

and my hon. colleague, Mr. Raj Bahadur, is making a statement on this in the other House.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I am not your colleague.

DR P. SUBBARAYAN: I meant the Minister of Shipping and not you.

### THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B.  
N. DATAR): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 22nd April, 1959, be taken into consideration."

Sir, you are aware that under the Constitution, it is the duty of the President to appoint a Commission under article 344(1) for certain purposes in connection with the question about the official language of the Union. Accordingly, in 1955, the President appointed a Commission and that Commission's Report was received in 1956. Thereafter, under the same provision of the Constitution, a Committee had to be appointed of Members of both Houses of Parliament. That was done and the Report of this Committee has also been received. Under the Constitution it is open to the President, after considering this Report, to issue directions so far as the questions referred to in article 344 are concerned. But you are aware that an assurance was given in this House as well as in the other House that before the President came to a final decision on the basis of these two Reports, both the Houses of Parliament will have an opportunity of expressing their views on the Parliamentary Committee's Report. That is the reason, Sir, why we had a discussion during the last week on

this Committee's Report in the other House and I am very happy to have a discussion on this very question in this honourable House. The views of honourable Members are entitled to weight and it will be for the President, Sir, to consider all the views that have been expressed either in this House or in the other House, along with the Report that has been submitted to him by the Parliamentary Committee. Thereafter, the President will issue directions as he thinks proper in the light of the provisions of the Constitution framed long ago.

The question that was before the Committee was only of a limited nature. When the Constitution was framed, the question naturally arose as to what the official language of the Union should be. This and certain other related questions were considered very carefully in the light of their implications and particularly in the light of their bearing on the development or otherwise of the other languages mentioned in the Schedule to the Constitution, popularly known as the regional languages. When the Constituent Assembly dealt with this question, happily for us all what was called a constitutional settlement was arrived at. In that agreement, certain principles were agreed upon. One such principle was that after fifteen years, Hindi should become the official language of the Union for purposes of carrying on the administration, for inter-State communication and for such other purposes as may be necessary. This principle was officially accepted. This is a matter which we should take into account, namely that the Constituent Assembly has accepted certain decisions and has laid them down in Part XVII of the Constitution. All these principles are laid down in articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution. In terms of these provisions, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed.

Certain other points were also made clear, namely that till 1965,

[Shri B. N. Datar.] the position of English would remain as it is and that if English is to continue in any particular form after 1965, it would be for Parliament to initiate necessary legislation in that behalf. This is laid down in the Constitution and so we start with an accepted principle which is embodied in the Constitution that Hindi is to be the official language of the Union Government.

Certain other provisions have also been laid down in article 344(1) and 344(2). Article 344(2) clearly says:

"It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to —".

I am reading one or two sub-clauses in order to point out the relevancy of the particular points that were referred in the first instance to the Commission and then to the Parliamentary Committee. It says:

"(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union"

This has to be read subject to an earlier decision by the Constituent Assembly that Hindi shall be the official language of the Union after 1965. The question is, if after 1965 Hindi is to be the official language?, what are the steps that should be taken for having the progressive use of the Hindi language? Then, it follows from this whether any restriction should be placed on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes. Some other items are also mentioned in this particular article. This Commission was appointed to look into those matters and the Parliamentary Committee was appointed afterwards.

This Committee went into the whole matter and it is a question of very great satisfaction that we have a report wherein the largest measure of unanimity and harmony has been achieved. The Home Minister was

the Chairman of this Committee. They held as many as twenty-six sittings. Certain proposals have been made to which I shall make a brief reference. Though here and there there are certain notes, either by way of dissent or by way of clarification, still, the central fact remains that so far as the hon. Members coming from the non-Hindi-speaking area are concerned—hon. Members who served on this Parliamentary Committee—they have not appended any note of dissent at all. We have had certain notes, either of dissent or otherwise from Members who might be said to come from the Hindi-speaking areas. These hon. Members are not satisfied with the recommendations. They call some of these as halting, but the point that I was making was this. Whenever we have to consider the question of Hindi, certain other points have also to be fully taken into account, that is, when Hindi becomes the official language of the Union, to what extent English will have to be replaced. That is point number one. The second point is to what extent such a replacement of Hindi by English will cause any inconvenience or any disadvantage to the non-Hindi-speaking people of the country. These questions were considered very carefully and I am happy to say here that there was no opposition nor minutes of dissent from the hon. Members coming from the non-Hindi-speaking areas. They have agreed very clearly to the various recommendations that have been made in this respect-

Before I come to the question of the various recommendation<sup>^</sup> of the Committee, I shall very briefly deal with the position of English in India and the position of Hindi also because (he points relating to both these languages have to be considered very carefully because the time is likely to come—as early as possible, whenever all the Members so decide —When Hindi will be the official language of the Union. In fact, we took a decision when the Constitution

was framed and we have also taken certain other preparatory steps but the question that arises is as to when Hindi would become the actual official language of the Union. On this question, as I have stated earlier, we have to proceed slowly, though firmly. When once a decision has been taken by the Constituent Assembly and when on the whole, even now, there has been no dispute so far as the main question is concerned, all that has to be done is to so lay down our programme as to cause the least inconvenience to the people who are likely to be affected by the changeover from English to Hindi. That is one point which has to be fully understood.

Now the question is, why Hindi has to be made the official language. I would point out that Hindi is a language which amongst all the other languages in India is spoken by a very large section of the population. To put it in a general way, about 42 per cent, of the people know Hindi. A large number can speak Hindi and for the last few centuries the intercourse between the various States has been through Hindi. You can call it colloquial Hindi, but after all Hindi is there. And when after attainment of independence we have especially laid down the principle that we should have a welfare State in terms of democracy, then naturally whatever the Government does, whatever the Central Government does, has to be known to and appreciated by the largest number of people in the country. In other words we are pledged to what can be called a mass consciousness so far as public affairs are concerned and if at all any language could be considered as an all-India language from this point of view, it can only be Hindi. This point was considered fully and it was agreed that though at present Hindi requires a lot of improvement—here, Sir, we are dealing with administration and not with literary refinement and Hindi has to develop—Hindi has certain advantages which

have to be fully taken into account. After all, we have a common culture and all the languages in the north and in the east are more or less derived from the same language, namely, Sanskrit and so far as the southern languages are concerned, they have drawn very largely from Sanskrit. So, if Sanskrit has the north Indian languages as its daughters, then the languages in the south can be called its sisters, Sanskrit being the eldest sister. Sir, as the Prime Minister only the other day pointed out in this House, Sanskrit is one of the magnificent languages whose literature, whose great contribution to Indian culture, has always to be appreciated—and Hindi is one of the languages derived from Sanskrit. In India we have got a number of subcultures which have all developed into what can be called a common culture, a composite culture. So, for this purpose, for a proper expression, for a proper communication of our ideas to others, naturally we must have a common language on an all-India basis. That is the main reason, apart from others which I need not mention here. After all, a great nation, an ancient nation, like India ought to have, after independence, a common language, an all-India language, for the purpose of administration, for the purpose of inter-State communications.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

So, this point was fully considered and Hindi has been recognised as the official language, a status which she should occupy as early as possible.

As against this we have to take into account also the position of English. English is a great language. Whatever might be the circumstances under which we came into contact with the West, this fact has to be admitted that the knowledge of and acquaintance with English has been of considerable use to us Indians all along and this knowledge

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of English has to be used for the future development of this country to the extent that it can be done. Sir, the present generation, particularly those who are nurtured in the intimacy of the English language and some of us on personal grounds, on emotional grounds, may feel that English must continue for some years. English has also some advantages, namely, it is the most popular language; it is not only the language of the United Kingdom but is an international language as well and as the Prime Minister stated only the other day, English is the window through which we can acquire knowledge of modern sciences and technology.

So, there are certain advantages with regard to English and there are greater advantages with regard to Hindi. And there are a number of people who have a fairly good mastery of English. Therefore, there was a general feeling that an immediate replacement or displacement of English might not be proper. That view also has to be taken into account. Therefore, the Committee rightly balanced both these together and came to the conclusion that after 1965 Hindi shall be the official language of the Union Government. That is point No. 1. Then, does it mean that English has to disappear immediately on the 27th January 1965? No; because of the various circumstances that I have pointed out, what has been decided by the Committee is that English shall cease to be the principal official language of the Union but shall continue so long as the people desire. Now, no date has been put in; no dead line has been put in, because, after all, it is a question of convenience; It is a question of the desirability of avoiding inconvenience as far as possible, and so no particular date line has been laid down. English will continue, not as the principal language, but as a subsidiary language, or as the Prime Minister put it, as an associate language; Therefore you will find that

this one of the most important recommendations that the Committee has made because it has the advantage of keeping English so long as we desire. We have not particularly put in any date as I have said, but Hindi shall become the official language of the Union from 1965 onwards.

So, after taking this particular circumstance into account we have to proceed further and see what other recommendations have been made by this Committee. After mentioning all these circumstances they stated that so far as the official language of the Union was concerned, it shall be Hindi and Hindi has to be developed to the extent that is necessary. So far as the development of the Hindi language is concerned, it is not merely literary development, though scholars and authors will certainly try to develop the language to the fullest extent. There are even now certain Indian languages, in fact languages which are perhaps more developed than Hindi, but it shall be the privilege—it ought to be the pleasure—of all of us to develop Hindi to the fullest extent even in the literary and intellectual fields and so far as this particular question is concerned, we are anxious to see that Hindi develops well. And may I point out that the new Hindi that we shall develop will have all the good points of the Hindi that we now have but will also draw very largely to the extent that is possible from all the Indian languages? Now, the Committee has also pointed out that there ought to be the same terminology generally used; otherwise we will have different dialects as we have now. The languages change from district to district and in some cases I know that the languages change even from village to village in the hilly areas. So, we should have for all-India official use a language whose terminology, whose words, should more or less be the same throughout. Secondly, the new-Hindi should be so remodelled as to

make it possible for non-Hindi people also to treat it as their own language. From the point of view of patriotism naturally we have to consider Hindi as our own language but I would go a step further and I would like this language\* to develop qualitatively so as to serve the needs of the people who take • to it or who have already taken to it.

Then, naturally another question also has been very rightly dealt with by the Committee. They say that Indian languages including Hindi or regional languages and Hindi naturally have to be modernised to a large extent. Now, we developed in an atmosphere which was more or less static for some centuries. During the last few years we have come into contact with the West and the West has been developing very rapidly. There have been inventions and discoveries in science and technology. So far as all these matters are concerned, naturally they should not be, as the Committee have stated, viewed merely from a sense of purism. Purity is essential to the extent that it is possible, but complete purism will not serve the great interests that we have. And for that purpose it is suggested that Hindi can borrow not only from Indian languages, but from English and other such languages as it can, because it is going to be the language not merely of the oligarchy of intellect, the aristocracy of intellect, but it is going to be the language of the common people. Therefore, even in the scientific and administrative fields, democracy must have its own principles fully implemented. For that purpose, Hindi has to be developed fully and I am quite confident that in course of time we shall make this particular vehicle of expression as perfect as possible. For this purpose it has been suggested that we might borrow or we might j adopt, from wherever possible, scientific words, technical or technological words and perhaps maintain them in the same form, as they are.

Thereby there would be certain advantages because in the world of science and technology common words will be used. As I shall be pointing out later on, that would also be the position so far as the numerals are concerned. In other words, we should try to find out more points of contact between our Hindi and other languages and the foreign languages. Therefore, the new language or even the regional languages will have to develop and we will have to make them completely modern and up to date for subserving the new interests. After all, the age of science, the age of technology, is already with us for a number of centuries and now we are entering the atomic age. Therefore, we cannot afford to be merely static. We have to proceed as dynamically as possible and this will have its own reflection on the Hindi language and other languages also. That is the reason why we have to take a very large view, we have to borrow or adopt, as I have stated, as many words as possible, because language should be a perfect vehicle for the expression of opinion, for the purpose of communicating our desires to others, whether at the Government level or at the private level. That is the reason why this particular point has been stressed and they have stated that this should be fully taken into account for developing the Hindi language as early as possible.

Then, Sir, while doing so, there are certain precautionary steps to be fully noted. One is, as the Committee itself has stated Hindi should be developed and Hindi is already there. But English cannot be removed so as to leave a vacuum. They have purposely put in that expression that there should not be a vacuum. Even in the administrative field, so far as the replacement of one language by the other is concerned, there should not be any dislocation of work. Secondly, while doing so, we should be careful to see that nothing is done in a precipitate manner and particularly when the non-Hindi people are likely

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to misunderstand it. They are our own people. We are all one. Therefore, while developing the official language of India, we should carry with us as largely as possible the views of the people in the whole of India. Now, all these regional languages are great. Some of them have a more ancient literature than the other languages. That is why each language has developed in its own way, has its own genius. But above all these things, may I point out that they are not separate in the sense of separate languages in other countries? They have a common culture and if we go even to the farther-most south or to the farthestmost east, we shall find that the ideas are common, that the approach to life is common. Therefore, all these languages are national languages and they have to be fully developed. For this purpose, the fullest attention will have to be given by the Union Government and by the other Governments for developing all these languages for the purpose of making them all useful.

Then, Sir, certain other recommendations have been made. I would refer to them only in a general way. Now, regarding the question of the all-India services and the question of the Central services, so far as they have a bearing on the people and the languages in the various parts of the States, certain special precautions have to be taken. It has been pointed out that there are a large number of Departments of the Government of India spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Take the post offices. Take the telegraph offices and all other offices. Though they are under the Government of India, they are spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Under these circumstances, a question arose as to whether, if only English is allowed as the language in these offices, it is likely to cause inconvenience to the largest number of people for whose benefit—may I point out—these offi-

ces are maintained by the Government. In such cases, the Committee have very rightly pointed out that there ought to be what is known as a permanent bi-linguism. They have stated that so far as these offices in the various regional areas are concerned, they have a two-fold function. One is, so far as correspondence and other matters are concerned, naturally in due course after English is displaced they can carry on through Hindi. They can have their correspondence in Hindi and all the papers can be sent to the head office here or elsewhere in Hindi. But so far as the impact of such offices on the public is concerned, naturally our Government servants should also have a knowledge of the regional language. That is the reason why it has been stated that in such cases there ought to be bi-linguism. That you will find is a very proper and appropriate suggestion made by the Parliamentary Committee. Then a question, which was at fairly vexed one, arose regarding the all-India services or the Central services. As you are aware, in respect of all these services, for the I.A.S., I.P.S. and a number of other services—we have about 11 or 12 for which a competitive examination is held—the question arose before the Committee as to whether the language of the examination should be English for all time to come or whether it should be replaced, substituted by, say, Hindi or any other language. This question was considered in full detail. The Parliamentary Committee and the official Language Commission have had before them a very exhaustive memorandum from the Government of Madras. It has been specially mentioned in the Reports of the Commission and the Committee. They considered all these questions fully and their suggestions were given great weight. Ultimately, so far as the Parliamentary Committee are concerned, they came to the conclusion that English shall continue to be the medium of examination for time to come. As I have stated, they have not given a dead line. They

have not stated ten years or fifteen years, because it might be an impracticable matter and it would lead to needless misunderstanding. Therefore, what they stated was that English shall continue until there is the need for a change, and when there is a change, then naturally Hindi might be introduced as an alternative medium of examinations.

Now, they also considered the larger question as to whether ultimately all the regional languages should also be the media of examinations. On this question there were certain practical difficulties. One difficulty was the question of marking the examination papers, and they pointed out—to use an university or examination term—that it would be very difficult to have what can be called a 'moderation' so far as the various answer papers written in different languages were concerned. That question has to be considered not just now. English will continue for such time . . .

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): Even after 1965?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Even after 1965 English will continue, and Hindi will also be introduced after, as they have stated, sufficient notice has been given.

Then with a view to causing no inconvenience to any linguistic group, they have made an original suggestion. They have stated that English will continue to be a compulsory language even after Hindi has been introduced as the principal language of examinations. They have stated that for non-Hindi-speaking people Hindi will have to be learned as a compulsory language by way of what you can call a desirability of these candidates having a knowledge of some other language. So, simultaneously every candidate will have to know two languages or rather three languages apart from his own regional language or mother tongue. They have stated that for Hindi people they can choose any language other than their mother-tongue. Now, these two

language papers are to be of the same standard. They have made that also clear because of this consideration. We have so many languages and we have so many States. As you are aware, it has been suggested by the States Reorganisation Commission that our I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers etc. should not necessarily be sent to their own regions but that a fair proportion of them should be sent to other areas also. That is because an all-India outlook is absolutely essential. Though we have got various States, ultimately we have a Union for the purpose of developing all-India nationalism. We are all one. The common unity of India is there. So, that is the reason why the States Reorganisation Commission have stated that a certain proportion of the qualified candidates should be sent not to their own States but to other States as well. If this view is correct, and you will find that it is correct, then naturally we have to go a step further. In the syllabus for the competitive examinations it would be advisable to have a paper on a language other than Hindi. Hindi will be there, and so far as Hindi candidates are concerned they have no difficulty. But so far as non-Hindi people are concerned, they can take Hindi, and in addition every candidate should have a knowledge of and should appear for an examination in any other language also. This is one of the ways in which this particular problem has been sought to be solved in a very satisfactory manner.

Sir, there was a feeling in some quarters that if Hindi is made the official language, then it will be inconvenient to others. In order to obviate that difficulty and to create an atmosphere in which the candidate will be knowing not only his language but some other extra language out of the Indian languages this particular scheme has been brought.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): What will be the advantage of learning that other language?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: From the other language it will be open to him to draw inspiration from its literature, and secondly, in that particular area he will be a better administrator.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: That is another matter.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I am pointing out the advantages.

PROP. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: (Bihar): They will have equal disadvantages.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: But we have to get over the disadvantages, circumstanced as we are. We have so many languages. We have 14 languages. It is necessary that we know some language. A North Indian, for example, can with advantage study Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam. It will give him a new view of life. The people in the south should learn Bengali or any other language, because we shall then know that our culture is one, that we are inheritors of a common culture expressed in different aspects of the same culture.

Du. W. S. BARLINGAY (Bombay): You won't allow a southerner to learn Bengali. He will learn Hindi only.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: You will kindly see it properly. Some South Indians are already working in Bengal. Only the other day I was very happy to learn from a Minister of Assam that a number of South Indian people have gone there and have been working very well, and that they are showing all the aptitude not only for efficiency but for a proper adjustment in the new surrounding. I want to finish in five minutes, Sir.

So far as the Supreme Court is concerned, they have stated that when the time comes—and the time might take *some* time to come, not immediately, but when the proper time comes—Hindi shall be the language in which the work of the Supreme Court will have to be conducted. Authorised translations may be given;

they can be had in English if it all people desire or in the mother tongue or in the regional languages as desired. But when after a considerable period the question of the language of the Supreme Court has to be considered, then naturally Hindi has to be necessarily the language of the Supreme Court. So far as the High Court is concerned, there are certain matters which have to be taken into account. So far as the lower judiciary is concerned, it is already now in the regional languages—District Courts and other courts—though we are fond of using English even now there, but gradually English is being displaced by the local language. Some years ago a lawyer from Poona came to my place and—can you imagine—he argued in his own language, Marathi, in an excellent manner for two hours without using a single English expression. That was because formerly under Maratha rule and other rules, and also in the north, these local languages were also the languages of administration. Therefore, all these things will have to be taken into account. But so far as the High Courts are concerned, the Committee have suggested that it would be better to have the local or regional language as the principal language in due course. Let us not be afraid that just now, tomorrow, English will disappear. English will take some time to disappear—I am not going to prophesy when—our own languages, the various regional languages will be the principal languages, and side by side it would be open to the various High Courts to have Hindi also. A suggestion was made that Hindi should be the language of the various High Courts. But there were certain difficulties and therefore they stated that the local languages or the regional languages should be the court language and that Hindi also should be an optional language. Thus, Sir, you will find that there are a number of points . . .

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: What about the language in the Legislatures?



SHRI B. N. DATAR: So far as the Legislature is concerned, ultimately in the States the regional languages will naturally have to play. Here, for example, we have English now and side by side Hindi is also being developed, and a time will come, not necessarily immediately, when Hindi will also be the language of legislation. It is a difficult matter. 1 p.m. Therefore, when they discussed this question, they stated that a common legal terminology will have to be first developed and that legal terminology should be the same in all the Indian languages also. If, for example, for the word 'limitation' we have a particular word, then that word should be common in all the languages so that this commonness will help us even so far as the work in the courts is concerned.

I would not like to go into all the other circumstances, but I would point out in respect of international numerals that they are ultimately Indian numerals. They went from here to Arabia; from Arabia they went to other countries. Therefore international numerals were originally Indian numerals, and we need not fight shy of them. Rather as the Prime Minister suggested, if we accept the international numerals, then perhaps we shall come into closer contact with the rest of the world. But after the same they have made certain suggestions for the use of Devanagari numerals. Naturally, they are numerals in the various Indian languages also.

Sir, I am finishing in five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are sitting through the lunch hour.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Then there is no question of time. But I shall try to finish soon.

So far as this question is concerned, we should take into account a larger view because if the international numerals are accepted, immediately we come into contact not only with

the Hindi region, but with the various regional language regions also, with the outer world also. That is a point which should be taken into account. But where it is only a legal question, then naturally, not only the Devanagari numerals come in, but there are different numerals in other Indian languages also. They have also to be given proper importance. After all, let us try to move towards a commonness not only between Hindi and other languages, but all the Indian languages on the one hand and the other languages like English and others through which we are at present getting all the knowledge from the West. Thus you will find, Sir, even on this question, they have made a suggestion which should be very carefully considered. They have found that here and there it is necessary, as I have said, to develop a technical terminology to develop commonness of words. Otherwise, if you go to U.P. there are certain words used there which would become difficult to understand. That is what the Prime Minister the other day complained of.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): For instance?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I need not mention any instance. But 'pratik-shalaya' and so many other words are used. Let us have a common word and that word should be the same whether it is used in the north or in the south. I had been to a place where I found the expression 'parishramalaya' being used. I could not understand what that word meant. But I was going to be the inmate of that particular building. It is a circuit house, the so-called 'parishramalaya'. I could not understand it. That is how in our desire to have our own . . .

PROP. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: At what place?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: In Bihar. I believe it is in Gaya or Darbhanga.

{Shri B. N. Datar.J

that they used the word. Sometimes, they say 'pratikshalaya', sometimes, 'avalokangraha'.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): May I ask for one clarification? I just want to know this. What is the use of saying that your words are difficult? Why don't you give us words? So far as the villagers are concerned they would understand the word 'parishramalaya' better than the word 'Circuit House'. (Interruptions.) We understand the word 'Circuit House' better.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The hon. Member should have waited. What we should do is we should try to develop a common set of words, and for that purpose, I was going to point out to the hon. Member ...

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Pradesh): What has been done during all these years?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: It is necessary to have a set of common words even . . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Sleeping.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Let us have a set of common words even so far as common ideas are concerned. Therefore, now we have certain difficulties. They have stated that so far as the coining of these words is concerned, it ought to be entrusted to one agency under the Government of India, because under the Government of India also there might be different agencies. Therefore, they have suggested that the word should be common everywhere. If, for example, for the word 'station' we have one word in the north and another word in the south, it becomes difficult. Therefore, let us have . . .

SHRI ABHIMANYU RATH (Orissa)  
A clarification, Sir. What about . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can raise the point in your speech.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That is the reason why they have stated that there ought to be a number of expert committees; one committee for what would be called the equation of common words.

SHRI ABHIMANYU RATH: How-can it be, Sir?

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): How can it be when Datar is in the south and Bhargava is in the north?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Datar is known throughout India or throughout the world. He is not called by anything else.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Datar is a proper name.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Then there ought to be technical or scientific words which ought to be common with the rest of the world. Perhaps, to the extent that it is possible, we can borrow words like oxygen or hydrogen instead of changing them. Sir, I was reading the Deputy Chairman's speech in the Constituent Assembly and I was amused to find how he had given a number of words for the same expression and he put it to the Committee of the Constituent Assembly as to why there was such a diversity of words or expressions. Therefore, I desire that we should have that process also to make Hindi the official language of the Union and to make Hindi the language for inter-State communication is not so easy. We have to carry it on and therefore the Committee has suggested a number of measures—the appointment of a number of committees, what can be called the Standing Committee or the Exoert Committee, etc.—and all this work will have to be started now. After this the President might be

issuing, after hearing the very valuable opinions of this House, directions, and after those directions have been issued, the work will start.

My hon. friend wanted to know what we have done. So far as this question is concerned, two things have been done. We are trying our best to see to it that the Government servants have a working knowledge of Hindi. For that purpose, we are giving them certain facilities and I believe about fifty or fifty-two thousand—I am speaking from memory—a fairly large number of people, have already learnt Hindi. Side by side, we have to develop the language of administration in Hindi for noting and doing certain other things. That also is being done. And if I mistake not, the Ministry of Education have coined a number of words in the different departments of human knowledge. All this will have now to be co-ordinated, collated where necessary, and the object should be simplicity and intelligibility. It might be from Sanskrit; it might be from Urdu; it might be from any other language. But the first idea that we shall have is that the word should "be immediately understood by the common people, because this is the age of the common man; this is the age of democracy. For that purpose, it will not be sufficient if we have very long words, less common words. Even Sanskrit will have to be simplified if it is going to be the language of a larger section of the people. Therefore, I would submit that the great question was before the people, very valuable material was collected by the Commission and it was fully made use of and they themselves "have pointed out on an earlier occasion that there was a very large measure of agreement regarding the objectives. Almost all the Members participated in this discussion, which revealed that despite differences in matters of detail—let the hon. Members understand—despite differences in matters of detail and in emphasis,

on certain aspects of the question there was general agreement, as regards the objectives and the approach to the problem. This is the reason why, when the Prime Minister intervened in the debate in the other House, he complimented the Chairman, the Home Minister, on the manner in which—the Prime Minister himself has stated—he had almost worked a miracle in bringing about the largest measure of agreement on such an important question. Therefore, Sir, I am quite confident that in the debate that will follow the different aspects of this question will be fully considered and we shall approach this question—as the Prime Minister put it—from the standpoint, to the largest extent possible, of the non-Hindi people—that is how he put it, because they are the persons who, they believe, are likely to suffer. But there will be no suffering to be undergone by them, and whatever is necessary will have to be done. And there are also the protagonists of English. Their point also has been met to a large extent, not merely to please them but in the higher interests of the nation as such. That, is the reason why it is absolutely essential that we work with the largest measure of agreement so far as this question, which was once vexed, is concerned. Happily it is no longer a vexed question. We have now come to brass tacks on it. At least we have a very clear guidance from the hon. Members of this House. As it was pointed out in the other House, this was not merely a parliamentary committee in the ordinary sense of the term. The Members of the Committee were chosen on the basis of what is known as the proportional representation. In other words this Parliamentary Committee of thirty was an epitome of both the Houses of Parliament and therefore. Sir, from that point of view their views are entitled to great weight. One of the dissenting notes that we had was from Shri Anthonv. Now in the other House he said that he was satisfied with the Prime Minister's

[Shri B. N. Datar.] approach and he stated that he would withdraw that dissenting note. Now, it is for this reason, Sir, that I would not deal with the numerous points that he had raised, because he has been perfectly satisfied with the approach of the Prime Minister which, naturally, is the approach of the Government and therefore I commend this particular Parliamentary Committee's Report to your acceptance and I am quite confident that the discussion that we shall be having here will be of great use and value to the President in passing necessary directions in this respect.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 22nd April, 1959, be taken into consideration".

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am very happy to be able to congratulate the Minister on the very lucid presentation of a very important Case. The Houses also deserve congratulation on the manner in which the Parliamentary Committee and the Commission appointed have dealt with a very complicated and difficult issue. The question of Hindi being the common federal language of India is one which has been settled by the Constituent Assembly. The issue that has come before us is how to implement it, how to give effect to it, and for that purpose various difficulties which had come in the way had to be carefully considered, sorted out and solutions discovered. This is what the Commission has done and what the Committee has also carefully examined. The proposals now put forward by the Government seek, as far as possible, to meet every possible objection and to get over the apprehensions which many people had felt by the imposition—as they thought—of one regional

language over the rest of India. It has been made perfectly clear that the apprehensions, such as they were, could be met by reasonable arrangements entered into among ourselves, and there is no reason then for the south, east, west or north to feel that there will be any dominance of one language over the other or any dominance of one group of people over the rest. Undoubtedly, the principles have all been agreed upon. There is no one today who denies that it is necessary for India to have a common language, a language for federal administration and for the inter-State communication. The question, however, really depends on how we give effect to it, the methods which we use in order to give confidence to the people and in order also to be effective in the creation of a language which is really becoming of the great nation to which we belong. Undoubtedly, Hindi is the language which is spoken by a very large number of people, but the Hindi that we have decided upon is a Hindi which is to be rooted in Sanskrit. There is a common belief or an idea commonly expressed, that it is simple, straight forward Hindi that we require. I venture to doubt it. The simple, straightforward Hindi as it exists, will be the regional language of the area in which Hindi is spoken, and not something that expresses the composite culture of India. If it is to be the common language of all India, then its vocabulary should be firmly rooted in words which are common to the languages of India. This is possible only by emphasising the common words based on Sanskrit, which already exist in Hindi as alternatives to more familiar simple words. I shall give you an example.

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

I had the privilege to travel a few years ago with a distinguished group of people two of whom belonged to U.P. and two officials, one from Bengal

and one myself. We came, to Nagpur where it was written, 'Kendriya Vima.i Kshetra'. Now, that was a thing which my Bengali friend and myself immediately understood without anybody having to explain it, because all the three words, 'Kendriya •Viman' and 'Kshetra' were words which were common to the whole of India, whereas if you had written them as 'Havai Jahaj ka Adda', those who did not know would have found difficulty in understanding it 'Havai Jahaj ka Adda' would have been simple, clear Hindi. After a few hours we went to the Secretariat at Nagpur. There it was written, "Dwichakra par sanchar nishidh hai\ Now, the meaning was perfectly clear to both Mr. Banerji and myself, but to the Hindi-speaking gentlemen from Uttar Pradesh only a portion was quite clear, namely 'par' and hai' •Dwichakra\* meant a cycle. The meaning was: Going on cycles is prohibited. Now, the people from Uttar Pradesh and the other Hindi-speaking areas naturally resent this. This, they say, is not 'our' language.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: (Uttar Pradesh): No, no, on the other hand we are willing . . .

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: But we have never accepted the language of Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh or any other Pradesh as the language of India. We have accepted Hindi on the basis of Sanskrit, which meant that the words which are available in Hindi of Sanskrit origin, which are available equally in other languages, would be the solid structure on which the common language is based. To give you an example, the word 'roze' may be a very good word, a very simple word. But if you said 'din' for 'day' it is a word which will be understood from one end of India to the other end. Also if you said 'divas' it will be understood as meaning day, from one end of the country to the other. But if you said 'roze\*' it would not be understood. In the

same way, if you said 'suraj' all may not understand, but if "you said \*surya' it will be understood everywhere, all over India as meaning the sun. Consequently, the idea that the language which we evolve, which we utilise all over India, should be something which is simple, common and spoken only by the common people in terms of democracy, as was said by the hon. Minister, is something which I cannot agree with. It should be a cultivated language based on Sanskrit so that, all over India, people would understand the words used. If instead of saying, 'Wazir-e-Azam', you say, 'Pradhan Mantri' there is no trouble. But if you say 'Wazir-e-Azam', no doubt it will be understood all over North India and by certain sections in the South . . .

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: It is-an Urdu or rather a Persian word. It is not a Hindi word.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: I am not suggesting either Hindi or Urdu.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: They are not common words.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: Whether they are common or they are not common words, but they are prevalent. When you say 'koshish' it is not a Hindi word but it is commonly used word in North India. But 'koshish\*' would not be easily understood in South India. So, all that I am saying is that in the language which we create, which we evolve, it is not the question of common words which are in daily use, but what is important is words which will be understood all over.

There exists a large quantum of words which are common to all the languages of India. They are based mainly on Sanskrit. But a good many are based on other languages also. Some are based on Arabic, some on Persian, but they are common to all the languages. The important thing is in a common language which we

[Shri K. M. Panikkar.] evolve the vocabulary should be common, as far as possible, to most of the languages of India. Therefore, the evolution of the language, as we foresee, is something which should be deliberately attempted and not merely left to the natural circumstances to shape. I am not suggesting that Government should go in for highly compounded Sanskrit words because highly compounded Sanskrit words were never in use even when Sanskrit was much more popular than it is today. It is a process of sophistication rather than of the development of the language. But the simple words which every Indian language derives from Sanskrit should be the basis on which the common Hindi, which will be the language for inter-State communication and Government purposes, should be based.

Sir, only two other points I would like to raise in this discussion. One is with regard to the position of the English language. I do not think anybody would claim that English would continue to be the major official language of India. After all, if after a hundred years of consistent effort a powerful government utilising its entire governmental and educational machinery could create only a small minority of English educated people, it is obvious that English could never be the language for effective official use. I can give you numerous instances of misunderstandings, grave political misunderstandings which have arisen as a result of the use of English language. One which I will mention now will show you with what difficulty, with what great strain on our intelligence we have been using the English language.

You would remember that in 1933 a White Paper was issued on the position of the States by the Secretary of State for India. The Committee of Ministers of the Princely States met in Bombay to issue a reply to "this Important document. The reply was drafted by three outstanding men, men whose position in the public life

of India at that time nobody would contest. Men like Col. Haksar and Shri Manubhai Mehta . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): And Sardar Panikkar.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: I was not on it. I saw it the next day in the press. As I said, the representatives of the Princes and the Ministers, who met in Bombay, considered the White Paper and reported that they had a number of fundamental objections. They thought that the word 'fundamental' meant something important. This was wired out to England. The Secretary of State faced with these 'fundamental' objections found it difficult to proceed. Then it had to be explained that the word 'fundamental' was used in an emphatic way to mean an important objection.

This you may consider as something very out of the way as coming from Ministers of former States, but actually the use of English by us—though we may take pride in it—is not something about which we need feel proud. There are very few people who have that authority over the English language as to use it in a manner which is beyond criticism. After all as you know, Poet Rabindranath Tagore was a person who wrote English with great beauty and certain amount of mastery. And yet, if you look into "The Spirit of Man" by Robert Bridges, the then poet laureate, in the Appendix you will find a note saying:

'For purposes of the purity of English language I have changed a few words here and, there of the Poet's translation of his own work\*—and words to similar effect.

This is about Poet Tagore's work. So, the idea that we are all masters of the English language, merely because we have studied English for a few years, is something we can only claim but nobody else would accept. If this is the result after a hundred years of stilling of English language, it is quite obvious that English could not be the language in which we could give expression

to our own mind or personality. Even \ for parliamentary or administrative j work it has undeniable weakness because it does not reach the people. It is, therefore, obvious that the position of English in this country has to be carefully thought out.

I am a staunch advocate for the retention of English as a compulsory language of study in this country, not because it gives us a spirit, of democracy because English is supposed to be a language of democracy—it is also a language of autocracy—but in any case, it has provided us with a medium of communication in the international world. It has provided us with ideas from other sources. It already exists as an instrument, of culture amongst certain classes. And, if Persian, after one hundred and fifty years of its disappearance from the official w^rld, still continues to be a source of cultural inspiration, there is no reason why English also—though within limited spheres—should not continue to be of cultural and spiritual significance.

When I say spiritual significance, some of you might smile. But just remember that the whole literature of the new Hindu revival from the Raja Rammohan Roy's 'Precepts of Jesus' to Dr Radhakrishnan's translation of the Gita and Dhammapada, the volume of English literature devoted to Indian religions is something very considerable. Therefore, the maintenance of English, even from the cultural point of view, not as an official language but as a subject °\* study, as, a subject of interest, is something which we should not ignore. I am very happy to feel that the Government of India in saying that English would continue as a subsidiary official language has really seen to this.

Only one other minor submission I would make. The Government of India's proposals emphasise the desirability of the study of one Indian language besides Hindi for examinations of an all-India character. It also provides that adequate measures must be taken by the Central Government for the development, of other

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Indianv languages. Now, this i, a matter of very vital importance. But I regret to have to say that the approach to other Indian languages by North Indian educational institutions and by scholars is something which makes me apprehensive of the way that these recommendations would be given effect to. It is possible for me to study, say, Tamil, from the beginning to the very highest level, in the universities of Paris or in the University of London or in the University of Oxford. But I should like to know the number of North Indian universities where it is possible to take a course in any one of the South Indian languages. I am talking of the regional universities. The approach to the other languages has been such that even in a university like Viswa-Bharati which has a Chini Bhavan, there is no Bhavan for the teaching of Dravidian languages. When we consider that in most of the North Indian universities there are no facilities for the study of South Indian languages, we come to realise what great difficulties we have to overcome in order to give effect to the Government policies. Opportunities for the study of Tamil exist in Paris not for Tamil students who go there, but for the French people. Opportunities for the study of Indian languages exist in the school of Oriental languages in London and in the University of Oxford not for the students who go there from India but for the English people who desire to learn it. But the idea that the people of North India should study the languages of South India has not yet entered the minds of the people of the North. I have not yet come across a person who can claim any scholarship in any one of these languages of South India or any language outside his own territory, while that is a vers' common thing in Europe. It is not uncommon among oriental scholars to find men who can read, speak and understand the different dialects of India. This attitude of mind is lacking and the idea that languages of regions outside one's own are something not worth cultivating, is widely in India. A mere recommendation that efforts

[Shri K. M. Panikkar.]

should be made to develop these languages would not, to my mind, carry sufficient weight or authority, unless the Government of India takes effective steps by making knowledge of one of the South Indian languages compulsory for all-India examinations and by other similar processes.

Finally, Sir, I would say that we have to be very careful in dealing with the question of law courts. Please do not for a moment think that I am suggesting that English should continue as the language of the courts. But remember that even the introduction of English as the language of the courts took nearly a hundred years and it was by a slow process that this was done. And to change it into another language has certain difficulties which I would briefly refer to.

Many of the conceptions embodied in the laws that we administer today come from the English language. No doubt, the content and the meaning of those conceptions could also be brought into Indian languages in due course. But premature introduction of Hindi or other languages in the work of courts, especially in the interpretation of laws, might, lead us astray, at least for a considerable time to come. Therefore, in the utilisation of the Indian languages—which must no doubt, be introduced in the courts—we have to be particularly careful, that the spirit of the law which we have taken over from the British—and that spirit I consider one of the major contributions of Britain to India—the spirit of the law that, we have inherited now is not uprooted and is not made into something strange, something of a perversion by the use of an instrument which is not completely sympathetic to it

I would conclude by saying that this subject is one which concerns our nationality, the evolution of the Indian people as an integrated nation.

The development of Hindi from that point of view should take in consideration traditions of the different areas, the composite nature of our culture, as the Constitution so aptly says. And language is one of the more important ways in which that spirit of nationality can be expressed. It is one of the major aspects of every country's spiritual and artistic life, and we can ignore it only at our peril.

Therefore, I would submit that these recommendations be accepted and early effect be given to the creation of Hindi as at least the federal official language of India.

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : श्रीमान्  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी,

डा० राज बहादुर गौड़ : आज आखिरी  
बार अंग्रेजी में बोलिये ।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : थोड़ी सी  
बात अंग्रेजी में भी कह दूंगा ।

डा० राज बहादुर गौड़ : मेहरबानी है ।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : लेकिन  
आपने सुना नहीं, पत्रिकर साहब ने बतला  
दिया है कि अंग्रेजी में बोलने से क्या हो  
जाता है ।

डा० राज बहादुर गौड़ : हम सब गलत  
अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं ।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : सबसे  
पहले मैं माननीय पंडित गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त  
जी को बधाई देता हूं जो संसदीय समिति के  
चेयरमैन थे । संसदीय समिति ने बहुत बड़ी  
उपलब्धि नहीं की है, बहुत बड़ी चीज हासिल  
नहीं की है, लेकिन जब यह समिति काम कर  
रही थी, तब भाषा को लेकर देश में बहुत  
बड़ा वाद-विवाद मच गया था और उस  
गर्मी के भीतर यह पन्त जी की ही सूझ-बूझ  
और दूरदर्शिता का परिणाम था कि इस मामले



पर देश एकमत हो सका। मैं इसको एकमत होना ही कहता हूँ। अगरचे श्री फ्रैंक एन्थानी की छुरा का निशान हमारे कलेजों में बाकी है, मगर उन्होंने अपना वैमत्य वापस ले लिया है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि बाकी वैमत्य ऐसे नहीं हैं, जिनसे आप यह कह सकें कि देश एकमत नहीं हुआ।

गंगा जब उतरती है तब कहीं तो शंकर जटा खोल कर उसका स्वागत करते हैं और कभी-कभी ऐरावत उसकी राह रोकने को आ जाते हैं। पन्त जी की बुद्धिमत्ता से सारी बाधाएं दूर हो गईं। इसलिये मैं उनके प्रति बधाई प्रकट करता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि सारा देश उनकी इस बुद्धिमत्ता से, उनके इस धीरज से प्रसन्न है।

जहां तक इस रिपोर्ट का सवाल है, मैं इसे मुख्यतः अहिन्दी भारत की रिपोर्ट मानता हूँ, क्योंकि यह रिपोर्ट हिन्दी को उस तरीके से लाना चाहती है जो तरीका श्री मुदलियार, श्री थनुपिल्ले, श्री अतुल्य घोष, श्री डांगे आदि अहिन्दी भाषी नेताओं का है, उस तरीके से नहीं जो तरीका पूज्य टण्डन जी का है अथवा जो तरीका उड़ीसा के विद्वान् नेता और इस सदन के सम्माननीय सदस्य स्वर्गीय भंजदेव जी का था।

लेकिन फिर भी मैं इस रिपोर्ट का स्वागत करता हूँ, क्योंकि मेरा विश्वास रहा है कि हिन्दी को राजभाषा बनाने का श्रेय हिन्दी वालों का नहीं बल्कि उन महापुरुषों का है जिनका जन्म या तो बंगाल में हुआ था या गुजरात में हुआ था या महाराष्ट्र में हुआ था या जो दक्षिण भारत में जन्मे थे। आज भी सुविधा की राह यही है कि हिन्दी को हम उसी तरह से लावें जिस तरह से अहिन्दी भाषी भारतवर्ष के लोग उसको लाना चाहें। अहिन्दी प्रान्तों में हिन्दी चलाने के मामले में मैं बराबर यही समझता रहा हूँ कि हमारी नीति वही होनी चाहिये, जो नीति अहिन्दी-भाषी भारतवासी अपने बहुमत से चलाना चाहें

और यह सिर्फ बोलने की बात नहीं है। राजभाषा आयोग में हिन्दी-भाषी कई सदस्य थे, लेकिन उन सभी लोगों ने इस नीति का नियमपूर्वक पालन किया था। आयोग के पूरे इतिहास में एक बार भी ऐसा मौका नहीं आया जब अहिन्दी-भाषियों के बहुमत निर्णय से एक भी हिन्दी-भाषी सदस्य का मतभेद हुआ हो। यह बात दूसरी है कि वैमत्य लिखने वालों ने गलत बातें रिपोर्ट में लिख दीं।

इस रिपोर्ट की दूसरी विशेषता यह है कि अंग्रेजी के प्रयोग पर यह कहीं भी कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाती है और न यही कहती है कि अखिल-भारतीय नौकरियों में जो प्रतियोगी परीक्षाएँ होती हैं उन परीक्षाओं में से अंग्रेजी को तुरन्त निकाल कर उसकी जगह पर हिन्दी का चलन कर दिया जाय। यह मसला जरा स्वभाव से ही उलझा हुआ है, इसलिये संसदीय समिति ने इसके निपटारे का जिम्मा सरकार पर डाल दिया है। फिर, समिति ने यह भी कहा है कि १९६५ के बाद हिन्दी इस देश की प्रधान संधीय भाषा हो जायगी और अंग्रेजी गौण हो कर रहेगी।

मेरा खयाल है कि साधारणतः यह प्रबन्ध बहुत से अहिन्दी-भाषियों को पसन्द आया है और इसलिये मैं भी उसे पसन्द करता हूँ। लेकिन जिस तरह हम ने अहिन्दी-भाषी जनता की कठिनाई को समझ कर इस इंतजाम को कबूल कर लिया है, उसी तरह से उचित है कि अहिन्दी-भाषी जनता भी हिन्दी वालों की कठिनाई को समझे और उसका कोई हल निकालने में देश की मदद करे। हमारी कठिनाई क्या है? हमारी सब से बड़ी कठिनाई यह है कि हिन्दी प्रान्तों के विश्व-विद्यालयों ने बहुत दूर तक अपनी शिक्षा का माध्यम बदल दिया है। अब हमारे ग्रैजुएट प्रधानतः हिन्दी के माध्यम से तैयार हो रहे हैं। और जो बात हिन्दी प्रान्तों में हुई है वही बात गुजरात में भी हो गई है। वहां भी ज्यादा ग्रैजुएट अब गुजराती के माध्यम से तैयार हो रहे हैं। और अभी एक मित्र ने बताया कि

[ प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर ]

मद्रास और अन्नामलाई विश्वविद्यालयों ने भी तमिल का प्रयोग आरम्भ कर दिया है। इन सारी चीजों को सामने रखते हुए जो बात मुझे दिखाई पड़ती है वह यह है कि अब हम लोग हवाई किले में बैठ कर विचार करना छोड़ दें। विचार अब ठोस जमीन पर उतर कर करें। जो घटना बाकी भारतवर्ष में घटित होने वाली है वह हिन्दी प्रान्तों में और गुजरात में और प्रयोग के रूप में मद्रास राज्य में घटित हो चुकी है। शिक्षा का माध्यम बदल देने से एक स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है, जो यह मांग करती है कि अब अखिल-भारतीय नौकरियों की परीक्षाओं में देश-भाषाओं का प्रयोग तुरन्त होना चाहिए। हिन्दी प्रान्तों ने और गुजरात ने कोई गुनाह नहीं किया है कि हम उनके नवयुवकों को अनिश्चित काल तक बेकारी के क्षाप से क्षापित रखें। संविधान परिषद् ने एक निर्णय किया, सारा देश चाहता था कि वह निर्णय काम में आये और हिन्दी प्रान्तों और गुजरात को आसानी थी, उन्होंने यह काम कर डाला। वाजिब तो यह है कि हम उनको इनाम दें लेकिन हम इनाम न दे सकते हैं तो कम से कम उनको सजा तो नहीं देनी चाहिए, उनके साथ इन्साफ तो जरूर किया जाना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं आप को कह दूँ। प्रत्येक भाषा-क्षेत्र में वहाँ की भाषा ऊपर आने को बेचैन है। लेकिन सारे लोग सिर्फ यह देखने को ठिके हुए हैं कि इन पाँच, छः प्रान्तों में जो नये ग्रैजुएट तैयार हो रहे हैं उनके साथ भारत सरकार क्या सलूक करने जा रही है। अगर इन ग्रैजुएटों का रास्ता खुल गया तो विश्वास मानिये कि आनन-फानन सभी क्षेत्रों में वहाँ की भाषाएं ऊपर आ पहुँचेंगी। इसलिए सरकार से मेरा निवेदन है कि संसदीय समिति ने जो निर्णय उसके हाथ में छोड़ा है उस निर्णय को वह शीघ्र कर डाले और इस तरह कर डाले कि हमारे नये ग्रैजुएटों की दुविधा एक साल या छः महीने में खत्म हो

जाय और वे अखिल-भारतीय नौकरियों में अपनी भाषाओं के जरिये शामिल होने की तैयारी कर सकें।

मुश्किल यह है कि हम तो अहिन्दी-भाषी प्रान्तों की कठिनाई समझते हैं, मगर हमारी कठिनाई का हाल अहिन्दी-भाषी जनता तक नहीं पहुँच पाता है। बीच में फोर्थ स्टेट की एक टुकड़ी खड़ी है जो कि हर बात को झान डालती है। लोग अंग्रेजी की तरफदारी में इतनी दूर जा रहे हैं कि भाषाओं के बीच प्रेम पैदा होने देना नहीं चाहते। सारे देश में हिन्दी वाले बदनाम समझे जाते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि हिन्दी-भाषी और अहिन्दी भाषी भारतवासियों के बीच कुहासा फैलाने का काम हिन्दी के समर्थक नहीं बल्कि अंग्रेजी के जोशीले अलमबरदार कर रहे हैं। English Enthusiasts कर रहे हैं जो यह कहते हुए भी नहीं शर्मित कि हिन्दी साम्राज्यवाद की भाषा है और भारत को असली राष्ट्रीयता की वाणी अंग्रेजी है। लेकिन वह गलत बात है।

डा० राज बहादुर गोड़ : बिल्कुल गलत।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : हिन्दी, बंगला, गुजराती, तमिल, तेलगू, मराठी, कन्नड़, मलयालम—हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी कोई भाषा नहीं है जिसे कोई सम्राट बोलता हो लेकिन सभी जानते हैं कि अंग्रेजी सम्राज्ञी, महारानी, एलिजाबेथ की भाषा है।

अंग्रेजी के तरफदारों का सारा गुस्सा हिन्दी पर बरस रहा है। फिर भी यह सच है कि अंग्रेजी को धकियाने का काम केवल हिन्दी ही नहीं कर रही है, प्रत्येक भाषा-क्षेत्र में वहाँ की भाषा आज इसी काम में लगी हुई है। मगर, फिर भी, सारा गुस्सा हम पर उतारा जा रहा है। भोले-भाले देश-भाषा-भाषी लोग इस रहस्य को भले न समझें,

लेकिन, अंग्रेजी के तरफ़दार इस बात को खूब समझते हैं कि हिन्दी आई तो भारत की सभी भाषाएँ आ पहुँचेंगी और हिन्दी रोक दी गई तो फिर कोई भी भाषा अंग्रेजी की जगह नहीं ले सकेगी। हिन्दी का आन्दोलन केवल हिन्दी का आन्दोलन नहीं है, वह अंग्रेजी के विरुद्ध भारत की सभी भाषाओं का आन्दोलन बन गया है। इस रहस्य को अंग्रेजी के तरफ़दार समझते हैं। मगर, ईश्वर ने चाहा तो यह आन्दोलन किसी के रोके नहीं रुकने वाला है। दस साल के भीतर-भीतर प्रत्येक भाषा-क्षेत्र में वहाँ की भाषा प्रधान हो जाने वाली है और यही दस वर्ष हमारे हाथ में हैं, जब हम हिन्दी का सारे देश में प्रचार कर सकेंगे हैं। अंग्रेजी हट रही है और दस वर्ष बीतते-बीतते वह सत्ता के आसन से लुढ़क कर नीचे गिर जायगी। अगर इस बीच में हम ने संघ-भाषा का सारे देश में प्रचार न कर दिया तो हम लोग किसी तरह के वैकुण्ठ का, किसी तरह की रिक्तता का सामना करने वाले हैं। यह इतनी प्रत्यक्ष बात है कि कोई भी आदमी इसको देख सकता है। काल ने अपना काम आरम्भ कर दिया है। इस काम को अंग्रेजी के तरफ़दारों के आसू नहीं रोक सकेंगे। इस काम को चौथी स्टेट की वह बड़ी और जबरदस्त टुकड़ी भी नहीं रोक सकेगी जो आज आँख मूंद कर अंग्रेजी का समर्थन और देश-भाषाओं का विरोध कर रही है।

सरकार का धर्म है कि वह काल की गति को पहचाने और युग-धर्म की पुकार का बड़ कर आदर करे। पूज्य टंडन जी ने अपने वैमत्य में एक सुझाव दिया है कि केन्द्र में हिन्दी मंत्रालय बनना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी मंत्रालय काफी नहीं है। यह भी हो सकता है कि केन्द्र में हिन्दी का काम करने वाली जो शाखा है, उसका विस्तार कर दिया जाये। लेकिन, वह भी काफी नहीं है। देश की भाषाओं के बीच एक प्रकार की शंका उत्पन्न हो गई है और उसको रोकने के लिए हमको बड़े

पैमाने पर कोई बड़ा काम करना होगा। मुझे इस बात की नितान्त आवश्यकता दीखती है कि हिन्दी समेत भारत की चौदहों भाषाओं की एक नैशनल अकाडमी बना दी जाये और उसका प्रधान कार्यालय हैदराबाद में रखा जाये। इस अकाडमी के जरिये हम प्रत्येक भाषा-क्षेत्र में वहाँ की भाषा को आगे बढ़ाने में मदद कर सकते हैं। इस अकाडमी के जरिये हम यह काम कर सकते हैं कि सभी भाषाओं में एक ही प्रकार के शब्द चलें। इस अकाडमी के जरिये हम प्रत्येक भाषा-क्षेत्र में द्विभाषी, त्रिभाषी विद्वान् तैयार कर सकते हैं और भाषाओं के भीतर भावात्मक एकता लाने के लिए सभी उपायों को काम में ला सकते हैं। यह कोई मेरा ही सुझाव नहीं है। सन् १९४८ में राष्ट्राङ्गणन् कमीशन ने इस प्रकार का कोई सुझाव दिया था। राजभाषा आयोग ने भी यह सुझाव दिया है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सुझाव पर संसदीय समिति ने भी विचार किया है। यह काम बहुत शीघ्र किया जाना चाहिये।

**डा० रघुवीर सिंह :** तब साहित्य अकाडमी क्या करेगी ?

**प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर :** यह साहित्य अकाडमी के बस के बाहर की बात है। साहित्य अकाडमी ने अपनी परम्परा साहित्य में पकड़ी है। मैं तो भारतवर्ष की सारी भाषाओं के लिए काम करने की बात कह रहा हूँ।

मेरा दूसरा सुझाव यह है। संसदीय समिति ने यह सिफारिश की है कि कोटा सिस्टम को बचाकर भारतीय भाषाएँ परीक्षा में लायी जा सकती हैं या नहीं, इस बात की जांच करने के लिए विशेषज्ञों की दो समितियाँ बनायी जायें। जिन लोगों ने भी राजभाषा आयोग में काम किया है या जिनको संसदीय समिति में काम करने का मौका मिला है, वे जानते हैं कि यह सवाल कितना कठिन है। फिर भी, मैं एक्सपर्ट कमेटीज की नियुक्ति का विरोध नहीं करता हूँ। सरकार से मेरी

[प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

प्रार्थना सिर्फ यह है कि अगर ये कमेटियाँ बनने वाली हैं तो इनकी जल्दी बना ली जाए और कृपा करके इन कमेटियों में चुन-चुन कर उन्हीं लोगों को मत रखिये जो देश-भाषाओं को शंका की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, जिनको अंग्रेजी से निकलते हुए सारे देश की मृत्यु दिखायी पड़ती है। और भी लोग हैं, जो इस काम को कर सकते हैं। इन कमेटियों के सामने यह जानकारी भी रख दी जानी चाहिये कि देश में कहां-कहां शिक्षा का माध्यम बदल गया है . . .

डा० राज बहादुर गौड़ : तफरीह के लिए वैसे आदमी भी रहें तो कोई हर्ज नहीं।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : एक-आध रहें।

मुझे एक और बात कहनी है। उसके बाद जैसा भाई राज बहादुर गौड़ ने कहा है, अपनी कुछ थोड़ी सी बातें मैं अंग्रेजी में कहना चाहूंगा। मैंने समय मांग लिया था चेयरमैन साहब से। इसलिए मेरे साथ थोड़ी उदारता बरतिये। मैं फिर वर्ष, दो वर्ष तक हिन्दी पर नहीं बोलने वाला हूं।

डा० राज बहादुर गौड़ : मैं तो समझ चुका हूं।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : अंग्रेजी के तरफदार कई तरह से हिन्दी पर प्रहार कर रहे हैं। बाकी भाषाओं से वे डरते हैं।

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय (मध्य प्रदेश) : हम सब लोग फ्रैंक एंथानी का समर्थन कहां करते हैं ?

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : सुनिए, जो मैं कहता हूं। एक तरफ तो हिन्दी को अहिन्दी-भाषाओं से लड़वाने की कोशिश की गई। हम लोगों ने पैर पकड़ कर इस स्थिति को बचाया। किन्तु अब कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी हिन्दुत्व की भाषा है। श्री फ्रैंक एंथानी ने नोट आफ डिसेंट वापस कर लिया, किन्तु मैं समझता हूं, जब से अंग्रेज गये,

ऐसी जहरीली बात इस देश में किसी ने भी नहीं कही। उन्होंने घृणा को पराकाष्ठा पर पहुंचा दिया। उन्होंने कहा : हिन्दी हिन्दुत्व की भाषा है, हिन्दी साम्प्रदायिकता की भाषा है। मैं सदन के मंच से इस बात का जोरदार विरोध करता हूं। मैं नहीं मानता कि हिन्दी साम्प्रदायिकता की भाषा है अथवा हिन्दू धर्म की भाषा है। हिन्दी को उन घरों में भी जाना है जहां गाय की पूजा होती है, और हिन्दी उन घरों में भी जायगी जहां गाय की पूजा नहीं होती है। हिन्दी की परम्परा दूसरी रही है। हिन्दी के बड़े कवियों में जायसी, रहीम और रसखान हुए हैं। जो मुसलमान थे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अलो खान) : अमीर खुसरो भी।

प्रो० रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : और अमीर खुसरो भी। ये हमारे सिरमौर कवि हैं। इसी प्रकार, गुरु नानक और गुरु गोविन्द सिंह हिन्दी के सिरमौर कवि हैं। इनको साथ लिये बिना हिन्दी चल नहीं सकती। खैर, साम्प्रदायिकता, मेरे क्याल में, श्री फ्रैंक एंथानी के दिमाग में जरूर है; क्योंकि उनको शोम इस बात का है कि छोटा नागपुर के ईसाई आदिवासियों को रोमन के बदले नागरी लिपि में क्यों पढ़ाया जाता है। रोमन लिपि पवित्र लिपि है और उसके छूटने से ईसाइयों का संस्कार छूट जाता है, असल में, उनके मन में यह बात थी। मगर खैर, फ्रैंक एंथानी सारे ईसाई समाज के नेता नहीं हैं। जब उनका अंग्रेजी विषयक प्रस्ताव वापस हो गया तब बम्बई में ईसाइयों के धर्माचार्य कार्डिनल ग्रेशियस ने एक भाषण दिया जो हिन्दी-पत्रों में आया है। उन्होंने कहा कि बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि श्री फ्रैंक एंथानी का प्रस्ताव वापस हो गया। अगर कहीं अंग्रेजी आठवीं सूची में पहुंच गयी होती तो मेरा विश्वास करिये, हम लोगों ने हिन्दी, मराठी और कोंकण को छोड़ दिया होता और हम सौ साल पीछे चले गये होते।

और अब वह एक बात रह जाती है जिसे,  
मैं अंग्रेजी में कहना चाहता हूँ ।

I want specially to underline my suggestion that when the question pertains to the uplift of the Indian languages, the Government should not base their decisions on the recommendations of those persons alone who have no direct contact with the masses of India. The change from English to Indian languages is by no means an easy task. It constitutes the crux of revolution in India. It constitutes the very essence of freedom for which we aspire and which we want to develop and protect. When India seethed with the revolutionary zeal, the Constituent Assembly had no difficulty in taking a decision. But since then that zeal has watered down a lot and the Ministry of Education has stood as a silent or perhaps a willing witness to this process of degeneration.

It was in the year 1948-49 that Dr. Radhakrishnan presented the Report of the University Education Commission. This Report contains all the arguments that go in favour of English and caution us against the perils of a change. But the revolutionary zeal is there, for the Report clearly exhorts the nation to take the leap forward. The Report very clearly says:

"English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risk. It appears to us, however, that a plunge is inevitable . . . Whatever the advantages of English and the immediate risks in a changeover to the new, the balance of advantage, on a long view of the matter, lies in the change."

Not only that; the Report also shares the restlessness and the impatience of the nation to go forward which was very much in evidence at the time the country became free. The Report further says:

"In order that the change from English should not be delayed, it is necessary that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should immediately devise means to develop the federal and the regional languages."

But this advice of the philosopher-statesman, of the biggest educationist and thinker, was not heeded to.

The Ministry of Education waited for the fire to fade out; the Ministry of Education waited for the enthusiasm to grow cold, so that later on it could say, 'What can we do now? The country has changed.'

Then, Sir, came the Report of the Secondary Education Commission in 1952-53 presided over by Dr. Laksh-manaswami Mudaliar. For the first time after we got our freedom this Report cautioned us against our enthusiasm for the Indian languages. It said:

"In matters pertaining to education sentiments should not be the ruling factor."

We agree with this advice and we believe that sentiments should not be the ruling factor in any field of life, not even in novels and poems. But may I ask those who agree with this view, is it merely sentiment that is goading the Indian masses to their own languages? In the people's demand for their languages are involved the mighty demands of their political, economic and cultural rights. The situation that we are facing in India today is revolutionary still and I think, it is wrong to tackle this situation by seeking advice from gentlemen who have always disliked revolutionary changes.

And when we come to the recommendations of the Kunzru Committee, the process of the slackening of our national determination is complete. Sir, Dr. Kunzru is a highly respected person and naturally we do not want to say things which he may not like.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : No, no. You are free to do so. I welcome frank criticism.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: Sir, we have absolutely no objection to English being retained and taught in this country as a 'language of comprehension. In fact, it is good to have any number of people in the country knowing different foreign languages who can act as channels through which modern knowledge can flow from all sides into our own languages. But for this little plain thing it was unnecessary to compose a lyric in praise of the English language which Dr. Kunzru's Report tanta-mounts to. I do not know what use the Ministry of Education can make of this Report except that, it can use it as a shield to conceal its own lukewarm policy towards the Indian languages.

Sir, the story does not end there.

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: Sir, may I offer a word of explanation? If the hon. Member is under the impression that the Committee over which I had the honour to preside was appointed by the Education Ministry, he is mistaken. The Committee was appointed by the University Grants Commission and the Report was made to the University Grants Commission.

2 P.M.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: That • is part of the Government, Sir. I am not critical of the Ministry of Education only. I am saying things and you will see that I will be saying things about, the Government in general. So, the story is not yet complete as I told you. The Ministry of Education tried to create more fog round the linguistic arrangement arrived at in our Constitution. In 1953 it called a conference of the professors of Hindi and got them to say that the administrators and diplomats should be trained through Hindi. Three days later it called another conference of English professors—professors of English—and

got them to say that the administrators and diplomats should be trained through English. This is what, we call creating confusion. This is what we call accentuating differences. The decision of the Constitution is already there. Why can't you ask your professors and all concerned to execute it? One is naturally led to think that the Ministry of Education has either no policy or initiative in the matter or it" is interested in creating difficulty.

This is also borne out by another fact. The Official Language Commission submitted its Report in the month of July 1956. In October, the same year, another Commission was appointed by another Department of the Government. The Ministry of Education appointed another Commission, the Sanskrit Commission, under the chairmanship of a gentleman, who, as a member of the Hindi Commission, had distinguished himself as the bitterest opponent of Hindi language and Hindi-speaking people. The Sanskrit Commission tried to demolish a lot of things, created by the Hindi Commission. It acted as a co-wife of the Government, to pull the leg of the previous wife, the previous Commission, the Official Language Commission . . .

DR. R. B. GOUR: But under the law before you marry a second wife, you must divorce the first wife.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: That was not applicable there. The same malice against Hindi, the same disregard for truth which characterised the minute of dissent submitted by Dr. Chatterji, appended to the Hindi Commission Report, characterised his Report of the Sanskrit Commission of which he was the Chairman. Now, one wonders why the Government should create rival images and allow them to cut one another's throat.

Not only this but sometimes important members of the Cabinet blurt out things which have the effect of slackening the national determination. The Defence Minister is reported to»

have blurted out in Bombay last year that he did not react favourably to Hindi. If he did not react favourably to Hindi, he should have kept it to himself. It militates against the decision of the Constitution, it militates against the policy of the Government . . .

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: He can again j make London his home.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ! AKBAR ALI KHAN): Order, order.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: So, Sir, I say, all here must obey a higher law. That law is the law of the unity ! of the country. That law is the law of j strengthening the national determina- j tion and that law is the law of march- I ing ahead to our clear objective which has been prescribed by the Constituent Assembly. Thank you, Sir.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Mr. Vice-Chairman .

श्री हर प्रसाद लक्ष्मीना : आप तो मुझ से हिन्दी में बोलने के लिए कहते हैं और खुद अंग्रेजी में बोल रहे हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It is for . the speaker to choose his language. It is not for us to advise.

DR. R. B. GOUR; Sir, on this occasion I choose to speak in English because I do not want to be misunderstood. It is quite possible that I might use the word 'fundamental' for 'important' if I use the Hindi 'language. (Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Order, order.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the views of the Communist Party on this question are absolutely known and the fact that, the Members of the Communist Party have affixed their signature to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Official Language is also significant of the views of our party which are suffi-

ciently known to the House and the country. The Communist Party has never stood for the use of English, continued use of English eternally for official purposes in free India . . .

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Except for speaking in the House.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That will be so, so long as I know that the majority in this House would understand better in English my point of view. And if I were to speak only to people who understand Hindi it will be very difficult for me to convey my point of view to a larger number of hon. Members in this House. That is why I choose to speak in English . . .

श्री के०बि० लाल (बिहार) : इस के बारे में भी मास्को से कोई इन्स्ट्रक्शन आये हैं ?

DR. R. B. GOUR: No. We know that English has been imposed on our country. English has been imposed on our country by foreign rulers. The imposition of English would be as militating against our national honour as it is today. It is not merely that Englishmen introduced English for administrative purposes. It is said that they instituted an administration for the entire country and, therefore, English should remain the language for the administration of the whole country. It is not that they unified India because of that. It is not a fact, because even in those days of the British there were Indian States which did not use English language for official purposes. Therefore, to say that English language unified India as a whole is not true. It is quite true that Englishmen themselves were the most important officials in this country. Therefore, in British India administration, English was the language of administration and to that extent it was there. But it was also a language that stood in the way of the cultural development of the people of our country speaking entirely different languages. Languages, whether they I are of Dravidian origin or languages

[Dr. R. B. GOUT.] of North India, were oceans apart from the language that English was and English is. Therefore, from the point of view of the genius of our languages and from the point of view of the genius of our people, English obviously could not be an Indian language. Not only that. In that respect it stood in the way of the cultural development of our people. English might have been learnt by certain intelligentsia in our country, because opportunities were provided, just as Persian was studied by many people in our country when Persian was the official language. But nobody claims that Persian is an Indian language. Nobody claims that. Persian was the official language of this country for quite a long time and I might venture to say that it was the administrative language for a very large area of the country. But nobody spoke of Persian as a language that unified India in the days when it was the official language in the Moghul courts. Therefore, just because Persian language becomes the language of administration, it cannot be accepted as a language of our country, just as Dutch could not be the language of Indonesia or French could not be the language of Viet-Nam. So, on this score, there should be an absolute national unanimity that English cannot eternally go on as the official language of this country, not only because it militates against our national honour and dignity but also "because English has been standing in the way of the cultural development of our people. That is why we are opposed to it. The Parliamentary Committee says in its report on page 8:

"The constitutional settlement envisages that the use of English for official purposes has to be discontinued in due course. A democratic Government cannot continue to function indefinitely in a language which is understood by only a small fraction of the population."

That is the essence of our approach - towards English and that is the essence

of our approach towards replacement of English by Indian languages.

Obviously, Sir, the role of administration in the British days was confined to law and order, was confined to collection of revenue, was confined to exploitation of the Indian resources and the Indian people. Of course, today the role of administration is much wider. The administration of democratic, free India penetrates into the nook and corner of the individual's life. Today an official cannot expect to carry on his duty if he does not know the language of the people whom he is supposed to serve. Therefore, the official language has to be one which is understood by the people, spoken by the people, and through carrying out the work in that language you could draw in the ordinary common people in the democratic working of the machinery of the State and the Government. That is the essence of our approach to this problem. What does it mean? It means that if democracy is to be taken to the hamlet of the peasant and the tenement of the worker, then it has to go there to him in his own language. Well, my medical prescription can be in English; maybe, it suits me also to a certain extent because the person concerned does not know what I am prescribing. But the revenue inspector cannot go and speak to the peasant in English. '

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: He does not do so now.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That is what I am saying. The point is that the administration is directly dealing with the people in so many aspects. You had no Community Development projects in the British days. You had no mass cultural programme in those days. The administration was not in contact with the masses in creative work to the extent that it is today. Therefore, when the masses come into the picture, their language also must come into the picture. That is why English has to be replaced. That is our approach, an approach of expanding the democratic machinery of the



State, an approach of drawing in the people into the democratic activities of the State. That is the approach and that approach decides our approach towards English.

At the same time, Sir, we cannot ignore that English today is spoken by the majority of the intelligentsia. The Press Commission's Report indicates that the circulation of English newspapers comes first. Then comes Hindi, and then Marathi, and Urdu comes fourth. That is the position. What does this mean? This means that the process -has to be decided upon very guardedly. When we have accepted that in a particular year Hindi will be the principal official language, it is on a very explicit understanding, and that understanding is that the qualitative and quantitative content of the word 'principal' in 1965 would be something very much less than the content in the year 1975, for example. That means that this is going to be a gradual process of displacement. We cannot play with so many things. For example, I will surely not allow any Government to play with the introduction or change-over, shall I say, in the field of engineering or medical education in this country, suddenly, overnight, from English to Hindi or in 1965. No. We cannot play with this technical education when you are wrangling over terminologies. Therefore, the whole process has to be clearly envisaged, and it is the process that matters very much when this entire social revolution is to be brought about. The process implies two things. Propagation of Hindi and teaching of Hindi to the existing personnel and at the same time allowing the use of English to a certain extent, because overnight you cannot give up a certain thing. That will put many people to inconvenience. The transition should be smooth and least painful. It is this process, it is this approach that counts. That is what we are a little apprehensive about. When some of the speakers emphasise this point, they are misunderstood either deliberately or otherwise. I do not know why. But the point is very simple. We have the

1 huge giant of intelligentsia. I quite understand and I quite agree with Shri Panikkar that our English surely is not the English of England, nor is the English of England perfect English. West-end English is different from East-end English. Welshmen speak some other English. Scots speak some other English. Americans speak some other English. Australian English is some other thing. And you know there is difference between Oxford English and Cambridge English.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Bombay): There is difference between Delhi Urdu and Lucknow Urdu.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Sir, India has produced many first-rate poets in Persian. You know Hargopal Tafta and Mirza Ghalib. Iqbal was a great poet in Persian. But I am afraid that Persia does not recognise them as Persian poets. You can speak any amount of good English or even produce literary works, but Englishmen will not recognise them. Therefore, that is not our point at all. We do not claim to know English as Englishmen do. Our only worry is this question of the process. My friend, Mr. Dinkar, complains that the process has been hampered. But at the same time there is another side to the picture. There are certain people who out of misguided enthusiasm are not doing anything to propagate Hindi but are only shouting. That shout is creating a certain mis-apprehension, purely psychological at the present moment, in the minds of others who have not yet learned Hindi to that extent. This is the position. Let us do the job very carefully. The job is propagation of Hindi on the one hand and replacement of English by Hindi on the other. Replacement has to be done carefully and cautiously with the least pain to the existing personnel and cadres.

Then, Sir, I come to another question. Sardar Panikkar has said something on which I cannot venture to express my opinion. At least let me I project my confusion on the subject.

[Dr. R. B. Gour.] He said that Sanskritised Hindi would probably be the Hindi that would be most acceptable to the whole of India.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: He did not say that.

DR. R. B. GOUR: No, no. He said that probably . . .

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Sardar Panikkar said that.

DR. R. B. GOUR: If that be true, then I think that Vedas will be more popular than Indian films. The language of the films today is not Sanskritised Hindi, those produced in Bombay and Calcutta. How is it that the film language is popular throughout, in Madras, in Trivandrum, in Calcutta, in Nagpur, in Lucknow, in Shillong, in Gauhati, and so on? It is the Hindustani film that is popular. I can understand how. Intellectuals like Sardar Panikkar or his friend, Mr. Banerjee, who have read Sanskrit have come to know Sanskrit words, but not the common masses. I would ask Sardar Panikkar to come with me to Bombay. There he will find, in a Maharashtrian territory, a Malayalee worker, a Tamil worker, a Bihari worker, a U.P. worker. What is the language that he learns? A Tamil worker goes there from Coimbatore. He knows his vernacular. But the language he learns there is not Sanskritised Hindi, nor even Marathi. He learns simple Hindustani. What is this? This is a phenomenon. I will take him to the workers' houses. I can understand the intelligentsia who are learned in Sanskrit, understanding 'dwichakra', but he will have to understand what is 'dwichakra' and then 'dwichakra' . . .

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: "Vichakra"?

DR. R. B. GOUR: 'Dwichakra' or 'vichakra', it is 'vichitra'.

The point is, if he says that all the other languages are based on Sanskrit, then I contest. Because they may draw from Sanskrit; but to what extent you can say that Indian languages

are based on Sanskrit is a point that I would like to contend. But they are not based on Sanskrit. You have drawn from a super-structure. It might be Sanskrit; you might have drawn from it. For example, for Urdu the basis is, not Persian. We have drawn into Urdu from Persian. From Sanskrit we have it. But the basis is something different. I think years ago Pushkin has said that the richness of a language, the expanse of a language, the basic fund of words of a language, comes not from the words coined by the intellectuals, but from the peasantry, . the peasant folk. I do not think that any peasant folk in India, in any part of India, are well-versed with Sanskrit. After all, Hindi has to go to the Hindi folks and if it goes to them, quite obviously, 'kantha langot', 'agnirat agaman bhapsoochak lauha-pattika', 'dwichakra' and all these words won't stand.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: What is it?

DR. R. B. GOUR: Whatever it is, they won't stand. Otherwise, Hindi will be taken away from the masses of U.P., M.P., and Bihar, and will be taken into the rarified atmosphere of the stars which the Chief Minister of U.P. adores and on which he depends. Therefore, if a language is to be the language of the masses, according to the same thesis which the Official Committee propounds, it has to be taken to the masses. Then the terms that are to be drawn will have to be drawn from the spoken language as far as possible. Even the words that have to be coined have to be coined in accordance with the genius of the spoken language. Otherwise, they will be, I should say, 'foreign'.

Sir, I do not know about the other languages. But I know about my own language, Urdu. There was a tendency in Urdu to draw from Persian and Arabic and there was a revolt towards that tendency. The great Hali revolted against it and he started a movement called 'Asan likho'— meaning 'Write simple Urdu.' Similarly, in other languages, there are

movements. For instance, I know of a movement in regard to Marathi. In Marathi there was a movement started by Savarkar to remove all Persian words from Marathi, to make it the so-called 'pure Marathi'. The battle was fought and fought vigorously. Many intellectuals of Marathi fought that battle. They said, "This is taking away the Marathi from the common folk and making some other language out of it." And it was fought. So, in every Indian language the battle against the introduction of Sanskrit words or Persian words or Arabic words, words that are foreign to the genius of the spoken language, is resisted. In the case of Hindi, the tendency is to take it more and more away from the people. Obviously, Sir, this is a tendency which will not help us, which will not help the growth of any language, again on the basis of the thesis that it is to serve the purpose of the people.

Terminology? Well, I can understand terminology. Of course, with the cultural development of the masses, the question of terminology will have to be decided, it will be from Sanskrit and other Indian languages also. Is not the experience of Europe fresh to us all? In Europe, it was decided that they wanted to have a common terminology drawn from Latin and Greek and in England they reversed the process. So far as my own subject of medicine is concerned, the old terminology was removed and the Birmingham Revised Terminology was sought to be introduced. They would not say 'humerus', they would say 'arm bone'; they would not say '*car-pora adiposa*', they would say 'fatty bodies'; They would not say '*mimosa pudice*', but would say 'touch me not'. Both the terms are going on side by side. Similarly, in Europe there is the word 'venom' and the word 'poison'. 'Vemom' is the common word understood by the technical experts, by the medical men and others, whether the language is of slav origin or of Greek origin or anything. The name is understood by everybody. The English say 'poison', the Russians say some-

thing else; others say something else. Therefore, this question of terminology also must not be looked at very rigidly. We will definitely draw from Sanskrit. Why not? But at the same time, do not be rigid. It is quite possible that for a long time there will be other terms also simultaneously used. We have got a lot of terms.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Only two minutes more. We gave twenty minutes to the Opposition.

DR. R. B. GOUR: No, no. Fifty minutes were allotted for our party and I will take whatever time I like. The remaining time will be taken by other speakers. We are not on the same basis as Congressmen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Keeping all that in view, the Deputy Chairman has suggested 20 minutes. But you can have ten minutes more.

DR. R. B. GOUR: No, Mr Vice-Chairman. Kindly do not kill me like that.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: He is entitled to finish all the fifty minutes.

DR. R. B. GOUR: If I so choose. But I am not going to do that.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: In that case, any representative of his party . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please be as brief as possible.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I am brief. The point is serious and I must express my views.

That is the position. On this question of terminology, we have to draw from English and at the same time, from Sanskrit and from the existing terminology in the various other languages.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA (Nominated): Article 351 is clear.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Article 351 also mentions 'Sanskrit. You are depending more on Sanskrit because article ..

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: You are not saying, "Don't have Sanskrit".

DR. R. B. GOUR: For example, 'member' is the word. That is used for so many members, for a member of a community, in sociology, in economics, in politics and it also refers to a member of the House. This 'member' is an important word. But there is only one 'member' for all these. It covers so many members. My friend, Dr. Raghu Vira, coined a word '*ghatak*'. Can you make it out? Because a member belongs to body polity or body of the community, he has coined the word '*ghatak*'. '*Ghatak*' comes from '*Ghata*', which means 'body'—I am told, but I do not know. This is something like त्रि^ल \*£»,\*,» sort of words which we coined in the Osmania University. So, this approach is no good. I can tell you about so many technical terminologies. I think Marathi has done a lot of work. They have done so much of original work in Marathi and they have already coined technical terms which are used in Maharashtra, in books of technical importance. How is it that you do not want to cash in those words?

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: For instance?

DR. R. B. GOUR: You have got a whole '*Gnan Kosh*'. A cultural history of India is being written in Marathi. In fact, all those gentlemen, who are trying to coin Hindi words, from Banaras or Gaya do not know what is happening in other languages. There, research work is going on. Translations are going on. Are you serious? about the Constitutional position that all these will be utilised in evolving your own technical terminology? This is the point. You are not drawing from these things. My complaint with Dr. Raghu Vira or with Purushottam Das Tandon is that they are using that article of the Constitution to draw only from Sanskrit and ignore all other terms have been existing till now,

even today, in the various languages of the country. That is wrong; it is a wrong approach. It is this approach that creates apprehension. It is this approach that takes you away from the fund of vocabulary and terminology that exists in other Indian languages today. Maybe, it has been drawn from Sanskrit; I have no quarrel about that. So, it is these people, not Professor Dinkar. Of course, he is a very good, innocent, amiable lovable person, in his views here, particularly on this subject, as well as outside. But what about the others? Is there or is there not a feeling in this House among some hon. Members whenever any person speaks in any other Indian language, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada or any other language? You know, Sir, that we had an hon. Member on our benches in the first two years of the Rajya Sabha. Poor man, he could not speak in any other language except Malayalam. And you know, Sir, what used to happen. Prior translations had to be handed over. And yet, when he spoke, laughter and amusement there used to be, as if it was a cultural programme for the hon. Members. Now why this? Therefore, this is the thing that creates a certain amount of resentment, a certain amount of injured feelings, among those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, among those whose mother-tongue is not only not Hindi but a language which is so far away from it.

Then, Sir, I should like to touch on two points and I shall finish them off summarily.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Dr. Gour, your party was allotted fifty minutes and you have taken twenty-two minutes.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I can take at least half of our time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : So your party will be apportioned accordingly.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That is our understanding.

Now, Sir, the most important thing, the terminology thing, I have done with. I have also done with the other thing. Now, what I want to draw your attention to is the question of the language of the judiciary and the recruitment problem. Now, Sir, so far as the Parliamentary Committee is concerned, in all these matters very sound recommendations are there; they have taken into account the enormity of the problem. Now take, for example, the income-tax department, which is a Central department. To what extent will it be a bilingual department? To what extent will it work only in Hindi? Now, if an income-tax office is to work in Vijayawada, something of Telugu will have to be there in its working. In Trichi-nopoly something of Tamil will have to be there. So, there is going to be that situation. The Report itself is very clear on this point. A certain amount of bi-lingual administration, in the spheres of administrative work, even in the Central departments will have to be and the scheme in such places will have to be carefully worked out. Again the thesis is mass contact, the masses of the Tamil region, of the Malayalam region, of the Kannada region, of the Marathi region come in contact with a particular department of the Central Government. They have to be kept in mind and their language, to that extent, will have to be the language of the administration of that department, in areas other than Hindi. So the line of demarcation is not there. The principle for the line is there. Now, what does this require? This requires a sympathetic attitude towards the problem from the point of view of the masses who are coming in contact with, the department or the administration. So, this also takes us to the question of recruitment. Now, Sir, we know that in the matter of recruitment the Committee has laid down certain good things, that those whose mother-tongue is Hindi should give a paper in some other language, other

than Hindi and Urdu. That is good. Now, it is very easy for the Hindi people to give a paper in Urdu and get away with it.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: What about the script?

DR. R. B. GOUR: The script is also not so difficult. After all what is there? Any other Indian language means, the whole thing is different, the words are different, the script is different; so many things are different. At least between Urdu and Hindi 90 per cent, words are common.

*(Interruptions.)*

Script is all right; that is correct. On the other hand, take a Tamil student. He would be put to a drawback because he will have to give a paper in Hindi and a paper in Tamil whereas a Hindi student, if he is asked to give a paper in Hindi and another in Urdu, then obviously he will be in a better position. Therefore, a Hindi student is well asked to give a paper in Hindi and in any other Indian language, like Bengali, Tamil or any other language. So, that is a correct position.

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SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: May I, Mr. Vice-Chairman, request the hon. Member through you not to drive a wedge between Urdu and Hindi and not to distinguish the two as two distinct languages, because they are one and the same.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I challenge that thing; I shall take that up during the debate on 'linguistic minorities'. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has also said it. If it is the same language, then why put it as one of the fourteen languages in the Constitution? I am prepared to join issue with him on that point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He is entitled to hold his own views.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I am prepared to join issue with him on that point because, Sir, his language is Urdu; he learnt Urdu; he speaks Urdu; his entire fund of poetical literature is in Urdu and yet, just because he has now to switch on to Hindi, he says both are the same. It is from his personal standpoint, not from the point of view of the Urdu-speaking people he is saying that. I do not mind him that sort of small charities. Anyway that is a different matter altogether. Therefore, this question of recruitment also has to be taken very seriously, and the recommendation is clear on this point. But what is important for us is, how are you going to implement, how are you going to practise this? We have already got alarming instances, already the question of knowledge of Hindi even in recruitment to Class III Postal Services is becoming a problem in the South. Therefore, this question has to be tackled very carefully in close consultation with the State Governments, all these things. Similarly, in the judiciary also there has to be a line of demarcation of the regional language and the Central official language. Then translations will have to be accepted as one of the basic necessities and the Government of India must take the responsibility of these translations. Do not leave it to others, because it will not be possible for the State Governments to do all that. So recruitment, translation, a clear demarcation of the sphere of administrative activity that has to be carried on in the regional language or the official language of the union, the existing cadres the facilities for training, and the necessary assistance that should be afforded for learning, all these things are there. Therefore, the question of knowledge of Hindi, then working knowledge of Hindi, that is also relevant. He may have very little working knowledge or no knowledge today or some knowledge which is qualitatively different from the approved Hindi may be there after a few more years. So all this depends on the process and the entire approach. We have seen the Report, Sir. We have

agreed with the Report. The only thing is that we were apprehensive of it. We are apprehensive of it, that in practice many difficulties might be created, and the very substance and the very basis of the approach of this Report might be sabotaged; anything may happen. Therefore, we are worried about that. It is the practice that will create animosities, difficulties, differences and other things. So far as the principles are concerned, nobody is objecting. So far as the objective is concerned, everybody is unanimous. I am not talking of Mr. Frank Anthony and others. So, here lies the question of practice. Now we would warn the Government to see to this. Let there be no erring on either side in the sabotaging of Hindi or propagation of Hindi and in the process annoying everybody. Don't sabotage it and also don't do the propaganda for Hindi in such a clumsy manner or hasty manner or—what shall I say—in even an anarchic manner that others are offended. Our difficulties are growing in the actual working of the administrative personnel operating today or even tomorrow, when the new cadre is coming up. So, it is the approach, Sir. The processes are more important, and not the date, and it is this process, that the Prime Minister has spoken of or the Home Minister has spoken of, and all the Government spokesmen, so far as it appears from their speeches, have conceded the human point involved in this process. We only want that that should be stuck to and that should be implemented at all costs, and that is where we want to warn the Government and the House about this question. May I suggest this therefore? You have got so many committees, the standing committees, this committee, that committee, the committee on terminology, this and that. Could we consider some sort of a parliamentary supervisory committee, some committee to supervise the implementation of all these things, see whether it is being sabotaged, see that it is not being hastily done, see whether things are being done in such a manner as to antagonise some people, or not

done at all. For all these things why not do some such thing to control the entire process of operation from the point of view of the consensus of opinion in Parliament? Otherwise, if only Mr. Frank Anthony or Dr. Raghu Vira are put—I mean all those who signed the Report—in certain committees, they will do certain things which will annoy me and others.

My friend, Mr. Dinkar, has mentioned the name of Mr. Frank Anthony, the English enthusiast. I would also put the other two gentlemen, Dr. Haghu Vira and Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, in the same category. They are also creating the difficulties to the same extent as the others. Fortunately, Mr. Frank Anthony represents a miserably negligible minority in the country. But that is not the case with Dr. Raghu Vira and Shri Purushottam Das Tandon so far as the Hindi-speaking areas are concerned. Therefore, I take these gentlemen more seriously. I do not want that either from Dr. Raghu Vira's angle or from Mr. Frank Anthony's angle the thing must be sabotaged. Therefore, some sort of very careful, cautious approach to the entire process of implementation of the decisions and recommendations has to be worked out. With these words I commend the motion to the House.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a serious matter in which a large amount of sentiment is involved. It is, therefore, necessary that policies which affect the sentiment of a large section of the people should be carefully evolved. What is our objective, Mr. Vice-Chairman? We speak many languages in this country. Our ways are different in many parts of the country, our economic development is different, but still our objective is to be emotionally integrated; we must become a nation. We must try to become one people and one country.

Sir, in the formation of a nation, a language indeed has a great part. As 56 R.S.D.—6.

you know, anywhere, in any part of the country, in any part of the world, if people are attracted extraordinarily to anything next to the love of their country, it is the love of their language. So, it is necessary that these two do not conflict with each other. The problem before us is not that of Hindi, English or any other Indian language, but the problem is how best we can solve this problem of one country with many languages and how best we can emotionally integrate the people of this country wherever they come from. This, in short, is our objective. While doing so, it is not possible to succeed in this objective if we injure the pride of any section of the people, the affection which they have for their own language. That requires great adjustment, and if I may say so, great mutual respect for each other to solve this problem.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Notional integration is needed.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: May I follow it up, Mr. Vice-Chairman? In the Constitution we have an article about the official language of the Indian Union. In the first flush of enthusiasm of our people, we have been saying many things without understanding the implications of what we were saying—while we think English is a very useful language, there is no sentiment behind our attitude to that! English language—we said then and we say now that it is necessary for us to evolve a national language, an all-India language, if I may use that word, because every language of India is a national language. Sir, in those days we said that Hindi was a national language. So, Sir, we accepted that there must be a common language. We also accepted that Hindi, being the language spoken by a large number of people—not necessarily the language of a majority—has the potentiality of becoming an official language for the Indian Union. But we ought to see as wise men whether this does not create difficulties for

[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] large sections of the people, that it does not confer advantages for some sections of the people. If it does that, it will not work for emotional integration. It will create a large amount of jealousies amongst people, hatred amongst people, hatred amongst various parts of the country. And that is *not* the intention of what you want.

Unfortunately, the Kher Commission Report—as I understand it or misunderstand it—said that Hindi must be made the official language of the Indian Union sooner than later. In certain portions of the Report they said that in the long run Hindi must become the medium of instruction in colleges, that Hindi must be used in courts.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: But there are also alternative suggestions therein.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: The emphasis that was given in the Report was that Hindi should become the medium of instruction in colleges.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: No, no.

ایک آنریبل ممبر: غلط بات ہے -

†[एक आनरेबल मेम्बर : गलत बात है।]

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: I say it is this Hindi which created a lot of trouble throughout the country.

DR. R. B. GOUR: On a point of information. It is clear proof that Hindi is misunderstood.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: The Official Language Commission took the view that regional languages must come up as media of instruction. Of course, while examining several alter-

iHindi translation.

natives, it has suggested that it may perhaps be found to be of greater advantage if the High Courts adopt Hindi in addition to the regional language.

DR. R. B. GOUR: That is why I wanted you to speak in English.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: It is true that the Commission's Report has been followed by a great awakening and created prejudices between Hindi and other South Indian languages.

Now, Sir, we come to this Committee. Sir, if these prejudices have been at all resolved, it is by the statesmanlike approach of the Prime Minister. I suppose no other man can take such a broad view of things as he does, and that he did in the statement that he made in connection with Mr. Frank Anthony's Resolution. He disabused the misunderstandings of the people. What he said can be summarised in four points, namely:

(i) English will continue to be, for a long time, an associate official language of the Indian Union for official purposes

(ii) The period when Hindi will be the sole official language *will* be determined by the non-Hindi-speaking people. It is not for the people who have the advantage of knowledge of Hindi as their mother-tongue to say that they will have Hindi to our disadvantage.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS (Orissa): May I ascertain from the hon. Member if he has any objection to have Tamil as the language of the State High Court as also of the University, and the State Government? Is he committed to that position?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Of course, we are.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: Then, what is being done in that direction?



SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: In my State, Mr. Vice-Chairman, a Resolution has been passed that Tamil will be the language of the State and it will be implemented.

My point now is that the period when Hindi will be the sole official language will be determined by the non-Hindi-speaking people. That, I think, is the most important aspect of the Prime Minister's statement. Thirdly,—

(iii) That the regional languages shall become the media of instruction in schools and colleges.

(iv) That there should not be any disadvantage placed on the non-Hindi-speaking people in the matter of Central employment.

These, Mr. Vice-Chairman, were the four salient points which were accepted by the Prime Minister, which, to a large extent, allay the fears of the non-Hindi-speaking people in this matter.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, agreeing on principles is one thing and implementing them is another thing.

Sir, Mr. Dinkar in his eloquent way pointed out how certain statements accepted by the Ministry of Education were not actually implemented. Here, Mr. Vice-Chairman, while we categorically accept the principles, there" should be implementation of the last clause, namely, that there should not be any disadvantage placed on the non-Hindi-speaking people in the matter of Central employment. To me the proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Here the proof of the pudding lies in the way in which this principle is administered.

Now, if these principles are accepted, then what else should be done? I am, Sir, not for the two-language formula, namely, to have Hindi and English. I am for the three-language formula which has been accepted by the Committee. If the people in the South Indian States can understand

more about the North and other parts of India by learning Hindi, I believe people of the North can also understand India better if they learn other Indian languages.

The Central Advisory Board of Education has recommended it and the States have agreed that in the secondary schools, they should have another language—English, Hindi and another language—a non-Hindi language. We in the South Indian States have done that, we have introduced English, the regional language and Hindi. I would ask a question, Mr. Vice-Chairman, of my hon. friend, Mr. Dinkar, and of anybody who represents the Uttar Pradesh and other States. While in the South Indian States, in Madras, Mysore, Andhra and Kerala, we have introduced Hindi as a language of study in the secondary schools, how many in the various States in the North have introduced the study of a South Indian language or a language other than Hindi as a language of study for examination? That is what I mean when I say there is difference between talking of principles and their implementation. They should follow it up with action. They do not seem to do that. I am anxious that these people should talk and also do. I am anxious that these principles accepted by these States through the Central Advisory Board of Education must be implemented. The sincerity of their profession will be found when their children learn these languages. Culture means, and understanding means that children from a young age are able to understand another language so that they may know things in places other than their own States. Therefore, I would like to impress upon the Hindi-speaking States, upon the administrations in the Hindi-speaking States, that they should take their professions seriously. They should implement them. These are not political things to be accepted only, but they are to be implemented. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when we in the non-Hindi-speaking Southern States have Hindi as a third language, we would request, suggest and expect the

[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] Hindi-speaking States to introduce a non-Hindi language as a language of study.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

In this connection I would like to refer to what Mr. K. M. Panikkar said. In our universities we have provided for the study of Hindi in the highest classes, for M.A., and B.A. courses. How many North Indian universities have provided for the study of Tamil or Telegu, Malayalam or Marathi or any other language, I may ask you, Mr. Deputy Chairman? Nil. In these things, Mr. Deputy Chairman, mere statement by the Prime Minister by itself will not do, unless the leadership in the various Hindi-speaking States accept the implementation of the statement. I would say to everyone of them that when they want to watch the progress of Hindi, they should also watch the progress of the study of other Indian languages in their own States.

Secondly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say that we have purists in our own languages and I may tell Mr. Dinkar that we have as many purists in our own languages and as many difficulties from purists as they have in any other language. But the fact is we must have a core of common words and common phrases, common to all the Indian languages and they must be accepted,—technical phrases and international terms which are at present in vogue. They do not belong to English. Their origins may be in Latin or Greek but they have been taken in by English and we should be wiser and we should have this common core in all the languages. There will be no core common to all the languages if we do not accept these terms.

I would also like to say that Hindi is of various kinds. It is not the same language. Bihar Hindi is different from U.P. Hindi and

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: That is a misconception.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: But when Mr. Amarnath Jha

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: No, it is a misconception which has been spread by the note of Mr. Anthony. Hindi is only of one kind though you may use any style. In every language there are so many styles.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: With regard to the Central Services, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to refer to a particular recommendation in this Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language. Sir, I would like to refer to para 58 of the Report where it is said:

"English should continue to be the medium of examinations, and Hindi may be admitted as an alternative medium after some time and both Hindi and English should be available as alternative media at the option of the candidates for as long as necessary."

And then in sub-para (iv) they say:

"An expert committee should be appointed to examine the feasibility of introducing the regional languages as media without bringing in a quota system."

I should think, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the rule should be that the medium of examination for the Central Services should be English, Hindi or any other Indian language. If you want to give, for the purposes of examinations and for the purposes of recruitment, the regional languages the same status as you give to Hindi, it would be difficult if you confine the media of examinations only to Hindi and English. If I may say so, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the South Indian languages or the non-Hindi languages are not less developed. You cannot say that Hindi has developed so as to become the medium of examinations and Tamil has not. I don't

think, Mr. Deputy Chairman, nor would you, for the matter of that, agree or accept that plea that Hindi is more developed. It happens to be the language spoken by most people. That I agree. But there are older languages, languages with great traditions behind them, with great literatures extending to thousands of years behind them.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: I hope you know more of your own language.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: I would not like to agree and I shall not digress with this clause which says that the media of examination should be confined only to Hindi and English. The regional languages must also be included as the media of examinations.

(Time bell rings.)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have only a few words more, since you have rung the bell. Much has been said about the development of Hindi. I welcome it. I want Hindi to develop in an excellent manner. Much has been said by the mover of the motion today that all the regional languages should also be developed. Sir, this sort of pious statement will not do. I would request the Government of India to say what the amount of money that they are allotting for the development of Hindi is and I would follow it up by asking them to state what the amount of money that is allotted for the development of the other Indian languages is. It shall not, and it should not be said that the job of the Government of India is to develop the Hindi language only. Hindi they might develop, and they should. I agree. But it is also their duty to allot funds for the development of other languages. You know how the States stand in this respect.

I should think, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that this talk about sympathy for other Indian languages, this talk that the other Indian languages should be developed, these mere statements

by themselves, will not do. They should be implemented and the sympathy must be shown in action, in their support, and understanding.

Only one word more and that is about Dr. Kunzru's Report to which Mr. Dinkar has referred. I wish, Sir, that our venerable friend were here when I speak about it. We talk about standards in our universities. But times have changed. Ideas have changed and ideologies have changed. Today, when ideologies have changed, to expect the same standard in English which we had some 25 years ago would be like asking the Ganges to go back to its source. Educationists and wise men should understand the times. To me it seems, Sir, that while English is a very important language we should also see the times. English is an important language and I have delighted in it and I have learnt by it and so I can never say anything low about the English language" and its value. But I know the future and I know the people who are coming. The future of this country and the future raising of the standard of this country depends not merely in clinging to the past, but in building up the future of the Indian languages and in making them media of instruction. We should write books in them that are necessary, create literature, not in the sense of literature only but in all subjects, on technical subjects and non-technical subjects and on all sorts of subjects, so that it may be said in the course of a few years that every language in India is big and has developed and has attained as high a standard as any other languages in the world. To that end we shall work without jealousy, without bitterness, with sympathy and understanding, and above all, with the feeling that we are all one, that we belong to one country and we shall do everything in such a way that we feel and live as one.

3 P.M.

DR. P. V. KANE (Nominated): Many Members have spoken on this subject. My time is limited and so I

[Dr. P. V. Kane.]

shall take only a few points. It will be noticed that the Commission and the Committee are agreed on almost all the items. The Report of the Committee deals with sixty-four recommendations of the Commission and agrees with almost everything. I have noted only two or three points on which the Committee has said that the Commission has gone beyond the terms of reference. One point of difference is in regard to the learning of Hindi by the officers. The Commission has said that the officers should learn Hindi whereas the Committee has said that there should be no compulsion in the case of officers aged forty-five and above. Both the bodies agree but the difficulty comes in at the time of interpretation or rather the application of article 351. Many of the hon. Members may not have a copy of the Constitution in their hands and so I shall read out this article.

"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 genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages".

The words used are—they have been very carefully used—"....for all the elements of the composite culture of India . . .". We shall have to apply this test to the efforts so far made. Then there is talk of enrichment of the Hindi language by assimilating without interfering with the genius, the forms, styles and expressions used in Hindustani. I stumble here a little. Hindustani is not recognised as a language in the Eighth Schedule. By this word, I understand this to mean the

spoken species which is neither Hindi nor Urdu. I do not know whether I am correct or not but nowhere, neither in the Constitution nor in this Report, do I find any definition of Hindustani. It means the bazaar-Hindi or the bazaar-Urdu. The most important thing is what follows. The article goes on to talk about the other languages of India also.

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

This is the most important thing.

"....and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages".

The first thing is that it should be developed as a medium of expression for all the different people in India who have different cultures. This should be done by drawing words primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from the other languages, so that the Hindi language can be enriched. Look at the Report of the Commission, with which the Committee agrees. You will find that the first article is about terminology. It says that in adopting the terminology, clarity, precision and simplicity should be primarily aimed at. The Committee agrees entirely with this sentiment. Three things are essential; it must be clear; it must be precise and it must be simple. Further on, the Commission has deprecated the doctrinaire insistence on language purism. This is the most important thing and I am going to show by example how this doctrinaire insistence on purism has been rampant. In the first flush of independence, naturally there was an acute accession of patriotism and the Constituent Assembly regarded Hindi spoken by a large number of people as the official language. I do not agree with this 42 per cent., but whatever it is, it was spoken by the largest number of people. That I can

understand. Even if you talk of 42 per cent., then it means that you are imposing your will on the rest, the 58 - per cent., who do not want it. So, when this was done, the Hindi people should have thought that they had secured a great thing. The Hindi language at that time was and even now is much inferior in its literature to Tamil, Marathi or Bengali or any other language. Hindi was chosen on a democratic principle, a language spoken by the greatest number of heads. There was a large number of heads which understood that language than any other language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. When this was done, the Hindi-speaking people should have taken the whole thing not only as a great triumph but as a great concession given by the other people and they could have easily said that three or four languages should be there. In Switzerland for example, a country much smaller than India, they have three official languages, French, German and Italian.

AN HON. MEMBER: Four languages.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab):  
Official languages are only three.

DR. P. V. KANE: Yes, three are official language but four languages are spoken. India is as big as a continent, the whole of Europe practically except Russia and we should have at least three languages, Hindi, Bengali and Tamil, or whatever it is. This could have been possibly said and I wonder why it was not said. I do not know what happened in the Constituent Assembly. When this was done, they should have allowed for a longer period of transition from English to Hindi. In the first place, you require lakhs of words in science. I have with me a book prepared by Government, 'Glossary of Parliamentary, Legal and Administrative Terms.' There are thirty thousand words in this book and I shall show what havoc they have played with the words. I shall take only twelve words because I have no time

An Hon. MEMBER: Is it Dr. Raghu Vira's?

DR. P. V. KANE: I do not know. I was a member of the Committee. I wanted to resign because there was not the proper atmosphere and I told the Law Minister so but then h\* said that this would create trouble for him as he would have to come back to Parliament and so on. He suggested that either I need not attend the meetings or send in minutes of dissent. There are thirty thousand words and how many dissenting notes have I to send in? Another thing is that this is not a report. So, excepting for first six or seven meetings, I never attended the meetings of the committee because I found that they did not have the proper mentality. I challenge these thirty thousand words. Let them show me a dozen Tamil or other equivalent words given in this list. Sanskrit, of course, has been given but practically no word has been taken from any of the South Indian languages. They have given alternative words in many places, one Urdu and one Sanskrit but not a single word from any of the South Indian languages. That is the first difficulty. All these are excellent propositions given by the Commission and the Committee but the important thing comes in at the time of implementation and no one has suggested the first step. They should prepare a basic vocabulary of a thousand or two thousand words and say, "This is present Hindi. This is the Urdu equivalent; this is the Tamil equivalent or the Malayalam equivalent" and so on. If you do this, people will become familiar with the thousand or two thousand words. This is the framework on which you should base all your efforts. Even in the case of English, an ordinary man does not require more than a thousand or two thousand words. Nobody has thought of this even. In 1948, all the Vice-Chancellors, Ministers of Education and Education Secretaries were called to a meeting. At that time, I happened to be a Vice-Chancellor and I proposed to Dr. Tara Chand, who was

[Dr. P. V. Kane.]

the Education Secretary at that time I think, that he should ask the professors to prepare scientific textbooks. Ten or twenty people should be asked to prepare books in each language. They may be paid some money. Ultimately, by the process of elimination, the bad ones will go away and the good ones will remain but nobody acted on that suggestion. We are still discussing as to what should be done and what should not be done and whatever has been done is worthless.

The main point is that you should go slow. The English ruled over us for two hundred years in some places and one hundred and fifty or one hundred and twentyfive in other places. Now, you cannot dislodge English in 10 years or 20 years. It will take time. And some of their suggestions will create a good deal of difficulties. They say the High Courts should take to Hindi. The Judges of the Hindi High Courts may decide one point in one way and the Supreme Court doing business in English, guided by the English version of the law, will come to another judgment. If Hindi becomes the language of the High Court, then it must become the language of the Supreme Court also; Otherwise there will be great difficulty. This is a point that struck me just now. All what I wish to show you now is the havoc that they have played. I will only take 12 words out of them. I can take the whole lot but I have not got the time.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR:  
Who are the joint authors of this?

DR. P. V. KANE: I do not know. Nobody's name appears here.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: But you were there in the Committee.

DR. P. V. KANE: But as I told you, I wanted to resign but on advice absented myself. There were about 20 to 30 people.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: From all over the country?

DR. P. V. KANE: Yes.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh): Do you mean to say that this work is the work of that Committee?

DR. P. V. KANE: Yes; it is. I ultimately signed the Report and I did not give any minute of dissent because that will mean giving 30,000 minutes of dissent. I was present only for six days out of a hundred. So I said I will just sign the Report.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: And reserved your final remarks to be made here?

DR. P. V. KANE: Well, I did not know at that time that there will be an opportunity for my final remarks here. Now, I will take first 'admission of claim'. Lawyers will understand it. At that time I told them that they must have some First Class M.As. in Sanskrit, Tamil and other languages. Then they can prepare a list of legal words and ask those people to look into the works of Yagnavalkya, Manu and others and prepare a list of equivalent. Now, an equivalent to this term 'admission of claim' can certainly be found in Yagnavalkya. It is 'sampratipatti' or simply 'pratipatti'. But neither of this is given here. And perhaps there is a misprint here. For a book of 500 pages, there are 30 pages of misprints. It is given here 'pradhyar-thana'; it should be 'adhyarthana'. 'Arthana' means prayer. Here it is not a question of prayer. Plaintiff submits a claim and defendant wants to admit it. So the real word should have been 'sampratipatti' or just 'pratipatti' Yagnavalkya gives both.

Now, take 'attesting witness'. Everybody can understand this—even a non-lawyer person. An attesting witness is one who signs the document saying that he has seen the executor signing the document. Now, what do

ve find here? They say 'abhipra-manasakshi'. I do not understand this myself. They seem to be fond of this prefix 'abhi'. 'Sakshi' means witness no doubt and 'pramana' means 'of acquiring knowledge'. There is really a good word for this in *Mitakshara*. It is 'lekhyasakshi' which means witness to the 'lekhya' which is document. Now, if they had employed an MA. student, he could have gone into the *Mitakshara* and found this out.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA (West Bengal): That can be done now.

DR. P. V. KANE: That is what I am saying. Throw it away and prepare it again.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: You were a member of the Committee. Were you not?

DR. P. V. KANE: Not when this was done.

Now, look at the word 'port'. I was present at that time when this was taken up. Port means a town which is near a seashore. Let us see how these people have done. I remember this case because I argued with them for ten minutes. They have said 'pattan'. 'Pattan' means a city but whether or not it is near the sea, it is not there. I do not say it is entirely wrong but it is not very good. We have a very good word in Sanskrit for this. When Shivaji became king he had this same difficulty in his days. He commissioned Pandit Ramachandra Pant Amathya and asked him to prepare 2,000 words in Sanskrit for the Persian and Arabic words. And what he had said for this was 'velapuram banda-ram'. I said to them, 'at least put this as an optional choice' and I thought that the Chairman agreed to that, but I find it is not there. I thought he accepted this as a substitute. 'Pattan' is a city; Anahillapattan was the capital of Gujarat, about 200 miles

from the sea. 'Pattan' does not necessarily mean a port.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI (Nominated): In Sindhi 'pattan' means a ferry. They also give here 'bandar-gah'. What is this word? They should have put 'velapur' which is exactly the word you want. That gives the exact meaning.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kane, Velapur is the name of a city; is it not?

DR. P. V. KANE: Yes; it is just opposite Bombay harbour in a creek. It is called Velapur.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: 'Bandar' in Hindi means a monkey.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: In Bombay you have Bori Bunder and so many Bunders. DR. P. V. KANE: That is metaphorical.

Now, let us see how they have dealt with 'civil dispute' and 'criminal dispute'. My point is that you must prepare this in such a way that it can be understood by all. Even a farmer sometimes has to go to a court. You must have such words as he can understand easily. They never applied their mind to the real difficulties and they would not listen to those who had to say something. This is not the way to do this. The word 'civil' or 'criminal' is not there. They have said 'vyavahara vishava', which means the subject of *vyavahar*. 'Vyavahar' means dispute. So it does not necessarily say whether it is civil or criminal. In *Mitakshara* you have got two words of four letters each, 'dhan-mool' and 'himsamool'. 'Himsa' does not necessarily mean murder; it only means any injury which is liable to be fined. Instead of giving these wordai they have gone elsewhere and said 'vyavahara vishava'.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: We are not discussing this dictionary. We are discussing the Report.

DR. P. V. KANE: But the Report wants us to take measures. I am saying this is not the way to take measures.

MB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is reading from the glossary. You may make your own comments when you speak.

DR. P. V. KANE: Now, on page 130 ..

MB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time. Dr. Kane.

DR. P. V. KANE: Then take the words 'criminal offence'—dand aparadh'. 'Dand' means punishment. How can it be criminal? At least they should have said 'dandva aparadh'. Now, in Sanskrit we have 'manyu vivada'. For anger 'manyu' is one word, 'himsa' is another word. (*Time bell rings.*) I can point out a hundred words like this. I stop at that.

I have two suggestions to make. Firstly, prepare a basic glossary for ordinary men from Cape Comorin to Kashmir, who can use it, about a thousand words or more, if necessary. Secondly, there you give alternative words—pure Sanskrit, pure Hindi, and Tamil or Telugu, whatever it may be, if there are such words. Gradually some words will be eliminated and some words will remain. That is how language develops. Do not be afraid. Even two thousand years ago our great *Acharyas* took *mlech* words. In the *Mimamsa*, there is a special *adhikaran* where four *mlech* words are mentioned, namely, 'Sata'—sacrificial vessel, 'Pika'—cuckoo and 'Tamaras'—lotus. The fourth word I just forget. In regard to these four words, there was a dispute as to whether they were to be used in the sense in which the *mlechas* used them, or some new sense was to be given. The ultimate decision was that these were the four words borrowed from the *mlechas* and they must be used in the sense the *mlechas* used them.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: There are no '*mlechas*' now.

DR. P. V. KANE: Never mind: '*Mlechas*' are n'en-Hindi-speaking people at present. My point is this; Even in those days, when they were so keen, they did it. So, you do this first. Have a basic dictionary or glossary and on such translations you should take very great care. First of all, let there be the pure Hindi word and then the non-Hindi word, so that they will never complain, and then two or three words should be added—at least two words or three words for each word, which should be understood by everybody. I do not say it in the case of simple words, but for important words, two words at least should be given, one Sanskrit and another non-Sanskrit. Such words should be added. That is all that I wanted to say. I have nothing to say about Hindi imperialism. You must remember that when people suspect your motives, then it sets your back up. It is up to the Hindi people to see that they do not make people suspect their motives. That is all.

MB. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anand Chand.

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप हिन्दी में बोलिये ।

श्री आनन्द चन्द (हिमाचल प्रदेश): मैं हिन्दी में बोलता लेकिन कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जो अंग्रेजी में आ गई हैं इसलिए मुझे अंग्रेजी में बोलना चाहिये ।

Sir, as far as I have been able to make out from the speeches delivered in this House so far, as well as the Report of the Parliamentary Committee that is before us, the problem is a limited one. It is limited in the sense that we have already accepted, the Constituent Assembly of India has already accepted, that Hindi in the Devanagari script is to be the language of the Union. Here we are only concerned, to my mind, with the limited purpose as to how that



change-over is to be brought about by 1 the dead-line, which has been fixed as 1965, and to that end what steps we have to take. Now, Sir, in the context of these difficulties which have been explained by speakers, of Hindi-speaking people coining words—some fun has been made of such words—like 'dwichakra' or 'Kanth-langot' for a neck-tie, they are secondary problems. They are bound to arise because what has happened is that we have not only recognised Hindi as the language of the Union but we have also recognised Hindi as one of the fourteen regional languages. So, when the Union was sleeping over the progress of Hindi in the Union field, the States which had Hindi as the regional language, were active. And they had to be active because they had adopted that language as their language. So, phraseology developed, text books developed, dictionaries developed on the basis of the language, as was spoken in those Hindi-speaking States. Because the Union Government did not co-ordinate the growth of that Hindi in those States along with what it wanted to be Hindi or a form of Hindi in the Centre, what has happened is that we have come across certain translations or certain words which are being used, let us say, in Madhya Pradesh. They might be used in Uttar Pradesh or other Hindi-speaking areas. It may be that our friends from the South or non-Hindi speaking people find it much more difficult, because they have not the same background as people in U.P. or Bihar have in respect of those Hindi words. That is the real problem or real difficulty. The problem is not Hindi as such. Now, what does the Constitution say? The Constitution says that Hindi will be the Union language. That is point number one. The other point that it makes as my friend, Prof. Kane, pointed out, is that in the formulation of that Hindi, as provided for under article 351, it will be the duty of the Union Government to draw upon all the regional languages for the enrichment of Hindi. No regional language is barred from giving to Hindi,

words or phrases which are better and which could be put to better use than the phraseology as used, let us say, in U.P. or Rajasthan, for that matter. Now, Prof. Kane spoke about Hindustani. He said that Hindustani is mentioned in the Constitution and he probably thought that by Hindustani is meant the bazaar language. To my mind, although I have not much background of this Constitution, is mentioning Hindustani the framers of the Constitution had a worthy Hindustani in mind. It is Hindi or Hindustani developed in Wardha during Mahatma's time, which we call Hindi or Hindustani. It is really a mixture of Hindi.

DR. P. V. KANE: Why did they not define it then?

SHRI ANAND CHAND: Probably, they thought that it was more easily understood.

SHRI ABHIMANYU RATH: That is not the case. U.P. is the biggest State and the Union Ministers are from that State.

SHRI ANAND CHAND: I do not subscribe to that. To my mind, by Hindustani what they mean is that particular form of Hindustani. I know that in that Hindustani script 'x', 'j' are written in the Wardha style. That is different from what we generally understand it in Hindi. Whether that is accepted or that is not accepted is beside the point. What I was submitting was that the quarrel here appears to be mainly that the Hindi terminology is not one which is being propagated in a manner which is understood by a large number of people. Let us go to the very foundation of the whole thing. Why should we have Hindi as the Union language? Why should it not be some other language? To my mind, the whole thing hinges on the mother-tongue. The mother-tongue really of all these regional languages, which we have in the North, is Sanskrit,

[Shri Anand Chand.] whether it is Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, etc. My hon. friend there is very susceptible to this U.P. Hindi. Even Oriya and Bengali owe their origin to Sanskrit. Now, can Sanskrit be the Union language? It could not be. For one thing, it is not so much in vogue today in India. It is not so much spoken. For another, it is rather difficult for the layman to be proficient in it. Therefore, as the nearest point to Sanskrit, both in terms of script as well as expression, Hindi was taken, to my mind, by the framers of the Constitution, to be the language of India and the language which is used in large parts of India. Now, having accepted that Hindi and that script, it is of no consequence to talk about English or the glamour of English or the utility of English. English has its own use in the same way as French has its own use and German has its own use. That is an entirely different matter. The point here is that the Union language must be such as is ordinarily understood, a language which comes from our distant past, a language which has been enriched by the passage of centuries. That has to be the Union language and that can be no other but Hindi.

The next point is that they have not accepted, as Prof. Kane here pointed out, the implementation part of it. Now, I myself am not very happy, after having read this Report, about the implementation part. I believe that two hon. Members here, who are Members of the Committee, have also appended a note. They do not call it a note of dissent. They have said that the propagation of Hindi or the bringing about of Hindi as the Union language has not been properly attended to so far. They have as a matter of fact gone so far as to suggest that a separate Ministry may be created for the propagation of Hindi at the Centre. I do not know whether that would be a good thing, I mean whether for the propagation of a language we

should have a separate Ministry and then try to see how it develops and so on. But certainly, to my mind, if there is need in the Home Ministry—if they are to deal with that subject—that a separate body should be created, well, I have nothing to say about it. But if this problem of propagating Hindi ends by bringing it to the Union level is to be tackled by the Home Ministry, I would certainly suggest that there should be a Deputy Minister or even a Minister put in charge of that in the same Ministry to deal exclusively with this subject, because the problem is a vast one. The problem is not limited only to the making of a vocabulary of two thousand words. The basic vocabulary has to be there. Even in English we have got a basic vocabulary. But here it is not merely a question of making that basic vocabulary. The question is also what legal and other terms we should have.

Then the question is also one at education. In the educational field, to my mind, very little has been made so far as this question is concerned. Of course, as a secondary language it might be something. To my mind, it is a very unhappy state of affairs that today, after ten years of independence or nearly nine years after the Constitution was promulgated, literacy is very very low. I pointed out this thing in another context, and I said in this House that the literacy figure was hardly 19 or 20 per cent. Is that really the norm by which we are to progress? Unless there is literacy in this country we cannot run a democracy. The man in the street must understand what we are doing. He can only understand what we are doing if he is educated. Unless he is educated he cannot understand that. So, the question is, how are you going to educate him? If education is to be universal at the primary stage, if education is to be universal for the first seven years when the child is at school, then it has to be through the mother-tongue which it understands. Therefore, to my mind, this problem

of having in India today a vast illiterate population is also arresting the growth of India.

My hon. friend from Andhra Pradesh said: "Believe it or not, today English daily newspapers have the largest circulation in the country and Hindi newspapers come next." My answer to that is this. The reason -why English newspapers have the largest circulation is not because more people know English in this country but because more people who can afford to buy a newspaper are in the higher economic rung of the ladder and they can afford to buy that, and those people who know Hindi cannot afford to buy even the two pice newspaper. It is therefore due to this reason that the circulation of Hindi newspapers is less, and it is not because the intelligentsia in Hindi is less. So, that is the problem. We have not paid sufficient attention to the educational side. We have not brought about literacy as fast as we should. Hence all these difficulties. This problem has to be solved, and this cannot be solved merely by propagating Hindi. Something has to be done in the Ministry of Education to bring about a speedy education of the adult as well as the child population in this country.

I would like, with your permission, to mention only two more points in this regard. One is that, when we are going about trying to evolve a language of the Union which is to replace English with all its one hundred and fifty years of history as well as all its use and application in the modern world of today, we must evolve Hindi in a manner in which not only it is commonly understood but it has words and phrases adapted in the language itself which will meet all purposes, educational, legal, scientific, cultural, and so on. It is true that Hindi today as it is spoken air written especially is not so rich. It has to be enriched. Encyclopaedias, whether they are dealing with !

legal words or scientific words, are not up to the mark. They leave much to be desired. In schools and colleges Hindi as the educational medium is not being rapidly adopted for the same reason. Somehow these defects have to be removed, and they have to be removed very quickly. It is true that the Union Government is charged with this work. It is also true that they are taking steps. But if we mobilise the intelligentsia of the country, intelligentsia not merely confined to the Hindi-speaking areas but, as Prof. Kane so rightly pointed out, also those coming from other regions where the regional languages are other than Hindi, I am sure a language—I would call it a language although Hindi of course is the language, but I would call it a language—would be evolved which is not comprised of only limited Hindi words but which contains in it other words of common use over large parts of the country, which might not be so familiar in the Hindi-speaking areas of India today but which in due Course of time would be so and which would satisfy the people who are non-Hindi speaking in their wishes that their languages have also been taken for the enriching of Hindi so far as its use in the Union is concerned. That is not a difficult task. That is the task which the Central Government, in my opinion, should apply itself to very quickly. The dead-line is not very far. I am glad that in paragraph 23 of the report it has been accepted, indirectly perhaps, but I feel directly, that after 1965 English is not going to be the official language of this country. That is accepted, and for whatever use English is to be put to after 1965 Parliament would provide for that by suitable amendment. So, we have six years left, and a lot of work has to be done in these six years. Therefore, we must set our energy towards that end, and it is the duty of the Union Government to take every step possible within this time to see that this change-over is effected not only to the satisfaction of the Hindi-speaking people but to the satisfaction of the non-Hindi-speaking people.

[Shri Anand Chand.] pie who in due course of time must become Hindi-speaking because they are a part of the great Indian nation.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, as some others have done, so also do I offer my humble tribute to the very valuable, efficient and patriotic manner in which the Commission and the Committee have discharged the very difficult and delicate work that had been entrusted to them.

श्री पा० ना० राजपूज (मुम्बई) : कर्न  
साहब, आप बहुत अच्छी हिन्दी बोलते हैं।  
हिन्दी में बोलिये।

SHRI JASPAT\* ROY KAPOOR: Sir, they have discharged their duty in a very balanced manner. It was a very difficult and delicate task as I have said, because, although the question was very amicably settled by the Constituent Assembly, during the last three years or so it has become a controversial subject. They applied their mind in a very 'balanced way, and both the Commission and the Committee have brought out their Reports which are almost unanimous, and have made recommendations which are not only unanimously agreed to by the members of the Commission and the Committee, barring of course one or two exceptions here and there, but they are unanimously acceptable to people all over the country belonging to various regions and speaking different languages.

आचार्य रघुवीर : (मुम्बई) : नहीं  
महाराज, एक दो नहीं हैं। यूनिफ़ॉर्म  
नहीं है।

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Sir, the recommendations of the Commission are of a very moderate nature, but the recommendations of the Committee are of a still more moderate and conservative nature and in their recommendations they have loaded the dice in favour of the languages of the South and the people of the South. I am glad that they

have done so, because after all we must take into consideration the views and the wishes and the difficulties of our friends 'of the South more than any other question.

In this connection, Sir, with your permission I would like to refer to three of four recommendations of the Committee which are against the recommendations of the Commission, which would easily go to show that the members of the Committee were very particular to see to it that even the moderate recommendations of the Commission, if they in any way adversely affect the interests of our friends of the South, should be modified and not agreed to Sir, to quote a few illustrations, I would draw your attention to Recommendation No. 10 of the Commission which is mentioned on page 34 of the Report. The Commission had suggested—

"Generally speaking, penalties would seem to be appropriate with reference to failure to attain prescribed standard by the due date; incentives and rewards would seem to be appropriate with reference to performance above the minimum standard laid down."

This suggestion, good as it appears to be and certainly is, was not accepted by the Committee and they said that this recommendation might be dropped because they did not like the idea of imposing any penalty on anybody in Government service who is not able to pick up Hindi in a short time.

Then again, we find that the Commission had made a recommendation to the effect that the judges of the High Courts might be tested with regard to their language knowledge. This suggestion again has not been accepted by the Committee and, I think, rightly. Then again, we find that though the Official language Commission had suggested that it should not be made necessary for a Government servant belonging to a Hindi area to know a language of the South, the Committee has specifically

suggested that it should be obligatory that persons from Hindi areas must learn at least one other modern Indian language, particularly belonging to the South. I have quoted these few instances only to show that the Committee has all along been considerate to the interests of friends from the South. They have rightly done so and I am very happy over it.

Let us at the outset try to take our minds back to the days of the Constituent Assembly from the proceedings of which we find that it was unanimously agreed that Hindi should be the national language. Sir, this was the compromise formula as embodied in the various articles culminating in article 351. If you refer to the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, particularly to what the hon. Shri Gopalaswami Iyengar then said, it will be clear that it was a compromise formula agreed to by every Member of the Constituent Assembly excepting one or two. But Sir, we find that a *canard* is spread in the country by no less a person than Shri Rajagopa-lachari and some others who probably fell into the trap of what Rajaji said. He has said along with others in a memorandum submitted about two years ago to the President of the Union that Hindi had been adopted by the Constituent Assembly, particularly in the Congress Party, by a majority of one vote. This is absolutely untrue, Sir, and I do not know where Rajaji got this information. Lest I might be charged of being unfair to Rajaji because he is not here, I thought it proper to write to him humbly and respectfully enquiring from him as to the source of the information on which he had based his absolutely incorrect story that at the Congress Party meeting of the Constituent Assembly, Hindi had been adopted by a majority of one vote. Sir, rather than replying to my letter frankly, this is what he writes to me—

"I do not wish to rack my brains about past events. The Hindi issue should be decided on its merits and I

not on the basis of those who voted and how and what happened in the party meetings."

I entirely agree with him that this question must be decided on merits. But then it is he who had said that this question had been decided in the Congress Party meeting by a majority of one vote which is absolutely incorrect. Sir, the majority of one in the Congress Party meeting—you had participated particularly in the discussion relating to this point. I will very well remember—related to the question of numerals. It was in fact my amendment in the Congress Party meeting to the effect that we should have Hindi numerals and not the international one. That question had been put to vote and it was carried by one vote. Of course, later on in order to meet the wishes of friends, from the South, we subsequently agreed that, though it had been carried by a majority of one, yet we should give it up, and we agreed to have the international numerals. All this appeared in "The Hindustan Times" and other papers of the 27th August, 1949. I have got copies of those papers but I have not time at my disposal to read them out. Suffice it for me on this occasion to submit that this is absolutely incorrect—I would not use a stronger word, but certainly it is absolutely incorrect. This story has been repeated from time to time under the impression that what a big person like Rajaji has said must be correct, which is surely not a fact.

Sir, the other important question is whether Hindi has been rightly adopted or not and what should be the form of Hindi. My hon. friend, Dr. Panikkar, delivered a very fine speech today—a speech which came to me as a very agreeable surprise—for I must confess that I was not prepared for such an agreeable surprise and I had been looking upon him all these several years as the author of the minute of dissent to the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, wherein he had vomitted venom against UP.

[Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor.] But I may seek your liberty, Sir, to say that what hitherto has been a case of disgust—that is perhaps a strong word—dislike, at first sight has today been converted into love at second sight. Sir, he has rightly said that the Hindi that we adopted was not the Hindi of U.P. or of Bihar or of the Hindi-speaking regions. We never adopted that. Let us be very clear in our minds about it because then only we shall resolve much of the difficulty that crops up from time to time because of the criticisms levelled against Hindi in various quarters. I will not read out article 351 once again because it has been read out just now by my hon. friend, Dr. Kane. I will only read out the last portion of it on which I want to lay particular emphasis &nd it says that Hindi shall be developed in such a manner that it may draw for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages. This decision, Sir, had been arrived at after very great consideration and thought given to the subject. We of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and Rajasthan, the Hindi-speaking areas, as they are called, would be very much happier if instead of the Sanskritised Hindi, imposed upon us by article 351, the Hindi were of a simpler nature, not primarily based on Sanskrit. If Sir, we, about 42 or more per cent, inhabiting this country, were not prepared to undergo this sacrifice to accept Sanskritised Hindi, this article would not have been as it is. But in the larger interests of the country we agreed to undergo the sacrifice, for the sake of having an official language, which may be equally easy to be understood or which may be equally difficult to be understood by every section of the people in the country. We agreed, let it be Sanskritised Hindi. If you, Sir, were to look at the gazettes and other literature which are issued by the Uttar Pradesh Government from time to time, you will find that it is a very difficult language that is being adopted there. I read Sanskrit up to high school standard long long ago. I have forgotten 50

per cent, of it; still I remember about 50 per cent, of it. And with that knowledge of Sanskrit even I find it difficult to understand the language which is used by the Uttar Pradesh State Government. But then I am happy, and every time I find difficulty in understanding it I feel happy and still happier because therein you will find a definite answer to the objection that is .oused to Hindi from different parts of the country. As I read that language, Sir, I find that it is as difficult for me as it may be simple to friends from the south, east and west, to friends from Bengal, friends from Maharashtra and Gujrat and friends from the south. I was feeling very-very happy, Sir, when my hon. friend, Dr. Panikkar, was quoting several instances to show that such Sanskritised Hindi is more easily understood by friends from other parts of the country than by friends from the north, who are said to be in Hindi-speaking areas. Sir, I have not much time at my disposal, but I would only like to quote what in this respect Mr. B. G. Kher once said. It is at page 391 of the Report of the Commission. I need not read it because I have not much time at my disposal, but suffice it to say that he made it very clear, while presiding over a Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Bombay, that the Hindi that we had adopted in the Constituent Assembly, was not the Hindi of Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or Rajasthan, but entirely a new Hindi as defined in article 351, and according to that we must have a Sanskritised Hindi as the official language. Sir, I admit that this official language as enunciated in article 351 is a new language, not a very developed language, but that is just the thing which goes in its favour and to its credit, as to why it should be adopted by all people in the country. That meets the argument of Rajaji when he says that we should have sort of a neutral language, a language which should be equally difficult for everybody to understand and learn. That is why, he said, he suggested that we should have the English language for a long time. Now I submit, Sir, that this

Sanskritised Hindi language meets that objection of Rajaji when he said that it should be a language which should be equally understandable or which should be equally difficult to be understood by every part of the country.

Having done that, Sir, I would like to say one thing about the charge which is levelled against the Hindi-speaking people, that we are trying to impose it on the country. Surely not that, Sir; only one or two facts, if I may mention, will convince you that it is not the case. It need hardly be said that we are not trying to impose it on the country; on the other hand we are behaving in a very humble and modest manner keeping in view the wishes, the delicate sentiments of friends from other part of the country. Do we not see in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, Sir, that though more than 50 per cent, of the Members can understand Hindi and more than 42 per cent.—near about 50 per cent.—of the Members can even speak in Hindi, yet, how few of us do so? Why is it? Sir, so far as the Lok Sabha is concerned I have before me statistics covering the period since 1944 right tip to 1957— they may have other latest statistics also, but I have not got them with me—which go to show that only about 8 to 9 per cent of the time is taken up by the Hindi speakers and 80 to 90 per cent, of the time is taken up by the English speakers. Now, why is it so? Not that we do not want to speak in Hindi, but we do not want to offend the feelings of friends from other parts of the country. I have just referred to the amount of time taken by speeches. Now, so far as the percentage of speeches in Hindi is concerned, we find from these statistics that only about 16·2 per cent, of the speeches have been delivered in Hindi in the Rajya Sabha, and in the Lok Sabha it is 13·1 per cent. Again, Sir, so far as questions are concerned, you know very well— you know it more than anybody else—that in this House, where more

Se R.S.D.—7.

than 50 per cent of the Members understand and know Hindi, there are barely six or seven who table their questions in Hindi. So far as the

; replies are concerned, quite a few of us do not understand English. Yet, there has not been one occasion when only Hindi-knowing Members have asked that questions should be answered in Hindi though, as you know

very well, Sir, that under the relevant article of the Constitution both Hindi and English are the languages prescribed for Parliament. They do

not do so. Why? Because they are very particular that they should not offend the susceptibilities of friends from other parts of the country, and you know very well, Sir, that even on any rare occasion when a question is answered in Hindi, somebody gets up from the right or the left or the centre insisting that the answer must also be repeated in English. I do not mind it, but I want to emphasise this thing. I do not want to accuse' them for asking the answers to be given in English, but I do want respectfully and humbly to emphasis one thing, that we have always been

very particular about it, to see that nothing is imposed on the so-called non-Hindi-speaking areas.

Now, Sir, my hon. friend, Dr. Kane,<sup>1</sup> tried to ridicule the various terminologies that have been adopted by a committee of Parliament of which he himself was a Member. With all my respect for him, Sir, I do not feel happy and I do not know whether : this is a right sort of attitude which a member of the committee should adopt." If he has any differences he must assert himself there and if he does not assert himself and appends his signature to the report without appending a Minute of Dissent, then he has absolutely no right to criticise the report, of that committee or the work of that committee. But this is merely a formal thing. I want to bring to your notice, not to your notice, Mr.-Deputy Chairman because you know it "very well, but to the notice of the House that such a difficulty was experienced even when we were in the

[Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor.] Constituent Assembly. You will remember, Sir, that the first translation of the draft of the Constitution was made by my hon. friend. Dr. Raghu Vira, and immediately after it was published, people began to ridicule it. Even no less a person i than a very great eminent person—I shall not name him—told me that Dr. Raghu Vira's translation had done the greatest harm to the cause of I Hindi. Later on, Sir, the President j appointed a committee....

PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA: Just for the information of the hon. Member, I was not the author, Sir; I was not the author of the first translation.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Translation of what?

PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA: Of the Constitution.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: I thought you were the author of the original translation but now, whether it was Dr. Raghu Vira or anybody else, the point is that that translation was ridiculed. Later on the President himself appointed a committee consisting of Members of the Constituent Assembly from all over the country, and they prescribed a certain glossary of legal and constitutional terms which should be adopted while translating the Constitution in Hindi. And curiously enough, Sir, we found that the terms which this all-India committee had adopted, those terms were still more difficult, more Sanskritised than the terms that were used in the original translation, by whomsoever it might have been made. My point is this: It is «asy to criticize a thing when you are not entrusted with that task. But when you are on the table to do the task, realities of the situation are there before you. And, when these realities are there before you, you Jiave to face them irrespective of ihe consideration that you would be ridiculed or not ridiculed.

(Time bell rings.)

4 P.M.

I have been keeping my eyes ou the clock. I will not give you the trouble of ringing the bell.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken three minutes more.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: I am coming to a close. I submit that the question of adoption of official, language is in the interest of the country as a whole; it is in the interest of the unity of the countrj as a whole. If we want Hindi, it it not for the sake of Hindi. Hindi can take care of itself in Uttar Pradesh and in other Hindi-speaking regions. If we want one uniform language for the whole country, it is not for the propagation of Hindi, but it is foi the larger interest of the unity of the country, and that unity—it is admitted on all hands—cannot come unless we have one language, and thai language cannot be a language othei than the official language that we-have prescribed.

Let, me, in the end, pay a tribute to the people of the South. They are the repository of the ancient culture Sir, if a personal reference be permissible here, only four or five years-ago, I, along with my wife, niece an\* sister, went to the Soutfl. All of us, including myself, and more particularly they, were so happy to find that, the real ancient Indian culture was to-be found in the South and which i\* very much absent in the North. I bow my head to the people of the South who have preserved the ancient cul-true.. I congratulate them for all the. good work that they have done by preserving the ancient culture of Indifc, I have no doubt in my mind that iik due course this official language, which is already being learnt by people in the South—more particularly by the vigorous effort of mjr hon. friend, Shri Satyanarayana— will be spoken and written by the\*



more fluently and more accurately than the people of the North. I, therefore, submit that we should accept the recommendations of the Committee absolutely and in toto.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: Sir, about one hundred and twenty five years back Lord Macaulay and Raja Ram-mohan Roy were carrying on an agitation in the country for the English *Rashtrabhasha* of India. It was for the recognition of English as the language of administration and culture in India. As against this agitation, there was a galaxy of Indian and British scholars who wanted *Pradeshik Bhashas* to develop. They carried on the agitation in the opposite direction. It was left to a British Governor-General to cry a halt to all these agitations, on the plea that *Pax Britannica* shall rule, and must rule through their language. Sir, this language has *been* kept on for about 125 years. That time lag between the British Raj' and the English language Raj, I think we are going to make up by this attitude of indifference that we have displayed in taking decisions on this important issue.

Sir, our great leader taught us a great revolution, *viz.*, the idea of winning independence and establishing a democratic State. The idea of the revolution that he inculcated in us was of a different nature. It was one of *Ahimsa*. The result today is that we have set up an example for the world—for all the fallen nations and also for the nations who govern others' countries. It is how that mighty power, Britain, was made to leave India handing over the State to us. Today we have our own Government. We have our national State, but without a national language, though it has been recognised as such in the Statute.

Sir, article 348 represents a course of compromise. If we had secured our independence through a violent revolution, the national language would have come along with the I

inauguration of the national State. But that was not to be and we had to arrive at these conclusions, at these arrangements, after due discussions, deliberations and negotiations among the different State-speaking various languages.

Sir, the Eighth Schedule prescribes\* 14 languages. Twelve of them are national languages. Urdu and Sanskrit will always remain inter-State languages. Now, these national languages have to be developed. Mr. Chettiar was talking as if there was a war between Hindi and English. I do not see any reason why he was talking like that. There is absolutely no war between them. Sir, the Constitution sets its seal of approval when it says that Hindi remains the *Rashtrabhasha* in Devanagari script. Therefore, there is no quarrel. The question is: How to implement it?

Sir, so many things have been stated here. Power is vested in the President to enable the Government to take all preparatory steps for early implementation of the decision. Here I pause for a minute, for a reply from the Government, as to what they have done during this long period of one Yuga of twelve years of our independence, though the Constitution came into force in 1950. Leave alone my friends who are talking about Hindi being the *Rashtrabhasha* of the Union administration. What have you done about the other eleven languages, and what have you done about Hindi in the Hindi-speaking States? You have done precious little towards that end. The record of performance is shameful for any country and for any State. I must frankly confess that the universities; should be ashamed of their performance, the great cultural institutions. It may be a tall talk for me to make\* these accusations, but I stand here to make these accusations. I must frankly say that my hon. friend, Mr. Satya-narayana, in charge of the Dakshin\*; Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, is doing far better work in Hindi in terms of

[Shri Biswanath Das.] the Constitution than any or all these universities put together. I must also say that the performances of the State Governments have not at all been satisfactory in this respect. They seem to have done what they have done with regard to the food position, with regard to any other position. They take up an attitude of "wait, see and roam." Just put in a petition to the Government of India for money and put in an estimate and then wait. They do not care to see that it is their responsibility and theirs alone to develop the State or regional languages. They have failed in this respect and they have failed miserably. It is a sad sight to see, that even today twelve years after the coming of Swaraj, in the subdivisional magistrate's courts, in the second-class magistrate's courts, the arguments are conducted in English.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: The so-called English.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: The so-called English or Indian English or whatever you may call it. They carry on in that sort of English. Nothing could be more shameful than this. I want to say that this tendency should cease". My complaint against the Report of the Parliamentary Committee is that they have done precious little to see or suggest what steps should be taken, what money will be found to undo this neglect. It is no use taking decisions on paper. We have taken far too many decisions on paper and I refuse to take any more such decisions.

My hon. friend from the South, Shri Chettiar for whom I have great respect and affection, talks of an attitude of opposition to Hindi. It is not a question of any attitude of opposition to Hindi. It is a question whether English should be or should not be here as national language. That is the one question we have to answer. I find that in article 347 there is a

sort of an authority vested in the President to ascertain the wishes of the people, of certain areas, if and when he is in doubt whether a certain language has to be kept on and developed and maintained in the particular area. Will my hon. friend take up that challenge and ascertain whether Tamil or English should be the language of Madras? I want them to take a plebiscite if necessary. I have no hesitation in saying that their defeat would be miserable for English. You may take a plebiscite in any State. The defeat of English will be miserable. Therefore, it is a disgrace for any administration to keep up this state of things any longer.

Sir, speaking for my own State, I must frankly confess that precious little has been done either by the State Government or by the Utkal University. That is the sort of atmosphere prevailing there. In 1924, as a Member of the Madras Council I hailed the inauguration of the Andhra University with the highest hopes that Telugu would be the medium of instruction in that university. Very soon I was disillusioned. I do not at all agree with those who remark: Oh, the Indian languages! You cannot make them vehicles for imparting scientific knowledge or knowledge relating to economics or politics and so on and so forth. All that is absurd. The Osmania University was carrying on the experiment with ability and reputation. What was being done in Osmania should be done in other universities.

SHRI S. CHANNA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): But not now.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: Yes, not now, because we have become independent, and independent of ourselves and our culture. Therefore, my request is that we should now reduce the question to staging activities. At this stage what should be done anti what should be the next stage? What is going to be done now? What money is going to be given in order to fulfil the great task before us? But nothing has been done in that regard.

The Constitution prescribed the language for the High Courts and the Supreme Court. But has that language come even to the sessions courts? Think of the misery that witnesses who appear before the sessions court have to face. The man does not know English. He has no knowledge of the English language. He is cross-examined and his evidence is taken in Oriya or Telugu or Bengali or Tamil or Malayalam. Then it is translated into English by persons who have a half knowledge of English and it is passed on as evidence and the judgment is based on such translations. How long will you carry on this thing, or how long will you perpetrate this wrong on the people? As a Congress worker I have been put before courts and it is on such evidence that often convictions have been based. This miserable experience that we had before, under British rule, is being continued even today. Immediate steps should be taken to end this, and, if necessary, a directive of Parliament should be given, in terms of the Constitution. This practice of recording evidence in the courts and carrying on arguments in English, at least in the subordinate courts, should immediately cease so that it may lead to greater democracy. People could then plead their own cases. They are capable people, who know the Indian languages and they can plead their own cases, in the courts, in the vernacular of the State. Why should this not be done? Where is democracy now? As long as this is not done, democracy will not be there. It is the autocracy of the few, the autocracy of the English-knowing few. Therefore, I plead before the hon. Ministers and before hon. Members here that this attitude should change and change immediately and steps should be taken to develop all the twelve languages of the States.

I am surprised to learn that the Prime Minister stated that the inter-State correspondence shall be in English. Why? It is not left to the

Prime Minister to dictate and each State should have its own option. The States should have their own option. I am glad and I congratulate the Chief Minister of Madras for having taken a very good step and declared that Tamil shall be the State language of Madras. I congratulate him. I do not know why he should be forced to address in another language when he can speak and address forcefully in Tamil? If you want to know it, get it translated yourself. There is no reason why you should force him to speak in another language. The Prime Minister also said that English should remain as long as there is any opposition to its removal. There will always be opposition from men like Mr. Anthony. They will never reconcile themselves. There will be opposition. Are you then going to have two paisas, the old and the new? The result will be that no one will accept the new *paisa*. Who is the sufferer? The consumer is the worst sufferer. You cannot have two paisas. Similarly you cannot have two languages.

If some adjustment is required in the case of the services, then let people sit together and do whatever adjustment is necessary to be done. I am prepared to concede that some adjustment is necessary in the case of the services. If that is the only hurdle, that should be overcome and it can be overcome easily. I do not see why people should suffer on this score. My people suffered the worst, for Orissa was the one State which remained independent even when the seven Bahamani kings were fighting in the South and the Imperial forces were fighting with it under the Nawabs of Bengal. Even after the loss of independence this anti-foreign attitude or the *swadeshi* sentiment remained. It was so deep in them that they refused to read English. If you look at the records of the 1860s and the 1870s, you will find that Mr. Ravenshaw and other civilian officers were going from door to door asking the people to send their boys so that they might get educated in English and get jobs.

[Shri Biswanath Das.] But our people even then refused to read English and that is the reason why we are fifty years behind. You are ahead of us because you knew English and you could get jobs. (*In-terruption.*) We are dubbed as backward people. You get all the advantages. You have got the best of both the worlds. You had all the advantages under the British rule and now, after independence, you are getting advantages. You say now that just because you will suffer so far as jobs are concerned, you want to cry a halt to the spread of the national language, the *Rashtrabhasha*. This attitude of mind is wrong. If that is your idea, are you prepared to agree to a quota system? There are very few Oriyas in the higher services, the I.A.S., the I.P.S. I do not grudge it. But if it comes as demand, there is no reason why I should keep quiet and not ask for a quota system. This should on no account be a ground for putting an obstruction to national progress and the progress of nationalism and national culture.

So far as the examinations are concerned, as I have said earlier, the Hindi-speaking people will be having an advantage. That way, any linguistic population will get some vantage point. Suppose tomorrow Bengali is declared as one of the most developed languages,—if it is declared *Rashtrabhasha* as the language of India—then they will have a vantage point.

According to the comparative grammar of eight Aryan languages, Oriya is considered as a good vehicle for expressing thought. In fact, friends wanted me to propose Oriya as *Rashtrabhasha* in the Constituent Assembly. If proposed and accepted, we would have a vantage. That is no reason why the all-India language and culture should suffer. If you want, make necessary adjustment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI BISWANATH DAS: Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Out of thirty persons, eight have spoken so far. Hon. Members will please confine themselves to fifteen minutes each.

The House may sit till 6 P.M. and give four more speakers a chance to speak today.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: There is a party meeting today. Sir. at five.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is a party meeting at five. We cannot sit beyond five.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण (मुम्बई) :  
आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, आप जानते हैं कि मैं हिन्दी, हिन्दुस्तानी चाहने वाला हूँ परन्तु इस का मतलब यह नहीं है कि मुझे कोई अंग्रेजी से बैर है। आप यह भी जानते होंगे कि अंग्रेजी आज दुनिया में एक बहुत मानी हुई भाषा समझी जाती है और मैं तो उस से बैर कर ही नहीं सकता क्योंकि १५ वर्ष जो मैंने पढ़ने में गुजारे उस में से करीब-करीब १० वर्ष मैं अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से पढ़ा। तो जब मैं अंग्रेजी माध्यम से पढ़ा हूँ तब मुझे अंग्रेजी से कोई विरोध हो ही नहीं सकता। परन्तु यह मेरा सवाल नहीं है, आम जनता का सवाल है, ४० करोड़ जनता का सवाल है। मुट्ठी भर विद्वानों का यह सवाल नहीं है। आप जानते हैं कि इस देश में जनता का राज्य है। जब वोट मांगने जाते हैं तो कोई भी अंग्रेजी में बात नहीं करता। आज तक कभी किसी ने सुना है कि कैडिडेट वोट मांगने गये हों और अंग्रेजी में भाषण किया हो। १८ करोड़ मतदाताओं से हम कहते हैं कि आप हमारे मालिक हैं, आप हमारे राजा हैं, परन्तु उन का राज्य जो हम चलाने जा रहे हैं वह उन की भाषा में नहीं चलता है। तो आप ही बतलाइये कि जनता का राज्य कैसे हो सकता है जबकि यहां की भाषा जनता की भाषा नहीं है। आप कहते हैं डेमोक्रेसी, पीपुल्स गवर्नमेंट, गवर्नमेंट बाइ दि पीपुल, फार दि पीपुल, आफ दि पीपुल, परन्तु जब हम यहाँ देखते

हैं तो वह बिल्कुल नज़र नहीं आता है। १८ करोड़ आप के वोटर्स हैं और आप का संविधान कहता है कि हर एक को असम्बली और इस पार्लियामेंट के लिये खड़े होने का अख्तियार है मगर मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कितने लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके कि दिलों में यह आकांक्षा पैदा हो सकती है कि वे यहां पहुंच सकते हैं। मुश्किल से शायद दो चार लाख ऐसे भाग्यवान मिलेंगे जिन के कि दिल में यह आकांक्षा पैदा होती हो और वह सोचते हों कि हम वहां जाने का इच्छा करें। उन के दिलों में जबरदस्त लाचारी पैदा हो गई है क्योंकि जनता समझती है कि वहां हमारा काम नहीं है, वहां तो अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का ही काम है, विद्वानों का काम है, वकीलों का काम है, हम गरीब वहां जा कर क्या करेंगे ? और यही कारण है कि राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था : "As an Indian I feel ashamed that anybody should think that he knows more English than his own language."

आज मैं क्या देखता हूँ ? एक ऑब्सेशन है। कितना जबरदस्त ऑब्सेशन है ? इतना जबरदस्त ऑब्सेशन है कि हम अपनी भाषा में, प्रादेशिक भाषा में बोलने की इच्छा नहीं कर सकते और हम बहाना बतलाते रहते हैं। यहां तक ऑब्सेशन है कि हमारे आमंत्रण पत्र, हमारे विवाह के आमंत्रण पत्र अंग्रेजी में निकलते हैं। हमारे हिन्दुओं के विवाह तो वैदिक पद्धति से होते हैं परन्तु आमंत्रण पत्रिकाएँ अंग्रेजी में निकलती हैं। यहां तक मुलामी है।

श्री ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद सिंह : पद्धति भी बदल गई है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : अंग्रेज़ यहां ने चले गये, अंग्रेज़ों की सल्तनत यहां से चली गई मगर अंग्रेज़ी की विरासत यहां अभी तक मौजूद है और अंग्रेज़ी की सल्तनत अभी बाकी है। लाचारी सिर्फ जनता में

है यही बात नहीं, मगर हम लोग, जो थोड़े-बहुत पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं उन के दिलों पर भी आज अंग्रेज़ी का इतना आधिपत्य है कि हम कह नहीं सकते। और, जैसा कि पूज्य विनोबा जी ने कहा है, हम जो कुछ यहां कहते हैं, किन के लिये कहते हैं ? वे कहते हैं कि "आप के देश का कारोबार किस तरह चलता है यह अमेरिका या इंग्लैंड के लोग घर में बैठ कर जान सकते हैं, और आप के ही देश का किसान उसे नहीं जानता है। अपने देश का कारोबार दूसरे के सामने रखना यह एक गलती है और अपने ही किसान से उसे छिपाना यह दूसरी बहुत भारी गलती है। हमें आश्चर्य होता है कि एक ऐसी सदी सी बात आप लोगों की समझ में कैसे नहीं आती।

मृत्यु से १८ दिन पहले महात्मा जी ने यह कहा है : "With the disappearance of the English rule must disappear English speech."

आज राष्ट्रपिता को इस दुनिया को छोड़ कर गये म्यारह वर्ष हो गये मगर अंग्रेज़ी में स्पीच देना यहां से गया नहीं। उन्होंने ने आशा की थी कि : "With the disappearance of the English rule must disappear English speech."

आचार्य रघुवीर : और भी बढ़ गया है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : बढ़ गया है, मैं जानता हूँ।

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: That is because the prophets of today are the British Knights of yesterday.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण: Yes; I know. इसी कारण आज जनतंत्र की भावना आप देश में पैदा नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप कहते हैं, कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के कामों में हमें

[श्री वकील नन्दन नारायण]

सहयोग नहीं मिल रहा है, प्लानिंग वाले कहते हैं जनता सहयोग नहीं देती। अरे, दे कैसे? क्योंकि आप के जो खयाल हैं, आप के जो विचार हैं, आप की जो योजना है, उस को वह समझती ही नहीं है, आप की तरफ से उन को उन की भाषा में समझाने की कोशिश ही नहीं होती क्योंकि आप की तमाम बातें अंग्रेजी में होती हैं और बाद में मेहरबानी से तर्जुमा होता है : जनता में जागृति तब तक पैदा नहीं हो सकती जब तक आप जनता की भाषा में उन के हृदय से बोलने का प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे, तब तक आत्मीयता पैदा नहीं होगी।

इंडिपेंडेंस से पहले, आज़ादी से पहले, हम सपना देखते थे कि हमारा स्वराज्य कैसा होगा—कल्पनाएँ करते थे कि गांधी का स्वराज्य होगा। उस वक्त हम निःस्वार्थी और त्यागी थे। परन्तु स्वराज्य के मिलते ही हर एक में आज इंटरैस्ट पैदा हो गया है और इस अंग्रेजी-हिन्दी के सवाल पर भी एक व्हेस्टेड इंटरैस्ट पैदा हो गया है। हम ने कल्पना की थी कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा बनेगी और राष्ट्रभाषा में ही हमारा काम होगा वह आज हो नहीं सकता है क्योंकि व्हेस्टेड इंटरैस्ट जागृत हो गया है, व्हेस्टेड इन्टरैस्ट का निर्माण हो गया है। यदि आप सच्चे मानी में इस देश की आज़ादी को चाहते हैं, स्वराज्य के मानी सच्चे अर्थ में आप जानते हैं, तो उस का मतलब यही होना चाहिये कि हर एक मनुष्य को और स्त्री को उस के अन्तर में अनुभव होना चाहिये कि हाँ, हमें स्वराज्य मिला है। आज तमाम गांवों में आप जाइये वहाँ लोग आज भी नहीं समझते कि यहाँ जनता का राज है और, उस का एक प्रमुख कारण यही है कि आज तक हमारे स्वराज्य की भाषा ही निश्चित नहीं हो सकी है और न हम अपनी भाषा में अपनी जनता के साथ राज-काज की बात कर सकते हैं। प्रदेशों की भाषा में

ही शासन और शिक्षा होनी चाहिये। यदि १९४७ में जब हम स्वतंत्र हुए, उसी वक्त से हर एक प्रदेश की भाषा उस प्रदेश में काम में लाई जाती तो आज जो मुसीबत पैदा हो गई वह नहीं होती। परन्तु उस वक्त हम प्रदेश भाषा को उस का योग्य स्थान न दे सके उसी का फल आज हम पा रहे हैं। मैं आप के द्वारा मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सब से आवश्यक, सब से पहली बात यह है कि हर एक स्टेट में, हर एक राज्य में वहाँ की जनता की भाषा चल जानी चाहिये। शिक्षा में और शासन में यदि इस एक काम को आप प्राथमिकता के साथ कर देंगे तो मुझे विश्वास है कि यह जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के सामने भाषा का प्रश्न है वह आप से आप तय हो जायगा। इस से पहले ही वह तय हो गया होता यदि आप ने हर एक प्रान्त में उस प्रान्त की भाषा चलाई होती। परन्तु आप ने वह नहीं किया।

न्यायालयों में देखिये। अभी हमारे भाई ने जिक्र किया कि अंग्रेजी में सब काम वही होता है—गवाही अंग्रेजी भाषा में लिखी जाती है, वकील अंग्रेजी में तकरीर करता है, जजमेंट अंग्रेजी में लिखा जाता है, यहाँ तक मैं ने देखा है कि जज साहब गवाह की गवाही खुद अंग्रेजी में लिखते हैं, अंग्रेजी में फौरन ट्रांसलेट करते हैं। और वहाँ एक दूसरा क्लर्क होता है जो हिन्दी में यह रीजनल भाषा में उस को लिखता है। जजमेंट अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा जाता है। जो न्याय मांगने जाता है यदि उसे न्यायालय की कार्य-वाही ही समझ में नहीं आये तो किस तरह वे न्यायालय के ऊपर उस का भरोसा बैठ सकता है यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ। और यही कारण है कि आज न्यायालयों के ऊपर जो स्वाभाविक विश्वास होना चाहिये वह नहीं होता है और जनता को नीचे से ऊपर तक धोका सहना पड़ता है।

श्री इया० सु० तन्ना : यह बिल्कुल सत्य है। न्यायालयों पर विश्वास है। ५६

बूझती बात है कि किसी को फैसले के खिलाफ शिकायत हो ।

श्री उपसभापति : प्राइर, आइर ।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : मैं आप से आज भी कहता हूँ, मेरे साथ चलिये । गांवों की बात मैं कह रहा हूँ कि नीचे से ऊपर तक इस भाषा की वजह से हर एक जगह उन को बोका खाना पड़ता है, बलक बोका देता है, आफिसर बोका देता है, वकील बोका देता है, और आखिर तक उन्हें बोका ही बोका खाना पड़ता है । इस में कोई शक नहीं है । वो मुझे यह कहता है . . . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to address the Chair. Do not carry on a conversation.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : All right, Sir, I won't do it. तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि न्यायालयों में भी जल्द से जल्द, वहां जो न्याय मांगने जाते हैं, जो न्याय लेने आते हैं, उन की भाषा में ही कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये । जितनी जल्दी यह काम होगा उतनी ही जनता की सेवा होगी, जनता का विश्वास बढ़ेगा और आपस में भी झगड़े मिटने लगेंगे । राज कानून की भाषा अंग्रेजी, बोलने की भाषा अंग्रेजी, लिखने की भाषा अंग्रेजी, यह नहीं रहना चाहिये । अंग्रेजी भाषा के रहते आपसी झगड़े कोर्ट के बाहर तय करवाने की कोशिशें कामयाब नहीं हो सकती ।

अब मीडियम का सवाल हर वक्त उठाया जाता है । १९४८ में राधाकृष्णन् कमेटी कायम हुई । उस ने सिफारिश की कि प्रादेशिक भाषा ही मीडियम होना चाहिये और यही शिक्षा का उत्तम माध्यम हो सकती है । ग्यारह वर्ष हो गये, मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने आज तक इस सिफारिश को काम में लाने के लिये क्या-क्या कोशिशें कीं । मेरा अनुभव तो यह है कि उस के बाद जितनी कमेटियां कायम हुईं उन कमेटियों ने

यही काम किया कि जो राधाकृष्णन् कमेटी ने सिफारिश की थी उस को किस तरह से कमजोर किया जाय । नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज तक किसी यूनिवर्सिटी में सिवाय सागर और अहमदाबाद की यूनिवर्सिटी के प्रादेशिक भाषा को मीडियम नहीं बनाया है ।

श्री श्या० सु० तन्हा : मानरेबल मेम्बर को, मालूम होता है कि, हिन्दुस्तान का हाल नहीं मालूम है । लखनऊ यूनिवर्सिटी में टीचिंग हिन्दी में होता है ।

(Interruption.)

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : चलिये, मैं बिहार और लखनऊ को भी जोड़े लेता हूँ पर मुझे पूना और बम्बे यूनिवर्सिटी का पता है । पूना यूनिवर्सिटी ने प्रस्ताव पास किया लेकिन चार वर्ष हो गये अभी तक उस प्रस्ताव को कामयाब बनाने के लिये कोई कोशिश नहीं हो रही है । नागपुर में प्रस्ताव हुआ कि वहां की प्रादेशिक भाषा में पढ़ाई शुरू हो परन्तु गत वर्ष वह प्रस्ताव उन्होंने बदल दिया और फिर से अंग्रेजी में शुरूआत की है । मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि माध्यम के सवाल के साथ भी प्राथमिकता का बतवि इस देश में नहीं हो रहा है ।

श्री ना० र० मल्हानी : लखनऊ में भी ऐसा ही हो रहा है ।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : हाँ, मुझे भी डर है । यही नहीं, मेरे प्रान्त में हमारे नेगुएज कमीशन के अध्यक्ष श्री बी० जी० खेर ने अंग्रेजी को हाई स्कूल और सेकेंडरी स्कूल में कम करने की कोशिश की और आठवें दर्जे से पढ़ाई शुरू की । आज तक सात-आठ वर्ष वह चलती रही । अब बम्बई सरकार ने भी यह फैसला किया है कि वह पढ़ाई पाँचवीं क्लास से शुरू की जाय ।

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आप आगे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं, आप पीछे दीड़ रहे हैं और इस का कारण यह है, जैसा कि मैं ने कहा, कि हमारी मनोवृत्ति जो है वह ऐसी है कि अभी हमारी अन्तरात्मा को ठेस नहीं लगी है। अभी हमारी अन्तरात्मा अंग्रेजी से ही प्रसन्न होती दिखाई देती है और जब हम अंग्रेजी सुनते हैं तब कुछ गुदगुदी भी होती है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Yes, Sir, I shall finish in 3 or 4 minutes.

श्री उपसभापति : आप के पन्द्रह मिनट पूरे हो गये।

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I shall not take more than three or four minutes. Others have taken so much time.

श्री दया० सु० तन्खा : आप अंग्रेजी में बोल रहे हैं।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : मैं ने पहले ही कहा, यह गलती कर चुका हूँ कि ग्यारह वर्ष अंग्रेजी पढ़ी।

महात्मा गांधी जी ने इस माध्यम के बारे में यह लिखा है :

"The foreign medium has caused brain fag, made our children crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land and house. It is the greatest tragedy of the present system. If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium and require all teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change

forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text books."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : यानी टेक्स्ट बुक के नाम पर भी लोगों को एक तरह से डराया जाता है। अक्ल और बुद्धि पढ़े-लिखे में ही होती है ऐसी बात नहीं है, अक्ल और बुद्धि का भाषा के साथ भी कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। अक्ल अंग्रेजी पढ़ों में ही होती है यह भ्रम है। पढ़े-लिखे ज्यादा अक्लवान और बुद्धिमान होते हैं, यह बात भी नहीं है। आप ने देखा होगा कि हमारे देश में पहले संस्कृत चलती थी परन्तु वह चली नहीं। बाद में जो भक्ति-भाव पैदा हुआ, जो शक्ति पैदा हुई, वह इस वजह से हुई कि उसे जमाने में हमारे साधु महात्मा—जैसे तुलसीदास, सूरदास, जानदेव और तुकाराम आदि ने धर्म-ज्ञान जनता की भाषा में लिखा और गाया और भक्ति-भाव घर-घर पहुंचाया। अगर वह लोक-भाषा को नहीं अपनाते तो वे कभी इतने लोकप्रिय नहीं हो सकते। वह लोक-भाषा की जीत थी।

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I almost entirely agree with the speech of the hon. Minister, Mr. Datar, which he made while moving this motion. I also congratulate the House on keeping the debate at a level which will go a long way in maintaining the atmosphere outside the House for really building up a solid foundation for Hindi, to preserve and maintain the unity of India. Some of the hon. Members who have spoken before me have emphasised one or the other aspect of the recommendations of the Committee. On the whole, the Committee has produced a unanimous report. I say unanimous, excepting one note of dissent which was given by Mr. Anthony and which lie has subsequently withdrawn. The



note;- of dissent written by the other Members are not against the finding of the Committee. I may point out in this connection Shri Thakur Dai Bhargava's words, with which he commenced his note. He says:

"The perusal of this note would establish that this note is not in the nature of a note of dissent but is in rhythm with the general recommendations of the Report of the Parliamentary Committee and their basic approach towards the question at issue."

And then he says:

"The country has good reason to rejoice that the Parliamentary Committee's approach is united and there is no difference of opinion in regard to the basic approach as contained in Chapter II of the report which expresses the unanimous point of view of all the members of the Committee and the report rightly observes—

'after considering all aspects of the problem the Committee is of the definite opinion that adherence to the settlement (as given in this Chapter) is the only safe and practicable course to adopt.'"

So far as the adoption of Hindi as the official language is concerned, there is no difference of opinion and we must be grateful to Pantji for his able leadership, by which he had brought all these divergent points of view on the different issues raised, to unanimity. The country will realise more and more the importance of the great work which Pantji has done as Chairman of this Committee and also of the statement made by our Prime Minister. Let us not deny one thing, that there was misunderstanding, there was confusion, there was some suspicion all over the country among many important people, in the minds of representative leaders of the country. Panditji's statement, once and for all, has removed all those doubts and misgivings, etc.

Now, Sir, there is one point. My hon. friend, Prof. Dinkarji, while speaking, emphasised one point. That is, in order to give some impetus for spreading Hindi education, not only for Hindi but also for all the fourteen languages of India, there should be an academy of fourteen languages to be located at Hyderabad. I welcome that suggestion. The gist of the speech made by Shri Avinashi-lingam Chettiar is that along with Hindi, the other regional languages, which are also our national languages, should also be attended to in the same spirit, with the same objective in our minds, so that the development of the regional languages will work to bring us together and cement whatever differences there are between the different linguistic groups, and ultimately lay a strong and solid foundation for Indian unity.

Then, Sir, the hon. Member, Sardar

Panikkar—and some other Members also—suggested that we should be very cautious in introducing Hindi in the High Courts and also in the Supreme Court. Before we can introduce Hindi, we must first of all compile or collect words which will be in common use in all the different States of India, so that at some time we can introduce Hindi, step by step in the Supreme Court as well as in the High Courts.

Then, Sir, there is another point. Sometimes we confuse the issue by bringing in the question of the services. That confuses the whole issue. To my mind when we were in the Constituent Assembly and when practically, all of us supported Hindi being made the official language of India, what we had in our mind at that time was really to consolidate, to build up a strong, united India. That was the main thing. At that time it was not in our mind as to what percentage of the services will go to this or that State. My friend, Shri Deo-kinandanji read out something from Mahatma Gandhi's statement made few days before his death that he expected that along with our independence and freedom English should

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.]

disappear from our country. But he forgets one thing. I know, and probably he also knows, that Mahatma Gandhi who used to say "I want to live for 125 years", some time before his death, six months or a year before his death, used to say "I do not want to live any more". Why? Because he found us wanting in some respects. When he made that statement, it was based on some expectation that we will behave in a certain manner. But if we remember his prayer speeches, we could understand how much he was disappointed. Could anyone imagine that a man like Mahatma Gandhi would be shot down by an Indian? So, that is the other side of the picture. We must also take into consideration the feelings of our own people, their backwardness and their drawbacks.

In this connection may I say one word about Prof. Dinkarji's one remark? He said that he was dissatisfied with the working of our Government and specially of the Education Ministry, and as a matter of fact he accused them, maybe not very directly, but the accusation was there. He charged the Education Ministry of creating a conflict where there was none. I say that if the Education Ministry had called in Professor^ of Hindi and then Professors of English just to And out what these educated people were thinking, they had acted wisely in my opinion. If they had rushed it through, if they had hurried it up, our Government and the Education Ministry, in my opinion, would have done much harm to Hindi. Instead they have really helped. Tod»» you find that practically in the wool\* House, in the Committee and al«\* outside, there is no such agi'ation »» there was before, because they h«v« taken time to take the people of different groups into their confidence and to educate them as to what exact. ly they aim at and to remove many of these suspicions lurking in their mind about the domination of one language group wv another. All

these things take time. If we hurry up, if we want to rush through, then antagonism is created. We have seen at the time of the States Reorganisation Commission that Congressmen, Congress leaders themselves, behaved\* in such a way as if they were never in the Congress before.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: Without doing anything?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I am coming to your point. I sympathise with one suggestion which you and many other friends-have thrown out in this House. But, our attitude should not be an anti-English attitude. We should also remember, at least we should try to recognise another fact. Many Indians have made contributions in English by which the-Indian people are known today to the outside world much better than they used to be known before. Take, for instance, Sri Aurobindo's books. The English people themselves admit that he has enriched the English language and literature. They are not like ourselves. As Acharya Kripalani said in the other House, we speak English ...

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: No piece from the books of Saroj inf Naidu has been included in any anthology published in England and she is not accepted there as a poet.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: May not be today, but I am expecting .. .

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: Nobody would be accepted.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: It is not that nobody would be accepted. The whole world have accepted them.. We have been better known to the outside world through their writings. We should not forget that.

Now, Sir, I am coming to the point which is this. The regional languages should be developed to replace English in their sphere, which is an

urgent necessity, so that the people can express themselves in their mother-tongue, can carry on their administration and other things in their mother-tongue. This atmosphere should be created as quickly as possible. The most urgent need is to look to the States. Let the States first of all take up their regional languages to replace English as far as possible and as fast as possible. Here I entirely agree with the suggestion that some academy not only for Hindi but for all the fourteen languages be created and we work on that. In the meantime let the recommendation of the Committee be agreed to by the House and let us work on it.

Sir, if you will allow me two or three minutes, I will conclude. There is one aspect on which I am stressing so much, and that is the unity of the Indian people. There is one aspect of the Indian people's background which is unique. All over the world you will not find any other human group, human civilisation, which has lived a continuous life for five thousand or seven thousand years. Indians are the only people in the whole world who can claim and say "we started our life five thousand or seven thousand years ago from Mohenjo-daro", and who can still say that the same is continuing. There is no other human group like us. We may not be so conscious, we may not be so aware of that unique feature of the Indian people all the time. But it is ingrained in the blood of our Indian people. Otherwise there would not have been this unity of the Indian people in the midst of so many conflicting and divergent things. Therefore, if we have faith in that unity of the Indian people which they have preserved for thousands and thousands of years, which no external or internal force can break up or split up, if we have that faith, then we can be sure that this Hindi as the official language of the Union will also be on a solid foundation and it will maintain itself.

with these words, Sir, I express my support to the motion.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I have a question to ask of my friend. I want to know if in Bengal the work of the Government and the Assembly is carried on in Bengali or English,

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: English mostly, and some people also speak in Bengali.

5 P.M.

That is why I say that in every State let us put our heads together—not only here, but in other spheres also—and emphasise the need for developing these regional languages and replacing English as quickly as possible. That is my point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I hope the House is willing to sit till 6 o'clock.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

#### **ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING BUSINESS FOR THURSDAY, THE 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1959**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, I have to make an announcement that on Thursday, the 10th September, 1959, the House will meet at 10-00 a.m. instead of at 11-00 a.m. The Question-Hour on that day will be from 10-00 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. The House will discuss the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities from 11-00 a.m. to 2-00 p.m. The discussion on the present relations between India and China will be from 2-30 p.m. to 5-36 p.m. on Thursday.

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#### **THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE—continued.**

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-  
GIYA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir,