल्कि अपने बच्चों की भी फिक्र कर रहे हैं। वे यह सोच रहे हैं कि अंग्रेजी की वजह से हमें जो घरोहर मिली है वह अपने बच्चों तक पहुंचा दें। (Time bell rings)

देखा यह जाता है कि जितने ये आफिसर्स हैं, हाई फंक्शनरीज हैं उनके बच्चे नरसरी से लेकर यूनीवर्सिटी तक उन स्कूलों में पढ़ने जाते हैं जिन में अंग्रेजी माध्यम है। इसलिये मंत्री महोदय से मेरी प्रार्थना है, एक सूचना तो मैं उनको कर चुका, दूसरी सूचना मेरी यह है, कि जिनकी मातृभाषा नहीं है उन सब की शिक्षा नीचे से ऊपर तक प्रादेशिक भाषा में हो। और ईक्वल अपरचुनीटी की बात जो आप करते हैं रात दिन, तो कृपा करके आप ईक्वल अपरचुनीटी पैदा कर दीजिये शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में। बड़ों के लड़के जनता स्कूलों में पढ़ें सब के साथ और इस में कोई एक्सेप्शन न किया जाय, ताकि यह जो आगे के लिये एक वेहस्टेड इन्टरस्ट बनाना चाहते हैं, वह खत्म हो। यह पूंजीवादी मनोवृत्ति है। जो खुद तो अंग्रेजी की पूंजी सम्हाले हुए हैं और अपने बच्चों के लिये भी पूंजी छोड़ जाना चाहते हैं उसकी रोक हो सके। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह जो इंगलिश मीडियम है, जिसको महात्मा गांधी कहा करते थे,

It is the greatest tragedy of this country.

जिसके कारण नरसरी से यूनीवर्सिटी तक पैसे के बल पर बड़े लोग अपने बच्चों को उन स्कूलों में भेजते हैं, इस अंग्रेजी माध्यम को बन्द

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

कर दिया जाना चाहिये और सब के लड़के जहाँ पढ़ते हैं वहीं उनके लड़के पढ़ें ।

आखिरी बात और मैं कह दूँ । एक मिनट से ज्यादा मैं आपका समय नहीं लूँगा । कल हमारे डी० एम० के० के लीडर ने धमकी दी :

"If Hindi is imposed as the official language the D. M. K. will unfold its relentless fight and relentless agitation, against this imposition of Hindi whatever the consequences."

मैं यह नहीं जानता कि अण्णादुरै आज़ादी की लड़ाई में कहाँ थे । आज के मद्रास को उत्तर भारत से लड़ाने की इच्छा वे रखते हैं परन्तु मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात हम कभी बर्दास्त करने वाले नहीं हैं । दिल्ली तक अण्णादुरै की आवाज़ भी नहीं पहुँचेगी उससे पहले उनकी इस लड़ाई का फैसला हो जायेगा मद्रास में ही । (*Time bell rings*)

वे चाहे जितनी लड़ाई कर सकते हैं, परन्तु मैं भी उन्हें आगाह करना चाहता हूँ कि यह गांधी जी का देश है और अभी हम सत्याग्रह भूले नहीं हैं ।

मंत्री महोदय से मेरी अंतिम प्रार्थना यह है कि आप ने इंग्लिश इन एडीशन कर तो दिया है लेकिन मैं आप से निवेदन करूँगा कि प्रधान मंत्री और हमारे जो अन्य मंत्रीगण हैं वे जब कभी यहां बोलें तो प्रथम हिन्दी में बोला करें ताकि हिन्दी की प्रतिष्ठा बड़े । आप सब लोग, मिनिस्टर्स से प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक, अंग्रेजी में बात करते हैं, इससे बाहर जनता क्या समझती है ? मैं नहीं कहता, अंग्रेजी में आप कभी न बोलें लेकिन मैं आप से ज़रूर यह प्रार्थना करूँगा हिन्दी की प्रतिष्ठा के लिये आप दोनों में बोलिये । प्रथम हिन्दी में बोलिये । हिन्दी को इस तरह से भुलाइये नहीं यह कह कर कि हिन्दी हमारी प्रिन्सिपल लैंग्वेज तो है और अंग्रेजी इन एडीशन है, परन्तु हमारे बोलने को सिर्फ अंग्रेजी है । आशा है मेरी यह प्रार्थना गृह मंत्री जी के कानों तक पहुँच जायगी ।

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support this Bill very whole-heartedly without any hesitation, without any mental reservation. I look upon it as a model of sweet reasonableness; it follows a middle path. The various amendments which have been sent up cancel one another and I am perfectly certain that when we discard those amendments there will be a solid mass of voters for the Bill who can vote out of their own conscience quite apart from the whip.

Well, Sir, I think it is our duty to look upon this question of language only from one standpoint and that standpoint is the unity of our country. Let me say, Sir, frankly that English is a foreign language to me but Hindi is equally a foreign language to me. My mother-tongue is Gujarati but I know that Gujarati can never be the language of the whole of India and if it is in the interests of India I am prepared to accept Hindi or English as the case may be to maintain the unity which we have gained after so much struggle.

Sir, there are certain prejudices against English which are neither reasonable nor patriotic. After all, English is the language of freedom; it has given us a sense of freedom; it has given us a sense of unity; it has given us a sense of nationalism and let us not discard it in a light-hearted moment unless we have got something solid to substitute for it and with the goodwill of all concerned. English in my opinion should have found a place in Schedule VIII of the Constitution. After all, it is not a completely foreign language. English has come to be an international language and we who have benefited most from it should have welcomed it as one of the national languages, also as it is the mother-tongue of our fellow-countrymen the Anglo-Indians. If that had been done, perhaps this controversy would never have arisen. We would have accepted it as a fact and looked at the question of languages from a correct and proper perspective.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Most of the Anglo-Indians have gone to England.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Mr. Yajee can speak when he wants. He has no right to interfere with other people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You carry on, Professor.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Another very unreasonable thing which has been said again and again is that English has hindered and will hinder the growth of Indian languages. Sir, there is only one word in which I can describe it—it is a lie. There is not a single Indian language . . .

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): 'Lie' is an unparliamentary term.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I am not saying that you or anybody is lying. It is a general expression. It is untrue; that is what I mean.

It is a fact that every modern Indian language has flourished through English. It has received a new impetus, a new inspiration and new forms of expression in literature. I have had the privilege of knowing many Indian writers in Kannada, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi and I have been struck by their honesty. They admit they would not have been able to write so well but for the inspiration they got from English. I know that many of them say that if they lose contact with English they will lose contact with a new inspiration. I think that is an important fact to remember.

Now, Sir, I do appreciate that in spite of all the advantages of English, English can never become the language of the masses of India. It cannot become the chief medium of expression for all times to come and that is one of the reasons why I have been very anxious to encourage the study of Hindi. Some Indian language will have to take the place of English and that can only be Hindi. I admit it. I

should like to remind my Hindi friends that they are the worst enemies of Hindi. If only . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Question.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: If only they will control themselves and bring to bear a certain amount of commonsense on the whole problem, they will realise that time is on their side. By their impatience they are losing the advantage that they have got naturally.

Now, there are three advantages that Hindi has got. The first advantage is that Hindi has been spreading in South India as it had spread never before. The Home Minister was pleased to pay compliment to the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, which has been doing very substantial work for a very long time and I should like to add my humble voice to the voice of the Home Minister, especially as I was the President of the Mysore Branch of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. They have done splendid work in spite of what Mr. Annadurai may say. Hindi has got a future in South India. Only let time do its work. Do not create the impression that you are trying to impose Hindi on them.

The second great advantage is Hindi films. They are doing splendid work. They are doing much better work than the Hindi protagonists in favour of Hindi. Hindi films have been percolating our life bit by bit, step by step. I have heard South Indians who do not know Hindi singing Hindi songs. Well, that is a very great step.

The third great advantage is there is no possible rival to Hindi. Hindi must come in course of time, but you must have patience. Therefore, I appeal to my friends, let time do its work. And time will do its work. It will be good for the Hindi people to realise certain inherent defects in their championing the cause of Hindi. The first is: What exactly, after all, is Hindi? I am afraid there is no clear answer to that. Is

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]

it the Hindi of Lucknow and Delhi or is it the Hindi spoken by the villagers or is it the Hindi which is spoken in Bihar or in Rajasthan? Unfortunately, we have got no word in Hindi corresponding to "King's English". There may be a hundred dialects even in England, in Wales or in Scotland. The Americans may have developed a different type of English. The Australians may have developed a different type of English. But there is such a thing as "King's English." Have we got any analogy to that in Hindi? Can we set a model? I think it is the duty of the Government as well as of the Hindi protagonists to clear their mind about it.

The second question that I would like to raise in this connection is: Does Hindi mean to absorb Urdu or to kill it? Now, I put this question very frankly because Urdu is the mother-tongue of millions of Hindus in U.P. In spite of that the Hindi protagonists are out to kill Urdu. Now, if they are prepared to kill Urdu in their own State, will any other Indian language be recognised as a national language? (*Interruptions*). Please do not interrupt. You have had your say and you should not try to interrupt.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, on a point of order . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: It is entirely wrong.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM: I thought that Members have a right to interrupt only when it is a matter of personal explanation. But if we encourage interruptions because we do not agree with a speaker, I am afraid the tone of the debate will deteriorate very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I agree with you.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, what I mean is that if Hindi

people have been so intolerant of Urdu, will they be tolerant of Gujarati, Marathi and the other languages? That is what is creating the fear of Hindi imperialism and they should be very cautious about it.

Thirdly, is it to be Sanskritised Hindi, so difficult that it will be beyond the understanding of the average Hindi-speaking man? Now, I remember that when the Hindi translation of our Constitution was published I was told that our late, revered President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, himself did not understand a good bit of it, some portions of it. When I met him personally I asked him the question: "Is it true, Sir, that the Hindi of this translation is such that even you could not follow it?" He said: "Yes, there are several expressions which I could not follow." Now, that is not the Hindi which is going to appeal. That is not the Hindi which is going to be the national language of India. So, the first duty of the champions of Hindi is to simplify it, to stabilise it and to develop it.

Lastly, there is one little point to which I should like to refer. I wonder why anyone should object to the appointment of a committee after ten years. What is the reason for objecting to it? We recognise that Hindi is ultimately going to be the national language. We also recognise that it is not going to be imposed on non-Hindi speaking people against their will. If so, some machinery must be devised, some machinery must be created to find out the opinions of the non-Hindi speaking people as to whether they want Hindi or not. It is with this object that I once again appeal to my friend, Mr. Annadurai, who is not here and to my friends, the protagonists of Hindi, to be a little tolerant of one another, to give people like me some credit for commonsense, some credit for patriotism, that we also love our country. But we want to bide our time. Time is on our side. I repeat it once again. I know that we Indians are very intelligent, we are very patriotic, but I regret to say that we

sometimes lack in commonsense, we sometimes fail to face realities and in politics that is a very dangerous thing.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I welcome this Bill in toto. It is very unfortunate that those friends who thought they were advancing the cause of Hindi had based their arguments on unwarranted presumptions. Presumption number one is that people in the South have developed a resistance to Hindi. Presumption number two is that many people in the South do not want Hindi to be the national language. Presumption number three is that people want English to dominate. These are totally untrue. Let me clear the position as far as these false presumptions are concerned. Sir, my mother-tongue is not Hindi, nor is it spoken at the end of that part of the country from which I hail. But it will surprise you, Sir, and the House to know that we have got as much love for Hindi as our hon. friends there, not a whit less. In my own family circle out of sixteen nephews and nieces who have undergone schooling—I am omitting the number who have not had schooling—only two have not learnt Hindi, and those two are a girl who left off before she reached the middle school stage and a boy who passed the matriculation and who did not take Hindi. There have been two girls who have passed the highest examination in Hindi that the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha offers, and they have discarded the university course. One of them is a bright girl. I pestered her to go to the university. She took up Hindi. She is a mistress in a High School in Hindi. Another, my brother's daughter, is also a teacher in Hindi. My brother's son is a doctor who has passed the M.B. B.S.; nobody compelled him to learn Hindi. He can speak Hindi as fluently as Mr. Vajpayee though not with the same beauty of expression as he does. So whenever I meet them, they talk to me in Hindi and I talk to them in Hindi, and I am pleased that they correct my ungrammatical Hindi. This is an example which I am giving to

show to my friends, who do not know the position, that in every family where there are five children, at least three learn Hindi.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): This is what is happening in all the States.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I am speaking of the entire South. This is true of urban areas. But even in rural areas, as far as high schools are concerned, this is true. As far as middle schools and primary schools are concerned, it might be true to the extent that it is true in this case. So, let them not suppose that we do not like Hindi or that we have no enthusiasm for Hindi. There is as much love for Hindi there as there is love for Hindi here, if not more. In fact, if there is a competition today between the Hindi protagonists here in this House, I am saying this with a full sense of responsibility, and a girl of 16 in the South, I am sure the judges will decide that that girl is more fluent and uses more grammatical Hindi and more beautiful expressions than they can do. This is not a matter about which I am boasting. This is a matter to be recognised. So, let hon. Members not make speeches on the floor of the House that there is resistance to Hindi. That is wrong. There may be small pockets here and there. There is resistance also to Hindi in the North where Hindi is not mother-tongue in certain areas. But speaking generally of the South, Hindi is liked, Hindi is loved, and today there is more and more Hindi learning there than English. English is going down, I am glad of that. Today people cannot write as good English as they did ten years ago because English has lost its importance, though I am not one of those who want that English should go today.

The second presumption is that we do not want Hindi to be the national language. That is also wrong. When the representatives of the South agreed at that time to Hindi being the national language, they did it with full understanding. Therefore, it is not true that

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

We are against Hindi being the national language. If there is any resistance, it is resistance to the insistence that Hindi should replace English today. It is not out of sentiment that there is resistance. It is out of sound commonsense. Today with all the goodwill in the world Hindi cannot replace English. Even my friend there who speaks pure Hindi could not help using the word "officer". Today he used that word. Language is a thing which takes long to take root. When it does take root, it takes a long time to rub it off. English has taken root in the country. It is the language of the modern world, of modern science, and Hindi has not yet developed into a state where it can meet the present-day needs. As long as it has not grown to its full height, there is nothing wrong in taking the aid of the English language. So, the second point I was making was that there is no opposition in our side for Hindi being the national language. But if you want to impose Hindi and if you say that to day English should go, we are going to oppose it, and it is this thing that is going to encourage the D.M.K. The hon. Member, Mr. Vajpayee, was saying that the Government was giving a live bomb into the hand of Mr. Annadurai. It is not Government but it is this blind arrogance and persistent attitude of domination of Hindi that would give edge to Mr. Annadurai. Let them not take Mr. Annadurai lightly. Today there are cries of "Bharat Mata ki Jai"; in a country where there is mass frenzy, it can easily be changed. So, with all seriousness let them see the dangerous move. By insisting that Hindi today should be the national language and it should replace English immediately they are going to generate resentment and antagonism where there is none. So let us take note of this fact. Moreover, today there is one road which connects Cape Comorin with Himachal Pradesh, and that road is English. That is the only common bond that exists between us as far as language is concerned. Unfortunately, this linguistic fanaticism is leading us

astray. I am giving you one example. It was common knowledge that about five or six years ago if we went to Madras, we needed to take no interpreter. If you wanted to know the name of a street, there was a Tamil name and below it there was an English name so that one who knew English needed no guide to know what was the place, what was the street and what was the locality. But today if you go to Madras, you cannot do that. Everything is in Tamil. Today if Lal Bahadurji goes to Madras, he will have to request Shri Kamaraj Nadar to give him a guide. If Shri Kamaraj Nadar comes to Delhi, everything here is in Hindi and he will require a guide. Now, it is disgraceful for a Madrasi to feel like an alien in Delhi and a Delhiman to feel like an alien in Madras, whereas we feel quite at home in England or America.

English has come for good or bad. I say it has come for good because it has united us. It has come to be accepted by us and it is facilitating communication and exchange of views and understanding of one another. Why should we object to it? I can understand people's objection if this is done at the cost of the vernaculars or at the cost of Hindi. No. Everybody wants Hindi to be encouraged. Everybody wants every possible encouragement to be given to Hindi. Mr. Vajpayee says that Government are not spending heaps of money over Hindi. Nobody objects, not even Mr. Annadurai objects, to Hindi being encouraged. Let all the regional languages be encouraged. But English is serving a useful purpose, and I do not understand this blindness, this unreasoning mentality, this sentiment of opposition to it. So, it is wrong to say that because this road was built by English we should not walk over it. As long as there is no alternative road let us use this road. All right, by all means build another road connecting Cape Comorin with Himachal Pradesh. We welcome it. As Prof. Wadia very rightly said, the best remedy is not a constitutional provision. The best remedy is time. Time is solving this problem unseen. I will give an

example. Untouchability was certainly an evil in this country. But today it is fading. Nobody notices how it is fading. Today even in the remotest part, even among the most orthodox people, there is no untouchability. We do not observe it. It is a good thing. Similarly, a time will come when English will go. English should not go and cannot go as long as Hindi does not take its place, as long as Hindi does not facilitate this smooth interchange. So, instead of pleading for Hindi here, I would have liked them to facilitate this process of people understanding and learning Hindi. Sir, to the shame of those who are teaching Hindi today, I should say that they are exploiting the Hindi-learning people there, creating grounds for suspicion. If anybody has seen the text-books printed in the South in Hindi and their cost, he will find that they are printed in trashy paper, using worthless paper but priced at Rs. 3, Rs. 4, Rs. 5. Now, our Hindi friends can come here and have a machinery for propaganda, send Hindi instructors, get good text-books, get subsidies from the Government, see that they do not exploit the ignorance of the Hindi-learning people. Give them good text-books, give them good teachers.

3 P.M.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

When Hindi *prachar* started there, these Hindi instructors were inviting the people to study Hindi, offering their services free and this went on for over a decade. But today do you know what they charge? Fifty rupees for one hour, one hundred rupees for one hour. It depends upon the status of those who learn. This is not love of Hindi. Whoever is pleading the cause of Hindi, it is for them to organise, to form an association, get Government grants and go to the South. Find out ways and means by which this process can be facilitated. Time will solve this. It will be the process of time that will solve this completely.

Well, I am very sad to hear sober people like Shri Deokinandan Nara-

yan, Shri Shukla and Shri Vajpayee—Shri Vajpayee did not say it himself—saying that. Shri Deokinandan Narayan said that he preferred an alien to a *padosi*, like Mohammed Gori to Prithviraj. It is these sentimental, mistaken views that are going to encourage Shri Annandurai. Let them take him very seriously; let them not repeat such statements. There is no *vyamoh* for English, let me assure Shri Vajpayee. We all know English much better than we know our own language, Canarese. But still we have no love for English. To say that we love English more than our own language, more than the Hindi language, is wrong. Nobody does that in the South. So, there is no *vyamoh* for English. There is *vyamoh* for Hindi. Although we do not know it, how eager we are to hear Shri Vajpayee. When we do not understand the language, we trouble our neighbour to tell us the meaning. I was troubling the late Shri Valiulla; that poor gentleman is no more. I used to find, Madam, a word being often repeated in the first years of my coming here, '*afsar*', '*afsar*'. I asked him, "What is this, Mr. Valiulla? How is that *apsara* and *Rambha* come here". He said, "It is not *apsara*, it is officers". If you want to use Hindi, use it all right; if you want to borrow English words, borrow them. But why do you corrupt a language? There is plenty of corruption in the country. Let us not corrupt the language.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): How can language escape?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: There are many disintegrating forces in the country. Let us not add to those disintegrating forces. Let us not say that there are people who love English and who want English to dominate. Let us not say that people do not like Hindi. In fact, by saying so, we are letting out those ideas into the minds of those who are there to create mischief. Let us not play into their hands.

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

This Bill, as the Prime Minister has said—and as very lucidly said by the Home Minister—is a very effective, happy compromise. On the other hand, the Hindi protagonists should have volunteered to say that it is the non-Hindi States that should determine as to when English should go. That would have been very fair of them, that would have been very necessary for them to say, that would have been generous of them. But, unfortunately, they have not taken that stand even today. Whether you will it or not, you cannot by law make Hindi as the official language. As long as the people in the South or in non-Hindi-speaking areas in the North also do not follow Hindi as easily as one can do in order to transact business, it cannot be a successful national language. So, we should all help to facilitate this process of the growth of the national language instead of crying down the people who are realistic, as the Prime Minister has time and again repeated in his speeches. We have not to look at this question from sentiment, we have to look at it from reason, this question as to when Hindi can replace English, how soon it can replace it. It cannot be done unless you borrow copiously from English, instead of using words like 'afsar' or coin words like 'kanth langot' or 'bichbindi kholi'. I can make a villager understand what a 'cabinet' is rather making him understand what 'bichbindi kholi' is. 'Bichbindi kholi' is the Hindi translation for 'cabinet'. Similarly, I can make him understand by using 'neck-tie' instead of making him understand. . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: What is that?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Such is the coining of Hindi words that is going to come in in this fanaticism.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Where?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Let us not take to artificial means, let us

take what is natural, and actually only then will Hindi become the national language, sooner than you imagine. Without goodwill, it can never be the national language.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support this Bill but with a feeling of a little disappointment and pain. I am sure that Government also is not very happy that it cannot carry out the promise made in the Constitution. But circumstances have to decide the issue and Government also has to meet the situation in time. It was said by some people that it was proper for the Government to have waited for two more years. I do not agree. Government could not keep the country in a state of suspense as to what its policy regarding fifteen-year time-limit was going to be and therefore, there was no time to wait till 1965 to appoint another Committee and create another wave of doubts and agitation in the whole country.

I feel that this Bill is a corollary to the formation of linguistic States. In my opinion, if we had waited at that time and not formed the linguistic States, but had a federation of the whole Union for a period of twenty years or so, then perhaps things would have sought their own level and Hindi also could have come in in a more natural way. After all, when there was a unitary government under the British, though there were different States, every State had its own language at the lower level. But, however, I feel that it is no use crying over spilt milk, and we have to take things as they are, but we have to learn a lesson. I think the present situation is a corollary to the policy that we are following, which is in a way a policy of contradiction. We are sending students abroad, we are encouraging more and more better schools and in a way, rightly. It is no use saying that people who have money send their children to schools with English medium because there are teachers there who are paid

better and who can teach better. when we do not have a Communist form of society here, there is no reason why people should not have the freedom to get for their children the type of education, which they can afford. We have also been allowing people to go abroad freely and naturally they are going to come back enamoured not only of that language abroad, but also of that pattern of life and yet we advocate maintaining individuality of our culture and our language. These are the various things which lead to contradictions in our policy. Incidentally, I may mention here that this pattern of life and culture which we allow our students to imbibe at the most crucial period of their life is in contradiction with the attempt we make to preserve our own culture. Well, I cannot go into that here. I would, therefore, say that to say that Hindi can be forced on the people against their plea is a wrong thing. Government should have done something much earlier and this situation would not have arisen if it had taken certain precautions earlier. For example, long ago Government could have made one South Indian language compulsory for every person entering service. Now, when in the interests of national integration and emotional integration of the country we are going to introduce all-India services practically in every service including medical, forest, etc., it is very essential that people from the North should be made to study one South-Indian language and *vice versa*, people coming from the South must read one North Indian language and they should pass, as was rightly pointed out, a departmental examination within six months or one year of their entering the service. This can be easily done. I might incidentally point out that it is not only the Government servants in the old days who used to learn a language in such a short time, but even today we find, in some of the embassies women, who haven't much to occupy their time, employing a teacher and gaining

sufficient knowledge of an Indian language, and Hindi in a fairly short time. That surprises one. Therefore, if this type of policy is followed, nothing is very difficult. I would like to point out that we need not think that English ultimately is going to be so necessary. If we go on giving it a long rope, as was pointed out by one Member, saying that a Commission should be appointed after ten years, I think we will never reach that stage when people will feel that they have to shorten this process. Therefore, from now on, I feel that some period ought to be laid down, and all efforts in that direction must be made. Though we need not have a separate Ministry for the purpose, certainly a section of the Ministry at the Centre, as also in the States, ought to take it up as its special work. Here I would like again to point out to the lack of co-ordination, and that leads to confusion in our pattern of education. Though Education should have been the most important Ministry at the time when we were enjoying peace, though it should have been the Ministry more important than even Defence, it has been neglected to such an extent that I should say this; as the Home Minister is sitting here, I would point out that when I was sitting at the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry, I was greatly amused and pained to find the Home Ministry busying itself about the pattern of education and the place of Hindi, and what should be the facilities given for administrative schools, etc. in tribal areas. Now, education in the tribal areas without any reference will be decided by the Home Ministry. Then education in other spheres would be decided perhaps by the people in the Community Development Blocks, etc. There are five Ministries who advocate different types of education. I would not go into details of these because I have dealt with this subject when I spoke recently on Education. So I would leave it at that. But what is necessary is that nothing with regard to education should be done without consultation with the Educa-

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]

tion Ministry including, I feel, the showing of films, etc.

Madam, much was said about the type of Hindi that is being used, Sanskritised Hindi. I am in full agreement with all the words that fell from Professor Wadia. I would also like to draw the attention of the House to another aspect of this Hindi translation. I am usually shocked to see the translation into Hindi of English, whose grammatical construction is coming as if from a person who is a foreigner. I cannot go here into details. But the whole construction shows that the thinking is done in English and not in Hindi at all. So, when that kind of foreign element is tolerated for all these years, it is but natural that nobody should develop that much pride about Hindi.

I would like to draw attention to the place of English as is considered necessary here for the services, etc., and this is supposed to be the main reason why the hon. Member from Tamilnad has been advocating the continued use of English. Yes, in courts also. I would ask the Members to consider whether in the courts it is the large number of clients and people who are affected by the use of English even today, or the few lawyers or the judges who have to attend to those cases—who should matter. We can spend some extra money, we can ask for honorary services of so many lawyers and retired people for translation. Give them suitable honoraria or some sort of recognition and get our judgments and many things translated into Hindi. But it is very necessary to start Hindi even for court use. As far as the services are concerned, I have said that only a small part compared with the large number of people in the country will be affected by this.

I would not like to take much time, because I have been told there are many speakers who would like to speak, but I would like here to refer

to the views of Mahatma Gandhi, with regard to the use of English, before 1947, that is, in 1921, and again, what he had said in September, 1947. I am referring to his article in 'Young India' in 1921, and here, I would not like to take the time of the House to read the whole thing, but the relevant portion which should be borne in mind is:

"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."

Then, on the 21st September, 1947, in the 'Harijan' he writes, in several paragraphs it is quoted in the Report of the Official Language Commission. Here I would refer only to the last few sentences of the third paragraph. Gandhiji writes:

"The provinces will have to deal with the Centre. They dare not do so through English if the Centre....."

I would like these words to be noted

"...is wise enough quickly to realise that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section. My plea is for the banishing of English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy."

One more word, Madam, it is stated that people in the South are anxious

that they should not have Hindi forced on them, that Hindi should not be forced on anybody. We quite agree. At the same time, it was too much for the same South Indian leader, Mr. Annadurai, to say that because Tamil is a language five thousand years old that could easily—that is what I understood him to have said—replace Hindi. I feel that, when the script is different, when the majority of the people in the country understand Hindi—and Hindi should not mean only Sanskritised Hindi; it may be in the form of Hindi or Hindustani—that is not possible. One best way, on the other hand, would be to have the Roman script for South Indian languages also, because that is the difficulty in the way of the people from the North in studying South Indian languages. We need not be so national-minded in that manner that we should not accept the Roman script. The world has come very near and we are really becoming one world nation. The whole world is becoming one nation, as it were. (*Interruptions*). Under these circumstances I feel that, if this common script were to be adopted, it would be possible for many people from the North to study some of the South Indian languages. Books should be produced, rewards should be given for best books and there should be, in fact, competitive examinations for people from the North who study South Indian languages.

With these words, Madam, I support the Bill.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are discussing a most controversial Bill. Extreme views have been expressed. There is one view which holds that Hindi should be the official language exclusively, and English should be discontinued immediately. There is the second view that the *status quo* should be maintained, that English should have the same status which it is enjoying today, that is, English should occupy the first place, and Hindi, which was adopted as the

official language by the Constituent Assembly, should occupy the second place. These are two extreme views. We have to strike a *via media*, that is, English also must be continued after 1965. But at the same time we must concede that English cannot occupy the first place that it has been occupying. The place should be surrendered to Hindi. Hindi should continue to occupy the first place and English should be the second alternative language. Has that *via media* been implemented through this Bill? I will come to that point later.

Madam, there are a number of reasons why we want English to be continued even after 1965. As has been explained by a number of hon. Members here, Hindi has not developed to that extent. It has a number of deficiencies. We cannot find proper and suitable words in Hindi. Of course, effort has been made to translate English words into Hindi. The other day, while speaking in this House, the hon. Home Minister referred to the fact that two important laws had been translated into Hindi, the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, but he did not tell what sort of Hindi it was, whether it was Seth Govind Das—Hindi or Dr. Raghuvira—Hindi. Just by using some sort of machine we cannot coin Hindi words.

In this connection, Madam, I would like to refer to the views of the hon. the Prime Minister as to what he had to say. While speaking in the Lok Sabha on the 4th September, 1959, he said:

“This business of some kind of slot machine turning out Hindi words and Hindi phrases, that kind of approach is an artificial, unreal, absurd, fantastic and laughable approach.”

That is what the hon. Prime Minister said. Just now Prof. Wadia referred to an incident when he went to meet the former President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and informed him

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.]

about the Constitution being translated into Hindi. The President admitted that there were certain phrases which even he could not understand though he hailed from a Hindi-speaking area. If this sort of Hindi is to be imposed, then I must say that it will not serve the cause of Hindi.

Apart from all those reasons, Madam, there is one most important question that should be taken into consideration. When I say that English should be continued for some longer time, I mean that the unity and integrity of the nation must be preserved at all costs. We have to choose between two things. Whether we want the Hindi language or whether we want the unity of the country. You cannot have both the things. I am not saying this on my behalf. I may quote a Congress Minister in this respect, Mr. Kamla-pati Tripathi. What did he say while speaking only a fortnight back in the U.P. Assembly?

AN HON. MEMBER: Who?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: The Finance Minister of U.P. He said:

"We can sacrifice language for unity, but not unity for language."

So, the fundamental issue is whether we want the unity and integrity of the nation to be preserved or not.

Madam, it is an open secret that there is resistance from the South. Some of the hon. Members from the South, occupying benches opposite, might deny that fact. But their mere denial cannot prove that there is no resistance in the South. There is resistance. Only the other day in this House, Mr. Annadurai said that his party would start an agitation in the South. The same feeling was expressed by Shri C. Rajagopalachari who declared that if Hindi was imposed upon these people, they would continue the agitation against such an imposition.

Again, Madam, about fifteen or sixteen years back, I think it was Shri Rajagopalachari who expressed the view that if this sort of policies were continued, some day the South would have to revolt against the North, that there would be some sort of struggle between the South and the North. This has been quoted in a book by Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar. In that book Dr. Ambedkar has warned that we should not try to impose the Hindi language. Quoting Shri Rajagopalachari in that book he said that India is not a federation but a confederation. These are the views expressed by a great leader like Shri Rajagopalachari. That feeling even now continues in the South.

Madam, Babasaheb Ambedkar has given warning on a number of problems to the country, whether it was about Pakistan, whether it was about Kashmir, whether it was about China, but we have ignored every advice. Dr. Ambedkar has warned that if we do not pursue proper policies, one day the South will revolt against the North. If we ignore this advice given by Babasaheb Ambedkar, we will be doing so at our own peril. Therefore, we should not completely ignore the sentiments of the Southern people.

Madam, is there any opposition on the part of the Southern people to learn Hindi? There is no opposition. They do want to learn Hindi. Even Shri Rajagopalachari has advocated that all people from non-Hindi-speaking regions should learn Hindi. What do they object to? They object to the Hindi language being made the official language. And why do they object to it? It is because of certain apprehensions in their mind, that the Hindi-speaking people will gain some sort of advantage over the non-Hindi-speaking people so far as the services are concerned. Can we try to explain and say that their sentiments are not proper? Madam, in this respect, I will again quote what the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, has said. He has admitted that the

apprehensions of the Southern people in this behalf are correct. This is what Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru has said:

"Now, the real, basic opposition, I take it, comes from a fear that Hindi, if it comes in, will mean a disparity for the non-Hindi knowing areas. I say undoubtedly...."

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: For the sake of clarification, may I interrupt the hon. Member for a minute? The hon. Member goes on quoting Shri Rajagopalachari and Mr. Annadurai and some other Tamil people but the Governments from the South have approved of this Bill and they have no objection. Why should he think that these are the only representatives from the South whose views should be heard?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I am also referring to views of persons in the Government. I have referred to Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi and later on I will refer to Dr. Subbarayan also. I will refer to another statement of a Minister from the South who happens to be in Central Government today. I will refer to his statement also.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think you will have time to refer to them all. Just five minutes more.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I may be given some more time. But here I would refer to the speech of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. This is what the Prime Minister said:

"....I say undoubtedly it will be a disparity. It will be a disparity for a considerable time".

—not for a short time and this is what the P.M. said:—

"I say a rule must be laid down by which we do absolutely nothing which creates a disparity for non-Hindi speaking areas, in regard to matters like services."

This is what the Prime Minister said that we should not do even the slightest thing that will create disparity between the Hindi-speaking areas and others. I want to know whether this assurance that has been given by the Prime Minister is implemented in this Bill. This morning Shri Vajpayee stated that Hindi was adopted as the official language by the Constituent Assembly by a majority. May I know how this language was adopted? I will not express my views. I will again quote a Minister, Dr. P. Subbarayan. Just now an hon. Member said that the people from the South are supporting Hindi. This is what Dr. Subbarayan had to say regarding the acceptance of Hindi as the official language. He said:

"People in non-Hindi areas agreed to accept Hindi, the majority of them with reservation, mainly because of the reactions of the success of a long struggle for political freedom which gave them an uneasy feeling that India lacked the natural linguistic unity which was thought to be so vital for a free people. It was then pointed out that as a free nation India should set up an Indian language as a symbol of her nationhood and give it the status of an official language."

I am not divulging any secret when I say that in the Congress Parliamentary Party Hindi was adopted by a majority of one vote. At first, there was equal voting, same number of votes for Hindi and same number against Hindi, and when there was a second count, I am given to understand that the President had to use his casting vote and therefore Hindi was adopted. I will quote another Minister and what he said at Dehra Dun . . .

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: Shri B. P. Maurya, the leader of the Republican Party in the Lok Sabha has supported this . . .

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Speaking in Dehra Dun this is what one Minister of the Central Government said. I will name the person afterwards. He says:

"It was not D.M.K. that would upset the unity of India but the linguistic fanaticism of the Hindi-speaking people. Any undue haste might create doubts in the minds of Southerners and seriously affect the integration process."

This is not what the D.M.K. Member has said. This is what Mr. C. Subramaniam, the Congress Minister occupying the benches on the other side had said only 6 months back while speaking in Dehra Dun. What do all those remarks indicate? What do all these views expressed even by Congress people from the South indicate? Therefore, I say that English must continue indefinitely as long as the people from the South want it. Now, this fact has not been denied. The Prime Minister has given the assurance on a number of occasions that Hindi will not be imposed and English shall continue as long as the Southern people want it. I want to know from the Home Minister whether this assurance given by the Prime Minister has been implemented in this Bill. I must say that this assurance given by the Prime Minister has not been implemented. The other day, while explaining the stand of the Government in this House the Home Minister said that if we use the word 'shall' instead of 'may,' it will mean that we will have to use both the languages simultaneously and it will be very cumbersome and impossible for the Government to run the administration. There are two different questions. The first is whether an assurance was given or not and the second is, if the assurance was given, whether we want to implement it or not. Pandit Nehru has admitted that he has given this assurance. The question is only of implementation. Am I to understand that our Law Minister, the officials of the Law Ministry, our Attorney-General and all those

high-ranking officials of the Law Ministry are devoid of intelligence so that they cannot find the appropriate words and phrases to translate the assurance given by the Prime Minister and to make it a part of this Bill? They can very easily do it if they want and if they intend to. As was expressed by Mr. Frank Anthony in the other House, this is political chicanery, a sort of fraud perpetrated against the people from the South. You give by one hand the assurance and by the other hand you are taking it away.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Hindi clique.....

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Therefore I say, if you at all want to give an assurance, see that it is implemented in the Bill. There have been a number of amendments. We do not say that both the languages should continue. Hindi should occupy the first place. I have already explained in the beginning that Hindi must continue as the official language. But at the same time we say that it shall continue as an alternate language. Alternate language does not mean that both Hindi and English should be simultaneously used. It only means that along with Hindi language those people who want to use English should be allowed to use English.

For this sorry state of affairs in this nation, I will blame the protagonists of Hindi. I want to know what they have done to propagate Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. Have they taken any steps so that if not today, after 5 or 10 years Hindi would become the official language of this country? They are imposing Hindi on others, on the non-Hindi-speaking people. They want the non-Hindi-speaking people to learn Hindi. In this respect I must say, 'Charity begins at home'. I want to know from the Hindi-speaking people whether they have made any efforts to learn any of the languages of the non-Hindi-speaking regions. Some years back the Emotional Integration Com-

mittee suggested a three-language formula. They suggested that the Hindi-speaking people must learn one of the languages of the non-Hindi-speaking regions. May I know how many people have learnt those languages?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: I have learnt.....

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: One from millions of people and do you want to prove a rule by the exception? You cannot prove a rule by the exception. Therefore, I say everybody wants that Hindi must be the official language. Nobody doubts that. The only thing is it must take its own time and for that the Hindi people must learn any of those languages. If the majority of people from the Hindi regions learn languages of the non-Hindi regions, they would have a moral right to go to the others and say 'We are learning your language, why do you not learn Hindi now?' Instead of doing that, they are putting the cart before the horse. They are imposing Hindi on others and saying 'If you learn Hindi, then we will learn any of your languages'. That is not the proper attitude. The people from the Hindi regions must learn one language from the other areas. Then they will have the moral right also to say 'Well, we have learnt your language and now you must learn Hindi'.

I will refer to one point and that is regarding the simultaneous translation of the speeches made in this House. I had noticed the other day that Mr. Chordia, one of our Members, to my great surprise asked a supplementary question in English. He usually asks in Hindi. I enquired from him how that unusual thing had happened that day. He said that the supplementary question was put to the Minister who could not understand Hindi and, as was suggested by him, he had to ask the supplementary in English so that he could understand. This is the position in this House where even the

Ministers and some Members do not understand Hindi. Therefore, my suggestion is this. The Hindi and English speeches must be simultaneously translated.

There is another thing regarding the language to be used in this House. I suggest that every Member should be allowed to speak in his own mother-tongue and if he speaks in his own mother-tongue, then that speech must be simultaneously translated into Hindi or English. I do not mean that the Hindi and English speeches should be translated in all the 14 languages as that would be a difficult task but at least if any Member speaks in his mother-tongue, that speech must be translated into Hindi or English. The other day the Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan, made his first speech while replying to the Demands of his Ministry. I do not know what sort of speech he made, because I did not hear. But the reports in the press were that it was not an impressive speech and it was suggested in some sections of the press that it was because of the handicap of English language. We have heard the Defence Minister, Mr. Yeshwant Rao Chavan, in Marathi. He is a powerful orator and he speaks fluently. When he is speaking the whole audience is spell bound. If a man of that capacity could not express himself effectively in English and that gave rise to comments in the press that he could not be effective because of the handicap, I do not know what to say. Here we have a number of people who would like to speak but they cannot because the rule is that the speeches should be either in Hindi or in English and if they want to speak in their mother-tongue, then a translation has got to be given beforehand. That is not possible. Let me refer to one instance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. You have had enough time. You have taken twenty minutes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I want only one minute.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. After one minute, I will pass on to the other speaker.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Here is Dadasaheb Gaikwad. He is a powerful orator in Marathi. During his regime as a Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1937-39, he was considered to be a powerful orator. Even Mr. Mavlankar, who was the Speaker of the Assembly, came to him and congratulated him, for his oratory. But what do we find here? Because of the handicap so far as the language is concerned, he cannot speak English and he cannot speak Hindi either.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: But he speaks very good English.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: If you hear him speak in Marathi you will sit spell bound. That is why I say that there should be arrangement for simultaneous translation of speeches made in their mother-tongues by Members.

SHRI SADIQ ALI (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have no great difficulty in extending my full support to the main provisions of the Bill before the House. As I look at the language problem, I find myself a vigorous supporter of Hindi, English and all regional languages, each in its proper place. All our trouble today is due to the fact that none of these languages is in its proper and legitimate place. Our whole effort, ever since independence, in fact, from a much earlier time, has been to see that we establish a right balance between these languages, that Hindi and other national languages become the language of administration and become the media of instruction in schools and colleges and English, while it is removed from its seat of supremacy, is allowed to play a proper role in our national and international life. This basic position has been accepted by and large by our countrymen but it is its implementation which is creating difficulties and gives rise to some

controversy. The present Bill is an attempt to grapple with these difficulties and find a practical solution to a practical problem. We are not engaged today in any theoretical controversy. That theoretical controversy had been settled fifteen years ago. Today we are up against a few practical problems and we have to find a practical solution. Now, it seems to be that the approach embodied in the Bill is the soundest approach and offers a satisfactory solution of most of the conflicts that surround this language question.

Let us assume for a moment that we do not accept this approach. What other approaches or other alternatives are available to us? Two alternatives have been presented to us by some friends here or in the other House or in the country outside. One is that the English language should be allowed to continue indefinitely for all practical purposes. While I am greatly attached to the English language, I know it has a future in this country, is it possible in the context of conditions in India today, for English to continue indefinitely as the official language of India? Three reasons are advanced for advocating this position; one is the unity of India, secondly, the progress of India, and thirdly, of course is resistance against Hindi imperialism. So far as the unity of India is concerned, do we imagine that today, in the years and decades to come, that it is possible for us to maintain the unity of India through English? In the years and decades to come, many new forces will be in operation. All our regional languages will become the language of administration in various States of India; they will become the media of instruction in schools and colleges. In that context, the position of English would greatly suffer. Today, English occupies a particular position in the Centre because for a long time, for a number of decades in the past, even now, English has been and is still the sole language of administration in many States. English is still the medium of instruc-

tion in many colleges but when this thing changes, when the regional languages come into their own, it will be difficult for English to retain its present status. As for progress, certainly we do want to achieve progress through the English language as much as is possible but in this age of democracy, if democracy has to function in India, vast masses of people will have to be reached. We have to educate them. They have to function and the vast masses of India cannot function in the English language. As for Hindi imperialism, I can quite understand that if Hindi is installed as the national language of India, then there will be some resistance but who are the people who are raising this objection? If our friends who know English, if they raise this objection, then I say it is very legitimate for 42 per cent. of the people to raise a similar objection against the English knowing people that two per cent. of the people of India are exploiting the country. So, this argument of exploitation or of imperialism is not very effective. Another extreme position is taken up by our friends, the indiscriminating friends of Hindi. Hindi will become the national language. Nothing can check it but if some of our friends imagine that Hindi can be the national language of India or the official language of the Centre to the total exclusion of English immediately, not in any distant future, but that Hindi should replace English immediately, totally, well, this thing is not a practical proposition. We have to take into account the practical realities of the situation and the practical realities suggest that English has still a legitimate role to play, has still a powerful role to play. I would refer to another matter. Some friends have said, friends from the South, that it should be left to them to decide when Hindi should replace English. I think they take on themselves a very serious responsibility. Assuming we place this burden on our friends of the South, is the South united? Are the non-Hindi speaking people united on this issue? Do all the people in the South think alike, feel alike and act

alike on this language controversy? There will be division even in the non-Hindi speaking areas on this language controversy, even if we leave it to them. Secondly, supposing we left it to them, what does it mean? Does it mean that they will go slow with Hindi or they will decide that for a long period of time, for many decades Hindi need not be learnt, Hindi need not be the official language of India? Can our friends of the South come to that decision? Even if we leave it to them they will have to take steps to see that Hindi is learnt by people in the South, by people in Bengal or Assam so that it becomes as quickly as possible the national language of India. So from every point of view it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that as things stand today we have to find a *via media*. Now, in finding a *via media* certain difficulties arise. One is that when we arrive at a compromise solution there is no enthusiasm in our hearts. Today it is quite possible that when at the end of the debate we pass this Bill there will be many friends in the House who will vote for it with a heavy heart. Now, this is not the right atmosphere for prosecuting the language policy. Why should those who advocate the cause of Hindi, who love Hindi or those who love English wish to vote for this measure with a heavy heart? Our Hindi friends are sorry that what they want has not been conceded in the Bill. Those who want English to remain the language of the centre for an indefinite period of time are also sorry that their point has not been conceded. This is not the right atmosphere. They are sorry that 'shall' has not been accepted and 'may' remains in the Bill. In the last two or three weeks I find that 'shall' has lost all its 'shallness' and 'may' has lost all its 'mayness'. 'Mayness' can mean 'shallness' and 'shallness' can mean 'mayness'. So, it is not shall or may that is going to decide the matter; it is not the meaning of 'shall' or 'may' that is going to decide the controversy; it is how we and the Government implement the language policy, the steps we take to prosecute the language policy which

[Shri Sadiq Ali.]

is embodied in this Bill which is going to decide the fate of Hindi or English or other regional languages. So, it is necessary that all of us have a clear picture of what we propose to do with this language problem. We should have a clear picture because what we do in regard to language affects the careers, affects the intellectual growth of millions of our children. Today it is happening that our standards are falling; the standards of English are falling; the standards of Hindi and other regional languages are not rising as rapidly as they should. It is true that English will not, in future, occupy a position which it is occupying today but it is not necessary, within certain limits, for the standards to fall. Ceylon has adopted a language of its own but the English standards have not fallen. In Ghana the standards have not fallen; in Nigeria the standards have not fallen; in other parts of western Africa the standards have not fallen. All these countries are seized with a fierce spirit of nationalism; their national languages have become the languages of administration but they know that for national reasons, for economic reasons, for international reasons English has an important part to play. Therefore, all that I want to emphasize is, whether it is Hindi or English or a regional language, we have to view this problem with a certain measure of enthusiasm. There should be no slackness about it; there should be no lack of enthusiasm. We have to take steps to see that Hindi really becomes the national language of India and also to see that the standards of English within certain limits do not fall and our regional languages become the languages of administration and media of instruction in schools and colleges.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam, Deputy Chairman, that this is a controversial measure, introduced at a time of emergency, has been proved by the speeches made from all sides of the House. Extreme views, most divergent views have been put

forward on this matter and nobody seems to be satisfied with the Bill. But while it is a controversial measure, controversial methods of discussion need not be used and that is why I regretted that the first speaker on this Bill, the Leader of the Communist Group, allowed himself to be led away by emotion and sentiment against the English language. To him the English language is the language of a bourgeoisie and therefore it must be condemned. And he seems to think that English was foisted on Indians by Englishmen. It is true that Lord Macaulay wrote the famous minute which made English the language of education and administration but before Macaulay there were Indians who welcomed English as a language which would liberate Hindu mind and society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first to welcome the English language and English literature and English influences long before Lord Macaulay wrote his minute and Bengalis and people all over the country welcomed the establishment of English schools by christian missionaries long before Government took up the establishment of such schools.

I am glad that this Bill has to deal only with the official languages and not with the national languages; that is to say, the languages affected by this Bill are to be instruments of Government, of politics and administration. There is no room for emotion or sentiment in discussion on this Bill. It has not to deal with any national language. It does not affect the language that we speak at home, that we use for social intercourse in private life. It does not affect the language of our domestic pieties. It is concerned only with the language used in administration, in Government, in Parliament and in public life. Therefore, it must be viewed merely as a tool, as an instrument of administration, as an instrument of Government like any other instrument or institution that we have adopted from England; like this Chamber for ins-

tance. This is not a national way of conducting parliamentary business. It has been adopted from the West, from England. The rule of law is not an Indian system. It has not obtained in many countries outside the Anglo-Saxon countries. We have adopted their judiciary, the separation between the legislature and the judiciary. These are all institutions and instruments of Government that we have adopted because from experience we have found them to be eminently useful. So, the English language must be viewed as a tool, as an instrument of Government. The important test that has to be applied is: Is it useful? Will it be useful? It is by this test of utility, by these purely utilitarian considerations that you must decide whether English has to be continued or not. I need not say how rich English is in its political experience. It has been used as the language of administration for more than a thousand years. It has rich political experience. It has much to make us reconcile to the continued use of English. There are other instruments, institutions that we have adopted from the West merely because of their utility. For instance, the decimal coinage, the metric weights and measures. These are not Indian. These are not of Indian origin. We have adopted them because we consider them to be useful.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): The decimal system originated here.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: It did not persist in India for a long time. It went all over the world and then at last we adopted it because we considered it to be useful.

Then, again, we heard the argument of 'vested interests'. I am sorry that the Prime Minister, whose reputation for chastity in the use of the English language is well known and has given him already a place in the republic of English letters, should have used this cliché, this well-worn cliché, worn to tatters in political argument. If people who advocate the continued

use of English are said to have a vested interest, may we not retort and say that the people who want to make Hindi the official language of India, the sole official language of India, have a vested interest because it is the language of their birth, it is their mother-tongue and it is their own language?

Why should exception be made in article 348 in favour of the Supreme Court and High Courts, where the continued use of English is provided for? Is administration of Government inferior to the judiciary that English should have a special place in the administration of our courts of law? People ask: Why are you not content with English being used as an associate language for some years? But then English by the side of Hindi has no future at all before it. The dice are loaded in favour of Hindi. Political pressure, administrative pressure from the Centre is being exerted almost every day for the extension of Hindi all over the country. The union Government is spending about Rs. 30 or Rs. 35 lakhs a year and within these fifteen years it must have spent a crore on the financing of the extension of Hindi all over the country. English, therefore, will be fighting a rear-guard action during all these ten years that are going to be allowed to it from 1965.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You want vanguard action.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Why should Hindi be made the only official language of India? The argument is that 42 per cent of the people already speak Hindi. Incidentally, we note that 90 per cent. of them are illiterate. Because history has not made Hindi the language of India, politics is used to make it the language of India. If there had been a Hindi-speaking ruling people in the country, if there had been a Hindi State, it might have gone out all over India and conquered it and by means of conquest it might have imposed the Hindi language on the whole of India. Because history has denied Hindi this opportunity,

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]
 an attempt is being made to use politics in order to extend the reign of Hindi in India. What Sanskrit could not do in the South. Hindi has to do, because the Government that is in favour of Hindi has a majority. This I consider to be an abuse of the principle of majority. When great fundamental principles divide the majority from the minority, the majority is not justified in forcing its views on the minority. The minority should be allowed to vote on this question and that is why the famous American political writer, J. C. Calhoun, devised the great principle of concurrent majority, not in respect of ordinary questions but in respect of highly controversial questions. Where a minority is vitally interested, the minority should be able by voting within its own circle to say whether it shall accept the view of the majority or not. Till the minority is able to vote for it, the majority should be precluded from forcing its will upon the minority.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR (Bihar): On a point of information. When Tamil was declared to be the official language of Madras, did the Government consult the linguistic minorities residing there?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: There are very few linguistic minorities in Madras.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: Thirty-three per cent. of the population have different languages.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): It goes against you. You have not realised it. You have to think of the good of the Hindi speaking people. India is a multilingual State, but Tamilnad is quite a different affair.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Only in totalitarian countries like Russia is one language being forced on the minorities.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not at all. Swatantra never understands what is happening in Russia.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can explain that in the Lobby later. Mr. Ruthnaswamy, you continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will do that. But some of them are too old.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, there are about 240 minority languages in the Russian Empire.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, 'Russian Empire'. Where is the empire? I say he is again wrong.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Communists can form empires like any other people like any other creed. While there are 240 minority languages in Russia, the official language is Russian and by means of political and economic temptations the Russian language is being forced on them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No, all the languages of the constituent Republics are official languages.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: They are national languages not official languages. If despite these considerations Hindi is forced on the South, it can only be for certain political and administrative advantages the Hindi-speaking people would derive from it. Hindi-speaking youth would have an advantage as compared to others in all-India competitive examinations. You may say you can have examinations in Hindi as well as in English, but the Hindi-speaking candidate will have an advantage because it is his mother-tongue, because the examiners are familiar mainly with Hindi books. The knowledge expected is what can be derived only from Hindi books, whereas the knowledge that is expected from English knowing candidates would be knowledge that is derived from English books which are much more

numerous for these examinations than Hindi books. Hindi-speaking youth will fare better.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: What is the mother-tongue of the hon. speaker? You never speak in it.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: What is the occasion here?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mr. Arora is always irrelevant.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: This consciousness of the superior advantages possessed and exercised by Hindi-speaking youth will provide ground for agitation in the South, as was suggested by Mr. Annadurai.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I invite your attention to . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have very little time, Mr. Ruthnaswamy. No interruptions, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You should do it in the Lobby.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It has nothing to do with the Lobby.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No talk across with each other, please.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: You will have opportunities when you move your amendments. The choice before Parliament, Madam Deputy Chairman is, therefore, one of two things. Allow English to continue. It is already there. It is already being used as the language of Government, of administration and of Parliament. Amend the Constitution so that English may continue to be the language of Government and of administration, of force Hindi down the throats of the South. What about the future is the question being asked. We do not legislate for eternity. We legislate only for the next ten or fifteen years, and the future can be trusted to take care of itself. Who knows that with all the influence which Hindi possesses at the

present time, it may in ten, twenty or thirty years spread all over the country, and the people of the South being converted to Hindi, becoming Hindi-speaking people, there will be no need to force Hindi upon them? Or, perhaps a new language, a composite language may be created, because it has been suggested this morning that Hindi must open its doors to all the languages of India so that it may enrich its vocabulary, its grammar, its syntax by exploiting the linguistic resources, the linguistic riches of all the languages of India. Who knows that in course of time a new composite Indian language may be created, may be evolved, which will be acceptable to all the people of India because all the people of India would have taken part in creating this new language? The choice, therefore, is between statesmanship and politics, especially politics of the narrow sectional interests.

As a last piece of advice I would ask the Government to respect the feelings of the South the sentiments of the South. Not only Burke but a modern politician Senator, Lyndon Johnson, who has become the Vice-President of the United States, said: "If you cannot smell feelings, you are no kind of politician". It is true that Tamil Nad is far away from Delhi, but any politician with any sense of politics would be able to smell the feeling of opposition, of resentment that has been aroused by this Bill. Even at this late hour statesmanship may triumph, and I would ask the Ministers and the Government to look upon this matter with the clear, steady gaze of statesmanship and not with a squint of a politician because it is the whole future of the country that is involved in the settlement of this question whether you shall have linguistic and therefore political peace in this country or whether you throw an apple of discord in this country and thus arouse feelings of irritation and dissatisfaction in a country which the Chinese aggression had united. I hope, Madam Deputy

Chairman, that in time statesmanship will win and that narrow politics will be put into the background, into the place which it ought to occupy, which it ought to have occupied in the consideration of this question because, as I said, the future of the country is involved in this decision.

श्री निफोसुल हसन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
जनाब डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा, जो तजवीज माननीय होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस सदन के सामने रखी है कि आफिशियल लैंग्वेज बिल पर विचार किया जाये, उस की मैं तारीफ करता हूँ। मौजूदा हालत में इस बिल में आफिशियल लैंग्वेज के मसले को जिस तरह से सुलझाया गया है, जिन दलीलों को होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने हमारे सामने रखा है, उस के लिए मैं उन्हें मुबारकबाद देता हूँ।

डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा, इस वक्त कोई अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी का झगड़ा नहीं है, यह बात कि यूनियन की आफिशियल लैंग्वेज क्या हो, इस मसले को हमारे संविधान ने तय कर दिया है और इस में कोई दो राय नहीं है सिवाय इस के कि अभी हमारे दो मान्य सदस्यों ने कहा कि आफिशियल लैंग्वेज अंग्रेजी कर दी जाय और हिन्दी को हटा दिया जाय। हमारे संविधान ने यह तय कर दिया है कि हिन्दी यूनियन की आफिशियल लैंग्वेज रहे और १५ साल तक यानी १९६५ तक आफिशियल काम अंग्रेजी में किया जाय। इस के साथ ही एक प्रोवाइजो भी है कि १५ साल के अन्दर प्रेजिडेंट को यह अख्तियार होगा कि वह अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी को भी काम में लाने का आदेश दे सकती है। उसी अनुच्छेद में यह भी है कि पार्लियामेंट को यह अख्तियार है कि १५ वर्ष गुजरने के बाद कानून बनाये और अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल जारी रखे। चूनांचे यह बिल जो आया है वह सिर्फ इस गरज से है कि अंग्रेजी को १९६५ के बाद जारी रखा जा सके और सरकारी कामकाज हिन्दी के साथ साथ अंग्रेजी में भी होता रहे। हिन्दी के तरफ-

दार इस बिल पर एतराज कर सकती हैं कि कान्स्टीट्यूशन में जो बात लिखी गई है कि १९६५ के बाद अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल खत्म हो जायेगा। लेकिन ताज्जुब मुझे यह है कि वे लोग मुखालिफत कर रहे हैं जो चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल जारी रहे। अगर उन की मन्शा यह है कि अंग्रेजी हमारी सरकार के काम में हमेशा के लिए कायम रहे तब तो उन की यह मुखालिफत कुछ ठीक है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जब उसूल की बात कान्स्टीट्यूशन ने तय कर दी है, उस को सारे मुल्क ने मान लिया है फिर इस तरह की बात कहना मुनासिब मालूम नहीं देता है। कान्स्टीट्यूशन बनाते वक्त कांग्रेस मेजारिटी में थी और उस के बाद तीन जनरल इलैक्शन हो चुके हैं और तीनों जनरल इलैक्शन में कांग्रेस पूरी मेजारिटी के साथ आई और हुक्मत में बनी रही। इसलिए आज हिन्दी की मुखालिफत में आवाज बुलन्द करना सही नहीं है। कांग्रेस को हुक्मत में रिटर्न करने से उस की पार्लिसियों को सारे मुल्क ने मान लिया है। कान्स्टीट्यूशन को बनाने की जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस पर थी और उस की पार्लिसियों को जनता ने मंजूर किया है। अब इस समय सवाल यह है कि कब तक अंग्रेजी को इजाजत दी जाये? इसलिये मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इन तमाम बातों के ऊपर गौर कर के गवर्नमेंट ने जो फैसला किया है वह एक मुनासिब फैसला है।

मैं उस जगह से आता हूँ, उस प्रदेश से आता हूँ जहाँ हिन्दी बोली जाती है। मेरा नजरिया इस मसले पर यह है कि मैं अपने मुल्क के उन तमाम भाईयों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ जिन की ज़बान हिन्दी नहीं है कि उन्होंने ने इस को नेशनल लैंग्वेज और यूनियन लैंग्वेज मान लिया है। यह वह महसूस करते हैं और मैं भी यह समझता हूँ कि यही एक भाषा है जो हम मुस्तालिफ़ ज़बान के बोलने वालों को एक कड़ी में पिरो देगी और यह ही एक भाषा है जिस के जरिये से हम ने सोचा कि हम मुस्तालिफ़ लोग मेल और इत्तिहाद पुरे मुल्क

में कायम रख सकेंगे। तो आज अगर किसी तरफ से इस की मुखातिफत में आवाज है तो मैं सिर्फ इतना ही समझता हूँ कि उस की वजह यह है कि वह यह समझते हैं कि अभी हम तैयार नहीं हैं, कुछ समय के लिये प्रौर उठरो। हिन्दी हमारे यहां होनी चाहिये, हिन्दी हमारी नेशनल लैंग्वेज है और मैं नहीं मानता कि मुल्क में कोई हिस्सा ऐसा है जो हिन्दी को नेशनल लैंग्वेज मानने से या यूनियन की लैंग्वेज अखिर में चल कर मानने से या लिंक लैंग्वेज मानने से इंकार करता हो। एतराज सिर्फ यह है कि वह सिर्फ वक्त चाहते हैं। जो तकरीरें मैंने सुनीं उन से भी यह मालूम होता है कि नेक नियती हर तरफ ज्यादातर मौजूद है और मैं उस नेकनियती से बिल्कुल मुतमईन हूँ। हमे भी कोशिश करनी चाहिये और उन्हें भी नेक नियती से कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि, जितनी जल्दी हम अपने सारे मुल्क को एक जवान के जरिये लिंक कर दें उतना ही अच्छा है। इसी सिलसिले में मैं इतना और अर्ज करूँ कि जिस चीज को हम ने इतिहाद के लिये, आपस के मेल के लिए लिया, मैं नहीं पसन्द करता कि वह किसी तरीके की फूट की वजह बने। मैं नहीं चाहता कि किसी को यह खयाल हो कि हिन्दी हम पर हमारी मरजी के खिलाफ इम्पोज की जा रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सब खुशदिली से और नेकनियती से अपनी जान कर और यह जान कर कि यह एक ऐसी लैंग्वेज है जो सब को एक घागे में बांधेगी, इस को कबूल करें। इसी सिलसिले में मुझे एक फारसी का शेर याद आता है :

“तो बराय वस्ल करदन आमदी।

नै वराय फस्ल करदन आमदी ॥”

इस हिन्दी को हम आपस में मेल बढाने के लिये लाये, एक दूसरे की अलाहदगी करने के लिये नहीं लाये। इसलिए अगर किसी के दिल में यह शुबहा है कि हिन्दी में जल्दी करना लोगों को अलहदा करने वाला है तो मैं बहुत खुशों के साथ यह कहता हूँ कि अच्छी बात है

आप गौर कर लीजिये और अगर किसी किस्म के हैंडीकैप्स हैं तो उन को दूर करने का कोशिश कीजिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम हिन्दा प्रदेशों के रहने वाले जितनी हिन्दा जानते हैं उस से ज्यादा आप जान लीजिये लेकिन यह हा एक जवान है जो हमारा और आप का इतिहाद कायम रखने में मदद देगी। जवान का मसला काफ़ा अहम है, लेकिन इस मुल्क के इतिहाद का मसला उस से ज्यादा ऊंचा है और किसी सूरत से यह बरदाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता कि वह जवान का झगड़ा हमारे इतिहाद में फ़कं डाले। इसलिये मैं तो यह अर्ज करूंगा कि हमारे वजीरे आजम साहब का अशोरेंस को और इस बिल के तमाम प्राविजन्स को हम हिन्दी भाषी प्रदेश के लोगों को बलकम करना चाहिये। और हम जो कमियां महसूस करते हैं कि फ़लां बात गवर्नमेंट ने नहीं की तो हमें यह भी देखना चाहिये कि हमारा भी कितनी गलतियां हैं। इसलिये मैं इस बिल के प्राविजन्स का और पूरे बिल का खैरमकदम करता हूँ।

इस में दो ताँन बातें मुझे बहुत मुश्तसर में अर्ज करनी हैं। यहां ‘मे’ और ‘शैल’ का बड़ा एतराज किया गया। अगर गौर से देखें तो इस में क्लोज ५ जो है उस को अगर पढ़ें तो यह जितने एतराज ‘मे’ के लिये किये जाते हैं वह दूर हो जायेंगे? क्लोज ५ इस तरह है :

“A translation in Hindi published under the authority of the President in the Official Gazette on and after the appointed day,—

(a) of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President, or

(b) of any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued under the Constitution or under any Central Act, shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in Hindi.”

[श्री नफीसुल हसन]

लेकिन ओरिजनल टेक्स्ट जो है, वह अंग्रेज़ों में होना है। जब ट्रांसलेशन हिन्दी में हो तो ओरिजनल किसी दूसरी ज़बान में ही हो सकता है और वह दूसरी ज़बान अंग्रेज़ी है। जो लोग यह श्रुति करते हैं कि यह 'शैल' का लफ्ज़ यहां पर इस्तेमाल नहीं किया, 'भे' का शब्द इस्तेमाल किया गया, वह इसको भी देख ले कि इसके क्या मानों हैं। इसी तरह से बिलों वगैरा का तरजुमा है। जो बिल है वह अंग्रेज़ी में होंगे, कम से कम दस वर्ष के लिये और उसके लिये सिर्फ यह प्राविजन है कि उनका तरजुमा हो और वह भी हम लोगों को दिया जाया करे। जहां तक इस बिल के प्राविजन्स का ताल्लुक है, हिन्दी ने अगर कोई तरक्की की है, तो इतनी ही की है कि जो चीज़ सिर्फ अंग्रेज़ों में होती है, उस का तरजुमा हिन्दी में बढ़ गया है। इससे कोई खास इजाफा नहीं हुआ है। अब हमें जब यह इतमीनान हो कि हमारे पूरे मुल्क की नीयत यह है कि हिन्दी को हम अपनी यूनिजन की भाषा बनायें, तो उसके लिये हम क्या कार्यवाही करें। इसके लिये मैं एक दो बातें कहूंगा। उसके लिये हम तैयारी करने की जरूरत है। आज दस साल के लिये आपने प्राविजन कर दिया, लेकिन अगर कोई कदम हमने आज से नहीं बढ़ाया, तो दस वर्ष के बाद वही हालत होगी जो आज है। यही जवाब हमें मिलेगा कि साहब हमारे आफिसर्स जो हैं, उनकी एफीशियन्सी कम हो जायेगी, क्योंकि वह हमेशा अंग्रेज़ी में काम करने के आदी रहे हैं। यह बात जायज है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि यह ठीक नहीं है। मुझे भी कुछ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का तजुर्बा रहा है और मैंने भी कुछ काम करते हुए लोगों को देखा है, लेकिन दस वर्षों के बाद हमें क्या करना है, उसके लिए थोड़ी बहुत तैयारी करने की जरूरत है। मसलन यह डिस्-एडवाण्टेज वगैरा कहा गया है कि साहब साउथ-वाले घाटे में रहेंगे और परटीकुलरली सर्विसेज़ का हवाला दिया गया है। इसके

लिए एक मामूली सा मेरा सजेशन है, जिसको गवर्नमेंट गौर कर ले और वह यह है कि सैट्रल सर्विसेज़ के लिए कुछ बातों का ध्यान रखा जाये। हिन्दी के स्कूल तकराबन हर जगह खोल दिये गये हैं और वह एक कम्पल-सरी सब्जेक्ट हो गया है। इसलिये अब बहुत दिन नहीं लगेंगे और वह वक्त बहुत जल्दी आने वाला है, जबकि हमारे साउथ के लोग भी, खास तौर से बच्चे हिन्दी सीख जायेंगे। तो मैं यह चाहता हू कि आज नहीं, जब समझ में आये, सैट्रल सर्विसेज़ के लिये यह जरूरी कर दिया जाये कि न सिर्फ एक हिन्दी का ज्ञान बल्कि एक और लैंग्वेज का ज्ञान हर सरवैन्ट के लिये, जिसको रिक्स्ट करना हो, लाजमी कर दिया जाये। इसका अमलदरामद जब किया जाये, तो यो शुरू किया जा सकता है कि मसलन हिन्दी को एक कम्पलसरी सब्जेक्ट रखते हैं, तो उसकी काफी नीचे स्टेन्डर्ड की और बहुत लिबरल मारकिंग होनी चाहिये, लेकिन अगर कोई शरुस उस स्टेन्डर्ड पर नहीं आता है, तो वह सैट्रल सर्विसेज़ के लिये ठीक नहीं। यह मैं किसी पर फोर्स करना नहीं चाहता। यह आप सोच ले, अगर साउथ वाले राजी हों, तो इसके साथ साथ हम लोग जो हिन्दी प्रदेश के हैं, उनके लिये यह लाजमी कर दिया जाये कि कोई हिन्दी प्रदेशों का कैंडीडेट जब तक एक सदर्न लैंग्वेज में एक खास काब-लियत नहीं पैदा करता, तब तक वह भी किसी सैट्रल नौकरों के लिये ठीक न माना जाये। इसके लिये जो स्टेन्डर्ड आप वहां रखिये, वही स्टेन्डर्ड यहां भी रखिये। अगर यह कर दिया गया—मैं चाहता हू कि इसको सब की रजामन्दी से किया जाये—तो कोई ऐतराज बाका नहीं रहता कि वहां वालों को कोई ज्यादा लेबर करनी पड़ेगी और यहा वालों को कम। उसके बाद उसके स्टेन्डर्ड को रफ्तार-रफ्तार बढ़ाते जायें। जो लोग अपने बच्चों के बारे में सोचते हैं कि हमारे बच्चे सैट्रल सर्विसेज़ में कम्पीट करेंगे या नहीं करेंगे, उनको मैं यकीन दिलाता

हूं, अपने तजुबों से कि मैंने उर्दू पढ़ी है और हिन्दी सेकेण्ड फार्म में पढ़ी थी और जब मैं यू० पी० में डिप्टी स्पीकर की हैसियत से प्रजाइड करने लगा तो तीन महीने हिन्दी सीखने के बाद वहां हिन्दी में असेम्बली की प्रोसीडिंग चलाया करता था। खास तौर से जब मैं चालीस, पैंतालीस बरस का हो गया तब मैंने उसे पढ़ा। तो इस चोज की इब्तिदा होनी चाहिये और सबकी खामन्दी से होनी चाहिये कि भाई किसी किस्म का कोई डिसेण्डवान्टेज नहीं होगा। मैं उसका कायल नहीं, जो एक तजवीज मेरे एक लायक दोस्त ने कही, लेकिन स्टेटवाइज सरविसेज में रिज़रवेशन हो सकता है और मेरी नाकिस राय में सरविसेज में रिस्कूटमेंट मेरिट के लिहाज से होना चाहिये, उसमें न स्टेटवाइज रिज़रवेशन होना चाहिये, न रिजलीजनवाइज। (Time bell rings.) मैं अभी दो मिनट में खत्म करता हूं। मैं आरगू नहीं करूंगा, सिर्फ प्वाइन्ट बताये देता हूं। दस बरस के बाद मुमकिन है कि लेजिस्लेशन भी हमें हिन्दी में लाना पड़े, अगर सब सोग राजी हो जायें। एक बात से मैं आगाह करना चाहता हूं। हमारे स्टेट में दूसरी लैंग्वेज में लेजिस्लेशन हो रहा है। कल एक ऐतराज हुआ था कि आथारिटी किसकी मानी जायेगी, हिन्दी वर्शन माना जायेगा या अंग्रेजी वर्शन को माना जायेगा। हमें यह न भूलना चाहिये कि हमारी किसी जवान में या हिन्दी जवान में जेनरल क्लाजेज ऐक्ट नहीं है। जब तक जेनरल क्लाजेज ऐक्ट हम लोग न बना लेंगे उस वकत तक हमारे हिन्दी के टैक्स्ट या किसी जवान के टैक्स्ट को आथारिटेटिव्ह मानना गलती होगी। इसलिये अगर हिन्दी में लेजिस्लेशन करना हो तो अभी से जेनरल क्लाजेज के बारे में सोचना चाहिये, उसको ड्राफ्ट करना शुरू कर देना चाहिये। बहुत शुक्रिया।

SHRIMATI JAHANARA JAIPAL SINGH (Bihar): Madam, it is a matter of some regret that this debate here and elsewhere could not

have been in a calm and temperate atmosphere. When the Constitution was framed, partition made us all abnormal. After so many years of independence, let us think in terms of survival of our democratic way of life. Democracy means give and take, and it will have no meaning if we cannot give and take. We must think of the linguistic minorities. Thinking in terms of the Hindi majority would only harm our democracy. The emergency united us. Is Hindi going to be permitted to break us into bits and pieces, Hindi and non-Hindi? The survival of our country must come first. I do not think anyone is against developing a national language, *Rashtabhasha*. Hindi has to develop, to be developed and to become popular in non-Hindi speaking homes. A good example is the popularity of Hindi films in non-Hindi speaking areas. Why do we take it for granted that Hindi can replace English immediately? Take education. Are we ready to scrap English? Have we got the text-books? Have we got the teachers to teach in our schools and colleges in Hindi? I would like to correct an impression that my hon. colleague, Dr. Parmanand, has about public schools. Perhaps she has not any personal experience. I have my son studying in one. Here I would like to say that boys from all over the country, North, South, East and West, come. They all speak in Hindi, and they are taught Sanskrit as we were taught Latin. And for cultural activities, they are taught more about the art and culture of this country than a great many of us know, and from here—this is a cradle—boys are going out without any knowledge of casteism, religion or other sectarian elements. All they are being taught there, in all the public schools in India, is that they are growing to be citizens of India, of a free country, which is India. Now, I do not understand how we cease to be Indians, just because we speak not in Hindi? Do we wish to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world? English is the

[Shrimati Jahanara Jaipal Singh.] international medium of the best part of the world. We cannot think that we are ostriches and that Hindi is the only language for us and the world. Yes, certainly, we must have a national language. Let it be Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil or even a pre-Aryan language, like Santhali, whatever the country accepts. Professor Ruthnaswamy said that maybe a new language will develop. And here again I say that in the coming generation it may be that they are speaking a Hindi that they understand, with words from Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Bengali, all incorporated. But all this will take time, and this perhaps will be a more live and living national language than a language where the words are translated literally from English into a language, which is called Hindi and which is thrust upon us. The *Rashtrabhasha* will come and it will come into its own with dignity and with mass co-operation; it can come only with mass co-operation and this also only if we are patient, accommodating and liberal during the 'growing', the teething period. This period, obviously, cannot be short; it will take time. It is a fact that non-Hindi speaking people have learnt Hindi for the sake of their livelihood, and, as has already been said, what have the Hindi-speaking people done to learn non-Hindi language? Instead of preaching to others, why do we not here, we Members of Parliament, each of us, learn some other language, other than our mother-tongue, and come back the next session and talk to each other in these languages? If we start and set an example, then the rest of the country will follow us.

In the context of things, I cannot resist giving vent to my feeling that the creation of linguistic States has laid the foundation for linguistic fanaticism. I cannot understand why viability of the States could not have been based on sheer administrative necessity. Instead of having today a State like Madhya Pradesh, which is

completely unwieldy, I feel there should be a reorganisation of States based on administrative reality.

There is much to be said for our federal structure of Government. Have we taken enough steps to ensure that this federal theme lends itself to make us stronger and more united than the unitary Government? I am fully aware that States have developed a vested mentality, and it would seem a hopeless task to remove the rampant parochialism, provincialism, casteism, regionalism, linguisticism, etc. All the same I feel we must face the danger of weakness lying inherent in the existence of States on a linguistic basis.

I do not wish to say any more, but I would repeat the urgency of linguistic tolerance on the part of the Hindi-speaking areas. I would again stress that democracy has no future in our country unless the minorities, linguistic, religious and ethnic, are heard, are tolerated and are accommodated.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, the time is short; the list is long. May I request the hon. Members to keep within a time limit of ten minutes each? Mrs. Bharathi.

SHRIMATI K. BHARATHI (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is gratifying to see that the majority of Members in this House have taken a sober and far-ranged view of things after the unruly and unpleasant scenes in another place. Madam, the "fanatic fringe" of Members, who seem to be the self-appointed champions or saviours of Hindi, have not added to the cause of Hindi in any way or to the national good either, by the way they have conducted themselves. In this connection, Madam, I join with some of the previous speakers, Mr. Govinda Reddy and Professor Wadia, to say that the worst sinners against Hindi are the Hindi fanatics themselves. Madam, they have only impaired the cause of Hindi. They have

raised suspicion and fears in the hearts of the non-Hindi speaking people. We should not forget, Madam, that the cause of Hindi was first expounded, espoused and advanced by non-Hindi speaking people, and as long as that was the state of affairs, Hindi enjoyed nation-wide goodwill. Madam, I do remember, long ago, when I was a mere housewife . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you not one even now?

SHRIMATI K. BHARATHI: Before I even dreamt of becoming a back-bencher in this august House, I remember how I used to escape from home and my little children, to attend Hindi classes in the evenings. The passion to learn the *Rashtrabhasha* was so much that I used to rush to the radio snatching a pencil and a paper from one of my children to take down notes from the "Learn-Hindi-programme" of the All India Radio. What is the position now? I do not hesitate to say that the moment the Hindi people began to show an uncanny interest, or rather an unholy hurry about "their cherished Hindi", Hindi became suspect. Now, if Hindi is not hated today, it is in no small measure due to the moderation, circumspection and tolerance shown by our Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Those who want to sell Hindi to the nation should emulate them, I advise. Madam, the best of salesmen do not try to force anything down the throat of the customer; they make the customer thirst for their stuff, and I think the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are the best of salesmen in this respect.

Then, Madam, there is no hiding the fact that there is genuine apprehension in the minds of the non-Hindi people that the exclusive use of Hindi as the official language of the Indian Union will handicap them, will exclude them from the national life. But I am sure that this Bill is good enough

to eliminate those fears. After all, English is there to rush to the aid of those who are still unable to master Hindi. Until the non-Hindi people feel quite secure in their mastery over the Hindi language, English may have to be a second string to the bow.

Madam, whatever may be the history and experience of other countries, our ultimate objective shall be to have one link language, one common language for the whole of India. In this matter we have to look ahead and see what is in the interest of posterity. I do not want English to be discarded; it will have to be retained and respected as the language of international intercourse and also as the medium for the acquisition of higher learning in the fields of science and technology. Yes, it will have to remain with us as the window through which we will have a clear view of the outside world. So, we shall have no prejudice against English, but at the same time we shall not think that for all times it shall dominate our national life. I am not saying it on grounds of patriotism which I entirely leave for Mr. Vajpayee to espouse. I say so because I feel that the genius of that language is foreign to all the Indian languages and hence it cannot be the language for us Indians. It can be the language of the elite, the erudites, but not of the average Indian.

Madam, whatever may be our prejudice against Hindi—I am from the South and hence I am supposed to be prejudiced against Hindi—one has to concede the truth that given the same time and chance, Hindi will be mastered easily than English by any language group in India. There is no denying that fact. Even the Dravidian languages have more in common with Hindi than with English. If carefully evolved, we can have a basic Hindi, enriched with all the common words from the various Indian languages. Some such evolution is inevitable. As much as the various Indian

[Shrimati K. Bharathi.] languages have developed in isolation, a Hindi common to all will be evolved slowly as the result of the coming together of the people of various language groups in their social, political and economic life. For achieving this what is needed is not fanaticism of any kind, and certainly not Annaduraism, but imagination, patience, perseverance and, above all, tolerance.

Madam, I would, in this connection, advocate a common script for all Indian languages. I had the privilege of making this suggestion on the floor of this august House on a previous occasion, and I do repeat it now, that my first choice of a common script for all Indian languages shall be the Roman script, and my second choice "Devanagari". I would also plead for the simplification of the Hindi grammar and make it more rational.

Then, Madam, I do not understand why there should be such a battle over "may" and "shall". There is not the least doubt in my mind that Hindi will not be and cannot be imposed upon the nation against the wishes of the non-Hindi people. We rule by consent and not by coercion. What is needed is to avoid hardship for the coming generation, not to impose an unnecessary hardship on those who do not know English. It is clear even to Mr. Annadurai that English can never be the common man's language. Even now you will find that Hindi teachers and Hindi scholars come from the less affluent section of the society, whereas the English *pundits* hail from the better classes. It is easier and cheaper to learn Hindi than English. In spite of more hours, more years and more money, we find that the standard of English is going down day by day. It is significant that centres have been established in this country today to teach English teachers English.

Madam, so much of the objection raised against Hindi, I am afraid, is

due to the difference in political objective. As for the D.M.K. frankly, I say they are secessionists and they are terribly afraid of any move that will integrate the nation into one. So they do not want, even in the remote future, a common language for India. Mr. Annadurai's lucid exposition of his own "sentimental satisfaction" reveals his political objective, or rather his party's political objective. But why should he claim himself to be the spokesman for the entire South? Madam, he wants to present himself in this august House as the Messiah from the South preaching the doctrine of separatism, and the House lends an indulgent ear to him whenever he opens his mouth. It is ominous that though Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is a champion of Hindi here, he is very generous enough to lend his energies to change the name of Madras State to Tamilnad. Of course, on cultural grounds I understand that there seems to be great affinity between these two gentlemen at present, and perhaps the present emergency may be a background for the strange affinity between these two gentlemen.

Then, Madam, coming to another aspect of the question, the big block of people to whom Hindi happens to be the mother-tongue may have some slight advantage when Hindi becomes the sole official language of India. But that will be a passing, temporary phase in a nation's life which we have to face at any cost and overcome. If it is a question of jobs, even reservation can be thought of to eliminate fears.

Madam, our present generation has to put up with many inconveniences in the interest of the coming generation. In the interests of the coming generation we have to put up with them. The evolution of a common language for posterity, in spite of our Shri Annadurai, will be a great boon indeed. We have to face the situation rather than run away from it. We have switched over from pounds to kilograms, from miles to kilo-

metres, etc. so much so, we have lost all bearings about coins, weights and measures and even distances. We know that it is good for posterity. So also the evolution of a common language will add to our mobility and utility.

While I will say that we must 'hasten slowly', let us not in the south of India forget that the poorest among us will find it easier and cheaper to master Hindi than to pick up English which even now is the luxury of the affluent people like Mr. Annadurai. We have witnessed that here. They insist on sending their children to English-medium classes, they make up for the deficiency of class tuition by home tuition. Within the foreseeable future, if we want the common man of India to share in the larger national life, Hindi alone is capable of helping him. So, let us not look at this question from the point of view of fanatics or extremists or even political jugglers who have arrayed themselves arrogantly forgetting the larger issues. Let us look at the question from the point of view of the common man of India whether he is from the South or the North.

I support the Bill.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): I rise to support the Bill subject to the amendments which I have moved and which I hope will be accepted by the House. If there is any criticism to be made of the Government in respect of this measure, I think the first point of criticism should be that the Government did not take the report of the Official Language Commission in 1956 quite seriously. The Official Language Commission which was presided over by Mr. B. G. Kher had made a number of recommendations for introducing Hindi as the official language in 1965 but some steps were to be taken by the Government at that time in pursuance of the recommendations of that report. I may mention here that

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the Attorney-General, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, and the Solicitor-General at that time, Mr. Daphtary, also recommended that Hindi should be the language of the Supreme Court when the changeover takes place in 1965. What steps did the Government take to put into effect those recommendations? We have not got typewriters today. To type documents in Hindi sufficient Hindi typewriters we do not have. We have not translated the legislations and even the numerous judgments of High Courts and the Supreme Courts into the Indian languages. Today we are a nation quite unprepared for the changeover to Hindi in 1965. I hope that as a result of the adoption of this measure, during the period 1965 to 1975 a systematic attempt will be made for the translation of all important documents into Hindi. I may say here that the formula which the Home Minister mentioned the other day to the House, namely, of the Government having one document in Hindi and one document in English, is going to lead to a rise in the number of people employed in the Secretariat. We are now engaging about 50,000 men in the Secretariat and the various departments. When the changeover to Hindi takes place, I am sure that the number will go up by 25,000. That means, more taxes will have to be levied for this changeover on account of the unpreparedness of the Government for this switchover to the national language in 1965. I have no doubt that whatever might be our proficiency in the English language, we can never understand the feel of the language as an Englishman can do. I say this as one who has written for over 30 years in the English language and I feel that I would have done much better work if I had acquired proficiency in one of the Indian languages and in Hindi so that I could have reached a larger section of the people. I have not been able to do it but it is too late for me to change. Further, whatever might have been our proficiency, it has been a remarkable fact that there has not been any substan-

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

tial contribution to the literature from India. Excepting for the monumental works of Dr. Radhakrishnan on Hindu philosophy, there have been very few books contributed by Indians in the English language. This only shows that whatever might be our proficiency, English would be alien to our thoughts and, therefore, it is necessary that India should have a national language of its own.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: What about Aurobindo Ghosh?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Aurobindo Ghosh's philosophy has not received as much international acclaim as Dr. Radhakrishnan's, which has been the most popular exposition of Indian philosophy. I listened with great respect to my friend, Mr. Annadurai, when he spoke yesterday. There are two ways of dealing with his speech. One is to get angry and another is to dismiss it with contempt. I think it will be wrong to do either. Mr. Annadurai does represent a substantial section of public opinion in South India which feels alarmed at this changeover from English to Hindi in 1965.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR (Nominated): Not South India, but of Tamilnad.

SHRI A. D. MANI: In Tamilnad, We should have taken some precautionary steps before bringing forward a Bill of this kind for the consideration of Parliament. One of them should have been to have sent the text of the Bill to the legislatures of the South Indian States for their opinion. A formulative consultation should have been gone through. It has not been done but I do not agree with Mr. Annadurai that the Tamil culture is going to be affected. If Mr. Annadurai goes through the Report of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner, on page 147 he will find that the number of students learning in languages other than Tamil is mentioned in the Report. Surprisingly, more students are learning Telugu in

Madras than they did at the time of the partition of the State into Andhra and Tamilnad. Many public sector industries are being located in Madras and it may so happen that after 10 years the percentage of population speaking languages other than Tamil will be substantial. It is not going to be a purely Tamilian State and it is therefore necessary that we should think in terms of a link language and the only link language which is feasible in the present circumstances is Hindi because it is spoken by a substantial section of the population of India and at any rate will be understood by even those persons who do not speak Hindi but whose language is allied to Hindi on account of their Sanskritic origin.

I would like to say this. I am afraid the present policy of the Government of encouraging Hindi as the official language and at the same time encouraging the regional languages and giving them more or less equality of position—I want equality of status to be given—by allowing the universities to employ the regional languages as the media of instruction, will lead to a situation in 1957 when neither English will be understood well. There will be more ignorance spread in the country. We are loosening the links of unity in this country by allowing the regional languages to develop on a footing of equality. If there is a national language, every other language has a subordinate position as far as official recognition is concerned. This is the view that I take.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): How do you propose to suppress the regional language?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I do not want to suppress. My argument would be this that in the courts the language of administration should be Hindi or the English language, the link language. You cannot have a number of regional centres to develop and what is going to happen in 1975 is that neither Hindi would be properly

spoken nor English would be properly spoken and there would be more confusion in India.

I would invite the attention of the House to a remarkable book published by Mr. K. M. Panikkar—"The foundations of new India"—and he mentions there that the giving of equal status to regional languages would mean that finally India would become another Europe with a number of languages spoken. We are not very clear in our minds as to what will be the national language and that is inherent in the situation because the regional languages are also equally powerful and equally rich in literature.

I would like to make some suggestions for strengthening the unity of the country. One of them is that in 1965 there should be simultaneous translation of Hindi speeches into English and English speeches into Hindi. This has got to be done and I have moved an amendment and I hope the House will support the amendment. The second point that I have raised is that the report of the Committee which is going to be appointed to revise the language shall be sent to the legislatures and not to the State Governments. It is necessary that the legislatures should be consulted and there should be full-dress debates before the change is made in 1975. This will give a sense of assurance to the people in the non-Hindi speaking areas.

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The third amendment which I want to move is—this is a point of view which is unpopular—in regard to the language of the law courts. Apart from the regional language being used, apart from English being used there shall also be available a translation of the judgments, court decrees and orders of the High Courts in the Hindi language because ultimately in 2000 A.D. or 2200 A.D. we want Hindi to be the official language of the Supreme Court. Unless we make

preparations from now on and allow the judgments of the High Courts to be written in Hindi, we cannot get the corpus of the law in Hindi which is very necessary if Hindi is to become the language of the Supreme Court fifty years later on.

Madam, I would like to make one suggestion. People in the South feel greatly grieved over this Bill and Government's duty is to assuage this feeling. Apart from this Bill, I think, the feeling that has gone abroad that this is Government of North India, must be dispelled and when this Bill is adopted and the changeover is made in 1965, I would suggest that a session of Parliament should be held in one of the Southern capitals, let it be Bangalore, let it be Madras or let it be Hyderabad. It is necessary for the Hindi-speaking people also to hear the South Indian languages spoken. Somebody mentioned that while other languages are absorbing Hindi words, Hindi has not adopted any South Indian words. So far as I know, excepting *Idly*, *Dosa* and *Vada*, very few words have been borrowed from the Tamil language into the Hindi language.

AN HON. MEMBER: They have consumed. They have not only absorbed but consumed also.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Also *Sambhar*. Excepting these few words very few have been absorbed in the Hindi language. It will do a lot of good to the Hindi legislators if they attend a session and listen to Tamil being spoken, Telugu being spoken so that they may also acquire some knowledge of these languages.

Madam, I would like to make one more suggestion in one minute and that is that after this changeover is made, all Hindi-speaking officers of the IAS should be posted to the Southern districts and all South Indian officers should be posted to the Hindi-speaking districts. This is the only way in which you can promote knowledge of languages and I see Mr.

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

Chavan does not agree with this point of view but I think it is necessary for strengthening the forces of unity in our country.

Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, there are two extreme views which have been presented to this House. One was by Mr. Annadurai in a very eloquent speech which he made in this House and the other was by Mr. A. B. Vajpayee and I may associate the respected name of Mr. Dinkar also along with him. I take a middle of the line attitude in regard to this matter. English opened up new windows of thought to us in the days of our national struggle. Whatever the intention of the British might have been, it was a unifying factor in our national life. It is, however, impossible for English to continue for ever as the link language of India. I do not think in terms of a national language, I think in terms of a link language. The regional languages will grow and we have to do our best by them. The question is whether this transition should be hastened. Now, this Bill has been attacked on the ground that it does not carry out the assurance of the Prime Minister in regard to the vote, as it were, which has to be given to the non-Hindi speaking areas. To some extent, I think, the criticism of the South is justified. I do not say that the Bill has not been carefully drawn up. I am not going to argue that "may" never means "must" or "shall". It can mean "must" and "shall". We have to read "may" in its proper context but I am not worried about the word "may". I think something in the nature of a preamble should have been added to assure the people of the South that it was intended that English shall, during the period of transition towards Hindi, be an auxiliary or an associate or an additional language. Something of that character was needed. In the

second place, I think it was also necessary to have in the clause relating to the composition of the Commission, something which would assure the people of the South that they would not, by the method of proportional representation, be overwhelmed by the people of the North and that any recommendations made by that Commission shall, in some form or the other, be subject to, what I would call, the veto of the non-Hindi speaking area. The Hindi-speaking area must recognise that if the unity of this country is to be preserved, it must make Hindi acceptable to the people of the South. It must make Hindi acceptable to the people of Bengal. It must make Hindi acceptable to the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat. A very grave responsibility rests upon the people of the North. It has either to have a further partition of this country or to go slow in a reasonable manner so as to assure all the States in this country that they shall have fairplay and justice. All the languages in this country shall have fairplay and justice. I quite recognise that English cannot be the link language for all times. Our self-respect as a nation does not allow us to have English as the link language but English is a language of international importance. It is a language which is necessary for the development of knowledge in the sciences, in the arts, in the literatures, in the philosophies, in the technologies of the modern world and I do not think that we can overnight hasten the transition towards Hindi. If we are going to have Hindi as the medium in this Parliament, then I think there must be a provision for simultaneous translation of the speeches made in the regional languages by the people of non-Hindi speaking areas. The people of the non-Hindi speaking areas must not be made to feel that they are inferior as speakers to people of the Hindi-speaking areas.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): On the lines of the United Nations.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Something on the lines of the United Nations. In the United Nations you have got only six languages and here you will have to have fourteen languages. You may exclude Sanskrit, if you like, but I have often wondered whether it would not have been the right thing for us, when we were framing our Constitution, to have inserted Sanskrit as the official language which imposes equal disabilities among all. Sanskrit is not a practicable proposition today and I am realistic enough to think that it is not possible to revive the past. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I fully recognise that the word "may" as used in clause 3 cannot be substituted by "shall" without introducing some complications but I also feel that it was possible to have gone further than we have actually gone in this Bill and to have provided for some assurance either in the shape of some provision setting forth the intentions of this Parliament clearly or by way of adding a preamble which would have made our position clear. Certainly, there is no reason to apprehend that the assurance given by our great and noble Prime Minister will not be respected by following Governments, but unfortunately, in this country we have parties today, we have leaders today—or so-called leaders—who say, 'English hatao' and who talk in a language which is not calculated to make the people of the South or the people of Bengal feel assured of their future. A legislative enactment can also be repealed by a future Parliament; nothing can bind a future Parliament, but a legislative assurance would have been a more satisfactory way of dealing with the matter than an assurance made on the floor of the House which may or may not be regarded as binding. May I just illustrate what I mean by a reference to the controversies that took place regarding the Government of India Act, 1935? In the 1935 Act as originally framed there was no reference to Dominion Status. Now, some of the Liberals of that day—I do not think that they were

right in every respect—attached great importance to the Preamble of the Act and they insisted that the words 'Dominion Status of the Westminster type' should be introduced, should find a place, in the Preamble of the Act. Similarly, I say that in this Bill, to which I give my general support, the assurance of our great and noble Prime Minister should have been incorporated in some form or other in the body of the Bill itself. It is not beyond the ingenuity of lawyers, it is not beyond the ingenuity of draftsmen to find a method of incorporating an assurance of that character in the body of the Bill itself. That, I think, is my fundamental criticism against this Bill. I am not disposed to attach excessive importance to the use of the word 'may' and I will not enter into the controversies regarding the use of the words 'may' or 'shall'. Anybody who is interested in that can read the well-known case of 'Julius versus Oxford' and then read the remarks of Lord Cozens Hardie and Jessel M.R. on the proper use of the words 'may' and 'shall'. 'May' can have the meaning of 'shall' if there is a discretion coupled with the power to do or not to do something. Now, I do not think that in this context the word 'may' can have the meaning of 'shall' or 'must' but the word 'shall' in the clause as it exists may introduce some complications as was pointed out by Mr. Lal Bahadur. Therefore, the proper method of dealing with this delicate matter, the proper method of giving a feeling of assurance to the people of the non-Hindi speaking areas was to have something in the body of the Bill, which would assure them that they can rely upon an enactment of the legislature and not merely on the assurances made on the floor of the House, assurances which may or may not be respected by Governments that follow this Government for no one is eternal, nothing is eternal in life. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I am rather worried about the effect that this Bill is likely to have upon the

[Shri P. N. Saprú.]

relations between the South and the North. I am one of those who value the friendship of the South very much. I have often wondered why I was born in the North and why not in the South. I have paid flying visits to the South and I have also paid flying visits to Bengal and I must say that I have always felt attracted by the life of the people in the South as I have also felt attracted by the life of the people in Bengal. The South has discovered what we in the North have not yet been able to discover, a cheap but efficient way of Indian living. They have maintained through the centuries a tradition of Indian living which we have not. We have become poor imitations of the West. The persons who hail from the South, whatever be the knowledge of English that they may have, howsoever modern in their thinking they may be, are Indian in their way of living, are Indian in their style of living. The people of Bengal have a culture of which they can be proud and Bengali was developed by those who read widely in the English literature, who had come into contact with modern thought but here in this part of the country most of the writing until recently was left to people who has had no vitalising contact with the thought of the West. There are things that we need to learn from Bengal and the South. You go to a Bengali home; howsoever anglicised outwardly the Bengali home might be, you will feel that you are in Indian atmosphere. You go to some homes in northern India, you will find the drawing rooms are furnished after Western style and you will find we are in our eating and our dress imitating the West. I may be very Western in my thinking but I need not be Western in my living. I would like the people of the North to realise that they have a great deal to learn from the South and they must develop good contacts with the South if the unity of this country is to be preserved and the unity of

the country, believe me, Madam Deputy Chairman, is worth preserving for a divided India—not in the sense that it has been actually partitioned—will never play a great role in world affairs.

Thank you very much for the time that you have given to me.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am in complete agreement with many of the learned remarks made by Dr. Saprú on this occasion. Madam, language, like race, like religion in history, is one of the very incendiary forces which can become inflammable at any time if it is not properly tackled. Yesterday and today during the debate we have seen passions expressed both in favour and against Hindi and this fact itself demonstrates how this question of language remains an inflammable problem even today. Hence this problem will have to be viewed in the context of the current sociological setting in this country taking into consideration the sociological processes and anthropological limitations and also the problem of economic development with complete relevance to our interests without allowing any extraneous factors to cloud our judgment. If we talk about relevancy of interests, what are those interests? The first interest is that there must be a language which would serve as the medium of expression of our composite culture. The second interest is that the language must also serve as a window to modern science so that we may not be in the backwaters of technological development. Thirdly, the language must also be helpful for efficient administration and to espouse the cause of the rule of law. If these three interests are not served by any language, that language will not be useful for the purpose of the unity of this country. In the context of these tests, let us see whether Hindi or English would serve the purpose. In the Report of the Official Language Commission—if you do not mind taking into consideration the views expressed by the minority members,

viz., Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. Subbarayan who are well versed with all the problems, in fact, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is one who is a champion of Hindi and a versatile learned man in Hindi—they have expressed in unambiguous terms that Hindi has got its own limitations. For the purposes of law and modern education Hindi has not got the necessary pathway to the modern world. I do not, for a moment, deny the fact that one day Hindi may perhaps become a language for the purpose of being used as the medium of expression of our composite culture. But in the context of national development, we have for a moment to pause and see what the UNESCO has said. In one of the recent publications of the UNESCO, while discussing the impact of science on society, they have expressed in unambiguous terms that any underdeveloped country must specialise in all the natural sciences, i.e., physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics etc. For that purpose, without the use of English it is impossible, in the present context, to develop modern sciences. In the same article they say that a nation without modern scientists and engineers is not a nation which can cope with the development of modern technology and it has no place in the modern world.

Now, one question I would ask is this. Granting that Hindi is going to be the official language and even agreeing that South Indians are willing to study it for that purpose—ultimately perhaps one day they will have to agree—what is it that you have done all these years? Are your universities teaching in Hindi now? Are your High Courts in Hindi speaking States at least transacting their business in Hindi? Have you translated the statutes into Hindi for the purpose of interpretation of law. When you have not done all these things so far, when you have not taught medicine in Hindi or translated any book on engineering or any book of technology into Hindi, still you expect us to swal-

low this camel, to use a Biblical phrase, at the last minute. If you had at least demonstrated to our satisfaction that Hindi would deliver the goods for us even if we took the trouble of learning Hindi, then I would be the first man to advocate that everyone should learn Hindi immediately from 1965. On the contrary, experiments have been conducted in some of the universities in the North for the purpose of teaching subjects like commerce and law in Hindi. For one or two years they tried, but later on they turned back to English. I am told the Osmania University tried the experiment of teaching medicine in Urdu. Unable to decide what exactly was being taught—whether they were teaching Unani, Ayurveda or Allopathy—they again switched back to English. All these are illustrations to show the difficulties. While I do not for a moment object or while I do not for a moment oppose the place of Hindi as the national language and as the medium of instruction—one day that will have to be developed—immediately to think of Hindi is to live in an utopia without having any regard to the realities of the situation.

Dr. Sapru raised a very relevant point. The hon. Home Minister and our illustrious Prime Minister have given assurances to us that under no circumstances Hindi will be forced on South Indians. I know that no language can be developed under force or inducement or threat. Whatever may be the compulsion or the official needs of the situation, every language has to develop on its own momentum, in its own social setting and of the setting of sociological processes and conditions. No language can develop as an experiment in the laboratory. We are grateful for the assurance given by our illustrious Prime Minister and equally illustrious Home Minister to dispel our fears and apprehensions that the measure may not be utilised for the purpose of introducing Hindi from 1965. If we read clause 3 of the Bill, we find the word used is 'may'.

[Shri K. V. Raghunath Reddy.]

English may be used in addition to Hindi from the appointed day. I have got the highest respect for the intentions and assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. But no court, at least till today, has ever taken into consideration the proceedings of Parliament or the assurances given by politicians for the purpose of interpreting any statute. This matter has been argued before the Supreme Court—I need not quote the House of Lords for this purpose—in the case of Chiranjitlal. The Supreme Court has said in unambiguous terms that the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly cannot be brought forward for the purpose of interpreting a section when it is being argued before a court of law. Therefore, if any statute is to be construed, it has to be construed keeping in mind the language used in the section and the grammar used in practice. If you look at the language of this Bill, I humbly submit that it will not yield to such an interpretation that is sought to be placed either by the hon. Home Minister or by the other protagonists who have argued about the matter. I quite appreciate the difficulties which have been explained by the hon. Home Minister, if we choose to use the word “shall”. He gave two illustrations. If the Government of Madras wants to write a letter to the Central Government, they have to write only in English. If we use the word “shall” they will have also to use Hindi. If the Government of Rajasthan wants to write to the Central Government, they will have to use English, in addition to Hindi even if they do not like it. For the purpose of solving this riddle, I have given an amendment to clause 3 in my own humble way. I do not claim much learning about it. If it commends itself to the House and if the hon. Home Minister feels that it is likely to solve the complications which the hon. Home Minister himself contemplates and Mr. Annadurai apprehends, I commend that my amendment may be accepted. The Govern-

ment need not stand on prestige. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are a number of speakers. Would the House like to extend the time of sitting up to 6.30?

SHRI SONUSING DHANSING PATIL (Maharashtra): The sitting of the House should be extended up to 6.30 to accommodate as many Members as possible.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is what I am suggesting if the Members so desire.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: May I suggest that we take it up on Monday?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On Monday the Minister will reply.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: We shall sit for longer hours on Monday and lose the lunch hour.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not possible. If you want, we can sit this evening till 6.30.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Then, let us sit one more hour.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): At what time on Monday will the Minister reply?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On Monday morning. So, the House will sit till 6.30

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, since the subject has been discussed in this House for a long time, I would not like to go over the same points that have been discussed at length. However, it is not the Bill as it has come before the House that has so much attracted discussion as the background, the history and the future repercussions and the effect of this Bill, which have brought in many more things than are contained in this Bill.

At the very outset I would like to say that the approach to this Bill has to be based on the soundest possible principles of integration, and national integration at that. I cannot, under any circumstances, persuade myself to subscribe to saying that India is a sub-continent capable of being divided either on linguistic lines or geographical lines or communal lines. This word which was invented and used about India was more or less a kind of hypnotic spell. No doubt India is big, India is vast, but Indian history has shown us, and even foreigners who have come to India and talked about India have stressed the unity of this country rather than its being a sub-continent. These languages, religions and these differences are not new. We have lived with them for the last three thousand years, and we shall outlive all the difficulties that come in the way of the nation's unity. Therefore, I do not think that we should approach this subject on the basis that we are a sub-continent, that our Government is a federal one, and that we can afford to think in terms of States which would be quite independent today or tomorrow.

The next misunderstanding which seems to be ruling the psychology of many of the speakers here is that the whole of the South, whether it is up to Maharashtra or up to Vin-dhyas, I do not know, is not very much in love with the introduction of Hindi. That is not the case. Of course, there might be here and there some individuals in every State who might be against the immediate introduction of Hindi or a hasty introduction of Hindi. But then by and large it might be said that only in Tamil Nad there is a section, might be a strong section, which is against Hindi. But I think that all of us have approached this subject right from the beginning that we must have a common language; whether you call it a link language or a national language or a *lingua franca* does not much matter; but we are all agreed that we must have a common language of intercourse for the whole

of India, and that language ought to be an Indian language.

It is very wrong to think that a language means something which can be put on and put off. Along with the language we learn the tradition, the metaphor, the structure, the thought and the psychology of that particular language. From that point of view English, however dear and however useful it might be for all of us just at present cannot be what might be said to be the common language which can be a medium for the people of the whole of India; Hindi can be such a medium as it is nearer to every other language in India than English at any rate. The structure is the same, the psychology is the same, the traditions are the same, the things that we hold sacred are the same, and I think that it is these that ought to decide the language which should be the common medium for the whole of India. For all practical purposes, we have actually accepted Hindi for the reasons mentioned above.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKRAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair]

I would like to take the House back to those days in the Constituent Assembly when we argued day in and day out, for hours together, and came to the conclusion that in spite of many other factors that might be in favour of one or the other of the Indian languages and also of English, we should adopt Hindi in the Devnagri script as the common language. Therefore, I would like to emphasise this historical perspective.

We must also learn to read the writing on the wall. The languages in the States are developing on their own, and nobody can stop them from doing so. They ought not to stop. And then the going down of the standard of English that also is seen vividly and has been emphasised by many of my friends. In this context, it is necessary that we do not go back on the

[Shri R. R. Diwakar.]

decision once wisely taken and also wisely adopted during these few years.

This Bill after all is a Bill which accommodates both the points of view and it depends entirely on what we do during the next ten years or so to develop a medium which can equally help all the people who are developing their own regional languages. There is no meaning in saying that this is the language only of the 42 per cent living in U. P., Bihar and so on. I think we have been familiar with this language in one form or the other throughout India. It might be in the form of Urdu, it might be in the form of what was called the language of Indian Muslims in our parts. But we have been familiar with this language, and the very fact that we do not feel that this is a very strange language or an outlandish language like English, we need not go back; but we should do everything to see that the next ten years are utilised for the purposes of developing this language which may not just at present be capable of being used by all of us on an equal capacity basis. That capacity is sure to come.

What is necessary today is to develop a certain kind of self-confidence so far as Southerners are concerned. I am afraid Northerners feel that if Hindi is not immediately made the official language of the Centre, it may suffer very much. Even that diffidence ought to disappear. Whether it is the official language of the Centre or not, Hindi is bound to develop, it has sufficient strength to develop, and I think we should shed this distrust of each other. That the Southerners would not be capable of having the same advantage as Northerners in the jobs at the Centre—I think that diffidence we ought to shed. In the same way the diffidence that if for a year or two or a few years English continues, Hindi will be nowhere and it will suffer very much, ought to go.

So, on both these sides, this diffidence should disappear. We ought to have a certain kind of confidence in our own capacity to use the language as a medium for the whole of India, for inter communication and for Central use. I think this approach which I am advocating would alone help us in solving this problem.

And within the next ten years, we shall certainly be able to say that the decision that was taken by the introduction and passing of the Official Languages Bill in 1963 was quite in consonance with the inherent power of this nation to overcome all difficulties. In spite of all the difficulties, we have developed the nation so far and we shall go further.

श्री एन० के० दास (उड़ीसा) : उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भाषा बिल के ऊपर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं ने राज्य सभा में जितनी दफा भाषण किया वह कभी हिन्दी में नहीं किया लेकिन इस बिल के बारे में मैं हिन्दी के पक्ष में हूँ और जान बूझ कर हिन्दी में अपनी बात सदन के सामने कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरी हिन्दी अशुद्ध हिन्दी होगी टूटी फटी हिन्दी होगी तब भी मैं हिन्दी में बोलना पसन्द करूँगा।

मैं पहले यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन यह बात छिपी नहीं रहनी चाहिये कि बिल का समर्थन करते हुए मुझे समर्थन करने में बड़ा दुख होता है। मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आई कि स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के १५ वर्ष बाद भी अंग्रेजी का हमारी सरकार की कामकाज की भाषा में वही स्थान है जैसे पहले था। यह बात हम पसन्द नहीं करते हैं लेकिन उसका लिए हम सरकार को भी दोष नहीं देना चाहते हैं। अंग्रेजी ने हमारे आपस के कारोबार में इतना महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है कि उसके लिए केवल सरकार ही जिम्मेदार नहीं है। बल्कि हम सब लोग भी जिम्मेदार हैं। जो लोग हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाना चाहते हैं उनके

ऊपर इस तरह का दोष या आरोपण क्यों किया जाता है कि वे जबर्दस्ती हिन्दी अहिन्दी भाषा वालों के ऊपर लादना चाहते हैं। हिन्दी एक आफिशियल लैंग्वेज होगी यह धारणा हम सब लोगों के ऊपर बहुत पहले से ही दृढ़ हो गई थी। सन् १९२० से ही महात्मा गांधी जी हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने के बारे में जोर देते आ रहे थे। हमारे देश के जो बड़े बड़े नेता ये वे यही कहा करते थे कि स्वराज्य मिलने के बाद हिन्दी ही हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा होगी। कांग्रेस बहुत पुराने जमाने से अपनी कार्यवाही हिन्दी ही में करती थी। जब कानपुर में कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ था उसमें एक खास प्रस्ताव पास हुआ था कि अंग्रेजी के स्थान पर हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में बनाया जायेगा। तब से ही हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में कांग्रेस की कार्यवाही में इस्तेमाल में आने लगी। हमारे पूज्य नेता श्री राजाजी भी हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने के लिए उस समय सहमत थे। लेकिन आज दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वे अब हिन्दी के खिलाफ आन्दोलन छेड़ने की बात कहते हैं। उनका उस समय क्या एटीट्यूड था वह मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मेरे पास एक किताब है जिसका नाम "हिन्दी इंग्लिश सेल्फ इंस्ट्रक्टर" है जिसका फर्स्ट इड्यूकेशनल इन्ड्रोडक्शन में जो १९२८ में लिखी गई है इस प्रकार से लिखा हुआ है :

"Can the deliberations of the Central Assembly and the transactions of the high officers of State and others exercising authority in the Central Government be permitted to be done in English? Obviously not, if we desire democracy to be true in fact as well as in form—if we do not want educated men to be appointed to places of power and influence and conduct their affairs apart from the people and the electorate. To make popular control real the State Language must be one spoken and understood by large masses of

people. Hindi is bound to be the language of the Central Government and the Legislature and also of the Provincial Governments in their dealings with each other and with the Government of India."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: February, 1928.

SHRI N. K. DAS: He says:

"The present generation of boys should therefore immediately take up Hindi whether it be introduced in the school curriculum or not. Otherwise, they would practically lose a valuable part of the rights of Indian citizenship and repent when it may be too late."

"No less important than political reason, the cultural unity of India demands the knowledge of a common spoken language. The South will be a dead branch of the tree, if it is not in living daily contact with the larger India, and here too we cannot rest on the English medium, which is bound to recede into the international background as India advances towards its goal."

"The arguments for Hindi do not mean the neglect of the mother-tongue. The importance of Hindi is in its being the only possible State Language of India, and therefore the need for the Southerners to learn it."

अब जमाना बदल गया है और कांग्रेस के जो पहले के मैसेज थे कि स्वाधीनता के बाद हम सारे देश में दोटल प्रोहिबिशन करेंगे, मादक द्रव्य को छोड़ देंगे वह सब अभी तक पूरा नहीं हुआ। इस इमरजेन्सी की वजह से बहुत सी चीजों को हमने कार्यान्वित करना छोड़ दिया

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : नई दुकानें खुलती जाती हैं

श्री एन० के० दास : तो राजाजी जो पहले हिन्दी के इतने बड़े समर्थक

[श्री एन० के० दास]

ये वे आज हमको धमकी देते हैं कि अगर हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाओगे तो मैं उसका खिलाफ जबर्दस्त आन्दोलन छेड़ दूंगा। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि जब हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा नहीं होगी तो और दूसरी कौन भाषा राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है? जब कांस्टीट्यूट प्रसेम्बली चल रही थी तो उस समय इसके बारे में अच्छी तरह से सोचा गया था और दोनों तरफ के एक्स्ट्रीम व्यूज वालों ने उस समय इस बारे में अच्छी तरह से विचार किया और एक कम्प्रोमाइज में पहुँचे। उस समय यह तय किया गया था कि १५ साल तक अंग्रेजी में कार्यवाही चलेगी और उसके बाद हिन्दी में सरकारी काम शुरू हो जायगा। लेकिन बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि १५ साल के बाद भी हिन्दी में हमने उतनी प्रगति नहीं की जितनी कि हमें करनी चाहिये। आज जो बिल लाया गया है उसका मकसद यह है कि हिन्दी के साथ साथ अंग्रेजी भाषा का भी प्रयोग सरकार के कामकाज में होता रहेगा और दस साल के बाद पार्लियामेंट की एक कमेटी बनाई जायेगी जो इस बारे में विचार करेगी कि इसने कितनी प्रगति की है और वह कमेटी अपनी रिपोर्ट सदन तथा राष्ट्रपति के सामने रखेगी। हमें यह उम्मीद थी कि १५ साल के बाद अंग्रेजी हट जायेगी मगर वह उम्मीद अभी पूरी नहीं हो सकी। इसके लिये दिल बहुत दुखी होता है। मैं जब अंग्रेजी के खिलाफ बोलता हूँ तो यह समझना ठीक नहीं होगा कि हम अंग्रेजी भाषा और साहित्य के खिलाफ हैं। अंग्रेजी भाषा और अंग्रेजी साहित्य बहुत बड़ा है और हम उसको पसन्द करते हैं। मैं जब पढ़ता था तो एम० ए० में मेरा अंग्रेजी का सन्जैक्ट था। तब हमारे छात्र जीवन में अंग्रेजी भाषण सुनने के लिये बड़ी दिलचस्पी होती थी, लेकिन अब दिल ऐसा बदल गया है कि अब अंग्रेजी भाषण जब सुनता हूँ तो अच्छा नहीं लगता है और हिन्दी भाषण बहुत अच्छा और मीठा मालूम होता है। जब हमारे हाऊस

हिन्दी में भाषण होता है खास कर जब जपेयी जो भाषण करते हैं तो हमको बहुत आनन्द मिलता है। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि तुरन्त हमारी सब कार्यवाही हिन्दी में, यूनियन गवर्नमेंट में होगी तो यह अच्छा होगा। जब तक वह नहीं होगा हमारा ख्याल यह होगा कि हमें 'राजनीतिक स्वाधीनता' मिल गई लेकिन कलचरल बौंडेज, सांस्कृतिक पराधीनता अब भी चल रही है। इसलिये हमारा ख्याल है कि आहिस्ता आहिस्ता हम लोग हिन्दी को एक बड़ी भाषा, हमारी नेशनल लैंग्वेज मान लेंगे और अंग्रेजी को बिल्कुल हटा देंगे।

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the outset I must frankly say that I am not quite satisfied with this Bill. I do not oppose it either, because it is necessary, without the Bill there would be a breakdown on the 26th of January, 1963, and this Bill goes part of the way to meet the necessities of the situation.

Now, many of the speakers did not realise that we are not amending the Constitution. The clause (1) of article 343 says—

"The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script."

and it shall come into force absolutely on the 26th of January, 1965. I was a party to this clause and I wholly supported it, but at that time I was also one of those who felt that the fifteen year period was wholly unpractical, and we urged that thirty or forty years should be given for the linguistic transition. But somehow our Hindi friends would not agree and, therefore, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Sardar Patel persuaded us to accept a compromise. But the compromise was not only fifteen years, but the compromise was fifteen years plus article 343(3) plus article 348(1). That was the entire compromise. They said that if Hindi was not ready to be

the sole and full official language in 1965, Parliament will be free to extend the life of English and in any case, before Hindi becomes the language of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, very careful consideration should be given, and it will be only Parliament that can change it, not even the Committee under the President's orders. That was the essence of the compromise. Now I am not one of those who want that clause (1) should go. I want that the first and the main official language shall be Hindi from the 26th of January, 1965. But somehow my Hindi friends feel that this is not sufficient. It gives the fullest opportunity to the Hindi language. But they have no faith in their own language and they say that it is only when you make it the sole and exclusive official language that Hindi will flourish. I am not able to understand this inferiority complex. Why should they not have faith in their own language and in their capacity to make the language prevail when it is given the fullest opportunity to do so? But it may be asked, "Why do you want English also to be the alternate, joint or associate official language?" It is because today we do not want only a mere language. We want to carry on our scientific researches. There are 25 national laboratories. Will any Hindi friend stand up and say that from the 26th of January, 1965, we can conduct the affairs of the National Physical Laboratory, the National Chemical Laboratory, or the Fundamental Research Institute in Bombay, in Hindi? There will be a complete breakdown. Some of my friends feel that official language means only the language in the streets and in Parliament, or in the Information Ministry bulletins, but I believe that a true official language must serve all the national purposes including scientific, technological and every other purpose. Today it is not possible for Hindi to play this role. Not only that, without the assistance of English, Hindi will never be able to fulfil these functions. It is for the development of Hindi itself that we want English to

be another joint official language, not only for the development of Hindi but also for the development of every regional language. I want that Tamil, Telugu, Bengali and every other language should become fit for all purposes. I want them to be used as the media of instruction in the universities. I want them to be vehicles for scientific research. I think that is possible only if they are joint with English. Therefore, I want bilingualism not only in the Central Government but also in every State in India till every Indian language has become fit and equal to every other national language abroad, as English, German, French and other languages. So long as we oust English from its position of domination, all its evil propensities are extinguished, and we want to retain it as a language to help us to attain maturity. English will have to serve the same purpose as, say, the Anglo-American aid for our economy, that we want to take. Do we not want the Anglo-American aid for, say, 15 years or 20 years, till we become fully mature in our economy? For the same purpose we want the English language, and I say the role of the English language in our development will be even greater than the Anglo-American aid in the development of our economy. That is why we, the people in the South, have to see much further than many of the short-sighted people of the North, and say that English should also continue to be an official language for an indefinite time till all our regional languages attain maturity. Somebody said that the country was greater than the language. I fully support that contention, and because we want the future of the country to progress more and more, because we want our economics, our politics, our sciences and everything to develop, we want English to be a joint official language till our country has matured. The whole question is whether this Bill secures this objective. I say it partially secures this objective; it secures it in a hesitant manner; it does not give a complete assurance. English is

[Shri K. Santhanam.]
made a precarious joint official language for ten years in the first instance, and afterwards it depends upon the deliberations of some committee. And I say this precariousness is not sufficient. I wish the Home Minister took up courage and said, "We are going to keep English till Parliament and all the States feel that they have attained maturity". Therefore, while I do believe that the assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister will be kept up, still he is forcing us, and forcing those, who wanted to devote their time to develop Hindi and propagate it in our States, to begin to protect English. There is one thing I want my friends to remember.

6 P.M.

Sir, Hindi is never going to step into the position of English in the States. I do not think that in the State of Tamil Nad Hindi is ever going to become the medium of instruction. There only Tamil will become the medium of instruction. Similarly, I presume that in Bengal only Bengali will become the medium of instruction, and in Maharashtra only Marathi will become the medium of instruction. Therefore, if Hindi is not to become the medium of instruction in the universities, as Mr. Mani has pointed out, we would require a link language, not only for common parliamentary debates but for science, economics and all the higher purposes of modern life. And English can be the only link language for them. There is no virtue in having only one link language. There are many countries who have got two languages. And so for the present, and in the immediate future or for perhaps a whole generation, we want two link languages, one for our patriotism and nationalism and our traditions, and another for modern science, technology and scientific research. Therefore, let us go in boldly, unashamedly for two link languages. I am not ashamed at all in saying that English should continue for a long time. I have no doubt that

the people of Tamil Nad and of many other States will seek to have English for a long time to come.

Sir, when Sanskrit had disappeared from North India, the South Indians preserved it for a thousand years and have given it back to the country. Similarly, whatever the Hindi States may do, we are going to preserve and maintain our English, not as a dominant language, not as a medium of instruction, but as a link language not only with other States in India but with the whole world, and for this purpose continuation and maintenance of English is highly important.

Only one word more before I close. Sir, I feel the rapid pace at which the standard of English is going down in the Hindi universities will make the Hindi States backward and the backwardness of the Hindi States will drag down India. I would, therefore, earnestly urge upon the Home Minister that he should take some steps to see that in the Hindi universities a good standard of English is maintained although Hindi may develop and become a proper vehicle for all modern purposes. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): If you finish in seven minutes I will be grateful.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: The time allotted for us is 45 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That has all been spent Anyhow, you may go ahead.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Bill that has now been brought before us, firstly, because it is going to remove the barrier that is there in the Constitution. If this Bill were not brought before us, the barrier that is there by virtue of article 343(1) would have remained and it would have created a lot of difficulties. But all the same I should say that this Bill does not go far enough to allay the fears of the non-Hindi speaking people in this country.

Sir, there are 14 languages recognised as the national languages in India. One of them is Hindi. But Hindi has not developed as much as some other languages in India have, particularly Bengali or Tamil. So, today Hindi is not in a position to replace English which has become, for historical reasons, the *lingua franca* in India. Whatever arguments were placed before the country and the people before we got independence to banish English from the land do not hold good today. At that moment a certain amount of fanaticism was necessary. But today if we want to progress, if we want to keep pace with the changing world, it is necessary that we should continue to nurture, that we should continue to cultivate the English language which is more or less now the international language. I am not ashamed to say that English should continue for a long time and, if necessary, for ever though it may not continue as the official language of the country. I would be glad if English is also included in the VIII Schedule as one of the national languages not only because it is a language of the Anglo-Indian community in India, but also because it is a language of importance, a language of science, a language of culture, and a language of the wide world for our assimilation, for our improvement.

SHRI G. MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh): Is it the stand of the Praja-Socialist Party also?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Yes, it is. The Praja-Socialist Party has advocated that Hindi should be the official language and I am one with them. But they also say that for the time being English should continue to be the additional or associate official language of the country.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: What about their stand about including it in the VIII Schedule?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: That is my personal opinion, and I do not think the Praja-Socialist Party or

any progressive party for that matter can oppose the inclusion of English as one of the Indian languages.

Today, Sir, we are thinking in terms of a world State and one world Government. And in that process today we have got the United Nations. Similarly, we had the League of Nations. It is possible that tomorrow the United Nations of today might become so powerful as to be converted into a world Government, and the various States will disappear and the narrow national interests will not be there any more.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, however much I like Hindi to become the sole official language of India on the 26th of January, 1965, the Government of India has not taken proper steps towards that end. Sir, had they taken proper steps towards the implementation of this Constitutional provision and made efforts to see that Hindi became popular and was learnt in almost all the States of the Indian Union and if we could have transacted business in Hindi as we now do in English, we would have felt only too happy. But the position is that Hindi has not developed to that extent and the Government has also not taken proper steps to fulfil the obligatory duties cast upon them.

Sir, in the first instance, the Government should have taken steps to see that all the speeches made in all the national languages recognised under the Constitution were simultaneously translated for the benefit of every Member. That would have helped the spread of Hindi language which would have enriched all the 14 languages and it would have helped so many Members of Parliament to give their mature thought and opinion on many subjects that come up before this House. There are many Members in this House as well as in the other House who do not know either English or Hindi. This lacuna would have been removed if this proposal was put into effect. Even now,

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

hereafter the Government should seriously consider making arrangements to see that the speeches of Members speaking in any one of the 14 languages are translated into the languages that can be understood by other Members.

Secondly, the provisions now placed in the Bill do not go far enough. Many Members have stated that instead of 'may' there should be 'shall'. The Minister has expressed some fears that if 'shall' was used, the communications sent from certain Governments should have been simultaneously sent in English as well as in Hindi. So that could be easily solved if we accept the amendment that is going to be moved by Shri Raghunatha Reddy and Mr. Venkatappa. That will solve this lacuna that might otherwise step in if 'shall' was used instead of 'may'. A provision has been made that after 10 years from 26th January 1965, a Parliamentary Committee is going to be appointed to review the position. They should have included another proviso which is there under article 344(3) which says:

"In making their recommendations under clause (2) this Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services."

It would have been better if they had bodily removed this and inserted in clause 4 of the Bill.

There is another lacuna in this. The report of this Committee is going to be placed before this House as well as the Lok Sabha and the report will be sent to the State Governments for their remarks. Instead of the State Governments, it should have been made obligatory that the report should be sent to the State legislatures and the President under article 4 before giving any directions, should take

into consideration the views expressed by both the Houses of Parliament as well as the views expressed by the State legislatures. According to the present provision, the President may not take into consideration the views expressed by the Houses of Parliament though he may be asked to take into consideration the views expressed by the State Governments. This is a lacuna which also should be removed. There is so much controversy between 'may' and 'shall'. In one clause the Government's intention is 'shall' on page 3, clause 6.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are some amendments. If there is anything, you can refer then because that refers to a particular clause.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: What they mean by 'may be published' is that it shall be published because when a State legislature passes a legislation saying that a particular language is the official language and if the business is transacted in that language or if an Act is passed in that language, then an authenticated translation of that in Hindi should be published. So in this context 'may be published' may mean 'shall be published'. So, under this plea, the Government may say 'may' in clause 3 means 'shall' but to allay the fears of the non-Hindi speaking people, it would have been better if they had used 'shall' and if they accept the amendments that are going to be moved by Mr. Raghunatha Reddy and Mr. Venkatappa, those fears will be put an end to and it will satisfy a large section of the population.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to give my general support to the Bill before the House. So much has been said by the various sections of this House that it would not be proper for me to traverse the ground already covered but I feel impelled to give my reaction as a Member hailing from the South for the benefit of this hon House and for the consideration of the Home Minister

The House has to realise in the first place that we are agreed on one basic fact, namely, that Hindi should be the official language of the Union. We are also agreed that this decision which the Constituent Assembly wisely made is not because of the excellence of the Hindi language but because if there is any language in the country which has a chance of becoming the official language, the common language, in the whole of India, it is Hindi. So we loyally tried to carry out that decision of the Constituent Assembly and enshrined in our Constitution. The only difference to my mind is how to phase the tempo of the change-over to Hindi. That is the principal question agitating the minds of the various sections in this matter. That is the central idea facing the country and facing this House as to how to phase the tempo of the change-over. The Constitution-makers prescribed a period of 15 years but then there was nothing sacrosanct about it. It was as a compromise that 15 years was prescribed because they were not confronted with the reality of an immediate issue. They thought the question could be more dispassionately and in the circumstances then obtaining considered in 1965 and now here we have an opportunity to see what the position of Hindi is *vis-à-vis* the state of the country and its preparedness to adopt Hindi as the sole official language.

Having agreed on this basic issue, I want to make a few observations in regard to the position of English. Some have said that English is foreign, it is denationalising and that we should not have it and we should discard it as early as possible but it is forgotten that English has contributed a great deal. The positive side of English is forgotten by many speakers. English has unified the country and it is bound to play a very important role in the future of the country. I beg to submit in all humility that it is the link between the past and the present and also the future. It is the link between the ancient and the modern. It is the link between the East and the West. It is the link between religion

and sciences. Such a vital link in a world fast shrinking by the development of technology is a great gift made to us by history. We cannot afford to discard it unceremoniously. English has conferred inestimable benefit for the integration of the country; just as looked at in the long perspective of history the British rule itself in India is a great blessing, a catalytic agent, we have to regard English as a gift given to Indians for the propagation of India's own thought. It is not only for absorbing knowledge from the outside world and for enriching our life in all respects but also for influencing the world by Indian thought we want this vehicle of expression. So English has to remain whether it is the official language or not. We do not know how long it will remain as the official language but English has to have a very significant place in the country. We will discard it only at our peril.

With regard to Hindi, I do not see why Hindi could develop only if it is made the official language. We are passing through a period of renaissance and every language, every regional language is developing. So Hindi could develop. If the people who advocate India had only bestowed some part of their valuable time in the development of Hindi, the language could be much better than what it is today. It has been said that the contribution of Hindi to modern literature is Tulsidas Ramayan and the all India railway time-table. I think something better could have been done, if these protagonists of Hindi instead of concentrating on making Hindi as the official language, had bestowed their time and energy on the development of the language itself with the aid which the Government is so liberally giving. Sir, Hindi is learnt in South India. There is no resistance at all in South India as many speakers have pointed out. Here I am standing and declaring before the House that my own children learn not the regional language but they learn Hindi. This I am citing as

[Shri N. M. Lingam.]

an example of the spirit in which people in the South are taking to Hindi. There is absolutely no resistance. We are convinced that for national integration a link language is necessary, official language is necessary but we want only one condition, that there should be not the remotest suggestion of imposition of this language in the South, there should not be any attempt to exploit the language because some parts of India happen to have it as the mother-tongue. Give it every chance to grow. Let the non-officials develop it and it will develop. It is one day becoming the sole official language of India. In these circumstances, here is no difference of opinion. On the whole the debate has endorsed the policy of the Government. About the assurances, I am not greatly worried. After all, it is the good sense and statesmanship of the Government that will show whether the fears of the Southerners will be allayed or not. You may even amend the Constitution as my hon. friend, Mr. Annadurai, has stated but nothing prevents another Government even to change the amendment itself. So, ultimately, it is a question of Government's action. Government's good sense and we hope and trust that the Government will implement the assurances in full because no Government can dare ignore the views of the House and no Government can dare go against the spirit of the times. The spirit of the time will dictate the policies of the Government and the policy of the House.

With that hope, Sir, I conclude my speech and I give my support to the Bill.

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Bill but after hearing the speeches of some of my Hindi friends I feel that my support should be somewhat qualified. Hindi is not a classical language like Sanskrit; nor is it an ancient language like Tamil nor a sweet language like Telugu. It is not as well developed as Bengali. Still, the non-Hindi-

speaking people have generally agreed that it should be the official language for the purposes of Central administration. The Hindi-speaking people in their love for their own language are not, however, able to appreciate the generosity and magnanimity with which the other people who have better languages have come forward without hesitation to accept Hindi as a link language. We in the South had our first apprehensions about the intentions of the protagonists of Hindi when they raised a hue and cry against the retention of the Arabic numerals. Obviously, they do not know that most of the Indian languages have their own numerals. We in Telugu have, for instance, our own numerals. They are not the same as Nagari numerals nor are they the same as the Arabic numerals. Still, we have gladly agreed to the Arabic numerals and it came to all of us in the South as a great shock that the Hindi-speaking people would not willingly accept even Arabic numerals which are today the international numerals. Now again, Sir, their insistence that Hindi should be adopted forthwith as the sole official language also shows that they are not able to appreciate either the feelings or the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking people.

Hindi, as our hon. Home Minister was telling us the other day, when he was moving the motion, might have developed rapidly during the last fifteen or sixteen years. While admitting that he is a better authority to speak about Hindi, I venture to say, Sir, that perhaps it is not developing on proper lines. For instance, there is an attempt, a very determined attempt, to eschew from Hindi all Urdu, Arabic and Persian words and to Sanskritise it as much as possible. This is a development that is not conducive to the development of Hindi or for the matter of that, any language. I happened to see some time back a glossary of administrative, legal and other terms published by the Central Government and I was amazed to find that even common words that are generally understood not only by the

people in the Hindi-speaking areas but even in non-Hindi-speaking States are sought to be replaced by very difficult, ugly and unmouthful words. I understand, Sir, that the office of the Executive Engineer (Special Works) is called in Uttar Pradesh, *Adhishasi Abhiyanta* (*Vishesha Karma*) *Karyalaya*. The Inspector of Schools is called the *Shiksha Nirikshak*. Like this, all sorts of strange words are being coined. And there seems to be no unity in this matter even amongst the Hindi-speaking States. For example, an engineer, I understand, is named *Abhiyanta* in Uttar Pradesh while he is called *Tantri* in Madhya Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh seems to be very fond of this word *Tantri*. According to my information, wireless is called *Vidanthu*. Basically, of course, this coinage is correct but in a large part of the country this word *Vidanthu* immediately suggests a widow. So, lots and lots of these ugly words are being coined and an attempt is being made to foist them on the country. As our Prime Minister pointed out this morning, the coinage of such artificial, stilted words would not help the development of any language. So, I feel, Sir, that in the interests not only of Hindi but of all other national languages, we would do well to follow the method adopted by Japan. There they have adopted wholesale all scientific, technical and other terms from the Western world. This is a suggestion which has been recently endorsed by that great scholar, Prof Kane. I feel, Sir, that we too would do well to adopt all international words wholesale without making any attempt to translate them or find substitutes for them. This would be more helpful indeed. It is very difficult, almost impossible, to translate from one language into another, words that have naturally sprung up in a particular country, in a particular climate, to meet a particular need. Take our own word *Dharma*. Is it possible to translate it into English? *Dharma* can mean religion; *dharma* can mean law; *dharma* can mean duty; *dharma* can mean nature; *dharma* can mean righteousness; *dharma* can mean charity.

Which English term can bring out all the connotations of this word developed in India, by Indian thought and culture? Like difficulties arise when we attempt to translate into our languages foreign words developed in a foreign climate by a foreign culture. So, we would do well for keeping in touch with modern thought and modern developments to borrow the modern scientific and technical nomenclatures wholesale. That will solve many of our present difficulties. We have adopted our administrative system from the West; we have adopted our parliamentary system from the West; we have adopted so many other things from the West. Why then should we fight shy of adopting Western nomenclature? Such a wise step would not only help the development of our languages but it would also solve many of our other problems which for the time being appear to be tough. I, therefore, request the hon. Home Minister to consider this suggestion very seriously. I thank you very much, Sir, for allowing me to speak briefly even at this late hour.

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

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, the House was to sit only till 6.30 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I think this is the last speaker. We can sit for five minutes more.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He can speak on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have called him.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : उप सभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे सामने यह भाषा के बारे में जो विषयक प्रस्तुत है उस पर मैं सिर्फ पांच या दस मिनट में अपनी बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरी मातृभाषा तेलगू है और मैं तामिल और तेलगू हिन्दी की बनिस्वत ज्यादा अच्छी बोल सकता हूँ। मैं भारत की और भी छः सात भाषाओं में बोल सकता हूँ, बंगला में बोल सकता हूँ और कुछ हद तक मैं मलयालम, कन्नड़ और दूसरी

[श्री गौड़े मुराहर]

भाषाओं में बोल सकता हूँ और मुझे कभी यह महसूस नहीं होता है कि हिन्दी कोई ग़ैर भाषा है या हिन्दी अंग्रेज़ी से या अंग्रेज़ी से नज़दीक है या अंग्रेज़ी हम ज्यादा समझ सकते हैं। हम दक्षिण और उत्तर की बात करते हैं। दक्षिण में किसकी बात करते हैं? मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि दक्षिण में जो अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े लिखे मध्यम वर्ग और छोटे वर्ग के लोग हैं और आम लोग हैं वे क्या चाहते हैं। अगर आप वहां चले तो पता चलेगा कि आम जनता को इससे मतलब नहीं है कि अंग्रेज़ी हो या हिन्दी हो। वे तो तामिल में या तेलगू में जो भी उनकी भाषा है, अपनी भाषा चाहते हैं। जब देश भर की भाषा की बात होती है तो फिर हिन्दी के सिवाय और कौन भाषा हो सकती है। मैं इस चीज़ के लिये भी तैयार हूँ कि अगर हिन्दी कुछ लोग नहीं चाहते हैं तो ठीक है वहां हिन्दी न रहे लेकिन कम से कम उन प्रदेशों में तो हिन्दी हो जानी चाहिये, केन्द्र के साथ व्यवहार के लिये, जिन प्रदेशों में हिन्दी बोली जाती है। अगर दूसरी भाषा वाले अपनी भाषा में व्यवहार चलाना चाहते हैं तो उनको इसकी छूट होनी चाहिये। मैं तो यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ और पूरी जिम्मेवारी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर श्री अण्णादुरै और पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू एक साथ बैठ जायें और इस मसले का कोई हल निकालें तो मैं उसको मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ बनिस्वत इसके कि अंग्रेज़ी फौरन हटे। हम आश्वासन देना चाहते हैं कि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया जिनको चारों तरफ से गाली दी जाती है, वे इस बात के लिये तैयार हैं कि श्री अण्णादुरै और पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू मिल बैठ कर इसका हल निकालें बनिस्वत इसके कि अंग्रेज़ी फौरन खत्म हो।

सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की इस मसले पर जो राय है वह भी मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। हम यह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक

भाषा हिन्दी हो केन्द्र के लिये और हर एक प्रदेश में अपनी अपनी भाषा में काम चलाया जाय लेकिन अगर किसी अहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेश में कोई इस बारे में असंतोष है तो उनके लिये कुछ संरक्षण दिया जा सकता है, उनको नौकरियों में संरक्षण दिया जा सकता है। दस साल तक आप हिन्दी भाषाभाषियों को कोई नौकरियां न दीजिए, ग़ैर हिन्दी वाले इलाकों को दस साल तक सभी नौकरियां दी जायें। अगर यह मान्य नहीं है तो उनको जनसंख्या के आधार पर संरक्षण दीजिए हमेशा के लिये। जितनी जिसकी जनसंख्या है उसके अनुसार आप संरक्षण दीजिए। यह भी अगर मान्य नहीं है तो फिर हम कहते हैं कि मल्टी-लिंगुअल सेन्टर हो जिसमें हर एक भाषा प्रकट की जाय, उसमें कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी। बहुत से देश में यह हुआ है, स्विट्ज़रलैण्ड में हुआ है। हमारे देश में कौन सी मुसीबत आ पड़ी है। असल में यहां के मुट्ठी भर लोगों ने, जो पढ़े लिखे शिक्षित लोग हैं, जिनके हाथ में सरकारी कामकाज की बागडोर है, जो शासन में बैठे हैं और जिनके हाथ में शक्ति की बागडोर है, वे उसको छोड़ना नहीं चाहते, वे नहीं चाहते कि आम जनता को शक्ति मिले क्योंकि अगर जनता का राज हिन्दुस्तान में कायम होना है तो जनता के द्वारा काम होना चाहिये। लेकिन ये नहीं चाहते हैं इसलिये यह षड़यंत्र चलाया है। मेरे लिये श्री अण्णादुरै और श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू एक सरीखे हैं। अण्णादुरै साफ बात बोलते हैं लेकिन पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू नीति चलाते हैं और उसका फल यह होता है कि वही होता है जो अण्णादुरै चाहते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Why not you suggest to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Mr. Annadurai to sit together and settle the matter?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: He is prepared to settle it if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is prepared to accept it.

अगर हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य को बनाना है तो फिर आप इस तरह की चीज मत कीजिए कि जो आने वाली पीढ़ी के लिये हमेशा के लिये बाधक बन जाय । श्री राजगोपालाचारी बहुत कहते फिरते रहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी के हक में और हिन्दी के खिलाफ बोलो । अभी दाम साहब हैं उनका लिखा हुआ कुछ पढ़ा था । लेकिन एक चीज जो साफ साफ कही गई है सको मैं आपके सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :

"It is not possible or desirable to impose English for our sake on all and weaken the people's control over their representatives all over India . . . In educational matters, if we wish to avoid waste of energy and penalisation of a whole generation, we must anticipate things by a few years . . . No less important than political reasons, the cultural unity of India demands the knowledge of a common spoken language. The South will be a dead branch of the tree, if not in living daily contact with the larger India and here too we cannot rest on the

English medium which is bound to recede into the international background as India advances towards its goal."

यह सब कौन लिखते हैं? श्री राजगोपालाचारी। आज उनकी पूरी राजनीति बदल गई है और वे दूसरे तरीके चलाते फिरते हैं । (Time bell rings.) इसलिये मैं आप लोगों से यही अपील करूंगा कि यह विधेयक बिल्कुल गैर-कानूनी भी है और हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य के लिये इतना घातक है कि इसको अगर पास करेंगे तो फिर भविष्य आपको माफ नहीं करेगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The Home Minister will speak on Monday at 11:00 A.M.

The House stands adjourned till 11:00 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at thirtynine minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 6th May 1963.