

1950, 1951 and 1952 is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix IV, Annexure No. 144.]

MAULANA M. FARUQI (Uttar Pradesh) :

(c) As far as possible, damp-proof and well-ventilated godowns are selected for storage of foodgrains. Technical organisations have been set up by the Central and most of the State Governments and disinfection measures including fumigation are adopted to prevent deterioration. The smallness of the losses in storage is due to the said measures having been adopted.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI
SARDAR SINGH

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received a ' letter from Shri Sardar Singh: —

"I wish to apply for permission of the Council under article 101(4) of the Constitution for remaining absent from the meetings of the ' second part of the current session of the Council commencing from 25th March as I am abroad for reasons of health and shall not be able to return before this session ends."

Is it the pleasure of the Council that permission be granted to Shri Sardar Singh?

(No hon. Member dissented.)

Permission to remain absent is granted.

RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT
OF A COMMISSION TO ENQUIRE
INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION
OF INDIAN LITERATURE

MR. CHAIRMAN: We go back to the discussion of the fResolution moved by Shri Rama Rao on the 26th February 1953. Maulana M. Faruqi to continue his speech.

t For text of Resolution, vide cols. 1286-1380 of the Debate, dated 26th February. 1953.

مولانا ایم-فاروقی (اتر پردیش) :

جناب والا ! ۲۶ فروری کو مسٹر رام راؤ نے جو ریزولیشن (resolution) ہاؤس کے سامنے پیش کیا تھا اس کے بارے میں اسوقت میں نے صرف چار پانچ منٹ کچھ عرض کیا تھا کیونکہ وقت ختم ہو رہا تھا۔ وہ چیز ادھوری رہ گئی تھی۔ یہ جو ریزولیشن آج آپ کے سامنے ہے یہ ایک انتہائی اہمپارٹینٹ (important) انتہائی اہم نیز ہندوستان کے لٹریچر (literature) اور علمی ترقی کے لئے بہت ضروری ہے۔ میں نے اپنی گزشتہ تقریر میں اس کی جانب اشارہ بھی کیا تھا۔

ہندوستان اپنے لٹریچر کے اعتبار سے اپنی فلسفی (philosophy) کے اعتبار سے اپنے علم کے اعتبار سے انڈیا غریب نہیں جتنا آج ہمارے نوجوان اسے سمجھ رہے ہیں۔ یہ ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی (East India Company) کے

آنے کے بعد سے ۱۵۰ برس کے پروپیگنڈے (propaganda) کا نتیجہ ہے۔ میں کئی ہزار برس پہلے ہندوستان کی تاریخ کی طرف آپکی توجہ لانا چاہتا ہوں۔ تمام دنیا والے اور خاص طور سے ایشیا والے ہندوستان سے اس بات کی تمنا کرتے تھے کہ وہ یہاں کی زبان، یہاں کے اخلاقی علوم، یہاں کے فلسفہ ویدانت اور یہاں کا طریقہ

علاج اور میڈیسن (medicine) سیکھیں۔ دنیا میں انسانوں کی زندگی کے لئے جو سب سے اہم چیز ہے وہ علاج کا طریقہ ہے۔ ہندوستان اپنے کمال پر تھا۔ میں آپ کو یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ دو تین ہزار برس پہلے پرشین ایمپائر (Persian Empire) سے خاص طور پر ہندوستان میں ایک ڈیپوٹیشن (deputation) بھیجا گیا تھا۔ وہ ڈیپوٹیشن اس مقصد کے لئے بھیجا گیا تھا کہ ہندوستان کے ادب اور فلسفہ کو اپنی زبان میں منتقل کیا جائے۔ اس زمانہ میں سفر میں بہت دقتیں تھیں۔ یہاں رہنے میں اور یہاں کے لوگوں سے کانٹیکٹ (contact) کرنے میں بڑی مشکلات پیش آتی تھیں۔ لیکن پھر بھی ان کی پروا نہ کی۔ اور کافی روپیہ صرف کر کے وہ ڈیپوٹیشن یہاں آیا۔ اور یہاں سے کامیاب ہو کر واپس گیا۔ جب وہ ڈیپوٹیشن اپنے ملک میں واپس پہنچا تو شاہ ایران کے خسرو نے پورے فوج کے ساتھ اس کا استقبال کیا۔ اس سے یہ اچھی طرح اندازہ ہو جاتا ہے کہ اسوقت ہندوستان کا لٹریچر کتنی بالمدی پر تھا۔ اسے بھی چھوڑ دیجیئے۔ آپ صرف دس سو برس پہلے جائیے۔ بغداد میں خلیفہ متوکل کا زمانہ ہے جو ایک بہت علم دوست خلیفہ ہے اس نے اپنے یہاں ایک ٹرانسلیشن ڈیپارٹمنٹ (Translation Department) قائم کر رکھا ہے جس میں

فارسی - گریک - ایجیپٹ اور تمام ایشیا کے لوگ جمع ہیں اور ترجمے ہو رہے ہیں۔ ہندوستان بڑے بڑے سنسکرت دان عالم موجود ہیں اور ان کی ان خدمتوں نے لئے گراں معاوضہ دئے جاتے تھے جس کو ہم ہندوستان کے عام معاوضہ میں یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ایک طرف تو اس مصنف کو رکھا جاتا تھا اور دوسرے پلے پر زر و جواہر رکھے جاتے تھے اور تول دئے جاتے تھے۔ مستر راما رائے نے جو فرمایا ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کے رائیٹر (writer) بڑے بڑے شاعر اور ادیب بہت بری حالت میں ہیں بالکل سیچ ہے کہ ان کی حالت بہت ہی خراب ہے۔ لہذا جیتک ہم ان کی مدد نہیں کریں گے ان کی دماغی بلندی کیسے بڑھے گی جس سے ہم سب لوگ فائدہ اٹھا سکیں گے اس لئے ہمارا اور ہماری سرکار کا یہ فرض ہونا چاہیئے کہ ہم ان لوگوں کی دل کھول کر مدد کریں جس سے کہ ہمارے ادب اور علوم میں ترقی ہو اور وہ ہمارے ملک اور قوم کے لئے مفید ہوں۔

جنگاب والا - جیسا کہ میں ابھی عرض کر چکا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کے علاج کا طریقہ جو تھا وہ بہت ترقی یافتہ تھا۔ یہاں کا جو آیور ویدک کا طریقہ تھا وہ اتنا بالمد تھا کہ عرب نے جس طرح گریک - ایجیپٹ - ایران

[Maulana M. Faruqi.]

اور دوسری قوموں کے طب کو ترجمہ کرایا اسی طرح یہاں کی کتابوں کا بھی ترجمہ کرایا اور اس کو اپنے یہاں رائج کیا۔ صرف اتنا ہی نہیں بلکہ انہوں نے ان تمام ملکوں سے طب کو لیکر اسے قبول (develop) کیا اور ترقی دی۔ یہ حقیقت ہے کہ ستروہویں صدی تک انکسفر (Oxford) کے کورس میں عربوں کی طبی کتابیں برابر رہیں اور انہیں پر نئے ایلوپیتھک (allopathic) کی بنیاد رکھی گئی۔ تو آپ یہ بات اچھی طرح سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان کبھی بھی لٹریچر کے اعتبار سے اور علم کے اعتبار سے متاثر اور غریب نہیں تھا بلکہ وہ اپنے لٹریچر کے اعتبار سے اور اپنے اخلاقیات اور تعلیم کے اعتبار سے دنیا میں سب سے بڑھا چڑھا تھا۔ ہزاروں برس سے باہر کے ممالک کے لوگ یہاں کی تعلیم اور لٹریچر کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے آتے رہے ہیں۔ سات سو سال ہوئے ہیں کہ یہاں ایک بڑا مورخ ۱۷ برزی ۱۱ آیا جس نے یہاں کی سائنس کی زبان سیکھی۔ آپ کو یہ سن کر حیرت ہوگی کہ مشکلات کے باوجود اس طرح کے علم دوستوں نے کبھی مہارت یہاں کی زبان میں حاصل کی۔ ابھی تک بتارس میں وہ زمین موجود ہے جہاں اس طرح کے لوگ مہینوں نہیں بلکہ

برسوں رہے اور عام حاصل کئے۔ ان سب باتوں سے صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ اس ملک کا لٹریچر کتنا اونچا تھا۔ فیضی نے گیتا کا فارسی میں ترجمہ کیا۔ یہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ وہ صحیح ترجمہ نہ ہو مگر یہ بات مانتی پیڑگی کہ انہوں نے سائنس کی تعلیم حاصل کرنے میں کتنی جدوجہد کی جبکہ اس زمانے میں تعلیم سیکھنے میں بہت مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑتا تھا۔ ان سب باتوں کے باوجود بھی باہر کے لوگ آپ کے یہاں لٹریچر اور تعلیم حاصل کرنے آتے تھے۔ اس کی وجہ تھی۔ اس ملک میں عام لٹریچر اور اخلاق کا ذخیرہ موجود تھا۔

اس کے بعد آپ دیکھیں گے کہ جو فارین (foreigner) یہاں آئے ایرانی ہوں، مغل ہوں خلجی ہوں جو لوگ بھی ہوں وہ جو علوم اپنے ساتھ لائے انہوں نے یہاں کے لٹریچر سے اسے ملا کر اور اسے ترقی دے کر ایک بہترین ذخیرہ پیدا کر دیا۔ خاص طور پر علم طب کو لے لیجئے اسے لیکر جب یہاں باہر کے لوگ آئے جنکے پاس گریک، ایجیپٹ، ایران اور تمام دنیا کا جو ذخیرہ تھا اور جو ہزاروں سالوں میں دیولپ ہوا تھا تو اس ذخیرہ میں یہاں کے آئورونڈک نے چار چاند لگا دیئے اور سینکڑوں سال سے اس سے کروڑوں

اس فائدہ حاصل کر رہے ہیں۔
 غرضیکہ مہندستان نے اندر علم
 و ہنر کے جواہرات موجود تھے اور
 ہیں۔ ہمارا لٹریچر کوئی غریب
 لٹریچر نہیں ہے بلکہ ایک بچ
 (rich) لٹریچر ہے۔ لیکن ہم اس
 وقت اس کی رفتار ترقی میں کافی
 کمی محسوس کر رہے ہیں اور اس
 کمی کے دور کرنے میں یہ قرارداد
 بہت مددگار ہو سکتی ہے۔ ہمارے
 معزز ممبر مسٹر دسا رائے نے اپنے
 ریزولوشن میں کہا ہے کہ ہم لوگوں
 کو اور سرکار کو اپنے ملک کے اچھے
 اور قابل مصنفوں، دانشوروں اور علمدانوں
 کی جو کس طرح بھی باہر کے
 لوگوں سے کم نہیں ہیں، ہر طرح
 کی مدد کرنی چاہیئے۔ اگر سرکار
 ہمارے دانشوروں اور علمدان حضرات کی
 مدد کرے تو ان ہی لوگوں کی بدولت
 ہمارا یہ ملک اپنے علم و کمال میں
 پھر اسی بلندی پر پہنچ سکتا ہے
 جو آج سے ہزاروں برس پہلے تھا۔
 ۱۵۰ برس سے پہلے جب سے
 ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی یہاں ہمارے
 ملک میں آئی اس نے رومن کلچر
 یا فرنچ کلچر ہم پر لانے کی کوشش
 کی۔ جس سے ہمارے علم و ادب
 اور لٹریچر کو کافی نقصان پہنچا۔
 انہوں نے سب سے پہلے یہاں بائبل
 کا ترجمہ کرایا پھر کلکتہ میں پریس
 قائم کیا اور اپنی دوسری ادبی کتابوں
 کو شائع کیا۔ انگریزی اخبار نکالے۔

اس طرح آہستہ آہستہ وہ
 اپنی ضرورتوں کے مطابق لٹریچر
 ہمارے اوپر لانے چلے گئے اور ہمارا
 لٹریچر ختم ہوتا گیا۔ کیونکہ جس
 چیز پر حکومت کا سایہ ہوتا ہے
 وہ ترقی کرتی ہے اور دوسرے علوم
 بہر حال مرجھانے لگتے ہیں۔ یہی
 صورت ہمارے لٹریچر، ہمارے ادب
 اور ہمارے تمام علوم کی رہی ہے۔
 مطلب یہی ہماری مرجھا گئی
 کروڑوں کے لئے کام کر رہی تھی۔
 تو آپکے سامنے وہ ۱۵۰ برس کا دور
 تھا اور ہمارے جو سمجھدار لوگ تھے
 انہوں نے اس کا احساس کیا اور
 آزادی کی تحریک کے سانہ اس کا
 احساس بھی کرانے لگے۔ اب ہم
 آزاد ہیں اس لئے ہمیں سوچنا ہے
 کہ کس طرح پر تمام لٹریچر کو
 تمام چیزوں کو ایک جگہ پر جمع
 کر دیں۔

اس کے بعد سب سے اہم چیز
 جو کہ آپ کو سوچنی ہے وہ زبان کا
 مسئلہ ہے۔ یہ زبان کا مسئلہ کوئی
 نئی چیز نہیں ہے۔ میں آپ کو
 بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ ہندوستان
 کی تاریخ کو دیکھیں تو آپ
 پائیں گے کہ جب بھی ہندوستان
 میں کوئی ایکٹائی پیدا ہوئی اور
 مخالف صوبے ملے، ایک ہوئے تو
 ہمیشہ یہ کوشش رہی کہ سب کی
 ایک زبان ہو اور ایسا ہو کہ کسی

[Maulana M. Faruqi.]

طریقہ سے تمام صوبے کے لوگ ایک دوسرے صوبے کے لوگوں سے ایک زبان میں بات کر سکیں اور ایک دوسرے کو سمجھ سکیں - آپ ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں دیکھیں گے کہ میر خسرو ملک مستند جانی وغیرہ نے ایک کاسن (common) زبان بنانے کی کوشش کی - یہ اسی روشنی میں تھا کہ جب حکومت برہمی تمام لوگوں کے تعلقات ہوئے اور آنا جانا ہوا تو اسکی ضرورت پڑی کہ کوئی ایک زبان ہو - اس زبان کو چاہے آپ اردو کہیں پوری کہیں ہندی زبان کہیں یا اودھی کہیں لیکن وہ کوشش کی گئی - اسیر خسرو نے جنگی کہ قبر موجود ہے خاص طور سے اس طرف کوشش کی اور ایک زبان بنائی جو کہ آج بھی عام طور پر بولی جاتی ہے -

اس وقت ہمیں ضرورت ہے کہ آپس میں کچھ نہ کچھ کاسن باتیں ضرور ہوں - میں تو بہت زمانے سے رومن اسکریپٹ کا قائل رہا ہوں کہ تمام ہندوستان میں رومن اسکریپٹ جاری کر دیا جائے تو سب زبانیں قریب ہو جائیں گی جو پہلے سے ایک دوسرے کے قریب ہیں اور کم از کم ایک دوسرے کے بول چال کا مسئلہ کافی حد تک حل ہو جائے گا - ہر حال اگر آپ نے دیوناگری اسکریپٹ کو بھی کر دیا ہے تو اُس

کو ہی رکھیں - مگر ساری زبانوں میں بھی ریسرچ (research) ہو چیسا کہ اس ریزولیشن میں تذکرہ کیا گیا ہے نہ اردو کو شکایت ہو نہ کنجراتی کو نہ دکن کی زبانوں کو نہ بنگالی کو - جو آج نارٹھ (north) اور ساؤتھ (south) کا جیگرا چل رہا ہے وہ سب ختم ہو جائے گا اور سب ایک جگہ پر آ جائیں گے - اس کے لئے اگر ہم سب کو کچھ قربانی بھی کرنی پڑے تو ہمیں اسے برداشت کرنا چاہیئے - ایک کاسن لیٹریچر بنانے کے لئے اسکی ضرورت ہے کہ ہم دل کو لکر کام کریں اور ہم اس کی کوشش کریں کہ جتنی زبانیں ہیں جگہ جگہ جو زبانیں بولی جاتی ہیں اور جو زبانیں دیولپ ہوئی ہیں ان سب کی ترقی ہو اور ہر جگہ ریسرچ کی جائے - ہر جگہ ڈیپارٹمنٹ قائم کرنا چاہیئے ہر جگہ ریسرچ ڈیپارٹمنٹ قائم کرنا چاہیئے اور ہر جگہ کے جو مصلف ہیں ان کو پوری کوشش سے مدد دینی چاہیئے تاکہ ہر جگہ کی زبان بالمد ہو اور ان میں جو سرمایہ ہے وہ حاصل ہو اور اسے حناصل کر کے متحدہ طور پر ہندوستان کے لٹریچر کو ہم مکمل بنائیں اور کسی علاقائی زبان کو اس کی شکایت نہ ہو کہ اسکو مارا جا رہا ہے - میں ان الفاظ کے ساتھ اس ریزولیشن کی تائید کرتا ہوں -

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 145.]

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM (Uttar Pradesh):

श्रीमती सवित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यद्यपि इस रेजोल्यूशन पर अनेक अनुभवी और विचारशील महानुभावों ने अपने विचार पिछली बार प्रकट किये हैं किन्तु फिर भी यह विषय इतना गम्भीर और इतना महत्वपूर्ण है कि इस पर अभी बहुत कुछ कहा जा सकता है। श्रीमन्, आपको यह विदित ही है कि आज देश में आजादी मिलने के बाद जिस कमी को हम सब बिना किसी दो राय के महसूस कर रहे हैं वह है हमारी साहित्यिक निर्धनता। इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि हमारा देश एक ऐसे युग से भी गुजर चुका है जब हमसंसार के तमाम देशों के गुरु माने जाते थे और संसार के बड़े बड़े राष्ट्र हमसे कुछ सीखने और कुछ पाने की सदैव चेष्टा करते थे। यही नहीं बल्कि तक्षशिला और नालन्दा के विश्वविद्यालयों में सारी दुनिया के विद्यार्थी केवल एक इच्छा और अभिलाषा ले कर तमाम प्रकार के कष्ट झेलते हुये आते थे कि हम भारतीय साहित्यिकों से कुछ न कुछ ज्ञान प्राप्त करेंगे। किन्तु धीरे धीरे हमारा ऐसा पतन हो गया कि आज हमारी साहित्यिक निर्धनता इस हद तक पहुँच गई है कि हमें उसे दूर करने के लिये विदेशी साहित्य पर निर्भर ही नहीं रहना पड़ता वरन् विदेशी साहित्य के अनुवादों द्वारा अपने साहित्य की उन्नति के लिये हम प्रयत्नशील हैं। मैं तो कहती हूँ कि यदि वह भी सही मानों में और सही तौर पर किया जाय तो भी अनुचित न होगा क्योंकि वह भी हमारी

31 C. S. D.

एक ऐसी आवश्यकता की पूर्ति करेगा जिसके बिना आज हमारे बहुत से काम ही नहीं रुके पड़ें हैं बल्कि हमारा नैतिक वैज्ञानिक तथा हर प्रकार की उन्नति रुकी हुई है। किन्तु श्रीमन्, इस पर विचार करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि जब हम साहित्य की उन्नति के लिये प्रयत्नशील हैं तो उनकी क्या दशा है जो कि साहित्य का सृजन करते हैं, साहित्य का निर्माण करते हैं, अर्थात् कवि, लेखक, पत्रकार आदि की। क्या भूखों मर कर या तड़पते हुये बच्चों को देख कर या भूखी स्त्री को विकल देख कर कोई भी स्वस्थ साहित्य का निर्माण कर सकता है? क्यों न उनके साहित्य में विद्रोह की झलक हो, क्यों न उनके साहित्य में विध्वंस की भावनायें हमें दिखाई पड़ें अथवा क्यों उनके साहित्य में गिरी हुई ऐसी बाजारू चीजें आयें जिनके कि द्वारा उनका भरण पोषण हो सके।

श्रीमन्, पिछली बार कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बड़े बड़े आदर्श रखे और कहा कि हमारे यहां की साहित्यिक परम्परा ही यह है कि साहित्यिक हमेशा भूखे रह कर और तपस्या करके साहित्य का निर्माण करते रहे हैं। किन्तु परम्परायें युगों के साथ साथ परिवर्तन चाहती हैं। उस युग में जब कि विश्व में इतना आर्थिक संकट न था और दो महायुद्धों के विकराल तांडव से हम प्रभावित न थे यह संभव था कि हम केवल तपस्या करके अथवा बहुत थोड़ी आय में जीवन निर्वाह कर लेते। किन्तु आजकल जब कि विश्व दो गुटों में बट रहा है और इन

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]

महायुद्धों ने विश्व के आर्थिक ढांचे को छिन्न-भिन्न कर दिया है और भारत भी उसकी लपेट में आ गया है और दो हजार वर्ष की गुलामी ने जब कि हमारे देश के लोगों की आर्थिक दशा को इतना गिरा दिया है कि पुराने जमाने में जहां एक व्यक्ति कमाता था और परिवार भर खाता था वहां आज हालत यह है कि परिवार भर के लोग मिलकर कमाते हैं तब भी अपना जीवन यापन नहीं कर पाते, तब ऐसी हालत में क्या यह संभव है कि कोई लेखक, या कवि तपस्या और त्याग का आदर्श ले कर जीवन यापन कर सके और स्वस्थ और उन्नतिशील साहित्य का निर्माण कर सके, यह विचारणीय बात है। पिछली बार बहुत से महानुभावों ने कहा कि यदि हमारे देश के साहित्यकार कोई सरकारी सहायता को प्राप्त करेंगे और तब साहित्य और लेख लिखेंगे तो वे बिल्कुल सरकार की ही बात कहेंगे और वे अपनी कोई स्वतंत्र राय नहीं दे सकेंगे, इसलिये वे कोई अनाथालय के बालक नहीं हैं कि सरकारी संरक्षण में रहें या सरकारी सहायता प्राप्त करें। किन्तु यदि सरकार वास्तव में सहायता करना चाहे तो यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि वह लेखकों के ऊपर, लेखकों की कृतियों के ऊपर और उनकी पुस्तकों के ऊपर कोई प्रतिबन्ध लगावे या कोई ऐसा आदेश दे कि आप अमुक अमुक प्रकार का साहित्य निर्माण कर सकते हैं बल्कि सरकार को चाहिये कि वह कोई प्रतिबन्ध न लगावे और साहित्यकारों को उन्मुक्त कर दे कि वे जिस प्रकार का साहित्य चाहें तैयार करें और साहित्यकार

भले ही कोई ऐसी वस्तु लिखे जो कि सरकार के विरुद्ध जाती हो तब भी उसको सहायता दी जाय। यदि ऐसा हो तो मैं समझती हूं कि किसी को कोई आपत्ति न होगी और लेखक अपने को किसी भी बन्धन में बंधा हुआ नहीं पायेगा। बहुत से लोगों ने कहा कि जैसे पहले राजाओं के यहां चारण और कवि लोग रहा करते थे और राजाओं की प्रशंसा में गायन किया करते थे, उसी तरह यदि सरकार कवियों और लेखकों को सहायता दे तो वे सरकार की प्रशंसा में लिखेंगे। मेरा निवेदन है कि वह राजसत्ता का युग था और अब जनतांत्रिक युग है। अब जब कि प्रजातंत्र की स्थापना हमारे देश में हो चुकी है तो यदि लेखक या कवि सरकारी संरक्षण प्राप्त करें तो कोई आपत्ति की बात न होगी और वे सदा ही सरकार की प्रशंसा में ही केवल लिखें ऐसा नहीं होगा। आज जब कि सरकार प्रतियोगिता कराती है, साहित्यकारों को बड़े बड़े इनाम दिये जाते हैं तो हमारे साहित्यिक किसी रूप में उससे बंधे हुये नहीं हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि अब जैसे कि दस हजार का पारितोषिक दिया जाता है वह १० लाख का कर दिया जाय। अगर ऐसा होता है तो कैसे लोग बन्धन में बन्ध सकते हैं बल्कि ऐसा होगा कि आज जो हमारे साहित्यकारों का शोषण पूंजीपति प्रकाशकों द्वारा हो रहा है और कॉपीराइट एक्ट के द्वारा हो रहा है और जो कि आज लेखक प्रकाशकों के चंगुल में फंसे हुये हैं उनसे वे निकल आयेंगे और उनके पास धन होगा और वे अपनी पुस्तक फिर सस्ते दामों में नहीं बेचेंगे। इसके अतिरिक्त जब उनको पारितोषिक मिलने की

आशा होगी तो वे पुस्तकों को छपवा भी लेंगे और छपवाने के बाद उनको पारितोषिक द्वारा इतनी सहायता मिल जायेगी कि वे फिर सस्ते दामों पर पुस्तकों को बेचने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे। आजकल बहुत से बुजुर्ग लेखकों के पास पत्र आया करते हैं कि आप हमारी यह किताब या हमारा यह लेख बिकवा दीजिये क्योंकि हम भूखों मर रहे हैं और बिना उनको बेचे हुये हम जिन्दा नहीं रह सकते। ऐसे लेखकों को यदि पारितोषिकों द्वारा कुछ रुपया प्राप्त हो जाय तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि उनको शोषण से अपनी रक्षा करने के लिये कितना अवसर मिल जायेगा। इसलिये मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि शीघ्र से शीघ्र कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाय कि जो पारितोषिक देने के लिये प्रतियोगितायें होती हैं और जो कि अच्छी से अच्छी पुस्तकों पर इनाम दिया जाता है उनकी संख्या हर प्रान्त में और सेंटर में तुरन्त बढ़ जानी चाहिये और वह संख्या काफी हो जानी चाहिये वरना देश में कभी भी स्वस्थ साहित्य का निर्माण न हो सकेगा और यह आप जानते ही हैं कि जिस देश में स्वस्थ साहित्य नहीं होता उस में कभी भी यह उम्मीद नहीं की जा सकती कि वहां स्वस्थ नैतिकता का या स्वस्थ वातावरण का निर्माण किया जा सकता है। श्रीमन्, देश निर्माण के साथ साथ यदि हमने साहित्य निर्माण की ओर भी कदम नहीं बढ़ाया तो मुझे यह खतरा है कि हम लोग देश का निर्माण भी सरलतापूर्वक नहीं कर सकेंगे क्योंकि देश निर्माण के लिये जिन लोगों को हमें बनाना है और जिन की बौद्धिक, मानसिक और नैतिक उन्नति करनी है उन की सर्वप्रथम आवश्यकता और मुख्य साधन स्वस्थ और अच्छा साहित्य ही है।

एक बात मुझे और कहनी है और वह यह है कि पिछले दिन कुछ महानुभावों ने कापी-

राइट एक्ट के विषय में कहा कि कापीराइट का अधिकार लेखकों को दे दिया जाय तो यह कहा गया कि कापीराइट का अधिकार देना या न देना चूंकि विदेशों से सम्बन्धित है इसलिये उस में संशोधन, परिवर्तन या परिवर्धन नहीं ला सकते। श्रीमन्, यदि कापीराइट का यह अधिकार विदेशों से सम्बन्धित है तो इसको जाने दिया जाय किन्तु क्या जो आल इंडिया रेडियो का कापीराइट एक्ट बनाया गया है वह भी विदेशों से सम्बन्धित है? इस के बारे में मैंने जानकारी प्राप्त कर ली है कि वह कापीराइट एक्ट विदेशों से सम्बन्धित नहीं है और वह यहां से ही सम्बन्धित है। आज अच्छी से अच्छी उच्च कोटि की रचनायें २० या २५ रुपये में रेडियो में खरीद ली जाती हैं और उन पर लेखकों को कोई अधिकार नहीं रहता है। यह एक बहुत बड़ा शोषण हो रहा है जो कि शीघ्र ही बन्द किया जाना चाहिये। यदि आल इंडिया रेडियो इस कापीराइट एक्ट को उठा ले तो बहुत से गरीब लेखकों को यह फायदा हो जायेगा कि वे अपनी कृतियां दूसरी जगह बेच सकेंगे और दूसरी जगह दे कर उनसे कुछ न कुछ आय कर सकेंगे।

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA:

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की ऐसी राय नहीं है, और कंटीज की भी यह राय नहीं है।

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM:

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : अभी मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि कापीराइट एक्ट के बारे में हमारा हाथ नहीं है और वह विदेशों से सम्बन्धित है। मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगी कि यदि वास्तव में ऐसा है तो उनको अतिशीघ्र बिना एक मिनट के विलम्ब के कापीराइट एक्ट में तुरन्त सुधार लाना चाहिये और ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये कि

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]

एक जांच बैठा कर यह मालूम किया जाय कि किन लेखकों की पुस्तकें सस्ती कीमत पर खरीद ली गई हैं और जिन लेखकों की पुस्तकें सस्ती कीमत पर खरीद ली गई हैं उनको वह लौटा दी जाय। अगर ऐसा कर दिया जाय तो लाखों का भला हो सकता है। आप सबको विदित है कि किस प्रकार लेखकों की हीन दशा का लाभ उठा कर प्रकाशक उनका बुरी तरह से एक्सप्लायटेशन (exploitation) कर रहे हैं। वे यह नहीं देखते कि उन की पुस्तकें कैसी हैं, उनके ग्रन्थ कैसे हैं बल्कि वे यह देखते हैं कि यह लेखक कितनी जरूरत में है और जिस तरह एक मजदूर और असहाय दुकानदार अपनी कोई चीज जल्दी से जल्दी निकालने पर मजबूर होता है और जो खरीदार होता है वह उसकी बेवसी की दशा से फायदा उठाता है ठीक उसी तरह प्रकाशकों का रवैया लेखकों के साथ है और प्रकाशक भी लेखकों की हीन दशा से उचित और अनुचित सब प्रकार के लाभ उठा रहे हैं। इसलिये, श्रीमान, मैं और अधिक न कहूंगी, सिर्फ इतना कह कर समाप्त करूंगी कि इन बातों पर ध्यान दे कर लेखकों, कवियों और साहित्यिकों की शीघ्र से शीघ्र रक्षा की जाय।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 146.]

SHRI C. G. MISRA (Madhya Pradesh):

श्री सी० जी० मिश्र (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय सभापति जी, इस प्रस्ताव में अनेक विषय हैं और महत्वपूर्ण विषयों का इस में समावेश है। अतः इतने थोड़े समय में पूर्ण रूप से इस पर विचार करना संभव नहीं है। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं देखता हूँ कि यदि यह प्रस्ताव स्वीकार भी कर लिया जाय और शासन की ओर से इस प्रस्ताव के अनुसार

कार्यवाही करने का प्रयत्न किया जाय तो शासन को अत्यन्त कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ेगा। परन्तु प्रस्ताव का जो सिद्धांत है वह बहुत ही उत्तम है इसलिये मैं उसका पूर्ण समर्थन करता हूँ।

प्रस्ताव का सम्बन्ध विशेषकर भाषाओं से है क्योंकि प्रस्ताव में यह लिखा हुआ है कि हमारे साहित्य को अनेक भारतीय भाषाओं में उद्धृत करना चाहिये। इसके अतिरिक्त प्रस्ताव में यह भी है कि हमारी जो क्लासिक्स (classics) हैं, प्राचीन साहित्य हैं, उसको अनेक भाषाओं में परिवर्धित करना चाहिये, इस विषय का सम्बन्ध उन तमाम भारतीय भाषाओं से है जिनमें कि अनेक प्रकार का साहित्य वर्तमान है।

जहां तक भाषा का सम्बन्ध है उसके लिये शासन की ओर से विधान के अनुसार यह स्वीकार कर लिया गया है कि हिन्दी भाषा हमारे राष्ट्र की भाषा होनी चाहिये। जहां तक हिन्दी भाषा का राष्ट्रीय भाषा होने का प्रश्न है हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि हिन्दी भाषा की क्या दशा है। हिन्दी भाषा के सुधार के लिए क्या क्या प्रयत्न किस किस दिशा में हो सकते हैं, यह बात हमें देखनी और विचारनी है। हमें हिन्दी भाषा की प्रगति के लिए नाना प्रकार के उपाय करने पड़ेंगे। हिन्दी भाषा का उद्गम संस्कृत भाषा में है और संस्कृत भाषा का उद्गम वैदिक भाषा में है। यदि हमें हिन्दी भाषा की अच्छी तरह से उन्नति करनी है तो यह नितान्त आवश्यक हो जाता है कि संस्कृत भाषा की सहायता ली जाय। यही नहीं, हमें वैदिक भाषा की भी सहायता लेनी पड़ेगी। वैदिक भाषा में और जो प्रचलित भाषा है उनमें कुछ भेद है लेकिन जितनी भी भाषायें हैं उनका आधार वैदिक भाषा में ही मिलेगा। कई

विद्वानों की यह धारणा है कि संसार में जितनी प्रचलित भाषायें हैं उन सबका मूल वैदिक भाषा ही है। जितनी संस्कृतियां आजकल विद्यमान हैं उन सबका मूल वैदिक संस्कृति ही है। वैदिक संस्कृति आर्य जाति के समय से चली आती है जिसकी कि हम सब लोग सन्तानें हैं।

आज हम भारतवर्ष को कई समुदायों में बंटा हुआ देखते हैं। यदि हम अपने प्राचीन इतिहास को देखें तो हमको यह प्रतीत होगा कि हम पहिले एक ही जाति के थे। कुछ हजार वर्षों के बाद हम धार्मिक और राजनीतिक कारणों से भिन्न भिन्न हो गये। उस समय जातियों की कल्पना इस रूप में नहीं थी जैसे आज हम ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रियों इत्यादि के रूप में देख रहे हैं। उस समय लोग भिन्न भिन्न तरह के कार्य करते थे और भिन्न-भिन्न नाम से कहलाये जाते थे। उस समय के बाद से समाज के अन्दर तरह तरह के परिवर्तन होते चले आये हैं। इस परिवर्तन का कारण अवश्य ही धार्मिक और राजनैतिक रहा होगा।

आज जब हम हिन्दी भाषा को देखते हैं तो हमें यह मालम होता है कि इसका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध संस्कृत भाषा से अवश्य रहा है और मुख्यतः उससे ही इसकी उत्पत्ति हुई है। आज हिन्दी भाषा में अनेक विषयों के लिये जैसे रेल, कानून, विज्ञान, इत्यादि विषयों का साहित्य हमको हिन्दी में कम मिलता है इसलिए उसको अपूर्ण समझा जा रहा है। हम यहां पर यह भूल जाते हैं कि इन सब चीजों का साहित्य हमको संस्कृत भाषा में मिल सकता है और हम उसको आसानी के साथ हिन्दी भाषा में ग्रहण कर सकते हैं। कोई भाषा अपने आप नहीं बनती है, उसको जब बनाया तथा प्रकट किया जाता है तब ही वह उन्नति कर सकती है। आज देश के अन्दर

नाना प्रकार की भाषायें प्रचलित हैं, वे स्वयं ही नहीं बनीं बल्कि उनको बनाया गया और उनका प्रचार किया गया। जब हम हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा स्वीकार करते हैं तो हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम उसका हर तरह से विकास करें जिससे कि वह शीघ्रता से उन्नति कर सके। हम आज यह देखते हैं कि जो अहिन्दी लोग हैं, या जिन का हिन्दी का ज्ञान बहुत कम है, वे लोग तरह तरह के आक्षेप करते हैं और कहते हैं कि आजकल जो हिन्दी है वह बहुत ही कठिन है। हमारे डाक्टर रघुवीर जी ने जो हिन्दी की शब्दावली बनाई है उस पर तरह तरह के आक्षेप किये जाते हैं।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि जब हिन्दी हमने राष्ट्रभाषा मान ली है तो हमें यह विचारना चाहिये कि हिन्दी को किस तरह से समृद्ध बनाया जा सकता है, उसकी रचना करने में किन किन बातों का विशेष ध्यान रखना चाहिये। अगर हमें सच्चे अर्थ में हिन्दी की शब्दावली बनानी है तो हमें संस्कृत भाषा के अनेक शब्दों को लेना पड़ेगा, इसके बिना हमारा कार्य नहीं चल सकता है और न कोई दूसरा उपाय ही है। आज जो हम थोड़ा बहुत हिन्दी का विकास देख रहे हैं उससे तो हमारा कार्य नहीं चल सकता है। इसमें हमको अवश्य कठिनाई मालूम पड़ेगी मगर यह कठिनाई ऐसी नहीं है जिसको हम दूर न कर सकते हों। हिन्दी के विकास के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम उसका शास्त्रीय आधार बनायें। डाक्टर रघुवीर ने जो कोष बनाया है उसका मैंने कुछ अध्ययन किया है। आजकल जो लोग साधारण हिन्दी जानते हैं, जिनका हिन्दी का ज्ञान कम है उनको अवश्य इस तरह की शब्दावली से कठिनाई मालूम पड़ती होगी। जिन लोगों को संस्कृत का ज्ञान है और जो हिन्दी का अच्छा ज्ञान रखते हैं उनको वह शब्दावली बहुत अच्छी प्रतीत

[Shri C. G. Misra.]

होगी। इसके साथ ही साथ हमको यह भी देखना है कि हमारा सम्बन्ध प्राचीन साहित्य से कितना है और कितना होना चाहिये। हमारी हिन्दी भाषा में कई विषय हैं। हमें यह सोचना होगा कि किस विषय के साहित्य की प्रगति की जानी चाहिये। हमारे पास नाना प्रकार के साहित्य हैं। अगर सरकार इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करती है तो उसको इस पर बहुत रुपया व्यय करना होगा और अनेक योग्य व्यक्तियों की सहायता लेनी होगी। भिन्न भिन्न विषयों का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है उन के विषय में यही उचित होगा कि हम अन्य भाषाओं के साहित्य को दूसरी भाषाओं में उत्पन्न करें, तो हम को सफलता मिलेगी।

हम सब लोग महात्मा गांधी जी के सिद्धान्तों को मानते हैं। उन का मूल सिद्धान्त अध्यात्मवाद (spiritualism) पर निर्भर है। वह अध्यात्मिकता (spiritualism) है। बहुत से अंग्रेजी के विद्वान् इसका अक्सर मजाक किया करते हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि स्पिरिचुअलिज्म के विषय को ऐसे लोगों ने अपना लिया जो कि उसके नाम पर नाना प्रकार से व्यापार करते हैं। परन्तु महात्मा गांधी जी ने उसको उपयोगी तथा व्यावहारिक रूप में हमारे सामने रखा था। महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि जब तक पाश्चातीय देश अध्यात्मवाद (spiritualism) के सिद्धान्त को नहीं अपनाते तब तक जनता का हित नहीं हो सकता है। अब हमें यह देखना है कि अध्यात्मवाद (spiritualism) के बारे में साहित्य कहां मिलेगा। आपको यह मालूम होगा कि अध्यात्मवाद (spiritualism) का जो शुद्ध रूप है वह केवल संस्कृत भाषा में ही है और किसी भाषा में नहीं है। यदि हमें महात्मा गांधी जी के सिद्धान्त का प्रचार करना है तो उनके सिद्धान्त के

अनुसार ही करना चाहिये, चाहे वह राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में हो या और किसी क्षेत्र में। हमें उनके सिद्धान्त को प्राथमिकता देनी होगी। इसलिये संस्कृत भाषा को ही आधार मानकर हमें कार्य करना होगा। मैं जानता हूं कि कुछ महाशय यह कहते हैं कि संस्कृत (dead language)

Sanskrit may be a dead language for them; but they are also dead for the Sanskrit language). ^ffr

dead language

कहते हैं वे खुद मृतप्राय हो चुके हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि संसार में कितनी ही भाषायें जन्मीं और मृत हुईं परन्तु संस्कृत भाषा ही एक ऐसी भाषा है जो अभी तक जीवित है और हमारे साहित्य में अभी तक वर्तमान है।

कहने का सारांश यह है कि अगर हमें हिन्दी भाषा की उन्नति करनी है तो हमें संस्कृत भाषा को ध्यान में रखना होगा और उसकी भी उन्नति करनी होगी। यह बात मैं मानता हूं कि जब हम हिन्दी भाषा की उन्नति की बात सोचते हैं तो हमें प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की उन्नति का ख्याल रखना होगा। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी भाषा के साथ हमारी प्रान्तीय भाषायें भी उन्नति करें। मगर हमें संस्कृत भाषा को ही आधार मान कर सब भाषाओं की उन्नति करनी होगी।

मेरा सम्बन्ध वेद से बहुत रहा है और मैं बार बार उसका उदाहरण इसलिए देता हूं कि जो गलत धारणा वेदों के प्रति लोगों में हो गई है वह ठीक नहीं है। इस तरह की बात सोचना एक भारी गलती होगी। वेदों के बारे में लोगों ने अलग अलग अर्थ लगाये हैं और उनमें वेदों के लिये एक तरह की उदासीनता आ गई है। मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि जहां तक भाषा का सम्बन्ध है आपको हिन्दी

भाषा का संस्कृत को आधार मान कर विकास करना पड़ेगा, तब ही हम उसकी उन्नति कर सकते हैं। हमको यहाँ पर संस्कृत भाषा का ही सहारा लेना होगा जिसका साहित्य का भंडार बहुत ही गहरा है। अगर हमने इस तरह से नहीं किया तो हम अपनी राष्ट्र-भाषा की उन्नति करने में सफल न हो सकेंगे।

कुछ अंग्रेजी विद्वानों ने अंग्रेजी भाषा के द्वारा संस्कृत साहित्य का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया है। उनके विचार तो बहुत ही विचित्र हैं। वे लोग अपने स्वतंत्र धार्मिक विचारों तथा अपने आदर्शों के कारण हमारे वेद, शास्त्र के प्राचीन ग्रन्थों को नास्तिकवाद या mythology के ग्रन्थ कहते हैं। यही कारण है कि आज वेदों के प्रति लोगों में एक गलत धारणा पैदा हो गई है।

अन्त में मेरी सरकार से यह प्रार्थना है कि इस विषय के बारे में सब लोगों का सहयोग प्राप्त करना चाहिये और हिन्दी का विकास वैज्ञानिक आधार पर करना चाहिये।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 147.]

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman I rise to support wholeheartedly the Resolution placed before us on the 26th February last by my honourable and dear friend Shri K. Rama Rao.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

When this Resolution was discussed last, I found myself in the happy company of such eminent and literary giants as Shri Benarsi Das Chaturvedi, Shri Ramdhari Singh Dinkar and last but in no way the least, Shri Kaka Kalelkar. All of them, while supporting the Resolution, expressed their disagreement with the idea of literary men seeking any sort of monetary assistance from the Government, and with that view of the problem I was and I am in entire agreement. To my

I mind, a man of literature, or for that matter, a lover of literature, when he seeks money for the product of his brain, that production itself becomes of a lower degree. The pleasure of brain work, the study of literature, lies in the work itself. It is incapable of being converted into coins. Ved Vyas never asked for any money for his great work. Valmiki wrote that he thought his duty to write. No literary man has ever asked for money as the price of his production. My hon. friend Shri Rama Rao who is unfortunately not here at this time travelled all the way from Vikramaditya to Bhoj, from Macaulay to Jefferson, from Roosevelt to Gen. Franco, from Confucius to Firdausi and all that. But what he concluded from his long and varied journey was that men of literature of the present day should be assisted by Government.

With this aspect of the Resolution, I beg to submit, I am not in agreement. Of course, he offered a very distasteful suggestion, he made a very disdainful remark—that Sanskrit was a dead language. But to that remark, my hon. friend over there—Shri Misra has given a suitable reply and therefore I will not touch it. Sir, my hon. friend Moulana Faruqi, who too is not here, spoke of Barni—a very learned man who wrote much about India and its old and ancient glory. I had Moulana Faruqi been here I would have reminded him that India was glorious not only in literature, but also in spiritualism. There was a very famous and noble gentleman known by the name of Moulana Rumi who spoke about Banaras:

अज बनारस न खैम मावदे आम अस्त ईजा
हर बिरहमन बचै लछमनो राम अस्त ईजा

He had adopted Banaras as his residence and he said that he would not even think of leaving Banaras and taking his abode elsewhere, because Banaras was the centre of pilgrimage for the entire world and for the entire humanity; and he looked upon each and every Brahmin—by Brahmin he certainly meant intellectual people men of god-like habits, manly people,—

[Shri H. P. Saksena.] he considered everyone of them as descended from Ram and Lakshmau.

So, that shows the greatness in which India was held during those days, but then, Sir, comparing it to our present day condition, we are not to go and get satisfied by our ancient glories. We have to recover that lost treasure and we have to rebuild India in conformity with the present day requirements.

Sir, talking of old literature, can any country produce a work equivalent to our Panch Tantra in Ave parts in. which the entire realm of politics is discussed as a dialogue between animals. I invite you, Sir, to imagine the idea behind the way of teaching politics to the common people. What a new and novel way of doing it! Then, Sir, we have Hitopadesha, a masterpiece.

In this Resolution, Government is requested to appoint, a Commission. I have got such a bitter taste of these Commissions and Committees that I do not at all believe whether this Commission that is contemplated to be appointed would do any good for the cause that my hon. friend Mr. Rama Rao advocates.

If there be one individual at the helm of affairs in the person of the Education Minister or the Deputy Education Minister who has got any idea of • literature, any love for literature, who wants this country to be great so far as literature is concerned, the men of literature—in that case will not have to seek the assistance of the Government and will not have to make a request to the Government to appoint a Commission, but the Government spokesmen will come themselves to those literary men in order to seek their assistance in rehabilitatin?; and re-stabilising our literature. This is how I look at the problem and I hope and pray that the present Ministers in charge of Education will think more of India than of Asia. After all, India is to be rehabilitated first before we think of Asian countries and Arab

League and cultures of other countries surrounding India.

Sir, one great subject that should engage our constant attention is the care of our morals. We should not lose sight of the moral standard of the common man. If our morals are raised, everything will be good but if we go down and down in our morals as we are unfortunately at present, I do not see a bright future for the country. If Government begins to give monetary assistance to literary men for producing good literature, I am afraid there will be a blackmarket established in that field also and literary men will, instead of producing good literature, compete and adopt all sorts of undesirable methods to get their books or other productions accepted by the Government. And this is happening in the matter of text books of schools even today. Being a humble author, a poet and a journalist, I see what privations those who depend for their livelihood upon their own brain work have to undergo. There are occasions for men of literature, poets, authors and journalists, when they have to depend upon the charity of friends for their daily living but all that is immeasurable joy compared to loss of dignity that one has to suffer when one seeks monetary assistance. Tulsi Das was a poor poet and yet under very adverse circumstances during the time when India had lost its sovereignty, he composed an immortal poem which is the pride of India even today.

This Resolution, Sir, will, in my opinion, bring some awakening to the responsible Government. It will open their eyes to see in what deplorable manner they are neglecting *one* of their most important duties. If it serves even that little purpose, I shall be satisfied. Sir, good literature can not be had for the asking. The least that the Government can do is to seek out men who are fond of literature; I they will not come to them of their I own accord—they will have to be sought after and, in that way, all the country over, they have got to select and pick up men who are fond of

literature, literature of all languages in ■which this country abounds. There are literary giants even today but they do not apply for assistance.

With these remarks, Sir, I support the Resolution.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR (Bombay): Sir, though I appreciate very much the spirit of the Resolution, I have serious doubts about its implementation. I should like to know from the Mover of the Resolution whether he wants more literature to be produced or whether he wants the Government to help the authors who produce literature. If encyclopaedias are to be compiled Government aid is necessary. If big works under joint authorships, are undertaken, Government must come forward to help them.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras): I did not exclude encyclopaedias.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: If, on the other hand, we want to help the authors, we must define authors and books also. John Ruskin in "Sesame and Lillies" has classified books into three kinds. He says there are the books of the hour, there are the books of the day and there are the books for all times. Books of the hour are sold before ten o'clock in the morning and I do not think the Mover of the Resolution has that class of books before him. Then we come to the second category, books of the day. These books are in abundance in our country at all places and in all languages. Many of these books die before the death of the authors. The baser elements in mankind are enkindled by some of the authors in these books and they deserve an early death. This class of writer has got commercial tendency in him and he knows his job very well. Now, we come to the third category, books for all times, that is a permanent literature. Authors in this category have got something to give to the people, They want to tell us what is *Satya*, what is *Siva* and what is *Sundara*. In our excitement of daily life we forget the basic principles of life itself and run adrift. These sages of learning try to bring us to our own,

give moral tone to our life and try to mould our character. But it is going to be very difficult to find out this class of authors. They are the worshippers of the Goddess of Learning and not the Goddess of Wealth. 'Sri' and 'Saraswati' that is, 'wealth' and 'learning' have got naturally different abodes. A man of learning is proud and would rather die in poverty than go to any person for help.

कोद्वेहीति वदेत्

स्व दग्ध जठरस्योर्थ

मनस्वी पुमान्

"Which self-respecting man will say, 'Give me for this accursed belly'". This is the attitude of this class of writers. They do not care for the patronage of kings.

त्वत्प्यास्था न चेत्

मयि तव सुतरामेष

राजन् गतोऽस्मि ।

"Oh, King, if you have no regard for me, the less I have for you. Here I go." That is the philosophy of these authors. They are inwardly happy with their light and learning. They are outspoken, they are careless and they are fearless. The author would never go after Lakshmi whom he considers as fickle. Though these sages of learning are not after wealth it is our duty to supply them with wealth. But the main difficulty is the problem of finding such authors. Dante wrote 'Divine Comedy' with the blood of his life, says Carlyle. There are very few fortunate authors who have achieved both Sri and Kirti during their lifetime. Many such authors achieve success after their death. But if we are fortunate to know them it is the duty not only of the Government but of the society as well to go towards them and help them.

The suggestion made in the Resolution of appointing an Enquiry Committee seems to me futile. Do the Government not know what is needed in the country? Is an Enquiry Committee necessary for this purpose? Also the matters suggested in the Resolution for enquiry are not clear. Take the

[Shri T. R. Deogirikar.]

first item for instance. Is it intended that an author should not only write books but publish them and sell them? What does the poor author know about publication and sale of books? Is he to open a book-shop and also a publication department? Is he to undertake this publication business of which he knows practically nothing. If you want to kill a budding author it is better to make him a publisher and a salesman too. Unless you have a variety of books and a large capital you cannot have a publication department, much less a book-shop. I know many renowned authors who are exploited by the publishers. But if an author gets 10 to 15 per cent, royalty on the cost price of the books he must be considered very fortunate. About 40 per cent, of the total cost is taken up in printing, in paper, in binding and in get up. No bookseller will touch a book of general interest unless he is given 20 to 25 per cent, commission, and the remaining 20 to 25 per cent. is left to publisher who runs a risk of taking over the publication of the book and who has got to wait for a number of years for the sale of it. Let us therefore not hold the author with the object of enabling him to publish and sell his books.

Then there is another item No. 8 wherein it is stated "Nationalisation of production of text books from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities". The object is a most laudable one. But I am doubtful whether it will be successful. It is after all for the State Governments to standardise text-books. The Bombay Government for instance has got standard text-books for The primary schools but they have not taken on hand other text-books on other subjects. For instance there are no textbooks for arithmetic, history, geography and the other subjects. I personally think that it is not possible for the Government to do so. Apart from the business side they have very few Presses at their command and it will be difficult for them to have standard text-books unless they invest large

I amounts in the printing business. Before standardising text-books we must ask ourselves whether we have got a standard language. It is said that 'language changes every ten miles. So are we going to standardise language? Then there is another problem. The capacity of the urban boys and the rural boys is different. So all these factors will have to be taken into consideration before laying down certain programmes for action. I put a simple question. We have not been able to nationalise our dress and every now and then we are told 'nationalise this, nationalise that'. It is very difficult to adopt simple things. We may be able to pass Hindu Code Bills ten times but it will not be possible for us to nationalise our dress. So before accepting, item No. 8 we will have to give consideration to these factors. I would request the mover of the Resolution; not to press it to vote because I consider it humiliating to place these things before the Government. It is their duty and they must do it.

AN HON. MEMBER: They won't do.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: It is not our fault. What else can we do?

I would request the Government to take all the suggestions into consideration, suggestions made on the floor of the House on the previous two days and the suggestions that are being made today. I should like to offer few suggestions on the subject. Financial aid given at the commencement of work enslaves the author. But if it is given after the completion of the work it ennoble him who takes and him who gives. Therefore I am going to suggest that our Government should give ten prizes of Rs. 10,000 each. Other nations have adopted it. These prizes should be given not for individual works but for general authorship and on subjects such as philosophy, literature, scientific research, politics, economics, medical research, history, sociology, and agricultural and technical research. Rs. 10,000 will appear to be a very big sum but just consider the winners of cross-word puzzle prizes.

They are given one lakh of rupees and Rs. 50,000. Those who have become successful in these crossword puzzles have become brainy fellows in this land of ours and nobody is paying any attention to them. Therefore I say that ten prizes of Rs. 10,000 each are not very prohibitive. This suggestion should at once be taken up by Government.

Then there is another suggestion. Government should purchase at least 100 copies each of the selected books in all languages and should present them to libraries, to universities and colleges. That will greatly help the dying authors. My third suggestion is this. If a foreigner comes to this country and if he asks us: "where is your national central library?", what are we to say to him? We tell him that we have undertaken a Five Year Plan costing about Rs. 2,069 crores; we tell him that we have got 55 Community Projects; we also tell him that we have opened 11 laboratories, but if he were to ask: "where is your national library?", what answer can we give? We have to admit that we are fighting for priorities and unfortunately, learning has not that priority in the present set-up of our country. We are learning because we want to earn. Learning for learning has become a slogan of the dead past. So I would request the Finance Minister and the Minister for Education as well to exert all their influence and raise the amount of Rs. 2,069 crores by one crore, and make it Rs. 2,070 crores, and have one national central library in this country as early as possible.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have one in Calcutta. Perhaps *be hon. Member does not know.

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: But my conception of library is different from yours, Sir. I am dreaming that we should have a big building in the centre of which the mother of languages—Sanskrit literature should be kept, and there should be 14 buildings. where the literature of all the recognised languages should have a place. Each language which we have recog-

nised should have a different block. But English should not be excluded, nor the foreign languages. If we have such a library, it will be a glory to our country and it will also help the authors and the general reading public. So if this one item is taken up by the Government and a national central library is established, I think the future generations will bless them and they will not say that India is being made a nation of shopkeepers and agriculturists and peasants. If we want to get away from this blame of the future generation, I would pray Government to have this national central library as early as possible.

Then, I have one or two more suggestions to make. The Bombay Government has undertaken publication of old books. They have brought out the works of Tuka Ram and have priced it at Rs. 5. It consists of three volumes. I would request Government to undertake such works if they possibly can. And my last suggestion is, and I am talking about the Bombay Government of the British days. As soon as the British Government settled in this country, they did two or three things. The old Sanskrit works were revived; District Gazeteers were published; and though I cannot say for the whole country, but as far as Bombay is concerned, they brought out dictionaries -which are standard even today.

SHRI K. S. HEGDE: Also in Madras..

SHRI T. R. DEOGIRIKAR: So I would request the Government to recast these old dictionaries and bring them up to date and to have District Gazeteers if possible. I tell you there is nothing but praise for these works which were done previously by the British Government. So we should recast them and bring them up to date.. These are some of the suggestions which I want to make. At least my suggestion about dictionaries and District Gazeteers should be taken up at once by Government. Sir, I support the resolution.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while I am?

[Shri Kishen Chand.] in full sympathy with the idea underlying this Resolution and fully support that authors in various languages should be given every help to enrich our literature, I beg to submit that any type of Government help, any support financial or otherwise by Government, is not going to develop the literature of this country. I submit, Sir, that there are certain fundamental and basic factors which are retarding the progress of these languages in our country and unless and until we set right those fundamental defects in our social, educational and political life of the country, no amount of Government help, no amount of ¹ Government subsidy, nor the appointment of a Commission is going to prop up these languages which, in spite of their rich heritage, are decaying at present.

In my opinion, the main problem is first of all the standardisation of our languages and their separation from the dialects. Though we recognise only 14 principal languages in our country, there are hundreds of dialects and I sometimes wonder that instead of reviving these principal languages, there is a harmful tendency of reviving the dialects. Hindi is the principal language of this country and yet instead of supporting Hindi efforts are made to revive some dialects in Eastern U.P. or Western Bihar or even in the Punjab, which are doing a great harm to the national language of India.

So I come to my three principal suggestions which are very essential for reviving these languages. You cannot keep any language going until there is a demand for its literature. And what is the demand for literature in the country in these languages? These languages are not prescribed in the universities or in High Schools as compulsory subjects. They are in most universities just optional subjects. 95 per cent, of the students do not take these languages as compulsory subjects. In the Government offices, the local languages are not used except at the village level for the keeping

of village records. In common social talk, in cinemas, in libraries, due position is not given to these languages. How is it possible to encourage these languages and promote their literature? A haphazard solution is not right and will not really lead to any results and I would suggest certain concrete things.

If we really want these languages to flourish, we should first of all see what is the position of these languages from the point of view of their distribution? We have got about four or five principal languages in the South—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and Marathi. These five languages are spoken in the South which has a population of 12 crores and which consists of the Madras Presidency, the Bombay Presidency, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. The population of these areas is nearly 12 crores and these five languages are spoken there. Then there is West Bengal and Orissa with a population of nearly four crores and two principal languages—Bengali and Oriya. And then we are left with about 20 crores of our population speaking principally Hindi and many variations of this language, for instance, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Maithili and so many other dialects; but the principal and main language spoken by these 20 crores is Hindi. This is the linguistic distribution of our population. I really admire the national spirit of the people in the South that they very gladly accepted Hindi as the national language of our country. It was a great sacrifice on their part and we should welcome it, and we should keep that in view when we enforce the claim of Hindi on the entire population of this country. It should not be a question of forcing the language. I find several hon. Members here trying to force the Hindi language on others who do not understand it, by speaking in that language and ignoring the sentiment of those who cannot understand it. Instead of doing that, we should really create such a big literature in Hindi and enrich that language in such different ways that out of sheer desire, those whose mother tongue is

not Hindi, may start learning it. Let the compulsion come from their own voluntary desire and not from Government level, and not by the help of the Constitution, because that type of compulsion is not going to help Hindi or its propagation. On the contrary, many people are going to oppose it and thereby retard it from spreading.

Everybody cannot be a linguist, and we should so redistribute our social life and our political life that any individual person is not required to learn a large number of languages. We lightly say, "Oh, people in Europe learn several languages. What is the harm if any countryman of ours learns English, Hindi, and three or four regional languages like Tamil, Tr-lugu, Malayalam?", and so on and so forth, and add Sanskrit on top of it. As if it is very easy for every one to learn six languages!

Therefore, Sir, we should first of all insist that our countrymen are expected to learn only three languages at the utmost, and these three languages should be Hindi, which is the Rashtra Bhasha, English, which is the international language, and only one local language which should be the mother tongue. If we restrict it to these three languages it will be possible to encourage and continue the teaching of these languages right up to the highest level.

Sir, this question is immediately connected up with the question of linguistic provinces. It is unfortunate that in such a simple resolution that question comes in, because in a multi-lingual State you have many regional languages, and if every individual were to learn all the regional languages, he would have learnt so many regional languages that he would have no time for Hindi and English. So, naturally, first of all, we have to make uni-lingual States in this country. Secondly, the court language of that uni-lingual State must be the regional language. Thirdly, in the educational system we have to so adjust it that all school education is imparted in the

regional language, that the regional language is taught as a literary subject up to the school-leaving stage. If we insist on that, we shall have created a market for the literature of our country. When we have taught these languages as compulsory subjects, it means people will continue to read them and there will be a demand for their literature. At the university stage also, I would like a division of the university education into two parts: education up to B.A. degree and post-graduate education. I would like that the graduate education should be carried on through the medium of the regional language alone. The postgraduate education may be through the medium of Hindi or English. But the teaching up to B.A. degree must be in the regional language.

Sir, there is another big handicap ■ to the growth of these languages, and that is the script. The sound of alphabet is exactly alike; there is absolutely no difference. When we come to the script, there is a vast difference. Every language has its own script. The actual learning of the alphabet may not take more than a few days, but if one wants to do fast reading, it may take even two years' time to master the script of any language. Therefore, if we are really sincere in our desire ■ for the growth of our languages in this vast country, there is only one way, and that is a common script. I do not know what that script will be. The Constitution prescribes the Deva-nagari script. But any script which is commonly agreed upon by all the principal languages of the country should be imposed. Until we agree upon that script—be it the Devanagari script or the Latin script or a mixture or a re*-vised script—it will not be possible to create a love of literature. If we adopt one scr'Dt at least the whole rrobien of linotype machine or monotype machine or typewriting machine or shorthand will be solved and we can I imagine the amount of saving that it will lead to. With only one script we will be able to print all the literature at the most economical price. When the script is the same, and the source

[Shri Kishen Chand.] of all these languages that is Sanskrit is the same, it will be far easier for our countrymen to learn various regional languages and help all the literatures in their development.

In conclusion, I support the spirit of this Resolution, but I submit that until and unless these fundamental defects are removed, no kind of Gov-ernment help will assist in solving the problem.

SHRI KANHAIYALAL D. VAIDYA
(Madhya Bharat):

श्री कन्हैयालाल डी० वैद्य (मध्य भारत) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने है उस पर भिन्न भिन्न दृष्टिकोण से विचार प्रकट किये गये हैं। इस प्रस्ताव की जो भावना है उसका बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने समर्थन किया है किन्तु जहाँ हम सरकार से इस बात की आशा करते हैं कि वह हमारे लिये कुछ कर दे वहाँ मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि हमें अभी वह काम पूरा करना है जिससे कि इस देश में एक वelfare (welfare) राज्य की स्थापना का स्वप्न पूरा कर सकें। मैं संक्षेप में यह बताना चाहूँगा कि इस देश की संस्कृति पर, सम्पत्ता पर, स्वाधीनता पर और भाषा पर जो विदेशी आक्रमण हुये और जिससे यह देश गुलाम हुआ उसके कारण हमने बहुत कुछ खोया और उसे फिर से प्राप्त करने की आज आवश्यकता है। यदि पिछले विदेशी शासनों में किसी ने देश को जीवन दिया, देश को स्वतंत्रता की ओर ले जा कर उसे प्राप्त करने की ओर आगे बढ़ाया तो वे हमारे कवि हैं, लेखक हैं, पत्रकार हैं, जिन्होंने उच्च आदर्श और उच्च भावना को ले कर अपनी कृतियों को लिखा और जिसके बल पर इस देश के अन्दर एक नया जीवन और एक नई जागृति पैदा हुई और हम गुलामी से पीछा छड़ा सके। यह ठीक है। कर राजनैतिक क्रान्ति हुई और हमें राज-

नैतिक स्वतन्त्रता मिली और वह स्वतंत्रता उन तमाम ज्ञात और अज्ञात लोगों के बलिदान पर निर्भर है जिन्होंने कि उस साधना में अपने को खपा दिया। यहाँ इस देश में एक साम्राज्यवादी व्यवस्था रही, एक पूंजीवादी शोषण की व्यवस्था रही, उसके अन्तर्गत जितने काम हुये, जितनी व्यवस्थायें यहाँ चलीं वे सब व्यापार की और शोषण की व्यवस्थायें बन गईं। यहाँ तक कि जो ज्ञान का कार्य हमारे कवियों ने, लेखकों ने और पत्रकारों ने किये वह भी शोषण की वस्तु बन गई। जिन लोगों ने अपने जीवन को उच्च आदर्शों के लिये खपाया वे बुरी दशा में रहे; गरीबी में रहे और बहुत से लोग अकाल मृत्यु के, क्षय के, शिकार हो कर मर गये। आज भी देश में, और मैं तो कहूँगा कि इस सदन में भी, बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने अपनी लेखनी द्वारा देश को बहुत प्रेरणा दी परन्तु उनकी बहुत ही बुरी हालत है। जैसे कि राष्ट्रकवि मैथिलीशरण जी गुप्त यहाँ बैठते हैं, उनकी क्या दशा है, उनके परिवार की क्या दशा है और उन्होंने किस तरह से पूंजीवादी प्रकाशकों के शोषण से बचने के लिये अपनी महान् कृतियों को स्वयं छपाने की चेष्टा की, यह सबको विदित है। इस देश को महात्मा जी ने भी बहुत कुछ दिया परन्तु यदि वह भी "नवजीवन ट्रस्ट" बना कर न छोड़ जाते तो फिर उनका ज्ञान और उनकी पुस्तकें भी व्यापार की एक वस्तु बन जातीं। तो यहाँ तो सारी वस्तुएँ एक व्यापार की ही चीज बनी हुई हैं और यदि कोई व्यक्ति साधना करके संसार के कल्याण के लिये कुछ करता है तो शोषणवादी लोग और पूंजीवादी लोग उससे व्यापार करके लाभ उठाने लगते हैं। हमें अभी इस देश में एक ऐसी क्रान्ति को लाना है जिसके द्वारा हम इस शोषण का अन्त कर सकें और आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति को पूरा कर सकें। जिस जड़ या बुनियाद

के ऊपर स्वतंत्रता कायम हुई, जिन लोगों की कुर्बानियों के बल पर राजनैतिक क्रान्ति हो कर यह स्वराज्य कायम हुआ, उन पत्रकारों, कवियों और लेखकों जिनकी कृतियों ने इस देश के करोड़ों लोगों में जीवन फूँका और स्वतंत्रता के लिये लोगों को आगे बढ़ाया उनको मैं आशा करता हूँ कि यह शासन नहीं भुलायेगा और मेरा तो कहना है कि यदि उनको भुलाया गया तो इस देश की स्वतंत्रता आगे बढ़ नहीं सकती, वह स्थाई नहीं रह सकती उनकी तो आगे की आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति को लाने की विशेष आवश्यकता है, उनके सहयोग के बिना वह आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति आ नहीं सकती। मैं तो इस बात को देख कर खुश हूँ कि इस देश की सरकार इन भावनाओं को जागृत और जीवित रखने के लिये आगे कदम बढ़ा रही है। हमारे अस्तावक महाशय श्री रामाराव ने कालिदास, भोज और विक्रमादित्य की चर्चा की थी। मैं स्वयं उस स्थान से आता हूँ जहाँ उन महापुरुषों ने साधना की थी। वहाँ पहले एक बड़ी भारी ऐसी युनिवर्सिटी थी सांदीपन ऋषि की, जहाँ संसार के लोग शिक्षण ग्रहण करते थे और स्वयं भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने वहाँ शिक्षण लिया था। किन्तु आज वहाँ युग का इतिहास बोलता है और वह केवल हमें वहाँ की धूल और मिट्टी से प्रेरणा लेने के लिये कुछ साधन जरूर देता है परन्तु आज वहाँ सिवाय उसके कुछ शेष नहीं रहा। हमारी इस गुलामी के अन्दर वह सब मिट गया है। किन्तु मुझे खुशी है इस राष्ट्र के जो कर्णधार हैं उन्होंने उस चीज को नहीं भुलाया है और यही प्रसन्नता की बात है और उसी के कारण करोड़ों लोगों के दिलों में उत्साह पैदा हो रहा है और वह फिर से आशा कर रहे हैं कि वह सब सद्भावनायें जिनकी आशा जनता सरकार से लगाये हुये हैं इस राष्ट्र की सरकार द्वारा शीघ्र ही पूरी हो सकेगी।

आपको यह मालूम होगा कि पिछले दिनों में जब पंडित जवाहरलाल जी उज्जैन आये थे तो उन्होंने वहाँ के बारे में बोलते हुये कहा था कि यह प्राचीन संस्कृति और शिक्षण का महान केन्द्र रहा है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि मेरी राष्ट्रीय सरकार फिर से इसको प्राचीन संस्कृति और शिक्षण का एक महान् केन्द्र बनावे और उस दिशा की ओर मेरी सरकार और मध्यभारत की सरकार पूरी तरह से मदद करे। तो मैं अनुभव करता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार इस दिशा में काफी सचेष्ट है। अभी इस देश में आर्थिक और मानसिक स्वराज्य कायम नहीं हुआ है। अभी पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था चल रही है, अभी साम्राज्यवादी व्यवस्था चल रही है। अभी हम जनता की भलाई के लिये जो करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करने की बातें सोचते हैं और जो सदन में बैठ कर सुझाव देते हैं वह यहाँ के यहीं रह जाते हैं। जो देश का उद्धार करने के बारे में कमेटियों की रिपोर्टें होती हैं वे सब टेबलों पर ही पड़ी रह जाती हैं और जो फाइलें हैं वे अल्मारियों की ही शोभा बढ़ाती हैं। यह इसलिये है कि हमारी जो शासन व्यवस्था है, हमारी जो मशीनरी है वह पहले सफेद हाथियों के हाथ में थी तो वह अब हमारे हिन्दुस्तानी हाथियों के बल पर चल रही है जिनका कि त्याग का कोई आदर्श नहीं है। जिस संस्कृति और जिस आदर्श को ले कर हम इस देश का निर्माण करने जा रहे हैं, जिस महापुरुष के नाम पर हम इस देश को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और जवाहरलाल जी जैसे आदमी जो कि आज इन सरकारी नौकरों का जितना भी बचाव कर सकते हैं वह करते हैं, उनके जीवन से, उनकी भावनाओं से, उनके विचारों से, हमारे सरकारी नौकर लोग कोई प्रेरणा नहीं लेते हैं। वे तो अभी तक उसी अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद के नक्शे को दिमाग में रखे हैं और उनकी अब भी वही भावनायें हैं।

[Shri Kanhaiyalal D. Vaidya.]

में आज इस मौके को ले कर उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि वे समय की गति को पहिचानें।

हमें अभी भी सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्रान्ति लानी है और इस देश के अन्दर एक वर्गविहीन समाज की स्थापना करना है, एक ऐसी समाज व्यवस्था को कायम करना है जिसकी राष्ट्रपिता कल्पना किया करते थे और जिसके लिये जवाहरलाल जी आज स्वप्न देख रहे हैं। तो यदि यह सरकारी मशीनरी, यह लाल फीताशाही नहीं सुधरी तो देश का कल्याण नहीं। इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे यह कहना है कि जिन कवियों ने कवितायें करके अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद की जड़ों को हिला दिया और जिन लेखकों ने और पत्रकारों ने फाँके किये परन्तु उनके गुलाम नहीं बने उनको सारी ताकत देश के निर्माण में और ऐसी क्रान्ति को लाने में लगा देना है जिससे कि देश की सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्रान्ति पूरी हो और देश के अन्दर ऐसे स्वराज्य की स्थापना हो जिसके अन्दर शोषण की व्यवस्था का अन्त हो। क्योंकि आप देखते हैं कि जितने भाइयों ने इस विषय पर बयान दिया उन्होंने जो कुछ बातें बताईं उनसे यही मालूम होता है कि इस ज्ञान के महान काम में भी व्यापार है, ज्ञान के काम में भी शोषण है और इस ज्ञान के कार्य में जो लगे हुये हैं, जो लेखक हैं और पत्रकार हैं वे भूखों मर रहे हैं, कौड़ी कौड़ी को मुहताज हो रहे हैं, उनके बच्चे और उनका परिवार क्षय की बीमारी के शिकार हो जाते हैं। मालिक लाखों रुपये कमाता है, करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति बनाता है परन्तु वे गरीब उसी प्रकार से इस देश की साधना में, गरीबों के उत्थान की साधना में अपना जीवन समाप्त कर देते हैं। तो जो आज यह सारी स्थिति है उसके अन्दर मैं सरकार से अपेक्षा करूंगा कि उन लोगों के लिये जो कि अपने

देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये अपना जीवन होमते रहे, हो सकता है कि सरकार के लिये उनकी कीमत न हो परन्तु जनता के दिलों में उनकी कीमत है और हमेशा रहेगी क्योंकि उनकी साधना जिस दिशा में बढ़ती गई है उस साधना को पूरा करने के लिये वह कृतसंकल्प रहे हैं और इस देश को सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्रान्ति की ओर आगे बढ़ाने के लिये विधान की जो भावनायें हैं उनको पूरा करने के लिये प्रयत्नशील रह कर तमाम शक्तियों का उपयोग कर, सरकार जिस शक्ति और साधन से इस दिशा में जो कुछ कर सकती हो वह इन तमाम चर्चाओं को ध्यान में रख कर करने का प्रयत्न करे जिससे कि इस दिशा के अन्दर सब शक्तियाँ काम करके, एक वर्गविहीन समाज की रचना में, एक वेलफेयर स्टेट की रचना में, जनराज्य को मजबूत बनाने में हम सब लोग मिल कर इस देश को आगे बढ़ा सकें।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 148.]

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, though I welcome the spirit of the Resolution, still I am not in perfect agreement with many of the provisions of that Resolution. Sir, it is a misfortune that after we got our political independence, when we expected an efflorescence in our national literature, a period of decay set in mostly in all provincial literatures. I myself am an author and I can speak with some amount of authority so far as the Oriya language and literature are concerned. Sir, after we obtained independence, not a single work of major importance has been published in that literature. The same thing holds good about the Bengal literature also. All those talented writers who flourished before the war, in the post-war period, most of them have relapsed into inactivity or silence;

Sir, I do not believe that the State is the best patron to inspire authors to produce major works of importance, I would invite the attention of the House to the golden period of Sanskrit literature, the Gupta Period, and I would also invite the attention of the House to the Golden Age of English literature, the Elizabethan Period, and the Renaissance Period in Continental literature. If we analyse the guiding trends of those periods, what do we find? A spirit of revolt permeated the minds of those creative and powerful thinkers. So, a living literature cannot be brought into being by mere spoonfeeding by the State. On the other hand, there is a danger there in that it might lead to regimentation, and that is my complaint against the present-day Soviet literature.

SHRI K. RAMA RAO: Nobody has suggested regimentation. I only want a commission of enquiry.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: When the State comes in and patronises the authors.....

SHRI K. RAMA RAO: The whole criticism on that side is wrong.

SHRI S. MAHANTYthere is every chance that the authors would be asked to produce so many pamphlets on the Biver Valley Projects or the Community Projects.

SHRI K. RAMA RAO: You suffer from suspicion.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: The hero of a drama or a novel would be an engineer as we find today in the Soviet literature, and we would not any more find those noble characteristics that we find in the heroes and heroines of our glorious Sanskrit classical literature.

Now, I am in perfect agreement with my hon. friend, Mr. Rama Rao, when he says that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to go into the present conditions of the various provincial literatures. I think it is long overdue. The present condition is due to the fact that nowadays authorship has been turned into a commercial

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pursuit. Writing a book has been equated to an industry like biscuit-making or bread-making.

Another point has been raised in the course of this debate, and that is about Hindi. I do not know how the question of Hindi came in at all. Sir, I am a great admirer of that language. I am in perfect agreement with those who feel that Hindi should be the *lingua franca* of India. We often feel awkward in exchanging our thoughts in a language which is alien to us, but at the same time it should be borne in mind that, if we analyse the linguistic history of India, even in the days when Sanskrit was at its zenith, many of the edicts of the Emperors were inscribed in the regional languages. So, were the edicts of Ashoka. Buddha, the great preacher of Buddhism, preached his religion not in Sanskrit. He had to take recourse to the provincial dialects and literatures. And we find that even in the hey-day of Sanskrit literature so many languages like Magadhi, Sauraseni, Paisachi and a host of others were prevalent. If we turn our attention to Sanskrit drama, what do we find? Though Sanskrit is used for educated characters, for women and rustic characters, Prakrit is used. The Bharat Natya Sattrain clearly laid down this rule of dialogue writing, which was followed by poets like Kalidas. Therefore, you cannot say that Hindi should be enriched at the cost of the other provincial languages.

SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN: It is quite wrong; nobody has said it.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Yet how can you explain that while vast sums are being spent for patronising Hindi and Urdu, no other provincial literatures are getting any consideration? If you say that Hindi should be the *lingua franca* of India, I have no objection and it is all right if any amount of money is spent on it, but why Urdu? Urdu is only a provincial language.

SHRI N. S. CHAUHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Urdu is a style of Hindi.

SHRI C. G. MISRA (Madhya Pradesh): It is not a provincial language.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: It has been accepted only as a regional language but still vast sums of money are being spent on patronising the Urdu language. It may be that some persons in authority have a fascination for Urdu, but at the same time they must remember that others also have their own fascinations for their mother tongues. So also, when you say that Sanskrit is a rich and ancient language, I have no quarrel with it, but we should not at the same time forget Tamil literature which is as old as Sanskrit. Perhaps it is older than Sanskrit. Therefore if we go into these controversial matters about different literatures, we do not know where we will end. We have to discuss the subject with a scientific accuracy which it abundantly deserves. So far as the limited question goes whether the State should extend its help to the growth and development of Indian literature, I am in perfect agreement with the author of the Resolution, my esteemed friend, Mr. Rama Rao. I am deeply conscious of what the Soviet Government has done in this direction. The other day I was reading that Manchuria had no literature of its own, but after the Soviet Government took it over, they gave it not only a language of its own but also a literature. Today, Shakespearean tragedies are being translated into the Manchurian language and are being staged there. It is a great achievement. Therefore, so far as it does not end in regimentation, I am in agreement with the view that the State should do something to enrich our literatures. In this connection, I should commend the action of the Madras Government who, some years ago, instituted Poet Laureateships in the different regional literatures in Madras, which encouraged many authors and writers to produce works of major importance. Here, I should like to plead that the Government of India also should do some such thing not only for the progress of the Hindi language but also for the progress of

the different provincial languages, the important works in which can be subsequently translated into the Hindi language so that it might provide us a vehicle for a better understanding of each other and pave the way for our mutual understanding and thus make Hindi the *lingua franca* of the country. And I look forward to the day when Hindi will be the *lingua franca* of the country, enriched by the best products of Indian thought and creative genius.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank the hon. Members of the House for the very instructive debate on this Resolution. The House is aware that this Resolution was tabled in the last session, but as it was not high up in the ballot, we could not get the opportunity of discussing it. I am glad that this time the Resolution has been, before the House, and has had ample opportunities for discussion. I am especially glad that the Resolution was moved by one who could speak with some authority. I read quite carefully the whole speech of the mover and also those of the other hon. Members and would like to offer my comments

on them later on. But first I

A.M. would like to submit before

the House all that the Government have done in this connection so far to stimulate and promote the cause of literature in the various languages of the country that are listed in our Constitution. Let me frankly confess that it is not my job to offer comments on various aspects or merits of literature and languages and the evolutionary processes that have led to types of growth of our languages and literature. What is required of me, perhaps, is to deal with all those steps that have been taken and ought to be taken to help the cause of languages and writers and to promote cultural unity of the country by integrating our efforts.

The House may remember, as far back as 1951, a Conference of Letters was convened by the Government of

India which was attended by representatives of State Governments and also of leading literary organisations and eminent writers of the prominent languages of India. The perusal of the proceedings of that Conference and the subsequent Resolution of the Government (which was dated the 15th December 1952) which was to implement many of the decisions of that Conference, and of some steps already taken in this connection, will go to show that the purpose of the Resolution before the House is being met substantially by that Government Resolution. Firstly, a National Academy of Letters known as the Sahitya Academy is very soon to be created by this Resolution with its headquarters at Delhi. As will be seen the object of the Academy is to develop and foster Indian languages and literature and promote the cultural unity of the country and to maintain a high literary standard. This Academy is the most representative body including State representatives and other distinguished literary men and writers. The House should agree with me that this is by far the best way to handle such an important matter. In this connection I am glad to announce that the Government have already taken a decision and they have chosen the Prime Minister as the Chairman of this Academy. The President has also given his approval and we hope that in the next month or a few weeks more, say in June, the Government may be able to announce the constitution of the Academy.

The functions and the constitution of the Academy have been clearly laid down in the Resolution and I feel there is hardly any point mentioned in the Resolution moved by my friend Mr. Rama Rao that has not been covered by that Resolution except, of course, a few which emanate indirectly from the Resolution with which I propose to deal later. It is expected, therefore, that the activities of this Sahitya Academy will satisfy the need^and aspirations of all leaders of literature and languages in the country, and those interested in the promotion

of language. The need for the appointments of a Commission to enquire into the present condition of literature, therefore, does not exist now, for the Academy possesses the basic background of the conditions of literature and languages around and as such can make a rapid survey of the problems and deal with them objectively from the point of view of getting them implemented. Moreover the All India Conference on Letters held in March 1951 and the Committee to draft the constitution for the Academy of Letters have already gone into the matter and Government have already taken certain concrete steps to achieve the objects aimed at in the Resolution. It will, therefore, be proper for me first to deal with them point by point and very briefly comment on the various parts of the Resolution and compare it with what we have already done and the steps that we propose to take in the very near future.

With regard to the Preamble, I have already said that it is no longer needed after the constitution of the Academy. I also quote here what the Minister of Education said in this connection at the time of the opening of the Preliminary Conference which took the decision to constitute the Academy. The Minister of Education said:

"I have already said that one of the first duties of an Academy of Letters would be to survey and investigate the literature which now exists in all the Indian languages. This is necessary so that we may know exactly what has been achieved in the Indian languages, and what remains to be done."

This principle of survey and detailed investigation of languages has been accepted by the Resolution on the Academy. We will thus see that the more important basic factors were gone into by the prominent literary men of the country and their suggestions obtained.

It will therefore be, perhaps, now waste of time. I am only stating this

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] objectively because all those factors have been gone into and because Government have already taken a decision in this connection, perhaps it will be more appropriate now to start at once with the work that faces the Academy rather than constitute a Commission and give them a long time to go into those questions that have already been examined.

With regard to the recommendation which have been mentioned in the Resolution by my friend Mr. Rama Rao. I would like to deal with them one by one. As regards the first recommendation i.e., helping authors, financially and otherwise, in order to give them leisure for literary work and to enable them to publish and sell their works for reasonable profit, I beg to state that this is covered by item 3(b) of the Resolution on the Academy. I would read paras (iii) and (v) of para 3(b) to refresh the memory of the House. Para (iii) says:

"to assist associations and individuals in publishing literary works, including bibliographies, dictionaries (bilingual or multi-lingual), encyclopaedias, basic vocabularies etc. in the various Indian languages literary journals, reviews, lists of publications."

Para (v) says:

"to award prizes and distinctions and to give recognition to individual writers for outstanding works."

This recommendation of the Resolution is fully covered by this part of the Resolution on Academy viz., (iii) and (v) of 3(b). As regards the awarding of prizes, a grant of Rs. 10,000, as the House will be aware, has been given to the Sahityakar Samsad, Allahabad, for helping poor Hindi authors. I am just stating some of the activities that the Government have already taken for promoting some of the items mentioned in the Resolution. Besides this, Government have approved a scheme for giving grants of Rs. 1 lakh annually

to eminent persons in the fields of literature, art etc. who may be in indigent circumstances. I do not want to comment on the differences that exist on this question of helping authors from Government coffers. Hon. Members here who have taken part in the debate this morning or the other day have expressed views on this or that side of the question. I will only request the House to appreciate the spirit in which such a decision has been taken by the Government for promoting literature by announcing prizes or giving help to institutions or creating funds for helping authors who are in indigent circumstances.

With regard to parts 2 and 3 of the recommendation of the Resolution, I will deal with them later on at the end of my speech.

With regard to the fourth recommendation of the Resolution—Transition of classics as well as modern books. Indian or foreign, into the various languages of India, I beg to state that this is covered by item (ii) of paragraph 3(b) of the Resolution of the Academy of Letters. It is to encourage or if necessary to arrange for the translation of literary works from one Indian language into others. The Government of India, have, in this connection, also a scheme to award prizes for translations and original works in Hindi of outstanding merit and we are quite ahead in this scheme. The books have been received and prizes may soon be awarded. The House may be interested to know the details of these prizes. There are three prizes of Rs. 3,000 each for the best translation into Hindi from other languages. These three prizes will be for poetry, drama and fiction and general literature. Similarly there are four prizes of Rs. 2,500 each for the best translation from other languages into Hindi, of text-books of history, geography and civics at the school and post-school levels. Then there is one prize of Rs. 1,000 for the best book in Hindi of child literature. These prizes are open to any living author for any book, up to the 31st of December 1952. The books may have been

received by now and Government would soon make their announcement. Of course, this is only a modest beginning and I appreciate what some of the hon. Members have suggested in this connection. There is great necessity for translating literature from one language of the country to another and in this connection the suggestions made by Shri Dinkar and Kakasaheb the other day and what was mentioned this morning by my hon. friends, are very valuable. I do admit that this is very important work and I hope that the academy will be eased of this important problem, of encouraging other language literature and translation into other languages and something could be done by the Academy.

With regard to the fifth recommendation of the Resolution, namely, the producing of original literature and books, I may specially draw attention to item (vi) of paragraph 3(b) of the Resolution on the Academy which deals with the question of promoting research in Indian languages and literature. The Government, however, have already taken steps in so far as this is possible. Grants-in-aid are made from time to time to various linguistic organisations as has been mentioned earlier and annual grants also have been set apart to encourage the promotion of literature in Indian languages. In this connection I would name only a few institutions that are receiving grants from the Government for original works as well as for promotion of translation and literature. There is the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of Allahabad, then the Prachya Vani (Institute of Oriental Learning), Calcutta, The Akhil Bhartiya Hindi Pari-shad, the Vaidika Samshodhan Man-dala of Poona. The Hindustani Prarthna Sabha, Wardha. the Linguistic Society of India, Calcutta. And there are many more institutions.

With regard to the sixth and seventh recommendations of the Resolution, they also deal more or less, with the same problem. With that I will deal generally later on.

So far as recommendation eight, *i.e.* nationalisation of production of textbooks from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities is concerned, I should like to point out that Education being a State subject, we cannot but give all freedom to the State Governments, to do as they choose best in this matter. It is they who have to take the initiative with regard to this matter. The Provincial Governments should welcome suggestions for improvement in the present state of affairs, so far as the publication of text-books is concerned. A committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education examined this question of publication of textbooks and they recommended to the Board the pooling of resources in production of text-books as between States with common language and needs. This recommendation was forwarded to the State Governments for their consideration and adoption. I submit that we could not do more than that. I am glad to state here that most of the States which have a common language and also common needs with regard to text-books and their publication generally appreciated these proposals of the sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board. We do not know how they are going to implement this suggestion which has been made by the Central Government. But I hope that the State Governments will give very serious consideration to this recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board, of pooling their resources and efforts to publish textbooks in the language common to the States. So far as Part "C" States are concerned, they rely mostly on the neighbouring States for their textbooks.

With regard to the ninth recommendation, *i.e.*, the collection of public donations, in co-operation with private effort and so forth. I am afraid Government cannot commit themselves just now to the creation of a general fund in co-operation with the State Governments for the general purposes set out in the Resolution. But if the

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] Academy takes an initiative in this connection, we will be glad to consider them and then it will be for us to consider how best to dovetail the efforts of the State Governments, the Academy and the Centre. But as I said, the initiative must come from the Academy first.

But now I would like to refer to a few points raised the other day in some of the speeches. I think I have already met most of the points raised by the hon. mover, except the subject of copyright to which also I will come later on.

The points made by Prof. Malkani the other day are—that there should be a body of experts in literature who should be available to guide budding writers in regard to their writings. I think this can be done appropriately, not by Government, but by the Academy of Letters to whom the matter will be referred.

His second point was that Government should undertake the translation of books and the starting of libraries on a vast scale, as in United States of America. Well, for the translation of books provision has been made in the functions of the Academy of Letters and I have already stated what the Government are doing in this connection to encourage this type of work. As regards libraries, it is primarily a matter for the State Governments: But the Government of India have also a Five Year Plan in this connection in which they propose to systematically help the State Governments if they create a service of chain libraries. Whatever steps will be taken in this connection, will receive a systematic consideration from us through the Five Year Plan.

The third suggestion of Prof. Malkani was that the medium of instruction in all schools should be the regional language, that Hindi should be the State and National language and that English must be given up. These questions are being considered already at various stages and in various ways. |

Lastly I deal with the general question of giving protection to authors as against the greedy publishers and the protection of the rights of the authors.

This, Sir, brings us directly to the second and third recommendations of the Resolution that is amending the laws of copyright and promotion of special legislation for protecting the rights of playwrights, in regard to their publication as well as ■ production of their plays in the stage. As regards copyright, India is governed, as the House is aware, by the Indian Copyright Act, 1944 which is just an extension of the Copyright Act of U.K. of 1911. I would invite attention of the House to sections 1, 2 and the first schedule of the Copyright Act of 1914 as applicable to British India which defines the term copyright and specifies the various infringements. In these sections, Sir, protections are conferred on an author but unfortunately many of them, through their ignorance of the provisions of the law, have not been able to take protection against unscrupulous publishers. It is expected, Sir, that now, in the changed conditions, the authors will be more careful about the provisions that are made in the law for them and will take help of those provisions to protect themselves against unscrupulous publishers. An amendment of this Act has now become necessary partly due to the inauguration of the Indian Republic and also partly in order to bring it into conformity with the Berne Convention which was recently revised at Brussels and its ratification by India was approved by both the Houses of Parliament. The question of amending the Indian Copyright Act is already under active consideration and we have obtained suggestions in this connection from the various States. There was previously a proposal to institute a Government sub-committee which will go into all these suggestions that have been received from the various State Governments with regard to amending the present Copyright Act but as we examined the suggestions that came

from the State Governments departmentally, we saw that perhaps it was not necessary that a Committee should be constituted and time wasted on it. We have, therefore, taken a decision ourselves and instructions have been issued to the Law Ministry to draft the amending Bill on the selection of suggestions that have been received from the State Governments. It is hoped that the necessary amendments will be carried out very soon and the exploitation of authors will thereby vanish to a very great extent. The objectives of the various suggestions in this connection are quite laudable and the Government are in full sympathy with what has been said in this connection. What is needed, Sir, is a careful consideration in consultation with all concerned and to decide whether to fall in line with the Universal Copyright convention which had been proposed by the UNESCO recently or to remain within the four walls of the latest ratified -Brussels Convention which was done in 1948 and which had been approved by the Parliament. I would not take the time of the House much longer than is necessary and will quote only two relevant suggestions made by the Two Conventions and then the House will be able to know why some consideration is required before we come forward with any specific suggestions. Now, the Universal Copyright convention says in clause (4) that the term of protection for works under this Convention shall not be less than the life-time of the author and twenty-five years after his death whereas the Brussels Convention, which I shall quote now, says that the protection granted shall be for the life-time of the author and fifty years after his death. There are naturally many consequences which flow from this important provision of both these Conventions. Similarly, about the translation rights, the Two Conventions make distinctly different recommendations. We thought it, therefore, best to give careful consideration to both these Conventions, and after that alone we considered it proper that an amending Bill ought to be brought forward. So, Sir, the amending Bill that we propose to

bring forward will be with a view to amend the old Copyright Act of 1914 and it will be the result of our careful consideration as to which Convention we should accept, whether the universal UNESCO one or the Brussels Convention.

I have nothing more to add except to say something about the few points that were made out this morning. With regard to regimentation of literature, I entirely agree, Sir, that this tendency must be deprecated and, as far as I could understand, neither the mover of the Resolution nor the authors of this Academy thought or conceived of any stage, any condition in which regimentation of literature could be brought about.

Sir, I welcome many of the suggestions that were made by my hon. friend from Bombay, Mr. Deogirikar. I hope the House will give consideration to them. So far as standardisation of literature is concerned, he made out certain points with which I personally very much agree and I hope that if the House appreciates what he has said it will realise the difficulties with regard to nationalisation or standardisation in text-books or literature. The hon. friend from Bombay ought to know, as has been pointed out by the hon. the Deputy Chairman that there is already a Central Library. Of course, his ideas have not yet been incorporated in that Institution. I do not think it is very practical now for us to create such a division on the basis of fourteen languages listed in the Constitution but we are trying to build up a pretty good library and I would advise my hon. friend to take the opportunity when the House adjourns to go to Calcutta and I hope he will be delighted to see the collections that are there in the Library. I have nothing more to say except lastly, to mention something which may not be very relevant. I would only point out that the problem today perhaps is to devote more of Government energy to literacy activity in the country rather than to literary activities although I have never, for a

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.] minute, accepted that the intention of the mover should not be given the promptest attention. I hope the House will realise that Government is already quite active in giving fullest consideration to the various proposals before the House and I would request, therefore, that the hon. the mover might consider withdrawing his Resolution.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Which has already been arranged.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, before I pay my respectful attention to the speech and the points raised in that speech by the Deputy Minister, I should like to offer a few observations on the various points raised in the course of the debate the other day and today. I am afraid my remarks have got to be cursory and casual.

Sir, there has been a good deal of confusion between language and literature.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have only fifteen minutes, Mr. Rama Rao.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Well, I can reel off words, but there is always the trouble about the reporting. I cannot give them so much of trouble.

Sir, my friends have got confused between language and literature. If they had not got into that confusion, they would not have discussed, among others, dictionaries, standardisation of language, Hindi and non-Hindi.

Next, an author need not necessarily be a creative author of the type of Kalidas or Shakespeare. If I translate any of the classics, I am also an author.

Then a good deal has been said about Sanskrit. I am not against Sanskrit. I am only saying that the relationship between Sanskrit and the living Indian languages of today must be like the relationship between Rama and

Parasurama. As soon as Rama saw Parasurama, he attracted all his strength from him. I want every Indian language to take the best out of and to rise to the height of Sanskrit. In this democratic age, we must deal with the language of the people. Let us give up some of our old, pet predilections. I am not here discussing the future of English vs. Hindi. They concern me the least, because I did not raise that question.

Much has been said about author's independence. I did not say a word on this topic in my speech on the Resolution. I am not in favour of regimentation. I only said that there were a number of topics for the proposed commission to discuss and I suggested that giving help to authors, might be discussed also. If some authors do not want it, it does not follow that some other authors will not want help. The other day Dr. Sampurnanand, a prolific writer and a brilliant intellectual, addressing Hindi writers in Allahabad, said that the time had come when authors would have to seek the support of the State. I make a gift of this confession of a leading Minister of U.P. to this House, so that those of my friends who are finicky and excessively conscientious on this subject might sit down and think it over further.

There are authors and authors. Sri K. M. Munshi, drawing his income mainly from the bar, may not bother about his income from literature, though the income from his books has been superb. Our friend and colleague, Mr. Dinkar, on the other hand, will probably be happy to have some sort of help, if it does not compromise his independence.

Where there is a Bhoja there is a Kalidasa. That age is gone. Today conditions have changed and we must have democratic patronage. If some people do not want to have patronage of any kind they are welcome to their views. Some authors may not care to

take help and they may starve and I die. Let them have all the Satyam, Siwam Sundaram for themselves, as a friendly speaker has just now put it.

You need not tell an Andhra about literary independence. Long long before Dr. Johnson wrote his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, which Carlyle describes as tolling the death knell of literary patronage in England, there lived an Andhra poet, who refused to dedicate his books to kings, and preferred to starve. Some of the greatest lines in Telugu literature are written by him. Every Telugu child knows them. By the way a friend who opposed literary patronage, altogether a few months ago, has, however, suggested Government helping authors by buying their books for libraries. Does it not amount to indirect patronage? Why does he contradict himself? Prizes, prizes, prizes all the way like roses, roses, roses all the way are asked of or promised by our Education Department to able workers. I am surprised that this should be considered by any one as a proper way of encouraging them. I can understand a Nobel Prize because it gives one international recognition. I can understand the institution of poet laureateship. but prizes, Sir, are not the way to encourage merit. I did not get prizes in my college days because I was more interested in receiving education than in receiving prizes.

Sir, I now turn my attention to the speech of the Deputy Minister for Education. It comes to this; Government are doing everything possible for literature and we have only to go home and sleep. My charge is that in this department as in many other departments of the Government, there is no temper, no tempo, no timesense, no life, no vitality, no sense of awareness or of urgency. All the time the Deputy Minister was telling us about that *magnum opus*, that Academy Of Letters, produced by a department which functions in a vacuum. What is this Academy of Letters? My friend must not presume that I am ignorant of it. I have read about it; it does not

interest me in the least. What is the use of "implementing" a thing which is born infructuous? The main consideration today is the democratisation of literature. A Nawab or a Raja sitting at the top may hold a *mushaira*, or a *kavi sammelan*, but does it help literature?

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Our approach, and our experience go against the very conception of this academy. It is putting the cart before the horse. The terms of work of this Academy are unsatisfactory. Compare them with the details of my Resolution. Our Central Academy for India will moreover not do. Sardar Panikkar pointed this out in his radio speech sometime ago. We require several regional academies. A document was issued by the Ministry containing the "literature" about its Academy. It looked like a fraudulent company prospectus. Friends to my right may complain that there is nothing about leftists or leftist literature in the scheme of the Academy. I protest against this, if it is true. In matters literary, I have no party affiliations.

In my scheme you will find there is absolutely no idea of and no provision for governmental interference. In regard to the last item of my Resolution I make it very clear that the Commission inquiring into this matter should examine how far private organisations might be helped in a strictly official way or in an indirect way, or in any manner you please. In brief I am trying throughout to apply the sublime idealism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to our scheme of life generally and to literature in particular. What is his idealism? If you go and ask him to start a minor irrigation work, he will say. "No, I want to start a major irrigation work; I want to get electric-power also out of it; I want to see that electric power reaches every cottage and is utilised for industry." Sir, I want the Education Department to apply that idealism, that magnificent and inspiring idealism, to our work of nation-building. Let rivers of literature-

[Shri Rama Rao.] flow. Carry-the light' of knowledge to every cottage in India. You cannot say that you have started the Academy and the Academy will promote the literature of this country. No; think big, act big. Propagate knowledge, proletarianise literature.

Sir, the main purpose of my Resolution is to ask for an enquiry. You may not like some of the terms contained in it, neither am I responsible for all that it contains. Before putting in the details I consulted a number of friends and they gave me suggestions. It is for you to plus, minus, multiply or divide, as you please. Here is only a list of suggestions. I want an enquiry into the condition of literature in the same way as the University Commission has enquired into the condition of the Universities and in the same way as the Press Commission is enquiring into the conditions of the press. Let it invite memoranda, go round the country, collect evidence, talk to authors and publishers. And out their difficulties, codify important opinions, produce a report. Let Government place it before Parliament and ask for legislation and for finance. An academy, artificially engendered on top will not do.

What is the function of a Welfare State? The ideology of a State or a people changes from time to time. A monarchical State, an aristocratic State, a mediaeval State, a modern State, a Soviet State all these have their own ideologies. Ours is admittedly a Welfare State. What are we doing for it? Are we laying the intellectual foundations for that kind of State? Matthew Arnold, in the latter half of the 19th century wrote "Culture and Anarchy". He threw a bombshell amidst smug Victorian England. At that time England was prosperous and Englishmen were happy. But he asked, "Was it all culture?" In spite of the magnificent examples before him of the melodious poetry of Tennyson and the sulphurous prose of Carlyle, he demanded that England should give up her sanctimonious complacency over her material prosperity.

He asked: "What about the soul of England?" I am asking: "What about the soul of India?" The Five Year Plan is there. Very good. It may give us more food and all that, but the Five Year Plan should also take care of the mind, the heart and the soul of the nation.

Sir, I am very happy that the best support for my Resolution has come from the Communist Party. My friends, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Mazumdar, found out what exactly I was driving at—the use of literature as a formidable instrument in the building of a nation, the shaping of a State. The Deputy Minister's speech does not at all attempt to understand this purpose of mine, which is embodied in the Resolution.

Sir, I shall not bother to discuss the various other points which the Deputy Minister mentioned in reply to my speech or the other speeches in the House. But I would say that he has left out one very important matter. I will read out a quotation first, before I tell you its author: "So far as our culture is concerned, we are treading the same old path. We are proud of our past, but it is necessary for us to recognize that the world is a perpetual movement and nothing in it stands still and therefore, if we are not to lag behind but advance, we must take note of the experiences elsewhere, digest them and produce a great literature". Sir, these are the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan.

I am grateful to Dr. Katju for his intervention in this debate. As I heard him, I hoped he were our Education Minister. Sir, in my speech I mentioned about literary revivals coinciding with revivals in politics. I hope that the time is coming when there will be a great literary revival in this country in tune with the spirit of our political revival. The other day I was reading a book on literature and it said that the greatest literatures of the world had been produced by small countries like Israel, Greece, Rome and let me add, England. But India is an excep-

tion. It is a great country which has produced a great literature. We have to build on the past.

Now that the Education Minister has asked me to withdraw my ■ Resolution,—I shall,—but let me thank the House for its very good response to the Resolution. The discussion has been exhilarating. I am sure we all ■ enjoyed it. We travelled into a realm where the sky is always blue and the willow is always green. I am proud that the Parliament of India has been ■ discussing art literature and national monuments, I suppose the Upper House is earning its wage.

Sir, may I conclude my speech with 'expressing the hope, in the language -of Shelley, that this country will be greater in the future as it has been great in the past in respect of literature and all that makes for the glory >of the fine arts:

"Another Athens shall arise. And
remoter time bequeath. Like sunset to
the skies, The splendour of its prime.
And leave if naught may live, All
earth can take or Heaven can
give."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member press the Resolution? Or does he withdraw it?

SHRI RAMA RAO: I beg leave to withdraw it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Has he the leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: I would only make a submission, Sir. I suggest that hereafter when a Member moves a Resolution, it should be done in all seriousness.

SHRI RAMA RAO: You don't charge me with lack of seriousness?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: I do not say that. I wish Resolutions are pressed; otherwise we discuss it merely and

no satisfactory answer, as was admitted by the hon. mover of the Resolution himself, is forthcoming. I would, therefore suggest that when Resolutions are moved, they may be pressed and a certain opinion of the House taken.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot force any Member. Rules do provide for withdrawal and a Resolution may be withdrawn by the leave of the House. Has the leave of the House to withdraw?

{Hon. Members signified assent.}

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: What about my amendments, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They lapse automatically, when the main Resolution is not there.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: I know, Sir. But in order to register my protest.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: When Resolutions are framed, I think, they should first seek the permission of the party leaders so that there may not be this kind of unceremonious funeral.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with parties here. We are concerned only with the conduct of the business in accordance with the rules of procedure.

RESOLUTION *RE* CHANGE IN NAME OF "LUSHAI HILLS DISTRICT" TO "MIZO RAM"

SHRI R. THANHLIRA (Assam): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this Council is of opinion that the name of the tribal area 'Lushai Hills District' specified in