

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 16th December, 1960/rhe 25th
Agrahayana, 1882 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the *lock,
MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

ENQUIRY RE. CIRCULATION OF COPIES OF THE CONSTITUTION (NINTH AMENDMENT) BILL AND THE ACQUIRED TERRITORIES (MERGER) BILL TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Before you start, Sir, I wish to draw, your
attention to a matter -which concerns this
House—every Member of this House. You
will remember, Sir, that on Wednesday, the
14th, I made a request that the Constitution
(Ninth Amendment) Bill and the Acquired
Territories (Merger) Bill should be circulated
to us, .since the matter had already been there
before others. So far, Sir, this has not been
done. Yet on Wednesday afternoon both these
Bills had been circulated to Members of the
Lok Sabha. I know there is a procedure there
and they can perhaps circulate them before,
but these Bills are generally circulated before
to Members. The States Reorganisation Bill
we got when it went to the State Legislatures.
Up to now—I made enquiries last evening—
the Notice Office have not received them be-
cause the Government has not made these
things available to them. I am sure, Sir, you
would not like Members to go round and beg
things from the Lok Sabha Members. This is
what I have got—this Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So, you have got

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not from there.
Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Tell me, Mr. Bhupesh
Gupta, if you did not get them from the Lok
Sabha Members,

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from where and how did you get
them?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I got them
from the Lok Sabha Members.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So, you have already
begged of them. All right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I want to
know one thing. I do not want to take him by
surprise. We know that this House follows
the House of Commons procedure and rules.
Bills are to be secret, I am told. So long as
they are not introduced, they are not given. I
can understand that position generally. But
these two Bills have never been secret. Here
are the West Bengal proceedings. Dr. B. C.
Roy says that he got . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You said all this the
other day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, Sir; I did
not say it. I have got the pro. ceedings here.
Dr. B. C. Roy says that he got the
Constitution (Amendment) Bill from Shri
Jatin Chakra-varty.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As you know,
Sir, the Bill is being introduced in the Lok
Sabha. Why can it not be circulated to us?
Here, Sir, the Statement of Objects and Rea-
sons says that the States of Assam, Punjab
and West Bengal have expressed their views.
It is signed on the 12th December. On the
12th December, Sir, no Bill was before the
West Bengal Council, I mean the Legislative
Council, and the Legislative Council has
adjourned without considering it and the West
Bengal Assembly also has not considered this
Bill. These false and misleading statements
are contained in the Statement of Objects and
Reasons.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA) : Sir, copies of the Bills were circulated to the Lok Sabha Members only yesterday afternoon and the Bill is going to be introduced there today. After all, Sir, three or four days later the Bill will be taken up here. I think the hon. Member and his other friends will get these copies today, by this afternoon.

MR. CHAIRMAN: By this afternoon the Bills will be circulated, and they were circulated there only yesterday afternoon.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I got it before.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You must have got it from somewhere else.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the point here is

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no Point. That will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How did it go, Sir, to West Bengal? Shri Jatin Chakravarty gave it to Dr. B. C. Roy. Sir, these are matters which should be enquired into, and he should explain why this Bill went to West Bengal in November.

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: Sir, the hon. Member wants me to explain something which happened in West Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think, Sir, the Government have violated every single rule.

MR. CHAIRMAN: As they always do. Is it not so?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not say that, Sir. I shall prove in the Committee of Privileges that they have been guilty of violating many rules in such matters.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA) : With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House for the week commencing Monday, the 19th December, 1960 will consist of: —

- (1) Consideration and passing of the following Bills, as passed: by the Lok Sabha: —

The Forward Contracts (Regulation) Amendment Bill, 1960;

The Preference Shares (Regulation of Dividends) Bill, 1960.

- (2) Consideration and return of the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill, 1960, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

- (3) Consideration of motion for concurrence for reference of the Maternity Benefit Bill, 1960, to a Joint Committee.

- (4) Consideration and passing of the following Bills, as passed by the Lok Sabha: —

The Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill, 1960;

The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill, 1960:

The Acquired Territories (Merger) Bill, 1960;

The Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1960.

- (5) Discussion on the international situation with particular reference to the matters that came up before the United Nations General Assembly in its current session, on a motion to be moved by the Prime Minister on Tuesday, the 20th December, after disposal of questions.

Time permitting, it is proposed to provide a discussion on a No-day-Y%t_

Warned Motion about which, if necessary, I will make a separate announcement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, since we are going to have a discussion on the Acquired Territories (Merger) Bill and since this Bill is supposed to have been referred to the West Bengal Assembly, we would like to have, under article 3 of the Constitution, the opinions of the State Legislature, that is to say, the Council as well as the Assembly. We will be greatly handicapped unless we have the opinions of the three Legislatures—Punjab, Assam and West Bengal—and the Government should make these things available during the course of the week.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: I do not know it, Sir. But I would look into it and consider it.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI BIBUDHENDRA MISRA

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform members that the following letter dated the 13th December, 1960 has been received from Shri Bibudhendra Misra: —

"This is to inform you that for some time past I have been lying ill and undergoing medical treatment and, as such, it has not been possible for me to far, nor will it be possible for me to attend the current session of the Rajya Sabha.

Under the circumstances, I would earnestly, request you to kindly secure for me the permission of the House to remain absent for the current session of the Rajya Sabha."

Is it the pleasure of the House that leave be granted to Shri Bibudhendra Misra for remaining absent from all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No Hon. member dissented.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

RESOLUTION RE. APPOINTMENT OF EXPERT COMMITTEE FOR TRANSLATION IN HINDI AND ALL REGIONAL LANGUAGES OF STANDARD TEXT-BOOKS AND CONNECTED WORKS.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move the Resolution that stands in my name. But before I move it. Sir, I would like to state the reasons that prompted me to bring forward this Resolution before this House. At the outset, Sir, I must say that every discussion on such academic subjects should begin from where it was left. I think, Sir, ten years ago the Commission presided over by you, I mean the University Education Commission, in Chapter IX, paragraph 55, definitely stated that the Government of India and the State Governments should immediately devise measures to develop the federal and regional languages. If that advice of yours, Sir—I feel it was a very sound advice, and given with due forethought, ten years ago—had been accepted and implemented by the Central Government and at the initiation of the Central Government by the State Governments, I am sure this Resolution would never have come before the House and taken the time of the House. But, Sir, I am pained to find that your advice and your directions at that time were left unattended to. I do not know the reason why that was so, but obviously the progress of the Education Ministry in that respect proceeded at a snail's pace. Probably they did not think that your forecasts or what you foresaw would come to be true.

Now, Sir, my Resolution, as it is, falls into three different parts and I would like to dilate on each of them.

[Dr. Raghubir Sinh.] Firstly, Sir, I propose that an Expert Committee should be appointed for certain purposes, and the purposes are two. Number one, to evolve a scheme for the translation and preparation of books including textbooks and works . . .

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): On a point of order, Sir, I submit that he has not formally moved his Resolution. The Resolution is not before the House. He is talking on the Resolution without moving it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After making the speech he will formally move the Resolution. I understand the infection of Shri Bhupesh Gupta is spreading over the whole House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Then I must say it is a good infection.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore'): He must be put under quarantine, Sir.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: Sir, as I was going to say, the third part of my Resolution relates to the question of languages. My proposal is that the books should be not only in Hindi but in regional languages also. When I say regional languages, I do not necessarily mean only those languages which are prevalent in certain regions but also all those in which education is being imparted. For instance, there is the Sindhi language which does not necessarily relate to any particular region now in India.

Now, I will deal at some length with each one of the three parts of the Resolution. When I propose to talk of the preparation of these books in Hindi and other regional languages—text-books as well as other connected works—I do not intend to tread on that dangerous ground which I am sure sometimes will inflame some of my friends here or elsewhere, the question of medium of instruction. In

the last Report of the University Grants Commission they said that the question of medium of instruction was an academic question, not a political question. I admit that it is an academic question but I would also like to say that it is not so academic as not to be a practical question. Now I do not want to tread on that dangerous ground of the medium of instruction; there must be differences of opinion but one thing is true. The Kunzru Committee that was appointed in respect of education in English has clearly pointed out that the standards of knowledge in English are definitely falling. As I once before stated in this very House in another connection the difficulty noted with the students whether at the university stage or post-graduate stage is that the students are not very well acquainted with English in many of the Universities and the result is that these students do not find it easy to go through even the bare minimum of text-books written in English with the result that today the standard of knowledge in various classes in India has fallen. And I think it was because of this imperative need that even the University Grants Commission had to think of appointing a working group to consider as to how the standards of education can be raised by means of producing books in Hindi or regional languages. I know that the labours of that working group have been completed. The report is ready and I think within a few days the University Grants Commission will be debating on the matter. As such I think that now the University Grants Commission itself has accepted that this is a very practical question and needs to be tackled soon. When once we admit that the standard of education has to be raised by making available to the scholars and students certain literature and material to enable them to increase their knowledge and at the same time also admit that the standard of knowledge and understanding in English has gone down, We have got no other alternative but to produce books and

make available the same knowledge in either Hindi or other regional languages. For, Sir, it has been an accepted principle that any knowledge that is given through the medium of the mother-tongue or such languages is easily assimilated and more readily understood.

Now coming to the question of these text-books, as I said, in the Report of the University Education Commission you yourself had propounded that something should definitely be done to develop the federal as well as the regional languages by having more books on all sorts of subjects. It has also been said in this connection by the Kunzru Committee that it is not enough to have a few text-books translated into Indian languages but it is necessary to have original books and adequate literature in these languages. Not only that; the Report of the Language Commission has stated the problem very clearly. They say:

"The problem is not merely one of text-books alone but, and to an even more important extent, of the much larger quantity of reference literature, that is needed by students reading for university courses in different faculties. There has to be a good supply of handbooks, histories of thought, biographies of thinkers and writers, histories of literature and books of literary criticism, statistical abstracts, atlases, encyclopaedias, etc. as supporting reading matter. There is at present a very acute shortage of all these in all the Indian languages."

Again they say:

"So far as 'reference literature' is concerned, we feel that the supply is unlikely to be forthcoming unless special steps are taken for promoting the publication of such litera-

ture, which is generally unremunerative. As a rule, the initial capital expenditure involved and the relative unprofitability of such undertaking would deter private enterprise unless substantial aid or sponsorship was forthcoming from other sources."

Thus the need for such sort of literature is well accepted. As I have already said, when I plead for the preparation of such books in Hindi I also plead for the preparation of such books in the regional languages. I know that in many regions, at least in the distant South, the regional languages are not used as the medium of instruction but I am sure if such books are prepared in regional languages, it will not only aid the development of the literature of the language but it will be an asset which will enable the regional language to grow up in time to come. It was with that view that you also advised that such books should be prepared and the regional language enriched and properly developed. It is obvious that, if not today, tomorrow the regional language as the medium of instruction has to come and even if the medium of instruction is not to come about for some time, can we deny the gathered knowledge of centuries to the common man who may not have a chance to learn or to spend his time for the study of English or some other foreign languages? Therefore, Sir, I do think that the need for preparation of these books cannot be denied. I know that the Education Ministry itself has accepted this principle that such books have to be prepared and it was because of this that when a question was put in this House in August last by my friend opposite, Shri Niranjana Singh, the Government said that a scheme for translating standard works in foreign languages into Hindi was under consideration. I have got with me here a note that has been recently published by the Press Information Bureau

[Dr. Raghubir Singh.]

dated the 2nd December which gives details of the scheme. My submission in this respect is that the list of books given there is very incomplete. It includes a few of the text-books. As already pointed out, mere text-books are not sufficient but more reference material has to be taken up. Again this list that is before me contains some very gross omissions. For instance there is not one book here relating to geography. I do not think that the Education Ministry is so uneducated as to feel that knowledge of geography is not wanted. Then, again, I thought that the time had come when our Indian reading public and the students in the colleges also should know something of military science. It is a mistake that has been repeated for centuries in this country that knowledge of military science or due attention to military science has not been given. I do hope that the Education Ministry will not repeat that mistake and profit from the dictum of history. I would, therefore, suggest that some definite steps should be taken for the propagation of the knowledge of military science, its methods and ways and means, so that it could be brought to the common man through Hindi and other Indian regional languages. Again, I find there are hardly any books on Indian Economics. Books on economic theories are there, but not one book on Indian Economics. These are just a few things that I wanted to mention. I wish and hope that the Education Minister could persuade his friend, the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, to produce a cheap atlas. We have been told of an authentic Indian atlas being published in Hindi too by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, but that atlas costs

Rs. 125. I think no college boy can possibly afford to pay Rs. 125 for such an atlas in an Indian language. So, the need for such books is very great. As I said, there is a list before me,

but it is wholly incomplete in many ways.

Then, again, I am sorry to find that the whole scheme deals with only books that are to be sponsored by the Government itself or their agencies. If I am not wrong, in one of his answers to the question I mentioned before, the Education Minister did say that they were thinking and planning to take the help and assistance of publishers also. But I find that the publishers are nowhere in the picture. I know that sometimes if tilings are entrusted to publishers, they do things in a slipshod manner. If some loans are given and some sort of a check is enforced, things will be better definitely.

Now, Sir, I have got a few more suggestions in this respect. As I said, the list I have got with me relates only to translations to be made in Hindi. As I said before, I want that these and other books should be made available in the regional languages also. I find that the plan of the Education Ministry and its present scope of activities are very limited. I know that they cannot themselves undertake the publication of some of these books. I know fully well what they have been doing. That is why I propose that a Committee of Experts should be appointed, which should include not only experts from the Education Ministry, but some publishers from distant places, from those places where the Education Ministry is not undertaking the publication of such books. For instance, take the distant South. Some big publishing houses in Madras publish some books of this type and they can most readily be persuaded to undertake this work. Unless and until some definite, widely based scheme is thought of, I am afraid that persons speaking the regional languages might say that the Education Ministry is only trying to

da something for one language, namely, the federal language Hindi, and not doing anything to assist the other languages. I feel that if a broad-based plan is prepared, which covers not only Hindi but the other languages also, it would definitely be better. I do not say that the Education Ministry should take upon itself the work of publication of all these. But they can with the help of others propound and prepare this and give suggestions to various languages bodies in different places to produce sufficient literature which will enrich the respective regional languages.

Now, Sir, it is from this point of view that I have brought forward this Resolution and I do hope and feel that the Education Ministry will realise that despite what they have done, they have only made a very unsatisfactory start. I say 'unsatisfactory' because much has to be done and I do hope that only if some special efforts are made, something more can be done. It is in this spirit that I move my Resolution.

Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint an Expert Committee to evolve a scheme for the translation and preparation in Hindi and all regional languages of standard text-books and connected works for higher education and research including scientific and technical studies."

The question was proposed.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): Mr. Chairman, you would expect me to support the Resolution, as every right-thinking man in India should. The Education Ministry has taken upon itself the task of developing Hindi. According to the trends of the time, we might weep over the low standard in Eng-

lish. We are all concerned about it. But we must be forewarned. To expect that standard in English hereafter, which we had in our college days, is to expect the impossible. The standard of English in our country, in our Universities, is going down and one of the reasons why it is going down is that the medium of instruction through which things are taught is not understood. I see the shaking of hands by Dr. Kunzru. I wish he knew about his own Universities better. If he has known anything about the Lucknow University, Allahabad University and the Andhra University and if he is in touch with the present standards of English education in those Universities—which I believe he is not—then he would not have shaken his hands in the way in which he did. We would like to raise the standard of English, because that is the window that we have for higher education. But at the same time I say that to expect every boy and girl to have that knowledge of English, which we have, is something impossible.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: Open more windows.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: That is right. Today what is happening in our Universities is this. A few answers to questions are mugged up and they go to the examinations. That boy who is fortunate enough to get those questions in the examination gets a first class. Madras is supposed to be a little better in regard to English. Even in the case of Madras, let me tell you, if we continue English as the medium of instruction, we may deplore it. The standard will go down further. And so everybody accepts it, Dr. Kunzru accepts it, Mr. Deshmukh accepts it, that in the long run the regional language will be the medium of instruction. You, Sir, in the great Report that you have given, have said

LShjti T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] that. But in this country, Mr. Chairman we do not always think what we speak, and even when we speak we think whether things will not happen to obstruct what we speak. I question the sincerity of some people in high quarters who talk so much that in the long run the medium of instruction will be the regional language, whether they are really paving the way for that end. I really - ask the University Grants Commission what they have done to develop the regional languages. Have they produced literature? Have they helped in the production of literature?

DR. ft N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Was this entrusted to the U.G.C.?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Everything pertaining to higher education was entrusted to them. Was it entrusted to them to specifically improve the salaries of college teachers? I was one of the authors of the University Grants' Commission Act, and what did it say? First we limited it only to universities. We did not apply it to aided colleges. Later on we extended it to them.

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MR. CHAIRMAN: Speak a little mildly.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: The University Grants Commission is concerned with the improvement of the standards of education. To say that they have not been entrusted with this matter of development of the regional languages is something to beg the question, something to question the sincerity of the people who say that in the long run the regional languages should become the medium of instruction. Sir, what is going to happen is that we will reduce our standards further if we do not produce all the literature that is necessary, and that

is accepted. Even the University Grants Commission in their report say that after the literature is ready you can change over, but they say "we have no responsibility for the creation of the literature". They have responsibility only for buildings and grants and salaries and not for any other instruments of education. I think it is a very narrow view of things.

Having accepted unanimously that in the long run at least—I am not talking about tomorrow—the medium of instruction will be regional languages, what are we doing to develop them?

I now come to the Education Ministry. The Education Ministry has said that a set of 300 books should be translated into Hindi. I am rather amazed at this division of duties between the Education Ministry and its erstwhile partner.

THE MINISTER OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): Why erstwhile?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Because I know what things are. It was said in this House in answer to questions that the development of other languages belongs to the other Ministries and that the development of Hindi alone belongs to the Education Ministry. What is the money allotted for the development of Hindi, and what is the money allotted for the development of all the 13 other languages in the other Ministries? I am prepared to have it left over with Mr. Kabir. He has imagination, and I believe he can do it with imagination. What is the money allotted for the development of the 13 other languages and what is the money allotted for the development of Hindi alone? Government revenue, I believe, comes

from all the fourteen States. Sir, it is a very narrow outlook which has come to that decision. Many people who speak say that all languages are national languages and should be developed as such, and that Hindi only is the official language of the Indian Union. Most of the Hindi people who speak like that have in their minds that Hindi must take the place of English in the sense that the other languages should be of a lower order and that Hindi alone should be of the higher order. Sir, Panditji, our great Prime Minister, has said many times that all languages should be developed, but like many other good sentiments that he mentions, the other Ministers who work say "good-bye" to those sentiments and go their own way. I would like to know the responsibility of the Government of India in the development of other languages. They disclaim their responsibility. They make a few grants, Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 60,000, to a few institutions. Have they made a concerted attempt to develop the other languages? I say "no". With regard to the development of Hindi also, I would like to ask, what is the Hindi they are going to develop? Is it the Hindi of Delhi, Allahabad, Jaipur or Udaipur?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hyderabad of Shrimati Yashoda Reddy.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Hyderabad will develop Telugu. Will it be the Hindi of Bihar? There is a great danger if you allow this development of Hindi to be with the Hindi people. They are fanatics. Many of them are, and some of them may be broad-minded. I want this development of Hindi to be in the hands of non-Hindi people because we want to develop a Hindi of an all-India stature. I want this translation to be made by Tamil people who have learnt Hindi very

well, and similarly there are many Telugu people, Bengalis, Maharashtrais, and so on, so that the development of Hindi will not be a purely parochial affair with quarrels between Allahabad Hindi and Bihar Hindi and Lucknow Hindi.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Is there any Bihari Hindi — separate?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: I say Hindi be an all-India language. I would like them to have as their basis the international terms. This is accepted by the Government of India. The Government of India in the Education Ministry have accepted that we will have international terms, the English words which we have used. All sorts of Hindi substitutes are being sought to replace words like 'motor cars', 'railway engines', 'railway station', and so on.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: For Cabinet it is "bindi bindi kholi".

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: That thing even the Hindiwallas do not know. To leave these translations to Hindiwallas will mean using such words as nobody else will understand them. Even the Hindi people will not understand them. (Interruption.) So, Sir, that is number one. The international symbols must be finding a place. In many of the Tamil translations we have accepted the use of international symbols for "alpha", "beeta", "gamma" and "delta". Even in regard to the numerals the Hindi people will insist that only Hindi numerals must be used. There lies the danger, Mr. Chairman. I want these international symbols to be adopted. I want all the 26 English letters to be adopted as if they are our own words. I want all those symbols "alpha", "beeta" and so on to be adopted. If I may say another thing, Sanskrit has been

[Shn T. S. Avmashilmgam Chettiar.]

the basis of all our languages, and I would like the basic words which are obtaining in all our Indian languages to be adopted, so that the Hindi will mean a really all-India Hindi, and not a Maithili, not a Bihari, not a Lucknow one.

Sir, one other matter I would like to mention. I do not like that the people in the various parts of India should think that the Central Education Ministry is interested only in the development of Hindi. Today that is what is happening, that is what is being done. In that case it may be no more an Education Ministry of the Union of India. It will be an Education Ministry of the Hindi-speaking areas. If all the money that the Education Ministry draws comes from all parts of the country, then it must be an Education Ministry of the Union of India.

Let me say one thing more, Sir. It is not a matter of mere languages. Why do we want to develop a language? Because we want to develop the intellectual and cultural activities of the people. Today in our economic planning we say that the backward areas must be brought up. Today we know how much "jhagra" and quarrel, how much jealousy is there because some areas are not developed. If we develop only Hindi with Government of India help and if the other languages are not developed, knowledge will not be spread on the basis of equality among all the different communities in India. So it is not a mere matter of language. It is a matter of the development of those people, and there will be uneven development.

I do not like to say anything more but I would like to say only this. I do not know whether an Expert Committee is required for this purpose for it is well understood. I am not

concerned with the form of the Resolution. I am not concerned whether it is accepted in this form or not or whether an Expert Committee is necessary or not. If the subject-matter of the Resolution is accepted, if the Education Ministry accepts, even though it has not accepted it till now, that it is in the interests not only of the development of Hindi but also of the other Indian languages, that will serve the purpose. That is what I want and that **will be the** way of wisdom.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : सम्मानित चेयरमैन महोदय, अभी डा० रघुवीर सिंह ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है मैं उसका तहेदिल से समर्थन करता हूँ। अभी अविनाशिलिंगम जी ने प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए जो अपने उद्गार प्रगट किये हैं वे उद्गार जरा क्रोध में थे लेकिन बात सही है कि चाहे हिन्दी हो या हिन्दी के अलावा जो और १४ राष्ट्रीय भाषाएँ हैं उनकी पाठ्यक्रम की जो किताबें हैं उनका ठीक ठीक उल्था हो, चाहे वे विज्ञान की हों या टेक्निक सम्बन्धी हों। तो आज इस काम में कुछ मुस्ती हो रही है। प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए, मैं समझता हूँ, अविनाशिलिंगम जी जरा बहक गये और बहकते बहकते वह प्रस्ताव पर तो बोले ही नहीं। अनुवाद होना चाहिये तामिल में, तेलगू में, कन्नड़ में, सब भाषाओं में, यह खाली विकास सम्बन्धी उनका भाषण हुआ और विकास पर बोलने का तो समय यह था नहीं। उनकी सारी चढ़ाई हिन्दी पर थी। हिन्दी को उन्होंने चौदहवीं भाषा बना दिया और बताया कि मैथिली हिन्दी अलग है, बिहार की हिन्दी अलग है, यू० पी० की हिन्दी अलग है। हिन्दुस्तान की जितनी भाषायें हैं, तामिल को छोड़ कर और जितनी भाषायें हैं, वे सब संस्कृत से निकली हैं, संस्कृत सब की जननी है। इसलिये हिन्दी के और जो क्षेत्रीय भाषायें हैं उनके जो स्टैंडर्ड कामन वर्ड्स हैं वे सब संस्कृत के होने चाहियें। मुसीबत यह है कि

कोई संस्कृत भाषा को आज पढ़ता ही नहीं है और जब संस्कृत के शब्द सामने रखे जाते हैं तो वे कहते हैं कि हम नहीं जानते, हमारे बाप नहीं जानते, हमारे दादा नहीं जानते थे और ये क्या क्या शब्द रखे गये हैं। तो मुसीबत यह है कि चूंकि संस्कृत का ज्ञान उनको नहीं है इसलिये दिक्कत होती है और दिक्कत होने पर वे तरह तरह की बातें करते हैं। आज विज्ञान सम्बन्धी, टेकनिक सम्बन्धी जितनी बड़ी बड़ी पुस्तकें हैं वे सब अंग्रेजी में हैं और हमने घोषित किया है कि हिन्दी गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की आफिशियल लैंग्वेज होगी और जो १४ राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं—हम उन को क्षेत्रीय भाषायें नहीं कहते, हमने तो अपने संविधान में उनको राष्ट्रीय भाषा कहा है—उनको सभी राज्य की सरकारें घोषित कर रही हैं कि शिक्षा का माध्यम वे होंगी। तो शिक्षा का माध्यम अपनी भाषा होगी—चाहे वह तामिल हो, तेलगू हो, कन्नड़ हो, मलयालम हो, बंगला हो—और उन राष्ट्रीय भाषाओं में यदि साइंस की, विज्ञान की, टेकनिक की जितनी किताबें हैं उनका उल्था नहीं होता है, अनुवाद नहीं होता है, तो किस तरह से उनमें शिक्षा हो सकती है यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है।

हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री कहेंगे कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय यह सब काम कर रहा है लेकिन जिस तरह से काम होना चाहिये उस तरह से काम नहीं हो रहा है, इसलिये डा० रघुबीर सिंह जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उसे स्वीकार करना चाहिये। सिर्फ हिन्दी के ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो १४ राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं उनके विशेषज्ञ मिल कर ठीक तरह से एक योजना बना कर इस काम को कर सकते हैं, यदि सिर्फ एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट के विशेषज्ञ ही इसको करेंगे तो इस तरह तो काम होने का नहीं है।

यदि हम विज्ञान सम्बन्धी, टेकनिक सम्बन्धी ज्ञान को अबाम तक ले जाना चाहते हैं, जनता तक ले जाना चाहते हैं, सब लोगों को अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से पढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो जब तक कि विदेशी भाषाओं में जो किताबें हैं, पुस्तकें हैं, उनका ठीक तरह से उल्था नहीं हो, अनुवाद नहीं हो, तब तक किस तरह से हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषायें शिक्षा का माध्यम हो सकती हैं यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। इसलिये शिक्षा मंत्रालय के अलावा इस तरह के जो विशेषज्ञ हैं, जो एक्सपर्ट्स हैं उनकी एक कमेटी बने और उनकी कमेटी बना कर इस काम को किया जाय। वह सिर्फ हिन्दी के लिये नहीं बल्कि जो और राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं उनके लिये यह काम करे। हम तामिल को, तेलगू को, कन्नड़ को, बंगला को, आदि आदि को सब जगह शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाने जा रहे हैं और यदि हम पुस्तकों का उनमें अनुवाद नहीं करते हैं तो हमारी शिक्षा सब लोगों तक नहीं जा सकती है। इसलिये आज शिक्षा के बारे में जो तरह तरह की समालोचनाएं होती हैं वे ठीक होती हैं। जब से हमारी आजादी हुई तब से हम शिक्षा को साधारण जनता तक ले जाना चाहते हैं, साधारण अबाम तक ले जाना चाहते हैं लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ अंग्रेजी की बकालत भी करेंगे। अभी वही पुरानी मनोवृत्ति है जो कि विदेशियों के समय में थी। हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्य ऐसे हैं जो कि बोलते कुछ हैं और उनके दिमाग में कुछ है और वह बोलते बोलते उसी बात पर चले आते हैं। यदि हिन्दी में या और जो राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं उनमें साहित्य का विकास नहीं होगा, उनमें उल्था नहीं होगा, अनुवाद नहीं होगा, तो किस तरह से जनता के सामने विज्ञान की, साइंस की, टेकनिक की पुस्तकें जायेंगी। बिना ऐसा किये इन भाषाओं का विकास नहीं हो सकता है, विस्तार नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिये मेरा उन साथियों से भी कहना है जो कि हमारे सदस्य हैं और जो कि कभी कभी

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

बहक जाते हैं—बहकने से मेरा मतलब यह है कि अंग्रेजी का जो उनका मोह है वह इतना विषमाल है . . .

श्री राय सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) : थान ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर, मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि यह "बहकना" शब्द जो है वह मेरे ख्याल से पार्लियामेंटरी नहीं है। "बहकना" जिनके माइंड में खराबी होती है उनके लिये कहा जाता है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : माइंड खराब है, ऐसा मैंने नहीं कहा। हमारे अविनाशिलिंगम जी ने कहा कि बिहार की हिन्दी भिन्न है और उत्तर प्रदेश की हिन्दी भिन्न है और इसी के शिकार हमारे ये साथी भी हो गये और ये भी इसमें बहक गये। "आउट आफ माइंड" को "बहकना" कहते हैं। मैं दावा करता हूँ कि जो स्टैंडर्ड हिन्दी है वह मैं उनसे अच्छी जानता हूँ। बहकने का मतलब वह नहीं है जो वह कहते हैं। "आउट आफ माइंड" "आउट आफ प्वाइंट" हो जाने को बहकना कहते हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says, Mr. Chettiar got a little out of mind when he said all sorts of such things.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: I suppose that his mind is . . .

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : तो शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय से मेरी यह गुजारिश है कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को तर्हेदिल से स्वीकार करें और हिन्दुस्तान के सभी प्रान्तों में अविनाशिलिंगम जी ने भी जैसा कि कहा कि सभी क्षेत्रों में जितने विशेषज्ञ हैं . . .

SHKIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI (Madras): I think he should withdraw those remarks. It is a reflection.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No reflection.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH means digression also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yajee, you have got only three minutes more. Please go on.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : माननीय चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं शिक्षा मंत्री से गुजारिश कर रहा था कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को "इन टोटो" स्वीकार करें और जल्दी से जल्दी हिन्दुस्तान में जितने विशेषज्ञ इस सम्बन्ध में हैं उनकी एक कमेटी बनाये और जो किताबें स इम की, टेकनिक की, विदेशी भाषाओं में हैं उन सब का सिर्फ हिन्दी में ही नहीं बल्कि जो १४ राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं उनमें अनुवाद कराये। यदि हम ठीक ठीक तरह से ऐसा करके मादरी जबान में, अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से विज्ञान पढ़ायेंगे, टेकनिक की बातों को पढ़ायेंगे तो जल्दी ही हमारी उन्नति होगी। अंग्रेजी की मोह और ममता जो हमारे लोगों को है उसका परिन्त्याग कर के यदि जल्दी जल्दी इस चीज को न करेगे तो हमारी उन्नति नहीं होगी। बिना इस काम को किये हमारी क्षेत्रीय भाषायें, राष्ट्रीय भाषाएँ, शिक्षा का माध्यम पूरी तरह से नहीं हो सकेंगी। इसी वजह से आज बहुत गड़बड़ी होनी है। हमारे साथी ने सकेन किया कि हमारा स्टैंडर्ड घट रहा है, तो वह इसलिये घट रहा है कि विद्यार्थी ठीक तरह से समझने नहीं है कि वे क्या पढ़ रहे हैं। बोते की तरह रटने से तो कुछ होना नहीं है। तो यह जरूरी है कि जल्दी से जल्दी हिन्दी भाषा में और चौदहों भाषाओं में पुस्तकों का अनुवाद कराया जाय, उल्था कराया जाय और उसके लिये विशेषज्ञ लोगों की एक कमेटी जरूर बननी चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर इस प्रस्ताव का तर्हेदिल से समर्पण करता हूँ।

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: Mr. Chairman, #ie Resolution moved by Dr. Raghbir Singh is one that will receive support from all sides of the House. But in order to advocate the preparation of books in Hindi and other regional languages on higher education and research including scientific and technical studies, it is not necessary to run down English.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM
CHETTIAR: But who runs down English?

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: You.

Sir, I shall first say a word or two about the Resolution itself. It is not easy to translate books on higher education and research including scientific and technical studies into other languages. If you take for instance a book dealing with the recent research work in physics, it is not every physicist that can translate it into readable Hindi or any other language. The man who is entrusted with this translation must be well acquainted with that subject himself. I know that my hon. friend, Dr. Raghbir Singh, has asked for the appointment of an Expert Committee, but even members of an Expert Committee cannot translate books dealing with research arirl higher studies into other languages themselves. We have first to see that we produce a sufficient . . .

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: The Resolution seeks to evolve a scheme for the translation, etc. and suggests the appointment of an Expert Committee for the purpose. It does not say that they themselves will do the translation, etc.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: I do not know what the evolution of a scheme means.

I thought that the hon. Member meant that the work of translating books in Hindi and other regional languages should be taken in hand immediately. But if the task of this Committee is merely to present a scheme to the Government of India, that of course can be done without the slightest difficulty, and I do not think that any committee will take long to present its report. What is . . .

Sam SHEEL BHADRA YAJEB:
That is clear in the Resolution.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: What is clear in the Resolution? I do not know. There are certain things that do not seem to be clear to anybody in this Resolution.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: The text is clear, that is what I said.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: But if it is merely for the evolution of a scheme or plan for translating books, I confess that I have no enthusiasm for it. It is a sound Resolution. This thing has to be done, but if this is all that it seeks to do, I am afraid I am not keenly interested in it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The scheme is meant to be implemented—that is what he says.

SHRI M. M. SUR (West Bengal): But before the scheme is implemented permission of the authors to translate their books will have to be taken.

MR. CHAIRMAN; All the details will be worked out.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: I was saying that we want translations of books, but if the scheme evolved by this Expert Committee is to be implemented, then we must have a sufficiently

[DR. H. N. Kunzru.] large number of experts in every subject in order to achieve the purpose of the appointment of this committee. That is the first thing that we have to look, to, and it is here that the universities can give valuable help to Government and to men like my hon. friend, Dr. Raghubir Singh, who are anxious to enrich Hindi and the regional languages in every possible way, and here I would like to refer to the remarks that fell from my hon. friend, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar. I am afraid he can hardly speak on the subject of the development of the regional languages without trying to run down English and bringing in the unfortunate state of things prevailing in his own State. Every State is not like Madras State where the Vice-Chancellor and the Education Minister are at loggerheads because, if I may speak quite frankly, the Vice-Chancellor is trying to do his best to maintain a high standard in the Madras University. He is not against Tamil, but he realises the value of English during the period of transition. This brings me to the remarks made by Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar regarding the work of the University Grants Commission and to the report of the committee over which I had the honour to preside. Now let me say that the committee did not say that instruction should not be given in the regional languages. I think that was admitted by Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar himself. But what the committee said was that as the knowledge of English among the students was declining, that was affecting the standard of education in the universities. This was not the fault of the universities; this is the fault of the secondary schools which ought to be looked after by the Education Ministries of the States and which the Central Education Ministry also had to take a keen interest in. The universities are doing their best to deal with the material that they get from the secondary or higher secondary schools, and the University Grants Commission has done whatever it

could to help the universities to raise the standard of education. Now before I proceed further, I should like to say a word about the task entrusted to the University Grants Commission. Sir, item 66 in List I in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution makes 'Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions' a Central subject. The University Grants Commission can act only within the four corners of item 66; it can deal only with co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education; it cannot take upon itself other tasks which are not included within its terms of reference. Nevertheless the University Grants Commission has not been oblivious of the need for making preparation for an orderly transition from the present system, where the medium of instruction is English, to another system where the medium of instruction may be a regional language. It is not the business of the University Grants Commission to compel the universities to adopt the regional languages as the medium of instruction. The universities are statutory bodies and are therefore autonomous in regard to this and other academic matters. All that the University Grants Commission can do is to see from the academic point of view that the universities which want to change the medium of instruction should be able to do so in an orderly way. It wants that some caution should be exercised in this matter and that such steps should be taken to achieve the desired result as would not lower the standard of education. With this in mind it appointed, I believe last year, a committee consisting of representatives of all the regional languages to consider this matter and to make such recommendations as would be helpful to those universities that want to change the medium of instruction. The report of that committee has been received and it will be con-

sidered by the Commission at its next meeting on the 30th December. Sir, what I have said will show what the task entrusted to the University Grants Commission is and what steps it has taken to fulfil the responsibility that has been placed on its shoulders.

Sir, before I sit down, I should like to make one or two remarks more on the subject that we are discussing. According to the present trend it seems almost certain that higher education will sooner rather than later be given by the universities through the regional languages.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Thank you.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: This is the trend. I only want, as a member of the University Grants Commission and as one deeply interested in the maintenance of high standards of education, that the change should be brought about in such a manner as to be acceptable not merely to faddists but also to educationists, and to those who are concerned with the welfare both of the students and of the country. But even when the medium of instruction has been changed, shall we be able to do without an adequate knowledge of English? Well, knowledge of some foreign languages will still be necessary for us in order that the nation might keep in touch with the new researches that are being made not merely in the domain of science but also in the domain of the social sciences and the humanities in general. But to suppose, Sir, that while scientific education cannot be given through Hindi or any other regional language adequately at the present time, education in politics or in sociology or in economics can be adequately given through the regional language, is a profound mistake. Research work in these subjects, that is, in the humanities and the social sciences, is going on in the same way as it is going on in connection with

the scientific subjects. It is necessary, therefore—if we are interested in higher studies of any kind—that our boys and girls should have an adequate knowledge of English. Let us not, in any discussion relating to education, let fall a word which implies the depreciation of English. English is not our language. We have no reason to be proud of our knowledge of English. But for the good of our country and in order to have those leaders on which the security and progress of the country will depend, it must be understood that it is necessary for us to know some foreign language, and that it is easier for us to know English than any other foreign language. I wish that in all discussions that may take place on the subject of higher education, while stress may be legitimately laid on the importance of the regional languages, the importance of knowing English properly should also be brought out. It is only in that way that we can achieve even the limited purpose that this resolution has in mind. Unless we have men who know English well and who are, therefore, thoroughly conversant with their subjects, we cannot get translations of books dealing with research and other higher branches of learning.

Sir, as there is no more time, I shall not deal with any other point. I shall only say that if I had time, I could have given other instances of the interest taken by the University Grants Commission in having books of the university standard translated into Hindi and other languages.

As regards Hindi, I need give only the example of the Delhi University. It has been given a sizeable grant by the University Grants Commission for getting books translated into Hindi.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think the trend of the debate till now makes it clear that while there may be minor differences in stress, the purpose behind this resolution is one on which there is no-

[Shri Humayun Kabir.] -difference of opinion. We want all the Indian languages to develop, and if the hon. Member who moved this Resolution also suggests that the rate of progress should be more rapid than it has been till now, I do not think anybody will quarrel. There is always room for acceleration, but at the same time we have also to take into consideration the actual situation as it obtains today.

Sir, in his speech the honourable the mover of the Resolution spoke mainly about the Education Ministry and seemed to complain that the Education Ministry was not taking as much interest in the other languages as in Hindi. This statement is not quite correct because the Education Ministry is doing a certain amount of work in the field of children's literature, in the field of adult literature, in languages apart from Hindi. The other Indian languages are thus being supported to some extent by the Education Ministry. But one major reason why the Education Ministry has not devoted that much attention to the other languages as Hindi is that there is another Ministry which has, as its exclusive responsibility, the development of the other Indian languages.

Sir, ever since the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs was formed we have been trying to accelerate the progress of languages as much as possible. We began on a low scale; I do not deny that for a moment. I think in the first year of this Ministry we spent about a lakh and a half rupees. I am sure the House will agree with me that that is a very small sum when you consider the 12 languages of India. But we have stepped up considerably since then.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM
 CHJETTIAR: How much this year?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: We will be spending over Rs. 10 lakhs in this year. If in the course of two years we have been able to increase it from Rs. 1½ lakhs to over Rs. 10 lakhs, I think hon. Members will admit that some attempts have been made to accelerate the progress as much as possible. The provision in the Second Five Year Plan was only for Rs. 20 lakhs. It is my hope that that amount will be spent. Not very much was spent in the first two years unfortunately but, nevertheless, in the last 3 years, I think we have stepped up the programme so that either the entire amount will be spent or very near that but we are providing in the Third Plan Rs. 15 crores and I am sure my hon. friend, Shri Chettiar, will also agree that from Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs. 15 crores marks some advance.

We could certainly go even faster but we must not forget again that Governments can only provide certain funds and my view is that Government funds should be used more or less on the tube-well principle. You put in a few buckets of water in the tube-well but draw out of it thousands of gallons, if not millions of gallons. The Governmental funds, in this way, should be used on the tube-well principle, so that if you put Rs. 15 crores in the Third Plan, it would yield much more. My belief is that with the co-operation of the State Governments we can do it. We have made it a condition that in every case the State Government also makes a contribution. We are also subsidising private firms. Very recently, a book has been published, the "Wonder World of Sciences", in four languages through the agency of a private firm. We have subsidised the publication of the book, the "History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western", with which, Sir, you were associated, in a number of Indian languages. Wherever necessary, we have taken the assistance of private firms. In this way, through the concerted efforts of the Government of India, the State Governments

and private firms, it is my belief that in five years, a good deal of work can be done but at the same time, I would urge on my hon. friend to remember that he cannot create a language in five years.

To me, it has seemed that the over-emphasis on text-book—here I am giving my personal view—is somewhat wrong. It is much easier to translate a text-book than to provide the ba^e on which the text-book could be written. In fact the translations of text books are never satisfactory because text books continually get out of date and in any case have to be adapted. As one who has been keenly interested in education for a number of years—I speak with humility before you, Sir, as you have given your whole life to the cause of education—I think you will agree that for the text book as such, the translation is not so important as the creation of a base on which the text book can be written. We have always made it a part of our programme that we want that books in every science, whether physical science or social science, in every branch of humanities, in every Indian language, should be available to the general reader before the end of 1967. That is the programme which we have already drawn up. That is the programme according to Which we ar_e working. By 1967 we would like to see that in every Indian language there are at least one or two general books, not books of a very high research perhaps, but adequate for the common man.

I again personally feel that at this stage of our development, it would probably be a dissipation of our resources if we try to spend the money on higher research in the Indian languages. That will come at the second stage but at this stage we should build up the base properly so that the vast masses of the people have some idea about all the sciences

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through their own mother-tongue and, if that can be done, I believe, the base will have been made from where you can make progress much more rapidly. Just as in the field of economics, where we talk of a 'take-off stage, I think in the development of language also there is a 'take-off stage. So when we have provided the scheme and provided a base sufficiently broad and wide, the advance afterward can be much more rapid.

I do not, of course, want to decry or in any way underestimate the importance of translation. Translations are one of the best means of developing a language but the translation should not be confined to text-book alone. They should be of books of all types and I say with regret that our record in translation in India is not very good. I am speaking from memory but I think I am correct when I say that in 1959-60, only 600 books were translated into all the Indian languages from all European languages. Again, if my memory is not incorrect, I believe about five thousand books were translated into English during the same period. This gives us the order of difference. Therefore, we have to accelerate this programme very much but again, Government cannot do everything.- I have often said that if every Indian who is a graduate, every Indian who has had the advantage of higher education, takes it upon himself as his personal responsibility to translate at least one book from a foreign language into his own mother-tongue, we would be able to enrich our languages at a much more rapid rate. The quality will not always be uniform. Some of the works may not be of a very high- order but a base will have been laid which will enable us to progress much mors rapidly than we have done in the past. I would, therefore, submit that it is not really a question of the setting up of a Committee. It is not so much a question of criticising one another, it is a question of working together.

[Shri Humayun Kabir.]

Before I conclude, I would like to add one more remark to reinforce what Dr. Kunzru said. Our love for our own language should never lead to any disregard or any hatred for any other language. In fact, no language will prosper if our attitude is negative. I am certainly proud of my language and I love it but that should not, in any way, detract or prevent me from loving Hindi, and other Indian languages or English, especially English which has been for us a very useful language. My hon. friend, Shri Yajee, said many things which were excellent and with which I would agree, but I would not agree with that part of his speech where he said that there was undue regard for English. We must have a deep regard for *one* of the major languages of the world and we must utilise it.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
 What I said was "^^t VKfilt tf
 SSTTCT »Ttf| l" He could not follow
 my language.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: If I could not follow his Hindi, that itself is evidence that his Hindi requires further simplification. In any case, my point is that while we should certainly have the deepest love for our own language, we must, at the same time, make full use of the resources of one of the greatest languages which has come to us by chance. I am not ashamed that we know English fairly well. I would not say that this knowledge of English is such that we need be proud of it but we do know English fairly well and we should not give up this weapon which we have obtained and which we have used and which today has become the one single-most important instrument of scientific advances and research. Again I am speaking from memory, but if I am not incorrect, in a survey which was made in 1957-58, out of the total research work in the sciences, in

social sciences, in the humanities, in the whole world, about 51 per cent, of the entire work was done in the English language. This was done not only by Englishmen and Americans or Canadians or Australians whose mother-tongue is English but by many people in the European continent, by many in Japan and by many in our country and the result was that about 51 per cent, of the total research, total new knowledge in all the sciences, social and natural and the humanities came mostly through one language. If we have access to this language, I think we should take full advantage of that.

I would conclude by saying that the Government's attitude towards this Resolution will be indicated by my hon. friend and colleague, Dr. Shrimali, but I would say that so far as its general purpose, that we want the development of the Indian languages and that the process should be accelerated, is concerned, I do not think that there is any difference of opinion in any section of the House but how best it is to be done, whether this Committee is going to be of any use or what steps this Committee is going to take, etc. are matters of detail. Dr. Kunzru raised certain difficulties and doubts for our consideration and one could add to them. But we all agree with the general objective. Let us go forward and develop our own languages and, if we do so, then not only shall we serve our languages but through our languages we shall serve our people and make them citizens of India and of the one world which is fast emerging to-day.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR (Nominated):
 Mr. Chairman, I feel that from the very limited Resolution, the debate has ranged over a very wide field.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

The Resolution merely asked for a Committee to be appointed to go into

the question of translation of text-Books but the debate has included the importance of the English language, the sphere of activity of the University Grants Commission and the standards of education in this coun-ty. Well, I have only one observation to make about all this eloquence on the English language. Nobody denies the greatness, the qualities or the importance of the English language. No body denies either the necessity for the elite of this country to know English. But is it suggested by anybody even by the greatest advocates of the English language, that all the 400 million people of this country should be educated in English? Surely not. The British ...

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: May I ask my hon. friend a question?

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: I am not suggesting for one moment that such is the impression or such is the idea that my learned friend who spoke in such en thus astic terms about English has. All that I am saying is that the British tried their level best for over a hundred years to make English the medium of education. But the total number of people with a knowledge of English which they left behind was, I believe, only 5 millions. And out of those five millions, what percentage is able to speak English fluently and write it with effect and think in it in the way the other people do whose mother tongue is English? Nobody denies that English ought to be cultivated by people who are interested in higher knowledge, who are interested in higher research and who wan¹, to convey their mind or their thoughts to the world. But the question here is about our education and our educational standards.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: At the university level.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: Yes, , at the university level. The standard of university education, I am told,

hag fallen. But why? Is it because of lack of text-books? Is it because of the quality of the teachers? JNo. 11: is because from being class education it has now become mass education. When Li is cass education and you have a small number of people, it is possible to maintain the standards and to make people understand what they are studying. But when you have colleges wiith 5,000 and 6,000 students and when the demand for education at the secondary and the college levels is increasing at such a rapid rate, to think that you can maintain the standards that you had when you were teaching in small colleges, is, I think, foolish. This is so not merely in our country but in other countries also. I am told by leading ^educationists in America that national education has meant a fall in educational standards, in the quality of education. What we see here is nothing different. That is a problem that is inherent in our situation and we have to meet it by putting aJ our resources into the task. Nobody denies that. But the question that is before us is whether we should have a committee appointed to go into the work of translations of text-books and other books of knowledge. I do not think there is any value in translating text-books. Text-books, by definition, are merely popularisation, vulgarisation, of the higher knowledge that exists. What we actually require in our schools are books of thought, books which teach people to think, basic books which open to us the knowledge and thought that exists not by translation but by original thinking, and I do not see why we should not concentrate more on the writing of new books than transiting textbooks which become out of date before they are translated. After all, the Government of India has a Book Trust. What is the Book Trust supposed to do? The question is not what it has done. The question is what it is supposed to do. It is supposed to encourage the writing of books on subjects of importance, in English

[Shri K. M. Panikkar.]
 and in all the languages that are n
 in this country. Whether this parti
 cular committee referred to in the
 Resolution is necessary or not is re
 lated to this. The problem comes
 back to this. Can we have books if
 we do not think, if our thought pro
 cesses, if our minds, are not function
 ing at the level of higher work, of
 higher research? The books that we
 translate would only produce artificial
 materials in our language, for pur
 poses of class study. But what is
 more important is that people in this
 country should have sufficient know
 ledge of these subjects and they should
 be encouraged to write and produce
 literature, and that literature would
 be more natural and welcome than
 translations from text-books which
 are not very easy to translate. I
 agree that without a quantum or
 corpus of translated works it is not
 possible to create new thought and
 nobody is opposed to the view that
 for the purpose of education, adap
 tations and translations and new
 books, all these have to be encouraged.
 I believe to some extent the State
 Governments as well as the Central
 Government are encouraging this.
 There is no doubt about that. After
 all, the organisation of the States
 today, more or less, follows the lan
 guage pattern so that there is no lan
 guage, except Sindhi and Urdu, which
 has not what you may call a home
 area in which to develop. Bengal,
 Kerala, Tamilnad and so on have
 their Government organisations for
 the purpose of translation and for
 original work and most of these
 areas have also established academies and
 learned socieMes for this purpose. Therefore,
 the work that is going on is beginning to
 show results.

The issue really is whether higher education
 can be based merely on translations. -
 Translations are important and in many
 coun+ries where I the languages do not provide
 adequate I text-books, the conveying of
 know- I

ledge, the conveying of thought, ■ is done
 through the personal medium and the quality
 of the teachers is the thing that really matters
 in the development of thought and in the de
 velopment of books. Therefore, while I
 strongly support the idea that there should be
 a concerted policy for translations and for the
 production of books on every subject, I do **not**
 know whether it would be possible for me to
 vote for a committee at this stage for this
 purpose, when various organisations are
 already functioning, including the Book Trust
 and the various academies which exist **and**
 which are backed not only by the State
 Governments but to a certain extent by the
 Central Government also.

There is a further point which I would like
 to emphasise and it is this. There is this idea
 that in scientific, humanistic and other
 subjects, translation is merely the result of the
 backwardness of a language. The hon.
 Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural
 Affairs has just now pointed out the number of
 translations that have taken place into the
 English language. From every language books
 are translated into English, French, German,
 Russian and so on. It is not a hallmark of
 backwardness that we want to translate books.
 It is rather the hallmark of our advancing
 desire to popularise knowledge. It is not given
 to a single language to have the monopoly of
 wisdom, the monopoly of knowledge, the
 monopoly of research. This is being done in
 every language, in every important language.
 And what is necessary for us is to accumulate
 that knowledge and to bring the quantum of
 that knowledge from various languages into
 our own languages, not merely for the pur
 pose of school text-books, but in order that the
 ordinary person, in order that the public at
 large, may have a source from which to draw
 upon for their own knowledge. The idea that
 books are meant only

for schools and only for teachers w teach and students to cram, I think, is a very primitive one. What is *important* is tha. wi h national education developing in this country, booss should be looked upon as the main source for the .raising of standards and the intellectual level of the common people. You may have popular series like the Home University Library or the Penguin Series or similar books or standard volumes written specially and at higher prices. What is required is that works on the lates topics, science, humanities, social sciences, all these must be available for the common man and not merely for the students in the colleges. Students in colleges have set courses; they study set things. If they have not got the books, the teachers are there to explain to them what the books contain. I do not want to give very much importance to this idea that teachers should teach through textbooks. If teachers are well-educated, if teachers know their subjects, they would teach through classics and not through text-books. Text-books are "made-easy's" in order to get through the examinations. What is important is that the teacher should know the subject well and he should be in a position to explain the intricacies to students who learn. And when you have colleges of 6,000 students where the teachers cannot directly teach—in fact there is no contact between them—then you have to fall back upon some kind of text-books which are meant for cramming. The issue that we have to face clearly is this. When we have a developing system of education, when year by year the number of students in our schools and colleges increases by millions, it is not possible to keep the standards we had when our college-going numbers were very small. At the same time it is necessary that the standards not merely in colleges but the standard of knowledge, of information, of critical values, must continue to rise if demo-

cracy has to function and therefore it is not merely a question of producing tt.txt-books; it is a question of producing good books, and good books in ample numbers to ba made available at cheap prices to people who are educated. Actually we come back to Luis question that it is the problem of continuing to educate the educated. It is not merely a question of educating people in colleges because science i3 daily progressing, research work in social sciences is daily improving; in economics, in history, in all these subjects there are daily improvements in knowledge. The fact that you took a Degree or came through a University with distinction some time ago does not make you an educated man. It is necessary that you should keep in touch with those things so that the standard of knowledge continues to permeate at all levels, even the educated people. For this purpose what is required is that the latest knowledge should be made available in books, not merely in text-books, but in the best kind of books, and not merely by translation. Translation can only enrich a language up to a point. Translations are useful as producing a quantum of work for purposes of knowledge but actually if thought has to be improved, it has to be through works written in the language itself. Therefore while I support the general idea which Dr. Raghub;r Singh has brought up that we should emphasise this question of translation, that we must have a programme for translating good works from all languages into the Indian languages, I do not think there is any necessity for a Committee at this stage because there are functioning all over India, in the States, at the Centre, various organisations for the purpose of getting these things translated in the regional languages. We know there are academies which have taken up a laree programme of translation from various European languages into regional languages. We know that the

Book Trust exists at the Centre; we

*appointment of Expert Committee**Hindi and all regional languages*

[Shri K. M. Panikkar.] know that in Madras there is a South Indian Languages Book Trust which is an American sponsored organisation but which at the same time translates a very large number of books into the four South Indian languages. These are activities which enrich the language and which give a background of knowledge for our common people. So while I strongly support the idea behind Dr. Raghubir Singh's proposal, I do not think there is any necessity for a special committee at this stage and I therefore leave it to him to press his point but not to press his Resolution.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the Resolution before the House is closely interrelated with the question of the medium of instruction. The preparation and translation of text-books have no meaning unless we are determined and prepared to have Hindi and other Indian languages as the media of instruction at the postgraduate stage. There are some educationists who feel that we should try to adopt Hindi and Indian languages as media of instruction at the university stage as early as possible. There are others, equally distinguished ~ ed, perhaps more distinguished, who are opposed to that idea, who feel that English should continue to be the medium of instruction. Amongst them it seems to me that there are two groups. Some talk as if they wish English to be the medium of instruction for ever or for a very long time. Others seem to stand for English as the medium of instruction during the transition period. Much can be said for the contribution made by English to the enrichment of our knowledge; much can be said in favour of adopting English as the medium of instruction, but I do not think that a nation can think of keeping English as the medium of instruction for all times to come. Unless our Indian languages are fit to be media of instruction at

post-graduate stage, we have no option but to keep English as the medium of instruction at that stage but as one who has spent a great part of his life in education I wish to say that considerable harm is being done to the cause of education by prolonging this period of transition. I know in certain universities Hindi or other Indian language is the medium of instruction up to the stage of B.A. and then the students are required to study through English. And what a mess they make! They fail to understand the iecmrei delivered in English and where option is given to answer questions in Indian languages, even though they study through English they try to answer questions in the Indian language. They neither know English nor do they know their own mother-tongue properly. This question will therefore have to be seriously taken into consideration and I feel, Sir, that it is not possible for us to revert to English as the medium of instruction. We will have to go ahead in the direction we have gone ahead so far and we must try to see that the period of transition¹ is as short as possible. And I feel, Sir, that that is the intention of the mover of the Resolution. He wishes us to expedite the preparation and translation of textbooks and g'cod works in Indian languages so that the period of transition may be shortened and our students may be able to have higher studies in their own language, may be able to express themselves properly at least in their own language. When we say so, we are not unconscious of the importance of English; we are not unconscious of the importance of other foreign languages. We know that a student in England has not only to learn English; he has also to learn French, German and other languages and there is no reason why students in India should not learn English or some other foreign language along with the Indian languages. We know-very well that while there are translations in English from various languages yet the English student is not

able to do away with the need of learning other foreign languages. Therefore I have no doubt in my mind that even when there would be many translations and many standard works in our Indian languages, we will not be able to do away with the need of learning foreign languages. But, Sir, while we must learn a foreign language so that we may be in constant touch with the new knowledge, it is also necessary for us to develop our own languages and to be in a position to express ourselves in our language and to impart our knowledge to the common man in his own mother-tongue. I do agree with my friend that Hindi has to be developed on an all-India basis. When I was a young man of 25, I studied Lokamanya Tilak's "Gita Rahasya", a translation by Madhava Rao Sapre. If he had not been kind enough to translate that work in Hindi, I might have been deprived of the knowledge of such a standard work as that of Lokamanya Tilak's "Gita Rahasya". We, the Hindi-speaking people, owe a great debt of gratitude to Marathi scholars who have devoted their time to enrich the Hindi literature, and we will be obliged to our friends from other States who enrich the Hindi literature. I do agree that if Hindi is to serve as a common language for the whole of India, it must develop in co operation with the scholars from all parts of India. Hindi literature and Hindi language, if it is to be the common literature and common language of the whole of India, cannot be the monopoly of the Hindi-speaking people alone. I also do agree with my friend that when we have accepted so many languages as the regional or I should say as the national languages of India, it is the duty of the Central Government to pay attention to the development of other regional languages and literature also.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. K. L. SHRIMALI) : Also the State Governments.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Of course, the State Governments, all the States where Hindi is spoken as well as all the States where regional languages are spoken. We have got States where Hindi is spoken and we have States where other languages are spoken. Along with these State Governments, the Central Government should also try to promote not only the Hindi language but the other regional languages also. I feel this is necessary to avoid these linguistic feelings, clashes or conflicts of linguism that are continuing in India and harming Indian unity considerably.

I do feel that while we have to prepare literature in all Indian languages, and perhaps all Indian languages will have to be accepted as the medium of instruction at a higher stage, it is very necessary for us to have common technical terms, common terminology. Various languages are borrowing words from Sanskrit, but different Sanskrit words are being used in different senses in different languages and this is creating a lot of confusion. I hope the Central Government will pay attention to this question. I will request scholars of all Indian languages to pay due attention to the question and in co-operation evolve common technical terms, so that these common technical terms may be the medium of common thought all over India.

I may also point out to you, when we are talking of translations from foreign languages, we must not fail to have translations from one Indian language to the other languages. If we had translated in Hindi Max Muller's works and had not translated Lokamanya Tilak's "Gita Rahasya" in Hindi, we would have done wrong to our own country. In the same way, if we intend to translate Newton's works from English to Hindi, we must also be prepared to translate Raman's works, Krishnan's works, Bose's works

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 ' [Prof. M. B. Lai.]

from one language to the other languages. So, proper attention must be paid to this aspect also.

Now, I do not know what led Mr. Panikkar to say that text-books are a vulgarisation of knowledge. In my opinion, proper text-books are the systematisation of knowledge and, therefore, translations of good textbooks cannot be ignored. Though I would like scholars of India to produce text-books for Indian students, I think we cannot altogether ignore the translation of good text-books from foreign languages to Indian languages.

Now, Sir, the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs invited our attention to the preparation of general books in Indian languages. Nobody can deny the importance thereof. But I feel that this in itself will not be sufficient. We will have also to pay attention to the preparation of standard works on different subjects.

In the end, I wish to say a few words about the standards in the Universities. I do agree with Mr. Panikkar that our standards have gone down, partly because while in the past education was confined to students of certain parts, who had imbibed certain standards of culture in their homes, today education has become a mass education. And it must become a mass education, if we are to have democracy in India. Because of that standards of education have to an extent gone down. But I do not agree with Mr. Panikkar when he says that they will go down because of that. We are today faced with the problem of how to keep up standards in Universities, in spite of the fact that the masses have begun to take a keener interest in higher education than they were taking before. The masses must take a greater interest in education and yet it is our duty to see that education at all stages is so imparted to a son of the

Hindi and all regional languages
 common man that when he gets University education, he is in standard equal to the students of Universities of all countries of the world.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

SHHIMMIT. NAIJLAMUTHURAMA-MURTI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, this Resolution in so far as it goes, "to evolve a scheme for the translation and preparation in Hindi and all regional languages of standard text-books and connected works for higher education and research including scientific and technical studies", is an excellent resolution. It is a harmless one and I am sure that the House will express its view on it. We are happy that those things are there, but it is not a very easy task to carry out this translation in Hindi and all regional languages. I would ask, where have you got the personnel, the trained personnel, for carrying out these translations? Have you collected the standard text-books and connected works for higher education and research first of all? Have you gathered the material to be handled, and secondly, have you got the trained personnel to cope with this work? Sir, this requires very careful investigation. Simply because we are dealing not with factories or industrial products but with the minds of people ranging from childhood to the university stage, with their development in regard to ideas and concepts, therefore it is a very very important point to consider whether we have got these two in readiness before we attempt such a task.

Sir, I find that as it is, the changeover from one language to another, from one medium to another, has been attempted with very injurious effects on the minds of children as well as of the teaching staff. There is a great deal of confusion from the school to the university stage over this question. We cannot perform a coup d'etat or a change-over over-

night on this problem that concerns the minds of the young. Therefore, Sir, with all due respect to the need for such translations, I would request any committee or any scheme that is launched to go very warily into this subject and to study all the repercussions it will have before such a thing is attempted. An over-hurried translation has resulted in tragedies in the schools as well as in the colleges. Examination papers had been set and valuations had been undertaken in the so-called regional language, one examiner differing from the other with regard to the terms that were used in those questions and answers. Therefore, we should not play with fire, as it were. Language is the life of a nation, of a people. Therefore, when we are dealing with this question of language, all languages are important in my opinion. I will not say that Hindi is not important or the regional languages. In fact we should provide opportunities for the promotion and cultivation of all languages in our country.

In this connection I would say that while there should be a common language—and our Government has said that Hindi should be the common language of India and that the regional languages might be the media of instruction in the various regions—it will take a long time before Hindi becomes a language of use in many parts of India. The argument has been given again and again that while Hindi gives an advantage to the Hindi-speaking areas, those parts of the country which have absolutely nothing in common with this language will take a long time before they accept the change. That point is very vital to the translations, to the imposition of these books of Hindi on non-Hindi-speaking people. Therefore, all that I can say is that you must go about cautiously because Hindi is going to be a common language for the country, and in translating books into Hindi and in giving

such books to the people we must be very careful that terms that are commonly accepted by all should be adopted. In this connection I would request that while this work is going on, we should not try to translate literally commonly accepted terms from one language to another. Whether they have come from the English language or from Sanskrit should be checked. Commonly accepted terms that have come into the use of not only the five million English-educated people of this country but even into the vocabulary of the masses in rural areas should not be literally translated simply because these terms are in English or in Sanskrit. I am saying this because you have got the zeal for the regional language or Hindi that they must be converted even if the translation takes a whole line instead of a small little word. That should not be done. The word so long as it has come into common parlance even among the masses, like tram, bus, court, college, parliament etc., need not be translated into a regional language or into Hindi. In the same way I would say with regard to Humanities that I have taught Political Science, Economics and other sociological subjects, and there too the terms are difficult to be translated, and where lecturers who are well qualified in regional languages have attempted this translation, the students could not follow, nor could two lecturers follow the terms that were being used by them. I am not saying that until eternity we should have the continuation of any particular language, namely English, because we have been educated in English and we have become conversant with the terminologies in English. I do not say that. But language is the outcome of development, of progress as people had felt the need as time went on to use it, and it reflects the life of a nation, the life of a people. Therefore, whatever has come in this current, in this stream, of development, why should we go back on that simply because we say this is not

[Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti.] Tamil, that is not Telugu or that is not Hindi? After all, language is our instrument of expression, it is for use. Therefore, in so far as that instrument has been a useful instrument, the use of such terms as have come into our common vocabulary, whether in the high scientific and research subjects or in ordinary parlance in life, should be continued, and the Pandits in these various languages should not try to literally translate these terms to the confusion of the people, the mass of the people, the children in the schools, the students in the colleges and the lecturers above. Therefore, I would plead very much for this kind of normal and spontaneous movement to continue. With regard to English, we might say that because we have been educated in English and because we have been teaching in English, we are attached to the English language. Not at all. After all, the 1 P.M. English language has come into our life for the past so many years and we have gained a great deal from it. Our very Constitution, our laws and our speeches here are in English. Our international contacts and exchange are in English. We owe a great deal to that language and therefore I agree with the Report of the University Grants Commission. Erudite scholars have sat there and have gone into this matter very deeply and have come to the conclusion that as much as possible, for as long a time as possible, English should be there in the higher stages of university education, and I hope that would be kept in mind when these things are done.

In regard to highly scientific treatises, as has been remarked already, much depends upon the way in which the language is used especially in highly technical and technological subjects where the language has to be very accurate and the change of one term this way or that way can play havoc in the realm of knowledge. We are all very anxious

that we should add to the fund of all that is made available for the use of our people in these various languages and these translations should be undertaken with a great deal of caution and care to meet these requirements.

With regard to text-books, I do not see what is the position with regard to them. Our friend over there said, "vulgarisation of knowledge". I do not know whether he would call Laski's "Grammar of Politics" as vulgarisation of knowledge. That is used as a text-book by political science students. Would he call the great works in the history of this country which are being used by students as text-books as vulgarisation of knowledge? Would he call Graham Wallace's "Art of Thought" as vulgarisation of knowledge? I do not know what he meant by 'vulgarisation of knowledge'. I see that Mr. Panikkar is not here.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: 'Vulgarisation' in French means popularisation, and nothing else.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: I feel that the word 'vulgarisation' is wrongly used. Vulgar is something low and despicable and we should avoid its use especially when it relates to the masses in view of the democratic set-up in our country.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: That is French English.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: Anyway, text-books are invaluable both at the school stage as well as at the college stage. In fact it is said that the best way of imparting knowledge is for the teachers and the professors to impart it verbally in the class room and not to addict themselves to text-books. But textbooks are also necessary to crystallise thoughts and present them in a simple manner to the students.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHKIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: May I speak after 2-30 p.M.?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, you have to finish it now.

S-HRTMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: I have scarcely spoken on all the things that I wanted to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fifteen minutes. There is a time limit.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: Time is available.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On Resolutions, the time allotted for every Member is fifteen minutes.

ISHRIMATE T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: Am I to stop now?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SHHIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: I am sorry I have to stop now. From my experience, I can tell you that this House . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The time allotted to every speaker on Resolutions is only fifteen minutes, and you have taken fifteen minutes.

The House stands adjourned till 2-30 p.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this Resolution is a good one and I have no hesitation

in extending my whole-hearted support to the Resolution, and I think that after ten years of the inauguration of our Constitution we shall do well to ask ourselves as to how we are progressing in the matter of change-over from English to the regional languages in the various States and to Hindi especially in regard to the work at the Centre. Hindi is meant to be the official language in our country for all-India purposes. The progress has been unsatisfactory, and I do not think anyone would deny that much that should have been done has not been done and there is a lot that remains to be done and the deficit on this account is very great indeed.

First of all let me take up the question of the regional languages. In India we have only one per cent, people who can in any manner be considered to have any knowledge of English, including not only those that can speak in English but also those that can write and understand a few words in English. We have got only one per cent, of such population. That was what we came to know in the various reports that had been published—I believe it was there specially in the linguistic report and I think the States Reorganisation Commission Report also noted it. Therefore English cannot be regarded as the language of the people in our country. I do not deny the importance of English. Due to certain historical circumstances English has come to occupy an important position in our social life. I concede that; but then it does not mean to say that English in any manner is the language of the people. English is not the language of the people and the evidence is there in the statistics of people who speak English. Neither are we a country where one does not have developed languages; we are not like certain other backward nations in the world in this respect who do not have a developed language. We have got

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

developed languages, not one but many, which are rich in content, which come through the ages in history, and they have produced men of learning and literature, and I think our Kalidas, for example, can stand comparison with any poet. Similarly we have got in modern times also men of literature, poets and so on in almost all the languages, who have enriched not only the culture of India but in their humble way have also contributed towards the larger human culture in this respect. Therefore we are not just destitute in this matter that we have to be spoon-fed constantly on English language, that, we have to hug the English language and wait as long as we can. This is not the position. We have very good languages to begin with, to base ourselves upon. But have we utilised them? We have got the Telugu language, the Malayalam language, the Tamil language, the Gujarati language, the Marathi language, the Bengali language, Oriya, Assamese, Punjabi and so on. All these are developed languages; some may be relatively more developed; others may not be so. But they are developed languages. Now it was quite possible for the Government to take vigorous steps to bring about a state of affairs in the existing constituent States of our Republic where we have a rapid change-over from the English language to the regional languages. This is not being done as speedily as it should have been. I am not for a moment suggesting that nothing is being done—that would be unrealistic. What I am complaining against is that what should have "been done is not being done, and we are discussing it today after thirteen years of independence, after ten years of the Constitution having been in operation—and the Constitution had something to say about it. Now why is that so? Why is it that when the overwhelming majority of our people do not at all speak English, have no

acquaintance with the English language, when the Government is expanding its activities, when our educational institutions need to train people from all places and from all classes, from the peasantry, from the working class, from the middle-class and so on, and equip them with scientific and technical education and other things to meet the growing need for scientific and technical personnel, how is it that we are slow in this matter of change-over? There are some bas.k' reasons for it, and I think the time has come for a little self-criticism in this matter because in India we have developed along with the English language an upper strata with a certain kind of snobbish mentality, because we have got a sort of linguistic aristocracy, and bureaucracy is there. We have inherited the old bureaucracy from the British, and these people are there in the key positions, in authority. They do not like easily to change over; I can understand their difficulty. But they should not set their problems before the problems of the country, and because they are not interested so much as they should have been, there is slow progress, and after all such a big change cannot be brought about without the State participating in a big way, and we cannot imagine the State participating in a big way until and unless the officials, those who are in key positions in our public life, in the State institutions, unless they begin to function a little differently, with a new outlook, with a new orientation in this matter. That unfortunately is not so. The result is slow progress. Now certain informal things are done; all kinds of difficulties are there, but they are exaggerated in order to slow down the process of change-over. Sometimes it is done consciously; sometimes it is done unconsciously. Nevertheless it is done. Now it is the task of the leadership of the country, especially of the ruling party to go into the question and to see how things could be remedied,

but that kind of step is not being taken. I do concede that in many States the change-over is taking place; there is no doubt, about it; in certain States they are doing well, comparatively speaking, and in other States they are not doing well, for instance my State of West Bengal. Bengali has rich literature and I can speak on this subject with some amount of knowledge. I am no expert in language and so on but, as you know, how can people have the encouragement when the Chief Minister of West Bengal says in the Assembly, when called upon to speak in Bengali, that he would not speak in Bengali? And he speaks in English and I can tell you that if this English was assessed from an examination point of view, he would not get even pass marks, not to speak of a second class. True, he is not supposed to know very fine English—he is a doctor of medicine—but still he insists on speaking in English. He does not often complete sentences, the grammar is not there; yet he would never give it up and speak in Bengali even when requested by the opposition parties. The Leader of the Opposition there, my colleague and friend, Shri Jyoti Basu, speaks English very well, but under a decision of the party all Communist members have been asked to speak in Bengali. Similarly all opposition parties speak in Bengali and they continue speaking in Bengali and they still expect the Chief Minister of West Bengal to speak in Bengali, and although his English is rather poor, not even third grade, he says: "No, I shall speak in English". Why is that so? It is not a question of individual; he is the Chief Minister of a State; he is the head of a State Government; therefore he has to set an example. But he does not speak in the regional language but glorifies speaking in a sort of English which is, so to say, no English at all. I have heard him speak English and I wish he had spoken in Bengali. That is the position. Therefore this kind of thing goes on. Now I understand that in

other States the Chief Ministers speak in their regional languages. It is a good thing; I like to hear this thing and as you know, perhaps now the majority of the State Chief Ministers speak in their regional languages. It is a good thing, as I said, but in our State this is reflected in the university—the change-over is taking place very slowly—and also in other spheres. And in administration how long must we continue to carry on this kind of legacy? We have got a rich language and we can easily change over from English to regional languages. So far as humanities are concerned, the translation is easy; it is not difficult at all. The only thing you need is proper arrangement for translation and financial backing in order to bring about the change. We have got personnel, we have got money, but we do not get them together in order to bring about the change. I can understand some difficulty being faced in the matter of technical and scientific education but then there is no earnest move taking place. Professor Satyendra Nath Bose, an eminent scientist of West Bengal, was a Member of this House and he is an F.R.S. and he said that it was easy for us to pass over from English to Bengali even in respect of science. But that is not being done. We are very dissatisfied with the state of progress. In very many other States also, in the South for example, I find the same mentality or perhaps a little less. Therefore, a kind of aristocratic mentality has come about which dies hard. I do not say that it is in the same position today, but they resist when they are confronted with the practical task of change-over. They resist in many many ways and Government does not take enough steps. Therefore, I say that it is very, very important.

The same thing applies—of course, in a bigger way—to Hindi. There is a vast region in India where Hindi is spoken. There the change-over

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] should take place. You know, today English is on the way out as far as the common people are concerned. I have seen university students today who cannot speak English at all. Their English is exceedingly poor. But even so steps are not being taken to put the regional language in its proper place, in the place of English. Some kind of vacuum is being created, and if that vacuum is not filled, then culture suffers, education suffers and everything else suffers. That is what is happening in certain parts of the country.

Now, Sir, regarding the number of books that have been translated, why should it not be possible to do it? We have many educated unemployed people. You find their names in the Employment Exchanges. Many educated people seek jobs and so on. They are very well-versed in their respective languages and also know English from which they can translate. But they are not requisitioned or employed in the services. It is possible only if the Government has a vigorous policy in this matter, both at the Centre and at the State level. In the universities, for example, it will take time, but why in the regional High Courts, like the Calcutta High Court or the Bombay High Court and in other places, we must all the time have this kind of English having the domination? I understand that in the lower courts things are changing. But why can't we introduce these things in the High Courts? There again you will find the vested interest, the aristocratic big lawyers, with all respect to the lawyers, and barristers especially. They think they have been educated in English and therefore English must be the language. Actually, some of them do not know how to speak in their own language. I would consider myself a worthless speaker if I did not know how to speak in Bengali. I do not speak English very well but I speak Bengali much better. There

you find a set of people who would, even if their English is very bad, speak in English. This is the position. Therefore, encouragement is to be given and we must see that it is quickly done.

Sir, now a vacuum is being created. English is on the way out, but the rich regional languages are not being placed in their position. This is a serious situation. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to develop a policy in this matter, a policy which should be implemented in the States, and the Centre should take the initiative in ensuring its implementation.

Secondly, proper arrangements, organisational and otherwise, should be made in the States as well as at the Centre and financial assistance must be given ungrudgingly by the Centre to the States in order to expedite the change-over from English to the regional languages.

Then, Sir, in matters of certain languages like Nepali and Urdu, they should be given encouragement. Change-over should take place also in respect of them. That is very, very important. Therefore, the Centre should come into the picture and give every possible assistance and encouragement. The leaders of the Government and those people who occupy important positions in the Government and in the administration, should be made to realise this. That is one of the tasks today. The national leaders should play their part in bringing about this changeover from a foreign language to the languages that are ours.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this resolution is a good one provided the assumption on which it is based is true. It assumes that the medium of instruction in the universities is to be the regional languages. Unless this assumption is true, it is a waste of effort to start translating books.

Sir, many people say that the regional languages are sure to come to their proper place. But what is happening in this country is a complete academic confusion. It is said that each university is an autonomous body and it may introduce the regional language just as and when it likes or continue with English. I think it is not a right decision to take. The question of medium of instruction in the universities and higher education is not at all an academic issue. It is a first rate political issue which should be decided on a national basis. If every university is to be given the autonomy to decide when and how it will change over to the regional language, I have no doubt that in a few years' time there will be complete educational chaos in this country.

Sir, there are some universities which have precipitated the changeover. As against them, there are others which say "not now". They may even bluntly say "We would not change-over" or "not in our time". If that is the attitude which some universities are taking, I think the position is very unsatisfactory, and I think it is the duty of the Education Department and the Centre, the University Grants Commission and every State Government to come to a firm decision in the matter and decide once and for all whether the regional languages ought to be the medium of instruction in the universities or whether we would stick to English. Unless this decision is taken once and for all, chaos cannot be avoided and those who are responsible for education now will bear the responsibility for doing a great harm to our future generations.

Now, Sir, I take it that the transition from English to regional languages is inevitable. Sir, someone referred—I think Dr. Kunzru—to the dispute in Madras between the Ministry of Education and the University of Madras. In this controversy, I think, the Minister of Education,

Madras, has been infinitely patient and infinitely considerate. In fact, I am of the view that he should have taken a much stronger line. He should tell the Universities: "this is the policy of the Government and the Universities have to carry it out. So far as the text-books, teachers and their training are concerned, you will have autonomy but this is the policy, and Tamil has to become the medium of instruction and you will have to carry it out."

Some people say that transition is inevitable but let it come sometime. Every year that passes makes the transition more difficult than ever. Therefore, transition must start now and here. Now how is the transition to start? That is a very vital question. I entirely agree that the transition must be orderly and it should not be precipitate. In some universities it is too precipitate so that the students learn nothing. Therefore, we must have a reasonable period, say, 15 or 20 years, for the transition. But the transition should be in an orderly manner in which every year some progress must be made. During the transition period, I am convinced, the regional languages should be joint languages with English. But the idea that you will first prepare text-books, train teachers and then introduce the regional languages is a great mistake. You must start. Let there be teaching both in English and in the regional language in every subject. The professors may read in English but they will have to lecture in the regional languages. There should be a continuous exchange of ideas in the minds of teachers, in the mind of students in English and the regional language so that by the time this transition period is over, all the terms in English would have been automatically and organically absorbed in the minds of both professors and students. It is the only way to complete the transition. If the problem of the medium of instruction, the problem of transition and the method of transition, all

[Shri K. Santhanam.] these, are settled, then it becomes a vital issue that all over India, proper text-books should be available. Again, another thing is equally necessary. I think we should have a national directory or dictionary of technical terms. If all the 15 languages are allowed to have 15 different technical terms, symbols, different mathematical formulae, different terms for physics, chemistry and other subjects, then again, the transition will be chaos and at the end of it no Indian can communicate with another. There will be no common ground for the intelligentsia. Therefore, by a Parliamentary legislation—just as it has been prescribed that the numerals should be international numerals—though unfortunately in a most unpatriotic manner some of the Hindi States have not accepted this change which is embodied in the Constitution—in the same way, all the technical terms should be made national, through a statute.

Then the problem of translation comes in. I do not think the Mover intended that everything should be translated right here and now. There should be a co-ordinating body. In fact, there should be a National Bureau, which should get the copyrights from other countries, for all the languages together and it should have Regional Language Board constituted by each State Government to translate the books. If we can translate 100 books in the various languages every year, in 15 years we will have a library of 1,500 books in the various languages which will be the foundation. I entirely agree that original books should be written and they will be written when the students become saturated with all these ideas in their own languages. Till then, who is to write and how can any one write? Even now, some ignorant persons like me, have been writing and trying to put ideas of economics, politics and other things in our own languages.

We are making that effort but that effort will become mature, will become effective only when the medium of instruction has become the regional language and when it has continued for 15 or 20 years and the transition is complete. To say that we must have original works before the transition, is to ask for the impossible. Therefore, I plead that the policy should be clear, that it is the duty of the Education Department and the U.G.C.—I am sorry Pandit Kunzru is not here—who have evaded this plain issue, otherwise they should not have given grants to any University which leads the country to chaos in the future. The policy should be determined regarding the ways and means and the transition period. The method of transition should be more or less similar. I do not say that it should be identical all over India. It is only then that the present intelligentsia will go over from English to the regional languages. At the same time, together with the regional language, and English, a third language is absolutely essential, that is Hindi. Unless Hindi also is introduced in every University, side by side with the regional language and the English language, the national fibre will not be knit together. Therefore, every University must have three languages, with the regional language as the medium, English as the joint medium and Hindi as the future language of the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why English as the joint medium?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Because all knowledge is to-day concentrated in that and all the professors are teaching in that language, otherwise, there will not be intelligent teaching and there will be a breakdown of knowledge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: For the present let it continue.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Only for the transition period. After that Hindi will come instead of English. Subject to these conditions, namely, that the medium of instruction is settled, the transition methods are settled and there is a common national dictionary of all symbols, of all formulae and technical terms. I support this Resolution.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Resolution moved by my friend, Dr. Raghurir Sinh, seems to be rather a very simple one, though I consider it absolutely unnecessary because it is not for want of Expert Committee opinion that the Government are not taking adequate steps for translation. There have been many Expert Committees that have made very strong recommendations with regard to this subject. For instance, the U.G.C. have made it very clear that in future, the medium of instruction should be the regional language. The Official Language Commission have also made it very clear. The Parliamentary Committee also has made its own recommendations. The Government of India, of course, have been "moving in this direction of trying to find out the necessary terminology or vocabulary for enabling the Indian universities or the Indian State Governments to use the Indian terminology for the preparation of text-books. All this has been going on but it has not given satisfaction even to those who have got very meagre sympathy for the Indian languages. Generally when it was being debated, I found that three conflicting forces were being mentioned. One is, in the present, as long as English is there, it is not possible for the regional languages to develop. Secondly, there is conflict between Hindi and the regional languages. Thirdly, the present *status quo* should be maintained for fear of getting into an anarchy as far as our efforts are concerned, as we are not sure of coming out successfully from

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our efforts. I would have very much liked my friend, Dr. Sinh that he had not mentioned in his Resolution 'for the translation and preparation in Hindi and all regional languages'. He should have mentioned: 'translation and preparation in the national languages of this country'. When he mentions Hindi and the regional languages, a differentiation is made as if Hindi is different from the regional languages. It is a regional language. For certain purposes we have accepted that as the official language of India but it has got the same status as the other regional languages. As far as academic work is concerned, Hindi and the regional languages stand on the same footing. There is absolutely no difference between textbooks in Hindi and those in the regional languages. Therefore, it should have been stated: 'the preparation of text-books in the national languages of this country'. That would have been better. I hope he would agree with me when I say that when you draw a line of distinction between Hindi and the regional languages, naturally the apprehension that Hindi is put as different from the regional languages, is created and that will lead to some prejudice against this. Why do we discuss this Hindi and the regional language question in the Parliament? We had decided during the Constituent Assembly days that all the Indian languages should be treated alike. There ought not to be any kind of difference as far as the policy or the outlook of the Government of India is concerned. Article 351 makes it clear as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genuine, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in

[Shri M. Satyanarayana.]

the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule."

This is quite clear, that it is the duty of the Central Government to develop the regional languages too, for it cannot simply set aside the question of the development of the regional language by saying that it is the subject-matter of the States. Even for the development of Hindi it is absolutely necessary that the Central Government should take interest in the development of the regional languages so that what is considered to be a Central aid for getting a vocabulary may be obtained by taking interest in the development of 8 P.M. the regional languages. It is not possible to prepare a list of words—what is called scientific terminology—and say this is the all-India vocabulary and it should be adopted by all the regional languages. The regional languages would either take a different line or the State Governments may refuse it because they have their own terminology boards and they have their own vocabulary boards. And these vocabulary boards might prepare certain different types of vocabulary which they may consider absolutely necessary and useful for themselves. Therefore, the development of the languages should not at all be confined to the preparation of the terminology and vocabulary. The development of the languages should be on all fronts. It should be the development of the whole language. Unless and until that development of the languages is there by way of translation, by way of original works, by way of medium of instruction and by other means which are used generally in communications at different levels and institutions, it is not possible for the languages to develop in the way in which they ought to develop. That development must be a national development. And help must be available for the uniform development of

all the languages. It was for that purpose that the Constituent Assembly adopted this decision and this conclusion was arrived at. So it is mandatory on the part of the Government of India that they should take interest in the development of all the regional languages so that they may be able to get a full and complete national development of the Hindi language. If they want to exclusively devote themselves to the development of Hindi alone, without minding and without taking interest in the regional languages' development, then what will happen is each regional language will go its own way, because the resources of the States are not enough either to have a common development or a full development of the languages. Each State has got its own resources. They are not comparable to each other. The richer States with more resources, the more resourceful States, the State which can command a larger number of scholars and other people, may develop its language much better and may go its own way. Therefore, my suggestion in this respect is that the Union Government should take interest and see that all the State Governments adopt this policy and establish boards for the purpose of translation of key text-books so that these translation boards or the boards set up may coordinate their work. That co-ordinating agency may be the Central Government. If you have exclusively a Central board for the purpose of coordination only and without any kind of reference to the regional language development, then ultimately it will not yield the result that we require. This is absolutely useful and necessary for the uniform development of the Indian languages.

Sir, before I close my observations I would like to make a pointed reference to the recommendation of the Official Language Commission in respect of a National Academy of Indian Languages. They have made a very strong recommendation and it has been

argued out in detail and in fullness. And that recommendation has been accepted by the Government and it has also been very strongly endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee, as far as I can remember. The object of that recommendation is to establish an Academy of Indian Languages, not in the Hindi-speaking areas, but in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. They have also made a pointed reference that it should be established at Hyderabad. The main reason for recommending its establishment at Hyderabad is because Hyderabad for a long time was a cosmopolitan centre, receiving with warmth various Indian languages and absorbing them and producing a cosmopolitan culture and adopting a vocabulary without considering whether it is foreign or indigenous, as far as absorption was concerned. But this recommendation of the Official Language Commission has not been given sufficient attention by the Union Government, especially by the Education Ministry. They have to take immediate steps to see that this recommendation is adopted and given shape so that this Academy of Indian Languages comes to be established. Otherwise, if we do not take such steps for the purpose of removing prejudices, apprehensions or doubts, these present difficulties remain. There are all kinds of fears. If mention is made of the University Grants Commission, the University Grants Commission or its members became allergic, for they think they have their own rights and these are being questioned. If we make a reference to the Universities, they become allergic and feel that their own rights are being questioned. They have got their autonomy, but as Shri Santhanam pointed out, the universities cannot be considered autonomous as far as the linguistic policy is concerned. This linguistic policy is exclusively a national policy and it is not the policy of an exclusive body constituted by statute, no doubt. They completely ignore the authority that gave them statutory authority

and to become autonomous. This is a very ambiguous and anomalous position and it should be made very clear. If necessary, a statute may be passed by this Parliament saying that as far as the case of the development of the languages and the medium of instruction is concerned, it is a Central subject, a national subject and therefore, there ought to be a uniform policy throughout India. There ought not to be any kind of difference in this matter. There are, I know, reasons for apprehension. We feel that the Indian languages are not sufficiently developed and that if undeveloped languages are used as the media of instruction, there will be chaos in the country. This fear has got its own justification. But how long are we to wait? We cannot wait indefinitely. We cannot wait eternally. We have waited for nearly eleven years after having passed this Constitution where the language policy has been made very clear. But there does seem to be some ambiguity in thinking. We want energetic and dynamic steps to be taken, an energetic attitude adopted with regard to this matter. Why this is absent, I do not know. Probably there are interested people, people interested in promoting this confused thinking and in the present state of things continuing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Vested interests.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA; I don't know. Vested interests may be there in money matters but not, I suppose, in language matters. But if there are vested interests, these vested interests should be challenged and a national policy has to be adopted in this regard.

Sir, as far as the medium of instruction is concerned, this has been a question debated in the universities and State Assemblies and other places. In certain States and in certain universities they have already adopted the

[Shri M. Satyanarayana.] regional language as the medium of instruction, mostly in the Hindi-speaking areas. Now, what will happen if they adopt the regional language—Hindi—as the medium of instruction and offer their candidates for the Union Public Service Commission for the purpose of recruitment, while others who have adopted Tamil or English offer their candidates to the Union Public Service Commission? There will be confusion. But that confusion will arise not because of the medium of instruction, but because of the terminology used. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that there ought to be a vocabulary adopted and as far as text-books are concerned, that vocabulary should be uniform and should be on an all-India basis. And this should not at all be done at Delhi but it should be done at different centres by the different State Governments, and the Central Government should coordinate and see that this uniform vocabulary is accepted.

Another point that I would like to urge when on this subject is the way in which the development of Hindi is taking place. The development of Hindi that is taking place today is not strictly in terms of article 351 of our Constitution, because there is still a kind of emotional association with certain languages. As far as Hindi is concerned, the non-Hindi speaking people respond in one emotional way. The Hindi-speaking people respond in a different emotional way. There must be proper coordination between these two. One is national and the other is regional, although they say that it is also national, because that word "national" gives a certain emphasis. These national and regional responses have to be coordinated. I am of the opinion that the development of the Hindi language, the propagation of the Hindi language, should exclusively be left in the hands of those people who have adopted it as the national language, not in the hands

of those people who have adopted it as the regional language. Unless and until they feel this responsibility as theirs, they will not be able to discharge it properly, for they will, all along, be thinking that they are discharging the responsibility of somebody else and that emotional integration that we desire and look forward for, will not be coming forth. Therefore, I would like even this matter of translations to be an exclusively State affair, to be coordinated, of course, by the Centre and not to be left to the Centre alone.

SHRI N. VENKATESWARA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chair-Sir, I am for the translation and preparation in Hindi and all regional languages of standard text-books but I wonder whether the appointment of a Committee would be of any help in this matter. I am rather allergic to experts. An expert is defined as one who knows more and more about less and less. And experts have a knack, almost a genius, for multiplying themselves. It is said that if you go to consult a Harley Street specialist, more often than not he puts you on to another specialist and the second specialist puts you on to the third and the process goes on and on. A like thing is happening in our country. The appointment of one expert committee is producing automatically the need for another. So I believe that no useful purpose would be served by appointing these expert committees endlessly.

While agreeing that there is great need, urgent need, for translating standard text-books into our Indian languages, I feel that there should be a new approach for tackling this problem. Translation is not a mechanical process; it is a creative process, rather a recreative process. He who wants to translate must first understand the original and understand it thoroughly. He should make it part of his mind, part of his thought process, almost a part of his very being.

Then he should be able to express what is contained in the original in a different language, in a different medium, through a different idiom. Only a creative writer would be able to meet the challenges that are constantly thrown up, by the work of translation. All my working life I have been a Telugu journalist. A Telugu journalist is called upon to translate every day, almost every hour, from English into Telugu and after nearly a quarter of a century in Telugu journalism I feel that it is easier to do one page or original writing rather than attempt one column of translation. So we would do well to entrust this work of translation of textbooks not to the so-called experts but to encourage as many of our creative writers as possible to take it up as a national duty, as a patriotic duty, as a duty to our younger generation, to the future citizens of India.

In the matter of translating textbooks of modern science the main hurdle is the nomenclature. Some suggestions were made here during this debate by my hon. friends that an attempt should be made to evolve an all-India scientific terminology but I, for one, believe that we would do well to adopt fully the international scientific terminology. In the West, in spite of their different languages, they have a common scientific terminology and I fail to see any reason why we should not adopt it. Sir, I may be permitted to refer to a very recent event to illustrate how a common scientific nomenclature evolves. As we all know it was the Soviet Union that first put a sputnik into orbit. Now that word 'sputnik' is adopted by practically every country. In the Russian language the word 'sputnik' means 'a traveller'. The English people did not translate that word as traveller, nor did the French translate it into their own language. Every country has readily adopted

that word 'sputnik'. They have made it their own. So I feel that as far as scientific terminology is concerned, we should adopt, without the least hesitation, the international terminology. It is said that Japan, when it wanted to come abreast with the western nations in the field of science had little hesitation to adopt the international terminology. I feel that the policy followed by Japan is the best not only for India but for all other nations of Asia and Africa which are trying to catch up with the West in the realm of the modern, higher sciences.

I had, Sir, a revealing experience when I was in Cairo in the year 1954. Then I paid a visit to the Cairo University. There while speaking to the Rector of the University, I said: "We in India are finding great difficulty in the teaching of modern, higher sciences in our national languages for we do not have as yet a scientific terminology of our own. How are you able to meet this problem?" In answer to my question he said: "Well, the so-called modern sciences had their birth in the Arab world; in fact, the western nations have originally borrowed all their sciences from us and as such we have the least difficulty in the matter of scientific terminology." That made me request him to show me some of their text-books. Of course, I know nothing of the Arabic language but when I looked into the textbooks I invariably found that immediately after each Arabic term the international scientific term too was printed within brackets. Then I asked the Rector whether their students would find it difficult to understand the Arabic coinages if the international terms were not printed alongside. He said: "There would be no difficulty but still we thought that it might be of some use. So we have adopted this system." I had to accept his explanation with certain mental reservations. Anyway, Sir, my own

[Shri N. Venkateswara Rao.] feeling is that unless we adopt the international terminology the growth of sciences in India would be greatly arrested. Further, we see today when we go to any workshop, be it big or small, our workmen, most of them illiterate, most of them who do not know even the three Rs. are using the common international technical terms. They do not translate 'axle'; they do not translate 'bearing'; they use them as they are, without any translation. So I wonder why we should coin some artificial, stilted, jaw-breaking words in our own languages as substitutes for international scientific terms. Of course, it is quite possible that when the people feel the urgent, imperative need for a new term it automatically springs up from somewhere naturally, effortlessly. I know instances of this type in Andhra. When they were building the harbour in Visakhapatnam, they were using a dredger. The common labourers there had never seen a dredger before and after some time they coined a simple, beautiful word to name it. That word is "THAVVODA": "THAVUU" means "to dig" and "ODA" means "a ship". The ship that digs. That is not only very simple, but also very elegant, very expressive. So, I feel that new technical and scientific terms, if found necessary, would spring up from the mass mind itself, unconsciously and without any effort. Certainly, as science spreads, and technology progresses, new words like the one I cited would arise from the mass mind and those words would enrich our languages. If, on the other hand, some experts sit in their study and try to coin substitutes for the scientific terms, they are likely to be artificial and stilted. I know of an attempt made to translate a simple word like 'radio' and it was called "Nistantree-sabdagrahakyantam". It is almost a mouthful and I am sure that even legislation by the Government would fail to make a term like that popular. So, I feel that our task would be easy

if, for translating the text-books of higher knowledge into our regional languages, we follow the policy of Japan and adopt wholesale the international nomenclature. There was a time in our history—I do not know about the other parts of India, I am referring only to Andhra—when most of our administrative terms were adopted from a different language. If you look into the revenue terms that are now in use in Andhra, you will find that ninety per cent, of them are adopted from Urdu. These came into general use when my part of the country was under Muslim rule and they are used even today just, as any other Telugu words. Indeed, they are today part and parcel of the Telugu language. So, Sir, why not we adopt the international scientific nomenclature and make it our own? That, I think, would be the best policy in the best interests of our nation.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Sir, we have had enough discussion on this Resolution. I move:

"That the question be now put."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Resolution, which has been moved by my friend, Dr. Raghu-bir Sinn, is very limited in scope, but the debate which took place on this subject has covered the whole field of education. This is natural, because to some extent the question of translation, which is the subject of this Resolution, is vitally linked with the medium of instruction and other related questions. Before I come to the main Resolution, I should like to say a few words with regard to the various points that have been raised during the course of the debate. Firstly, with regard to the medium of

instruction, I have made it clear on the floor of this House several times, and I would like to reiterate it with all the force at my command that Hindi and the regional languages should become the media of instruction. I do not think there is anybody in the country today who thinks that English should continue as a medium of instruction for an indefinite period. It may be that there were some people who might have thought on these lines at some stage, but I think the general opinion in Parliament and in the country has now crystallised and there are no two opinions on the subject that Hindi and the regional languages should become the media of instruction. So, about that point, I think, we should be quite clear. It is the accepted and declared policy of the Government that the regional languages and Hindi should become the media of instruction. The difference arises only with regard to the stages through which this transition should take place. Before I go to that point, a question was raised whether it is an academic question. The University people have often said that it is purely an academic question. It is an academic question, but academic questions have also to be examined in a certain social context, in a certain political framework. Therefore, if the Universities feel that it is entirely their sphere, that there will be an encroachment on their autonomy if a suggestion is made with regard to the medium of instruction, I am afraid they are taking this autonomy too far. The autonomy of the Universities has to be considered in a certain social and political framework. I do not think it is open to any institution in the country to go against the general national policies and national aspirations. Now, there is no doubt in my mind that millions of our people in the country, who have been denied the privilege of education, today aspire that their languages should develop, that they should get their instruction in their own languages and

that the medium of instruction should be their own languages. Now, Sir, Universities certainly should have their autonomy. I would like to respect the autonomy of Universities. But at the same time Universities are also social institutions, which should reflect the general trends and national aspirations of the people. I do not think Universities can completely cut themselves off from the national trends, national policies and national programmes. This, I think, should be clear. It may be an academic question. It is an academic question with regard to the medium of instruction, because the Universities must decide at what stage they should change over and how they should change over. But I think it is not open to the Universities to say that they will go against the national policies and national programmes and I would like to reiterate on the floor of the House again that it is our accepted policy that Hindi and the regional languages should become the media of instruction in course of time.

Now, Sir, having said that, I would reply to one more point before I proceed further. I think the question was raised why the Ministry of Education should take upon itself the responsibility of propagating Hindi and promoting Hindi. This is a responsibility which is enjoined upon the Ministry by article 351 of the Constitution. It gives a very special directive to the Government of India that they should take the responsibility of promoting Hindi. Therefore, the Ministry has done this work. I do not feel apologetic at all. In fact in my opinion we should have done more in order to promote Hindi. As far as the regional languages are concerned, it is also our policy that we should develop the regional languages. If my friend, Mr. Chettiar, had known what was being done by the Government in this matter, he would not have said what he said this morning. Take, for example,

[Dr. K. L. Shrimali.] the National Book Trust. It is trying to translate books in various regional languages. Take the work that has been undertaken by the Sahitya Akadami. They are all Government -of India institutions and they are all trying to promote the regional languages. Our Government are also giving assistance to the State Governments for the development of the regional languages. In my opinion it v/Quld not be fair to throw this whole burden on the Central Government. This is a scheme in which both the State Governments and the Central Government should be equal partners. They should both participate in this programme. Otherwise we cannot make much headway.

Another question has been raised ■with regard to the so-called conflict of regional languages with English. I have said that it is our policy that in course of time regional languages should become the media of instruction. Sometimes when hon. Members spoke on the subject, they gave the impression as if there was a conflict between the regional languages and English. I think that just as we think that regional languages should become the media of instruction, it is also my view that we cannot do without English in this country. In fact we should do everything possible to preserve English in our universities. We should certainly develop the regional languages, but we should not do anything which would undermine English. I think that was the point which Pandit Kunzru stressed. Nobody in this country says that English should continue for ever as the medium of instruction. All that people are desiring is that while we develop our regional languages, while regional languages should take their due place as the media of instruction, it would be a suicidal policy if we drive out English from this country.

SHEI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nobody has said that English should be driven out.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: That is what I am saying. Let us be clear on this issue. There is no conflict between English and the regional languages. We must develop the regional languages.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: I think the hon. Minister knows Lhat there is a conflict regarding the medium of instruction in many universities today.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: As far as the medium of instruction is concerned...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If we have to make a change over in the States from English to the regional language, in the case of medium of instruction obviously the situation changes and English cannot occupy the same position as the regional lan-, guage is expected to attain. This is the position. How will he put them in the same category?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I would like to join issue o_n this very point with my hon. friend. I am not less patriotic than my hon. friend. I am as keen as anybody in this House to ensure that our languages take their due place in our national life, i_n our cultural life and in our educational system, and we should do everything that is possible to promote the regional languages and to ensure that the regional languages take their due place in the universities and become the media of instruction as quickly as possible.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: What has been done? That is the point.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I am coming to that, if the hon. Member will have patience. The question is that if we develop the regional languages, we should also be clear that we should not do anything to drive out English or to lower the standards of English, because English is not to-day a language of one country; it is an international language. It is the language of science and technology and at the present moment when we are developing our country, when we are developing science and technology in this country, it would be suicidal for Us to do anything which would lower the standard of English; there is no conflict in this matter. We must improve English as an important language in the universities. These are the issues which are very clear in this matter, and I am afraid that my friend, Mr. Chettiar, was not quite fair when he accused the Government of not doing anything for the promotion of regional languages. Government have done everything that is possible.

I am now coming to the main Resolution. The foregoing were the general points which were raised in the course of the discussion and I thought that I would dispose them of before coming to the main Resolution. If only my friend, Dr. Raghbir Singh, had known what the Government had already done and what they are doing in this matter, probably this Resolution would not have been necessary. I am, however, very glad that he moved this Resolution and focussed the attention of the Government and the people on this important problem. Government have recently undertaken a number of measures for the translation of books and for the promotion of the regional languages and Hindi. We have worked out a scheme which would be put into operation very shortly. It is a scheme for the preparation and translation of books in

Hindi on different subjects of general est. These are books which will be scientific works of public interest, world Classics and general knowledge books, the publication of revised and cheap editions of popular books and the production of original works of general interest. The idea is to produce cheap literature either in original or through - translations so that some of these may be available to the common man. Books will be published in pocket size editions, and we propose to work out this scheme in collaboration with the commercial publishing houses by calling for tenders and allotting the work to them at competitive rates. The publishers are not publishing books—because they find that there is not a market sometimes and they incur losses on producing these books—Government of India are going to propose to purchase one-third of the copies printed in the first edition, and they will of course be entitled to the usual commission given to the buyers. Publishers will be given all assistance and encouragement to produce these special editions so that the literature may be available to the common man. Sir, we have worked out another scheme in collaboration with the universities and the State Governments, and at present for this scheme the Government of India are bearing all the expenditure. They are giving cent per cent assistance for the translation of standard works in Hindi.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM
CHETTIAR: The previous thing also in Hindi?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: That is **Hindi**. In 1959 we called a conference of representatives of the various universities and the State Governments, and in consultation with them we have worked out a scheme of preparation of translation of books, which is being worked out in different phases. A

[Dr. K. L. Shrimali.] Standing Advisory Committee has already been appointed on which there are representatives of the State Governments and the universities, and in consultation with them a list of books has been prepared. Dr. Raghubir Sinn in his remarks said that there were great omissions as far as this list was concerned. He probably thought that this was the final list. This is the first list which has been prepared, and this is a continuous process. In fact our plan is that this translation work should continue for ever. The scheme has various objectives. One is that they are going to have translation of all standard books into Hindi, and then perhaps adaptation and reorientation from the Indian standpoint, and eventually publication of standard works in Hindi will also be undertaken. Then under this scheme we will also have original books prepared. As Mr. Panikkar and several other Members pointed out, it is not enough to have translations, we must also have original works and these books should be written by people who are working in the field actually, people who are in touch with the sciences.

The important part of the scheme is, as I said, we are giving cent percent, assistance to the agencies which take up this work. We are also asking these agencies to keep the profit with them. They need not return the sale profit to the Government. They can build up a fund of their own which, of course, would be held in the name of the Government of India. But this fund can be utilised for having more translations and for more production of books. The scheme is already in operation and we have set up Co-ordination Committees already in some parts of the country. In Rajasthan, in Uttar Pradesh and at one or two other places, Co-ordination Committees have already been set up and these Committees generally supervise the work that is being undertaken. The whole work is being done

in consultation with the Universities and with the cent per cent, assistance of the Central Government. This is the beginning of the scheme. It is not the end of it. My friend, Dr. Raghubir Sinn, said there were several omissions and there were no books on geography, etc. This is not the final scheme, it is only a beginning. He also thought that there was no provision for regional languages in the scheme. As I have already explained, under this scheme there will not only be translations of standard works but the authors will also be encouraged to contribute by writing original books. In this connection, I would also like to point out to the House that we are going to increase the provision considerably in the Third Five Year Plan. It was only Rs. 40 lakhs in the Second Five Year Plan, and we hope that in the Third Plan there will be Rs. 3 crores for this work.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM
 CHETTIAR: Three crore, of rupees?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: Yes.

I have answered most of the points that were raised during the course of the debate. A point was raised with regard to international terminology. I think the last speaker said that it would be desirable and necessary to adopt the international terminology as far as scientific terms were concerned. That is exactly the policy we are adopting in this matter. On this Commission which is being set up there are scientists from the different parts of the country. They are trying to review all that work that has been done in the past. In fact already a good deal of spade work has been done in regard to the evolution of a scientific terminology. This Commission has been assigned the task of reviewing the work already done and the general directive of the Government is that as far as possible, they should adopt international terminology. That is the general directive which has been

given by the President. When this Commission which has already been set up by the Government of India starts working, I think it will be the beginning of the great task which we want to undertake with regard to translation and promotion of literature in Hindi. As far as the regional languages are concerned, I have already said that we have a special responsibility as far as the promotion of Hindi is concerned, and the Constitution has given us a special directive on this matter. I should also like to make it clear that it is also our policy to promote the regional languages and the Government will give assistance to the State Governments. But I think in this field there should be partnership, they should not throw the whole burden on the Central Government. The State Governments are as keen for the development of regional languages as the Central Government is. They are all national languages in the true sense of the term.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore) : Sir, here I want to ask a question. It is often said that the Indian languages other than Hindi are regional languages. But the Prime Minister has given a definition saying that all of them are national languages, that all of them shall have to be referred to as national languages, not as regional languages.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: All our languages are national languages. They all belong to our country. They are spoken by our people and therefore all are national languages.

SHRI SATYANARAYANA; May I enquire whether there is any proposal to implement the recommendation of the Official Language Commission with regard to the establishment of a National Academy of Indian Languages?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: This proposal also is under the consideration of the Government. In fact, Government are proposing to set up the Academy. The details are being worked out.

In view of what I have said already, I do not think Dr. Raghubir Sinn should really press for the acceptance of this Resolution. In the first place, it is not the work of one body. In fact, the Commission which has been appointed will have to appoint several Expert Committees. You cannot do this work with one Expert Committee, you will have to appoint several Expert Committees. And it is not merely a question of translation but for producing original works, and it is not, as Pandit Kunzru pointed out, merely a question of the evolution of the scheme, but its actual implementation. At this stage, we have passed beyond the stage of evolution of the scheme. The Government of India are already working out schemes in collaboration with the State Governments and the Universities.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does this Rs. 3-crore scheme apply to regional languages?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: This is only for the development of Hindi but we are making a separate provision for the development of regional languages also.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: What is the figure?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the scheme?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I do not have the figures with me at the present moment but I presume a separate provision is being made for the development of regional languages but it will be on a matching basis, and the University Grants Commission, as I have indicated, have already set up a Working Group. It has submitted its report and it is to be considered by the University Grants Commission by the end of this month. As soon as the Government of India get the recommendations of the University Grants Commission on this subject, they will also assist in the development of the regional languages. In

[Dr. K.L. Shrimali.] fact we are making that provision in the Third Plan also.

In view of what I have said, I hope Dr. Raghbir Singh would not press his Resolution. We agree with the general spirit of the Resolution. He probably did not know what the Government of India had already done in this field; otherwise this Resolution would not have been moved.

SUM T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: May I know whether the Government of India in the Ministry of Education have any scheme for the development of the regional languages similar to that which has been formulated for Hindi? Secondly, is it also not true that while for the development of Hindi alone, it is Rs. 3 crores, for the development of the other regional languages—I hope I am right—it is only Rs. 1½ crores?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I do not have the figure. Moreover, as my colleague pointed out to this House when he intervened in the course of the debate, it is the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs which takes care of the development of the regional languages, and Hindi is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. But as far as the Government of India are concerned, they are interested both in the development of the regional languages as well as Hindi. For Hindi, there is a special responsibility; article 351 enjoins a special responsibility on the Government for the promotion of Hindi. And therefore this scheme has been worked out, but at the same time we will assist the State Governments and the universities for the development of regional languages also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: To what extent, he wants to know?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: There I am afraid I do not have the figures with me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In that case I suggest that he should supply us the material; his Ministry can supply the material to the Members—even during the recess—containing the any information and the policy statement in regard to this matter so far as the regional languages are concerned. We are not satisfied with the reply he has given.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I must thank the House for the real interest the House took in my Resolution. As you know, these Resolutions have got to face a severe ordeal, and 1 the ordeal of the ballot, and any Resolution that faces this ordeal has necessarily to await its turn. This Resolution was drafted—if I am not wrong—sometime in April, and there have been many developments since then. I knew a bit as to what the Education Ministry was doing, and therefore to be frank I did not want to be at all severe in my criticism when I wanted to say something in the matter. Hence I did my best to get all the available matter I could from the Education Ministry itself. Now the details of the scheme in respect of the publication of the cheaper editions, etc. about which Dr. Shrimali just spoke, I could not unfortunately get them.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: This is not yet finalised; it is in the process of finalisation; otherwise we would have given you the scheme.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: And that is why I even then pressed as to why the co-operation of the publishers was not being asked for. Now when I know that the scheme is being finalised, I have not much to say on that point. The suggestion to appoint an Expert Committee was made not so much to get the translation made or something like that, but more to bring about co-ordination of the activities of different bodies on

the subject. As you yourself know, text-books on science are being prepared and produced, or are going to be produced by, I think, the Education Ministry since the other Ministry has parted company from this Ministry lately. I think Mr. Panikkar also pointed out that so many other agencies are doing work. So what I felt was that if something could be done to co-ordinate the activities of them all something could really be done, for what generally happens is that one thinks that it is the responsibility of another, that somebody else is doing, and things do not get done properly. So I felt that if a committee were appointed, this sort of co-ordination could be achieved forthwith. Now if the Education Ministry is satisfied that this co-ordination can be effected and achieved without appointment of any committee, I would have no hesitation to withdraw my proposal, but before I do so, I have got some suggestions to make. Dr. Shrimali mentioned that the list of 300 books is not final. But I saw that there were many headings with only one or two names. Similarly I expected that geography, which is one of the essential subjects, should have had at least one or two headings mentioned there. So also military science, and therefore I thought that they had probably forgotten geography completely. We are always apt to forget where we live as the saying goes there is always some shade below the lamp, therefore I thought that the land below was probably forgotten. I have two more suggestions in respect of translations. I would suggest to Dr. Shrimali that in the list of the books that he has prepared there are many books that were printed for the first time some forty years ago. Now before getting them translated into Hindi after this lapse of time, they will need some editing, for the bounds of knowledge have advanced much farther. I shall just quote one instance—Dr. Ramesh Majumdar's book on 'Corporate Life in Ancient

India'. It was first published sometime in 1918 or so. Since then our bounds of knowledge have advanced. So any publication of translation of such books needs to be reviewed very carefully. Secondly, Sir, I want to warn not only Dr. Shrimali but the persons who are in charge of these translations—as my friend, Shri Rao, from Andhra State said—that translation is not a very simple business. I had a good deal of experience in that regard. About ten years ago my *guru* Sir Jadunath Sarkar entrusted to my care the task of getting his 'Short History of Aurangzeb' translated into Hindi, and his direction to me was that it should be written in a form easily understandable by a school-going boy of the age of 12 to 14 years. And I entrusted it to quite a good professor of history whose mother tongue was Hindi in some university. I tell you, Sir, when the translation was received, Sir Jadunath just rejected it, and I had to put in special efforts to see that proper translation was got ready. What I mean to say is that translation is not a very simple business.

Now finally I want to assure Dr. Kunzru and all those who have been keen that the windows of our knowledge should not be closed that not only I am for it but am anxious that more windows of knowledge should be opened. When the Education Ministry wanted to translate the book on economics by the French economist Gide, I had expected that they would translate it directly from French, and not from its English translation, as I am confident that they could find out some men who knew these other foreign languages in this vast country. I can confidently assert that India can still expect great talent from unknown quarters.

Thank you, Sir. With these words I beg leave to withdraw my Resolution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has made a very excellent speech and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] he should not withdraw his Resolution. We would like it to go on record. He has made a very good case; we are convinced by him. We will not allow him to withdraw the Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What do you want to do with your Resolution?

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: I have already sought leave of the House to withdraw my Resolution.

**The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Resolutions Nos 2 to 5—Hon. Members are absent.

Now Resolution No. 6. Shri Harihar Patel.

**RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF
 A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE
 TO ENQUIRE INTO OIL
 EXPLORATION IN GUJARAT.**

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): I am authorised to move this, Sir. I move the following Resolution:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a Committee consisting of 30 Members of Parliament representing both Houses to enquire into the working of oil exploration in the State of Gujarat and to make recommendations for accelerating the progress thereof."

Sir, I consider it fortunate that this Resolution comes up for discussion at this time since the President must be speaking practically at this moment in Ahmedabad, and I am sure one of the subjects that he will refer to is the exploration of oil and how it is progressing.

*For text of the Resolution, **ride** col. 2281 *supra*.

• Sir, Gujarat, though industry-minded, has suffered considerably because of certain lack of power, the means of power, or perhaps because the power is expensive—Gujarat has no coal at all, and all the coal that is required for the industry of Ahmedabad has to be hauled from nearly a thousand miles away—that makes it expensive. Besides, there is the difficulty of getting more railway lines and railway wagons. According to a recent answer given to me in this House, Sir, over 1,600 wagons a month are required to be used to haul coal from the coal-fields of North India to Gujarat, to the Ahmedabad industry and other industries and to

the railways. On the other 4 P.M. hand, with the coming up of

steel mills, the country is experiencing a shortage of coal. That is an additional reason why exploration of oil and refining of oil should be intensive and accelerated.

Sir, yesterday perhaps I was a little impatient with the hon. Minister. My impatience is only to express what Gujarat feels. I have nothing personal against the Minister or against the Ministry. I am only trying to express what I notice everywhere, what I notice in the Gujarat newspapers. In the last few days I have received heaps of newspaper cuttings expressing the impatience of Gujarat at the slow pace at which the exploration of oil and the setting up of a refinery is going on. Sir, I have been trying in my own humble way to goad the Government into the matter on which, perhaps, they have many other things to consider, of which I may not be aware. But I am trying to voice the feelings of the people, particularly the people of Gujarat.

Sir, during the last two years I have asked numerous questions. Sometimes I have got answers which I **felt** were all right and sometimes I felt that the answers were evasive and non-committal. Perhaps the hon.

Minister has got sufficient reason to give such answers. But that, unfortunately, does not satisfy the people even if I may be prepared to accept them, and that is why there is such a fervour in Gujarat at the moment.

Sir, a few months ago there was some talk of laying a pipe-line from the oilfields in Gujarat to Bombay. This is a matter on which Gujarat feels rather strongly. The hon. Minister has experience of laying a pipeline and taking it from one province to another, an attempt that was made some years back in North India. I hope he will not attempt anything like that as far as the Gujarat oil is concerned.

Persistent rumours have been coming on particularly when the Government of India have a proposal with them for setting up an oil refinery in Gujarat. The proposal was sponsored by some Gujarati businessman and had the support of the erstwhile Saurashtra Government. Unfortunately for that proposal, and perhaps in a way for Gujarat, the Saurashtra Government was merged with the bigger bilingual State and the enthusiasm with which the Saurashtra Government pursued the matter evaporated. Since then the matter has been just hanging. Sir, the person who sponsored the proposal, which the Saurashtra Government approved, had the technical know-how and all the money that was required to set up the refinery and was willing to go ahead. The proposal, if I mistake not, was made to the Government of India in January 1956. Sir, apart from their dogmatic approach to this subject, if they had accepted this proposal, they would not have been in the awkward situation that they found themselves in when the American oil companies refused the suggestion to refine the imported Russian oil.

Sir, time is passing, every second, and Government has been wavering, has been weak, has not been able to

make up its mind. To my mind, the crux of the question is whether it is in the interest of this country to have a refinery in the Gujarat area particularly when there has been so much finding of oil. If the hon. Minister would like to be too technical, the original proposal that was submitted through the Saurashtra Government, was not based on any oil finds in Gujarat. The sponsor did not want any oil from the Government of India. He did not want any money from the Government. He was going to import his own oil. He was going to give refined oil to the country and export it, if necessary, and earn all the money for this country. I am sure the Minister knows because he goes abroad quite often—I think he makes two or three trips every year—that with the oil refining industry there are hundreds of subsidiary industries, big and small, along with it. Therefore, Gujarat is anxious that with the refinery project, the subsidiary industries that follow in its wake should be there in Gujarat.

Sir, one of the simple subsidiary industries is tar and Gujarat feels very strongly about it because in Gujarat we lack in metalled roads. Since our earth there is very loose we require tar for making strong roads. Unless the roads are tarred, they are too dusty and they do not remain motorable for long. If we have the tar industry in Gujarat, the tar would be not only sufficient but surplus to the needs of Gujarat. I would not dilate upon further examples but I say that for this reason Gujarat feels a little impatient that the pace of exploration is not fast enough.

Sir, I do not know whether the Government has been advised properly in this matter. I understand, till recently the Adviser of the Government of India in the matter of oil was somebody who was a salesman; of the Burmah Oil Co. I met him in Bombay several times. He was not a technical man. I do not know how

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.] the Government of India pays a small salary and so on to this ex-servant of the Burmah Oil Co. and is not in a position to offer him a very handsome sumptuous remuneration and benefits that these oil companies offer. I do not know how this gentleman is going to work and what type of work he is going to do for the Indian oil companies for this remuneration. I now understand that Mr. Naik is being taken in his place. I happen to know Mr. Naik from Bombay when he was the Municipal Commissioner there. He is a very able man and we look forward with hope that in his regime at least things will be set right.

Sir, I said certain harsh things yesterday about the working of the oil drilling department at Cambay. They are not allegations that I am making on my own. I have received reports from very reliable friends and, as I said yesterday, newspapers in Gujarat are full of reports that everything is not all right, officers are being transferred again and again, all that sort of thing. Maybe, some of the information is wrong, but I would like the Minister to assure the House that everything in connection with the oil drilling department of the Ministry will be set right now at least, if it has not been done already. With the change in the principal officer I expect to see some changes in the department too.

Sir, I would like to make one more point, we have been talking only of oil so far. But in Gujarat there is natural gas also, not the gas that we exploded in this House. In the palace of His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao of Baroda there has been a jet of gas for years together. Lest the English interest should come in conflict with the local interest, he kept the matter secret all this time. He did not want the oil companies to go meddling about that gas. He was a very enlightened man and wanted the country to go forward. If oil explo-

ration could be done as wisely in his time as is being done today, perhaps he would have invited one of the foreign experts to come and explore it. He was not afraid of inviting foreigners. He encouraged industrialists. Not only he sent his own subjects from Baroda but people from outside also abroad to study and to help the development of the State. His outlook was not restricted to Gujarat alone. We had one Mr. Mukerjee, as you must have known. He was one of the able administrators in Baroda. He retired and he had gone from there. Our ex-Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission was his Chief Minister for a long time. Whether we agree with his politics or not, is a different question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): They were dealing with oil?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: He was a statesman and he was not restricted in his outlook but he did not say about this because the science of oil was restricted to a small clique of foreigners and he did not want them to go on meddling in his State. That was the reason, therefore, why he kept it as a secret. This Government has no reason to keep it a secret. I am surprised that we, who talk so big, not only in our country but even in the U.N., are going to little Pakistan to help us and we are going to beg for their gas. What about the gas in your own house? If Pakistan could get the help of a British firm—and I know that it is a British firm—to develop her natural gas, to lay a pipe-line of 100 miles and utilise it, what is the Government of India doing? I am perhaps harsh in my criticism against the Government of India on this score because I know that when the late Shri Dhirubhai Desai was sent as Ambassador to Switzerland, he was instructed to let this country have technicians of all kinds to develop all the industries, and I know that one of the persons he sent here was an expert in oil-drilling, in the technique of oil. He

came here, braved the vagaries of the Delhi weather, stayed in the Constitution House for months together, went to the Minister and then to the Secretary, went to the Minister and then to the Secretary many times, lost his patience and went back home. This is the sad state of affairs as regards the exploration of oil. I grant that at that time there was no evidence of oil in Gujarat, but since it has been known now, I am looking forward to the Government. Unfortunately I do not see a more vigorous progress in this direction. There is no evidence of it. Now we want to know what you are going to do about the refineries. I understand that the hon. Minister is preparing to go to Gujarat on the 27th to meet and tell them the position. I am sure that he would meet with a volley of questions because the people are everywhere concerned and agitated, as to what exactly he wants to do and I have been trying to reflect the feelings of the people by asking numerous questions. Unfortunately I have been rather unlucky. I have not been understood and I have not been able to get my question answered or sometimes I got very brief answers. I have tried the process of half-an-hour discussion. He may find out half a dozen, of my motions in his files. Somehow, they have not been reached. It is very fortunate that today, somehow, the notice of the motion which my hon. friend, Shri Harihar Patel, has given has come up for discussion. I had given similar notices in the last Session but they were not reached and I was about to lose hope when I saw this long list. I said to myself: 'How can this come? This thing is the last'. Fortunately, it has come up today and I am looking forward to the Minister to give us some hope. In the last few days, the newspapers in Delhi also have not failed to carry and reflect the feelings of the people. Everyday I see something in the 'Hindustan Times' pointing this out. I might add that about a year ago, in

813 RS.—4.

Baroda, there was the visit of a Vice-Minister from Soviet Russia and there was a cultural programme arranged in his honour by some friends of the Soviet Union, in Baroda. They had very kindly, invited me. Unfortunately, Shri Maganbhai Shankarbhai, who was Secretary of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, who will bear this out, is not here. He was present there. After tea and introductions, I asked the gentleman a straight question. I said: "Gentleman, we want a refinery and we want oil. How about it? How is Russia going to help us and how far and how quickly?" He said: "I will give you a refinery in a year from the day the Government of India signs the agreement". This was the statement made publicly by a high and responsible officer of the Government of the Soviet Union whose advice and help we take in this matter. It is more than a year since it happened and we are where we were.

As I explained earlier, the situation is aggravated because Gujarat suffers from lack of power for the industry. I must congratulate the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Chavan, for the way in which he has been going about encouraging industries and inviting industrialists to come and start industries in Maharashtra. He says: 'What do you want? Land, electricity, **water?**' Somebody was going to **start** an industry in: Baroda—the Mahlndras. Shri Chavan tempted them to go to Bombay. I am not unhappy at all but I would like the Government also to consider that the development of **this** country should not be lop-sided; We have already a very overcrowded Bombay. We have a larger number of slums. Perhaps some of the industries could also be diversified and Gujarat, which is industrially-minded, could also look after some of these industries if they could go there, and they could go there only if cheap power was available. I look upon the discovery of oil in Gujarat as one

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel] of the sources of cheap power, particularly when generated on the spot.

The other aspect that I would emphasise is the shortage of coal experienced by the steel mills. As I said, 1,600 wagons a month are required, according to the answer given to me last week in this House, for Gujarat industries and the Railways. That would be saved. The steel mills would be in a more comfortable position and Gujarat would be using the natural resources like power that is there. Therefore I have moved this Resolution. If the hon. Minister will be only so good as to accept the Resolution, I will presently submit the names for the Committee.

The question was proposed. SHRI SURESH J. DESAI (Gujarat): Deputy Chairman, Sir, the question of oil exploration in Gujarat has assumed a new colour in recent weeks. When oil was struck in Cambay and later on in Ankleshwar and there was a possibility of large-scale commercial exploitation of the oil, the people of Gujarat, not only the people of Gujarat but the people in the country as a whole, felt happy. The people of Gujarat, naturally, thought that a large refinery would be established in Gujarat and consequent to the establishment of the refinery, the petrochemical industry and other ancillary industries would also come up in Gujarat. The recent statements of the hon. Minister, however, have created serious misgivings in the mind of the people of Gujarat. The statements relate to the transportation of oil from Gujarat to Bombay. Not only the mood of the people of Gujarat has been considerably agitated but even the industrialists, even the newspapers usually supporting the Congress and the Government and even the Chambers of Commerce, are all agitated about it and one hon. Member of Parliament from the other House has even threatened a large-scale satyagraha, if any such proposal is going to be implemented.

Now, naturally, this question has become a source of political controversy. The people of Gujarat believe that if a large framework of pipe-line is installed for carrying away oil from Gujarat to Bombay, then the question of the establishment of a large refinery in Gujarat will be indefinitely shelved. Unfortunately, Sir, neither the statements of the hon. Minister have been helpful in this matter, nor is the policy of the Government clear in this matter of Gujarat oil. I will just read out some portion of the statement which the hon. Minister made in the other House only a few days back. This is what he has said:

"Therefore, in principle, if we can export some oil from Gujarat to Bombay refineries in order to save foreign exchange, the Government is going to do it. The only question is whether we should do it today or tomorrow. Now we know that the Gujarat refinery will approximately be of a capacity of one million tons or 1.5 million tons or even two million tons. We know that we are likely to produce more oil. Therefore, a part of the oil produced in Gujarat has to be sent to Bombay. As to when it will be sent to Bombay I am not sure, I do not know. I do not know when the pipe-line will come."

Sir, this statement is rather ambiguous. I will read out another portion also. It is this:

"We must aim at supplying our own oil to the Bombay refineries. We cannot take a decision that if some quantity of oil is produced in Gujarat, it cannot be sent out from Gujarat or if some oil is produced in Rajasthan it must be refined in Rajasthan and it cannot be exported out of Rajasthan. Government cannot accept, that position because it is most inconsistent with our economic interest and not consistent with our national interest."

Sir, both these statements are contradictory, but I will not dilate on that point now. I will only point out to the House that what are national interests and what are not national interests, perhaps the people of Gujarat who have been trained and educated by persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel do know and they do not need any further lessons on what are national interests. Nor do they need a new advocate of national interests. I will leave it at that.

I may point out however that there are many sins of commission and omission concealed under the guise of national interests. Take the question of the atomic reactor. At the beginning it was stated that the atomic reactor would be established in Gujarat. But later on one fine morning we found that this atomic reactor had gone out of Gujarat. There is no national laboratory established in Gujarat. There is no large public enterprise or large project established in Gujarat. When it was pointed out that there was no large-scale public enterprise in Gujarat, it was pointed out in return that in Gujarat there was no iron, there was no coal or manganese and so how could a public enterprise be established there? Now when oil has been found in Gujarat, even that oil is going to be transported to Bombay and Gujarat is to be deprived of even an oil refinery.

Again, Sir, the misgivings in the minds of the people of Gujarat are strengthened because this question seems to be related to the expansion of the Burmah-Shell Refinery at Bombay. I may, with your permission, Sir, read out a statement of the hon. Minister on that also. In the other House, my hon. friend Shri Hem Barua asked the hon. Minister this question:

"The hon. Minister has admitted that a part of the crude oil available in Cambay will be refined, because that concurs with our principle, in the Burmah-Shell Refinery. There is the Burmah-Shell Refinery in Bombay. I want to know whether because of this, the Burmah-Shell has approached the Government with the proposal to expand the capacity of its refinery."

And the reply of the hon. Minister to this is this:

"So far as the expansion proposal of the Burmah-Shell is concerned, it has nothing to do with the merits. That is what I am saying. If the Burmah-Shell Refinery has to be expanded, which I do not know, they can very well consume our oil; they have agreed to consume our own oil. I do not want to confuse the two issues. The expansion proposal of the Burmah-Shell can be considered quite separately on merits, when the occasion comes."

Now, on the one hand on the question of the expansion of the Burmah-Shell Refinery, the hon. Minister states this and earlier he had also stated:

"We are spending about Rs. 40 crores in foreign exchange by purchasing crude oil which is refined in Bombay. The Bombay refineries are going to stay there, whether they are foreign or national refineries, and every drop of crude oil that will have to be refined in the Bombay refineries will have either to be purchased or produced."

The hon. Minister thinks it is in the national interest to curtail import of crude oil from foreign countries on the one hand and on the other to consider the expansion of the refineries of Burmah-Shell. I do not want to object to the expansion of the refineries of Burmah-Shell. But when

[Shri Suresh J. Desai] you do want to curtail the import of crude oil from foreign countries, these refineries and their expansion will have to be fed with Gujarat oil. When the people of Gujarat hear of this huge pipeline being installed, then naturally their misgivings are increased. ' "They fear that the question of having the refinery in Gujarat will be shelved for ever.

Sir, it is not merely a question of having a refinery in Gujarat. The question of petrochemical industries is also there. Recently the Mafatlal people have been thinking of starting a petrochemical industry at a cost of Rs. 7.5 crores outside Bombay. I had « talk with them recently and I asked them, "Why don't you start it in Gujarat"? Immediately came the reply, "Where is your refinery? Your refinery will take some 3- or 4 or 5 year to come up. Who is going to wait so long, till you start your refinery there and then we start our petro-chemical industry in Gujarat"? I may also say, Sir, that quite recently, about a week back, some persons from East Africa came and asked me whether a petrochemical industry could be started in Gujarat or not. I pointed out to them that it would require an investment of some Rs. 5 crores. They said they were prepared to invest ten times that sum, for they said they had enough foreign exchange in East Africa. "So can we start the industry here they asked. Now shall I tell them that because we have no oil refinery, no petro-chemical industry could be started in Gujarat. Then they would employ or invest their Rs. 50 crores in other industries in some other State". So in Gujarat we are deprived of industries after industries because of the ambiguous policy of the Government, because of the equivocations of the hon. Minister. The policy of the Government is not clear, in fact it is rather ambiguous, vague and equivocal. We want a clear statement from the hon. Minister. We want to know whether the refinery is going to

be established in Gujarat or not. If it is going to be established there, what will be the size of that refinery? In Cambay we have possibilities of getting 2 crore tons of oil and in Ankleshwar, we have three times as much oil as in Cambay and there is, therefore, ample scope for a big refinery in Gujarat. So what will be the size of that refinery, we would like to know and also when the work on this refinery will begin. We also want to know when the work of laying this huge pipeline will be started, to carry oil from Gujarat to Bombay and what will be the cost of it and when this pipe-line will be completed. The hon. Minister's statements in the other House have been full of equivocations and contradictions, for he says this way and that way. We want a clear statement. There is lot of agitation in Gujarat and we want a clear enunciation of Government's policy from the hon. Minister.

Only one more point I would like to touch and that is about the employment of foreign technicians in the work of oil exploration in Gujarat. There are, it seems, some 80 or more foreign technicians in Gujarat. A drilling engineer is paid Rs. 2,850 per month. The corresponding pay for an Indian is only Rs. 800. He starts on Rs. 800 only. The foreign engineer is paid Rs. 2,850 per month and if daily paid he will get Rs. 178 per day; i.e., more than Rs. 5,000 per month. Then there are drillers. Even drillers we can't find in our country. Foreign drillers are paid Rs. 2,400 per month while the corresponding Indian driller will be started on Rs. 350 only. Even fitters we cannot get in our country. So we have to import fitters also. A foreign fitter is being paid Rs. 1,800 per month and the corresponding pay of the Indian fitter is only Rs. 100. Even electricians we do not get in our country. A foreign electrician is paid Rs. 1,800 a month while the corresponding Indian electrician will be paid only Rs. 100 or maximum Rs. 185.

Then these foreigners require interpreters. Practically for every big foreign officer there is an interpreter. The interpreter will be paid Rs. 1,950 per month. Then there is the mud-chemist. The pay of the foreign mud-chemist is Rs. 114 per day; the pay of the corresponding Indian mud-chemist is only Rs. 600 per month. Then there are core drillers. The foreigners get Rs. 2,000 while the Indian will be paid only Rs. 350. Sir, on the whole this exploration of oil business in Gujarat is fast assuming the character of a scandal and the sooner the House looks into the matter through a Committee of Parliament, the better it would be. Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF MINES AND OIL (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): Sir, this Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, on behalf of Mr. Harihar Patel is not acceptable to the Government on account of the fact that I do not consider that any new light can be thrown by a Committee consisting of Members of this House. Otherwise, ordinarily it would have been a welcome move on the part of my hon. friends to appoint a committee and examine the working of any Department of the Government, much more so, the working of any Department of my Ministry. Unfortunately for all of us, the technique and the work involved in oil exploration are so highly developed and they require so intimate a knowledge of certain sciences that I feel that even this august body if it were to search for a group of 30 persons may not get even one-tenth of that number who could do justice to the question of examining all aspects of the work involved in oil exploration. That is one of my 'main difficulties; otherwise I would have accepted the challenge of the hon. Members who have stood up and made unfortunately and tragically such allegations which have absolutely no justification. I would have proved to the Committee that never in the history of this House would have such unjustified allega-

tions been made but I am sorry that the problems involved in this work perhaps could not be justifiably examined by this Committee.

Now, before I take up one or two important questions that have been raised by my hon. friends, in a very general way I would like to make an attempt at least to convey what this oil exploration programme involves and how wrong and uninformed most of our hon. Members opposite appear to be under some wrong impression when they talk of a few months or even of a couple of years to finish the work of exploration or when they put a demand to expedite the work of oil exploration in Gujarat 'because Gujarat is suffering on this 'account or on that account. It is wrong to say that the Government is ignoring the economic interest of that State.

I would like to point out that the first well which struck oil in Nahar-katiya was drilled in 1953 and another oil well which struck oil in Moran, a neighbouring place, was drilled in 1955. Not a drop of oil has so far been transported to the refinery -which is to process the oil of Naharkatiya and Moran. The refinery is still to come after a year or so. It did not happen because the Government of India deliberately stayed on for seven or eight years or some oil companies which came to help us in discovering this oil just sat on that oil and went on spending and paying interest on huge sums involved, and wanted to give an opportunity to the hon. Members to -say, 'Look here, seven years have elapsed and oil is not being produced'. The fact is that it could not be done earlier. Nowhere in the world, I say with a full sense of responsibility, has oil been discovered in such a quick time and arrangements made to produce oil as has been done in the State of Gujarat and it is only through sheer absence of knowledge, through unwillingness on the part of any hon. Members to know what is happening that such fantastically

[Shri K. D. Malaviya] uninformed criticisms are being made. I am not sorry for myself but I feel sorry that instead of credit having gone to those young technicians who are working there today, criticism should have been devastatingly levelled against those workers who deserve nothing but praise from this House. I am sorry for such criticism; more than that I cannot say.

I will now state as to what is happening in the case of Gujarat oil. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission started drilling on the 25th July 1958 in Lunej, few miles from Cambay town. Within three months, on the 20th September 1958 oil was struck in the first well, i.e., the first well attempted by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission produced oil in the Lunej area after 100 days of drilling. As against this in our own country the first well in Naharkatiya took 14 months to drill, and perhaps no oil was found. After that wells after wells were drilled in Naharkatiya and Assam when oil was discovered. Seven years have elapsed and oil has not yet started flowing through the pipelines.

Then in Ankleswar the structure was seismically delineated sometime in the last month of 1959. Immediately we started drilling. The first well at Ankleswar was drilled in January 1960 and oil was struck six months after, that is, in May 1960. Since then we drilled four or five wells. Now, naturally there could be some doubt raised by people who do not know much about the difficulties of oil drilling as to why since 1960 we have not drilled 100 wells. Sir, oil well drilling is not like simple water well drilling. We require costly machines and we require drillers who must have an experience of 10 to 15 years to be put in charge of a drill. Unfortunately in India this work had (not started. So we had to import technicians from abroad and it is very difficult to get technicians from out-

side when all over the world exploration for oil is going on so intensely. There are two groups of helpers available to us. One is a set of people who want to come and invest money and either take the proprietorship of the oil that is produced as a result of their investment or would offer us partnership and stay here as proprietors and owners or *maliks* of that oil for decades and decades to come. Now, they are well versed in oil technique and it is very easy for us to call them and ask them to bring their money, produce oil and then produce their own conditions, which we have to accept. It is very easy for us to say that in 1956 some people offered to have a refinery in Gujarat and wanted to spend their money and even then the Government of India did not accept the offer of those industrialists of Gujarat. Now, Sir, it is not the policy of the Government of India, since 1956, to let oil develop in the private sector. I would not like to go into that lengthy controversy, because there is not much time available to us. But here it is, the Government have accepted it and Parliament has accepted the policy of the Government of India and the Minister has to implement that policy. I cannot but implement that policy, even though I am likely to be criticised by a Member here and a Member there. The policy of oil under the public sector has come to stay, so long as this Government stays. Therefore, I should like to say this that the statement that a particular party is willing to invest money, import crude oil and not ask for a single penny from us, is not relevant to us and not even correct. Any party which will import crude oil will have to pay for it and the Government of India will have to provide the foreign exchange. If my friend, Mr. Dahya-bhai Patel, on behalf of some private sector, imports crude oil and sets up a refinery, we will have to provide foreign exchange. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel cannot provide foreign exchange for a single rupee. It is the Government of India which has to arrange

the foreign exchange for Mr. Dahya-bhai Patel. Therefore, why should I give a refinery to Mr. Dahyabhai Patel or to the private sector? The whole point is that the refinery has to be set up by the Government and once this policy was decided upon we had to make all arrangements accordingly. That is the reason why in 1956 the offer of a certain private party to set up a refinery based on imported crude oil was not accepted. I would not like to say more about it.

The allegation that has been made or the criticism that has been levelled against the Government for going slow in Gujarat is not fair. It is unfair, because in two years' time we have discovered oil. We have drilled about 15 or 16 wells. Of the total footage that we have done in the country, 70 per cent, of the footage of drilling has been done in Gujarat by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. Only 30 per cent, has been done outside. My friend, Mr. Patel, talks of some Baroda gas trickling from a narrow tubing, which has been mentioned by some Maharaja, who discovered this gas a few decades ago and he is finding fault that this gas is not being exploited by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission or the Government of India. Well, I think Mr. Patel should make a little more effort to know what it is. Baroda gas is a mere nothing. If you just open the tap and keep it open for about ten or fifteen days, the gas will practically disappear. This is for his information.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: **You** might say that what Mr. Patel says about gas is gas.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: It is such a tiny quantity. It is well that he should know about it, and this is just by way of information. Tiny outlets of gases are found in Baroda. Now, these gas seepages are a very common feature of a suspected oil-field. All over the world there are thousands

and thousands of small seepages of gas and oil. They only indicate that somewhere near about there is a possibility of finding gas or **oil**. Nothing more and nothing else. As a result of the Baroda gas indication, we started drilling about a couple of years ago. We started drilling near about Baroda and we drilled perhaps about a dozen holes round about in an attempt to catch that vein somewhere. They got a little spurt of oil and it disappeared after a couple of days. Somewhere we got a spurt of gas, so much so that it threw up the small derrick like a toy. We know that it is nothing more than a mere indication on which we have to continuously search for that big reservoir which may be somewhere, maybe around ten miles or twenty miles, maybe on the land or in the sea. We are at it and we are sure that we shall catch it. But it takes years and years and crores of rupees to locate a commercial oil-field.

I must again say to those of my friends, who are very eager to impress upon the world that great injustice is being done to the people of Gujarat that we are not sitting idle. We are most interested in discovering oil quickly and going away to some other State. We are most interested in spending less money there and sending our equipment to some other place where we want to go. The fact is that most of our drills are occupied there. The majority of our geophysicists and geologists are working there and they are working on some more structures. We know what the situation is. Our team of young workers are busy discovering more oil-fields in Gujarat, not outside Gujarat let it be known very clearly. Soon we may be able to find a number of oil-fields in that State and perhaps the first oil in good quantities in the public sector will start flowing from Gujarat. Mr. Patel and my friend, Mr. Desai, more prominently read out certain quotations from my speech in the other

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] H6usa> I stand- by every word of what I said. I am sorry I cannot modify to- oblige him, even one sentence of that statement which I made. Yes/, there might be a difference in regard'to the size of the refinery. It may have a capacity of one million tons or 1.5 million tons or even two million tons, but there shall be a refinery in Gujarat. I challenge. Mr. De3ai to show anything in my statement which" can be interpreted as having been said by me that there would be no refinery in Gujarat, It is propaganda and agitation just carried on: by interested parties and I would like to warn- the House against such things- from interested sections of newspapers and personalities; they should accept our word and trust what.- the Government have said. After all, the Government gives some consideration to a statement made by it, when I said that a refinery is going to be installed in Gujarat,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Have you any idea as to who the- interested party is?

SHMK. D. MALAVIYA: YOU might havft'some better idea of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I say generally.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I missed the last part of what the Minister was saying.

SHW K. D. MALAVIYA; There is going to- be a refinery, which I have said: a number of: times; I do not know from where my friend, Mi". Desai, could understand from that easy; simple English, that there would be: no refinery and why it was a doubtful proposition. It was- not a doubtful proposition. There is some doubt:in his own mind. And I charge him- that, he wants to create such suspicions' in the minds- of others. This would do more damage-to the interests of- Gujarat.

(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI: Even people who are supporting the Congress are all agitated, newspapers, Chambers of Commerce, big industrialists. Perhaps it is in Gujarati language, which the hon. Minister might be aware.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I will take care of those people. He need not worry about those people. I am going to Gujarat on the 27th and I am going to see that they are satisfied. They are simple people and they will take my word, as I have said. They will not misinterpret my word and the things that I have said. The fact is that people do not know about things and then they talk about them. Secondly, even if they know something...

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: We are not getting proper answers.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA:.... they want to twist the meanings. Therefore, it does ^{not} do any good to the people of Gujarat, neither does it do any good to the interest of the developmental programmes of Gujarat. Gujarat I wish I could call myself a Gujarati. My interest in the development of" oil in Gujarat is no less than that of Mr. Dahyabhai Patel. I want to say that I feel more enthusiastic about the development of oil in Gujarat than Mr. Patel. It is easy for anybody to stand up and talk in a light way, but* I cannot do it. Whatever I have to say about oil discoveries in Gujarat is being consumed by oil experts all over the world. I cannot make an irresponsible statement that a large quantity of oil has been discovered in Ankleswar. It may have been discovered but it has not yet been proved. All that I can say is that oil from Ankleswar oilfields is qualitatively better and quantitatively

more than that from Camhay and that we hope we shall get a reasonably good quantity of oil from Ankleswar. What is the quantity of oil that we are getting from Ankleswar and Camhay as against the oil that they are getting from Kuwait and from so many other oilfields of the world? We get much less oil per well than those of middle east countries. Let this idea be removed that we have so far discovered any prolific oilfield in this country. We have not yet discovered any such oilfield in this country. Let it also be known that once oil is discovered in a region its search spreads like a spiral. We should search more and more round about, and the greater probability is that after a little time we shall get more and more oil. I am very hopeful about getting a fairly good quantity of oil in Gujarat in two to five years' time or ten years' time. I cannot commit myself to any time-table with regard to the discovery of any definite quantity of oil from Gujarat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I seek one clarification? Do we understand that Government will make every effort to develop the oil resources in Gujarat to the maximum possible extent, and that such resources will be developed under the public sector and public sector alone?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Now with regard to this controversy of oil being sent out of Gujarat to Bombay and Gujarat being denied the use and utilisation and exploitation of the oil that is produced there, the less I say the better, because, there again I do not think there is any controversy except in the minds of some people who want to create irresponsibly a confused condition in a region of our country for political purposes. Nowhere in my statement can anybody detect anything to the effect that the intention of the Government of India is to denude Gujarat of all its oil. So far as I am concerned, I said and I |

repeat it again that the national interests demand that if any oil is discovered anywhere, it should be treated as the property of the whole country, and I still say that the people have got to be educated in the concept of national interests in spite of what anybody might be saying here or there. We have got to be continuously taught and reminded perpetually as to what national interests are, more specifically during these days when we are just going mad on a regional problem here and a regional problem there—whether the problem is cultural or linguistic or economic or industrial or what not, I do not know. Therefore, it is high time that we should keep our minds open to receive more and more the ideas of national interest, and the national interest so demands that if oil in any State is discovered, it is the property of the whole country. If cotton is grown in Gujarat, that cotton has got to be exported to U.P. for processing into cloth because we have got textile mills there. How is it then that this fantastic idea has come into the minds of certain people that because oil has been produced in a particular region of the country, there are some people who are conspiring to take that oil away to certain other regions with a view to doing harm to that region or the people of that region? This is what I say is anti-national. In that context and in that background I said that day that if oil was produced in Rajasthan, it would have to be taken out of Rajasthan if the national interest so demanded. Now I cannot say unfortunately today that so much oil will be retained in Gujarat and so much will have to be taken out, because it is impossible for me to give any idea, as to how much oil is likely to be produced in the next six months or ten months or twelve months. What I say is that there will be a refinery in Gujarat and that preparations for that refinery are already going on.

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.]

There is another misunderstanding on account of the transport pipeline. It is a fact that we are planning for a transport pipeline from Cambay to Bombay and elsewhere also. It is not that one can get a transport pipeline soon. It has got to be planned, and sometimes it takes years and years for a pipeline to come because we are new to this job. Obviously it is a commonsense view that in order to transport 1500 tons of crude oil for trial production we are not to lay a pipeline. Pipeline has got many other purposes than the mere purpose of transportation of crude oil. The same pipeline can transport crude oil as well as diesel or kerosene oil. These days a single pipeline has more than one purpose. With all those things about whose picture it is not yet clear, we have quickly to consider all those technical problems and take decisions. According to our present programme we will have a refinery in Gujarat which might have one to two million tons capacity. I will be glad if it is more. The programme is also to have a pipeline from Cam-bay to Bombay, because we have to bring now something from Cambay to Bombay in order to give the surplus crude oil and save foreign exchange and also, if necessary, to bring kerosene or diesel oil from the same pipeline. Time is required to plan for a pipeline. Therefore, I do not think that I have committed any sin when I raised this question of pipeline and informed the House that we are also planning for laying a pipeline firstly, from Cambay to Bombay, and then in the whole of the country. What we intend to do is to plan pipelines right from Assam to Kandla and, if possible, from Delhi to south. Unless we have these pipelines, the distribution costs of petroleum products are likely to remain high. Therefore, it is the intention of the Government of India to lay pipelines. We may have some crude oil to move after a little time because we hope

we are going to produce some more oil. Now if we do not produce more oil than what is necessary for our refineries, then we do not transport the oil. But because we have every hope of doing so, therefore, what we have done is just to plan for a pipeline. If we do not get that oil, that pipeline will not come. All those considerations are there, and it is very difficult for me to commit myself to any size or discovery because these naturally take some time. We have discovered oil only six or eight months back in Ankleswar. We still require a large number of holes to be drilled to establish the reserves, and if I make any quantitative estimates today, those who know about these things can just ask me: "How do you say that, how do you come to this figure?" I have no data. Therefore, I say "No, we do not know anything about it". That is why I have got to make vague statements. Unless, therefore, I have more specific data, which must require some more time to collect, I cannot make any definite statement. I can only give vague indication of the progress of our oilfield discoveries.

I hope, Sir, that I have made an attempt to establish that there is no necessity for a Committee of the Houses to go into these matters because, firstly, it is premature; secondly, they will have to appoint too many technicians from abroad because our experts will be taken as partisans. I am sure that a dispassionate consideration by the House at an appropriate time will give a verdict in favour of those who are working hard to produce oil in Gujarat.

5 P.M. SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:

Sir,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The time is over. The Resolution lapses unless you withdraw it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You now ask the hon. Member not to proceed when he wants to speak on this non-official Resolution. In respect of the Ministers, on their Resolutions, you even extend the time.

MB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I want to say only two or three sentences.

I am grateful to the hon. Minister for taking the trouble of giving us an explanation which is perhaps more understandable than the answers that he usually gives. If only he had given more lucid answers to our questions, we would have learnt better. He said that hon. Members should make attempts to understand the position. I have asked numerous questions, and tabled motions for half-an-hour discussions with a view to understanding the position. The boot is on the other leg. The hon. Minister does not co-operate with us. I have got here copies of notices of many half-an-hour discussions that I have asked of him. But he has refused to co-operate. So, if the refusal is on his side . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have got all the information now.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: A little more now.

I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to his answer on the 30th November in this House. An hon. Member asked about the names of the collaborators in the Gujarat refinery to be built near Cambay and about the approximate expenditure and the Minister replied that the preliminaries with regard to the establishment of a refinery based on Cambay/Ankleswar crude oil were yet to be decided. I am sure the Minister is quite right in saying that. I am not denying that. But he could have at least given us an indication

that they were thinking on such and such lines. The Minister does not give the information, he chooses to be irresponsible and then he accuses us.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: For what?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: That is why Gujarat is agitated; it is agitated over the way in which it **has** been treated.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Gujarat is not agitated.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): It is all propaganda of the Swatantra Party.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have said this already, Mr. Patel. It is time.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I will take only two more minutes. If the Minister wanted to give me time, he should have ended his speech earlier. We always co-operate with the Minister. We sit late. I am one

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has taken only twenty-five minutes though he had thirty minutes.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I also did not take much time. What I am trying to point out is, in Gujarat we have two hydro-electric schemes and they are only half way through during ten years. Therefore we are feeling suspicious. There is a saying in Gujarati: "Thirath-Na-Hajam". "Thirath" means a place of pilgrimage. "Hajam" means barber. A barber in a place of pilgrimage will shave one man half, another man half and he will go on like that. We have such Ministers in Gujarat. We have two river valley schemes which are half way through. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda was present at the time of laying the foundation stone of one of them. He promised Gujarat

[Shri K. D. Malaviya] 3,00,000 k.w. of electricity. Not one has yet started generating . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: The subject is oil and not electricity.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Do not interrupt me. You do not understand it. It is too good for you. The schemes on the Mahe and the Tapti are half way through.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: These are extraneous matters.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Is it proper for the hon. Member. . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am not yielding.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU ... to ask another respectable member on this side of the House. . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: If Members cut my time short and interrupt me like this, what am I to do?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All these are extraneous. Shall I put your Resolution to vote? Do you press it?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am putting the Resolution to the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not fair, Sir. His time has been cut. Let him raise the point of order and we can answer it. He was interrupted. Then a point of order was raised. And you cut his speech short. He was entitled to take five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a Committee consisting of 30 Members of Parliament representing both Houses to enquire into the working of oil exploration in the State of Gujarat and to make recommendations for accelerating the progress thereof."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is a message from the other House.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1960.

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

"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 Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill, 1960, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 16th December, 1960.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 19th December, 1960.