

**RAJYA SABHA**

Wednesday, the 28th November, 1962/ the  
7th Agra-hayana, 1884 (Saka)

The House met at twelve of the clock, MR.  
CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**

ANNUAL REPORT (1961-62) OF THE  
ASHOKA HOTELS LTD., NEW DELHI AND  
RELATED PAPERS

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING  
(SHRI P. S. NASKAR) : Sir, I beg to lay on the  
Table, under sub-section (1) of section 619-A  
of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy each of  
the following papers:—

- (i) Seventh Annual Report and Accounts  
of the Ashoka Hotels Limited, New  
Delhi, for the year ended the 31st  
March, 1962, together with the  
Auditors' Report on the Accounts.
- (ii) Review by Government on the  
working of the Ashoka Hotels  
Limited.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-22/62  
for (i) and (ii).]

**NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE SEA CUSTOMS  
ACT, 1878**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R.  
BHAGAT) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a  
copy each of the following Notifications of  
the Ministry of Finance (Department of  
Revenue) publishing further amendments in  
Government Notification G.S.R. No. 575,  
dated the 28th May, 1960 under subsection  
(4) of section 43B of the Sea Customs Act,  
1878:—

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1481, dated  
the 10th November, 1962.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1529, dated  
the 17th November, 1962.

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(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1530, dated  
the 17th November, 1962.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-615/62  
for (i) to (iii)]

**AMENDMENTS IN THE CUSTOMS AND  
CENTRAL EXCISE DUTIES EXPORT DRAWBACK  
(GENERAL) RULES, 1960**

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I also beg to lay  
on the Table a copy each of the following  
Notifications of the Ministry of Finance  
(Department of Revenue) publishing further  
amendments in the Customs and Central  
Excise Duties Export Drawback (General)  
Rules, 1960, under sub-section (4) of section  
43B of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 and section  
38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act,  
1944:—

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1483, dated  
the 10th November, 1962.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1534, dated  
the 17th November, 1962.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-613/62  
for (i) and (ii).]

**THE CENTRAL EXCISE (NINETEENTH  
AMENDMENT) RULES, 1962**

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I also beg to lay  
on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Finance  
(Department of Revenue) Notification G.S.R.  
No. 1522, dated the 17th November, 1962,  
publishing the Central Excise (Nineteenth  
Amendment) Rules, 1962, under section 38 of  
the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944.  
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-614/62.]

**GOVERNMENT MOTION RE REPORT OF  
THE COMMISSIONER FOR  
LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—contd.**

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr.  
Chairman, Sir, when the House adjourned last  
evening, I was speaking about the grievances  
of the State of Mysore against the State of

[Shri A. D. Mam.] Maharashtra. There are also grievances of the people of Maharashtra against the Government of Mysore which, I hope, will be satisfactorily settled through the mediation of a Minister.

Sir, I wanted to raise one or two points in regard to the Report. I know that there were certain linguistic problems in the State of Uttar Pradesh, particularly in regard to the recognition of Urdu in those areas where Urdu is largely spoken. But these problems have been satisfactorily solved. If the Commissioner is to function properly, he should stay in an area where linguistic differences are pronounced and these differences are pronounced largely in the southern region.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Mani says that they have been satisfactorily solved.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The Commissioner says that Urdu is being recognised in some districts; court notifications are being issued. But whatever it may be, these differences at any rate are not as pronounced as the differences in the southern region. I would suggest to the Government that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities should stay in one of the places in the southern region, preferably in Hyderabad. I would also say that if the Commissioner is to function properly, he should have an accredited representative of his, working in every State of the Union where there are linguistic problems. Mr. Chairman, yesterday when the Minister of State spoke about educational safeguards, he said that by and large the States were implementing the recommendations of the Chief Ministers' Conference. Here we should not ignore one point and that is that while under the Constitution every linguistic minority must be allowed to run educational institutions of its own choice, we should not set in force factors which will militate against assimilation of the people in the large majority of

the population. For example, Sir, I quite see that there are areas in the country where the notifications, the gazettes and the State orders have got to be published in regional languages. There are a number of cases cited by the Commissioner. For example, in Tiruthani which has been recently merged in the State of Madras, a large number of documents are still being filed in Telugu. While these may be transitory provisions, I would suggest that in regard to court orders and State orders, these safeguards should be in existence only for a period of 25 years. Education is quite different from publication of State notifications in the language of a minority in a regional area. For 25 years I would therefore suggest that this safeguard should continue but at the end of 25 years the linguistic minorities must be in a position to speak and understand the language of the majority of the States. This need not militate against schools being run for linguistic minorities where the medium of instruction is the language to which the minority belongs.

Sir, while we are discussing this subject, we should not forget the fact that the future of linguistic minorities in this country, wherever they may be, depends largely on the medium of instruction of the universities. While on the one hand we are speaking about integration, we are also strengthening the forces of disintegration by permitting the regional language to be used as the medium of instruction at the university stage. I know that some States have tried to make a beginning by introducing the regional language as the medium of instruction in the universities, but these efforts have not been successful. What I am foreseeing is that after 1965 when the States try to enforce the regional language at the university stage, that will affect the chances of employment for linguistic minorities. There is no getting away from the fact that we cannot talk of integration and at the same time allow the regional language to be the language of instruction at the university stage. I would go to the

extent and say that if this country is to be united and if we are going to have common Services and no barriers in regard to employment in any part of the country, which allows free migration of population from one part of the country to another, the medium of instruction at the university must be a common medium.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But, unfortunately, the expert advice is otherwise.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am coming to that. On the one hand we are doing this, on the other hand the experts are trying to strengthen the forces of disintegration in the country. What I would like the universities to do is to have Hindi as the medium of instruction or as an alternative medium or English as the medium of instruction, because that is the only way in which linguistic minorities can be assured of opportunities of employment in the years to come after 1965.

Sir, the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities has suggested that Members of the Public Service Commissions of the various States, some proportion of those Members, should be recruited from outside the State concerned. There is bound to be some serious objection to that procedure, because it amounts to a sort of casting reflection on the personnel available in the States for maintaining standards of integrity in regard to selections. But then there is no doubt that the public is dissatisfied with the State Public Service Commissions. The Union Public Service Commission has been free from controversy at least in respect of the standards that it maintains. But I would not be able to say that the State Public Service Commissions are maintaining the same standards which I the Union Public Service Commission has maintained since its inception. It will not be possible for us to persuade any State to allow outsiders to sit on its Public Service Commission. But, as the Government of India is interested in the maintenance of an All

India Civil Service and it is now thinking in terms of an All India Medical Service and an All India Engineering Service, it should be within the competence of the Central Government to suggest to the State Governments that there should be one nominee of the President on their Public Service Commissions and he would be there to assist in maintaining the standards necessary for the creation of All India Services from the State Governments' personnel.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh): But the All India Services will be recruited by the Union Public Service Commission.

SHRI A. D. MANI: There would be a proportion of people from the State cadre to the All India cadre and at the preliminary selection stage we would like to have a representative of the Central Government on the State Public Service Commissions and I am sure that if a person, who is known for his overwhelming powers of persuasion, like the Home Minister, asks the State Governments to accept a representative of the Central Government on their Public Service Commissions, they would not raise any serious objection.

I would also like to mention that apart from strengthening all these forces of integration, we should try to have an All India Educational Service, which has got a vital bearing on the future of linguistic minorities in our country. I spoke about the impending change in the medium of instruction at the university stage. I understand that the Ministry of Education is going to have Central Government schools in various parts of the country for defence personnel and for the children of Central Government servants. I would go further and say that if you find that the universities are following an isolationist course, the Central Government should have Central Government colleges in the country where linguistic minorities can send their children for education. Now, I do not know in what

[Shri A. D. Mani.] stage the proposals of the Government of India to evolve an All-India Educational Service are. Some time ago, the Home Minister replying to a question said that the matter was still under consideration and that there was a good deal of resistance on the part of States to the creation of an All-India Educational Service. But I think it is so important that unless we have an All-India Educational Service, all these things are bound to gather momentum. We would not be able to give the necessary assurance to the minorities that their future will be safe in the areas where they are living.

Sir, I would like to mention that there have been complaints about opportunities for employment for linguistic minorities. I have already stated that in order to ensure a high degree of impartiality there should be a representative of the Central Government on the Public Service Commissions of the States. Some months ago, Sir, an extraordinary thing happened in one of the States. A Minister there approached European and Indian businessmen in that State asking that preference be given for locally-born citizens. And to the credit of the businessmen of that State it must be said that they refused to do so. They said that they would accept Indians irrespective of their domicile, Indians irrespective of their origin for employment. Now we should not allow these pressures to develop in the various areas. They are canvassing for this preference even in respect of our public sector enterprises, and there has been agitation in those areas where our oil refineries are situated, and there has been agitation even in those areas where our steel plants are situated; they are asking that employment should be given to local personnel. Now I do not know how the Government is going to tackle these problems because we are interested in educational safeguards for the children of linguistic minorities and we are far more

interested in seeing that they get equality of opportunity which is guaranteed by the Constitution, and I would say, therefore, that at the next Chief Ministers' Conference the Home Minister should raise this question of the free migration of labour from one part of the country to another and that no efforts, direct or indirect, should be made to see that regional minorities do not get an adequate chance of employment in the industries situated in a State.

Sir, I would like to ask the Home Minister, when he replies, what steps Government of India are going to take in order to maintain a uniform legal system in the country. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, in his report, has mentioned that in Punjab, in the Hindi-speaking areas, the orders may be passed in Hindi and in the Punjabi-speaking areas, the orders may be passed in Gur-mukhi. Now in what way can we maintain a centralised and uniform judiciary if in the same State two media are going to be employed for pronouncing judgments in legal cases? As long as the Constitution stands and as long as English happens to be the accepted language and as long as Hindi is not going to come into force after 1965, there is no room for judgments being pronounced in regional languages. I think the Government of India should take a firm stand in regard to this matter because the High Court Judges are appointed by the President; they are not appointed by the State Governments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mani, I am sorry to interrupt you, but I would ask you to finish your speech quickly. There is a time-limit for this Bill.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Just in two minutes I am finishing.

Already we find that these fissiparous tendencies are coming to the surface in these regional areas, and unless the Government takes steps to

see that a uniform judiciary is maintained in this country, it will be very difficult for us after 1965 to arrest these forces of disruption and disorder.

Sir, I would like to conclude with only one word. I attach much importance to this office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and I do hope that he would have some executive status under the Constitution. Last year the Home Minister was not prepared to say that the Chief Secretaries were not willing to receive the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. The position has slightly improved and I hope that the Home Minister would give him some executive position and also enable him, under a legislation, to call for information from the State Governments if he considers that such information is called for the day-to-day discharge of his duties.

Thank you.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Mr. Chairman, of all the difficult problems before the country, I am convinced that the problem of language is the most difficult and complex one. Today, defence is certainly the most urgent issue. Tomorrow, economic development may be more urgent. But in the case of defence and economic development, we know exactly what we have to do—the only issue is the mobilisation of our efforts and resources. But in the case of language, even now its future is still not very clear, and I think, we have to make very great efforts in order to have at least a clear vision, and then the journey towards achievement of that vision is going to be a very long and arduous one. After ten years of groping in the dark, I am glad that the Government of India have come to a decision about the three-language formula. I wholly support that formula, because I think, in the conditions as they are, it is inevitable, and I hope that every effort will be made to see that every boy and girl

who comes out of a secondary school or college is able to function effectively in his own language, in Hindi and in English, and any relaxation in this regard is bound to cause a great deal of confusion and hardship.

While I support the three-language formula, I am afraid there are still some ambiguities which have to be cleared. Now take for instance, Tamil Nad. Every Tamil student, every boy and girl, has to learn Tamil, Hindi and English. Then there are, for example, the Andhra minorities, and other minorities in Tamil Nad. Now, in the primary education stage the Government of Madras is going to introduce English in the 3rd standard. What are these minority children to do? Here they have to be taught in their mother-tongue. So it will be Telugu or Malayalam or any other language. And then they have to learn the regional language, because without it they cannot function in that place. And then they will have to learn English. So in their case it becomes three languages for the primary school students, and for secondary school students it becomes four languages. An so this three-language formula, which is to be a single-language formula for the primary school and a three-language formula for the secondary school becomes converted into a three-language formula in the primary school so far as the minorities are concerned, and a four-language formula for them in the secondary school. To some extent this is inevitable. But I would like that this burden on children should be mitigated as far as possible. For this there should be an agreement that English should be brought in only in the 5th or 6th class so that, in every linguistic area, the children of the majority linguistic community may concentrate on getting high proficiency in their mother-tongue, while minority boys and girls, who are educated in their own mother-tongue, may also get some degree of proficiency in the local language which is not their mother-tongue but which they will have to learn.

[Shri K. Santhanam.]

When we come down to the secondary schools, the problem of minorities is two-fold. There are resident minorities—permanent minorities—in every state belonging to a language other than that of the majority language, and there are temporary minorities, that is, people who come for Government service or for education or trade or other things. Now there cannot be a single formula for both of them. For resident minorities there are two principles to be adopted. Where they are scattered, the process of assimilation should be helped, and they will have to be taught in the regional language medium in the secondary schools and in institutions of higher education. But wherever these resident minorities are concentrated, as in the big cities, we have to provide *their* secondary schools in the media of their own mother-tongue, and this will also have to be followed for those who are temporarily resident in a language area. For the temporary residents. I would suggest that we should go further and establish satisfactory hostels in their own mother States so that, the children can be sent there and educated. A Government servant or other person who is now temporarily in Madras, after two years he may be transferred to Andhra, to Bombay or to any other place, and he has to be dragging his children all the time from place to place and putting them to different types of schools. That will not do. So, if he is a Bengali, there should be hostels in Calcutta or other places in Bengal where he can send his children and have them educated up to the Higher Secondary and, if necessary, the University stage.

SHRI A. D. MANI: There will be segregation again.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: It has to be done because the boys and girls have to be educated and they cannot be compelled to be educated in another language than their mother tongue. / Sir, the Railways have adopted this

principle. I started this formula in 1950 and it took ten years for the Railways to come to a conclusion. Now they are establishing hostels in the various States for the children of officers to get proper education. I think this principle should be accepted by the Central Government for all Central Government servants and Defence Forces and other temporary residents. If they establish good hostels where boys and girls from the age of 10 to 15-16 can reside and get education in their own mother States, that will be the most happy solution for these temporary minorities resident in every State.

For the permanent resident minorities there will have to be sufficient provision in the regional language and where they are concentrated, special schools with their own media may be established. In those schools they will also have to learn the language of the region. Otherwise they will find it difficult to get employment and their families will be put to all kinds of difficulties.

Now, Sir, there is still confusion about University education. My friend, Mr. Mani, said that unless we have got a common medium of instruction in all the universities of India, we cannot have proper national integration. Sir, looking at it purely from a logical standpoint, his contention is plausible. But if we go deeper and take into account psychological and emotional factors, it will become clear that this is not a proper solution. As a Tamilian I am convinced that Tamil should become equal to any language in the world. It has got all the potentialities. It has got a great literature and it must become a capable vehicle for science, philosophy, economics and every other subject in the world. And how can Tamil become such a vehicle unless it becomes the medium of instruction in the universities?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: How can you cope with the development of science and other things? You will

have to have translations in 18 languages.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Why not? Of course.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: I think not only it is possible but it is inevitable and necessary. That is my conviction. Sir, the populations of States, are 30 millions and 40 millions. We are not a hundred thousand or one million or two millions. How can 40 million Marathis say that the Marathi language will not be a proper vehicle for science and everything else? A language with 2 million or 3 million is able to do all these functions in every other country. I think it is a psychological impossibility for our big linguistic groups—Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati—to submit to a position that their language is not a capable vehicle for all the higher purposes of modern life.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What should be the position in High Courts, Mr. Santhanam? Should we have the vernacular in High Courts also? Then what would be the function of the Supreme Court?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: I am willing to answer. I have thought about this for fifteen years.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): What about the statement of the Madras Education Minister with regard to the introduction and failure of the Tamil medium in the Madras University?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: If the Chairman, is willing to give me unlimited time, I shall answer.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. I am afraid I will not. As a matter of fact, I was going to request you to finish in five minutes.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Provided we are able to implement the three-language formula and ensure that a University student anywhere in India

is capable of handling not only his mother tongue but also English and Hindi with reasonable competency, there will be no difficulty about the movement of graduates or about national integration or any other problem.

So far as recruitment is concerned, though at the recruiting stage this linguistic test cannot be applied, afterwards it should not be difficult if every boy knows Hindi and English for official purposes. Only a very moderate competency in any language is needed. After all, what is the difficulty of doing the functions of a District officer or of anybody else with a fair competency in English and Hindi wherever a man may be posted? Therefore, the English medium of instruction is not necessary for purposes of Government service. The medium of instruction is intimately connected with the development of higher civilization which is absolutely essential for every State and every language.

Now, there are only one or two matters about which I would like to say something further. In applying the three-language formula to the Hindi States, I think a great mistake has been done. While the whole of India is to be taught Hindi, I do not see any kind of purpose in asking the children in UP., some of them to learn a little of Tamil, some of them to learn a little of Telugu or some of them to learn a little of Marathi. All that will be a waste of effort. I think the only alternative as a third language to be taught in the Hindi areas must be Sanskrit or, wherever necessary, Urdu. They are the only two alternatives. If a Hindi child learns Sanskrit, it becomes competent to learn every other Indian language and it will be a better citizen of India than if it learns Tamil or Telugu.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Not Tamil. Tamil is not allied to Hindi.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: That is why I am saying this. Now, today the programme is that the children in U.P., in Madhya Pradesh, in Rajasthan and others, some of them must learn one of the twelve languages, some of them another second language and so they must dissipate their energies by learning any of these twelve languages.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: For psychological purposes.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: For special studies, for Universities, I have no objection to all the Universities having a Tamil Bureau, a Telugu Bureau and a Marathi Bureau. But for the ordinary Secondary schools, I think it is a waste of national effort, and I suggest earnestly to the Home Minister that he should persuade the Hindi States that their third language should be either Sanskrit or, wherever necessary, Urdu or some other language near their borders which may be of some use to the people of the States.

Lastly, one word about these border disputes. I not only agree that all these border disputes should be frozen but I would make an earnest appeal to all people that these border claims should be abandoned altogether. Whatever solutions we may adopt we cannot eliminate the linguistic minorities from any State. Therefore, whether these minorities are a few thousands or a few millions, what does it matter? This three-language formula is sufficient to protect all the minorities provided all the States deal with them fairly.

Before I finish, I would appeal to the Home Minister that the Centre should come forward and take all the financial responsibility for the secondary and university education of all minorities. You cannot expect the linguistic States to spend a lot of money for having schools and colleges in other media. Some of them are generous and may do it, but by and large, the Centre should take the financial responsibility for running

schools and colleges in every linguistic region in other media. I welcome the present move to establish schools of a certain pattern all over India for the Defence Forces. I would suggest that both English and Hindi should be the joint media in those schools and colleges and if such schools are distributed all over the States, they will not only give sufficient facilities to the minorities but slowly even the people of the linguistic regions may come over to these schools and they will become more popular just as in the Tamil areas the English schools are popular. If the Centre takes this responsibility, I think all the troubles about linguistic progress and linguistic reorganisation may be eliminated to a great extent but as I have said, the linguistic picture of future India is still rather cloudy and we have to make an earnest effort to see that at least we get a clear vision and then work up steadily and without any retrogression towards that goal.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, on this occasion also I feel considerable hesitation in saying all that is in my mind. Sitting here, in Parliament we sometimes are very conscious of the emergency with which the country has to deal but sometimes we are not. Dealing with this particular subject, I think it is desirable that we should speak with great restraint. After all, the proceedings of our Parliament are published in the papers, in hundreds of papers, in the country and all the linguistic disputations that we have here, are known to the people, and create certain unconscious reactions. Therefore, I feel that we should conduct the debate on this question with some restraint—and hence also the restriction that I am placing on myself—and will write directly to the Government about certain matters. I would therefore deal here not with any of the large number of questions dealt with in the report but with a few broad aspects only and deal not so much with the report as with the problems with which it deals.



After all, the question of safeguards for linguistic minorities is only one little branch of the larger problem which the States Reorganisation Commission had to face. They found a tremendous amount of tension in many States. The tensions were expressed by certain sections or groups within the States and the language question was one, being a delicate one, which was brought more prominently to their notice but the tensions with which the Commission dealt are tensions which are anterior even to the appointment of the Commission. There are certain basic difficulties which the Indian nation is experiencing as a result of history. An effort has been made and has to be made to tone down these differences, to reduce those difficulties and create one united nation. This does not mean that there are to be no sections or communities but the dominating factor over all their feelings is to be a feeling of nationalism. Just at present we are experiencing a great upsurge of this nation feeling. If we have to take a realistic view of the present situation we ought not to, in my opinion, regard this upsurge as having solved our internal problem. I was surprised that the Committee appointed by the Education Ministry to deal with integration felt that national integration had been achieved at present and so they more or less suspended their work. I was still more surprised when the Committee appointed by the Integration Conference also felt that Integration had been achieved and so they also suspended their work. I think this is not a realistic assessment of our situation. Indian history has seen equally great, if not greater, upsurges of the national feeling. In recent history only we had the Non-cooperation Movement under Gandhiji's leadership. It was preceded by a great amount of communal feeling, tensions, differences, disagreements, etc. but as a result of all that he said and did and the issues which he raised, the nation appeared to get integrated. Those, who

were in that movement at the time, can alone realise the tremendous amount of national integration which we felt we had achieved. The great Arya Samajist leader—the Arya Samajists are considered by our Muslim friends as their great opponents and critics—Swami Shradhanandji, was taken by the Muslim Divines to the Jamia Masjid of Delhi to deliver a sermon from the pulpit of the Masjid. It might have been considered almost unholy against the traditions of Islam that a Kafir should have been taken to the pulpit of any Masjid to give a sermon. I know that many very orthodox Muslim leaders shed their shoes and went to the Viswanath Temple of Banaras where they witnessed the idols and they felt no embarrassment or hesitation and they addressed the Hindus there. I know we have passed through times when the most loved part of our dress, the most conservative part of our dress, that part of the dress to which we are most attached—that is the head dress—also gave way under the effect of the upsurge of nationalism. I know that many men in the South, distinguished men of the South gave up their turban and took to Gandhi cap, so also in the Punjab, so also in Maharashtra. The Gandhi cap levelled us all, integrates us. Those were times when in the National Congress we used to have provincial kitchens and each province used to have its separate kitchen because they were naturally accustomed for ages to particular types of food. But the national upsurge of that time rode through all those differences and we had one common kitchen and everyone voluntarily, willingly and happily adjusted himself to be a basic change in diet, which is a big thing to do. I do not want to take up the time of Parliament to give more illustrations, but what I want to say is that we have passed, at different stages, through national upsurges of integration, due to certain emergencies, due to certain very vital forces working in that direction. Therefore, I feel that just as it is

(Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.) said that we took an unrealistic attitude with regard to the danger from the north, from our Chinese neighbour, we should not take an unrealistic attitude with regard to our internal problems. I do not want to dilate on this particular matter, but I do wish that the Home Ministry should see that the work of the various committees which were dealing with these problems are continued with the minimum of publicity and the maximum of energy and they try and solve the problems which, I am afraid, will face us again after some time, because they arise out of certain feelings which seem to be deeper than we apprehend.

The second thing that I would wish to suggest is this. In dealing with the linguistic problems of the minorities which ultimately are an off-shoot of the minority problem in a broad way, we should realise that the minority problem, when it becomes a problem and is felt acutely, is the result of the actions of the majority. It is the majority complex which makes a minority feel strongly that it is a minority. Certain differences exist, but when they get accentuated, when feelings arise and things assume the proportions of a problem and we feel that we have to deal with it, then we have to understand and analyse the causes. In any family there may be a stronger brother, an elder brother, a richer brother, a brother who earns more, an abler brother. But he is a brother and the rest are also brothers. They may be younger, may be weaker, may be poorer, but they are all members of a family. The majority must develop the consciousness of being really a trustee, of being the elder brother in the family, in charge of the entire family. Therefore, the approach and the attitude should be one of oneness. It should not be an attitude of so and so being an outsider. It is a regrettable thing and a sad thing, that in an official report of our Government, the Commissioner

for Linguistic Minorities should have to say that the majorities in some States are treating the minorities as aliens. If things have gone to the length of a government report mentioning this, then it is a matter which we must frankly realise as serious. The people in a State who constitute a majority must see that the minorities are a part of the family and must develop that oneness of feeling and expressions like "alien", "foreigner", "outsider", etc. must never arise in the heart and therefore, must never come out of the people's mouth. It is this attitude that we must develop if we want to integrate this nation. It is not correct for the people, who are in a majority in a Province, to feel that it belongs to them, that the Province belongs to them, and that they have to dole out something to others who are not a part of them, are not even in the position of paying guests, because we treat our paying guests a little more considerately. Therefore, I feel that we have to analyse the minority problem in the correct manner. The minority problem is a reaction to the attitude of the majority and the way in which the majority behaves towards the minority. The present is the best psychological moment for the majorities everywhere, in every part of the country to deal liberally, generously, even over-generously with all the other sections in the State, and create with regard to our internal matters and internal questions a feeling of oneness, a feeling of unity.

The third thing which I would like to suggest is that it is not enough that the recommendations of the Commissioner should be sent to the States for being handled in the normal manner. I believe it is essential that when the Commissioner's Report is ready and is submitted to the Home Ministry, the Home Minister should summon a conference of all the Chief Ministers for direct personal discussion of the various issues which have been

raised. The Chief Ministers will come with their staff and as a result, if need be, of even six, seven or eight days' discussions all the problems will get solved much more quickly, much more smoothly and much more satisfactorily. I would also suggest that preceeding such a conference, there ought to be a full discussion by the Home Minister with the representatives of minorities so that he knows what the minorities have to say with regard to the questions which have arisen and with regard to the recommendations which are proposed and when he deals with the Chief Ministers he will be in full knowledge of all the currents of opinion and of all the forces that are at work for integration or the forces that create certain disputes difficulties or agitations. After all, the Chief Ministers are the representatives, consciously or unconsciously, of the majority. Every Chief Minister everywhere does represent, on the whole, the majority, may not be consciously, but unconsciously. Therefore, it is desirable that there should be a full discussion by the Home Minister with all those who are concerned with the matter.

I will conclude with endorsing what has been suggested by my hon. friend Shri Santhanam and would say that we should bring the maximum pressure at the present moment and see that these various border disputes are not only suspended but given up. After all, it will be a few thousand persons here or there—may be a lakh or two lakhs, if you like—who will be under the administration of the neighbouring State and if the other integrating forces are encouraged and if we really are moving towards integration, then the neighbouring State also will be better trusted by such minorities as might be living in the border areas. So I think we should make a definite and serious attempt not only to freeze but to try and see that the various parties concerned agree to the abandonment of all these border disputes. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Abdul Ghani. He will make his maiden speech now.

**श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) :** चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे खुशी है कि यह रिपोर्ट मुल्क के बाहिमी इत्तिहाद में बुनियादी कदम का काम देगी।

मैं इस बात से बहुत खुश हूँ कि मेरा ताल्लुक उस प्रान्त से है जिस प्रान्त के एक बहुत बड़े बुजुर्ग गुरु नानक देव जी ने जो दुनिया के पैगम्बरों में एक बड़ा दर्जा रखते हैं, यह फर्मा कर कि :

अव्वल अल्लाह तूर उपाया, कुदरत दे सब बन्दे,  
एक तूर सी, सब जग उपजै, कौन भले, कौन मन्दे।

न सिर्फ नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन, न सिर्फ इमोशनल इंटिग्रेशन बल्कि सारे संसार को एकता का पैगाम दिया है। यहाँ मैं अपने आप को खुशनसीब पाता हूँ कि नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के लिये पंजाब ने दो दफा बहुत बड़ी कुर्बानी दी। एक सन्, १९१९ में, जब जलियांवाला बाग में हिन्दू, सिख और मुसलमानों का खून एक साथ बहा था और सारे देश में नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन का एक ज्वरदस्त जज्बा पैदा हुआ था, दूसरे, अभी चेयरमैन साहब, बाडर पर जो हमने कुर्बानी दी वह पंजाबियों ने सबसे ज्यादा दी और उसमें हिन्दू, सिख और मुसलमान सब शामिल हैं। लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं इस रिपोर्ट को देखता हूँ, मुझे कुछ डर भी लगता है और डर इसलिये लगता है कि जहाँ मैं बड़ा खुशनसीब हूँ कि मेरे प्रान्त ने बाहिमी इत्तिहाद के लिये बहुत बड़ा काम किया और कुर्बानी दी, वहाँ अभी तक मेरे प्रान्त में जवान के कुछ मसले हल नहीं हुए हैं। वहाँ रहने वालों की एक बहुत बड़ी अक्सरियत ऐसी है जिसकी मादरी जवान पंजाबी है और घर में उनके बच्चे भी और बुजुर्ग भी पंजाबी में बात करते हैं। कुछ हिस्सा हरियाना का है जहाँ दमियानी सी जवान है, कुछ हिन्दी के करीब है, कुछ उर्दू के करीब है, कुछ पंजाबी

[ श्री अब्दुल ग़नी ]

के करीब है यानी मिली जुली है। तो ज़बान तो तकरीबन पंजाबी है बहुत बड़ी तादाद में, लेकिन लिखने में अभी तक बाबजूद इसके कि १५-१६ साल होने को आये उनको आज़ाद हुए, उनका उर्दू ज़बान में ही सबसे ज्यादा कारोबार चलता है। रस्मुलखत उसका उर्दू ही है। अब २ अक्टूबर से वहाँ—जैसा कि इस रिपोर्ट में दिया गया है—पंजाबी रोजन में गुरुमुखी रस्मुलखत और हिन्दी रोजन में हिन्दी रस्मुलखत, ज़िले की सतह तक, डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवेल तक रखा है। हाई कोर्ट ने भी ऐसा ही डिस्तीज़न किया है। चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे इससे डर लगता है कि कहीं इससे हमारी तमाम तरक्की को धक्का न लगे; क्योंकि वहाँ सारे के सारे रिकार्ड उर्दू रस्मुलखत में थे। क्या ऐसा करके हमने कोई खिदमत की है या एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के रास्ते में हम रुकावट बने हैं, इस पर मैं आपके द्वारा अपने वज़ीरे तालीम से अर्ज़ करूंगा कि वह गौर करें। वहाँ भी मैंने अर्ज़ किया था जब मैं असेम्बली में था और यहाँ भी अर्ज़ करता हूँ कि ख़ामख़्वाह उर्दू ज़बान को मुसलमानों के साथ जोड़ा गया है। अगर इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ा जाये तो मालूम होगा कि क्योंकि नूह तहसील में, डिस्ट्रिक्ट गुड़गांव में, फीरोज़पुर में, शिरका तहसील में और भलेरकोटला शहर में मुसलमानों की तादाद ज्यादा है इसलिये यह कर दिया है, वहाँ के लिये हम कहते हैं कि इन तहसीलों में ज़रिया तालीम उर्दू हो तो कोई हर्ज़ नहीं है। मुझे इसका, चेयरमैन साहब, सदमा है कि रिपोर्ट ने शायद हमारी खिदमत नहीं की है और मैं यह इसलिये कहता हूँ कि अभी तक भी वहाँ उर्दू डामिनेट करती है। मैं उर्दू का कोई खास हामी नहीं हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि वह हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख और ईसाई सबकी मिलीजुली, मुद्दतों से, एक ज़बान रही है और चूँकि मैं कांग्रेस में सन् १९१७ ई० से रहा—अब १९६२ हो गया है, गर्ब अब निकल गया हूँ—हमने बारहा कहा कि

हमारे देश की ज़बान हिन्दुस्तानी होगी। अब चूँकि पार्लियामेंट ने फैसला किया कि देश की जो ज़बान है वह हिन्दी है, मैं हिन्दी को खुशामदीद कहता हूँ और इसलिये भी कि वह हिन्दुस्तानी है लेकिन जिस ढंग से हम अक्लियतों की हिफाज़त के पदों में कुछ अकदाम कर रहे हैं उनसे मुझे खतरा भी महसूस होता है। क्योंकि खुदा का शुक है कि जहाँ हमें बहुत बड़ा सदमा हुआ अपने पड़ोसी देश की बेवफाई से, या यों कहिये कि जो सदियों का नहीं हजारों वर्ष का भारत और चीन में प्यार था, उसको उन्होंने कुर्बान किया और उन्होंने भारत पर एक ज़ारहाना अकदाम किया वहाँ उसका एक फायदा भी है कि वह तमाम जो अक्लियती मसायल थे या सूबाई मसायल थे या ज़बान के झगड़े थे या रस्मुलखत के झगड़े थे या ज़रिया तालीम के झगड़े थे उनको मुल्क एकदम भूल गया और इस वक्त सबके दिमाग में एक ही बात है कि गवर्नमेंट का हाथ मजबूत करो इसलिये कि चीन के ज़ारहाना अकदाम से देश को निजात मिले। चेयरमैन साहब, अगर हम इस तरह से ज़बानों को किसी एक मजहब के लोगों से जोड़ेंगे या इस तरह से हम उन तमाम अपने रिकार्ड्स को, तमाम अपनी रवायात को एक-कलम इस तरह से बेएहतियाती के साथ कदम बढ़ा कर खत्म करना चाहेंगे तो क्या हम मुल्क की खिदमत करेंगे या जैसा कि श्रीमाली जी ने फर्माया था कि इससे अक्लियतों को काफी तसल्ली होगी—उनको यह यकीन होगा कि सरकार यहाँ वाकई अक्सरियत की जहाँ फ़िक्क करती है वहाँ वह अक्लियतों की भी फ़िक्क करती है? मैं यकीन से कहता हूँ कि चायनीज़ को उनका जवाब मिल जायेगा और जिस तरह देश इस वक्त एक साथ खड़ा हुआ है, कोई अपोजीशन का और सरकार का सवाल नहीं रहा है, सब मिल कर सिर जोड़ कर जो लगे हैं उससे हमें निजात मिलेगी, लेकिन यह डर मुझे है कि जो ज़बानों के झगड़े थे, जो इलाकाई झगड़े थे वह अमन होते ही फिर सिर न उठावें। मेरी राय में यह बात ठीक नहीं है कि जहाँ

मुसलमानों की अक्सरियत है वहां की जवान उर्दू हो। उर्दू जवान का किसी मजहब से या मुसलमान से, कोई खास ताल्लुक नहीं है। इसका जितना मुसलमान से ताल्लुक है उतना ही हिन्दू और सिख से भी ताल्लुक है। इसलिये पंजाब के बारे में मैं खासतौर पर सरकार को मोहतात करना चाहता हूं कि अगर पंजाब की जवान कोई है, तो वह पंजाबी है और पंजाबी को ही सरकार को अपनाना चाहिये, वरना मुझे डर है कि वह दिन दूर नहीं होगा जब कि हरिद्वारा अलग हो जायेगा और पंजाबी रीजन अलग हो जायेगा। आगे ही देश के बहुत टुकड़े हो गये हैं और उसके और टुकड़े होते जायें इसका हमारे को सदमा होगा। सरकार यह सोचे और रिपोर्ट पर कोई मन बनाये तो इस ढंग से बनाये कि अगर वाकई में नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन करनी है तो हिन्दी को अपनाना ही होगा और पंजाब में पंजाबी को अपनाना ही होगा, अगर नहीं अपनारेंगे—पंजाबी जवान को सारे पंजाब की जवान करार नहीं देंगे—तो पंजाब के टुकड़े हो जायेंगे।

इसलिये मैं बड़े अदब से—चूँकि नया नया आया हूं अभी, चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे यहां की रवायत का पूरा इल्म नहीं है इसलिये मैं थोड़ा समय लेता हूं—यह अर्ज करता हूं, आपकी तरफ से अपने मिनिस्टर साहब से कि वह इस बात पर ध्यान दें कि कहीं पंजाब का सारा रिकार्ड जाया न हो जाये, जो उर्दू जवान में है। उर्दू को इस तरह से न भुलाया जाये। यह इसलिये मैं कहता हूं कि जो रिकार्ड है, वह अपना रिकार्ड है, वह हमारे पंजाब का ही नहीं, भारत का है। तो इसलिये बड़े अदब से कहता हूं कि इस रिपोर्ट पर जब वह ध्यान दें तो मेरी मारुजात पर भी ध्यान दें।

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) : आदरणीय सभापति जी, यह कोई नई बात नहीं है कि भारत में अनेकानेक भाषायें आज सैकड़ों वर्षों से रही हैं और सैकड़ों भाषायें होने के बावजूद भी हिन्दुस्तान में एकता

रही है, इत्तिफाक रहा है। जब से भाषा के मामले में पियासत ने प्रवेश किया तब से भाषा का यह झगड़ा पैदा हुआ, नहीं तो हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दुस्तान की जनता, दक्षिण से उत्तर तक, पूर्व से पश्चिम तक, बहुत प्रेम से—अपनी अलग अलग भाषाओं के बावजूद प्रेम के साथ—रहती आई। तो यह डर पैदा करना कि हमारी अनेक भाषायें हैं इस वजह से हममें आपस में कोई झगड़ा, कोई नाइत्तिफाकी पैदा होगी, यह मैं गैरजरूरी समझता हूं। इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आज भी—जब हम इस रिपोर्ट पर विचार करते हैं, लिगुइस्टिक माइनारिटीज की रिपोर्ट पर, मैंने इस रिपोर्ट को पहले सफे से ले कर आखिर तक पढ़ा है—यदि माइनारिटी लैंग्वेज को कहीं प्रोटेक्शन इस रिपोर्ट में मिला होगा तो वह सबसे ज्यादा इंग्लिश लैंग्वेज को मिला है। आज भी इस देश में अनेक ऐसे राज्य हैं जहां अभी तक अंग्रेजी ही चलती है, व्यवहार में लाई जाती है, लिखी जाती है और राज-काज सब अंग्रेजी में चलता है। यही नहीं कि अंग्रेजी में राज-काज सिर्फ हेडक्वार्टर पर ही चलता हो बल्कि आखिर तक, डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल तक, परगना लेवल तक यह अंग्रेजी में चलता है। प्रोटेक्शन यदि किसी को दिया है तो वह अपनी भाषा को नहीं दिया है, सबसे ज्यादा प्रोटेक्शन अंग्रेजी को दे रखा है और उसी के कारण यह कहा जाता है कि यूनिवर्सिटियों का मीडियम आफ इन्स्ट्रक्शन, शिक्षा का माध्यम अंग्रेजी हो ताकि सारे देश में एक रंग पैदा हो; परन्तु मेरे भाई जानते नहीं कि इस तरह से एक भाषा के हो जाने से इत्तिफाक पैदा नहीं हुआ करता है, इत्तिफाक पैदा होता है दिल से, प्रेम से, मुहब्बत से और परस्पर के सहकार से और इसके लिये यह कोई आवश्यक नहीं है कि किसी एक ही भाषा में पढ़ाई हो।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारा नेतृत्व जो हो, वह जनता का नेतृत्व

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

होना चाहिये। हमें जनता का नेतृत्व करना है। अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हमारी जनता का नेतृत्व नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये यूनिवर्सिटी से जो हमारे पढ़े-लिखे विद्वान् आयेंगे वही जनता के नेता बनेंगे, जनता का नेतृत्व उन्हें ही करना होगा और वे जनता का नेतृत्व तभी कर सकते हैं जब उनके विचार, उनके आदर्श उनकी भाषा में ढले होंगे, विचारे होंगे और उनका चिन्तन किया होगा। इसी कारण हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री ने और खास कर जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति हैं, डा० राधाकृष्णन्, उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह साफ लिखा था कि यूनिवर्सिटी का माध्यम हमारी प्रादेशिक भाषा होनी चाहिये . . .

**श्री सभापति :** आपको शायद कुछ और ज्यादा कहना होगा। अब उठने का वक्त हो गया है।

The House stands adjourned til! 2.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

**श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण :** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कह रहा था कि हमारे देश में जो यूनिवर्सिटियां हैं, उनकी शिक्षा का माध्यम प्रादेशिक भाषा होनी चाहिये। हर एक प्रदेश में एक या एक से ज्यादा यूनिवर्सिटियां हैं और बहुत सी यूनिवर्सिटियों ने यह तय कर लिया है कि शिक्षा का माध्यम वहां को प्रादेशिक भाषा हो . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: As far as possible.

**श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण :** . . . परन्तु एक बहुत बड़ी जमायत इस हिन्दुस्तान में है, जिनका कोई खास प्रदेश नहीं है, जो हिन्दुस्तान

में चारों तरफ फैले हुए हैं और जिनकी भाषा उर्दू है। उनकी तादाद इतनी बड़ी है कि वे यदि किसी एक प्रदेश में होते तो एक यूनिवर्सिटी नहीं, दो यूनिवर्सिटियां उनकी चल सकती थीं। इसलिये सरकार से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वह चारों तरफ फैले हुए उर्दू भाषी लोगों के लिये एक खास यूनिवर्सिटी चलाए, जहां उर्दू माध्यम हो। इससे उन उर्दू भाषी लोगों में एक संतोष पैदा होगा, एक इत्तिफाक की भावना पैदा होगी और बहुत-सी तकलीफें, जो आज पैदा होती दिखाई देती हैं, वे कम हो जायेंगी। हैदराबाद यूनिवर्सिटी में कुछ दिन पहले उर्दू माध्यम था परन्तु वह बंद कर दिया गया। अलीगढ़ में भी कुछ था, परन्तु वह भी पहले सा नहीं रहा। तो मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ऐसी जगह पर जहां कि उनकी तादाद अधिक हो—वैसे तो सारी तादाद उनकी हिन्दुस्तान में फैली हुई है—एक ऐसी सेण्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी बनाई जाये कि जिसका माध्यम उर्दू हो।

इसके साथ साथ मैं आपका ध्यान अपने सिंधी भाइयों की तरफ भी खींचूंगा। आप जानते हैं, जिस वक्त ये हमारे भाई सिंध में रहते थे उनकी अपनी यूनिवर्सिटी थी, जिस यूनिवर्सिटी में सिंधी माध्यम नहीं था परन्तु सिंधी एक कम्प्लेसरी सब्जेक्ट था। उनके अनेकानेक हाई स्कूल थे, स्कूल थे, सब तरह से उनको संतोष हो इस तरह की उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था थी। परन्तु आज दुर्भाग्य से उनके यहां आने के बाद क्या हुआ? सारे देश में वे फैले हुए हैं, कहीं उनकी इतनी बड़ी तादाद नहीं है कि जिससे वहां उनकी पाठशालाएं चल सकें, उनके हाई स्कूल चल सकें या उनके कालेज चल सकें, हां, बम्बई जैसे शहर में कुछ चल सकते हैं। तो मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि सिंधियों के लिये खास हाई स्कूल खोले जायें या जहां सिंधी माध्यम हो और बन सके तो कई हाई स्कूल खोले जायें और उनकी एक यूनिवर्सिटी बनाई जाये ताकि सिंधियों में भी एक राष्ट्रीयता का भाव पैदा हो और यह विश्वास पैदा हो कि अपने सिंध को छोड़ कर

आने के बावजूद जहां वे अब हैं उन्होंने उनको अपना लिया है ।

यहां यह कहा गया कि बॉर्डर का सवाल यहां नहीं छोड़ा जाये । मैं भी नहीं चाहता कि बॉर्डर का सवाल छोड़ा जाये, परन्तु बॉर्डर के इदंगिदं में जो प्रदेश, जो जिले हैं उनकी कुछ दिक्कतें हैं जो उनके लिगुइस्टिक माइनारिटी होने के कारण हैं । उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बेलगांव जिले को लेता हूं । बेलगांव जिले में आज क्या हालत है ? प्राइमरी तीसरे दर्जे तक सिर्फ मराठी पढ़ाई जाती है, चौथे दर्जे से मराठी बंद कर दी जाती है और आगे सरकारी हाई स्कूल में और कालेज में कहीं मराठी का नाम तक नहीं है और जो वहां निजी प्राइवेट हाई स्कूल और कालेज चलते हैं जहां लड़कों को मराठी माध्यम से पढ़ाया जाता है, उन लड़कों को उस मैसूर प्रदेश के बाहर की यूनिवर्सिटियों की परीक्षाओं तक में नहीं बैठने दिया जाता । तो मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप जब लिगुइस्टिक माइनारिटीज के साथ न्याय करना चाहते हैं तो आप इस बात को सोचिये कि बेलगांव की माइनारिटी—माइनारिटी है या नहीं इसमें भी मैं इस वक्त नहीं जाना चाहता—परन्तु मान लीजिए कि माइनारिटी है तब भी उस माइनारिटी की शिक्षा की व्यवस्था यदि वहां की सरकार नहीं कर सकती, जो कि उसे करना चाहिये, तो जो निजी स्कूल, प्राइवेट स्कूल वहां चल रहे हैं, प्राइवेट कालेज चल रहे हैं, उन प्राइवेट स्कूलों और प्राइवेट कालेजों को बाहर की यूनिवर्सिटीज से एफीलिएट होने की इजाजत आपको देनी चाहिये । उदाहरण के तौर पर बेलगांव जिले से कोल्हापुर बिल्कुल नजदीक है, पूना नजदीक है, कोल्हापुर में अभी नई यूनिवर्सिटी शुरू हुई है जहां का माध्यम मराठी है, पूना यूनिवर्सिटी का भी माध्यम करीब करीब मराठी है, बेलगांव से धारवाड़ दूर है और मैसूर तो बहुत ही दूर है, सभी हिसाब से आप सोचेंगे—भौगोलिक हिसाब से

भी—तो इसी नतीजे पर आपको आना होगा कि ये जो लड़के और लड़कियां वहां मराठी पढ़ते हैं, लड़कियां तो करीब करीब सभी प्राइवेट स्कूलों में पढ़ती हैं, उनके लिये मराठी माध्यम में शिक्षा देने वाले कोई सरकारी स्कूल वहां हैं नहीं । इसलिये मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि ये जो मराठी माध्यम से पढ़ने वाले लड़के और लड़कियां हाई स्कूल और कालेजों में पढ़ते हैं उनके स्कूलों और कालेजों को बाहर की यूनिवर्सिटीज से एफीलिएट होने की इजाजत दी जाये, या वहां के विद्यार्थियों को बाहर के प्रांत की परीक्षाओं में बैठने की इजाजत मिल जाये ।

प्राइमरी शिक्षा का जहां तक संबंध है, उसका अधिकतर सवाल है हमारे ट्राइब्स के साथ । ट्राइब्स की बहुत सी भाषाएं हैं । वे अपनी अपनी भाषा में पढ़ना चाहते हैं परन्तु जैसा कि आपने रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि टेक्स्ट बुक्स नहीं हैं, टीचर्स नहीं हैं, तो आपको टेक्स्ट बुक्स सेक्टर में तैयार करवानी चाहियें, आपको शिक्षकों को अधिक तनख्वाहें देकर शहरी रिवाज सिखलाने चाहियें, शहरी बातें सिखलानी चाहियें और ट्राइब भाषा में ट्रेनिंग देकर अपनी ट्राइब्स में भेज कर विद्यालय चलाने चाहिये । आप यह सोचें कि उनकी भाषा तो रहे और भाषा में किताबें न बन पाएं तो उनकी पढ़ाई नहीं हो सकेगी । साथ साथ मैं यह कहूंगा कि जिस वक्त आप प्राइमरी शिक्षा उनकी मातृभाषा में देते हैं तो एक इन्फैण्ट क्लास को छोड़ कर, दूसरे क्लास से ही प्रादेशिक भाषा की उनको कम्प्लमरी शिक्षा देनी चाहिये; क्योंकि आखिरकार उनको प्रादेशिक भाषा में ही व्यवहार करना होगा । इसलिये मातृभाषा के साथ साथ प्रादेशिक भाषा की शिक्षा होनी चाहिए । हाई स्कूल की शिक्षा के सवाल पर आती

## Minorities

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]  
रिपोर्ट में भी लिखा है—श्री लैंगुएज फार्मुला। पर श्री लैंगुएज फार्मुला के साथ साथ उन्होंने लिखा है—रीजनल लैंगुएज एण्ड मदर टंग। आपकी रिपोर्ट में यह भी शिकायत लिखा है कि बहुत से स्टेट्स इस ओर ध्यान नहीं देते हैं, बहुत से स्टेट्स ने इस ओर ध्यान ही नहीं दिया कि यह श्री लैंगुएज फार्मुला क्या चीज है और उसमें भी यह बात जो लिखी है—रीजनल लैंगुएज एण्ड मदर लैंगुएज इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि एक तरह से चार भाषाएं हो जाती हैं। भले ही चार हो जायें परन्तु हाई स्कूल में रीजनल लैंगुएज के साथ साथ उन लोगों को जिनकी मातृभाषा रीजनल भाषा नहीं है, मातृ-भाषा एक कंप्लसरी सबजेक्ट करके सिखलानी चाहिये; क्योंकि प्राथमिक शिक्षा के तीन या चार वर्ष में वह अपनी मातृभाषा कितनी पढ़ सकेंगे। इसलिये हाई स्कूल में यह आवश्यक है कि रीजनल भाषा के साथ साथ उनको उनकी मातृ-भाषा की भी शिक्षा दी जाय।

एक शिकायत जो सब जगह सुनाई देती है उसका कारण मैंने शुरू में कहा, दुर्दैव है, दुर्भाग्य है कि अभी तक इस देश के कई प्रान्तों में राजकाज ऊपर से नीचे तक सब अंग्रेजी में चल रहा है, हालांकि जनता की भाषा और है और राज्य की भाषा, कोर्ट, कचहरी, की भाषा और कलेक्टर से ले कर तहसील तक भाषा अंग्रेजी है। इसलिये कार्सपोडेंस में बहुत सी दिक्कत पैदा होती हैं। आपने रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि जो आपकी स्टेट मिनिस्टर्स की काफ्रेंस हुई थी उसमें आपने यह सिफारिश की थी कि जिस भाषा में दख्खान दी जाये, जिस भाषा में अर्जी दी जाये उसी भाषा में

जहाँ तक बने जवाब दिया जाना चाहिये, परन्तु होता यह है कि उस भाषा में जवाब देना तो दूर रहा, जवाब अंग्रेजी में ही अक्सर दिया जाता है, जिसको वह बेचारा पढ़ नहीं सकता और उस पत्र को या चिट्ठी को लेकर चारों तरफ घूमता है। तो यह जो मिनिस्टर्स की काफ्रेंस की सिफारिश है कि जनता सरकार के साथ जो कुछ भी कार्सपोडेंस करती है, दख्खान देती है, अर्जी देती है, जिस भाषा में वह देती है उसी भाषा में उसका जवाब दिया जाना चाहिये। जनता से यह कभी नहीं कहा जाना चाहिय कि तुम्हें अपनी अर्जी फलां भाषा में देनी चाहिये। बेलगांव जिले में मैंने सुना है कि अक्सर जब वहां कोई मराठी भाषा में अर्जी ले जाता है तो उससे कहा जाता है भाई तुम अपनी अर्जी प्रादेशिक भाषा में या अंग्रेजी में लिख कर लाओगे, तो वह ली जायेगी और उसका जवाब दिया जायेगा। इस तरह की जो बात की जाती है वह माइनारिटी के हिसाब से अन्याय की बात है। मैं खासकर यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी जनता अनपढ़ है, जनता बहुत कम पढ़ी हुई है और जितनी भी पढ़ी हुई है वह अपनी भाषा में लिखना पढ़ना ही जानती है। इसलिए कार्सपोडेंस में उनके साथ इस तरह से अन्याय किया जाये, उनको इस तरह से दिक्कत पहुंचाई जाये, यह योग्य बात नहीं है।

आखिर में मुझे एक और बात कहनी है। लिगुइस्टिक माइनारिटीज का जहां तक हमारा तजुर्बा है और जो कुछ हमने देखा है शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, की तरह सेपरेटिस्ट न बन जायें, किसी जाति या किसी संस्था को जब प्रोटेक्शन मिलना है तो वे उसको परमनेंट बनाने की कोशिश करते हैं, जिससे देश को बहुत नुकसान पहुंचता है। हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को जो सेफ-



गाईं मिले हुए हैं उनको वे सदा को कायम रखना चाहते हैं, फलतः वे हमेशा हरिजन और गिरिजन बने रहें। इस समय देश में माइनारिटीज को जो सहूलियतें मिल रही हैं उनसे उनके मन में एक तरह को सेपरेटिज्म की भावना आना संभव है। इसलिये मैं माइनारिटीज कमिशन से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जिस तरह से आप माइनारिटीज को सहूलियतें देना चाहते हैं उसके साथ साथ यह भी कोशिश की जानी चाहिये कि अल्पसंख्यक भाषा वाले जितने जल्दी हो बहुसंख्यक भाषा वाले लोगों के साथ मिल जायें। माइनारिटीज भाषा वालों को मेजरिटी वाले लोगों के साथ मिलाने का भी काम हमारे कमिशनर को करना चाहिये; क्योंकि यह बहुत ही महत्व का काम है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मेरी सूचना की ओर माननीय मंत्री जी अवश्य ध्यान देंगे।

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-chairman, I would like to compliment the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities on the able manner in which he has written his Report. I would like to make one point to which I would like to draw the pointed attention of the House. At page 72, the Commissioner says:—

"Though there is no reason to think that there is any discrimination in selections made through the State Public Service Commissions, it will inspire greater confidence if some of its members are drawn from outside the State. It may also be considered whether the members of the State Public Service - Commissions also should not be appointed by the President. It should be helpful if the All India Services are strengthened and as provided in the Government of India Memorandum of 190G. recruitment of at least 50 per cent, of the entrants to these services are made from outside the State".

Now, I would like to support the suggestion that the State Public Ser-  
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vice Commissions should be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Union Home Ministry in consultation with the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission. This was the suggestion of the States Reorganisation Commission and this will have a greater effect in achieving what is called emotional integration—and what I would prefer to call national cooperation—than the transfer of High Court Judges, which is contemplated in a Bill which will come up shortly before us. I may point out that the position in regard to the members of the State Public Service Commissions is a little anomalous today. Though appointed by the Governor they are only removable by the President on a recommendation after an enquiry by the Supreme Court. That is as it should be. But the general principle of law is that the appointing authority is also the dismissing authority. This has not been rightly followed in this case. Therefore, there is no reason why the State Public Service Commissions should not be appointed by the Union Government. The State Public Service Commissions will become more independent and will be able to take a more all-India view of the requirements of their States if they are appointed by the Union Government. That is point number one which I wanted to make here.

Also, I would like to say in this connection that if the State Public Service Commissions are appointed by the President, it may be possible to entrust them with some of the powers which are exercised in relation to the All India Services by the Union Public Service Commission.

The second point that I would like to make is this. Progress has no doubt been recorded in all directions by the Public Service Commissions so far as linguistic minorities are concerned, but it is somewhat strange that in our State of Uttar Pradesh there are hardly any facilities for the study of South Indian languages. At page 12 of his Report, the Commis-

[Shri P. N. Sapru.] sioner has named a number of languages which are taught in the primary schools in some of the districts in U.P. State, but I fail to find in that list the name of any South Indian language. Now, we want our South Indian friends, and rightly so, to learn Hindi. I do not see any reason why we should not pay them the courtesy of learning one of their great languages. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada languages have very great literatures of which the people of these States can be legitimately proud.

The third point that I would like to mention and emphasise is that minority language? books should not be left to be written by private agencies. Now, I would not enter into the larger question whether the State should write books at all. That is a different matter altogether. But what I would suggest is that there should be an independent corporation which would act as an agency for the writing and publication of books for minority languages. In this connection I would emphasise the claims of the Urdu language and literature. Urdu is a language which has had its origin in India and we are all proud of that fact. Some years ago, when I was in the United Nations, I was talking to a Pakistani friend in Urdu and an American gentleman asked me what the language we were talking in was. I said it was Urdu and this gentleman who came from Maharashtra complimented me on my excellent Urdu. I would have welcomed that compliment had it come from a person whose mother-tongue was Urdu. "It happens," I told the American gentleman, "that this gentleman's mother-tongue is Marathi and my mother-tongue is Urdu and it is no compliment to me that I can talk Urdu well." What I wanted to say is that Urdu is a language which is deserving of support, the wholehearted support of all sections of the Indian community, and particularly it is a language with which the culture of certain parts of the U.P. is bound

up. I would therefore support the claims of Urdu.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like once again to say that it is useful for this House to have discussed the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, and we are indebted to him for presenting a lucid survey of the problems presented by our linguistic minorities. Thank you very much.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, first of all I would like to compliment the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the lucid report he has brought out on this occasion. There are many points he has made in the report. Some of them have been repeated, but he has tried to point out the new situations and the new difficulties, administrative and otherwise, facing the minorities. We are at a little disadvantage now while discussing this report, disadvantage because we have been meeting in an extraordinary situation, a situation of struggle for national survival, and such a situation naturally demands of us a little bit of reorientation in our thinking on problems like the present one.

As the House is aware, it is not something uncommon that the country gets united and becomes one in the face of an external danger. History is replete with many instances where the people are united and the country becomes integrated to meet a common calamity, a common danger and a common challenge. So the unity that has been obtained today should be looked at from this angle. I hope that this unity which has emerged is not an ephemeral unity or a temporary phase. It should be, on the other hand, an ever-lasting unity, it should be a permanent unity. But it has often happened in the past in the history of many countries and also in the history of our own country that if a sustained effort is not made, if this cult of unity is not cherished, nourished and sustained by faith, dedication and continuous sacrifice, it may remain ephemeral and just a myth.

Therefore, it would be necessary to take all measures to sustain this unity that has just now emerged and guard against any disruptive or centrifugal tendencies operating against the forces of consolidation.

In the past, I am sorry to say, the concept of diversity has been very much emphasized by all of us. We are all guilty of emphasizing or over-emphasizing the concept of diversity in unity. That has happened increasingly after we attained independence. After many, many centuries the country achieved unity at the time of the independence struggle. But after that struggle, after the Indian nation got independence, this was lost sight of. Diversity came into the fore in our thinking and all the other factors which tended to disrupt and destroy the roots of unity, the foundations of unity, got priority in our thinking, and the concept of unity and nationalism only occupied the periphery, the fringes in our thinking. I think these fifteen years are the years the locusts have eaten. I use this phrase deliberately. Some time ago, President Kennedy quoted Winston Churchill while describing the situation in America between 1953 and 1960. At that time some disruptive tendencies were uppermost, and he said, "the years between 1953 and 1960 were the years the locusts have eaten" and all these years were terribly wasteful. May I point out that the years since independence up to the present time are the years the locusts have eaten and they are equally terribly wasteful when we were only carrying on a dialogue, a worthless dialogue about how to satisfy each section in our community without realising that in the process we would be encouraging pulverizing forces of disunity? This Minority Commission's report has to be considered from the point of view of how far the scheme of safeguards that has been evolved or is being evolved would cherish or nourish or sustain the unity that we have in view. Many Members have been rather vocal<sup>1</sup> in pointing out the dis-

„ tresses and the disabilities suffered by certain minorities. They were pointing out that the minorities had been let down. If the minorities have been let down, all measures should be taken to prevent such disabilities or handicaps from spreading. But may I point out that India as a whole is classic land of minorities? What is a minority? No section, no community, no class, is a majority in the country, according to me. A Maharashtrian is a minority in the Indian nation. He is just a minority. A Kannada-speaking citizen is a minority. A Tamilian is a minority likewise. Even a Hindi-speaking person is a minority when compared to the rest of India. So, from this point of view, I would say that India offers an example of minorities. It is an epic land of minorities. So, let us look at this problem from this point of view. In particular regions, in particular States, problems may arise about certain sections or certain classes which tend to fall under the category of minorities. And how do we deal with such problems? Should we encourage such tendencies? Then, we would develop vested interest. Or should we take such measures as to bring about the integration of these so-called minorities with the rest of India?

Now, there have been suggestions made regarding the three-language formula. After a great deal of deliberation it has been agreed to by all the States and by the Centre that the ideal solution to the problem of minorities is the acceptance of the three-language formula. That is to say, every person should learn three languages, the regional language or his mother tongue, one national language, may be Hindi . . .

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Hindi is compulsory.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: That is right. Hindi and English. These three languages have to be learnt by everyone and a programme

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.]

has to be evolved by which this has to be implemented. Now, how is this being implemented? It is suggested that at the primary stage the minority children should have the opportunity of being taught in their own mother-tongue and that at the secondary stage they should have the opportunity of studying their own mother-tongue as a language subject, even as a medium of instruction. And at the university stage the medium of instruction should be either the regional language or one of the national languages, may be English or Hindi. And there has been a controversy in regard to this particular matter. My hon. friend, Mr. Santhanam, was pointing out that every language that is enumerated in the Constitution should be accepted as a medium of instruction even at the university stage. According to him, Kannada or Telugu or Tamil will develop as a rich language and that it should be made the medium of instruction even at the university stage. But may I point out that this line of thinking is rather dangerous? This is dangerous because it will bring about the segregation of the universities. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has pointed out that it may prove as a factor deterring national integration. I do not deny that a language can grow to richness. It is possible that any language can be developed. But at this particular stage, it would be rather suicidal if the regional language can be made the medium of instruction at the university stage. The languages have not been sufficiently developed. Even if they are developed, it should be our endeavour to see that this tendency to adopt regional languages as the media of instruction does not hinder the growth of the national language or the growth of national integration or the growth of the consolidation of society by the mutual exchange of teachers and of students. Otherwise, it will bring disruptive factors into play in our educational system. I say this because education is most important to

bring about national, emotional and social integration. Therefore, we should be very wary whenever we suggest that the regional language should be made the medium of instruction.

Then, there are other matters which the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has dealt with. One of the important things is that the minorities are suffering because there are not enough institutions developed to teach them at the primary stage. Even if there are institutions, there are no textbooks or teachers. This is a practical problem. I would only draw the attention of the Home Ministry to the fact that no useful purpose is served by drawing up reports and making recommendations unless the decisions are carried out into action. The most important thing is implementation. Unfortunately we have been lagging behind and there has been a slackening of our efforts in translating the ideas that we have decided, into reality. So we have been going on in a most leisurely fashion. That should not happen at least hereafter. May I point out that in no department of the Government of India and in no department of the Government of a State there is a sense of urgency prevailing, and it is least in the matter of giving safeguards to the linguistic minorities. Again may I repeat that, while giving these safeguards, while assuring the minorities that they will not be discriminated against and that all the advantages and benefits that are contemplated in the Constitution will be given to them, no attempt should be made or measures taken to encourage thinking in their mind that they are a privileged minority, that it is good to be a minority and that it is desirable that separate safeguards and the various measures for them should continue. The ultimate objective, Mr. Vice-Chairman, should be the integration of these minorities with the rest of the country. Now that has not been brought about so far; on the contrary, as I said, forces of disunity are flowing

rish:ng<sub>t</sub> and I would very much say I that whatever the safeguards, whatever the measures and whatever the administrative action We take, should only lead to the elimination of discrimination and ultimately lead to the complete integration of all the minorities with the rest of the society.

Thank you very much.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I had not intended to participate in this debate. But I would like to draw the attention of the House as well as of the Government to certain grievances of the Marathi-speaking people living in the border areas of Mysore State. I do agree with the sentiments expressed by some Members of this House that during this emergency period we should not raise any linguistic or regional controversies. I do appreciate that point of view and, so far as I am concerned, I agree, and even so far as those persons who were carrying on the agitation in the border areas are concerned, they have declared, immediately after the Emergency was declared in this country, that they would suspend the agitation for solving the border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore States.

Not only they had called off the agitation which was to begin on 1st November, but they had given up that agitation and suspended their activities for the time being. So far as I am concerned, I would leave this issue entirely in the hands of the hon. the Home Minister. He has admitted on the floor of this House that there is this dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore States, that there is this problem. Not only did he admit that the problem exists, but he also said that he had a certain solution in his mind, which would be acceptable to the Maharashtra Government as well as to the Mysore Government, and he had declared on the floor of this House

that he would try to solve this problem by the end of this year. Therefore, even though during the emergency period this agitation has been suspended, we request the Home Minister—if he thinks that the problem really exists, if he thinks that it is possible to have a solution to this problem, if he is confident that he can persuade both the Chief Ministers of Mysore State and Maharashtra State to accept his proposal—that he should try to solve this problem and remove this bone of contention. I entirely leave this issue to the hon. the Home Minister. So far as we are concerned, we have suspended our agitation. But the question is—even though we have given up the agitation, should the minority people suffer there at the hands of the majority? And if the minority people are suffering, if they have some sort of grievances, is it not the responsibility of the Government in the State as well as the Government at the Centre to redress these grievances? With that view alone I am drawing the attention of the Government here to those grievances.

Now, these grievances have been voiced in this House. So far as the Marathi-speaking people in Belgaum district are concerned, they are suffering disabilities in the educational sphere as well as in the Government services. Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the figures which have been quoted in this report itself. The number of Marathi schools in 1957-58 was 761. In 1958-59 it was 798 and in 1959-60 it was 863. But I do not know what happened in 1960-61 since it dropped from 863 in the previous year to 832 in 1960-61. Similarly, the number of students studying in these primary schools dropped from 103,490 in 1959-60 to 100,694 in 1960-61. We know that there is the urge among the people to educate their children. If we study the statistics of the school-going children all over India, we find that the number of children is increasing

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.] every year. We do not know what are the reasons or why there should have been a fall in the number of children and the number of schools in the Marathi-speaking areas of Mysore State. Sir, so far as I understand, there has been a deliberate and calculated policy pursued by the Mysore Government to create all sorts of obstacles in the way of the Marathi-speaking people. I am not speaking off-hand. I will quote from this report itself again. One instance has been given here. It is said that the State Government have agreed to restore recognition to a night school for the Marathi-speaking people. This is with reference to the year 1960-61 and the report mentions that recognition will be restored to it. Now, I want to know what was the reason to withdraw the recognition from that school. This is only one instance that has been quoted. But I can tell the House that there are a number of schools from which recognition has been withdrawn deliberately so that the children of the Marathi-speaking people may not continue to receive education in the Marathi language. In the border area particularly there are a number of primary schools which are being closed down. Of course, if the Marathi-speaking people want to have their own schools, they can have. But then education is very expensive these days, and until and unless the State Government gives every sort of aid to those schools, it is not possible to run such schools. It is a very expensive job, and therefore ultimately all the institutions have to fall back upon the Government. But what the policy of the Government is we have seen here.

There is another circumstance and that is that Kannada is being made compulsory from the 3rd class. Actually it was decided in the meeting of the Southern Zonal Council that the regional language should be taught from the 5th standard only; it was decided that the regional language should not be made com-

pulsory in the primary stage. Even then this decision of the Southern Zonal Council was disregarded. Moreover, attempts are being made to suppress the Marathi language there. For example, up till now all the circulars in the Marathi-speaking areas were issued in the Marathi language. To *patwaris*, to *patils*, to these local village officers the circulars were issued in the Marathi language. But only during the last one or two years a deliberate attempt has been made to replace these Marathi circulars by Kannada circulars. I do not know what difficulty the Mysore Government find. There is no reason to discontinue the old system of issuing the circulars in the Marathi language, and it should continue. There is an attempt also to replace all the boards which are not written in the Kannada language. Supposing the boards of institutions, schools or colleges, are written in the Marathi language, what harm is there? Even then the authorities insist that all such boards should be written in the Kannada language alone.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the complaint made by the Marathi-speaking people which has been reproduced in this Report. They have stated that so far as the schools are concerned, there is no supervisory staff for the Marathi schools and whatever supervisory staff is there they do not know Marathi. Only Kannada books are being avowed to be purchased for libraries. Supposing Marathi books are also purchased for the libraries, what harm is going to come? The Report says that the arrangements for training of Marathi teachers were inadequate and their examinations were taken by those who did not know Marathi. All these complaints should be looked into by the Commissioner and by the Government, and efforts should be made to redress their grievances.

Then I come to the question of services. I understand that during

the past three or four years very few Marathi-speaking people have been employed by the Mysore Government. There are only rare instances where such persons are employed. Am I to understand that the Marathi-speaking people do not possess the necessary qualifications to get employment there? The other day while speaking here, the hon. Home Minister said that they were trying to remove the condition of domicile which had been earlier enforced in Mysore. But the question of imposing or removing a condition is not important. The important question is whether you want to take the minorities into confidence or not. The question is whether you want to redress their grievances or not. The question is whether you want to allow them to lead an honourable life or not, whether you want to provide them all facilities and opportunities or not. That is the main question. Because, even if you remove this domicile condition, then another condition is imposed. Now it is said that the graduates who have passed their examination from universities situated out of the Mysore State will not be considered for employment in the State. This is only a kind of circumventing the decision or the removal of the domicile disqualifications. In this way if you remove one disability, other policies are adopted to circumvent it. Therefore, the question of adopting policies is not important. What is important is the question of a change in your heart, change in your mind. That must come there. Otherwise, even if you adopt all sorts of policies, as we always notice, there will always be difficulty and you can say that suitable candidates are not forthcoming, they are not qualified. And it is also said that even if they pass in the competitive examination, they fail in the personality test. That has been always the argument. So, it is not a question of removing a disqualification. The question is whether you want to give all sorts of facilities to the minority people or not. That is more important.

Sir, I will quote another instance to show in what way even the democratic rights of the Marathi-speaking people in the Mysore State have been suppressed. The Belgaum Municipal Committee was in the hands of the Marathi-speaking people; they had a majority there. Because the population in Belgaum city and Belgaum district consists of Marathi-speaking people, naturally, the voters would return the Marathi-speaking people to the Municipal Committee again. Anticipating this thing, the Mysore Government did not order elections for Belgaum Municipal Committee for the last seven or eight months. Actually, they wanted to suspend this Committee and they have suspended it. The Mysore Government even tried to amend the Municipal Act so that they could continue such state of affairs in Belgaum for an indefinitely long time. Why should there be such suppression of democratic rights? Why did the Mysore Government not allow the Belgaum people to elect their representatives to the Municipal Committee so that they could run their administration efficiently? I fail to understand that. That only shows in what way the majority population of Mysore is looking towards the minority-speaking people in the Mysore State.

Sir, this morning—I think it was Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram—he said that during this emergency period we notice a sense of unity and integration prevailing. He also said that such a sense of unity was prevailing only during the period of independence movement. But immediately after we achieved independence, during the past fifteen years the sense of unity has disappeared and fissiparous tendencies are coming up. Now, because of the emergency which is created by the rash and barbarous aggression of the Chinese Government, we can forge unity and arouse the sense of integration and unity among the people. But this should not be a temporary phase. Immediately the pressure of external

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.] aggression is removed we should not allow flssiparous tendencies in this country to raise their head again. For that purpose, as pointed out by Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, a sustained effort must always be made to respect the sentiments of minorities. It should be the responsibility of the majority people to see to it that the minority people do not suffer, that their legitimate grievances should always be redressed.

Sir, in the end, I will refer to one point. I support the three-language formula which has been ultimately evolved and which is essential in the present circumstances. There is no alternative and we have to stick to it. I am glad to learn that in spite of stiff resistance and opposition to the Hindi language, many more people from southern .non-Hindi speaking States are learning Hindi But I am sorry to state that this sentiment of the non-Hindi speaking people is not being reciprocated by the Hindi-speaking people. They should, as a matter of fact, according to the three-language formula, try to learn a language other than Hindi. But unfortunately we are being told that no such facilities are being made available in the Hindi-speaking regions.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

It is the responsibility of the Government in the Hindi-speaking regions to provide all sorts of facilities to people to learn languages other than Hindi. Not only that, merely making a provision for teaching languages other than Hindi is not sufficient. They should try to create an atmosphere in these areas, they should try to persuade the Hindi-speaking people to learn languages other than Hindi as a duty, as a responsibility, so that the people living in the non-Hindi areas can also ur.do-stand and try to learn Hindi. This is very essential. Until and unless this is reciprocated, I think the question of language will

not be solved and there will be difficulty in having national integration. Of course, during this emergency there will be national integration, but no sooner this emergency is over than again flssiparous tendencies will come up. Therefore, in the interests of national integration it is essential that Hindi-speaking people themselves try to learn other languages.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is rather unfortunate that one of the byproducts of our independence has been this linguistic problem. It has added considerably to the complexity of our political situation. But I for one believe that the problem in itself is really artificial. A little bit of commonsense, a little bit of sympathy should go far to make everyone of us understand that just as my language is dear to me, somebody else's language is dear to him, and if I want my language to be encouraged, it is my duty to see that the language of other people is also sympathetically dealt with. It is from that Standpoint, therefore, that I feel that there is one community which has particularly suffered, and that is the Sindhi community. Unfortunately, they have no State of their own. But it is not their fault that they have been driven out of their own State and scattered all over India. They are a very , important community commercially, intellectually, and it fs but fair that every encouragement should be given to that language.

I know that in several States there is a definite attempt made to force Sindhis to learn other languages. It is very unfortunate. I have also noticed that since the reorganisation of our States on a regional basis, there has been a very unfortunate tendency to look upon the non-regional language people almost as aliens. I greatly appreciate the speech 'hat was delivered by Mr. Khobaragade. It is very unfortunate and that tendency should be checked. Unfortunately, the Commissioner for the



Minority Languages is in a very weak position. Evidently he has not got any executive powers. He cannot force a recalcitrant Government or even a recalcitrant community to do the right thing. Nevertheless, he fulfils the very important function of collecting information for the benefit of the Indian people at large and particularly of us, Members of Parliament. We gather some very unfortunate facts from this report. It seems to me that there is one way in which this linguistic complexity could be very much reduced and that is by going in for a common script. There are two alternatives. The common script may be the Devanagari script which will solve the linguistic problem so far as India is concerned, but there is another wider alternative of adopting the Roman script which will solve the linguistic problem internationally. In this connection I would like to mention an interesting experience of mine. I remember I mentioned it in this House several years ago, but since the composition of the House has been changed very much, perhaps it will bear repetition. Take for example, the case of Turkey. I do not think that in modern times I there has been a greater patriot than I Mustapha Kemal Ataturk. There was the alternative before him—loyalty to the Turkish language or loyalty to the Turkish nation—and he preferred the loyalty to the Turkish nation. He sacrificed the Turkish script and had the courage to go in for the Roman script. That has a distinct advantage for people like myself who happen to visit Turkey. The roads are mentioned in the Roman script, the buses, the trams, the railway stations are all marked in the Roman script and that simplifies the problem for the tourist. Even when I visited the museum there, there were so many proper names naturally written out in the Roman script which could be followed and one could guess what the different objects exhibited were. I personally feel that it will be of very great advantage if we went in for the Roman script and that will consider-

ably solve the difficulties of our different languages. As it is, with 14 languages in 14 different scripts, we are unable to understand the script even when we can understand the language. Every one of the Indian language has such a common basis of Sanskrit and so many common Sanskrit words are used there that if only they are written in one script, we will be easily able to understand them. Unfortunately, because of the differences of scripts, even the common words became strangers to us.

A good deal has been mentioned about the three-language formula. I think it is the only compromise possible under modern conditions, but I would go a step further. What is intended is that in every school, three languages shall be taught—the regional language, Hindi as the national language and English as the international language. I would go a step further. After all, in spite of the much-boasted regional States, in every State you have very large minorities speaking different languages and it would be fair if these minorities were given an opportunity to learn, to have their education in the language which is most suited to them. I would plead that in the interests of India at large, in every State there should be schools which should have Hindi as the medium of instruction and even perhaps a few schools which might have English as the medium of instruction. Now if we have not got institutions of this type, my fear is that in an ordinary school where the main emphasis will be laid on the regional language, the competence in Hindi and English will both suffer. Today, for example, we have got students learning French for about 4 years in the school and for 4 years in the colleges and at the end of 8 years, they are unable to speak in French or understand French except a few text books that they happened to read. My fear is that the same thing will overtake our study of Hindi or study of English if they are merely looked upon as compulsory second

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]

languages, but if full encouragement is given to these languages, we shall be able to produce leaders in Hindi in all the States and a few people who might be leaders in English for all international purposes. I would go a step further and plead that even at the university stage there should be catholicity. I totally disagree with my friend. Mr. K. Santhanam, when he pleads the right of every regional language to be the medium of instruction at the university stage. I am not concerned to deny the competence of the languages for development. I am perfectly certain that every language can be developed but the problem before us is whether we shall be loyal to the language or whether we shall be loyal to the larger interests of India and it seems to me that the unity of India demands that the universities, at least, should have a common medium as far as possible.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Is it the hon. Member's idea of catholicity?

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Yes, it is my idea of catholicity; even if Mr. Santhanam has his doubts—and I know that there are many people who think with him—I think in every region, in every State, there should be a university with Hindi as the medium of instruction and perhaps a few colleges might be permitted to have English as the medium of instruction. I think it will solve the problem . . .  
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SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Your colleagues and experts have opined otherwise that instead of having either English or Hindi as the common medium for the universities, the regional languages should be the medium.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): At least one university.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: May I remind Mr. Akbar Ali Khan that I am speaking for myself; I am not speaking for

my colleagues. I happen to differ from my colleagues, I know, and I have openly said it. I have openly criticised even the Education Minister when he has pleaded for the regional languages at the university stage.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: There are many who agree with you.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I am glad to hear it.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: And more who disagree.

PRO\*. A. R. WADIA: Mr. Santhanam himself recognised the difficulty of Government servants and he very rightly pleaded that there should be hostels for them in their own States. Well, it is a good suggestion so far as it goes, but I think it is infinitely better if we have schools and universities where these people—Government servants liable to transfer or commercial people liable to transfer—could have their education in Hindi or in a few cases in English as the case may be. I think that will go very far to solve the linguistic problems of India. I repeat again that we have got a very awkward dilemma before us, *i.e.*, either loyalty to our language or loyalty to India.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Both.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: If we could have both, by all means have it and -there will be no difficulty. But unfortunately we cannot have both loyalties. You cannot have two contradictory things combined into one harmony. That is the reason why this dilemma faces me and I am perfectly certain that it faces everyone of us, and I would appeal to them all and say that loyalty to India must stand first and before the loyalty to our languages. Thank you.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GrYA: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are considering the Report of the

Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Our Constitution was passed in the year 1950 and our States were reorganised in 1956. In six years after 1956, as the Report says, our State Governments and the Central Government have done much. Still there are many difficulties and I think, in course of time, we shall be able to find out solutions for those difficulties. Many of these difficulties have been mentioned in the speeches of the speakers who spoke before me. Now a new danger from outside has come to our country and that has brought about a new situation. We are going to sink all our differences and find out solutions for those differences in an amicable way.

Madam, there are still many people who think that there ought not to have been any reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis. But my opinion is that there is no harm in having the States divided or reorganised. We have reorganised the country and divided it into States\*, and the States into districts and so on, for the sake of better co-ordination. If anything is wrong, we are at fault and not the Constitution or the idea of reorganisation. We have reorganised the States for better co-ordination. We must have enough patriotism. As the last speaker, Prof. Wadia, observed, we must have loyalty to the country. When we have enough patriotism, then the question of the regional languages and of the official language of the country will be solved very soon. Madam, India is a country of many languages. But India is not the only country like that. There are many countries in the world which are multi-lingual. For example, Canada is one. There you have English and French. Switzerland is another. Though a small country, Switzerland has three languages. Russia which is a vast country has many languages. But somehow they are able to pull on and they are carrying on there as free countries. Those countries are mainly interested in their own prosperity, in

their economic development, in exploiting the natural wealth of their country and in raising the economic level of their citizens. In India also, we should do the same thing. Our attention must be devoted to the economic development of our people, to bettering their standard of living. If we have petty minds and petty hearts and if we have no farsightedness, then certainly we shall go on quarrelling and we may fall victims even to foreign slavery. I think we Indians must take a lesson. All our countrymen should take a lesson from the history of the world and use these reorganised States for better co-ordination and not for any quarrels. We are not for any quarrels and we have to progress within our democratic Constitution. Even in Europe, the western part of Europe which has got so many countries like France, England, Belgium and so on. they are going to form a United State of Europe. Why can't we in India, which is already one Republic, carry on? We are multi-lingual, but in our democratic Constitution we can carry on very well if we have enough patriotic feelings.

Madam, reading this Report one is impressed by the magnitude of the problem in our country and also by the sincerity with which the various State Governments and the Central Government have been doing their utmost to solve all those problems. The State Governments and the Central Government deserve full credit for this and I hope the high objective of co-ordination and unity will be achieved. Our national integration demands that we should not put the emphasis on differences. As the Commissioner himself has said, let all the linguistic majorities feel that the minorities are not aliens. Similarly, let all the minorities take full interest in the welfare of the State where they live and in the welfare of the whole country. Madam, this massive invasion by China has awakened us all, all the 44 or 45 crores of the sons and daughters of India.

[Shri Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya.] Let us remember what happened in some of those sparsely populated provinces in China. The Chinese are knocking at our doors. China is assaulting India. Let us remember what happened in China itself, what happened in Tibet, what happened in Sinkiang and what happened in Manchuria. The Han nationality of China by whom some of their provinces are over-populated, are sent in millions to settle down in Manchuria, in Sinkiang and in Tibet, and the local populations are out-numbered by the Han population. So if we remain sleepy and we do not unite, if we do not make one united strong India, then the same slavery may come upon us. Of course, we shall never allow it. I am only posing the question so that we may understand the danger. That has happened in China. That should never happen here and we shall never let it happen and even if we died we cannot let the Chinese over-run us and suppress us. We have enough wisdom and unity and courage to throw them out. But we have to sink all our linguistic differences in the face of the dangers that are there.

Now, I have to say one or two words more in connection with linguistic integration. I think we should, while we are doing many social reforms, while we are carrying on the social reforms, like the eradication of untouchability and so on, also do away with the caste distinctions. I think throughout history, Hindu society has been weak on account of these *varnas* and this *varnashram* system. As Swami Dayanand said, this *varnashrama dharma* was never there in the pure vedic age. There was no distinction then. I do not want to go into ancient Indology and make any researches here. This caste system may have done some good in the olden days but at present it is a great anachronism. Non-official institutions must be set up for inter-caste marriages, inter-linguistic marriages and inter-religious marriages and India will become socially one. I saw Uzbek girls in Russia marrying Russians and

*vice versa*. Hinduism has got the capacity to adapt itself to different circumstances and in the olden times too there were marriages between different *varnas* and different castes. This must be encouraged and non-official bodies should take up this thing and Government should also encourage such things. Now, when all the citizens of India will be educated, will have an industrialised and mechanised mind and brain, they will be prosperous and there will be no need for any narrowness or caste distinction. They can very well inter-dine and have inter-marriages. This age of science, international communications and wars is making the entire world one entity and in our country non-official bodies must be set up to do away with the caste distinction. Of course, we have to develop along the lines of planned development and very seriously of course we have to tackle our military development also. I am glad that the present condition in India is such that we have sunk all our differences; the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute is forgotten. I hope that all these will be solved in amicable ways. I wish all these chapters of differences were closed and I hope we shall have better unity linguistically and also socially.

Thank you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) :  
Madam Deputy Chairman, I pay my compliments to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the detailed report and the detailed recommendations that he has made. But since he has no executive powers, he has his own limitations and he has not been able to achieve much. Report after report is being presented to this House and the other House, but, all the same, we are where we were. Nothing much has been done. That is because he does not have any executive functions; he does not have a machinery to implement his recommendations in the States and even the information required by the Commissioner is not furnished by the different States. So, that stands in

the way of progress. The Home Ministry ought to give the Commissioner some executive functions so that he can implement what he thinks is best. Madam, this question of minorities has been there ever since independence and it will also stay for some time definitely. In whatsoever way we may draw the line between the States, there would be minorities, because there are some people in each State, who live much inside the State so that no line can be drawn to take them into the State of their own language. Naturally, the minority problem would be there. There should be some programme evolved so that the minority problem is also solved. We had been talking of national integration and we used to talk a lot about it. In view of the national emergency the entire country has become one now, but when we were talking of national integration some States, I think, took shelter under this plea of national integration and misbehaved with the minority groups. The urge and support of the people for national integration should not be used against the interests of the minority groups. If some minority group says that it has not been treated properly, then that group is called names and said to be against national integration while the cause behind the statement is never looked into. There was a suggestion by some hon. Members here that the majority group in the States should behave as an elder brother towards the minority group I am sorry that has not been the case. Had that been the case, there would not have been any minority problem at all. If the majority group would have behaved like an elder brother then the minorities would have felt ashamed to demand to be sent to the State where the same mother tongue is spoken.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras) : As a good elder brother. There are bad elder brothers also.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall take out some statistics from the Report itself and read it out for the benefit of the Members, to show how

the minorities have been treated. There has been a consistent attempt made in some States to strangle the culture and the education of the minority group. It is a controversial issue and I do not want to bring in such controversial issues. Government would have been wiser if they had not brought forward this Motion at all because it leads to controversy but since they have brought this forward, we shall have to do our duty with restraint. I shall take one example from this Report. I cannot refer to all of them because of the shortage of time. I shall take the case of Bihar. In Bihar, in 1959, there were 1,96,296 Urdu-speaking students and there were 5,591 teachers, 35 students per teacher. There were 76,541 students speaking Bengali with 1,884 teachers, 41 students per teacher while in regard to Oriya there were 16,305 students and 335 teachers giving a teacher-pupil ratio of 49. This number went up to 51 in the last two years, 1960 and 1961. Other States give a different figure. In West Bengal, in Calcutta, there were 680 students and eighteen teachers coming to an average of 38 students per teacher. This shows how education has been neglected in Bihar, particularly of the Oriya-speaking minorities.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: What is the average for Bengali?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The average for the majority community is 28 per teacher.

*(Interruption)*

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: You have to provide a sufficient number of teachers.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am coming to that. There is also a complaint from the areas where these minorities complain of non-availability of text-books. The Government's contention is that because of the difference in the syllabi they cannot get text-books from Orissa. If there is a minority living there, which does not

[Shri Lokanath Misra.] constitute by itself in sufficient numbers for a different syllabus 4 P.M. naturally the syllabus that should be in vogue there, should be the syllabus of the neighbouring State. If they had really the intention of sponsoring the education of minorities there, they ought to have made the syllabus the same as in the neighbouring State. Since there is difference between the two syllabi, naturally, those students go without text books. Then the teacher problem is also there. They do not have an adequate number of Oriya teachers in the locality and they do not also want to get any from Orissa and naturally many schools go without teachers. This list shows that there are schools Where there are no teachers.

About the court language there is a Sub-Division called Seraikela Khars-wan in the Singhbhum District where more than 60 per cent of the population is constituted by Oriyas and the rest are Bengali-speaking, Hindi-speaking and people speaking other languages. Even in this Seraikela Kharswan Sub-Division the court language till today is Hindi. There is a recommendation—and that was also subsequently endorsed in the Chief Ministers' Conference—that if in a Sub-Division or District 65 or 70 per cent of the population belonged to the minority group then that language should be the court language. But it has not been respected there even when the Oriya population is more than 60 per cent. Even then Hindi is the court language. There has not been an Oriya Gazetted Officer for the last fourteen years in that Sub-Division. Naturally evidences and other records which are placed in the court in a language different from the court language are 'misunderstood and 'at times it also leads to miscarriage of justice. So I would urge upon the Home Ministry to persuade the Bihar Government to allow those people to speak the language they know and also have the privilege of being understood in the language, they know, in the courts.

Apart from this there has been an intentional strangling of their culture. Previously it used to be like this. They had a *puja mandap*, a *ras mandap* or a *Durga mandap*, where the festival rites used to take place during the different *pujas*. Now, the Government sanctions some money which goes through the S. D. O. and the same *pujas* are being celebrated in temporary sheds even though there are permanent *pandals* existing there for the last 200 years. It is only because they want to have them separately and not to associate themselves with the traditional and conventional rites which those people used to have.

I would also bring another point to the notice of the House. The Chairmen of the Chaibhasa and Chakra-dharpur Municipalities—they are all in the same district, Singhbhum—are required to spend grants for programmes of relief to educated unemployed because these Municipalities are headed by people who are not from the minority group while in the Seraikela Municipality which is headed by a person of the minority group—the majority in the Municipality being comprised of people of the minority group—this grant is not given to that Chairman. It is spent through the S. D. O. there. Naturally, this Chairman is deprived of the privilege and right which is being enjoyed by his counterparts in the other Municipalities. This clearly shows that there is discrimination being made between minorities and non-minorities. So I would request the Home Ministry to kindly look into these affairs. Till such things exist there will be heartburning among the minority groups. These things have to go and then only there can be a natural integration with the population of the State.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore):  
Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very happy that this Fourth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been brought up by a motion by the Government in this House for discussion. At the outset, Madam, I would like to make

it clear that I am not at all happy about the word 'minorities' used here. In this country nobody is in a minority; nobody is in a majority either. So this word 'minorities' is very misleading. It has misled the country for a long time. I do not know why a word like this—it has a very bad odour about it—has been used here. If in a particular region a certain group of people happen to be less than the other group, speaking a language other than the regional language, they can at best be called groups. Why should they be called minorities? They are groups of people who speak languages other than the regional language. I would therefore invite the attention of the Home Ministry to this aspect. At least hereafter let us not talk in terms of minorities and majorities, whether it is in the field of language or religion or culture, or whatever field it may be. In our national life let us eliminate this word.

Now, Madam, the Constitution recognises fourteen languages or so and all of them are national languages. Every language is a national language. When recognition has been given for every language as a national language, the question of majority and minority does not arise at all.

Having pointed out this, I would like to make a few remarks about this Report and I would like to confine my attention mainly to the southern region, particularly to Madras, Mysore, Andhra and Kerala. Now, each State is dealt with with reference to the languages used in the primary schools, to the assistance given to particular language group or groups of people, how the matter has been dealt with in the secondary school stage, what steps have been taken in the university stage, what steps have been taken with regard to official language and also with reference to the steps that have been taken to provide equal opportunities to all linguistic groups in a particular region or State. After

all, the remedies have got to be provided only in these fields and let us examine and find out what is happening in the State of Madras. It will be seen that in general there has been a substantial increase in the number of linguistic minority pupils receiving instruction in their mother-tongue. However, as will be seen from Appendix XV, the existing facilities would appear to be inadequate in relation to the total population of the linguistic minorities in the State. The Commissioner regrets that it is not proportionate. Whatever facilities have been afforded, whether in primary schools or in secondary schools or in the other fields, to the minorities—I would refuse to call them minorities—to the people of the particular language groups, they have not been adequate. They are far less than what ought to have been provided in proportion to the population. It can be clearly seen from the table here. For instance, I would like to point out that in the year 1955-56 with regard to primary schools there was only one school, the number of children belonging to each linguistic minority was 98 and there were only two teachers. In proportion to the Kannada population that Madras State has, the growth has been very niggardly, a very halting growth has been made. Finally in the year 1960-61 we come to 20 Kannada schools, with 655 pupils and 13 teachers. I know for certain that in one taluk, Kasaragod, there is a huge concentrated population of Kannada-speaking people. Still the progress made with regard to it, apart from other areas, is negligible. I know for instance, even in a remote place like Madurai, when I visited Gandhi-gram, there was a group of villagers who were cent per cent Kannada-speaking people. There, of course, they do not know that facilities of this kind exist under the present Constitution whereby encouragement for and the possibility of learning their own language exist. They do not know it. It is for the Government to find out where they exist. It should not be very difficult to map out the areas, taking each single village as a unit

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy.] If you map out areas where a concentrated population is available of a particular language group, it should not be difficult for you to provide for them. The earnestness, which is required to implement the decisions of the Government, is lacking. That is what I would like to point out.

Another thing, so far as Madras is concerned, is this. The percentage of Kannadigas in the whole of Madras State, in relation to the total population of the State is 2-7. There are 60,756 pupils going to primary schools. According to Appendix XV at page 184, there are only 270 Kannada-learning pupils and facilities have been provided only to that extent. I do not know why such a provision should exist at all in our Constitution if we are not able to carry out and implement the constitutional provisions in our country earnestly. Either we shall not have it or if we have it, we should honestly and faithfully carry it out. That is what I want to point out.

Now, several complaints have been made even with regard to secondary schools. In the Hosur taluk of Salem district adjoining Bangalore district, there is a concentration of Kannada population. Similarly, there is also a Telugu population in the Hosur district. Neither the Telugu population gets the facilities that have been asked to be given to them by the concerned State nor the Kannada people get it. This is a state of affairs which is not very healthy indeed. This has got to be removed. The hon. Deputy Home Minister comes from that State and it should be very interesting for her to know that the Telugu people form in Madras State 11 per cent of the population. There are 2,55,691 pupils, but you have provided facilities for primary education to hardly 40,620 Telugu students. This does not speak very gloriously of our earnestness to do the job well.

So far as university education is concerned, some observations have been made in this Report, which

require your very earnest consideration. On page 33, it has been said:

"Apprehensions were expressed by the representatives of various linguistic minorities in course of their discussions with the Commissioner at Madras that with the proposed change in the medium of instruction at the University stage from English to Tamil, the education of linguistic minority pupils would be adversely affected. This was taken up with the State Government who have assured that while in accordance with their policy, medium of instruction would be changed from English to Tamil in the B.A degree course first year and in all Arts Colleges from 1963-64 and extended to second and third year's courses in succeeding years, it will remain open to private colleges to continue teaching through English medium and, to the extent this is done for providing instructions to candidates of linguistic minorities, Government aid for making such a provision will be given."

It is not open for the Government colleges to provide it. It is open for private colleges to do it. Subsequently I learn from the speeches made by the Home Minister of Madras State, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, that the encouragement for learning through the Tamil medium, in the university course, has been very halting. It has been discouraging. I do not know if subsequently the Madras Government have made any change and brought it back to the English medium. Anyway, in all the three stages of education the performance of the Madras Government is not very commendable indeed. Similar is the case with regard to other States. I do not want to make an exception when I say that the Madras Government have not carried out their job as well as was expected of them. I would not like to spare the Andhra State too. The observations are here.



SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But Andhra State has done well.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: They are no better in their performance. Anyway, the facts are there, the Commissioner's Report is there.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: What about Mysore?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I shall come to it later.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): It will be the last.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: It says here:

"The representatives of the State Government present assured that if demands in this behalf were made giving specific details of the areas in which schools had to be opened and the number of students available, etc., the State Government would take early action to do the needful in the matter."

This is with regard to Andhra Pradesh. Is this ever possible? Is this ever going to come about this way, namely, if representations were made in the various areas they would take measures to see that the facility was provided?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I may submit that they are making an earnest attempt to do the needful.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I am very sorry that so far as this Report is concerned, they have not made any. We are discussing this Report. If subsequently they have changed their attitude, I shall be very happy. I can give a concrete example to my hon. friend, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan. There is a taluk called Madakasira in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh, which has 70 per cent Kannada-speaking population. It may also be noted here that I am a Telugu-speaking man. My mother-tongue is Telugu. I have absolutely no bias for  
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any language. It is not language alone that matters in the life of the nation. Of course, language is very necessary. So long as I am able to communicate my ideas to other people and take their ideas through any language, I do not mind. In that taluk the people do not know it. First of all, if any Telugu lesson has got to be taught to the pupils, the Kannada translation must be done and then only Telugu could be taught to them. In Madakasira taluk you have not opened a single Kannada school. There is not a single Kannada school in the entire taluk where 60 per cent of the population are Kannada-speaking.

Similarly, I do not want to spare Mysore. Somebody asked me: What about Mysore? In Mysore State in Pavagada taluk of Tumkur district, the people speak Telugu. They do not at all understand a bit of Kannada there. Now, the Mysore Government has not opened a single Telugu school. The position is very bad. We have not been making earnest efforts. I have given this instance. I am so sorry I have to finish now. Therefore, I would only say this much with regard to Telugu-speaking people in Mysore State. I do not want to spare Mysore State. I want equally to discuss the state of affairs in Mysore. There are 10-9 per cent people speaking Telugu out of the total population. There are 1,98,787 pupils of primary school-going age, and there are hardly 8,000 odd studying the Telugu language.

Similarly, in Kerala also the position is equally bad. With regard to Kerala I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister particularly to a certain mistake; probably it is a mistake, but all the same it ought not to have occurred in the form in which it has done. This is a Government report, and all our calculations, all our deliberations and all our conclusions have to be made on the basis of that, but such a glaring mistake as this has appeared on page 184:

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy.] Kannada-speaking people .. 0-3 per cent

of the total  
population.

Pupils of school-going age .. 5,283

Actual number going to school in the primary  
schools 23,563

Probably the whole thing has become "ulta". It should have been the other way. Anyway, such a mistake as this is not very easy to pardon because they prepared this statement and a mistake of this kind has been allowed to creep in. Anyway, I hope the hon. Minister will allow me to correct it properly, and taking the figure as 23,563 pupils available in Kerala State of Kannada origin, only 5,000 odd pupils are studying actually the Kannada language. This, I would like to submit, is not a very happy state of affairs. Particularly the problem in South India is very acute, and it has got to be tackled properly.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please wind up.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: Only one sentence more, Madam. I know you are very strict and I admire your strictness.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is nothing to admire in my strictness, It is the clock which is strict.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I do not know whether to catch this little mouse so much of digging of a hill is necessary at all. After all, in any region if certain pupils are not able to learn the language of the region, they somehow carry on with the rest of the population. After all language, religion, worship, everything is a matter of observance in the house. If you happen to know not the regional language but something other than the regional language, you can certainly carry on as best as you can in your own house just as you can

carry on with your religion. To match it with the rest of the population and to create a lot of complications and heartburning is bad. I would personally recommend to the Home Minister to scrap all these things and keep to the regional language. By all means it is our duty to be loyal to the regional language and learn it and carry on with it. Therefore, I would like on second thoughts to scrap all these minority languages etc. and carry on with the regional language.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO: Madam Deputy Chairman, coming as I do from a minority area of the Kerala State, I felt that I would be failing in my duty if I do not bring to the notice of the Government certain of the difficulties and disabilities undergone by the minorities there.

You know, Madam, that I am I coming from the Kasaragod taluk of the Kerala State. First of all I would like to point out that this report with all its statistics does not reveal or 'reflect the real position as it is in these areas. It would appear, if you peruse this report with the statistics, that more than justice is meted out in respect of educational facilities and other things with regard to the linguistic minorities. If you go through Appendix XV, it will be noted that while the total population of Kerala is 13 million and the school going children at the primary stage are 16 lakhs, the Kannada population constitutes only 03 per cent. Naturally, the number of linguistic minority pupils as it should be in the ratio of total population is only 5,283, while the actual number of linguistic minority pupils is 23,563. That means that more than justice is being done for the Kannada minority, but that is not so. It may be correct according to the statistics supplied by this report, but actually the Kannada minority is classified under different categories. For example, if you take the last Appendix, that is Appendix XXX, you can see that in the Kasaragod taluk at least these Kannada minorities

are divided into sub-classes. Konkani is classified as a separate linguistic minority, and then there are Marathis. I cannot understand where these Marathis come in our Kasaragod taluk where I am coming from. Actually, perhaps, there might be certain Brahmins who speak in their own house some sort of a Marathi dialect which does not have any script whatsoever. They know Kanarese, they are well versed in Kanarese, they are pandits in Kanarese. Those people are classified as a separate linguistic sub-group. Then we have got others. What are these others? They are people who are speaking Tulu and their Tulu does not have a script. Actually they are people who are speaking and writing in Kanarese. So, they are also divided into sub-groups; so much so that the actual number of Kanarese-speaking people is very much minimised, and you actually get a wrong picture.

Again, let us take into consideration the Kasaragod taluk; the Kasaragod taluk, as it is stipulated in this report, is the taluk as it was before the reorganisation of States; that is the taluk is divided after the reorganisation into two taluks: one, Hosdurg taluk which is a Malayali-predominant area, and the other, Kasaragod taluk which is a non-Malayali predominant area, which constitutes a greater percentage of Kanarese-speaking people. When you take into consideration the actual facilities that are given to the minorities, you must take actually those areas in which this minority constitutes a majority, but you must not compare it with the total Malayali-speaking people of Kerala. If we take into consideration the facilities and the opportunities that are available for these linguistic minorities there in that taluk after it was merged with the Kerala State due to the reorganisation of States and the facilities that were there before the reorganisation of States, if these are compared, I am afraid the facilities have deteriorated recently.

Now, Madam, if we take again I number of teachers available all these years, which is given in Appendix VI, it will be seen that the number of teachers available for the linguistic minorities has, even though in total it has increased, decreased as far as facility is concerned. There was one teacher for every 25 students in 1955-56, and in 1959-60 there is one teacher for every 28 students. That means that the number of teachers has decreased. Now, the greatest difficulty found in our area is about the paucity of trained teachers. Of course, we have got a training school there but we do not have a sufficient number of trained teachers. Especially this difficulty is felt about graduate teachers. We do not have a training college which gives training for the graduates in the minority language. Of course, the solution is also given in this Report that those people who have got training in the adjoining States may be appointed. But then the difficulty arises because of the discrepancies in salaries obtaining in Mysore and Kerala States. In Mysore State, graduate teachers are given more pay and naturally those teachers who get their training in the adjoining area of Mysore are reluctant to come and take up posts in Kerala State, in Kasaragod Taluk. So, there is paucity of trained graduate teachers.

Again, take the difficulty of textbooks. The point is that Kerala is not in a position to print text-books for the small minorities of a particular taluk. So, naturally they prescribe the text-books of the adjoining State. But then the curriculum is different in Mysore, it is different in Kerala. So, even though they prescribe all the text-books of the adjoining State of Mysore, that does not work. Even today the S.S.L.C. students, who have already finished about six months of their studies, do not have text-books. Of course, text-books for English and text-books for Kannada are there. But text-books in social studies and other subjects are not there. How can you expect these students to be successful,

[Dr. A. Subba Rao.] to fare well in their examinations? That is the difficulty. Suppose the Central Government has a single type of curriculum throughout the country and makes all the States accept that curriculum and prepare the textbooks on the basis of that curriculum, then this problem will be solved.

Again, with regard to the dearth of teachers also, you must have a certain basic scale. There must be a uniform scale. A scale must be fixed by the Central Government and all the States must implement that scale and then there will be no difficulty of getting teachers as well.

Now, with regard to the employment of service personnel, there also the difficulty arises. In those areas which are predominantly of a linguistic minority, that is with people speaking one language, people of the majority area, who do not have any inkling of that language, are posted. So, how can they actually carry on the administration there when they do not have any intimate contact with the people? Therefore, people knowing the language of that particular local area must be posted. If we do not have qualified personnel, at least for that area that qualification has to be waived and a person knowing the local language must be posted there.

Lastly, all these tendencies, these minority feelings arise because some of their difficulties have not been properly dealt with. As far as I can see, especially with regard to the taluk I come from, it is a very backward taluk as compared to the other areas of Kerala State. You know that Kerala State is a well-developed State, both in social as well as in other fields. This taluk is a backward area. When compared to the other parts of the country, communications are very poor. So, naturally, if Government wants to create a feeling among the minorities there that they are not

being neglected and that they are not discriminated against at all, then greater attention for the development of that area has to be paid by Government, not with the idea of simply pampering the minority people, but for making them feel that they are also one with the State. So, if they give proper facilities to them, improve the local conditions by granting more money and develop that area, then naturally the people of this minority area will feel that they are not being neglected. On the contrary, they will think that the majority people are looking after them very well. There will be contentment and they will also accept the present *status quo*. Otherwise, you will be perpetuating this difference. And even though the people have lived up to the present emergency and have at least tried to merge their differences for the present, they will again rise up immediately after the emergency is over. So, I request the Central Government to take up this matter and try to impress upon the State Government to give due consideration, extra consideration, for those areas and make those people feel that they are also well looked after and that no discrimination is made against them.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities deserves to be complimented for the labour that he has taken in the preparation of this Report and also the amount of sympathy he has shown in the legitimate grievances of the so-called linguistic minorities in the different States. It appears that he has been able to persuade most of the States to revise their earlier decisions in regard to the education of the linguistic minorities. But I am sorry that some big States have not responded to his persuasive appeal. Even when he has asked those States to permit the linguistic minority students in the first two years of the secondary stage to write their answers in examinations through the medium of their mother

tongue, they have not accepted it and they have argued that those students had already got a fair knowledge of the regional language and that they could give their examinations in the regional language also. Generally those linguistic minorities are taught the regional language there, that means Hindi, from class IV. Secondary education is given from class VI or class VII. Then it is not possible for them to acquire sufficient knowledge of the regional language so that they can appear in the examinations through the medium of that language. In my view, when every student of the linguistic minorities will have to get instruction through the medium of the regional language, at certain stage whether at the secondary or at the university stage, it will be better if he is taught Hindi or the regional language, whatever that may be from the beginning, along with his mother tongue, so that he may have sufficient knowledge of that regional language and the changeover will not be of any hardship or handicap to him. I think that this three-language formula should be given effect to from the beginning, not from class IV, as has been suggested by the Chief Ministers' Conference as well as by the National Integration Conference. This three-language formula should be applied from the beginning. One should be the mother tongue, the second the regional language and the third should be any foreign language, whether English or any other language.

Before I proceed further, I would like to give my reply to the charges levelled by the hon. Member from Orissa that the students of linguistic minorities particularly from Orissa are suffering from certain handicaps in Bihar and that the Government of Bihar is not giving sufficient opportunities to them. Actually, from the report it appears that the Bihar Government has given all the facilities that are provided for not only in the Constitution but also those recommended by the National Integration

Council. It would appear that in 1955-56, that is, before the Reorganisation of States, Oriya students were 5,518 in primary schools, and that the number increased in 1960-61 to 17,558. Also take the number of schools; in 1955-56 there were 84 Oriya schools and they increased to 169 in 1960-61. Of course, the percentage of increase of teachers is not in the same proportion as the increase in students. But as far as the small primary schools are concerned, at least two teachers must be there. There may be an increase of students in schools but increase in teachers may not be necessary in the same ratio. Anyhow Oriya teachers also have increased. In 1955-56 they were 221 and in 1960-61 they were 340. Same is the case with Bengalis. Bengali students in 1955-56 were 42,000 odd and in 1960-61 they were 81,823; that means that in five years there has been a cent per cent increase in the number of Bengali students. With regard to Oriya students also the increase has been more than two hundred per cent. Therefore I do not think that the hon. Member has served the interest of the Oriya people there by making this imaginary grievance that the Oriya students are being subjected to some handicap by the attitude of the Bihar Government.

In regard to appointments also, he made the grievance that Oriyas were not getting the posts of gazetted officers. I know it, Madam, that practically all the Oriya officers who were there, 'opted to go to other States after the Reorganisation of States, and after that it might not have been possible to recruit any other Oriya officer there for other reasons. Particularly Orissa has still got a dearth of men who can be recruited as 'officers and Oriya speaking suitable candidates might have been employed in Orissa. Therefore, for this grievance also, I do not think there is any tangible evidence. Bihar Government has already revoked the domicile rule and so there is not that problem now. There is open competitive

[Shri P. C. Mitra.] examination applicable to all and I do not think anybody can make a grievance if some people are not able to come out successful in that examination and are not consequently able to get superior j'obs. In my opinion, however, no amount of safeguards or the appointment of Commissioners to look after the interests of the minorities in the different States can improve matters. The only safeguard for the minorities is to cultivate the goodwill of the majority community, and the most important of all is that the Government of the day 'of the State concerned should have a broad vision. I think the present crisis of India, as a result of the Chinese invasion, has brought about a welcome change, and we should more and more cultivate a broad 'outlook so that n'o person in India will think that he is a minority in any area and the word "minority" should not be used in regard to any person anywhere in India. It is strange that in India, Indian nationals are called minorities. I think that every possible step should be taken by the Centre s'o that every one in India, wherever<sup>1</sup>, he be, can get all the privileges that he is entitled to as a citizen of India.

I would like to point out in this connection that even here in Delhi there is some handicap in regard to the education of linguistic minority students since there are not text-books for non-language subjects. Here I may refer to the Bengali students. Now there are at least twelve higher secondary schools which give education to Bengali students through the medium of Bengali from class I to XII. But there the non-language textbooks are perhaps only in Hindi, and even students reading in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th standards have to take down notes from the teacher to pass their examination in subjects other than language by leading these notes. I pointed this out in a letter to the Education Minister—also verbally— about six months back, but nothing

has yet been done to remove this handicap. So, I submit that passing only of resolutions in the Chief Ministers' Conference or National Integration Council will not do. Even in Delhi this difficulty is being experienced for want of text-books in all the languages through the medium of which the students are being given instruction.

Madam,, I think that English also should be given more importance. In certain States English is being taught only from class VI or class VII or even 'from class VIII. Now, When it has generally been accepted that university education will be imparted through the medium of English, then it is important that more stress should be laid on education students in the English language also from the very beginning so that the standard of English may not deteriorate and the students may be able to follow their college lectures properly.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):  
Madam Deputy Chairman, it was not my intention to participate in this debate, but after hearing one or two speeches, notably the speech by Professor Wadia, I find it difficult to restrain myself, and for kindly giving me the time I must thank you right at the outset.

I do not wish to deal with the larger aspects of the problem under discussion. At the fag end of the debate, I do not think that we can go into it in detail in the present situation, but right at the beginning I would like to make one or two general observations, or rather demands. I am entirely in agreement with the suggestions; in fact we have been suggesting it also, that Sindhi should be made one of our national languages and be incorporated in the relevant Schedule of the Constitution. This is my very first suggestion. I do not know why we are not

doing it. Urdu is a recognised language, but I find that in point of practice it has certain difficulties, and it is not being given, in point of fact, the status that is due to it, specially in certain parts of the country. I think this requires the special attention of the Government and of other authorities including the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities that way.

As far as the regional language is concerned, well, I do not see how we can escape our responsibility in this matter. The Constitution more or less laid down the principles on which we have to develop our languages and organise our languages. Hindi certainly should be the language of the Indian Union, and in this connection I must say that we must do everything in our power to promote it. Promote it in a way that it really gets promoted. There are many methods which have been used to promote it but which have done disservice to the promotion of the Hindi language. I think we should overcome the shortcomings in this respect and we should create a situation in the country when the Hindi language becomes the language of the Indian Union, not only in terms of the Constitutional provision but in facts of life. Every State and the Central Government have special responsibilities in this matter to fulfil. That is very, very important.

Madam, I am not one of those who think that English should continue for an indefinite time. I am not going into the question of the language formula, etc. Ultimately we must have our own national language for the Indian Union, and that language, in the nature of things, must be Hindi. If today we are not in a position to overcome the present situation, when English must be retained, I can understand it. I can understand the Government's flexible attitude in this matter, which we have always appreciated that there should be no dogmatic approach in this matter, but the perspective should be very, very

clear. Hindi must ultimately become the language of the Indian Union and no foreign language must have its place side by side with it. There cannot be a situation when English and Hindi continue till eternity as parallel languages of the Indian Union. English has to give way to Hindi; of course, English should remain for certain specific purposes. For this we need vigorous efforts on the part of the Central Government and in the States specially. I think this is one of the major tasks for national integration. What integrates us is, not merely the speeches, the sentiments, the emotions and so on. What integrates us is the intercourse between the people speaking different languages. And that can only be done through the promotion of Hindi in our country. That will bind all the language groups together.

Then, I cannot at all agree with our friend, Prof. Wadia, a learned man. When he thinks that regional language is not so important as some people think, he has a bias, it seems, in favour of English and, to some extent, Hindi. I can well understand it. But I must say that we cannot develop our society unless we encourage and promote at a much faster rate the regional languages. We must change over in the States from the English language to the regional language and, on an all-India plane, from English to Hindi. This should be the direction.

And, Madam, why should the regional languages not be the media of instruction? We have got magnificently developed languages in most of the States. They have got literature and easily translations can be made of the books in English into the regional languages if we have them as the medium of instruction for higher sections. It is quite possible. It is within the realm of possibility, as they have put it. But I regret that I find some learned friends are opposed to this idea. Madam Deputy Chairman, for example, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. Surajeet Lahiri, made

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] a speech in the University Convocation where he discouraged the changeover from English to the regional language. That is most tragic. Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, when she went there to deliver the Convocation Address, somehow or the other, did not take kindly to the proposition of a change-over from English to the regional language and certified English as a language which should continue in our higher learning and higher education. We disagree with that point of view. There may be difficulties, there may be differences with regard to minor details and so on, but the fact of the matter is this that if we want to take education to the common man, take culture to the common man, to the common people, and if we want the culture not to be restricted to a small section of the enlightened but want to improve the culture of the people as a whole, it is of fundamental importance that we develop our education through the medium of regional languages, not only on lower levels, but also for higher learning. Poet Tagore and others used to preach this thing. The talents will not be fully developed unless you have your own regional languages, you speak in your mother-tongue, study in your mother-tongue, think in your mother-tongue. This is very, very important. Experts have said that a lot of energy of our students is wasted and so on because we have to get our education through a foreign language.

Now, it is not understood how our thought, our energy and our mental effort and so on are wasted. But everybody knows that there is a considerable strain and wastage, and the flowering of one's talent is impossible—individual cases may be exceptions—unless one has the education in one's own regional language. That is very, very important. Madam Deputy Chairman, therefore, do not think that we should now, after so many years of independence, be debating as to what we want. Do we want to con-

tinue English or some other language other than the regional language as the medium of instruction, or do we want to speedily change-over from English to the regional languages at the State level and also to Hindi at the Union level? It may take a little longer time perhaps. But that must be our objective. The objective in this matter must be very, very clearly set out and our efforts must be for the quickest possible fulfilment of this objective. Here, in Parliament, for example, why should it not be possible some day that we speak in different languages and translations made of them, because if you assume that Parliament Members should come from the peasants, workers and other sections of the toiling people, it stands to reason that they must have the opportunity of speaking in their own languages and others having it translated in the language which they understand? Why should this not be the arrangement? I do not say have it today or tomorrow.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Do you envisage a time when fourteen languages will be spoken in Parliament?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, I do not know. That we can discuss later.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you must finish. Your time is up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Just one minute, I am not saying: Do it now. But this perspective we should develop in our country. We should develop Hindi as the language of the Indian Union. We should conduct our affairs in such a way that one who comes from the Telugu area or Andhra, is not handicapped because he is in Parliament. Now, do you expect all your speakers in Parliament to be always those who can speak English or Hindi?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: They must. They have come to that stage.



SHRI ETIUPESH GUPTA: It will not be so. There will be a time lag. Please do not take my time. There will be time lag but throughout India every five years Parliament elections will -be taking place, and who will be coming here? Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not wish to take much time of the House. Therefore, I was a little surprised when Prof. Wadia objected to regional languages being given the place that we propose to give them.

Our complaint is this. Much remains to be done to place the regional language in its due position. Much remains to be done to promote Hindi throughout the country, in every

single State, through voluntary effort and through the efforts of the Government so that it becomes the willingly accepted language of the people and thus we develop our language. This is all that I have to say. I do not wish to detain hon. Members who have got another function to attend.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister will reply tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 12 noon tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till twelve of the clock on Thursday, the 29th November 1962.