

[Secretary.]

Workers (Regulation of Employment) Amendment Bill, 1962, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 13th March, 1962."

Sir, I lay a copy each of these three Bills on the Table of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. K. SHAH): The House stands adjourned till 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.

#### THE HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN BILL, 1962—*continued*

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I was pointing out that the first Governing Body would be a nominated body and it shall have, apart from the Chairman and the Secretary, 13 other members of which one shall represent the Ministry of Education and another the Ministry of Finance. Three of the members will be from among the former Presidents of the Society and the remaining number shall be from among persons who are, in the opinion of the Central Government, eminent in the field of Hindi language or Hindi literature. I think this is a good position and it is desirable in the interests of the Sammelan that the first Governing Body should be as it exists today, a nominated body. So the constitution is well thought out.

And here may I, with your permission, be permitted to pay my humble tribute to that great Indian patriot, Shri Purushottam Das Tandon who was the life and soul of this institution for many years and whose continued ill-health we greatly deplore? Sir, Allahabad has had the honour and the privilege of producing many eminent men. We are not even regarded as a B class town though we have produced A class citizens of the country and among the great men of whom

Allahabad is proud, Shri Purushottam Das Tandon ranks high.

Then, Sir, I note that the rules of the institution shall be made by the Governing Body. Now, the picture of the manner in which this institution will function cannot be complete without these rules. Of course, I know there is a provision for a copy of the rules to be laid before us as soon as may be after they are made. May I suggest that there may be a further provision authorising Parliament to amend those rules by Resolutions passed by either House within a period specified in the Act? I think a provision of that type exists in other statutes and I think Parliament would like to be more directly associated with this rule-making power than is the case at present.

Sir, under clause 15 the Sammelan is required to maintain a Fund and I hope that grants will be available to the Sammelan from the Central Government as well. As far as I know, the position is that so far as the University Grants Commission is concerned, it makes no grants to institutions of this character. Its constitution precludes it from making grants to institutions of this character. Therefore, I think there should be some indication that the Central Government will assist this institution by suitable grants. It is contemplated that the Sammelan shall have a Fund to which shall be credited all fees and other charges received by the Sammelan, all moneys received by the Sammelan by way of grants, gifts, donations, benefactions, bequests or transfers. I hope, Sir, that the word 'grants' here means Government grants. Anyway, there should be some direct Government assistance so far as this Sammelan is concerned.

Then I find there is a provision in clause 16 that the accounts of the Sammelan shall be audited at least once a year by a chartered accountant. I suppose the term 'at least' has been used to provide for a continuous audit. It is essential that the accounts of this institution or institutions of this character should be carefully audited. I note that it is proposed that the audit

shall have to be conducted by a chartered accountant within the meaning of the Chartered Accountants Act, 1949. Now, I know that so far as the U.P. Universities are concerned, their audit is done by the local State Audit Service and I wonder whether it will not be a proper thing for the audit of this institution to be done either by the State Audit Service or by auditors appointed by the Auditor General.

**SHRI GURUDEV (Madhya Pradesh):** Why not chartered accountants?

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU:** You have to pay the chartered accountants a lot as fees. Chartered accountants are an expensive commodity and the number of chartered accountants in the country is not very large.

**SHRI GURUDEV:** But they are very careful. We want the audit to be done carefully as you said.

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU:** The State Audit Departments are very well organised; the Auditor General's Department is also well organised. They have got trained accountants and if the services of those trained accountants are placed at the disposal of the Sammelan, the amount that it will have to pay to a firm of private chartered accountants will be saved. It is from that point of view that I am suggesting that the State should take over the responsibility of auditing the accounts of the Sammelan.

The Sammelan will have the power of granting degrees and conducting examinations and I know that its object will be, according to the amendment proposed to be moved by Dr. Shrimali, to promote the spread of Hindi language and to develop it and secure its enrichment in the manner indicated in article 351 of the Constitution. Now, this amendment is an improvement upon the clause as originally found in the Bill.

Then, under sub-clause (aa), which is another amendment suggested by Dr. Shrimali, the object of the Sammelan will be—

“to work for the promotion, development and advancement of Hindi literature in India and foreign countries and to print and publish such literature;”.

In 1954 when I was at the United Nations, there was a resolution moved on behalf of the Arab world that Arabic should be recognised as a language for certain official purposes by the United Nations Organisation. The delegation had instructions to support that resolution and the duty or the responsibility of supporting it was cast upon me. In support of my speech, after praising the Arab world for the great achievements that it had made in the world of science, art and literature throughout the ages, I referred to the fact that perhaps a day would come when we, too, would press for the recognition of our language as a language recognised by the United Nations for certain purposes. And I expressed the hope that when and if we did so the Arab world would support us in our move. Whether we call it as the official language or the national language is a different matter. It is the official language of 430 million people. We got on multiplying every ten years. With all the birth control propaganda, we are 430 million. The official language of 430 million people deserves recognition for certain purposes at least by the United Nations General Assembly and I think one of these days we shall have to take up this question on an international level. I do not say that this can be done immediately, but I venture to think that a language, which is the official language of 430 million people, deserves recognition by the biggest international organisation of the world.

Then, sub-clause (b), which Dr. Shrimali suggests, is like this:—

“to work for the promotion, development and advancement of Devanagari script, and to print and publish literature of other Indian languages in Devanagari script;”.

[Shri P. N. Sapru.]

Now, Sir, I know that people can be emotionally attached to their scripts. I appreciate that sentiment very much. I respect that sentiment very much. There can be no compulsion in this matter. But it would be a useful thing, it would be a desirable thing, if we could agree upon a common script because that would facilitate inter-communication between the South and the North. That would make it easier for a person who hails from the North to learn South Indian languages. I do not know whether it would not constitute a hardship on persons in the South, but it would certainly encourage a larger number of persons in the North to learn South Indian languages and West Indian languages. That is not the case at present. I must make it clear that there can be no compulsion in this matter and it is not my suggestion that we should use any compulsive methods in regard to this delicate matter.

Then, Dr Shrimali also has suggested that one of the objects of this institution should be—

“to co-operate with other institutions having objects similar to those of the Sammelan, in such manner as may be conducive to their common objects;”

I believe that there are institutions similar to this in other languages as well. I suppose the people of Bengal have a Sahitya Sammelan of their own, the people of Maharashtra have a Sahitya Sammelan of their own. I suppose Gujarat has one of its own and I believe that the people of the South too have Sammelans of their own. It should be the effort of this Sammelan to co-operate not only with the Hindi Sammelans but with the Sammelans in the North, South and West of India. That is how we can work towards the goal of a language understood for certain official purposes by the peoples of the country. That is how we can enrich the Hindi language. That is how languages other than Hindi can be enriched by Hindi and it is a suggestion

which, speaking for myself, I heartily welcome.

The last clause which is to be found here is ‘Power to remove difficulties’ in giving effect to the provisions of the Bill. This is a power which is usually given in all statutes and we can have no objection to that. The rules which will be made by the Governing Body will be subject to the approval of the Central Government. That is as it should be. But some opportunity in some form or other—I would repeat it again—should be given to Parliament to express its views on the rules as approved by the Government or preferably before they are approved by the Government.

Then the Sammelan holds its annual sessions. These annual sessions are in the nature of convocations. To these annual sessions distinguished men are invited, and I think Dr. Shrimali too has addressed one of the annual sessions of the Sammelan. I think it should be the endeavour of the Sammelan to invite on the convocation day speakers from all over the country. It should not limit itself to inviting persons only from the North, only from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh or what Master Tara Singh would call the Hindi-speaking region of the Punjab. It should invite speakers of eminence from Maharashtra, from Gujarat, from Tamilnad, from Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. I am sure that there are persons of eminence in these States who can deliver convocation addresses either in the Hindi language or in their language which can be translated in Hindi for the purposes of the convocation. It will be a good thing if this Sammelan could act as a cementing link among the different parts of this country. Hindi should be propagated in such a manner as to make it acceptable without any conscious effort on the part of the Hindi people by the people of the North and the South

I have often felt, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that we need to understand each other better, but I must confess that

I have not felt happy over certain developments in the recent general elections. We have today caste and communal parties.

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE** (Bihar): What has that got to do with the Bill?

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU**: I am developing my point. We have today parties which attack the foundations on which our democracy is based. Now it is desirable in the situation in which we find ourselves to do everything we can to promote the process of national integration. We must not do anything which would tend to encourage fissiparous tendencies in the country, and from that point of view it is imperative that those of us who are ardent advocates of Hindi should, while patiently working for its propagation and improvement, make our views or give expression to our views in a manner which is not likely to annoy the peoples of non-Hindi-speaking regions. I hope that the Sammelan will work in this spirit. If the Sammelan works in this spirit, it will add a chapter which will contribute to the glory and greatness that is India.

Thank you very much, Sir.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA**: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not very much competent to speak on a subject like this, and naturally there will be very eminent friends here speaking on the various aspects of the proposition before us. But even as a layman I have something to say about the promotion of Hindi in the country, because under clause 6 of this Bill the tasks and the functions of the Sammelan are stated, and they cover a very wide field in respect of the propagation and promotion of this language.

At the very outset I should like to say that not only this particular institution but there are various other institutions associated with other languages of great importance in the country, national languages as given in our Constitution, which should also receive the same recog-

nition and the same status as this is being given, that is to say, they should also be given, wherever there is the need for it, the status of a national institution or institution of national importance. I say this because in our country other languages also have to flourish. They are flourishing languages just as this is, I do not deny it, but at the same time the State should take special care in encouraging efforts not only at the Government level strictly speaking but also at the non-official level, which means in such cases among other things institutions and so on.

Now, questions may be asked tomorrow in the country that when this particular institution is being regarded as an institution of national importance, why other institutions, like institutions, should not be given the same status. If that question is raised, it is to be met with a reasonable and satisfactory answer. I do not know the working of this particular institution. That is why I am asking hon. Dr. Sapru who comes from Allahabad to throw a little light on the subject.

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU**: I have said that I have no objection to other institutions being given that status.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA**: That is right, but about the working of this institution we have not known very much, we have not been told very much. Yet it is half a century old. It is quite clear therefore that an institution which has a history of half a century should be discussed in the light of its experiences. The only thing that we have been told about so far is that two factions as in other spheres also worked in this institution and a receiver had to be appointed. It does not speak well  
3 P.M. of cultural institution. Certainly when such a situation arises, the Education Ministry cannot shut its eyes to it, the Government cannot shut its eyes to it. They have to take care of the institution and try to resolve the problems. But then we must know

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

the problems in their entirety. Dr. Sapru told us about the two groups. When I hear of groups either in politics or in institutions of this kind, I get frightened because then something is basically wrong somewhere and we must strike at the very roots of things. Government can undoubtedly extend its protective wings to such institutions but if the groups remain groups or if the groups find their projection into the governing bodies under one pretext or another, then the institution goes under. This is what I say. Now, we shall naturally watch how they function under the new arrangement but then it is necessary to find out also how the groups came about, how they behaved in this matter, whether they were liberal or conservative, whether somebody tried to impose something upon others and whether certain advantages that these institutions brought—patronage, etc. offered—were sought to be utilised in a narrow manner or they were being handled with care. All these things should be known to us. Perhaps, in such a case when the Government sponsors a measure of this kind, it would be useful—and it is for the Government to consider for the future—if they give us a kind of a memorandum about the working of the institution, because we should like to know from the Government memorandum exactly what their reading of the functioning of such institutions is so that we can reflect over this matter and give whatever suggestions we can, because these are not partisan issues at all. These are common issues and we do not speak over such matters in a party spirit or on party lines. The Statement of Objects and Reasons containing three or four paragraphs does not give us much light, the kind of light we would like to have over this matter. Therefore, we suffer from this deficiency and people like us speaking here would be all the more handicapped because, as I said, our knowledge of the working of such an institution is undoubtedly limited.

Now, the question has arisen about the promotion of Hindi. Well, we are all agreed that Hindi is the official language of the Indian Union, the language between the States and so on for communication, etc. It is not a language that subverts other languages or replaces them. It goes side by side with the other languages. But since we have got many languages, it becomes a kind of *lingua franca* in a limited sphere in our country and this is necessary also, I agree, in the context of national or emotional integration. But, Sir, since I have mentioned the words 'emotional integration', I understand that there is a committee for what is called emotional integration or whatever it is. There you have got very conservative people. The Chairman of that Committee, Dr. Sampurnanand, is a highly dogmatic and conservative person. Every time he utters a word, disintegration in life takes place because he is carried away by political prejudices. Imagine a person who is on the Emotional Integration Committee starting to speak against the Communist Party or this party or that party in this manner, as if we are B class citizens. Well, such people should not be placed in such a position at all. I would ask the Ministry of Education to consider whether such narrow-minded, conservative dogmatists should be placed in bodies or institutions whose function is, among other things, to bring about the integration of the minds and thoughts of people and so on. I say this thing because we have a lot of experience.

Here I undoubtedly stand for the promotion of Hindi. I am not one of those who are off and on against Hindi but at the same time I would like this approach to be changed in many ways. I have no special person in mind but I have a school of thought in this field with which I propose to deal. Yes, we stand for the promotion of Hindi, and I would like to see that the Hindi language prospers in every part of India and that ties are created between the Bengalis

and the Hindi-speaking people or between the Malayalees and the Hindi-speaking people, so that we get a language through which we communicate from the North to the South and so on. The Bengalis and the Malayalees can communicate through a language such as Hindi. Some day it should be like that. We should get rid of English that way. I entirely agree there. But the question is of the approach. I am making no reflection at all, I do not know about them very much. But when you get these institutions under the control of some groups and so on, they tend to become conservative in their approach. They do not think about the need for adopting certain other things. That is to say, the Hindi language, in order to spread out all over the country, to embrace the other linguistic groups, must be in a mood to adapt itself as far as possible within its four corners, to the languages spoken in other parts of the country. Now, if you declare a kind of war against any Bengali word or any Malayalee word or even an English word, whatever it is, even when it can easily adopt it, then of course, you are creating difficulties, creating in the first instance prejudices and resistance on the part of large sections of people, thereby obstructing the rapid promotion of the language. I am afraid that such tendencies are visible because there are many ways of spreading it. You can have a liberal approach; you can have at the same time a very rigid, conservative approach in this matter. Once you have a conservative approach, then the task becomes difficult and it is a self-defeating process in the sense that the people develop a kind of resistance towards it. Whatever might happen in future, that is so. Now, that has to be borne in mind. I am no scholar here but there are scholars. But some scholars are, according to me, very conservative, if I may say so with all respect. I have travelled also fairly widely in the country and I find that one of the reasons why there is resistance to the suggestion of this kind of promotion of Hindi is that certain things are

sought to be imposed. Those who do it may not know that they are imposing something. But the trouble is, those who are supposed to be influenced, well, they feel they are being imposed upon. This is the trouble. Now, the test here should be objective, not subjective; that is to say, the test is not how fine I think I am working in the matter of promotion of Hindi, but the test is whether we really promote Hindi in the South, the test is how the people of Tamil Nad or the people of Andhra or the people of Kerala react to my methods, to my approach. This should be the test, and I can tell you, Sir, that in this respect the promoters—some promoters at any rate of the Hindi language—have been found too wanting. Somehow or other they do not take adequately into account this objective aspect of the matter. Now this, I think, should be borne in mind.

Then our Constitution has special mention of the Hindi language. How long it will take to promote it? I am not for imposition; I am certainly for acceleration of the process—not for imposition. But if we leave it to such institutions alone—I am not saying we are leaving it to this institution alone—then not much will be done. This is what I say, because there cannot be a monolithic structure for the promotion of Hindi, that is to say, we simply have a central institution just to radiate its wisdom, knowledge and learning in all parts of the country—it cannot happen that way. Undoubtedly it has a function to play. What about creating centres in other parts of the country which will function in a proper manner taking fully into account the environment and circumstances there? This is very very important. We can think of a temple in a central place and the pilgrims and devotees will come there, but we cannot think of an institution of this kind whether on the banks of the Jumna in Allahabad or somewhere else where all the aspirants for the promotion of Hindi can flock together—it cannot happen. Life will rule it

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

out because people have got other avocations and so on, and everyone likes to work in his own sphere. Therefore, it is important to see that there are many centres created in the country giving all care and attention for the promotion of the Hindi language. But I see this is not being done. Government can certainly spend some money, and I know moneys are being spent. I think in our part there is something called the Hindi Prachar Samiti—I do not know what kind of prachar it has made—but somehow or other people have a dislike for it. Now, I am not saying which is right or which is not right, but those who stand for the promotion of Hindi should certainly deeply look into the reason why people have taken not so kindly to institutions of this kind that function in the various States. What is coming in the way of establishing a bridge between them on the one hand, and the people—other linguistic groups—on the other has to be carefully studied. I am afraid things are taken for granted and the pros and cons of an approach or a policy relating to a problem of this kind are not gone into more decisively than at present.

Then, Sir, the Hindi language, in order to attract people from other language groups, must establish a kind of communion with the literature of the particular languages of the other groups. For example, if you want to promote Hindi in West Bengal, you naturally will have to give many of the things from the Hindi literature and from the literature of other languages, but at the same time, certainly, you will have to take something from the Bengali literature. Various books are there, stalwart writers are there. Not only should you physically employ them but the creations of arts in Bengal have to be assimilated, as far as possible, within the scope of these institutions. This is very very important. Now, suppose this institution takes on the task of translating certain Bengali books

in Hindi in order, in the first place, to facilitate the promotion of Hindi in West Bengal and, secondly, to bring about more integration, they should send these books to other parts where Hindi is read, and *vice versa*. Now comes the selection of books. Which kind of books you will be selecting from the literature of Bengal or of Maharashtra, or from the Bengali or Marathi or Telugu or Tamil or Malayalam literature? This is very very important. Regarding this I had a talk with some Hindi scholars, who are not so conservative minded as Dr. Sampurnanand, if I may say so, who had more receptive minds, and they told me that there is a tendency to take them from the somewhat conservative literature, and you see the conservatives flock together and therefore, if you are conservative here, in the institutions the tendency is to pick and choose from, say, the Bengali literature, which answers the approach here, that is to say, some conservative literature which does not have much appeal to large sections of the people, or does not create much impression among the people. You can just translate as many copies as you like, choose as many titles as you like if you have the money, but you do not make any kind of impression on the people there. This is one of the complaints made by some. Now, even in the literature that is published in the Hindi language, care should be taken to see that it becomes very very broad-based, that is to say, it must approximate to and even embrace the other literature—it must not live in its own shell. After all, in order to promote Hindi, you have to get beyond the confines of the Hindi-speaking region. You have to have before you the horizon of non-Hindi people, the Malayalam people for example, people who do not know anything about it yet but who have got their language and their literature somewhat developed. Now that horizon has to be broadened. That again is a very important matter as far as the promotion of Hindi is concerned. Otherwise it will always

look like imposition even though the promoters may not mean so. But I find that there is some deficiency in this respect.

Then there is the question of what kind of literature you are bringing out. Now, the world is dynamic; minds are really receptive to new ideas; people change; the younger generation does not live in the generation in which our esteemed friends—some of them venerable promoters of Hindi—live and lived at one time. The younger generation, those of 14, 15, 16 years of age, well they live in a modern world. They want to read and see things which appeal to them—I am not talking about the vulgar side of it—I mean the good side of it. They want to see that you bring out that kind of literature which will cater to their needs, actual and potential, to the needs of the generation that is coming. That is also of great importance. Our younger generation thinks in terms of going to outer space; they are not thinking in terms of what Indra said, of Indra who was threatening to fight from the clouds—not like that—these are mythical things—and so on in our literature. It is all right; have it by all means, but that is how they think; their mind is attuned gradually to scientific ideas. Therefore, it is necessary that, whatever you produce is produced having an eye on the changing times, the changing moods, the changing requirements of the receptive minds of the younger men or the younger generation. May I say that in this respect also there is a flaw, there is conservatism, and I think one of the reasons why we are coming up against difficulties in the matter of promotion of Hindi—to speak philosophically—is conservatism, and I think Hindi promoters must overcome conservatism in this matter, alike in their approach as well as in their ideas—I do not mean any ill, but there are certainly some who need a little introspection in this matter in the interests of the cause to

which they are undoubtedly very genuinely devoted.

Then you see here under clause 6 so many tasks are given, and everybody knows that promotion of Hindi is a herculean task, and this cannot be done by this institution, very much so when we have difficult problems in this field of work. Undoubtedly, it can do something, but Government should really now think of how they can do it. It should be set right, as I said, at the base. Therefore, in the States, the Central Government should render all adequate assistance for the promotion of Hindi. There comes financial assistance. Now, if you ask the State Governments that they should do so, they would immediately plead their financial difficulties, and they will ask perhaps for a greater share in the divisible tax pool. Therefore, in order to get rid of this complication it is necessary that the Central Government, since Hindi has been given a special place in our Constitution, spends a little more money, employs a little more of its resources at the State level in the proper way of course for the promotion of Hindi. That should be done. If the Central Government thinks that by recognising this as an institution of national importance it is almost discharging its major function, the Government will be profoundly mistaken. What the Central Government should now concentrate upon is to develop the centres—as I said—in the States, and help those people who are working, including the State Governments, in such matters. That is very very important. I was told in a number of States by those who are interested in Hindi that adequate assistance was not forthcoming from the Central Government, and also that the approach was not good. Well, about the approach it may be a matter of opinion, but as far as the resources are concerned I think the Central Government will agree, I think Dr. Shrimali will himself agree, that the resources that are made available to the State Governments or

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

to the institutions in the States are by no means adequate for the task that has been set before them for the promotion of this language. That point has to be borne in mind.

Then, the question is how we can promote it in our colleges and schools. Sometimes when I meet people, especially teachers and students, I ask them this question. Now, there are many people reading Hindi in our schools and colleges. Even in Bengali schools in West Bengal it is being taught. At one time there was some resistance. Now, it has been taken for granted that it should be learnt, but there, again, adequate attention is not being paid. In the first place, proper type of teachers are not given. Secondly, somehow or other it is sought to be just pushed. It cannot be pushed that way. Certainly, you can if you can make it compulsory for those people who sit for the various examinations in Public Service Commissions and others. Hindi or no Hindi they will read it just as I read Latin. I studied Latin in England because of the course I had taken. Mr. Akbar Ali Khan knows it. It was compulsory to study Latin and I did it and immediately after the results were out, I realised that I had forgotten every single thing of it. I passed the examination in Latin all right but immediately after that I forgot everything, I remember not a word of Latin. Latin is more Latin to me than Latin itself, if you ask me that way. It is not promotion, it is demotion of the language, if I may say so. That is how you do it.

Then, Sir, I notice another dangerous tendency today and it is for those who are responsible for it, it is for Dr. Shrimali to point out. A kind of conflict is developing between the promotion, rather change-over from English to regional languages on the one hand and to Hindi on the other. In some States—I do not say in all; it cannot be in Central India or in States where Hindi is spoken—

where the change-over is taking place at higher educational levels from English to Bengali, shall we say, you find the conflict. I know there are some English fans here who would like English to remain in its present status for all time, who accept English language as the only unifying language in our country. I do not accept that. English certainly should have a place in our country especially for understanding science and technology and for maintaining contacts with the world. But the world is also getting divided today that way even linguistically. If you go to one part of the world, today English does not sell very much. You may or may not like Communists but there you have to learn Russian. What can you do if communism comes to certain parts of the world and Russia also produces better scientists and technologists? Such is the position. Some people think that English must remain. I myself cannot speak in Hindi. Even in my election speeches I had to speak unfortunately, in English though that had to be translated in the regional language because I knew if I spoke in Hindi, our votes would be lost. That is why I never spoke in Hindi. But I still maintain that in our country the language, a sort of *lingua franca*, that way in a limited sphere must be Hindi. There cannot be any other language except Hindi. I cannot think of any other language. As a free people who have got a rich cultural heritage and rich literature and language why must we think in terms of having a foreign language as a language that unifies the country or a language of communion between the various linguistic groups? The sooner it goes the better. I want the dethronement of English from that status.

Well, Sir, here I hope I will not be misunderstood by my friends in the South nor do I hope I would be taken to be a rigid partisan by some promoters of Hindi. That is my fear. I am between two stools in this matter, I must say, because I am liable to be misunderstood by either. Sir, I say

that Hindi should be there and, therefore, the Government should make every effort for its promotion. Why can we not do it? We have got love for English language. I know a language dies hard. I know that. But if we had won the battle of Plassey, we would not have had English in the present status which it enjoys to-day. It is the historical circumstances that put English in that position. Now, when we are free, naturally English language must have its own place, a place given by us for keeping touch with the outside world and for science and technology and for learning it as a literature. German language should also be studied. Russian language also should be studied. There are other languages also, but English, naturally more, because English-speaking world is a big world and we have already had in this matter a lead in this country. Also in English we have got something to built upon. Therefore, we retain it but it cannot be a language for all times.

Sir, the idea that English must be there as a vehicle of mutual exchange and understanding between the Tamil people and the Bengali people and so on is wrong. I am surprised that some eminent people in Bengal still maintain that view as also many eminent people in Tamil Nad. Very soon we will be having real Timilians here in the list of names for Rajya Sabha.

Mr. Annadurai is one of them. The idea that English is the only language for creating mutual understanding is wrong, if I may say so. This approach is to be fought. But when you fight let us fight it with pursuasion. We should fight it for the promotion of Hindi in such a manner that it attracts people and disarms those people who stand for the retention of English in its present status to the detriment of Indian languages or an Indian language of the type of Hindi. We must fight for it properly. Therefore, I say,

it is a very important matter. It is not a question of an institution which lives under a receiver. Well, you may have a Board now. The receiver has done his job. But, certainly give it the encouragement that it deserves. But then it is not enough for the Government. I would ask Dr. Shrimali to consider and discuss this matter at the State level. For example, call a conference of educationalists and so on from the States, from all language groups, representing all shades of opinion and approach on the matter and discuss as to how best we can promote Hindi and make that promotion agreeable to the people whom we want to bring within the fold of this language. That is how it should be done. I do not know of any such conference or mutual discussions being held.

Then, Sir, for the promotion of Hindi there are these scholarships and *Paritoshiks* and so on. But what about very many others who are working in their own small way for the promotion of Hindi? That is not the way of promoting Hindi, if we really give them to the people only at the top. It should not be made into Padma Vibhushan business and confined to the top and others at the bottom continuing to live and work without getting any recognition. It should not be like that. By all means give them *Paritoshiks*. But what about those who are working for the promotion of Hindi and who can do the job better in schools and colleges, in literature, either by way of translation or otherwise? What about giving encouragement and incentives to them, giving promotions to them? It is not a question of giving them small material help. It is a question of recognising the talent and making him feel that the country appreciates the work, the country generally recognises the work that he has done. That is very, very important. But, unfortunately, here again conservatism comes. Conservatism is the dead enemy of our people. Here, again, in the matter of promotion and recognition and *Paritoshik* it

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] goes round a small circle. You will ask why I say so. Well, if it is not so, I should immediately come here and plead guilty. But go to a place like Calcutta, Tamil Nad or particularly Madras and so on and talk to the people there. The people there have their grievances and feelings. Why it is so should be gone into.

Sir, we need a large number of promoters, dynamic-minded promoters who know how to integrate the promotion of Hindi language with the development and flourishing of the language of the region. There should be a common symphony. It cannot be that we strike a discordant note as far as the promotion of the Hindi language is concerned in States and accept that promotion is taking place. Some institutions may come up and some teachers may be there but it is hardly a promotion of that language.

Therefore, it is necessary to resolve the conflict that may arise or that has arisen in certain parts of the country between the promotion of Hindi and the task relating thereto with, at the same time, a changeover from English to the regional languages, because, as we said before and I say it now it is important today in the State level to make the change-over from English to the regional languages as quickly as possible. The sooner we do it, the quicker we do it the objective possibilities for the promotion of Hindi will be greater and it will be possible for the promoters of Hindi and for the Government to fulfil their responsibilities in a much more effective way than at present. There is no contradiction between the two provided we set about the task in the right way. Therefore this also has to be borne in mind. As far as the personnel of this body is concerned, I cannot say anything because I do not know many of them. I know only some of them and in this House there are some very good people. I would like to see them here if they have a little tinge of conservatism in them, I think they will overcome that gradually with our

affection and touch. But diehard conservatives do not exist in politics only or in England. Diehard conservatives exist even in the field of literature and language. It is all the more dangerous from the cultural point of view for the development of language and culture if we allow the diehard to take command. Therefore I say that we need a little bit of liberalism there, a broader approach, a mind which is receptive to new ideas and which projects itself into the future and does not only cling to the past. Therefore, I would ask Dr. Shrimali, while appointing people like Secretaries, etc., to keep this point in view because some names of the protagonists of Hindi frighten some people in other parts of the country. I have noted it. They have very venerable persons, very respected men, probably almost godly, divine that way but the very names when mixed up with language and its promotion, if you mention the names where Hindi is not spoken, the people there get a little allergic to those names. They become a little scared and frightened. I do not say that people are always right but that is how people react to it. Those who are promoters, cannot very much progress in the thing by causing mass scale fright or allergy in the people whom they want to draw closer towards them. Lest I should be tempted to mention names, I would leave it and avoid developing the subject further. The hint is obvious. The Education Minister and others must have understood.

Here is Diwan Chaman Lall who has got Oxford and who has Hindi also. Now, I would not think that he would be conservative in the matter of Hindi nor do I think that he is deficient either in Hindi or English. I know how many such people are associated with work of this kind. Diwan Chaman Lall is not of my political persuasion and is unnecessarily sometimes interrupting me, as you know. But then, I will have faith in him in this matter. I do not want to

be there because blending of what is good in the past and what is to be received for the future and good in the present, will take place there in such persons. I know of people in West Bengal who became the promoters of the Bengali language but they started promoting the Bengali language in such a Sanskritised way that it repelled all. Nobody took to it. Then gradually it was understood that such professors do not make good professors who lived in the days of old Sanskrit and started giving important lessons in Sanskritised Bengali. Well, Sanskrit is there and it has its place but there again, modern language is not developed that way and if you do not do so, people do not take to that language, more especially those who speak other languages. They do not take it. That should be borne in mind.

I do not wish to say very much. I think the few suggestions that I have made would be considered. I know that I am likely to be wrong in such matters in details but the broad approach I take from the common man. As you know, I come from a language group which is not Hindi. Naturally, I live with the Bengalees and I note their reaction. When I go to other parts of the country, for example, South, I also ask my colleagues and comrades as to how the people are reacting to this business of the promotion of Hindi. I do not get always a satisfactory answer. Things do not seem to be very encouraging to me that way.

Therefore, this has to be discussed at great length, dispassionately, and the Government should find adequate resources. It is the Central Government's job because the Central Government has to provide for it. It is the language of the Indian Union in some respects which is provided for in our Constitution. Therefore, the Central Government has a specific and special responsibility for the promotion of Hindi and naturally they should give assistance to all

those who do meritorious work and really help the cause of the promotion of Hindi and at the same time they should help the States and the local centres there but while helping these institutions which are associated with Hindi, they should also, as far as possible, give assistance to the States for changing over from English to the regional language because these are only two sides of the same task. One cannot go without the other. This is how we view this matter. We placed these views before the Language Commission that was appointed on behalf of our Party. We discussed this matter in the entire Party. We threw this matter to be discussed by the entire Communist Party. In the various States discussions took place.

Personally, I met a large number of scholars including Dr. Suniti Chatterjee. I will give you just his case. He was a great protagonist of Hindi. I do not know why all of a sudden he has become today very much anti-Hindi. He wrote books and he told me: "Who else has done more work than myself in Bengal for the promotion of Hindi?" Bhupesh, look at this book." He is now the Chairman of the Legislative Council of West Bengal. Now I think it is all wrong. He said exactly the negative—to my mind the destructive—thing. We do not ask why. Similarly, on behalf of my Party I met many people in the different parts of the country especially in Bengal. I collected their views, took down notes and then we had discussions in the Central Committee of our Party and prepared a memorandum as to what should be our approach. More or less the same points were indicated at the National Integration Conference which was attended by our late General Secretary, Ajov Ghosh, when he spoke on the question of language.

Now, whatever little experience we have gathered through laymen like ourselves in this matter, by our contacts with the people, leads us to the conclusion that in the matter of promotion of Hindi there is need for

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

change in approach, there is need for greater efforts in this field and there is, above all, need for giving more resources and of course I need not mention, adaptation of the Hindi language to the other languages which is also very essential. The conservatism should go and there should be resilience in language and also it should be receptive to other languages also. You should develop an integrated approach which would be not only confined to certain States and the Central level but it should be spread out to all parts of the country so that before long we can claim that we have found a language for the realities of life, we have found that language and we have established it as a living reality, a language for inter-communication between the various language groups and States in our country. We look forward to this day and this is a task of supreme importance and urgency. I hope the Government will take it up. I hope it will give the necessary assistance to all those who are genuinely liberal and in a right way dedicated to the cause. Thank you.

**श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लखनपाल** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के द्वारा हिन्दी के क्षेत्र में अमूल्य सेवाएं करने के लिये प्रशासन की ओर से आज जो यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया गया है, इस सदन में, वह वास्तव में हमारे लिये एक संतोष का विषय है। यह तो सभी जानते हैं कि हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन गत पचास वर्षों से इस देश के अन्दर अखिल भारतीय संस्था होने के नाते हिन्दी की अमूल्य सेवाएं कर रहा है, उसने अनेक मुन्दर पुस्तकें हिन्दी के साहित्य भंडार को दी हैं, अपनी पुरस्कार योजना के द्वारा उसने सैकड़ों लेखकों को प्रोत्साहित किया है। अपनी विस्तृत परीक्षाओं की स्कीम के द्वारा उसने न जाने कितने नवयुवकों के हृदय में हिन्दी के प्रति श्रद्धा के बीज बोये हैं, न जाने कितनी महिलाओं को हिन्दी पढ़ने

के लिये, हिन्दी प्रचार के लिये प्रोत्साहित किया है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. A. SUBBA Rao) in the Chair.]

श्रीमन्, हिन्दी हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा है और जो संस्था हिन्दी की श्रीवृद्धि के लिये इतनी लगन के साथ गत अर्ध शताब्दी से काम कर रही है, वह निश्चय ही हमारे सम्मान के योग्य है और मैं इसलिये आज शिक्षा मंत्री जी को इस सदन की ओर से बधाई देती हूं और धन्यवाद करती हूँ कि वे प्रशासन की ओर से इस अभीष्ट प्रस्ताव को हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के सम्बन्ध में लाये। लेकिन, श्रीमन्, आज जब कि हम हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन को सम्मानित करने के प्रस्ताव पर विचार कर रहे हैं, तो मैं यह चाहती हूँ कि हम थोड़ा सा आत्मनिरीक्षण भी करें, हम यह भी देखें कि हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में हमारी स्थिति, वर्तमान स्थिति, क्या है। हमने हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन को हिन्दी की सेवा करने के लिये सम्मानित करने का प्रस्ताव तो रखा है, लेकिन जिस हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा की सेवाओं के लिये हम हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का सम्मान करने जा रहे हैं, आज क्या उस हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा की राष्ट्रीय महत्ता को बढ़ाने के लिये इस प्रशासन के द्वारा, हम सब के द्वारा क्या हो रहा है? हम इस सम्बन्ध में जो नीति अपना रहे हैं उसका परिणाम क्या होने वाला है, इस पर भी हम आज ज़रा सोचेंगे तो कुछ असंगत न होगा।

श्रीमन्, स्वतंत्रता में पूर्व हमारे राष्ट्र के कर्णधारों ने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गान्धी की अधिनायकता में हिन्दी के विषय में चिन्तन किया था और जब वे इस देश को एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के रूप में देखने के लिये उसकी एक प्रतिमा बना रहे थे, जब वे स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र की कल्पना कर रहे थे, तभी उन्होंने यह सोचा था कि जब भारत स्वतंत्र होगा तब उसकी अपनी एक राष्ट्रभाषा होगी, और

वह उसकी अपनी भाषा हिन्दी होगी । महात्मा गांधी गुजराती थे, लेकिन गुजराती होते हुये भी जब उन्होंने इस देश की कोटि कोटि जनता में जागरण का संदेश, क्रांति का संदेश दिया तो अपनी गुजराती भाषा में नहीं, अपनी टूटी-फूटी हिन्दी भाषा में ही उन्होंने दिया, क्योंकि वे समझते थे कि इस देश की जनता को, इस देश के कगोड़ों लोगों को, हिन्दी के द्वारा ही, उनकी अपनी भाषा के द्वारा ही जाग्रत और संगठित किया जा सकता है । उस समय हिन्दी के प्रचार के लिये उन्हीं की प्रेरणा में दक्षिण में हिन्दी प्रचार समिति और वर्धा में राष्ट्र भाषा प्रचार समिति की स्थापना की गई । और फिर इस सिलसिले में, जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ और स्वतंत्र भारत का संविधान बना तो उस समय, संविधान के निर्माण के समय हिन्दी भाषा सर्वसम्मति से राष्ट्रभाषा के पद पर आसीन की गई । उस समय इस विषय पर कोई भी विवाद नहीं था कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा हो या न हो । कुछ थोड़ा नागरी हिन्सी के बारे में वाद-विवाद था, किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में सब एकमत थे यहां तक कि राजा जी, जो आज हिन्दी के विरुद्ध एक कूसेड खड़ा कर रहे हैं, उनके द्वारा भी—वे उस समय संविधान के निर्माताओं में से थे—उस समय हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने के प्रश्न पर समर्थन प्राप्त था । आज यह ठीक है कि उन्होंने अपनी धारणा हिन्दी के प्रति बदल दी है, लेकिन उनकी आस्थाएं तो बहुत सी बातों के प्रति तब से बदल चुकी है । स्वयं कांग्रेस के नैतिक सिद्धान्तों के प्रति, समाजवादी समाज, सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न, के प्रति उनकी धारणाएं बिल्कुल बदल गई हैं । इसलिए यदि आज उनकी आस्था हिन्दी के प्रति बदल गई तो हमें इस सम्बन्ध में कोई ज्यादा आश्चर्य और चिन्ता करने की बात नहीं । लेकिन हा, चिन्ता और आश्चर्य हमें तब होता है, जब कि हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे देश के गंभीर विचारक मान्य नेता और सर्वसाधारण जनता

में भी धीरे धीरे हिन्दी के प्रति जो उनकी धारणाएं थीं, उनमें परिवर्तन होता जा रहा है ।

मैंने अभी आपके सामने निवेदन किया कि जब संविधान बना तो सर्व-सम्मति से हिन्दी भाषा को राष्ट्रभाषा होने का गौरव प्रदान किया गया । निश्चय ही वह राष्ट्र-भाषा के इतिहास में एक स्वर्णिम अध्याय था । स्वतंत्रता मिलने के थोड़े ही दिनों के पश्चात् हमारा वह जोश, हमारा देशप्रेम ठंडा होने लगा, हमारी देशभक्ति की भावना मंद पड़ने लगी और देशभक्ति, देश के प्रति लायल्टी, देश के प्रति निष्ठा का स्थान क्षुद्र क्षेत्रीय स्वार्थों और क्षेत्रीय निष्ठाओं ने ले लिया और इसके प्रभाव में आकर हमारा समस्त दृष्टिकोण ही बदल गया । देश के जो गंभीर प्रश्न और समस्याएं थीं, उन पर विचार करने की हमारी शैली ही बदल गई और स्वभावतः इसका प्रभाव राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रश्न पर विचार करने के हमारे ढंग पर भी पड़ा । इसी के परिणाम-स्वरूप हम देखते हैं कि आज हमारी राष्ट्रीय भावनाएं धूमिल पड़ती जा रही हैं, हमारी एकता की भावना, हमारी सहयोग और प्रेम की भावना, खदर के प्रति हमारी भावना, स्वदेशी के प्रति हमारी भावना, सभी आज धूमिल पड़ती चली जा रही हैं । यही कारण है कि राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रति जो हमारा वह प्रेम था, जो भक्ति थी और निष्ठा थी, जो कि संविधान बनाने के समय तक विद्यमान थी, हमारे हृदयों में, वह आज क्षीण होती चली जा रही है और वह इतनी क्षीण हो चली है कि आज हम सर्व-सम्मति से और सर्वमान्य रूप से निर्णीत राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रश्न को पुनः खोलने की चेष्टाएं और प्रयास कर रहे हैं । कभी आवाज उठती है कि हिन्दी ही राष्ट्रभाषा क्यों ? अपने देश में तो चौदह भाषाएं हैं, वे भी तो आखिर राष्ट्रभाषाएं हैं ? निस्सन्देह इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि सारी भाषाएं जो अपने देश की भाषाएं हैं, हमारी अपनी निजी भाषाएं हैं और हमारे सम्मान के प्रोत्साहन

[श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लवणवाल]

के योग्य है। लेकिन, श्रीमन्, जब कोई देश अपने लिए एक राष्ट्रभाषा चुनता है तो उसके पीछे एक महान् लक्ष्य काम करता होता है और उसका एक प्रयोजन होता है और वह प्रयोजन यह होता है कि राष्ट्रभाषा के द्वारा ही हिन्दुस्तान की कोटि कोटि जनता को संघटित किया जा सकता है। प्रयोजन उसका यह होता है कि देश के भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों को, देश के भिन्न भिन्न भागों को एक सूत्र में पिरोया जा सकता है। श्रीमन्, किसी देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रभाषा एक माला के अन्दर पिरोये गये धागे का काम करती है। जिस प्रकार फूलों की माला बनाने के लिए एक धागे की आवश्यकता होती है उसी प्रकार भिन्न भिन्न कोटि-कोटि जनता को एक राष्ट्र के रूप में संगठित करने के लिये एक राष्ट्रभाषा की आवश्यकता पड़ती है। हमारे देश के कर्णधारों ने जब स्वतंत्र भारत की प्रतिमा का सृजन किया था, तो पहले ही उन्होंने राष्ट्रभाषा का नक्शा खींच लिया था और राष्ट्रभाषा का स्वरूप उन्होंने अपनी दृष्टि से हमेशा के लिए निश्चित कर दिया था और उस पर निर्णय कर लिया था। लेकिन आज हम क्षुद्र और स्वार्थपूर्ण भावनाओं के आवेश में आ कर इस प्रश्न को पुनः खोलने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, कभी लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे लिए तो हिन्दी आज भी उतनी ही विदेशी है जितनी अंग्रेजी है, वल्कि अंग्रेजी में ज्यादा फायदा है। आज प्रशासन का काम अंग्रेजी में चलता है, शिक्षित वर्ग ज्यादातर अंग्रेजी जानता है, टाइपराइटर अंग्रेजी में हैं, टेलीप्रिन्टर अंग्रेजी में काम करते हैं और अंग्रेजी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भाषा है। वे लोग अंग्रेजी की बड़ी बड़ी वकालत करते हैं और कहते हैं कि क्यों न अंग्रेजी को राष्ट्रीय भाषा बनाया जाये। ठीक है, लेकिन इन समझदार लोगों को कौन समझाये कि अखिर सुविधा के बल पर राष्ट्र खड़े नहीं होते। राष्ट्र को खड़े करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय भावना की आवश्यकता होती है और

राष्ट्रीय भावना किसी विदेशी भाषा के साथ नहीं जुड़ सकती। इसलिये राष्ट्रीय भावना को अखिर अपनी ही भूमि की किसी भाषा के साथ जोड़ा जा सकता है और उसी भावना के आधार पर राष्ट्र को एक सुसंगठित और मजबूत राष्ट्र के रूप में खड़ा किया जा सकता है। फिर कुछ लोगों ने कहा है कि अखिर एक ही भाषा राजभाषा क्यों बने, क्यों न हमारी दो राजभाषाएं हों। जब इस तरह के आश्रय उठते हैं तो हमें आश्चर्य होता है। इस तरह के संकल्प और विकल्प जो हमारे देश के अन्दर चल रहे हैं, इन सब का प्रभाव हमारे मान्य नेताओं पर पड़ता है और हमारे प्रशासन को चलाने वाले जो लोग हैं, उन पर पड़ता है। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि हिन्दी को प्रोत्साहन देने की जो हमारी योजनाएं थीं, वे सब मन्द पड़ती जा रही हैं, खटाई में पड़ती चली जा रही हैं। आज हो यह रहा है कि अंग्रेजी का स्तर ऊंचा करने के लिए एक कमेटी नियुक्त की जा रही है और हिन्दी के स्तर को ऊंचा करने के लिये अंग्रेजी विचारक यह समझते हैं कि हिन्दी जहन्नुम में जाये, भाड़ में जाये। इन लोगों को अंग्रेजी की विशेष चिन्ता है, इसलिए वे हिन्दी के बारे में ज्यादा चिन्ता नहीं करते हैं। सबसे आश्चर्य और दुःख की बात तो यह है कि जो हमारे ऊंचे मान्य नेता हैं उनके हृदय की भावना बदलती चली जा रही है और इसका असर हमारी योजनाओं पर पड़ रहा है। तो मैं आपसे कह रही थी कि देश के एक कोने से एक आवाज उठी है कि हिन्दी के साथ साथ अंग्रेजी को राजभाषा क्यों न बनाया जाये। बस हमारे नेता तो पहले ही से शिथिल बैठे थे और वे इस तरह की बातों से द्विविधा में पड़ गये। देश के उन लोगों ने जो अंग्रेजी को राजभाषा बनाने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं झट से नेताओं की मनोभावना को पकड़ लिया और गत वर्ष एक प्रस्ताव इस सदन में ले आये, जिसके द्वारा अंग्रेजी को एसोसिएटेड राजभाषा के रूप में मान लिया गया। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जिस

तरह से हिन्दी राजभाषा बन गई है, उसी तरह हिन्दी के साथ अंग्रेजी भी अनिश्चितकाल के लिए राजभाषा रहेगी ।

श्रीमन्, इस सब का परिणाम क्या होता है ? इस सब का परिणाम यह होता है, जैसा कि अभी मैंने आपके सामने कहा कि हिन्दी प्रदेशों तक में हिन्दी के प्रति उपेक्षा की वृत्ति का विकास हो रहा है । जिन प्रदेशों में हिन्दी के लिए योजनाएं चल पड़ी थीं, उनका भी पीछे को कदम लौटाया जा रहा है । अपने प्रदेश के बारे में तो मुझे मालूम है, लेकिन बम्बई तथा गुजरात प्रांत में भी, जहां हिन्दी को छठी और सातवीं कक्षा से शुरू करने के आदेश जारी कर दिये गये थे, वहां उन सब को वापस ले लिया गया है । वे सब आदेश रद्द किये जा रहे हैं और हिन्दी के स्थान पर अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा दी जा रही है । अब वहां अंग्रेजी को दूसरी और तीसरी कक्षाओं से शुरू किया जा रहा है । इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि दस साल के बाद हमारे नवयुवकों में कोई ऐसा नव शिक्षित व्यक्ति नहीं रहेगा जो हिन्दी भाषा को अच्छी तरह से बोल सके, अच्छी तरह से लिख सके और अच्छी तरह से उसका स्पष्ट उच्चारण कर सके ।

श्रीमन्, आज हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में जो परिस्थिति है, वह इतनी ज्यादा अन्धकारपूर्ण है, इतनी ज्यादा अनुत्साहपूर्ण है कि जैसी शायद ही कभी पहले हमारे देश में हुई हो । श्रीमन्, मैं तो यही कहना चाहती थी कि आज जब हम हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन को हिन्दी की सेवाओं के लिए सम्मानित करने जा रहे हैं, तो आज इसके साथ साथ यह भी विचार करें कि हिन्दी का भविष्य किस प्रकार उज्ज्वल किया जा सकता है; क्योंकि यह निश्चित बात है कि जब तक हिन्दी का भविष्य अंधकारमय रहेगा तब तक क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं का भविष्य उज्ज्वल नहीं हो सकता है । आज क्षेत्रीय भाषा के सम्बन्ध में और हिन्दी भाषा के सम्बन्ध में जो विचार श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने यहां

पर व्यक्त किये हैं, उन्हें सुन कर वास्तव में हार्दिक प्रसन्नता हुई है । मैं तो कहती हूं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग यदि देश की दूसरी समस्याओं, दूसरे प्रश्नों पर भी इसी प्रकार की हार्दिकता से विचार करें और राष्ट्रीयता-पूर्ण नीति को अपनायें, तो बहुत शीघ्र ही अराष्ट्रीय होने का लान्छन अपने ऊपर से हटा सकते हैं । लेकिन उन्होंने क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं की और क्षेत्रीय भावनाओं की जिस तरह से वकालत की है, वे क्षेत्रीय भाषाएं तब ही पनप सकती हैं, जब हिन्दी अपने देश में उस महत्ता को प्राप्त हो जिस महत्ता को इस देश के कर्णधारों ने उसे प्रदान किया था । तो, श्रीमन्, मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कहूंगी कि वे इस प्रश्न पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करें क्योंकि हमारी राजभाषा के साथ राष्ट्र का भविष्य जुड़ा है । यह बात याद रखिये कि कोई राष्ट्र विदेशी भाषा के बल पर मजबूत खड़ा नहीं रह सकता है । यदि हमें अपने राष्ट्र को मजबूत, सम्पन्न, सुसंगठित और एक अगुवा राष्ट्र बनाना है तो अपनी किसी निजी भाषा की, अपनी हिन्दी भाषा की, जो सर्व-सम्मति से राजभाषा मान ली गई है, जब तक उसकी समृद्धि नहीं करतै, उसकी उन्नति नहीं करते हैं, हम उसे वह प्रतिष्ठा नहीं देते हैं जो एक राजभाषा के योग्य है, तब तक कदापि अपने राष्ट्र को एक महान राष्ट्र नहीं बना सकते हैं । धन्यवाद ।

**प्रो० सयाचरण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह प्रसन्नता है कि आज हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन को सरकारी मान्यता प्रदान करने के सम्बन्ध में बोलने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है । इस विधेयक का स्वागत इसलिए भी मैं हृदय से करता हूं कि यह चीज बहुत पहले हो जानी चाहिये थी, किन्तु आज जब सदन के सामने यह विधेयक पेश किया गया तो इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि इस सदन का प्रत्येक सदस्य इसका सहर्ष स्वागत करेगा और इस प्रसंग में मैं भी अपना योग्य प्रदान करता हूं ।

[प्रो० सत्याचरण]

अभी इस विधेयक के सम्बन्ध में जो बातें कही गई हैं उनमें से कुछ के बारे में डा० श्रीमाली जी ने कतिपय विषयों पर हमारा ध्यान अपने संशोधनों द्वारा आकर्षित किया है और इसी तक मैं अपने विचार सीमित रखूंगा। इसमें तीन खंड हैं।

4 P.M.

पहला तो यह है कि हिन्दी भाषा के विकास और प्रसार के सम्बन्ध में साहित्य सम्मेलन का सतत् प्रयास होना चाहिये। दूसरा खंड यह है कि इस भाषा और साहित्य के विकास के साथ साथ इसका प्रसार विदेशों में भी होना चाहिये। तीसरा खंड है लिपि के सम्बन्ध में कि देवनागरी लिपि ही प्रतिष्ठित हो और इस लिपि का अधिक से अधिक विकास होना चाहिये और इसको प्रगति देने के लिए जितने साधनों की आवश्यकता है, वे सब काम में लाये जाने चाहिये। चौथा एक बहुत ही सुन्दर विषय डा० श्रीमाली ने अपने संशोधन के द्वारा रखा है और वह यह है कि साहित्य सम्मेलन का क्षेत्र केवल संकुचित न हो बल्कि इसका सहयोग इसी प्रकार की अन्य संस्थाओं के साथ भी होना चाहिये, चाहे वे अन्य भाषाओं की ही क्यों न हों। मैं इन सभी खंडों का हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके द्वारा हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में प्रगति आयेगी, इसकी व्यापकता बढ़ेगी और अधिक से अधिक इस संस्था को हम उपादेय बना सकेंगे।

श्रीमन्, इस समय मैं भाषा के संबंध में विचार कर रहा हूँ। इसलिये मुझे कई बातें स्मरण हो आती हैं। अभी सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य ने पूछा कि आखिर आप हिन्दी भाषा को विकसित करना चाहते हैं तो इसका क्या स्वरूप होगा? उनका संकेत था कि क्या दकियानूसी या प्राचीन रूप में ही वह चीज रह जायेगी या उसमें किसी प्रकार का कोई संशोधन, कोई प्रगति या कोई परिवर्तन लाया

जायेगा। मैं स्पष्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषाभाषी होने के नाते ही नहीं बल्कि इस क्षेत्र में कुछ कार्य करने के नाते और हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का आजीवन सदस्य होने के नाते भी मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषा प्रगतिशील भाषा है। यद्यपि इस भाषा का जन्म सातवीं शताब्दी में हुआ था, तथापि तमाम सीढ़ियों, सोपानों और घाटियों से गुजरते हुये उसने दूसरा स्वरूप प्राप्त किया है। भाषा वातावरण के साथ संबंधित होती है। जैसा वातावरण होता है, ठीक उसी प्रकार से भाषा का विकास होता है। किसी समय केवल बैलगाड़ी का ही वातावरण था और भाषा भी उसी तरह से मंथर गति से चलती थी। आज विज्ञान ने जितनी अधिक से अधिक उन्नति की है, ठीक उसी के समानांतर भाषा में भी प्राण, गति, विकास की शक्ति और एक महान व्यापकता आ गई है। इसीलिये मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस युग में, जो प्रगति का युग कहा जाता है, उसके कक्ष में हिन्दी भाषा किसी प्रकार से थोथी नहीं साबित होगी। अतः बीसवीं शताब्दी के नवीन से नवीनतम कक्ष में हिन्दी भाषा की प्रगति, प्राण और विकास ठीक उसके अनुरूप ही होगा।

श्रीमन्, जो दूसरा विषय हमारे सामने इस वक्त उपस्थित होता है, वह यह है कि कभी कभी यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि हम पुराने ढर्रे पर चलने वाले हैं, पुराने सांचे में ढले हुये हैं, यानी जिसको अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं "लिंग्विस्टिक कंजरवेटिज्म" अर्थात् भाषा संबंधी संकुचितता, वह हम में है। इसका एकमात्र उत्तर मैं केवल यह देना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषा में, जहां तक मेरा ज्ञान है, १३ सौ शब्द हमने बाहर से, अरबी और फारसी के आत्मसात् किये हैं। यह इस बात का सबूत है कि ज्यों ज्यों हम आगे बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं, हममें किसी प्रकार की संकीर्णता नहीं आ रही है, बल्कि हम

उदारता के साथ दूसरी भाषाओं के शब्दों को लेते चले जा रहे हैं। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ, जो यह कहें कि “स्टेशन” के बजाय आप किसी अन्य शब्द का प्रयोग करें, जैसे “धूम गन्त्री विरामालय”। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जो शब्द प्रयोग में आ गये हैं, उन शब्दों का प्रयोग करना हमारे लिये उचित है। इस संबंध में मैं अंग्रेजी भाषा का उदाहरण देना चाहूंगा। अंग्रेजी भाषा में समय समय पर दूसरी भाषाओं के शब्दों को आत्मसात् किया गया है। जंगल शब्द अंग्रेजी का नहीं है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के सम्पर्क में आने से आज आप आवसफोर्ड डिक्शनरी, चैम्बर्स डिक्शनरी आदि सब में जंगल शब्द को अंग्रेजी का शब्द पायेंगे। इसी तरह से “decoity” या डकैती हिन्दी का शब्द है और वह पाया जाता है आज अंग्रेजी साहित्य के कोष में। इसी प्रकार से हजारों शब्दों का यहां उल्लेख किया जा सकता है। भाषा की गति ऐसी होती है, उसके प्राण में इतनी व्यापकता होती है कि वह धीरे धीरे वातावरण में जितनी वस्तुएं होती हैं, उनको आत्मसात् कर लेती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी में इतनी गति और प्राण है कि वह अपने युग के प्रसंग में इन सब चीजों को आत्मसात् करती जायेगी। यही विकास के माने है।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक चीज की कल्पना करता हूँ और वह इस आधार पर कि मेरी काफी और व्यापक यात्रायें हुई हैं। यात्राओं के सम्पर्क में नेत्रों को खोल कर मैंने भारतीय संस्कृति के विशाल रूप को देखने की चेष्टा की। अमेरिका के कक्ष में, दक्षिणी या उत्तरी या मध्य अमेरिका अथवा यूरोप के कक्ष में मुझे इसका रूप देखने को मिला। मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि जहां एशिया का पूर्व या पूर्व-दक्षिणी आंचल है, वहां हमारी संस्कृति का रूप भरा पड़ा है। आज भी थाईलैंड में यदि आप जायें तो आपको बाइसिकिल कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी। उनकी भाषा में इसे “द्विचक्री” कहते हैं और वही आपको कहना

पड़ेगा। विश्वविद्यालय के लिये तो साफ साफ “महिला विद्यालय” या “अनुविद्यालय” इन दो शब्दों का प्रयोग उनके यहां होता है और यही शब्द थाईलैंड की भाषा के कोष में मिलेंगे। इसी प्रकार से आप बाली में चले जाइये। वहां “पंच गंगा” या “पंच तीर्थ” इत्यादि शब्दों का प्रयोग होता है। आप सुमात्रा में चले जाइये, जावा में चले जाइये, मैं अधिक क्या कहूँ, सुकर्ण इस देश के महान नेता हैं, राष्ट्रपति हैं, सोयकारनो जिनको कहते हैं, जिनकी स्त्री पद्मावती हैं—इन शब्दों के कहने का केवल एक संकेतमात्र उद्देश्य यह है कि यह सारे का सारा आंचल हमारे शब्दों से भरा पड़ा है। संस्कृत के हमारे लगभग ६० प्रतिशत शब्द जावानीज़ या इंडोनेशियन भाषा में हैं और लगभग ७२ प्रतिशत शब्द थाईलैंड के कोष में हैं। इसी के आधार पर संस्कृत की पुत्री, जो हिन्दी है, यदि उसको ठीक विकसित किया जाय, तो आज मैं यह स्वप्न देखता हूँ कि हिन्दी को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप प्रदान करने में हम समर्थ होंगे। इसी सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि उचित ढंग से कार्य होता रहा, तो इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि हिन्दी को हम राष्ट्र संघ के मंच पर प्रतिष्ठित करने में सफल होंगे। यदि भारतीय नेताओं का इस पर वरद हस्त रहा, तो वहां भी इसे उसी प्रकार से स्थान मिल सकता है, जैसा कि अरबी भाषा को मिला हुआ है।

श्रीमन्, आज लगभग ४३ प्रतिशत लोग भारतवर्ष में हिन्दी भाषा-भाषी हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने के संबंध में कोई तर्क प्रस्तुत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यदि हमारे देश में कोई राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती थी, जिसे ठीक और उचित रूप से मान्यता भी प्रदान की जा सकती थी तो वह केवल हिन्दी हो सकती थी। मैं इसे उत्तर और दक्षिण का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहता। ऐसा कौन भारतीय होगा, जो इस

## [प्रो० सत्याचरण]

बात को कहेगा कि हमारे देश की अंग्रेजी ही प्रतिष्ठित भाषा है। फ्रांसीसी फ्रांस की भाषा है। इसी तरह अपने अपने देश की भाषाओं पर सब को गर्व है। अल्बानिया एक छोटा सा देश है, जिसकी मुस्लिम से आबादी बीस लाख होगी, लेकिन उनकी अपनी अल्बानियन भाषा है। इसी तरह बेल्जियम, हालैंड, आदि छोटे-छोटे देशों की अपनी-अपनी भाषाएं हैं और उन भाषाओं पर उन्हें उचित रूप से नैसर्गिक गर्व है। मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अभी दूसरे दिन मैं राष्ट्रभाषा आयोग की रिपोर्ट पढ़ रहा था, जिसके सभापति या जिसके अध्यक्ष स्वर्गीय बी० जी० खेर थे। उसमें एक स्थान पर मुझे पढ़ने को मिला, मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, किन्तु इतना ही कहूंगा कि एक बंगीय बड़े विद्वान की अध्यक्षता में कलकत्ता में एक सम्मेलन हुआ और उस सम्मेलन में उन्हें ने कहा कि हिन्दी तो हमारे लिए उतनी ही विदेशी भाषा है, जितनी कि अंग्रेजी। मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि एक बंगीय विद्वान ने कैसे यह कहा, इन चीजों के सम्बन्ध में उन्हें ने कैसे ऐसे थोथे विचार प्रगट किये। क्योंकि आज बंगीय भाषा और हिन्दी भाषा में मैं विशेष किसी प्रकार का अन्तर नहीं मानता। मैं इस समय बंगला के चन्द पदों को कह सकता था, किन्तु अभी मैं एक बहुत ही प्रसिद्ध बंगीय कवि की एक वाणी कह रहा हूं और मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी और इसमें क्या भेद है? केवल क्रिया का और लिपि का भेद है। वह यह है: "आमार कुंज कुटीरे दुआरे अतिथि एशे छे आज। की दीए पूजिबैं आमी की हालो ए काज।" यह बंगला है और अगर मैं हिन्दी में इसको कहूं, "हमारे कुटीर के द्वार पर अतिथि आया है आज, हम क्या देकर इसकी अर्चना करें, कैसा कार्य है" तो क्या विशेष अन्तर है? मैं यदि इस बात को कहूं कि प्रसिद्ध

विद्वान विद्यापति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ दिन विवाद चला कि ये बंगीय हैं या हिन्दी के हैं, तो यही इस बात को स्थापित करता है कि दोनों भाषाओं में साम्य, सम्पर्क, सान्निध्य इतना अधिक है कि कोई अन्तर ही नहीं है। इसी आधार पर मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं कि भारत के विविध प्रान्तों की ओर अगर दृष्टिपात करें तो महाराष्ट्र से लेकर बंगाल तक यह भाषा समान रूप से बोली और समझी जा सकती है। केरल को ही लीजिये। केरल की मलयालम में आज ७० प्रतिशत संस्कृत के शब्द हैं। "मातृभूमि" को पढ़िये या वहां के किसी अन्य समाचार पत्र को पढ़िये। मुझे ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यदि केवल लिपि का अन्तर थोड़ा हट जाय, तो फिर आज केरल की मलयालम और हिन्दी इतनी मिली हुई मालूम हो, जैसे कि इनमें कोई अन्तर ही नहीं है। यदि हम भावात्मक समीकरण, राष्ट्रीय समीकरण, इन दोनों की बातें कर रहे हैं तो निश्चय ही भाषा के आधार पर इस समीकरण की कल्पना करनी होगी। इस प्रसंग में सिवाय हिन्दी के और कोई दूसरी भाषा दृष्टिगत नहीं होती। यह कोई संकुचितता की बात नहीं है, बल्कि यह यथार्थ-सिद्ध है और इसे सभी को स्वीकार करना चाहिये। हमारा दावा है कि हम बड़ो उदारता के साथ, बड़े धैर्य के साथ, शनैः शनैः और मृदु स्वर में सब के हृदय में प्रवेश करना चाहते हैं और भारतवर्ष का जागरूक प्राण हिन्दी के रूप में देखना चाहते हैं। यह हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का एक मिशन, एक विशेष उद्देश्य होना चाहिये।

अब, लिपि के सम्बन्ध में यहां पर थोड़े से शब्द मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। श्रीमन्, आज बहुत दिनों की स्मृति मेरे हृदय में जाग उठी है। सन् १९३५ की बात है। मैं इंग्लैंड से, डोवर से, दक्षिण अमरीका जा रहा

था । लगभग १० हजार टन का जर्मन जहाज था, और जिसका नाम था "कार्डिल्लेरा" । उसमें मैं केवल अकेला भारतीय था, दूसरे जर्मन थे, डच थे और एक डच विद्वान एमस्टर्डम यूनिवर्सिटी के थे । उनसे मेरी बहस छिड़ गई । उन्हें ने कहा कि आपकी भाषा भी कोई है ? मैंने कहा कि है । मैंने उनको थोड़ा सा इतिहास भी बताया । बहुत प्राचीन इतिहास बताया और यह भी बताया कि आपकी डच भाषा का जिस समय विकास भी नहीं हुआ था, उस समय भी हमारा प्रगल्भ पांडित्य पूर्ण साहित्य था । वे थोड़े आवेश में आ गये और फिर उन्होंने कहा कि आपकी लिपि कैसी है । मैंने कहा कि मेरी लिपि ऐसी है कि जो आप बोलेंगे, वैसा ही मैं लिपिबद्ध कर दूंगा । अब तीन जर्मन विद्वान वहां बैठ गये और उन्होंने मेरी परीक्षा ली और परीक्षा में उन्होंने कहा कि मैं बोलता चला जा रहा हूं, आप लिखते चले जाइये । मैंने कहा कि मैंने भी एक किताब जर्मन की पढ़ी है और इससे अधिक मेरा ज्ञान नहीं है, इसलिये जिस तरह से जर्मन बोलते जाइयेगा, मैं लिखता चला जाऊंगा । मैंने उस समय एक फुलस्केप पेज लिखा और लिखने के पश्चात् मैंने कहा कि मैं सुना दूं । मैंने यह भी कहा कि उच्चारण में भेद हो सकता है । जैसे कि रसगुल्ला शब्द है, उसको हम रसगुल्ला कहेंगे, लेकिन बंगाली उसी को रोशगुल्ला कहेंगे । दोनों में केवल उच्चारण का अन्तर हो जाता है । मैंने कहा कि उच्चारण में तो भेद हो सकता है, लेकिन शब्द-भेद नहीं होगा । जहां तक शब्द का रूप है, वह वही रहेगा । जब उन्होंने कहा कि मैं पढ़ूं, तो मैंने पढ़ कर सुनाया । मैं आपसे बहुत ही विनय के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि पढ़ने के पश्चात् सभी जर्मन विद्वानों ने कहा कि मैं जर्मन का विद्वान हूं, छिपा हुआ विद्वान हूं, वरना किसी प्रकार से इतना अच्छा

उच्चारण नहीं कर सकता । मुझे शय्य खानी पड़ी कि मैं जर्मन भाषा का विद्वान नहीं हूं, मैं दो-एक किताब पढ़ कर इतनी विद्वता हासिल नहीं कर सकता कि मुझे भाषा का अच्छा ज्ञान हो । तब उस समय उन्हें स्वीकार करना पड़ा कि हमारी लिपि बहुत ही, अंग्रेजी में जिसे फोनेटिक कहते हैं, वैसी है । तो यह हमारी लिपि बहुत ही फोनेटिक है और बहुत ही वैज्ञानिक है और संसार के भीतर ऐसी कोई अन्य लिपि नहीं है । मैं इतना ही इस लिपि के प्रसंग में कहना चाहता हूं कि इसे अधिक से अधिक प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के कक्ष से प्रयत्न होना चाहिये और इसे अधिक से अधिक बल मिलना चाहिये ।

अब, जैसा कि मैंने कहा था कि एक अन्य विषय है और वह यह है, जिसकी तरफ डा० श्रीमाली ने भी संकेत किया है, कि दूसरी अन्य समान साहित्यिक संस्थाओं के साथ भी इसका सम्पर्क होना चाहिये । मुझे यह कहते हुये बड़ा हर्ष होता है कि महाराष्ट्र में एक बहुत अच्छी संस्था है, वहां पर उनका साहित्य परिषद् है । ठीक इसी प्रकार से बंगाल में बंगीय साहित्य परिषद् है और बंगाल से बाहर प्रवासी बंगीय साहित्य परिषद् है । जहां जहां बंगाली लोग हैं, वहां वहां वे इस बात की चेष्टा करते हैं कि बंगाली भाषा का उन कक्षों में, जहां जहां वे फैले हुए हैं, वहां वहां प्रवासी बंगीय साहित्य द्वारा उसका संरक्षण हो । मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक अच्छा सुझाव है कि हमारा उनके साथ सम्पर्क हो । मैंने आरम्भ में कहा था कि हम उदारता की मूर्ति हैं । हमारा आंचल फैला हुआ है । कन्याकुमारी से लेकर नंगा पर्वत तक जिस तरह से भारत माता अपने आंचल को फैलाये हुए है, जिस तरह

## [प्रो० सत्याचरण]

से जितनी उसकी व्यापकता और उदारता है, हम समझते हैं कि ठीक उसी प्रकार से व्यापकता और उदारता हिन्दी में भी होनी चाहिये। इस प्रसंग में यह बतलाना आवश्यक है कि भारत की समस्त भाषाओं की ये तमाम जितनी परिषदें हैं, इन परिषदों के साथ हमारा बहुत ही घनिष्ट और सक्रिय सम्पर्क होना चाहिये। इस सम्पर्क से मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत अच्छा परिणाम हमारे सामने आ जायेगा।

श्रीमन्, एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे सामने कभी कभी यह प्रश्न आया है कि हम लिपि में कुछ थोड़ासा संशोधन करें। हमारे सामने यह भी आया है कि हम इस लिपि के स्थान पर रोमन लिपि को ग्रहण करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कितना थोथा प्रश्न है, कितना थोथा सुझाव है। जब हमारे पास अपनी निधि है, अपनी एक प्राचीन लिपि है और उस लिपि को हम समझते हैं कि उसका निर्माण वैज्ञानिक आधार पर है, तब दूसरी लिपि को हम क्यों लें? मुझे यह कहते हुए लज्जा आती है कि आज हमें अंग्रेजी के ऊपर अभिमान होता है, लेकिन अंग्रेजी पर अभिमान करने के साथ साथ यदि उस पर हमें किसी प्रकार का गर्व होता है, तो तब वह लज्जा की पराकाष्ठा है। वह हमारी भाषा नहीं है। इस प्रकरण में मैं एक घटना उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ। माइकेल मधुसूदन दत्त एक युवक थे, उनकी १६ वर्ष की अवस्था थी, वह इंग्लैंड में एक कक्ष में बैठे हुए कुछ कविता लिख रहे थे। उस समय अकस्मात् एक अंग्रेज आया और उसने देखा कि यह बालक भारतीय है और कुछ लिख रहा है। उन्होंने पूछा कि आप क्या लिख रहे हैं और जब देखा तो उन्होंने बड़ी सुन्दर कविता अंग्रेजी में लिखी थी। उसने मार्मिक शब्दों में कहा कि

आप भारतीय हैं और आपने सुन्दर अंग्रेजी में कविता लिखी है, लेकिन मैं एक उद्बोधन और चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपनी भाषा में लिख कर अमर कवि हो सकते हैं, अंग्रेजी में कितना भी आप लिखें, यहां आपने लिये स्थान नहीं है। वह चुभती हुई वाणी थी, जिसने माइकेल मधुसूदन दत्त को इंग्लैंड से बंगाल आने की प्रेरणा दी। बंगाल में आकर उन्होंने अपनी भाषा को सीखा। "विरहणी ब्रजांगणा", "मेघनाथ बध" जैसे अमर काव्यों के रचयिता का स्थान बंगीय साहित्य में है, अंग्रेजी साहित्य में नहीं है। यह एक उदाहरण है, जो कि इस बात के लिये बहुत काफी प्रमाण पेश करता है कि यदि हमारी भाषा सम्बन्धी निर्लज्जता नहीं जाती, तो किसी प्रकार से भी राष्ट्रीयता का उदय हमारे देश में और हमारे हृदय में नहीं हो सकता है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के सामने एक बहुत बड़ा मिशन रखा गया है, जो इसे सरकार की ओर से मान्यता प्रदान की गई है। निश्चय ही अर्थ द्वारा तथा समुचित संगठन द्वारा इस संस्था को विकसित किया जायेगा; उससे मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि वह यह योगदान देने में समर्थ होगी। राजर्षि टंडन जी का लगाया हुआ यह पौधा, १९१० ई० का यह पौधा, आज पल्लवित हो कर बहुत सुन्दर रूप धारण कर चुका होता, किन्तु आपसी मतभेदों के कारण—जिसके सम्बन्ध में मैं यहां कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता—आज इस संस्था का वह विकसित रूप सामन नहीं आ सका, जो कि आना चाहिये था, अन्यथा प्रयाग के संगम में, जहां पर संस्कृतियों का संगम हुआ है, जहां पर राष्ट्रीय विभूतियों ने जन्म लिया है, वहां भारतवर्ष की महान राष्ट्रीय भाषा को प्रोत्साहित करने के

सम्बन्ध में उसका भी एक अद्वितीय स्थान होता । इस विधेयक का स्वागत करते हुए मैं समझता हूँ कि आज वह समय आ गया है जब से कि हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन उस दशा में, उस स्थिति में जायेगा जिस में कि पूर्णता है और जिस में एक महान भविष्य है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ ।

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to give my very hearty support to the Bill introduced by Dr. Shrimali. I have always belonged, Sir, to a group of people, who have always said that Hindi should be the natural successor of English. At the same time I have never believed in Hindi being made compulsory, being thrust down the throats of other people. This work will have to be done very diplomatically, very scientifically, without introducing any passion into the linguistic problems of India. And it is for that reason, Sir, that I welcome this Bill. It is a good beginning. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has been in existence for the last fifty years. It has been doing very good and solid work and it has certainly helped the development of Hindi language and Hindi literature. It is from that standpoint that I heartily welcome it.

Sir, I am not very happy about the constitution of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that is proposed in the Bill. Clause 7(2) provides for a Governing Body of not more than fifty-five. Now, a Governing Body is an executive body and an executive body should be a small one because a big executive body always creates troubles. I would far rather welcome the idea which has been stated in clause 8 that the first Governing Body should consist only of fifteen members including the Chairman and the Secretary and thirteen other members. I think that is a very reasonable small number. There should be provision for a . . .

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: May I interrupt Prof. Wadia? There seems to be some misunderstanding. The Governing Body is not the Executive Committee. I will draw his attention to clause 12(d). It says:

"The first Governing Body shall, as soon as as may be, make rules in respect of the following matters,..."

and one of the matters is the appointment of an executive committee or any other committee for carrying on the functions of the Governing Body of the Sammelan. That is, the Governing Body is not the executive body. It will appoint an executive committee. I just wanted to clear up this matter.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I am thankful to Dr Shrimali for the explanation but I still remain unconvinced because the use of the words 'Governing Body' is very misleading in this connection. I think that some other expression should have been used for that purpose—a larger body which may be called the Academic Council which could lay down the policies as to how the Hindi language should be developed and how it should be encouraged—and I think that would have been a far better expression than the 'Governing Body'. Usually, the wording 'Governing Body' is identified with an executive council. Well, Sir, that is a matter of verbal usage, a comparatively small matter.

I find, Sir, that one of the objects of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has also been stated to be the development of the Devanagari script. Well Sir, I believe in Hindi but I do not believe in the Devanagari script to the same extent. After all, a language is not made up of the script. I remember that in the pre-independence days there used to be a *Fauji Akhbar* which used to be published by the Army. It used to be in the Roman script but the language was Urdu. It had become extremely popular and even the illiterate soldiers had come to develop a knowledge of Urdu through the Roman

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]

script. If the idea is to have a common script for all the languages perhaps the use of the Roman script would be very helpful. I cordially sympathise with the speech made by Mr. Shastri about the development of a common script but I would not like the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to take up a very narrow view on the subject.

**SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA:** (Madhya Pradesh): That is not intended, I think.

**PROF. A. R. WADIA:** Anyway, if the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is to do its work of spreading the vogue of the Devanagari script in other languages, may I suggest that one of the tasks to be taken up by the Sammelan should be the starting, say, in Tamil Nad, in Madras of a Tamil magazine in the Devanagari script? In Maharashtra, the Maharashtrian journals are in the Devanagari script. But in Bengal, it should be done. I mean, in that way it could be more familiarised. It is a risky experiment, I know. It would not certainly be a paying proposition, somebody would have to pay for it. I think that if the Government pays for it, it is money well spent. They should not grudge money for the development of a common language, a common inheritance, and if they really believe that the Devanagari script is inseparable from Hindi, then this is one of the ways in which it could be encouraged.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Sapru referred to the University Grants Commission, and he expressed a doubt that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan would not be recognised by the University Grants Commission. But I believe that the University Grants Commission Act makes it possible that an institution of this type which has been recognised now or will be recognised as an institution of national importance and has been given the right to grant degrees and diplomas and so on, should certainly be capable of being helped by the U.G.C., and I do not think there is any legal bar to

it. And I am perfectly certain that the University Grants Commission will take a very friendly and sympathetic view of the aims of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

Well, Sir, the linguistic problem of India is going to be a very difficult one. But I do hope that the recognition of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan as an institution of national importance will help in this nation-building activity. We do need a common language and that common language—I repeat again—is Hindi. If only we approach the problem sympathetically, I think it should not be very difficult for the younger generation to be brought round to a greater and greater appreciation of Hindi and to a greater and greater adoption of the Hindi language by all the States at large.

As I belong to a non-Hindi speaking area, I thought it my duty to support the cause which is so dear to the hearts of those who have Hindi as their mother tongue. I am one with them for more reasons than one. I have identified myself with the spread of Hindi in South India, and I think we did very good work and if only political passions are kept out and a linguistic approach is made, if a cultural approach is made, the development of the language, I am sure is only a matter of time and Hindi will come to be accepted by one and all in India as the National Language of India.

**KAKASAHEB KALELKAR** (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is immaterial whether I speak in English or Hindi when I am addressing an almost empty House.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN:** But those who are present are for Hindi, I tell you.

**KAKASAHEB KALELKAR:** We are not today considering here the beauties of the Hindi language or its adaptability for being the national language of India. That has been accepted, and that was being worked out since long ago. Our chief concern today is to

accept the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of Allahabad as an institution of national importance. And we are also anxious to put that institution on a surer footing. It is not simply because it is an institution of national importance. There are many other institutions of equal importance. But here is an institution that has a long record but it has fallen on evil days, and it badly needs our support, and we are giving it a recognition in response to an S.O.S.

We have just heard how the cause of Hindi prospered a few years back and how Hindi is being neglected now. It is no use wailing over the thing; it is no use finding fault with people of the South or East or West. The Hindi people, and especially the Sammelanwallas, must turn their attention inward and recognise that they are greatly responsible for setting in motion forces of discontent and disintegration. The Sammelan was fortunate enough in having the blessings of great men like Malaviyaji, Gandhiji, Jammalalji and Rajaji. Rajagopalachari risked his popularity in the South and was prepared to be abused openly because of his support for Hindi. Now, the Hindi people supinely say, "Well, Rajagopalachari was once a very nice man; now he has gone wrong". But do they realize how they managed this change-over? The Hindi people, in some respects, have improved now, but I will tell you how they began in the South. One representative of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan went to the South and addressed a meeting there in Hindi to people who knew only Tamil and a little smattering of Hindi. He said: "Hindi is an *Arya-bhasha*; yours is a *Barbar bhasha*; your Tamil is *Barbar bhasha*. Please give it up and accept Hindi—because it is an Aryan language." The result was that the greatest national poet of Tamil Nad Subramanya Bharathi, swore to oppose the introduction of Hindi in Tamil Nad. For three years he would not allow us to work there smoothly. Only after our people going to him and pleading with him

and apologising did he relent and allow us to work there. One professor from Calcutta asked me: "How do you spread Hindi in the South?" I said: "I go to them and tell them about the beauties of Hindi, tell them that it is a daughter of Sanskrit and how it has assimilated words from so many languages." He said: "No, no, please do not do like that. Tell them that the North has always ruled the South. Hindi is the language of the North and you will have to accept it." I once reported the matter to Sampurnanandji and he said: "It was wrong of him to have said like that, but the fact is there. That is how I got the response."

Now, Gandhiji worked for spreading Hindi in the South. I will just tell you how the thing began. There was a *Hindi Sammelan* at Indore, and Tandonji was its secretary. Gandhiji said: "If you claim that Hindi is the national language of India, then you make some arrangements for spreading Hindi in the South." Tandonji wondered: "How can that be? How can we do it?" It was at a time when Gandhiji had just returned from South Africa with a brilliant record. Gandhiji said: "Either you withdraw your claim, or resign your secretaryship. There is no other go." Gandhiji immediately went to the Raja of Indore, collected money, sent his men and started the South Indian work. Please note that I am not accusing the Hindi people but I am giving you the tradition of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan against which I want to warn both the country and the Government, especially the Government. Gandhiji collected some funds for the South and sent them to Allahabad to be sent to Madras. The money was received but it was not being sent in time. There were difficulties and dilatoriness on their part. Things went from bad to worse. So, Gandhiji started sending money to the South directly. And do you know, Gandhiji was served with a legal notice that he was criminally misappropriating the funds of the Sammelan. Tandonji was not

[Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

in charge of the Sammelan in those days. Only when Jamnalalji and Malaviyaji rushed to Allahabad and pleaded with those people that the notice was withdrawn. I once spoke of it to Tandonji. Tandonji said: "It was very bad of them to have done that but, after all, it was the right of the Sammelan that all the money should first come to the Sammelan." Well, legally he was right. With all such legalities the Sammelan started controlling Mahatma Gandhi. They exploited Mahatma Gandhi so long as it served their purpose, and then they threw him out.

Gandhiji wanted to spread Hindi not because Hindi was one of the most beautiful languages to the exclusion of other Indian languages. There is, for example, Bengali; there is Marathi; Tamil—so many languages are there. But we wanted to have Hindi as the language of integration. Gandhiji gave a wide all-inclusive definition. We may call it a definition of integrated Hindi. They knew Gandhiji's influence. They accepted the definition but they put it in a footnote to the constitution. They had accepted it with a mental reservation. When I fought for its whole-hearted implementation they yielded and said: "If you wish we can put it in the main body of the constitution." I said: "It is immaterial where you put it; if your hearts are converted, it is quite all right for me." When Gandhiji was thrown out, they deleted the definition. And what was Gandhiji's definition? The definition was that so far as the spreading of the national language. Hindi, is concerned, it must represent the whole culture, the composite culture of India. But that was thrown away. And ultimately Gandhiji was told: "In effect we shall spread Hindi and you may work for Hindustani and national integration." Earlier Gandhiji had started work in the south, and when they wanted to capture Gandhiji's institution in the south, the people in the south rebelled. That is how south seceded. The Dakshin

Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha is no longer under the Sammelan—it is quite an independent body.

Then we started at Wardha and prospered. When differences arose Tandonji said: "Since Mahatma Gandhi was working in the name of the Sammelan please surrender the whole institution to us. If it had not been surrendered, the east of India and the west of India would not have remained under the Sammelan." Gandhiji said: "All right; let us surrender the thing and work independently." And the whole thing was left at that. So, all the credit which the Sammelan takes of having spread Hindi in the west of India, in the south of India and in the east of India was the work of Mahatma Gandhi in spite of the narrow-mindedness of the Sammelan; it is a reactionary body. I do not accuse Tandonji of any Hindu communalism but his idea of Indian culture is Hindu culture. It is Hindu nationalism. I have worked under him for more than twelve years. I have great regard for him. I know his great patriotism. He is a staunch nationalist and a tried Congressman. But in the matter of Hindi he lives in the past. He is afraid of the influence of Urdu. The main function of the Sammelan was to resist the domination of Urdu and English. It concentrated all its energies against the past domination of Urdu. So, they started beating the dead snake and did not think of opposing the living snake English. I am not against the English language; I love the English language, especially because it is a language that helps us to spread our culture to the rest of the world. When I went to the different parts of the world, I found that when they wanted to know anything about Indian culture, the only books that I could recommend to them were not books in Sanskrit or Hindi; I could recommend to them only English books or French books. Thus the knowledge of English or of French and other language is useful to us even for the spread of our culture. Therefore, I am not against the study and use of English. But

English should not dominate our life; English should not be the language of our administration; English should not be the language of our journalism; English should not be the medium of education. But the knowledge of English and its literature is useful.

Once we decided to go outside India for the spread of Hindi. I had an invitation from the Muslims in Mauritius that I should go and spread Hindi there. Also there was an invitation from some of the governmental officers in far off Fiji. We placed the matter before the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and I am not going to tell you what the reaction was. They wanted to dictate. Although we passed a resolution at Madras that Jamnalalji and myself should go to different parts of the world for the spread of Hindi, we quietly dropped the thing and said, "Let us not do it at present." That is how the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has worked.

They are in difficulty now. Two groups are at loggerheads. I do not want to go into the constitution or legality of this group or that group. I think the other group is more reactionary than this group. I am not enamoured of either. I am very glad that the Government is taking the matter in its own hands and wants to give it proper guidance, and that is why I have insisted that the definition of Hindi must be made clear. I am grateful to Dr. Shrimali that he has accepted my amendment and I am grateful to the Government that the definition is made part and parcel of the Bill. I shall be ever grateful to Dr. Shrimali for accepting the thing. Yet, at the same time, I am afraid, as Shri Bhupesh Gupta was saying, one of this or that group may come in. Therefore, every member that comes into this reformed Hindi Sahitya Sammelan must be tried and tested, must be made to sign a declaration that he whole-heartedly believes in national integration, that he believes in help to be taken from all the languages of India including Urdu.

Dr. Sapru just now said that Hindi was going to help all the Indian languages. We do not need the help of Hindi for the development of our languages. Naturally, we will co-operate with all Indian languages. It must be a policy of give and take. But please do not assume that superior air of helping us. You have helped us enough.

I am not enamoured of the rules made in the Bill about the first member. Vishishta Sadasya are all moneyed people. The receivers of the Mangla Prasad Paritoshik have little to do with the national policy about Hindi. The Government should first make a list of people who believe in Hindi—not English—as the language of national integration and as a vehicle of the composite national culture. Such men alone should be taken and then the Sammelan should be placed in the hands of these people. Any portion of the old reactionary element would be a danger.

Sir, till now we could find fault with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, we could non-co-operate with it, but we cannot non-co-operate with our Government. The Government has taken a serious responsibility upon itself in recognizing the national importance of the Sammelan. Hereafter if there is any reactionary element and if the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan followed its old course, then the responsibility will be that of the Government.

I am very sorry to say that there are many people, especially in the north, who give cause for discontent and let loose elements of disruption and then accuse the rest of India of being fissiparous. They accuse the rest of India of working for disintegration. I say that those who are responsible should not create conditions of disruption. Then alone will everything go on quite all right.

Sir, it is easy to wail and moan about the neglect of Hindi. But who is responsible for that? The champions of Hindi themselves. I speak

[Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

with some authority. I have worked for the Sammelan for more than ten years. I have worked in many governmental committees. I know, Sir, when I was a member of the Legal and Administrative Terms Committee, one member said—I do not remember the exact word that was discussed, but it was like this—the word *hazar*, for instance, he would not accept because it was an Urdu word; it must be *sahasra*. I appealed to the Chairman and added that if the Chairman accepted that attitude he would have to accept my resignation also. You cannot call it *tariikh*, it must be *tithi* or *dinank*. Such people have been working and getting into all our institutions.

Sir, I wish the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan well. Let it have a new lease of life. I hope it will be able to co-operate with other Hindi institutions in other parts of India. Here let me draw the attention of Dr. Shrimali to the old constitution of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan according to which some members of the Governing Body must be from Allahabad. They may say it is for the sake of quorum. Whatever it is, but they have generally been the reactionary elements and they had been pulling the other way. Sir, Tandonji always asked us to capture the institution as if that is the only business that we should have. The institution either helps itself or we leave it.

One thing I must make clear, because some Members have created a confusion. Now, I do not think the other amendment which Dr. Shrimali has accepted has anything to do with institutions like the Bengali Sahitya Sammelan or the Gujerati Sahitya Sammelan. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is asked there to co-operate with institutions which have a similar aim, namely the fostering of Hindi as the language of national integration. If you say that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan gets or should get a monopoly of it, if you say that it is the only institution which will

work and that all other institutions are to work under it, we resist. This we do not want. We are afraid of such a situation. We would rather like to have a central institution for a united effort but not this Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It has not a very good tradition. I would request the Government of India to start an all-India body which has got no narrow or vicious tradition behind it. Collect everybody who whole-heartedly believes in Hindi as a language of national integration, give all powers to that body and leave Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to its work. Let it live and prosper. It has done some good work. Given a proper guidance by the Government it has got good chances for the future. I do not despair of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It has the blessings of many good people. It may survive all the old traditions and it may do good work. But why depend upon it?

Sir, I have travelled the whole of India and worked for the spread of Hindi. There are many people who say they do not want this imperialism of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, nor do they want the imperialism of U.P. They want Hindi but not under the dictatorship of U.P. They tell me that they just as we learn English but do not accept the guidance and control of Oxford and Cambridge; just as we will cultivate the English that we want, just as we are free to use, to learn English but not the control of Oxford or Cambridge, in the same way we shall develop our own Hindi in our own way but not look to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for each and every step.

I know that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has recognized or assimilated good many Arabic and Persian words. There was once a debate. I spoke on behalf of Hindustani. Shri Venkatesh Narain Tiwari spoke against Hindustani. In my speech I counted, I used only three Urdu words and he used fifty Urdu words. And mind you, he was speaking against the use of Urdu. I spoke in

favour of it. We people who do not know Urdu, where are we to get Urdu words from? But we oppose the policy of boycotting Urdu words as such. Words come and go according to the needs of time. They are like passengers in a train. There may sometimes be the military people, sometimes pilgrims—*yatris*—who come and go. The structure of the language must be the main thing.

Everyone realises that Sanskrit is our language of integration *par excellence*. Sanskrit is the mainstay of all the Indian languages. Therefore, Hindi must be steeped in simple Sanskrit. But unfortunately for Hindi, Hindi areas had once accepted the domination of Urdu, once northern people became pastmasters and stylists in Urdu, they spoiled Hindi. Today when they want to introduce Sanskrit words in place of Arabic or Persian words, they do not know how to introduce them. We from Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra and other States perhaps know how to assimilate Sanskrit words. Some of the Hindi writers have that capacity. I know. But sometimes they coin strange Hindi words. They take out the English dictionary, see the Greek or Latin roots of the English words, take a corresponding Sanskrit root from *panini* and coin words. I was sick of it. They were working against the genius of Sanskrit. They are manufacturing technical terms in a way which is against the genius of Sanskrit. I once appealed to Tandonji also. For instance, for the criminal tribes, denotified tribes, they used the word *Vimukta Jati*. I said *Vimukta* was an Upanishadic word, it had a definite meaning— विमुक्तश्च विमुञ्चते । You cannot use *Vimukta* for denotified tribals, I said. Tandonji said, "No, no. It is quite all right." I was helpless. I said that there are some other words but they do not care for the genius of Sanskrit but we do. People resist many of these technical terms not because they are Sanskrit—we welcome the help of

Sanskrit—but some words are a caricature of Sanskrit.

With all this tradition of the Sahitya Sammelan all that I would say is this. Do give it the blessings, give it a charter if you like and it is good that it should now be controlled by the Government but not partially. If you bring in the old element, the whole thing will be spoiled. Then there will be no improvement. Once let all that mischief be cured by the intercession of the Government. For if after all the surgical operation the evil still persists, where shall we go? Therefore, I would say this: "Please leave it in the hands of people who believe in national, emotional integration."

You say that Hindi was accepted unanimously in the Constitution. I know how it was accepted. You smothered the voice of Pandit Jawaharlalji. When he put up his proposition in favour of the Hindustani style of Hindi, only 14 people supported him. He was defeated and then Hindi came in that place. Pandit Jawaharlalji wanted that form of Hindi which is suited for national integration but he was defeated. The voices of people like Pandit Jawaharlalji and Mahatma Gandhi were suppressed and they were thrown out and then this Hindi came.

At the same time we are in a difficult position. If we oppose this Hindi English comes in which is not to our liking. If we support English, we will lose our Indian culture. If you go this way, there is danger. If you go that way, there is again danger. So, I would appeal to both the Houses of Parliament and to the Government that they should so manage their Hindi policy that Hindi becomes a blessing for national integration. They talk of helping other languages. I think Bengali has helped Hindi much more than Hindi has ever helped Bengali. The same can be said of the other languages also, but I must not speak of my own language.

[Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

I would plead with the Government that the Hindi which has been fighting Punjabi, Chhatisgarhi, Bundelkhandi and Rajasthani should not be allowed to go in its own way. I speak from experience. I had once supported one scholar who was doing some research work in Chhatisgarhi. The Sammelan people wanted to pull me up and they said: 'You are encouraging Chhatisgarhi'.

If you do not want to encourage even your own dialects and sub-dialects, where are you? In effect you say: 'She is our daughter and we have every right to smother her life'. Is that the way we treat our daughters? They created difficulties in Punjab and they created difficulties even in Chanda. There they fought with Marathi. They wanted to smother Chhatisgarhi and Rajasthani also. Those who favoured Rajasthani were looked down upon. I have spoken to a good many Rajasthani writers. Everywhere this imperialism of Hindi, however powerless, has resulted in helping forces of disintegration. You are giving the Sammelan a new lease of life. May God bless you. Let the Sammelan be purged of all its shortcomings and let it have a new lease of life.

One thing more. There are some languages in India that require special help, special protection, and special fostering. They are three. The three languages are, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Konkani. I am glad that our Prime Minister yesterday or the day before, in his speech in the Lok Sabha, accepted Konkani as the principal language of Goa. The agents of the Sammelan were not ready to do it. They previously said: 'We only know the 14 languages mentioned in the Constitution'. Now that the Prime Minister has spoken in favour of Konkani, I hope my friends in the Wardha Samity which was once our creation and which is now under the guidance of Tandonji and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan will help. There are many people in Goa, upper class Hindus who study Marathi as a language

of literature, religion and culture and they are running private Marathi schools there. Marathi is my mother-tongue and I am very happy that they are working for Marathi. There are good poets in Goa who write in Marathi. Now some have started saying that "Marathi is the language of Goa and not Konkani. Konkani is only a dialect of Marathi. Therefore Marathi should dominate". The fact is the Christians—Roman Catholics—who are more than 40 per cent, do not know Marathi. They speak only Konkani. In Goa Konkani is a language of integration. The Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians—all of them—speak in Konkani. Of course Muslims in Goa are very few. Wherever they are—either in Goa or East Africa or South America, I have seen everywhere, when two Goans come together, they speak in Konkani and yet some people want to oppose Konkani. The agents of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan were not prepared till yesterday to accept the claims of Konkani. If that is their attitude, we shall have to think over before giving our blessing; but I have great hopes in the present Government. I think the present Government will pilot the thing well and initiate something helpful.

They should also see that the Sammelan is made to foster Punjabi, Rajasthani, Bundelkhandi, Pahadi and Chhatisgarhi. It must be made to help, especially through the Nagari script, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Konkani. The Sindhis have left their homes and come here. They have no help and they are scattered. If there was only one place for them, they would have helped themselves. They are scattered everywhere. It is the sacred duty of the Central Government to help them and help them to have their rich literature published and preserved. Their literature is not voluminous but what they have is rich and beautiful, Sindhi poetry as also Konkani poetry equals any other poetry in beauty and grace. All that must be published in Devanagari script.

About the script let me gratefully acknowledge that Tandonji and many others from the Sammelan helped us. They accepted that if Devanagari script is to be made the main script of India, there must be some improvement in the script to make it more scientific and more useful for the whole country. Do you know what happened? In spite of all the efforts and patronage of Tandonji, when I appealed to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Banaras, they said: "We know you are in the majority and therefore you are free to introduce the reformed Nagari script in all parts of the country except U.P. You spread the reformed Nagari script, but not in U.P." The Bombay Government accepted the reform, the Assam Government and the Bengal Government also accepted the reformed script for Hindi. When we succeeded to that extent the people of U.P. organised a Sammelan in Lucknow and they sabotaged all the improvements which Mahatma Gandhi had secured from 8 or 9 different States. That is the tradition of U.P. Do you know what our people say of U.P.? It is not 'United Provinces' but 'disuniting province' Excuse me. I did not want to take much of your time but I do not know how long I am going to live. I gave the best part of my life for spreading Hindi. I still wish that Hindi should be the all-India language. It must have a place in international communications also, especially in Asia. We are glad that our culture had once spread to Indo-China, Siberia and other places; but we seem to be ashamed when somebody like me says that we took some words from them also. In Bihar I once said that even in the Vedas, there are references of our contacts with the outside world. There are foreign words in the Vedas. There was an uproar. I refused to argue with them and yet hold to my views. All this is a warning. Unless we change our mind, and unless we reform and have a Catholic mind, Hindi has got no future. But if we reform and accept in spirit all that has been taught to

us by great men, then even Rajaji will come to our side.

5 P.M.

## MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

I. THE CONSTITUTION (TWELFTH AMENDMENT) BILL, 1962.

II. THE GOA, DAMAN AND DIU (ADMINISTRATION) BILL, 1962.

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:—

### I

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Bill, 1962, which has been passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 1962, in accordance with the provisions of article 368 of the Constitution of India."

### II

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Goa, Daman and Diu (Administration) Bill, 1962, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 1962."

Sir, I lay a copy of each of the Bills on the Table.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. A. SUBBA RAO): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 16th March 1962.