

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**

**(i) and (ii) REPORT (1953) AND FINAL REPORT OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION ON THE TITANIUM DIOXIDE INDUSTRY**

**(iii) GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION NO. 8(10)-T.B./52, DATED 9TH DECEMBER 1953.**

THE MINISTER FOR COMMERCE (SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers under sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951:—

(i) Report (1953) of the Tariff Commission on the Titanium Dioxide Industry (incorporating Corrigendum and Revised Appendix IV).

(ii) Final Report (Letter No. TC/ID/E/89, dated the 12th November 1953) of the Tariff Commission on the Titanium Dioxide Industry, attached to the first Report cited at (i) above.

(iii) Government Resolution No. 8(10)-T.B./52, dated the 9th December 1953.

[Placed in the Library, *see* No. S-201/53 for items (i), (ii) and (iii).]

**STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN ON ASSURANCES, PROMISES AND UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN DURING THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL.**

THE MINISTER FOR PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on the various assurances, promises and undertakings given during the sessions shown against each:—

(i) Statement No. VII—Second Session, 1952, of the Council of States. [*See* Appendix VI, Annexure No. 82.]

(ii) Supplementary Statement No. VI—Third Session, 1953, of the Council of States. [*See* Appendix VI, Annexure No. 83.]

(iii) Supplementary Statement No. I—Fourth Session, 1953, of the Council of States. [*See* Appendix VI, Annexure No. 84.]

**RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CONDITIONS OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES—*continued***

MR. CHAIRMAN: We proceed to Mr. Rama Rao's Resolution moved on 27th November 1953. Mr. Mahanty.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, I rise to lend my conditional support to the Resolution. It will, I think, be helpful if I let the House know my condition before I proceed further. My condition is the deletion of all the clauses and subclauses excluding sub-clause (iv) of clause (2).

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA) : Sir, the hon. Member is not audible.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: What this Resolution suggests is the setting up of a Commission and its terms of reference; preparation of standard dictionaries of words, phrases, idioms, proverbs and usages incorporating therein such words, phrases, etc. from Indian and foreign languages as may be found useful; then, the preparation of books of quotations; preparation of authoritative books on grammar and rhetoric; and preparation of school text-books and basic vocabulary books.—

MR. CHAIRMAN: When you put questions you speak loud, but when you make a speech you speak low. Come forward and speak by the side of your leader.

(*Shri S. Mahanty came forward accordingly.*)

SHRI S. MAHANTY: The Commission will also be required to report on simpler methods of teaching classical and Indian languages; study of

[Shri S. Mahanty.] the comparative philology of the Indian languages; reform of the scripts; a fresh linguistic survey of India; and methods of co-ordinating the efforts for the improvement of the Indian languages. Sir, my only comment on this Resolution would be "If wishes were horses, even beggar would ride."

Now, coming to the merits of the Resolution, what is the intention behind this? The hon. the mover of the Resolution wants the extensive development of the Indian and the various provincial languages on modern lines. But, it should be borne in mind that a language is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end, the «nd being expression of one's thoughts, through the development of literature. As the House knows, the development of language and literature cannot be made to order. A language develops as its literature develops; our vocabulary is made richer as our literature develops, and the literature develops as the society develops and as its mental horizon develops. The development of literature, therefore, is inevitably linked up with the development of the society. Therefore, the passing of such resolutions is neither going to help the development of language nor literature. While millions of our countrymen are just dying of hunger and withering away in starvation, while unemployment is raging in the land and is at its peak, it is idle and futile to expect that language and literature will develop under the aegis of the Government. Sir, I would also go further and oppose this Resolution. My friend, the hon. the mover of this Resolution, must have known that it took 30 years for Sir George Abraham Grierson to conduct the linguistic survey of India. He started in the late nineties of the 19th century and completed his work in the late twenties of the 20th century. So it took 30 years for a single man to conduct the linguistic survey of India. Now it will take a century for any committee constituted of mor-

tal human beings to cover all these terms of reference.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Andhra):  
Please read the language.

SHRI S. MAHANTY; My friend, Sir, would further remember that when Sir George Abraham Grierson took up that task, he had excluded Madras and Hyderabad from his survey because it was simply impossible for a single human being to conduct all these researches. My friend would also like to be reminded that one of the leading spokesmen of the party to which he belongs, in the year 1948, in an University Convocation Address, said, "My only culture is agriculture." So with that cultural tradition, with that equipment, with that appreciation of the cultural values of India, my friend seriously believes that all these objects will be attained by the party in power. Therefore, Sir, as I have said, if wishes were horses, even beggar would ride.

Now, Sir, as regards the other items, they are very desirable objectives no doubt. But we are going to have our linguistic States. And most of the universities are linguistic universities. I, therefore, suggest that this task should better be left to them. I am in fact against the idea of setting up a Commission because it will mean importing a few more experts under Point Four. Ford Foundation or U.S. Foundation, and they will have another merry-go-round in India not excluding Jammu and Kashmir. And then some questions will be asked as to what the Commission has been doing and my hon. friend Mr. Malaviya will be cursing us all the while. The report will never be published and good money will be wasted over this Commission but nothing will come out in the end. Sir, when Sir George Abraham Grierson took up this task, he did not depend very much on the spoon-feeding of Government. Of course, the Government gave all the help to him. Similarly, I would like very much if such scholars were to come forward and I am sure

the Government would never hesitate to render them all possible help. This is a very difficult task and is beyond the capacity of any Government and no Government can do it unless proper men are there to execute the job.

And then, Sir, there is another suggestion that there should be preparation of authoritative books on grammar and rhetoric. I quite agree that we should have authoritative books on grammar and rhetoric. But, Sir, literature does not depend on grammar; grammar follows literature. We must have that spirit. Where is that spirit? We must have that freshness and vitality of mind and that iconoclastic attitude. Where is that? A country which is now nourished on blind faith and hero-worship cannot have that freshness and that vitality. It lacks that creative spirit. Thus the Resolution may be of considerable academic value, but it is definitely not going to render anything concrete.

SHRI ABDUL RAZAK (Travancore-Cochin): What, according to the hon. Member is the function of grammar in literature?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us not get into discussion on grammar and literature.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: The function of grammar is .....

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no. You follow the argument.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Sir, as I have said earlier, I support with all my emphasis the hon. Member's suggestion for setting up a Commission which will conduct a fresh linguistic survey of India. And I would have liked very much if he had just given the terms of reference for that linguistic survey. As I have said, Sir, the work of linguistic survey is a monumental work, a stupendous work. The man who has spent 30 years of his life on this work has

given a new span of life to two literatures, viz., Assamese and Oriya. Probably in those days anthropological research did not advance to that extent which would have given a language to those tribal people, who lived in a linguistic no-man's land. Sir, I will invite your attention.....

(Time bell rings.)

I will just finish, Sir, in three or four minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You took five or six minutes that day also.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Yes, Sir. I will finish in two minutes. I was saying that we must, since we have become free, since we have accepted the principle that everyone should be allowed to develop in his own way, according to his own genius, according to his own tradition, give a language to those, who are today living in a linguistic no-man's land and do not find an opportunity to develop in their own way.

Sir, I will invite your attention to the Munda branch. Thanks to the present party in power; we have got no clear idea as to the tribal population of India. So I rely on the 1921 census. According to that census the Munda branch had 20 languages and dialects and the total Munda-speaking population was 39,73,873. Are we going to give them a language or not? They have got no script. So they can never be expected to develop or expand themselves if an alien language is imposed on them. Therefore, Sir, what I would like to suggest is that such tribal dialects should be rationalised. We should give them a script and a language.

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, I will just conclude. Therefore, Sir, I give my support to my hon. friend's suggestion for conducting a linguistic survey of India, which will give a new life to those unhappy millions who are living in a cultural no-man's land.

DR. P. V. KANE (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution. When this Resolution was moved a fortnight ago, I intended only to vote in its favour but not to speak.

I was a fresh Member at that time having been sworn only the day previous. Since that time I have been listening and learning in order to acquaint myself to the atmosphere of this body. And I feel now that I may have to make some contribution, however humble, to the debate on this important question.

There appears to be some misunderstanding about the scope of the Resolution. All that the Resolution wants is a Commission with certain instructions on two points. The first is that the Commission is to be instructed to conduct an enquiry into five matters.

2 P.M.

And secondly it is to report on five other matters. It may report that no fresh enquiry or linguistic survey may be undertaken or it may report that a linguistic survey should be undertaken. I don't think that any condition is being imposed upon the Commission, and this is a very important matter.

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): The whole terms of reference are given here.

DR. P. V. KANE: We have got a Constitution and in that Constitution, article 351 calls upon the Government to develop Hindi, and the principles are laid down later on in the article. Therefore, this is a very important matter. I am not familiar with what Government has done, but so far as I can see, nothing has been done by Government to implement the very reasonable and noble sentiments about the national language put down in article 351 of the Constitution of India. We have decided that Hindi of a particular kind shall be the national language of the country. Again, some hon. Member said that Hindi,

which is a regional language, is going to be the national language, but that is not at all correct. In the Eighth Schedule, Hindi is given as a regional language which is different from Urdu which is at No. 14 in the Schedule. In article 351, Government is asked "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". Therefore, under article 351 and the Schedule, Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu are different, and the Hindi which is a regional language is not supposed to be the official language of the whole of India. That is not the idea. I may perhaps here read article 351 of the Constitution, as Members may not have the Constitution just now in their hands. The article says:

"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 the 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."

All these are to be done, *viz.*, in order to make it serve as a medium of expression, you have to assimilate it with the forms, genius, style and expressions of Hindustani, and secondly, wherever necessary or desirable, you have to take words primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages. This will be the official Hindi, and if any hon. Member thinks that the Hindi which is used as a regional language is intended to be the

official language of the country, I submit with great respect that that is not correct. While on this point, I do not know whether another relevant matter has come to the notice of the Central Government but I think it has. I had the honour of presiding over a certain *Bhasha Vikas Parishad* in Poona in May last. There about a thousand people had gathered from all parts of India and three different sections functioned in that *Parishad*. One was about the technical terms to be employed in the national and regional languages. This section was presided over by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Section B on the development of the official language of the Union of India was presided over by Shri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. Section C on the development of regional languages was presided over by Dr. Raghu Vira, who is well known to all of us. They arrived at certain conclusions, which were unanimous conclusions not only in the smaller bodies but were also adopted unanimously in **the larger** plenary body. I do not want to take more time, but I shall read only the conclusions which, I think, should be considered by the Commission if it is appointed. I shall read only the conclusions. They are very few but they are all embracing. As regards building a vocabulary of technical terms, the recommendations of this section, in which there were hundreds of professors and teachers barring myself who am a man of affairs, were:

"All technical terms for all sciences should be drawn as far as possible from Sanskrit sources.

All inter-national symbols, signs and formulas should be retained for use as they are in use at present.

International scientific terms and expressions should be retained if suitable Indian equivalent cannot be framed.

Scientific and technical terms should be uniform throughout the Union as far as possible."

These were the four recommendations made by that particular section of that conference.

Here I may draw your attention to one or two matters, which are not on paper here. You should remember that we should not be ashamed of borrowing foreign terms and expressions. We are proud of our heritage and tradition but our tradition has been for at least 2,500 years and more to borrow foreign words wherever necessary. I may give an example from very ancient literature in the *Purva Mimamsa* which was written after the Vedic times, at least in 300 or 400 years B.C. There is a special topic about *Mleccha* words and there it is expressly stated that the borrowed *Mleccha* words should be used in the sense in which the *Mleccha* people used them,  $fa^{\wedge}$  (*Pik*) for cuckoo;  $^{\wedge}fTT^{\wedge}T$  (*tamras*) for lotus;

•PT (*netn*) for half; 3RT (*feat*) for vessel; these four words are mentioned as being *Mleccha* words and it is said they should be used by all people in the sense in which the *Mleccha* people used them. This is given in the *Purva Mimamsa* which is regarded as a very ancient and orthodox system of Vedic interpretation. Most people are interested these days in astrology. In our ancient astrology many foreign words were given along with the original Sanskrit words. I shall give you two or three examples, as I do not want to trouble you with too many examples. Take the *Rashis*—*Mesha*, *Vrishabha*, *Mithuna*, etc. For *ifa* (*Mesha*) they put  $f\acute{m}$  (*Kriya*); for  $f<TT$  (*Vrishabha*)  $37^{\wedge}f\backslash$  (*Tavuri*); for  $qfe^{\wedge}$  (*Vrishchik*) they put  $^{\wedge}WT$  (*Kaurpya*) from which we get the English word 'scorpion'. At least some hundred words were taken. So, we have never been ashamed of taking words from other countries and languages if they were useful and helpful. Other countries also have done the same. The decimal system, the zero, etc. are all Indian inventions. The Arabic numer-

[Dr. P. V. Kane.] als are our numerals. The Arabs took them from us and transmitted them to the West. From England we got them and called them Arabic numerals. In fact, the Arabic numerals are our own numerals. I don't want to enlarge on them. Take the other recommendations about the development of Hindi, the official language of the Union. There are three recommendations there reading as follows:

"(1) One of the existing obstacles to a ready spread of the official language of the Union is the apprehension that it will encroach on the sphere of regional languages. It should, therefore, be made clear that the regional languages should, each in its area, be the language in which all the affairs of the area are conducted and all instruction is imparted.

(2) Hindi having been chosen as the official language of the Union, the States in which the other languages of the country are spoken should take steps to spread a knowledge of the official language of the Union among their populations.

(3) The development of the official language of the Union, in accordance with the directives of the Constitution, is the common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages. This Conference calls upon the universities, language and literary associations, academic institutions and State Governments to take up immediately the study of concrete action on lines indicated by section 351 of the Constitution. It is hoped and expected that the official language of the Union that will develop as a result of these efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock and, therefore, will be easily and naturally acceptable to those whose mother tongue is Hindi."

That was about the development of the official language of the Union. And lastly, the third section dealing

with this, over which Dr. Raghu Vira presided, recommended as follows:

*"Methods of increasing knowledge of regional languages in India: —*

(a) that the regional language or the mother tongue be the first language of our school-going children.

(b) that provision be made for the teaching of Hindi at secondary schools.

(c) that provision be made, where ever possible, for the teaching of another Indian language at secondary schools,"

So, you will see that three languages are required at least from the secondary school stage, viz., vernacular or the regional language, Hindi and a second Indian language:

"(d) that advanced courses and research in Indian languages and literatures be instituted at all our universities,

(e) that bureaux for translation of literary and scientific works from one Indian language into another be instituted at State Education Ministries, universities and language societies,

(f) that as the first step, grammars, conversation books and bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages be prepared,

(g) that every regional language should have one (all literatures) magazine, in which the users of that language should find information about currents in other Indian literatures,

(h) that the Central and State Governments should establish Indian Language Teachers Training Centres to serve the needs of schools,

(i) that the Central and State Governments should institute prizes,

scholarships, grants and funds to encourage writers, societies and universities to take up and accomplish the items detailed above."

Some fear has been expressed that so many subjects are to be taught. Already we had a Script Conference and as I find a Resolution about basic education on the Table, so I am not taking more time of the House.

I submit that this Resolution should not be opposed because it calls only for the appointment of a Commission with certain instructions as regards reporting in certain directions and making some enquiries.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have got here 10 speakers who have given their names. We have to close it at least at 4 o' clock. So we cannot have more than 10 minutes for each speaker. Therefore, I hope you will cooperate and see that the next Resolution is reached by having this discussion terminated by 4 o' clock. Mr. Chaturvedi.

SHRI K. RAMA RAO: Sir, as you have decided that each Member will have only 10 minutes, let us hear representatives of the various languages on the Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am asking Mr. Chaturvedi.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, I have moved my amendment.

SHRI B. D. CHATURVEDI (Vindhya Pradesh):

**श्री बी० डी० चतुर्वेदी (विन्ध्य प्रदेश) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे इस विषय के प्रति स्वभावतः रुचि है। मैं श्रीयुत रामाराव जी को हृदय से बधाई देता हूँ कि वे इस रेगिस्तान में कभी कभी नखलिस्तान की हवा ले आते हैं। लेकिन मुझे इस बात की आशंका है कि पिछले प्रस्तावों की तरह वे इस प्रस्ताव को भी वापस न ले लें। तब हम लोगों का काम एक नाटक जैसा हो जाता है।

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDI (Orissa):

**श्री एस० एन० द्विवेदी (उड़ीसा) :**  
कांग्रेस (Congress) वाले ऐसा ही करते हैं।

SHRI B. D. CHATURVEDI:

**श्री बी० डी० चतुर्वेदी :** मैं इस विषय में कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ लेकिन यह चीज हमारे लिए गौरव जनक कदापि नहीं है। जो भाषण इस सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में हुए हैं, उन्हें मंन मुना है और मुझे को ऐसा प्रतीत होता है (Government) केन्द्र की चीज पर न आकर बीटिंग एनाउट दी बुश (Beating about the bush) की तरह हो जाता है। सा (linguistic survey) का है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट और हमारा शिक्षा विभाग आगे बढ़ेगा या न बढ़ेगा। बजाय इसके कि हम लोग यहाँ पर लिग्विस्टिक सर्वे करें, और इस तरह के प्रस्ताव रखें, क्या यह आवश्यक न होगा कि यहाँ के और दूसरे सदन के खास खास साहित्यिक हमारी सरकार के पास जावें, शिक्षा विभाग के मंत्री के पास जावें और ये बातें उनकी सेवा में निवेदन करें। यहाँ पर योग्य योग्य साहित्यिक विद्यमान है। हमारे राष्ट्रकवि मैथिलीशरण गुप्त, जिनका स्थान हमारे राष्ट्र में सबसे ऊँचा है श्री कालीदास नाग तथा श्री काने जैसे साहित्यिक व्यक्ति और दूसरे भाषाओं के विद्वान भी हैं। क्या इन लोगों में इतना साहस नहीं है, इतनी कल्पना शक्ति नहीं है कि वे शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय के पास जावें और कहें कि आपकी उदासीनता के कारण, आपकी कर्तव्यहीनता के कारण, देश में बहुत ही विरोधी वातावरण पैदा हो गया है।

सच बात तो यह है कि हमारे शिक्षा विभाग में, जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, हिन्दी का कोई भी अच्छा जानकार नहीं है। जो महाशय

[Shri B. D. Chaturvedi.]

हैं भी, वे इसकी गति को नहीं जानते हैं। यहां पर यह भी मैं कह दूँ कि इस विषय में शायद एक नवीन योजना हमारी सरकार लाने वाली है लेकिन उसने अभी तक कुछ नहीं किया है। मैंने मुना है कि हमारे यहां एक साहित्यिक एकाडमी (Academy) कायम हो रही है, जिसके अध्यक्ष हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय होंगे। ऐसी हालत में यह अधिक अच्छा होगा कि हमारे रामा राव जी इस सवाल को उस साहित्यिक एकाडमी, जो कि कायम होने वाली है, के सामने रखते। यह सब छोटी छोटी चीजें हैं, ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हम वृक्षों के पत्तों को पानी दे रहे हैं और उसकी जड़ को नहीं। टेक्स्ट बुक कमिटी / Text-book Committee ) के बारे में सवाल उठाया गया है। जहां तक हिन्दी टेक्स्ट बुक का सम्बन्ध है, इस विषय में करीब ३० वर्षों से इस देश के अन्दर चोरबाजारी चल रही है और यह विचार और विश्वास होता जा रहा है कि जब तक इस देश के अन्दर कम्युनिज्म (Communism) नहीं आता तब तक यह चीज, जो चोर बाजारी के रूप में सारे देश में फैली हुई है, दूर नहीं हो सकती है। इन बातों का पूरा पूरा विवरण तैयार करने की जरूरत है। इस विषय में हम एक डेपूटेशन (deputation) गवर्नमेंट के पास ले चलें और उनके सामने इन सब सम्बन्धित बातों को विस्तारपूर्वक रखें। जब तक यह नहीं किया जाता, तब तक यह छोटी छोटी बातें मेरी समझ में बिल्कुल व्यर्थ हैं।

[For English translation, see Appendix VI, Annexure No. 85.]

DR. KALIDAS NAG (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, I also give conditional support to the point of view of the mover of this Resolution, Shri Rama Rao, for I think that he is sincerely

trying to initiate a new line of action. I say it is not so much a matter of setting afoot an official Commission as of getting a sort of a moral, spiritual and administrative commitment of our national Government. I shall discuss it from that point of view. We have had commissions and commissions for decades and decades without coming to any definite action. The point, which has been raised by my esteemed friend, is to apply our attention to the different regional zones of Indian culture and at the same time to synthesise the soul of India expressing itself through language and literature which necessitate the preparation of a simple comparative grammar and at the same time of a popular dictionary which will serve as the symbol of the unity in the soul of India. As it was pointed out by my young friend, Shri Surendra Mahanty, we are not conscious of one vast department of literature, which is the unwritten literature of our tribal folks. Surveying the Pacific Basin I discovered when working in the University of Hawaii that a Judge of the American Supreme Court, in the interval of his manifold activities, his very onerous duties in the Court compiled a book called the "The Unwritten Literature of Hawaii." That represents the line of research in the domain of literature that is fast disappearing here in India, as elsewhere. How to preserve the relics of such literatures and languages is the main question. But through our inattention and neglect the same damage is being done to many important languages of our great sub-continent of India, and as a historian I would like to be more positive and would appeal to the nation and to our Government that a linguistic and cultural pyramid be built on the solid foundation of the speeches and thoughts of the common man. And if we count the millions of our tribals and other depressed classes that neglected section of the common man's number is not negligible. I tell you, the number will come to some 50 millions. First of all I would go, therefore, to the unwritten



literature of the primitive folks of South India—to the Nagritos, Froto-Australoids and other Dre-Dravidian languages of India. It is not at all a conjectural term that I am using. Prof. Sylvian Levy, one of the most runent orientalist and linguisticians of our age, said that India was the homeland of some of the earliest languages of the world. Therefore, the primitive pre-Dravidian languages together with the developed Dravidian groups should be studied not merely on the plane of refined literature only, but also on the plane of human articulation. It is surprising that these problems have been studied by western linguisticians and no opportunity has been given by our Government, to our scholars and social workers among the Todas, the Bhils, the Santhals. etc. here. I pass, therefore, from Shri Rama Rao's appeal for a theoretical Commission to the national demand for definite financial commitments of the Education Ministries of the States and of our Central Government to this vital branch of national planning. May we take a definite course of action, supported by you, Sir, our Philosopher Chairman! You, Sir, with a little Government help of course, have brought out the History of Indian Philosophy. Why could we not have something like that—a veritable history of the languages of the common man in India? It will not simply duplicate but amplify the Linguistic Survey of India by Sir George Grierson. I am concerned with giving full expression to the soul of the nation, from the crudest to the highest. Many of our languages have been sadly neglected. They have been studied, transcribed and partly transliterated only by the foreign experts and missionaries. My friend referred to the *Mundas*. But what about the Oraons, the *Kharias*, the *Savaras*, etc. running to millions? What about the bewildering varieties of the tribal languages of Assam and of Orissa? These languages have no script—and so were partly romanised, but they are languages all the same. The plan of the linguistic survey was to transcribe in

these languages with the Biblical passages mainly. I would try to do the same thing, not from the Biblical passages but from our national classics—the *Gita* for example. I will have passages from the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Panchatantra*, the *Kural*, etc. and get them transcribed and translated in all these languages, written and unwritten. Then you will find at once that there is a novel approach and a different pattern. I will take for example Gandhiji's and Tagore's sermons and prayers and try to have them transcribed in the Devanagari or the Roman script. I agree with my hon. friend Shri Benarsidas Chaturvedi that the major script that has to be used should be Devanagari, the national Indian script. Therefore, while major part of our linguistic survey would be written in the Nagari script, the tribal and other unwritten languages may be partly romanised at the same time. That may seem revolutionary, but I may tell you that such difficult problems were faced by the great revolutionary leader Ata Turk and modern Turkey has successfully solved that problem by using the international phonetic script (Roman). When I was in Ankara and Istanbul, I found Turkish scholars easily translating Tagore, Anatole France and others and transcribing the Anatolian folk literature, all in the Roman script.

My next point is to have a model language handbook, and a sort of a cultural dictionary, not certainly of the type of Chambers Dictionary. Such a handbook-cum-dictionary should be compiled so as to be suited for the multi-lingual people in our multiracial sub-continent. With this humanistic basis and with that historical foundation, I would appeal for the publication of a national dictionary of Indian languages and literatures. Such a book should be made easily available and should be kept on the table of every village-schoolmaster. It should be in our rural libraries and in every school and college of India. With the patronage of the Ministry of Education you can print such books

[Dr. Kalidas Nag.] cheaply for the benefit of the common man. With such a dictionary we may also incorporate the dying and decaying words, phrases and idioms of the common people of India. Such a pattern has been already worked out and printed with popular illustrations by the famous French educational publisher—M. Larousse. Their smaller dictionary *Petit Larousse* is sold in France and abroad costing only about one pound sterling. So with Government subsidy, we may in India also price it at Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a copy. It should print in Devanagari the basic words from the Aryan, the Dravidian and all the important languages with a literature or with no literature. We should also give the phonetic pronunciation in the Roman script and the English equivalents to foster world circulation of our Indian languages. We should have, as our learned Chairman has recommended in the National Script Conference at Lucknow, what may be called the romanised Devanagari script. We should include the pre-Dravidian and the Dravidian, and the pre-Aryan and the Aryan tongues, and also many other languages flowing into the main current of our history—like the Persian, the Arabic, the Turkish and other languages of Western Asia—not forgetting those of Eastern Asia—the Tibeto-Burman and the Sino-Tibetan languages also. These languages come from our western as well as the eastern frontiers. And there are the languages and loan words from across the Indian ocean—the Indo-Polynesian and the Indo-Malayan languages. Our Indian Ocean is a veritable ocean of languages. We have not yet touched the fringe of such a vast problem.

Let this House, under the illustrious lead and guidance of our Chairman, who has given us. The Philosophy of India, strive to give a similar volume on the Indian languages and literatures. Let them undertake this linguistic work, with *Mahamahopadhyaya* Kane from the Aryan Sanskrit

side, some other scholars from the Dravidian, the Semetic, the Austric and even the tribal languages. Even the humblest of our tribal folks have their special vocabulary and their own idioms. If we undertake to do that, then Assam and Orissa will be rich fields of research. Then in that far-off forest zones of Kerala, the half-forgotten types of the Negritos or Indo-African tribes have been identified by my friend. Dr. B. S. Guha of the Anthropological Survey of India. Thus through the foundation of language and literature we may reach the deeper foundation of the ideas of man in India, the vocables, the terms and the ideas of the family, the idea of society, the relations of man and woman—all these basic concepts along with the basic ideas of food and nurture of the homestead, the settled clans and the homeless wandering tribes. All these samples of our Indian civilization will come ready at hand from such a national dictionary. It will be a true and abiding symbol of the fundamental unity, that subsists and sublimates, the bewildering diversity of our sub-continent. That is my humble submission in support of the noble Resolution of my friend Shri Rama Rao.

SHRIMATI CHANDRAVATI LAKHANPAL (Uttar Pradesh):

श्रीमती चंद्रावती लखनपाल (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमन्, भाषा का प्रश्न एक नया सा प्रश्न है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद इस देश के सामने अनेक प्रश्न उपस्थित हुए हैं, उन प्रश्नों में भाषा के विकास का भी एक प्रश्न है। श्रीमन्, जब अंग्रेज इस देश में आये थे, तो उन्होंने यह सोचकर कि इस देश के अन्दर अपनी कोई एक भाषा नहीं है, अपनी अंग्रेजी भाषा को यहाँ की राष्ट्रभाषा बनाया अंग्रेजी भाषा अदालतों, दफतरो, स्कूलों और कालेजों की भाषा बनी और एक प्रकार से हमारे जीवन के हर एक पहलू में वह छा गई। अंग्रेजी के राष्ट्रभाषा बनने से एक बड़ा लाभ हुआ और वह लाभ यह हुआ कि इस

विशाल देश के जो भिन्न भिन्न ग्रंथ एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान तक फैले हुए हैं वे एकताके सूत्र में बंध गये। आज अपना देश स्वतंत्र हो गया है; देश के अन्दर एक भाषा नहीं अनेक भाषायें हैं, मगर अब ग्रंथों की राष्ट्र-भाषा के रूप में नहीं रह सकती हैं। अंग्रेजों के जाने के बाद अंग्रेजी को भी जाना पड़ेगा। जो लोग ऐसी आवाज उठाने हैं कि अंग्रेजी को अब भी उसी प्रकार इस देश के अन्दर रखना चाहिये, जिस तरह से वह अब तक बनी आई है, उनकी आवाजें एक प्रकार से मैं कहूँगी, अरण्य रोदन के समान हैं।

अभी तो एक प्रकार से यह भाषा का प्रश्न निश्चित सा हो गया है और इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी निश्चित हो गई है। हिन्दी को अंग्रेजी का पूर्णतया उसी तरह से स्थान देना चाहिये, जिस तरह से अभी तक अंग्रेजी को हमारे स्कूलों, दफ्तरो, प्रांतों और केंद्र में स्थान प्राप्त था। इस प्रश्न पर भी हमको कुछ विचार करना है। आज देश के अन्दर एक विचारधारा है, जिसके अनुसार हिन्दी को पूर्णतया अंग्रेजी का स्थान ले लेना चाहिये अर्थात् प्रांतों और केंद्र के अन्दर अंग्रेजी की तरह हिन्दी को दफ्तरो की भाषा, अदालतों की भाषा और स्कूल और कालेजों की भाषा होना चाहिये। इन लोगों का यह भी कहना है कि जब तक हिन्दी ठीक उसी प्रकार अंग्रेजी के समान अपना स्थान नहीं ले लेती तब तक हिन्दी देश की राष्ट्रभाषा नहीं बन सकती है। इन लोगों का कहना है कि अंग्रेजी भाषा में एक यूनीफाइंग फोर्स (unifying force) है और इस देश के भिन्न भिन्न भागों को एक सूत्र में बांधने की शक्ति है। यदि हिन्दी भाषा इस प्रकार राष्ट्रभाषा नहीं बनेगी तो हिन्दी अपने इस उत्तरदायित्व, अर्थात् देश के भिन्न भिन्न भागों को एक सूत्र में बांधने का जो भार उनके ऊपर आ जाता है, उनको पूर्ण-

तया नहीं निभा सकती। शायद उस विचारधारा में कुछ सच्चाई भी है। किन्तु यह विचार धारा आधुनिक युग की भावना तथा एक प्रजातंत्रीय राष्ट्र के आदर्शों के अनुकूल नहीं है। ये विचार हमारे प्रजातंत्रीय आदर्शों के साथ मेल नहीं खाते क्योंकि यह तो स्पष्ट है कि भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतों की जो उछलती-कूदती जीती-जागती भाषायें हैं उनको कूचला नहीं जा सकता। अंग्रेजों की तरह यह स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता। उनको पनपने और विकसित होने के लिए पर्याप्त अवसर देना पड़ेगा। किन्तु यह भी ठीक है, श्रीमन्, कि यदि प्रांतीय भाषायें अपने अपने ढंग से विकसित होती रहें, यदि हर एक भाषा ने अपनी अपनी ढपली बजाई और अपना अपना राग अलापा, तो निश्चित ही देश के अन्दर एक कंफ्यूजन, (confusion), एक कैओस (chaos) पैदा हो जायगा। अगर इस तरह की बातें हुईं तो सन्देह नहीं कि देश की एकता को एक बड़ा भारी आघात पहुंचेगा।

आज हमने एक ऐसी नीति बरतनी है जिसके द्वारा भारत की भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतीय भाषाओं का विकास भी हो, और देश की एकता भी बनी रहे। इसकी विविध भाषायें फलती फूलती रहें और भारत-उद्यान की शोभा को बढ़ाती रहें, वे अपनी अपनी विशेषताओं का भी विकास करती रहें, लेकिन इस देश में भारतीय साहित्यिक और सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं का जो अमूल्य भण्डार है, उसको भी साथ ही साथ समृद्धिशाली बनायें। इस अभीष्ट सिद्धान्त को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये, श्रीमन्, एक निश्चित पालिसी (policy), एक निश्चित नीति होनी चाहिये; एक निश्चित दिशा में एक निश्चित उद्देश्य के साथ कार्य किया जाना आवश्यक है।

जो प्रस्ताव श्री रामाराव जी ने रखा है, वह इसी विचार को सामने रख कर ही रखा

[Shrimati Chandravati Lakhnupal.]

है, इसलिए यह समर्थन का पात्र है। किन्तु भाषा सम्बन्धी नीति निर्धारित करते समय दो मूल सिद्धांतों की ओर अपना ध्यान आकषित करना चाहती हूँ।

मेरा निवेदन है कि भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की तथा हिन्दी भाषा की स्थिति वहाँ के समान है। हिन्दी बड़ी बहन है और दूसरी प्रान्तीय भाषायें छोटी बहनें हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त हिन्दी और प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का क्षेत्र जुदा जुदा है। हिन्दी का क्षेत्र ज्यादा विस्तृत है, इसलिए जो दूसरी भाषायें हैं, जो दूसरी बहनें हैं, उन्हें हिन्दी को जिनगीतगाली बनाने के लिये अपना पूरा सहयोग देना होगा। यही काफी नहीं है कि दूसरे प्रान्त के लोग हिन्दी भाषा को सीखें। उनका यह भी हर्ज हो जाना है कि हिन्दी जब राष्ट्रभाषा बनाई गई है तो उसको अपना पूर्ण सहयोग देकर समृद्धि-शाली बनायें, उसको इतनी सशक्त बनायें कि वह राष्ट्रभाषा के उतरदायित्व को पूर्णतः निभा सके।

इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि जो भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तीय भाषायें हैं, उनके अन्दर भी निकटता का सम्बन्ध और पारस्परिक सद्भावना होनी चाहिये। इसके सम्बन्ध में श्रीयुत काने ने जो बहुत से सुझाव दिये हैं उनके में पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ। सबसे पहली बात यह है कि एक ऐसा बोर्ड (board) स्थापित होना चाहिये, जिसके द्वारा शीघ्र ही भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं की जो सर्वोत्तम और सर्वश्रेष्ठ पुस्तकें हैं उसका अनुवाद एक भाषा से दूसरी भाषा में कराने का प्रयत्न हो सके। जैसे हिन्दी में एक साल के अन्दर १० सर्वश्रेष्ठ पुस्तकें छपती हैं, तो उनका अनुवाद सब प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में हो जाना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार जितनी और भाषायें हैं उनकी एक एक साल में एक एक पुस्तक ले ली जाय और उसका

हिन्दी तथा अन्य भाषाओं में अनुवाद करा दिया जाये, तो समस्त भाषाओं के बीच में एक निकट सम्पर्क स्थापित हो जायेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त श्री काने का जो दूसरा सुझाव वह यह है कि संस्कृत को अनिवार्य विषय के रूप में रखना होगा। आप जानते हैं कि संस्कृत सभी भाषाओं की जननी है और जब तक संस्कृत दूसरी भाषाओं के समीप रहेगी तब तक सब भाषायें एक दूसरे से बिल्कुल नहीं सकतीं, जिस प्रकार कि जब तक माता जिंदा रहती है, तब तक जो पुत्र और पौत्र होते हैं, वे सब एक साथ रहते हैं और उनके अन्दर आम तौर से सदभावना बनी रहती है परन्तु जैसे ही मां को आंख मिचो, भाइयों के अन्दर मनमुटाव हो जाता है। ठीक इसी प्रकार ने यदि सभी भाषायें संस्कृत के साथ बंधी रहेंगी तो आपस में भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं में गठबंधन और सदभावना बनी रहेगी।

तीसरी बात यह है कि इस वक्त सभी भाषायें विकास के मार्ग पर हैं लेकिन किस भाषा की भी टेक्निकल (technical) शब्दावली, पारिभाषिक शब्दावली पूर्ण नहीं है। सभी भाषायें अपने अपने पारिभाषिक शब्द बना रही हैं या बनाने वाली हैं। अभी डा. मुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी ने लैंग्वेज कांफरेंस (Language Conference) के अवसर पर कहा था कि सब भाषाओं की एक ही पारिभाषिक शब्दावली होनी चाहिये और वह पारिभाषिक शब्दावली संस्कृत के आधार पर हो; जितने भी नये शब्द लिये जायें वे सब संस्कृत से लिये जायें। यदि ऐसा हुआ तो सब भाषाओं के बीच में निकट सम्पर्क स्थापित हो जायेगा और भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के बीच में और हिन्दी और प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के बीच में एक निकट सम्पर्क स्थापित हो जायेगा।

अंत में मुझे यह कहना है कि लिपि के सम्बन्ध में अभी लखनऊ में एक कांफरेंस

(Conference) । हुई थी, उसमें भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों के लोग जमा हुये थे और इस प्रश्न पर विचार किया गया था । मैं समझती हूँ कि संभवतः उस कांफरेंस ने कोई ऐसा रास्ता निकाल लिया है जिसमें कि समस्त प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के लिये एक ऐसी लिपि निकाली जा सके, जो सभी भाषायें अखिन्धार कर लें । यदि कांफरेंस की सब बातें मान ली गईं तो निश्चय ही प्रान्तीय भाषायें एक दूसरे के समीप आ जायेंगी और हिन्दी के लिये भी एक लिपि निश्चित हो जायेगी । इससे मुझे आशा है कि देश की एकता को आघात पहुँचने का जो खतरा है, वह बहुत कुछ हट जायेगा ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं श्री रामाराव जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूँ ।

[For English translation, See Appendix VI, Annexure No. 86.1

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ (Madhya Pradesh):

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज (मध्य प्रदेश): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री रामाराव जी ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है, उसका विरोध करता हूँ । इसका कारण यह है कि किसी भी भाषा के विकास, उन्नति तथा रूप रंग को संसार के किसी भी कमीशन (commission) ने कभी नियत नहीं किया है । भाषा कोई मशीन नहीं है, भाषा कोई रेलगाड़ी का इंजन नहीं है, मोटर गाड़ी नहीं है, बाइसिकिल (bicycle) नहीं है कि उसको मोडर्न लाइन्स (modern lines) पर लाने के लिये एक कमीशन मुकर्रर करके उसमें सुधार पैसा कर दिये जायें । मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करूँ कि भाषा अनुष्य और समाज के हजारों वर्षों के प्रयत्न से कमाई हुई उसकी हृदय की भावना, विचार और अभिव्यंजना की शैली के संयोग से पैदा

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हुई और उसका घीरे घीरे विकास हुआ इस तरह से यदि किसी कमीशन के द्वारा भाषा तैयार होती तो बंगाली साहित्य में बंकिम बाबू, डी० एल० राय और गुरुदेव रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाहुर पैदा नहीं होते, बल्कि कमीशन पैदा होते, यदि किसी भाषा का विकास कमीशन के द्वारा हुआ होता तो आज हमारे गुरु कविवर मैथिलीशरण गुप्त यहाँ उपस्थित न होते । साहित्यिक लोगों के समाज की वीणा की अंतरात्मा की प्रकार से और सामाजिक आवश्यकताओं से भाषा का विकास होता है और भाषायें स्वभावतः आज के युग की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिये पैदा हुआ करती हैं । मैं श्री रामाराव जी से पूछूँ कि संसार में जितने साहित्यिक पैदा हुये हैं, जितना साहित्य निर्माण हुआ—हमारे देश में मूर हुये, तुलसी हुये, कबीर हुए, कवि रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाहुर हुये और संसार के दूसरे दूसरे बड़े बड़े साहित्यकार हुये—क्या उनको कमीशनों ने पैदा किया या सरकार ने उन्हें पैदा किया ? नहीं, यह लोग अपने आप पैदा हुये । इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि यह कमीशन की बात छोड़ें । सरकार द्वारा जो कमीशन नियुक्त होगा, अगर प्रस्ताव में उसके बारे में जो योजना रखी गई है उसके अनुसार ऐसे एक हजार कमीशन मुकर्रर किये जायें और वह एक हजार साल तक भी जिंदा रहें तो भी वह किसी निर्णय पर कभी नहीं आ सकेंगे । मैं विश्वास से कहता हूँ, ईमानदारी से कहता हूँ और अंतरात्मा से कहता हूँ कि जो विभिन्न कमीशनों की मांग का है वह न तो किसी राष्ट्र की और न किसी भाषा की भलाई कर सकते हैं ।

हमारे देश में एक जहर फैल रहा है और वह जहर है भाषावार प्रान्तों की जाति और प्रान्त के नाम पर रचना करना । इन्हीं दुर्भावनाओं को

[Shri R. U. Agnibhoj.]

ये भाषाओं के कमीशन उत्तेजित करेंगे, जिससे वह जहर और भी बलपूर्वक फैलेगा। इस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर जहर है, अमृत नहीं। आपको स्मरण होगा कि हमारे (Chief) में ६०० छोटी छोटी रियासतें थीं और उन ६०० रियासतों को नष्ट करने के लिये हमारे देश (Shri R. U. AGNIBHOJ) के तने प्रयत्न किये। मुश्किल से उनका अन्त हुआ है। आप विश्वास रखिये, जब ये लिग्विस्टिक स्टेट्स (Linguistic States) बनाने वाले मित्र और कमीशन नियुक्त (Chief) ने (Minister) उनकी रचना करने के बाद जांच करने जायेंगे तो उस समय भारत वर्ष की लगभग छोटी और बड़ी ६०० भाषाओं के ६०० भाषावार नये राज्य पैदा हो जायेंगे। अपने देश को ६०० भाषाभाषी राज्यों में टुकड़े करने के कलंक की सब विधि, सब सामग्री इसमें मौजूद है। इसलिये मैं इसको कोई संतोषजनक और भला प्रस्ताव नहीं समझता। इसके अंदर वह जहर है, जो कि राष्ट्र को खतरे में डाल देगा।

SHRI M. S. RANA WAT (Rajasthan):

श्री एम० एस० रानावत (राजस्थान) :  
६०० चीफ मिनिस्टर  
(Minister) भी पैदा हो सकते हैं।

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज : जैसे ६०० नये राज्य निर्मित हो सकते हैं वैसे ही ६०० चीफ मिनिस्टर भी हो सकते हैं। तो मैं आपसे अज्ञ कर रहा था कि इस कमीशन को बनाने की भावना को यदि हम प्रोत्साहन देंगे तो यह बहुत खतरनाक सिद्ध होगा। कुछ मित्रों का यह सुझाव है कि चूंकि इस देश में ६०० भाषायें हैं और न मालूम

कितनी लिपियां हैं, इसलिये क्यों न रोमन (Roman) लिपि को ही समस्त भाषाओं के लिये अपना लिया जाय।

SHRI S. MAHANTY: The hon. toe- Education Minister is not here, Sir,

MR. CHAIRMAN: But there is the-Deputy Minister. He will take notes-on his behalf.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ:

श्री आर० यू० (Government) मुझे विश्वास है कि गवर्नमेंट तक मेरे अपने विचार पहुंच रहे हैं। मैं आपसे यह विनय कर रहा था कि हमारे नाग साहब ने रोमन लिपि का मुझा (revolutionary) था कि यह रिवोल्यूशनरी जरूर है। परन्तु मैं कहता हूँ कि यह क्रान्ति-कारी विचार अब पुराने हो चुके हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं उनसे यह पूछूँ कि जिस देश में अभी भी करोड़ों की संख्या में जो जनता जिस भाषा में बोलती है, उस भाषा की नागरी लिपि को नहीं सीखी है, तो फिर उन लोगों के ऊपर रोमन लिपि को सीखने की एक बला और क्यों लादना चाहते हैं? हिन्दु-स्तान में जितनी लिपियाँ हैं, उनमें से किसी एक लिपि को सीख लीजिये। यह पराये देश की लिपि का सुझाव क्यों करते हैं?

तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि हमारे देश के जितने टुकड़े हो चुके हैं वे ही बहुत काफी हैं। हम लोगों को यदि भाषा की तरक्की करनी है तो उसके लिये हमें करना क्या है? सीधे सरकार से कहिये कि आपने हिन्दी को राष्ट्र-भाषा स्वीकार कर लिया है, इसकी उन्नति करिये और यदि नहीं करते तो आप गलती कर रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के लिये एक लिपि की आवश्यकता है। सीधे सरकार से कह दीजिये कि एक लिपि देवनागरी को रखें, इसके लिये कमीशन की क्या जरूरत है। कमीशन की नियुक्ति की आवश्यकता तो इसलिये

होती है कि कोई काम होता हो तो उसमें देरी की जाय। जब भारतवर्ष के लोगों ने हिन्दुस्तान में साहित्य की उन्नति शुरू की, उस समय ब्रिटिश (British) सरकार ने यहां साइमन कमीशन (Simon Commission) भेजा, क्योंकि वह देश में आजादी की पुकार को ठंडा करना चाहती थी, देरी करना चाहती थी। इस तरह से लोगों को बहकाने के लिये सन् १९२७-२८ में साइमन कमीशन पैदा हुआ, और सन् १९३५ में गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट (Government of India Act) बनाया गया। उसके बारे में भी कांग्रेस (Congress) ने कहा कि नाइदर वी एक्सेप्ट इट नार रिजेक्ट इट (neither we accept it nor reject it) यही इस कमीशन की हालत होने वाली है। तो इसलिये मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि हम गमाराव जी का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करते हैं तो हम सरकार को दस साल के लिये और इस बात की लीज (lease) देते हैं कि आप कुछ न करें। इसलिये मैं इन सब बातों के द्वारा इस प्रस्ताव का बहुत ही तीव्र विरोध करता हूं।

[For English translation, see Appendix VI, Annexure No. 87.]

SHRIMATI ANGELINA TIGA (Bihar):

श्रीमती एंजेलिना टिगा (बिहार): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूं यद्यपि भारतवर्ष में बहुत सी भाषायें हैं फिर भी जब तक एक राष्ट्रीय भाषा न होगी, हमारे देश की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है। यदि सरकार राष्ट्रभाषा की उन्नति के लिये एक कमीशन (Commission) नियुक्त करे तो यह बहुत अच्छी बात होगी। यदि और भी किसी उपाय से बहुत अनुभवी लोगों की एक जमात बनाई जाय जो कि राष्ट्रभाषा की उन्नति के भिन्न भिन्न उपाय सोचें, तो यह भी बड़ी ही अच्छी बात होगी। लेकिन मैं देखती हूं

कि यद्यपि सरकार 'हिन्दी भाषा का प्रचार हो,' यह चिल्ला रही है परन्तु यद्यपि मैं हमारी सरकार को और बहुत से सदस्यों को यह ज्ञात नहीं कि हिन्दी क्या है और हिन्दुस्तानी क्या है। अब हम जो हिन्दी बोलते हैं, वह हिन्दी नहीं, पर हिन्दुस्तानी है। जब मैं पांचवें क्लास (class) में पढ़ती थी, तो मैं हिन्दी पढ़ती थी। मुझे याद है कि एक बार मैंने हिन्दी में एक वर्णन लिखा था जिसमें मैंने एक जगह "वर्ग" शब्द लिखा था। मेरे टीचर (teacher) ने उसको काट दिया और कहा कि यह हिन्दी नहीं है, यह तो उर्दू है। लेकिन अब मैं देखती हूं कि हम लोग यहां पर जो हिन्दी बोलते हैं, वह सचमुच में हिन्दी नहीं है, पर हिन्दुस्तानी है। उसमें भिन्न भिन्न भाषायें मिली हुई हैं और हिन्दी को चूंकि आजकल के विद्यार्थी अच्छी तरह से नहीं समझ पाते हैं इस कारण से कालिजों और यूनिवर्सिटियों में बहुत से विद्यार्थी हिन्दी में फेल हो रहे हैं, यह बड़े शोक की बात है। इसलिये सरकार को चाहिये कि वह ऐसी हिन्दी भाषा चालू करे जिसे कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग ठीक से बोल सकें और समझ सकें। यदि एक राष्ट्रभाषा हो, जिसको कि हम आजकल हिन्दी कहा करते हैं, तो इससे यह होगा कि पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक स्टेट (State) के लोग आपस में एक दूसरे की बात को समझ सकेंगे, एक दूसरे के मन के विचार जान सकेंगे, और तब हम सब के सब एक साथ मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान को उन्नति के मार्ग में आगे बढ़ायेंगे। वर्तमान में हमें भूतकाल को भूल जाना चाहिये, जब कि हम दूसरों के अधीन थे। अब हमारे जो दोनों हाऊसेज (Houses) के सदस्यगण हैं, उनका काम है कि भाषा के मामले में लड़ाई झगड़े में न पड़ें। इस प्रश्न पर बहुत भिन्नता होगी, लेकिन जब तक हम एक राष्ट्रीय

[Shrimati Angelina Tiga.]

भाषा नहीं रखते हैं, तब तक हज़र कदापि  
[ बहुत शीघ्र उन्नति नहीं कर सकेंगे ।

इसी भाषा के सम्बन्ध में मुझे ट्राइबल  
(tribal) लोगों के विषय में कुछ कहना  
है, जिस पर सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देना  
चाहिये । ट्राइबल लोगों की अपनी बहुत  
सी भाषायें हैं और उनकी अपनी कोई लिपि  
[ नहीं है । मैं ट्राइबल (tribal) लोगों  
[ में से एक उदाहरण दे रहा हूँ । हमारे यहां एक  
[ शब्द है "रई", उसके माने "है" होते हैं ।  
[ सवाल यह है कि उसको देवनागरी लिपि में  
[ कैसे लिखियेगा । अंगरेजों के राज्य के  
[ समय बहुत सी ट्राइबल भाषायें रोमन स्क्रिप्ट  
(roman script) में लिखी जाती  
[ थीं, जिससे हम लोगों का उच्चारण बिल्कुल  
[ ठीक रहता था और अभी तक उसी रोमन  
[ स्क्रिप्ट में बहुत सी ट्राइबल भाषाओं के ग्रामर  
(grammar) की किताबें भी हैं ।  
[ बात यही दीख पड़ रही है कि जब हमारी  
[ भाषायें देवनागरी स्क्रिप्ट में लिखी जायेंगी  
[ तो उनका उच्चारण बिगड़ जायगा । पर  
[ संतोष की बात है कि सरकार इसके लिये भी  
[ कोशिश कर रही है कि हर एक भाषा की  
[ किताबें लिखी जायें और हर एक बच्चा  
[ पहले अपनी मातृभाषा में शिक्षा पाये और  
[ उसके बाद उसकी दूसरी भाषा हिन्दी होगी ।  
[ सरकार को यह भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि  
[ हिन्दी ट्राइबल लोगों की पहली नहीं, दूसरी  
[ भाषा होगी । जब भी मैं देख रही हूँ कि कई  
[ प्रकार की रुकावटें पड़ रही हैं । फिर भी मैं  
[ इस रिजोल्यूशन (Resolution) का  
[ समर्थन करती हूँ, केवल इसलिए कि हम  
[ सब भारतीय एक साथ संगठित हो कर के  
[ भारतवर्ष की उन्नति में आगे बढ़ें । इतना  
[ कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करती  
[ हूँ ।

[For English translation, see Appendix VI,  
Annexure No. 88.]

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: I rise to support  
this Resolution, Sir. I had taken it to be an  
entirely non-controversial one, but I find that  
at least one hon. Member has opposed it and  
two other Members have conditionally  
supported it. Well, I still take it that it is non-  
controversial. And even though Shri Agnibhoj  
has opposed it, he has not opposed it in spirit;  
he does not oppose the development of  
languages but he has only opposed the idea of  
establishing a Commission and getting this  
work done through a Commission. The other  
two friends who have given conditional  
support have, in my opinion, fully supported it  
They have not— except Shri Mahanty who  
raised some difficulties in the middle—said  
what it was they objected to in the Resolution.  
Sir, an author has very cryptically brought out  
the importance of language. "Show me your  
tongue and I will tell you what you are", he  
says.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Hyderabad): What  
you suffer from.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: That is as true  
of a language, of a people, as it is of an  
individual. There tongue is not the physical  
organ; there he means by it the language. Sir,  
language is the life of a nation; in the  
language are mirrored the aspirations, the  
longings and the hopes of a people. It is a  
storehouse of the accumulated wisdom of ages  
of any community. It is rightly said, Sir. that  
those people who have no language are not a  
nation. It is also said, Sir, that we in India  
cannot be called a nation, until we have one  
language. The importance of language to a  
people cannot be overemphasised. Today I  
feel that it is a shame that I should be speaking  
here in a language which is the mother tongue  
of a people who are far away, who are very  
distant from me, between whom and myself  
there is nothing in common but humanity. I  
say, Sir, that it is a shame not because I know  
that language, but because I am not able to  
speak in the common language of the country.  
We have in fact no common language. It is a  
shame again, Sir, that I should know  
something of Shakespeare, something of  
Milton, something of



Wordsworth, something of Shelley and something of Keats and again of Bernard Shaw and others, but not of Kalidasa or *bhasha*. We all know the reason why this sad state of affairs has resulted in India. The languages lost everything when they lost battle to English at the time of Macaulay. Now we should realise the importance, the need and the urge to develop these languages.

Hon. Members here have said: "We have languages; have we not? Why should a Commission be appointed?" Well, Sir, a Commission should be appointed because there is this need to adapt the languages of the country to the modern needs of the people. There is the need again, Sir, to coordinate the different languages. Language and culture have so long been the preserve of only a few in the country and this fact is responsible for the country being under the domination of outsiders for centuries. Because the people as a whole, the masses of the country, have not been able to understand them and express themselves in a language—it was not easy for them to do so—they could not keep pace with the progressive sections and, therefore, we had lost our freedom for many centuries. This is the direst need of our country to day. We must see that our languages are adapted so as to make the masses—the man in the street—think in terms of that language, appreciate the beauty of that language and come to know the thoughts and aspirations of those who have written in that language. Until we do that, I do not think that we will be able to make that progress which this Resolution seeks to achieve in the matter of languages. Now, no particular department of the Government can do it. A Commission is necessary with the adaptation of the languages as its purpose. All the archaic forms that we have in languages which make it esoteric for the common man must go; we must make it easier to be understood by him. Therefore, we must change the entire terminology of the

languages. We must, therefore, reform them. The hon. Mr. Agnibhoj did not evidently understand what Roman script meant. People who have advocated Roman script have advocated it not because it came from Rome but because it is easier, in that script, to convey to the people of all parts of this land, what we mean. It is easier to teach them in that script. It is easier to develop and to make it easy for the people to understand any language through that script. So in the matter of script it is necessary that an attempt should be made. In the matter of adaptation it is necessary that an attempt should be made for revision of the languages.

Sir, in the matter of text-books, now the States have realised that they should have their regional languages as the medium of instruction in educational institutions, but when it comes to a matter of translating it into practice, we find difficulties. There are no text-books in the regional languages. We cannot teach scientific and technical subjects through those languages because we have no textbooks. If we ask people to write text-books—as Pandit Chaturvedi was saying—they go into blackmarkets. Then books are not of a standard. Books far below the standard are written and inevitably, we have to go in for them and prescribe them as text-books. Writing text-books is not an easy matter and, therefore, a Commission is necessary. Of course, the Commission does not write text-books. The Commission will make recommendations and devise ways and means as to how a machinery could be established to get text-books written.

Then, Sir, in the matter of teaching; again, we need a reformed method. Shri Rama Rao, in his speech, has emphasised grammar and rhetoric in\* connection with the work that is to be entrusted to that Commission. But the hon. Mr. Mahanty was taking exception to the importance given to them.

[Shri Govinda Reddy.] 3 PM.

I agree with him that grammar and rhetoric are only a means to an end. There was language before grammar and rhetoric came after. Therefore, it is not a matter of giving importance to them; it is a matter of developing language generally. I have suggested an amendment to this Resolution that a clause (ia) should be introduced in sub-paragraph (1) of the second paragraph. Mr. Rama Rao has omitted this and in his speech he seems to have said that his Resolution was entirely a matter of language and did not refer to literature. I do not understand how there can be language without literature. In fact, we trace the development of language through the literature available in that language. So, it is necessary to have classics also included in this Resolution. There can be no literature without language, and the development of a language can be only through its literature.

PROF. G. RANGA: Hindi didn't have much of literature.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: Sir, Hindi has to be the national language of the country. Whatever it may contain, it has to be the national language. There has been an attempt in the country to over-emphasise the importance of Hindi as opposed to a regional language. Last time, when this Resolution was being discussed, an hon. Member gave expression to this. I am sorry, Sir, that any such distinction should be made. In fact, when we consider other languages, particularly the languages of the South, we may see that they have the wealth of ages. Languages which were in use for centuries, have naturally developed a wealth of their own and we should not neglect them because they cannot become national languages. If we neglect their development *vis-a-vis* Hindi, it is a sad mistake. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kanarese are far richer in ideas and imagery compared to Hindi.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Govinda Reddy, please try to conclude.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: I do not at all deprecate Hindi. In fact, we all recognise that it should be the State language and we try to import in that language whatever is found in other languages. There should be no attempt at closing its doors.

Sir, as it is time that I should wind up, without taking any more time, I would like to support this Resolution, and I would like this House to unanimously vote for this Resolution. Mr. Chaturvedi—I think it was he, who said that Mr. Rama Rao should not withdraw this Resolution. That was what, I believe, he said with my imperfect understanding of Hindi. What we are particular, and what Mr. Rama Rao also is particular is to impress on the Government the need for making a concerted and co-ordinated effort in this direction. If the Government recognise that, I suppose our purpose will be served, and the future work will be left to the Government.

DR. S. K. BHUYAN (Assam): Mr. Chairman, I wholeheartedly support this Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Mr. Rama Rao. I express our thanks to him for taking up this question of the linguistic development of India. It has come as a sequel to his previous Resolution on the literary development of the country.

I will begin by referring to a point raised by Mr. Mahanty a few minutes ago. He said that it was Sir George Abraham Grierson who established the separate identity of the Assamese language. He is correct to some extent and incorrect at the same time. So long ago as the 7th Century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang admitted the separateness of the Assamese language from the languages of mid-India. About the year 1663, a Muslim visitor from Delhi, who accompanied the Moghul General Nawab Mir Jumla, had said that the language of Assam was quite different from

the languages spoken in other parts of India. Its use was interdicted in the schools and courts, but under the

orders promulgated in 1873, by Sir George Campbell, it was reintroduced.

Sir George Grierson translated in his monumental work "A Linguistic Survey of India", the Biblical story of the 'Return of the Prodigal Son', in different languages; and "thereby pointed out the difference in them. There are other aspects of the study of a language, morphological and phonetic, which can be taken into serious consideration. Sir George Grierson has certainly rendered a signal service by giving examples of many of the languages and dialects

of Assam. It is estimated that there are 121 such languages and dialects in Assam. The language of one tribe

is not understood by a neighbouring tribe, and in order to know Assam, a man must possess at least a nodding

acquaintance with the character and habit of different spoken languages and dialects.

Coming to this Resolution, an hon. Member has expressed the fear that its implementation will take a century, if not more. The Resolution is not anything new. Work on these lines is carried on by individuals and also by institutions mainly the universities of India. The Resolution simply aims at synthesising and correlating such work on a scientific basis and bringing up this work to the requirements of our modern setup. The other day, I had the opportunity of seeing a number of volumes arrayed in a shelf in the China Bhandvan Library at Shanti Niketan. They are translations of the texts and commentaries of the Chinese Tripitakas; that work was completed in 1,300 years. If the work envisaged in this Resolution takes 200 or 300 years, it is a comparatively shorter period in the history of a nation; and one should not feel surprised or disappointed at the length of time required.

This Resolution, again, is not meant for producing poets or creative art-

ists, as an hon. Member has commented. A poet is born and not made, though some will even say that he is not paid. Commissions will never be able to produce poets.

The object of this Resolution is to give us a sense of one-mindedness and also to acquaint us with the characteristic features and treasures of the different languages of India. It will be seen that the basic words, especially words relating to relationship, are almost similar. One will be surprised that several words used in the rural areas in Assam, are to be found in the other languages of India. For example, the word '*talua*'—meaning 'palm'—is found in Pushto; the word '*garkhawai*'—meaning 'drain'—is to be found in Oriya also; the word '*Sikkia*' used in Ahom, a language of Shan origin, and meaning '*Indra*', is also to be found in the Pali language as '*Sakka*'. A variation of the Sanskrit word '*Sakra*'. The word '*Asam*' is of Sanskrit origin, but it was pronounced as '*Aham*' by the Shan conquerors of Assam.

A knowledge of the different languages of India will help one to get a glimpse of the whole linguistic panorama of the country. A sense of oneness will be created in our minds if we are acquainted with the wealth of the different languages, and this will lead to political oneness as well. A man living in Tamil Nad or Andhra will be able to know what languages are spoken in Assam, Bengal and Orissa and *vice versa*. This will help to extend our knowledge of men and things.

Many things have been provided within the compass of this Resolution. I would, however, suggest that several projects may be added to those already envisaged in the Resolution. We can arrange to compile a comparative vocabulary of the major Indian languages. If we cannot incorporate all the words, we can at least find place for 1,000 basic words. It will be seen that in many cases, this

[Dr. S. K. Bhuyan.] words are similar or nearly similar. If there be variations that will lead us to enquire, to find out the reasons for such variations.

Sir George Grierson's 'Survey' has now become somewhat out of date; it is also not readily available. Every State Government may institute a survey of the languages spoken there with a view to meet the requirements of the present day.

I may also suggest that a dictionary of toponymy of India should be undertaken. A great deal of history lies concealed in place-names like Calcutta, Comorin, Kanpur and Vizaga-patam. A study of the toponymy of the place-names of India is bound to reveal many unknown facts of Indian history. With these few words, I support the Resolution wholeheartedly.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR (Nominated) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. I know that languages are not made to order: neither is literature made to order. But after all it is man who has created language and literature. If one man can create something, why should not a body of persons sitting together decide upon a policy for the development of literature, especially when the nation is free and is trying to have an ambition of its own? And the Commission will certainly help us to decide upon the policy. But at the same time I think we should not expect the Commission to work for many years. We have simply to lay down the policy, and my main suggestion here is that we should have a separate Ministry for languages and culture. By mixing the two—language and education—we have done a great disservice both to languages and to education. Education is a different process, the development of language is a different process, and we shall be helping the whole nation and the world if we have a separate Ministry for languages and culture; and not only the languages of India but we shall have to study the languages of our neighbours and prac-

tically of the whole world. The whole world has become one. We cannot afford to neglect the languages of the tribals of India. Therefore, we must have a very strong and powerful body of linguists and literary people and there should be a separate Ministry for languages and culture.

Another thing is, Sir, that we have been trying to develop a common language for the whole of India, and unfortunately some scholars, both of Hindi and Urdu, have done the greatest disservice to the development of a common language. They are evolving a language which may perhaps be suitable for the *mushairai* and for the meetings of the pandits. We have, hereafter, to evolve \* language which the common man can understand and manipulate. I know that Sanskrit is the mother of most of the Indian languages, and I am a votary of Sanskrit. I want that Sanskrit should be studied and\* Sanskrit should be assimilated by all. the languages of India. But what happens with some of the Hindi-scholars is that instead of assimilating Sanskrit, they swallow Sanskrit words. And I am reminded of a man who when he was told that almonds were a very good food and a nourishing food, swallowed almonds instead\* of turning them into milk and drinking that milk of almonds. In the same way there are persons who swallow Sanskrit outright and produce a language which only they or a few of their coterie can understand. Here we want to develop a language-which the common man can understand. The saints of old age did some work and we can take a lesson from them. They took Sanskrit words and modified them to suit the requirements of the common man, and they had no shame even in violating the Sanskrit grammar. But today there are so many *pandits*, especially in the Hindi language, who would prevent us from doing this.

Then, Sir, another reason as to why we should have this Commission is that the Government today, in its anxiety to rush forward, is collecting.

together reactionaries. Take for instance this recent Script Reform Commission of U.P. At Lucknow they collected together not so many servants of the people who had served language and literature, but the Chief Ministers. And they in their wisdom voted against all *nhe* reform and the progress that was made in the past ,o many years. One sister here in her innocent hope said that Lucknow was able to evolve a Devanagari script that would suit all the languages. That was the only thing that they left out. They said, "Well, let Hyderabad and the South try that experiment." But they simply decided and voted against all the reform and progress that was made by at least eight States of India. And they simply said "Our script is sacrosanct: let us not change it." They believe that the Sanskrit script or the Nagari script is there for the past thousands of years. But it is not so. The script has been changing from century to century. Not the scholars, not the technicians, but the Chief Ministers gathered together and they said "We feel confused." One Chief Minister gets up and says "Well, the scholars and the technicians differ from each other; we feel confused and therefore we d, not want to have any change." If the destiny of the nation is in the hands of such persons, then, Sir, I do not know where we shall be. If the Hindi knowing people oppose any reform in the Nagari script making it suit even the tribal languages, I am sure that Roman script is going to succeed not because of opponents of Devanagari but because of blind supporters of Devanagari. And I am also sure that the Nagari script is bound to fail if it is in the hands of some such scholars from U.P. and other places. We have to so modify our script as to suit all the various languages of India. Therefore, Sir, if Governments are going to adopt reactionary measures. I think such a Commission would be the only salvation.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Then, again, there are many people here who say that,

although the English have gone, the English language and literature and the knowledge that we got from the English language must be retained. I am in favour of retaining our knowledge of English. I am in favour of studying the English language and literature. The English people may have gone, but what we have learnt from them need not be forgotten or given up. At the same time I would like *io* point out that the Muslim rule is no longer there, but the best literature of the Muslims should continue to be here—Persian and Arabic literature. There are great scholars in India who study the Persian and Arabic literatures, and they have made great contributions to them. Why should we not retain them so that we can establish our contacts with the Near West—I don't want to call it Near East—with all the Muslim countries there and in the northern half of the African continent? The whole of North Africa speaks Arabic or various dialects of Arabic. Why should we lose the chance of having contacts with them? I think that the terms of such a Commission as this,, should be enlarged, and we should have, as I said in the beginning, a separate Ministry for the languages, and culture.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR (Bombay): Sir. I rise to support the Resolution moved by Mr. Rama Rao, but I think the Resolution ought to have been a more comprehensive one.

SHRI RAMA RAO: There are already complaints that it is too long.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: A survey of any language cannot be complete unless we study its origin, development and growth. Mr. Rama Rao has excluded the study of ancient and medieval languages from his Resolution, but fortunately the Government has not done so. In Poona a Sanskrit dictionary is being compiled^ and the Central and the State Governments are helping the compilation of this dictionary which is a stupendous work and which will probably take 10 or 15 years for its completion. Similar attempts are-

[Shri T. R. Deogirikar.] going on elsewhere, but we want a co-ordinated plan for the survey of the various languages in our country. Sir, we have appointed a Planning Commission. Why a similar Commission should not be appointed for the survey of the Indian languages, I can not understand. It is improper to neglect cultural or linguistic aspects

of life. We do not want to be a nation drifting along aimlessly towards an unknown destination. We have a rich heritage of centuries old. The roots of our civilisation date back to the pre-historic era. We have survived the onslaughts of various civilisations not because we were a nation of warriors, not because we were scientifically advanced, not because we were

exploiting the less advanced countries,

but because of our particular outlook on life and learning. Our art, our philosophy and our literature are even today matters of envy to others. A nation is known by the art, philosophy or literature that it possesses. I know that a piece of art, or a work of literature cannot be produced to order, 'tout certainly we can create the circumstances in which we can give ample scope to the development of these inherent tendencies. Sir, I was hurt the other day when I read in the newspapers that a sum of Rs. 50, and that only for a year, was to be granted to Shri Ajgaonkar of Bombay. I do not want to question the propriety of the sum or of the individual, but it is a question of our outlook and it is a question of our whole approach to this problem. Many worthy people have died in poverty and many more will die. It is said that the Goddess of Learning is in rags and will continue to be in rags. Whatever that be, does it become us, we who say that

our present is based on our past traditions? I thought to myself whether Max Muller, MacDonald, Buhler, Garbe and Deussen could have been similarly treated in their countries. Carlyle, in his famous book, 'Heroes and Hero Worship' has said that if the English were to be asked whether they would give up Shakespeare or India, they would say that they would give up India, and not Shakespeare.

Look at the spirit of these people. Mr. Rama Rao is not asking for Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 crores for the Commission to look after the development of our languages. He is simply asking for the appointment of a Commission. He has given a list of terms of reference. I have no time to deal with the other terms of reference, I would deal with only one relating to vocabulary. Various non-official agencies are doing this adventurous work, but the terminology that they have adopted is impossible to be accepted even by scholars. Take for instance 'cement'. They have used the word

*vajrachooma* (वज्रचूर्ण) ; witness

is *pramana manav* (प्रमाण मानव) ;

summon is *avhanpatra* (आह्वानपत्र) ;

consent is *pra-sanvada* (प्रसंविदा) ;

blotting

paper is *masichoose* (मसीचूस) ;

railway fare is *ayomarg bhaak*

(अयोमार्ग भाटक) ; hold-all is

*vishvambhar* (विश्वम्भर) ; practi-

cal botany is *anusathanik*

*audbhidi* (आनुष्ठानिक औदभिदि) ;

Statistics is *sankhyikee* (सांख्यिकी).

We have got simpler and current words for all these. Why discard them, I do not understand. If Commission is going to do some such thing, that will make itself ridiculous and laughable. I know, Sir, (that we cannot develop our languages by merely injecting queer words and phrases into them. I will give an example. Our Constitution was translated into various languages. When I began to read the Marathi translation, I thought I was reading something which was neither Hindi, nor Marathi nor Sanskrit. My friend. Mr. Gupte, is sitting here. He has written a very good commentary on our Constitution. He wanted to incorporate the Marathi translation in his book. He got a translation, and when I got a copy was given to the compositors, they were I alarmed; the proof-readers were flabbergasted and the author himself felt that he was in the wilderness and he

decided to drop the idea. An object may be good but it is not always useful. We must develop our terminology and vocabulary. Such burdened translation will be of no use. Shri Rama Rao is very much afraid of words, it seems. He has <sup>not</sup> asked the Commission to translate book on Navy or Air Force: or on atomic energy, elections, protons or neutrons. It is a matter of regret that we, who call ourselves independent, have not as yet produced any good book on engineering, mineralogy, meteorology, surgery, psychology and social sciences. Such works cannot be undertaken by publication agencies. Who else can undertake that task except the Government?

In the end, I want to make certain suggestions for the Commission if at all it is to be appointed. My suggestions are:

- (i) A linguistic survey of the modern Indian languages should be made.
- (ii) A study of the ancient and medieval languages and their development should be undertaken.
- (iii) Our scholars and authors should be kept alive.
- (iv) Handsome aid should be given to the institutions that are struggling for their existence in this field.
- (v) The compilation and publication of encyclopaedias and similar works of reference should be undertaken.
- (vi) District and State Gazetteers should be recast and brought up to date.
- (vii) The reprinting of old books that are gradually disappearing should be undertaken.
- (viii) Inter-provincial and international works of eminence in literature and philosophy should be made available to us in our own languages.
- (ix) The translation or epitomising of books on economics, politics, sciences, etc., in the Indian languages, should be undertaken.

In doing so foreign words should not be replaced by coining words which would appear ridiculous. We can coin words but we cannot make them current, just as we can take a horse to the water but we cannot make it drink. The words must be current, they must be acceptable to the people, and they must be easily understood. Let us not be very dogmatic about them. If the Commission is not to be appointed, let the Government come forward of its own accord and accept some of the suggestions which I have made. Sir, I support the Resolution.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Sir, in a way I am sorry that I am unable to accept the Resolution moved by my friend Shri Rama Rao in connection with the appointment of a Commission, but I am not sorry that the majority of the Members have supported this Resolution. When I heard the speech of my learned friend Mr. Mazumdar, the other day and today when some of the thought-provoking suggestions came from my friend Mr. Nag and from my learned friend Dr. Kane and many others, untutored and unlettered as I am in the art and science of languages, I felt inspired and felt sure that we were moving forward in regard to the problem of development of languages. In spite of the fact that I am not able to accept this Resolution or that in many respects I consider the Resolution not necessary, I do feel that this House, as a whole, on this occasion has contributed very greatly to this important problem.

The subject-matter of the Resolution, moved by my friend, has been discussed in one or the other way on many occasions and, therefore, it gives me an opportunity to briefly deal with the items which have been suggested for implementation by the mover of the Resolution. Discussion on the Resolution and the Resolution itself have concretised two or three aspects of the language question as a whole. Firstly, there is the policy and objective aspect. Then, implementation of a programme based on the policy which is to be pursued in

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] this connection. A third consequence has also flowed from this Resolution and it is the urgency about looking

objectives. With regard to the development of the national language and the regional languages of the country as a policy to be pursued, the Government have already declared their basic desires and intentions from time to time. The Government Resolution on the occasion of notifying their intention of establishing a National Academy of Letters—the Sahitya Academy as it is called—has indicated their objectives very clearly, which are:

To work actively for the development of Indian letters and to set high literary standards;

to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all the Indian languages specified in the Constitution; and

to promote through them all the cultural unity of the country.

The programme itself, as indicated in the Resolution, leads to the attainment of the objectives desired by the Government. What are those objectives? I would seek your permission to amplify them, but before doing so, I would like to suspend the trend of my arguments which I am going to produce in answer to many of the points raised by Shri Rama Rao in his Resolution for examining the general aspect of the speech. I would like to say a few words about the suggestions made by him, in the speech as a whole. While I listened to him, I had the feeling that in the frame-work or the outline, that he was trying to draw up as an artist, of the Rup and Afcar and the basic structure of language, he was giving expression, generally, to my personal views. It is true that there can be no literature without a language and that the language must be a living and throbbing one in order to be in tune with the thought and material content of the country. Our language must

into the programme of quickly developing the national language of the country. I will take up first the question of the policy and

symbolise with the life and character of the people of the country. If the language is poor, it might reflect some of the omissions in the character of our people and I agree with him in toto that our language must be rich. How could we develop a rich language and a powerful language which will be truly called a national language, or a language of the people? It is a delicate matter but one must speak out and utter a note of warning to the people against certain doubtful tendencies developing around us. We must not abstain from assimilating words from foreign languages or absorbing words of regional languages into the national language if we really mean to develop our language in the right way. The national language must necessarily reflect the basic condition of oneness of the country. What I wish for is the evolution of the national language in a rich and gorgeously multi-coloured flow

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pattern reflecting clearly the diversity and the basic unity of the country—I ask our literary men to judge the issue from a very broad angle. Our countrymen living in different regions, must feel in tune with each other by recognising the national language in their own local medium of expression wherever they go. The national language, Sir, should give to the citizen the psychological satisfaction necessary to make him feel at home, howsoever distant he travels in his own country. In other words, the disadvantage of the vastness of the country should be compensated by the words and expressions familiar to the man, so that the southerner feels at home in Delhi and the northerner in Travancore or Kanya Kumari. I submit, Sir, that such a condition of our national language can only be attained when we get rid of ourselves of "certain wrong notions of loyalty to the language and the culture of the majority. By that I mean that the national language should borrow freely and deliberately words not only from the powerful foreign languages including the English language, but from the regional languages of the country also. The more we absorb foreign words, the more we absorb-



words from the regional languages, the more we consolidate the unity of the country. The more we do it the more solid will be the foundations "that will be laid; and I say the more -we do it, the more we serve the cause of the language of the majority. As my friend rightly said, the regional units of the country will have to fall in line, sooner or later, with the regional languages of the country? I do not like it and I shall be sorry when it does take place and I wish it would not happen. But it is perhaps coming to be true. And if it comes, it is all the more necessary for us to see that the national language truly *becomes* the language of the State in as short a time as possible. I believe the nearer the language of the State is to the language of the region, the greater the spiritual and the material strength of the country is developed and as a consequence the stronger our nation would become. Subject to what I have said, that is an attempt at a pattern of regimentation at this stage, in the act of making our national language in tune as far as possible, "With the regional languages. I do not believe in any sort of regimentation so far as the development of languages is concerned. Let us make the language as simple and mobile as our masses wish it. It is not the few that should forge a language from above, "but the people themselves create a language from below. Some of the most dynamic poets have been those who have broken the shackles of conservatism in the use of words and diction. They wrote the words that flowed from their thought. There was no chiselling in between. Of course. In times to come, there may be modifications in the lines that were written by the authors. But some of the best poems have been written in the freest and the simplest words and the rules and the shackles of grammar did not bind them.

I am sorry I digressed a little, but it was to some extent deliberate, because I wanted to express my personal opinion on this question. There are many things in *common* between me and the point of view ex-

pressed by my hon. friend Shri Rama Rao in his Resolution. I agree that the national language should be a truly Hindi *bhasha* although containing the vast majority of words chosen by the majority of the country, yet absorbing as many expressive words of our regional languages as it is possible for us to day. Only when we make up our minds on this approach, we can march ahead with the task set before us of building the language and the literature and protecting our culture.

Having said so much, I would now like to resume my examination of the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Shri Rama Rao, in some detail. My friend asks for a Commission of Enquiry. In my opinion, the appointment of such a Commission is not necessary after the Sahitya Academy has been constituted. It will cause delay and I am sure no hon. Member in this House wants any delay to occur in this matter, as far as it is possible to avoid it. The Conference of Letters held in Delhi on the 15th of March 1951, was sufficiently representative to examine all questions in connection with such enquiries and investigations. I do not say that exhaustive enquiries or investigations were made by that conference. But that conference was attended by representatives before whom this question of investigation and appointment of a Commission was present. Subsequently as the House knows, this conference adopted a resolution which took steps to draft a constitution and lay down the functions of a national academy of letters. According to the recommendations of this conference, Government have decided to set up a national academy of letters, called the Sahitya Academy and Government's Resolution in regard to the functions and the constitution of that Academy has now been issued. The lists of the State Government's nominees and of the universities on this Academy have also been received. The Chairman has been requested to fix a date for the inauguration of the Academy and it is hoped that this Academy will soon start function-

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] ing. The conference which created this Sahitya Academy dealt with the proposals which were made some Ave or six years before that conference, proposals made by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, I think in 1945 or 1946. They aimed at stimulating and promoting the culture of the country by dealing with the question of Indian languages, literature, and philosophy and history.

The whole question was discussed in the Conference and as a result it was thought that the establishment of the Sahitya Academy should be the first step in this long programme. The task of the Academy will more or less be what is indicated by my friend Mr. Rama Rao. Such an Academy, therefore, is bound to serve the purposes of the Resolution. The question of preparing standard dictionaries and books of diction, standardisation and preparation of authoritative grammars, etc., can very well be looked after both in the general and specific aspects by the Sahitya Academy. Regarding the preparation of school text-books, I may remind the House that it is a State subject and that it is they who have to create text-books according to their own requirements and environments of the region. The House, I am sure, Sir, will agree with me that the right given away to the State Governments, by this House should not be withdrawn either in a hurry or in our impatience. Nevertheless, the Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India made enquiries into the question of text-books and has made certain recommendations with regard to the pooling of energies in the production of text-books as between States of common languages and needs. Apart from this, the Planning Commission have recently also proposed—and the proposal is likely to be accepted by the Education Ministry—the setting up of a Bureau of Research whose function will be to make critical survey of the current textbooks, to formulate sound educational criteria and guiding principles for writ-

ing text-books and to make a beginning with the preparation of model text-books. It is proposed to publish the findings of this research body and to make it available both to State-Governments and to institutions who have a desire to have those results.. Any attempt at regimentation. I would, submit, Sir, on a centralised pattern, is certainly not advisable in this connection, although I admit that the-directive principles behind the preparation of text-books may emphatically be suggested to the State Governments. We will thus see that there-can be no difference of opinion between me and the hon. mover with regard to the objectives. Of course,, there may be some difference on the-method of approach, as to how to-tackle the problem and there should, Sir, always be scope for such differences so far as the method of approach-, is concerned. There is no harm in-such differences. If we have to tackle or if we want to tackle these-problems in a particular way, of course there may be more than oneway.

With regard to the assessment of work in this connection and in a general way, of course, I may say that personal opinion about assessment of speed in the activity of persons or a group of persons is quite another thing. Each one of us is entitled to have his opinion on-the work going on before us in this, connection. We may or may not be-working to the satisfaction of some of our hon. Members, If we are not, we should try to fill up the gap? but, Sir, may I add here that by the-very nature of things, the work of developing languages cannot be forced upon a nation in a limited space of time. It. can certainly not be-rushed through. The progress made will depend on the environment and changes and various social and economic aspects and the lessening of the impact of urgencies that surround the country in such transitional period. It seems to me, Sir, that the develoment of art. language and culture takes place ordinarily under ex-

treme conditions. Either there is a stabilised prosperity in the country so much so that the people as a whole predominantly pay their attention to the problems involved round art, literature and culture; or there is an extreme crisis facing a nation under the impact of which minds work and people move. I, therefore, feel, Sir, that this allegation or this suspicion that consciously or unconsciously or through its inefficiency or other omissions, the Government is not paying as much attention to this problem as is necessary, is not quite correct. In the very nature of things, problems connected with the development of languages, State or regional, literature and art, are bound to take some time and if we do not properly understand this and appreciate this, we are bound to be impatient but I have nothing to say to those who are impatient. It is not a bad thing to be impatient in this respect. I do not think, therefore, Sir, that there is any necessity for the appointment of a Commission for the purposes indicated in the Resolution. As I said, the question has been *prima facie* examined long ago but I agree that some sort of a survey should be undertaken by a competent body which will give us opinions about the structure and content of our language. I also believe that great efforts should be undertaken to bring regional thoughts and philosophy near each other by inter language translation activities of our various languages. Not only these, but other activities like standardisation of grammars, preparation of school text-books, study of comparative philology of our regional languages and national languages and all matters more or less indicated in the Resolution should be pursued with vigour. All this will most presumably be undertaken by the proposed Academy of Letters. Even presuming that this Resolution is accepted and a Commission of enquiry is appointed—though it is thought that it will be a new suggestion as enunciated by the House—it is likely to take time. We have already taken

certain decisions. So far as personalities are concerned, the House, I am sure, is not very much concerned with this man or that man. After all, a group of people are going to compose the body, whether it is called a Commission of enquiry or a sub-committee or a high power committee nominated by the Sahitya Academy. Besides, Sir, this Resolution also will be before the Academy and they will, naturally give very serious consideration to the suggestions contained therein. Let us all hope, therefore, that the Sahitya Academy which has been proposed and which has covered sufficient grounds in the direction of *prima facie* examination of all those questions will pursue with vigour the objective that we have all in view. I do hope that my hon. friend will appreciate this argument and understand why I am not able to accept the Resolution as moved by him.

I will, in the end, Sir, very briefly deal with the few points raised by the hon. Members who have mostly supported this Resolution. I first take-up Mr. Mazumdar's speech. I welcome his approach because it is very constructive. At any rate, I learnt a lot from it. I agree that a fresh linguistic survey should be undertaken after independence had been achieved. I also, as I have already stated, agree with what Mr. Saksena said that in the case of building the national language—we should borrow freely from Tamil and Telugu—not only from Tamil and Telugu but from other languages of the country also.

To Mr. Mahanty I have not much to say because, unfortunately, I consider his approach rather destructive. I tried to find out some suggestions, to take some lessons and to pass them on to the Sahitya Academy, but I am afraid I could not find any. He said something about Aryans entrusting their cultural heritage in the hands of Semetics. I do not know what this process of entrustment was, but I do know how health, happiness and prosperity result wheet-

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] great cultures and great heritages fuse and result in something bigger than when they were separate. Of course cynics and fanatics will not be able to appreciate it.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Semetics are fanatics, you forget.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Maybe<sup>1</sup> but I have nothing more to add, Sir, > except that I have tried to cover all the points that were raised here and what were mentioned in the Resolution. I will, if you will permit me, ; just speak in Hindi for two minutes.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore): Has he nothing to say about what our ^revered Member, Kaka Kalelkar has said?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I was just going to refer to that. I shall speak in Hindi and say how I feel about some of the hon. Members who spoke here.

मुझे अफसोस है कि मैंने अपने दोस्त चतुर्वेदी जी के आज के भाषण में और दिनकर जी का जो भाषण पिछली दफा हुआ था उसमें काफी कटुता पाई। मुझे उसका कोई कारण समझ में नहीं आया। अगर हमारे साहित्यकारों में भाषा के विकास के प्रश्न पर किसी प्रकार का मतभेद है, और अगर वे एक राय होकर सरकार के ऊपर असर नहीं डाल सकते और अगर वे इन समस्याओं को समझते हुए भी ठीक समय पर चुप रहना चाहते हैं, तो उसके कारण हमारे विभाग की मुस्ती और उदासीनता को सामने रखकर कोई कड़वाहट तो नहीं खानी चाहिये। चतुर्वेदी जी ने तो और भी खोरो में हमारे विभाग की निन्दा की।

जहां तक भाषा और साहित्य के विकास का और उस सम्बन्ध में कार्यवाही करने का प्रश्न है, मैं नहीं समझता कि विभाग ने कोई मुस्ती की है। सम्भवतः किसी साहित्य-

कारों की मंडली को आज ऐसा कहना भी मुनासिब नहीं है कि वह साल छः महीने में या बरस दो बरस के अन्दर इस देश की क्षेत्रिक भाषाओं या राष्ट्रभाषा का समृद्धि मुधार या विकास इस प्रकार कर देंगे कि उनको संतोष हो जायगा, ऐसी कोई बात मैं तो नहीं देख सकता। यह बात जरूर है कि उनको या हमारे दूसरे भाइयों को कमियां दिखाई देती हों, कमियां तो हो भी सकती हैं।

हमारे मित्र कालेलकर जी ने लखनऊ में हुये लिपि मुधार समिति के बारे में कुछ कहा और मुख्य मंत्रियों से नाराजगी भी काफ़ी जाहिर की—मुझे नहीं मालूम कि क्या नाराजगी थी और उसका क्या कारण था, हालांकि मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ कि बहुत खोजने के बाद भी लिपि मुधार में पर्याप्त मुधार के सुझाव वहां की कांफ़रेंस (Conference) के फैसलों में मुझे भी नहीं मिले—परन्तु कांफ़रेंस से संतोष न होना तो एक बात है, लेकिन मुख्य मंत्रियों की राय से संतोष होने या असंतोष होने की बात मैं नहीं समझ सका। बहरहाल वह तो हमारे मित्र, काका जी, की प्रतिक्रिया थी। मुझे तो उस सम्मेलन के बारे में जानकारी नहीं है क्योंकि मैं वहां नहीं गया था, मुमकिन है अगर मैं वहां होता, तो किसी वजह से मैं भी उत्तेजित होकर ऐसा कह देता।

जहां तक लिपि मुधार सम्मेलन का सम्बन्ध है, यह बात जरूर है कि उनकी भी एक सिफारिश, स्टैंडर्ड टाइप राइटर (standard typewriter) के बनाने में गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया (Government of India) के सामने है, कुछ सिफारिशों नरेन्द्र देव कमेटी की भी हैं। उन दोनों को न मानकर लखनऊ की लिपि मुधार कांफ़रेंस ने कुछ सुझाव और भी रखे हैं। उस तजवीज की सफलता समय बीतने पर मालूम होगी, जब विशेषज्ञों की उस पर राय मिलेगी।

विशेषज्ञों की राय पर गवर्नमेन्ट को कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। गवर्नमेन्ट उसे बड़ी खशी से कबूल कर लेगी।

मैं अन्त में तमाम राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रेमियों और क्षेत्रिक भाषाओं के प्रेमियों से यही प्रार्थना करूंगा कि उनके सक्रिय सहयोग से ही यह प्रश्न आगे बढ़ सकता है।

[For English translation, see Appendix VI, Annexure No. 89.]

The whole problem can be solved with the ready and active support and co-operation coming from those who consider themselves experts and whom the country considers as experts on this problem.

I have nothing more to say and I do hope that after all that I have said, my friend Mr. Rama Rao will withdraw his Resolution leaving the whole work to be handled by the proposed Sahitya Academy.

SHRI RAMA RAO: How much time, Sir, shall I get to reply to the debate?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: 15 minutes.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Sir, may I compliment the Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research for his improved performance? Last time when I was speaking on my Resolution for a Commission to enquire into the condition of the Indian literatures I received a very chilling and discouraging reply. The reply on this Resolution is more hopeful, more cheerful, more encouraging. I would only hope that the little that has been promised will be performed. If my Resolution has helped to canalise public thought on this question and to act as a goad and a spur to the Education Ministry, I should regard myself as having achieved something indeed.

It is not a question of mere objectives and principles, as the Deputy Minister has said. If the objective is a right objective, the approach should be a right approach.

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But I would respectfully submit that the approach of the Education Ministry is totally wrong. It is not, therefore, going to achieve results. It is going to defeat itself. It will land the Education Ministry in greater unpopularity than it already enjoys, and it will be letting the country down badly.

The Deputy Minister has charged us with 'impatience'. I am definitely impatient on a question like this, a question of paramount national importance, and I would charge the Education Ministry again and again with indifference to a vital question like India's National language. I would advise him to read that beautiful pro-Dectus of his and I would say that there is nothing mentioned about the development of languages, in the objects and purposes of the Sahitya Academy. It contains mere airy, fairy nothings; it speaks about doing this and doing that, it passes on promissory notes to generations unborn. I want to know what this Government is doing here and now.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: You are unfair.

SHRI RAMA RAO: I am not unfair. I am speaking the language of the people.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Which I do not follow.

SHRI RAMA RAO: I feel that I am speaking the idiom of the Indian National Congress, the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and the rationalism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I am also emphasizing the basic theories of our Constitution-

Mr. Malaviya's defence of the present Devanagari script against the attack of Kaka Kalelkar indeed frightens me. I have written on that subject already. I am an Andhra and I am prepared to give up our 2,000 years' old script, if in return you give me a rational, sensible and workmanlike script. Ministers meet in Lucknow, they confabulate; they reject the opinion of technical men and experts. And now here we are

[Shri Rama Rao.] again in another colossal mess. Is this the way of handling a national problem?

When I asked a gentleman who participated in the Lucknow deliberations, he said: "You South Indians may not after all accept our script. Therefore, why should we spoil our own?" Then why do you say at all that Hindi is to be the national language of India? Are you ashamed of it? Are you afraid of it? If it is not so, then accept the logical conclusion that you should also rationalise the script.

As I said in my speech moving the Resolution, one of the main purposes of my Resolution is to stress the promotion of Hindi as the national language of India and thus fulfil the purpose of article 351 of the Constitution; to promote Hindi not only as a national but one of the major national languages. I also want that the other Indian languages grow up rapidly and truly represent the ideology of the common man in this era of democracy. Further, it is my desire, when the States are going to be reorganised, that the reorganised States should be charged with this definite function, and that they must be asked to attend to it solemnly and sacredly.

Sir, some of my friends here, who have made irrelevant speeches, forgot that I have said nothing about Government aid in this Resolution. I have benefited by my experience. Last time some people, including Mrs. Munshi, who is not here, attacked me that I was asking for literary patronage and if it was so I was doing something wrong—literature would be corrupted and prostituted. That, however, was not my intention.

Suppose it was so. Why should we be ashamed of it? It is our languages; it is our State; it is our Government. And from Governments which make Hindi the State language, we have a right to expect that it will carry out its constitutional obligations. We must also encourage

private munificence. Bernard Shaw in his will left a major portion of his property for the improvement of English spelling. Churchill, as I told the House last time, spoke of basic English at the height of the last war, when he was fighting the battle of Britain. Here after six years of freedom as Dr. Kane has pointed out, what is our record? What has the Education Ministry done and what are we doing as a nation to carry out our responsibilities?

Sir, my suggestion for a Commission of enquiry has drawn the ire of some Members of this House. If you can "call for papers", if that is the technical language, why not a "Commission of enquiry" which is the technical language for saying that the time has come that this country should have an enquiry into this question? Why do they quarrel about words?

In my Resolution, almost every aspect of linguistic development has been covered and I was expecting that friends would add and subtract. I am indeed grateful to some of my friends who are sitting behind, that, they complained that my Resolution was not sufficiently comprehensive.

Can language be made to order? That was another question asked. I never said that language could be created by anybody. Therefore Shri Agnibhoj's criticism on this ground must be put into *agni*. I only said: that since language is one of the most animate activities of mankind, something has got to be done to improve it. It is not a clod of day. It has: a soul and a mind. Let us improve it.

Things have been arbitrarily done' in the past in this direction. Akbar ordered that Persian should be the language of India, and we had it the next day. The British said that English should be the State language, and lo and behold, that happened.. What would be wrong if we in our day purposefully work for the development of our languages? Sir, actually within my experience. I have seen a language created, given a»

grammar, given a dictionary, given a new diction also. The lady over there Shrimati Angelina Tiga was referring, with her experience of Chhota Nagpur, to the development by missionaries of aboriginal languages. In my own part of the country a very distinguished scholar, Shri Gidugu Ramamurthi Pantulu. wrote a dictionary and a grammar for the Sav<sup>ra</sup> language I see no reason why such an attempt should not be taken in hand, for other undeveloped languages.

As regards a linguistic survey, it is overdue. Mr. Mazumdar made out a very good case. I feel that if the homogeneity of this country is to be promoted, we should take that work in hand quickly. I find the literature at present available on the subject is not satisfactory.

Sir, I thank Dr. Kane, Dr. Kalidas Nag, and Kaka Kalelkar in particular for the very learned, distinguished and influential support they have given to my Resolution. I did not fly a lark; I brought it before this House with all the intensity of feeling and conviction of my lifetime. In my boyhood there were raging controversies among poets and scholars in Andhra, controversies, linguistic and literary. That spirit has kept raging in my mind. We have undertaken certain duties of citizenship in free India. I only wanted to awaken the consciousness and slightly the conscience of the Education Ministry. Sir, as I have already said, the important characteristics of a language are elasticity, expressiveness and richness, and, above all, its capacity to keep pace with the march of mind of the common people. I have never pleaded for regimentation; I pleaded for co-ordination, which is entirely different. It would be no use Bengali or Tamil or any other language marching ahead leaving others behind. All must go together. What is the Central Education Ministry for? As a sentinel, on the watch-tower, what is it doing to co-ordinate our efforts? This is the question I have raised and certainly it becomes more ne-

cessary, when we notice some abominable things are being done in the name of development of language by men like Dr. Raghu Vira. I would refuse to go anywhere near his dictionary containing ridiculous, nonsensical and idiotic substitute words which have been read out in this House. I, as a Telugu man, would not accept them. Cement is very good for me; what is *vajrachoarna*?

Sir, people speaking without the slightest knowledge of historical tendencies or of linguistic growth have talked as if things linguistic were made to order as a rule. I never said it. It has always been a slow, natural development. The language and literature of England have been compared to the flow of a great river. I would similarly compare the development of the languages and literatures of this country to the flow of a great river. In the days of Sanskrit we attained classic heights—Everest heights. The mighty Ganga flows down; it comes to Hardwar. It is where our development stands to day. How we tame the river, how we make it navigable and how in this age of revival we shall be getting the best of the fertilising water, is the problem that faces us. After all, do not forget that man has conquered nature. A language can be improved at a forced pace, as it were. A language can be the greatest expression of the profoundest thoughts of a nation in a generation. Language provides the most solid and sound foundation of literature. So I want it, as I have often said in this House, that this great age of democracy, the age of Jawaharlal Nehru, should go down in history as a great age of the Indian genius's efflorescence, an age in which the literatures and the languages of India received support from the State, I do hope it will not be said of us that we failed in our responsibility, having accepted it under the Constitution.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What are you going to do with your Resolution? Are you withdrawing it? Or do you want to press it to vote.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Well, Sir, I beg leave to withdraw it.

The Resolution\* was, by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI M. MANJURAN (Travancore-Cochin): But, Sir, should he not have the leave of the House for withdrawing his Resolution?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are too late. He has got the leave of the House.

### RESOLUTION RE BASIC EDUCATION

SHRI D. NARAYAN (Bombay):

श्री डी० नारायण (बम्बई) : Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Council is of opinion that Government should take early steps—

(a) towards the implementation of the provisions of article 45 of the Constitution of India; and

(b) to declare basic education as the pattern of national system of education to be hereafter established in India.

This Council is further of opinion that Government should immediately establish a basic education section in the appropriate Ministry for co-ordinating and circulating useful information to the States with regard to basic education and for serving as a liaison with training institutions and educational departments."

श्रीमन्, भाषा शास्त्रियों के शास्त्रार्थ के बाद में अपना यह सीधा सादा प्रस्ताव उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ। यह प्रस्ताव सीधा सादा होते हुए भी, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि

\*For text of Resolution, see column No. 628 supra.

देश की असंख्य जनता की आवाज इसके द्वारा मैं आपके कानों तक पहुँचा रहा हूँ। पाँच लाख देहातों में जो मूक जनता आज करोड़ों की संख्या में रहती है उनकी यह आवाज है, उनकी यह आकांक्षा है, जो कि इस प्रस्ताव में रखी है। आप जानते हैं कि यह देश ऐसा देश है कि जहाँ की बहुसंख्यक जनता निरक्षर है, न पढ़ना जानती है और, न लिखना। मैं अभी तक मुन रहा था साहित्य की बातें, और उन देहातियों के बारे में सोच रहा था कि क्या वे विचारे इन बातों को समझ सकते हैं जिनकी चर्चा यहाँ हो रही थी। आज इस देश में सिर्फ १३ फीसदी ऐसे आदमी हैं, जो मामूली पढ़ना लिखना जानते हैं और सैकड़ों में ८३ ऐसे हैं जिनके लिये काला अक्षर भैस बराबर है। ऐसी हाज़र में आप जानते हैं कि उनकी आकांक्षा क्या हो सकती है।

इस मुल्क के दो दुश्मन हैं, एक गरीबी श्री सरा अज्ञान। आज जो सभ्य देश कहलाने हैं—और भारतवर्ष को भी अभिमान है सभ्य कहलाने का—उन देशों में कहीं पर भी हिन्दुस्तान के बराबर निरक्षर लोग आप को दिखाई नहीं देंगे। किसी भी सभ्य देश को देखियेगा, वहाँ साक्षर लोगों की संख्या १०० में से ९० होगी, ९८ होगी, और कहीं कहीं तो पूरे सौ प्रतिशत होगी। रशिया (Russia) में जहाँ १९.१३ ; गिरी हालत थी, वह नहीं रही और पं संख्या मेंट पर मेंट

गई है। अमेरिका एक देश है, जिसका बहुत कुछ अनुकरण इस देश में होने लगा है, हालांकि यह बड़े दुःख की बात है, वहाँ भी सैकड़ों पीछे ९८ लोग साक्षर हैं। इन तमाम बातों को देखते हुए हमारे कंस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) के बनाने वालों ने यह आदेश हम को दिया कि इस देश में सर्वत्र फ्री और कम्पलसरी प्राथमिक शिक्षा दस वर्ष में पूरी