

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.]
processes of running it—we came to the conclusion that the best thing was to allow this particular firm—we had many firms before us which had experience of this kind of work—they had certain Indian partners, but, essentially a foreign firm—to do it because we could rely upon them. They knew the job. It was a sort of thing which had not been done in India before and, even in foreign countries there has been a great deal of failure of such experiments—it was a question of climate, soil and so many other new factors. Therefore, we entered into this agreement.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras): I ask for one little bit of enlightenment, Sir. Are the profits going to be calculated on the basis of the paid up share capital and the subscribed share capital or on the basis of Rs. 1½ crores which we have invested and

SHRI K. C. REDDY: I will take some time to give a satisfactory explanation, Sir. The share capital is divided into two categories, A shares and B shares. A shares are owned by M/s. Basakha Singh Wallenberg and B shares are owned by Government. The profits of the Company will be shared between the two in the proportion of 60 : 40 though the ownership of shares is in the proportion of 50:50.

With regard to the second part of the question raised by the hon. Mr. Ranga, whether the Rs. 1½ crores will be taken into account in the assessment of profits, etc. It will take me a little time to explain the whole position correctly. The position is this: The assets are valued and decided. Then, on the basis of that and, in accordance with the Tariff Board formula, a depreciation amount is struck. That will be the amount that will be charged as rent to this company which they have to pay. The new company has got to pay the entire working expenses, i.e., Rs. 10 lakhs and for the new machinery worth Rs. 17 lakhs in order to start production on new lines.

On that Rs. 17 lakhs which they invest, we have to give them rent or interest on the same basis that they will give us for our assets leased to the company. So, it is a little complicated arrangement but the main thing is that we want to see the factory start working. We are putting all possible pressures on this new Company which has taken over and it is expected that the actual work will start at a very early date.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: May I know whether the Government would issue a White Paper detailing the complicated arrangements so that all of us will know what it is?

SHRI K. C. REDDY: I think if the hon. Member puts a separate question, I will have no objection to placing the agreement and all the other relevant facts on the Table of the House.

RESOLUTION *re.* THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION OF LITERATURES IN THE VARIOUS INDIAN LANGUAGES

MR. CHAIRMAN: We pass on to the consideration of the non-official Resolutions. Shri Krishna Kant Vyas.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras): Sir, I have been authorised by him to move this Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. Under the Rules of Procedure, 30 minutes for the mover, 30 minutes for the Minister in charge and 15 minutes for subsequent speeches.

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): Sir, it often happens that at the end you give only 5 minutes. Would it not be advisable to give 10 minutes from the beginning?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It all depends ...
 ...Supposing we get near half-past-six
Well, Mr. Rama Rao.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Mr. Chairman,
 I move:

"This Council is of opinion that the Government should appoint a commission to inquire into the present condition of the literatures in the various Indian languages with a view to promoting their growth on a broad scale and at a quick pace having due regard to the needs of the country's present democratic set up, the Directive Principles of the Constitution, and the general advancement towards the welfare State.

"This Council is further of opinion that the commission to be so appointed should be instructed to conduct its inquiry in particular with respect to the following matters:

(1) 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.

(2) Amendment of the law of copyright in order to protect fully the rights of authors.

(3) Promotion of special legislation for protecting the rights of playwrights both in regard to their publications as well as the production of their plays on the stage.

(4) Translation of classics as well as modern books, Indian or foreign, into the various languages of India.

(5) Development of new lines of literature, in prose and poetry, art and literary criticism, folk songs, political philosophy and political science.

(6) Establishment of a national agency for creating contracts bet-

ween writers in the different Indian languages, in order to give wider field to their work and also to give the benefit of their work to the whole country and to the world where desirable.

(7) Organised and systematic research in the field of literature not yet published.

(8) Nationalisation of production of text books from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities.

(9) Collection of public donations, establishment of State-aided enterprises, in co-operation with private effort, and the creation of a general fund by the Government of India in co-operation with the State Governments for the purposes set out in this resolution."

Sir, I do not propose to apologise for the length of the Resolution. It is an answer to those who say that any proposal of the kind I am suggesting should be specific or concrete. It wants the Government to appoint a Commission to inquire into the present condition of the literatures in the various Indian languages. Why do we want a Commission? We have had a University Education Commission under your distinguished presidency; we have just now a Secondary Education Commission and a Press Commission sitting. Is literature less important than all these? What are we doing to maintain the high and glorious literary traditions of this country? I am surprised that when great things are happening in this country, nothing of it is mirrored in contemporary literature; it is as if it did not exist. It is the purpose of a State to register advance on every front, and what are we doing about this most important front? If a Commission is appointed, it will go about the country, collecting views and opinions from all kinds of people and produce a report, that will be a valuable monument in itself and that will be a landmark on the road of intellectual progress.

[Shri Rama Rao.]

Sir, the main purpose of this Resolution is to call attention to the grave omission of the Government in providing for advance along the lines indicated in the introductory portion of my Resolution. The Planning Commission has completely ignored this subject and yet I find that some of our friends on the Community Project Administration are running about for folk literature for propaganda purposes. They want to make up for the lacuna in the Plan. The Constitution-makers of this country should have realised that this Constitution would not be able to work without the proper intellectual foundation and without the mental preparation of the people for the new processes. I cannot do better than refer to one historical instance. It seems some body in the days of Napoleon in France, told him that France had no literature. Napoleon said: "All right, I shall speak to the Minister of the Interior about it." You all know that in course of time France produced very valuable literature. Napoleon's victories are all forgotten history, but no one will forget for a moment that all the literature of his time was his great gift and if he had lived longer he would have given further encouragement to French literature. What I am trying to do is to stress the value of State aid to authorship. My submission to this House is that our Government and private enterprise should make a conscious, deliberate and concerted effort along these lines.

In the history of this great country you will find that every period of political revival has also been a period of literary revival. Memory travels back to the days of Vikramaditya, Bhoja and Krishna Devaraya of the Vijayanagar Empire. The winter of slavery is gone, the spring of freedom is come but where is the literary efflorescence? We had a monarchy of letters; now we should have a republic of letters side by side with the

republic we have created. Sir, the period in Indian history between 1830 and 1942 was a period of ferment and revolt. Under the influence of British literature and British institutions for more than a century, we have produced extremely good books since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, with regard to the social life, political life and matters literary. That period is now over. We are now a free people; we are going through a process of national reconstruction. Is literature aiding this process? Point out one single sentence in the literatures of this country which has a remote resemblance to what Sir Sankaran Nair uttered from the platform of the Indian National Congress years ago: "You cannot argue a man into slavery in the English language." I want a freedom literature to be produced in this country which contains the veriest gem of thought. For the purpose of this Resolution I should like to adopt De Quincey's definition: 'Literature of passion and literature of power.' You can have art for art's sake. Sir, I do not want intellectual repression; I would plead for a re-orientation of our literary outlook. Let us by all means have the best of poetry, the best of prose, the epic, the lyric, the novel biography, belles-letters, history and oratory. But let us proceed on new lines. I shudder when I hear that Pandit so and so is bringing out a translation of the Ramayana. In Telugu I think we have already got about sixteen translations or adaptations of this book. Sixteen translations of the Ramayana! Why are all these wanted? Why do not people work along different lines? Emerson has said that every man is a quotation of all his ancestors. It happens that that is a fact in this country. Here it is all quotation and no originality. Ramayana on Ramayana; Mahabharata on Mahabharata. No one seems to bother about anything except ancient stuff. It is only during the last 100 years that we have been trying to chalk out new paths, and it must be said to the credit of the progressive elements in the country that they have been doing their best for it.

Sir, the purpose of literature generally is to prepare for life, for citizenship, for nationhood; to develop balanced personality; to strengthen individual liberty, which is the keystone of democracy; and to promote social good.

I now proceed to the literature of power. In other words, literature has its highly practical uses. There are two famous sayings in the English language. "I do not care who makes the laws, so long as I can make the ballads" and "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Literature has been a unifying force throughout history. In this country we have it in our own Constitution that unity is the first and foremost ideal. Literature has taught us that unity. Tulsidas in Hindi and Tikkana in Telugu have created a literature that has welded the people as nothing else has done. Homer and Hellas, Virgil and the Roman empire, Dante and Italy, Shakespeare and Elizabethan England are famous names that go together.

Take the revolutionary use of literature next. Rousseau wrote: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." This sentence started the thunder roll of the French Revolution. Voltaire's mockery, and Diderot and the Encyclopaedists did the rest. Tolstoy was the spiritual progenitor of Russian Communism. In our own country the medium of revolt has been mainly literature—Ram Mohan Roy, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Tagore, Aurobindo, Bharati, Veerasalingam. These are illustrious names. The time has come to produce literature of a different pattern. I shall come to it later.

I now proceed to deal with what I would call the mechanics of the Resolution. The first point is about authors and publishers. Since Homer, the story of the author has been a tragedy of tears, a vale of a sorrow, a viadolorosa. Nobody who has any regard for his pecuniary interest

would regard literature as a profession, says Bernard Shaw. The time now is for professional authors. What is the present condition of authors? Poetry does not pay, not even in England. William Watern, the modern Milton had to migrate from England to South Africa, a cheaper country because he could not keep himself going on his poetry. It is worse in this country. People write, and their poems and articles are promptly accepted but no payment is forthcoming. Some of my best friends are compelled to make a living by writing scenarios for films. I shall read a passage from a famous speech of Macaulay which covers point (1) and point (2) of my Resolution:

"The advantages arising from a system of copyright are obvious. It is desirable that we should have a supply of good books; we cannot have such a supply unless men of letters are liberally remunerated, and the least objectionable way of remunerating them is by means of copyright. You cannot depend for literary instruction and amusement on the leisure of men occupied in the pursuits of active life. Such men may occasionally produce pieces of great merit. But you must not look to them for works which require deep meditation and long research. Such works you can expect only from persons who make literature the business of their lives..... It is then on men whose profession is literature, and whose private means are not ample, that you must rely for a supply of valuable books. Such men must be remunerated for their literary labour. And there are only two ways in which they can be remunerated. One of those ways is patronage; and the other is copyright."

Sir, the main occupation of the publisher in India is swindling the first author he gets. The publishing business is very poor in this country. More books come out in a month in

[Shri Rama Rao]

England than in a whole year in India. Recently a British publisher was on visit of India and he had not many complimentary things to say about the way we produce our books. From pocket classics to big tomes—that is the range of publishing in other countries. But we are poor and cannot afford it. It does not, however, mean that the State should not help the industry.

As regards copyright, Macaulay's passage is pertinent. Our law of copyright was first codified in 1911 as distinct and apart from the common law. In 1914 the latest British model was copied. I would plead with the State for making infringement a cognizable offence. There must be a sense of property about copyright just as there is a sense of property in other spheres—a piece of land that one holds or a factory that a capitalist owns.

Point No (3) deals with playwrights. Promotion of special legislation for protecting the rights of playwrights both in regard to their publications as well as the production of their plays on the stage. "Kavyeshu Natakam Proddhanam" the drama is the climax and glory of literature. The playwright has been described as "the chastener of morals by ridicule" and "a purger of the soul through pity and terror." But, all the purging and ridicule, all the pity and terror often happen to be the personal experience of the writer himself. We want the play of ideas like those of Ibsen and Shaw. We have had too much of the old puranic story put on the stage. It is time that Harischandra and Nala, Damayanti and Chandramati and the whole lot of them were pensioned off.

In England there is the Performing Act which protects the rights of the author of drama. In India we have nothing of the kind except the common law. I would suggest that the entertainment tax machinery may be used for collecting the royalty of the playwright on a commission basis by the State.

Point (4) translation of classics as well as modern books, Indian or foreign into the various languages of India. I am convinced that this must be made a State or State-aided industry. The story of literature is the story of revivals. The Renaissance started the translation cult and the best literature of the Romans and Greeks went all over Europe into the vernaculars as a result of translation. In India too we have been doing it. I am against propagation of the study of Sanskrit. That is a dead language, and I am not prepared to recommend a dead language. If there is anything good in it and if that is not found in any particular language by all means translate it. (*Interruption*)

The urgent question of the day is spreading of modern thought and a dead language is not the medium for it. There is a controversy going on about the future of English in India. I have not made up my mind on the subject. But one thing is clear. English is the gateway not only to English thought but also to contemporary European and American literature.

Point (5) deals with new lines of literary development. We have got Bhava Kavithoam in Telugu, and we have got representatives of it in Hindi in our friends Professor Dinkar, and Shri Maithilisharan Gupta in this House and Shri Balkrishna Sharma in the Lower House. Folk songs are a great feature of current literature in India. And I must confess that the Communists have obtained a splendid leadership in this direction in my part of the country.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal). In all directions.

SHRI RAMA RAO. I am glad to hear it.

We must create a body of books in political science and political philosophy. It has been said that

democracy can be saved only by a critical appreciation of those who are pursuing it. The critical function of literature in democracy is very important. Thomas Jefferson, spiritual architect of American democracy, said that given the choice, he would rather have newspapers without government than government without newspapers. It applies much more to books which have a more permanent value.

Now, Sir, I go to point No. (6). There are fourteen major languages in India and it becomes difficult for us to understand what is happening next door. Till the world discovered Tagore, we did not know that one of the greatest poets of the century was an Indian. There should be an agency by which all the good books written in the different Indian languages are translated and made available to those who do not know the language. It is necessary in the interest of cultural unity. It would be easy to do it because of the community of mental idiom, thought patterns, literary traditions and religious background. If Englishmen and Americans unite more easily than others, it is because they have got a common language and a common literature.

Sir, about the systematic publishing of unpublished literature (Point 7) private enterprise has been doing well, but it has not been able to do enough. Only 50 years ago, Shri Natha, a great book of one of the greatest Telugu poets was discovered at Jaggayapeta near Bezwada. The Tanjore Library still contains manuscripts which have not been published, and so the Madras Oriental Library. Points 8 and 9 explain themselves.

Sir, may I now go back to the introductory portion of my Resolution to explain what I mean by the relationship of literature to the democratic set up, the Welfare State and the Directive Principles? We have an excellent Constitution, but some people do not think so. To that extent, there-

fore we require constant effort to keep up the working of our democracy to the mark. What is the intellectual foundation we have laid for it? If we adopt the British institutions, it is necessary that we should develop a spirit, a character and a tradition similar to the British Spirit, British character and the British tradition. We have nothing of that nature in us today and the foundation can be supplied mainly by literature. Our Constitution speaks of justice, social and political equality, fraternity, liberty of thought. I must be pardoned for saying that most of these are exotic to the Hindu mind. I am not against them. But surely, the caste system is not democratic. Justice and the conventional *dharma* of the Hindu cannot go together. Liberty of the individual is not generally possible under the Hindu social set up. We are doing nothing to set these things right.

Sir, the implication of democratic progress is the creation of divine discontent in man. Democratic temper means the golden mean attitude and approach tolerance and catholicity, "no dogma, no dean." The Welfare State means work and worship, one for all and all for one. The urgent implications of democracy are maintenance of freedom, the working of parliamentary institution, the political animation of the citizen, the study and appreciation of the various conflicting ideological forces such as nationalism, socialism and communism among others. Social service, social education, social uplift are also the ideals. Dr. Ambedkar, a distinguished Member of this House, was telling us the other day something about the conflict between Buddhism and Marxism. I hope Buddhism will succeed in the end. We have done little in this country to promote the Buddhist standards of work and conduct.

Sir, President Roosevelt, one of the greatest Presidents of the United States, spoke some years ago about the four freedoms. The World remembers that great and distinguished man

[Shri Rama Rao.]

who did his best to expedite the process of India's freedom. May I point out that the problems of the age had been very well portrayed by Tagore much earlier than Roosevelt? The problem of the age is the reconciliation of conflicting loyalties—the individual and the State, the State and the country, the country and the world, the ideal and the real, the present, the past and the future. We have got a beautiful song of Rabindranath Tagore in the Geetanjali written 40 years before Roosevelt. That is the beacon light to the people everywhere. Unless we proceed along those lines, we shall be going the wrong way. Let us hope that India produces not one Tagore but a dozen Tagores in every era. What are Tagore's ideals laid down for his countrymen?

Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been
broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;

Where words come out from the
depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches
its arm towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by
Thee into ever-widening thought
and action;

Into that Heaven of freedom, my
Father, let my country awake.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"This Council is of opinion that the Government should appoint a commission to inquire into the present condition of the literatures in the various Indian languages with a

view to promoting their growth on a broad scale and at a quick pace having due regard to the needs of the country's present democratic set up, the Directive Principles of the Constitution, and the general advancement towards the Welfare State.

"This Council is further of opinion that the commission to be so appointed should be instructed to conduct its inquiry in particular with respect to the following matters:—

(1) 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.

(2) Amendment of the law of copyright in order to protect fully the rights of authors.

(3) Promotion of special legislation for protecting the rights of playwrights both in regard to their publications as well as the production of their plays on the stage.

(4) Translation of classics as well as modern books, Indian or foreign, into the various languages of India.

(5) Development of new lines of literature, in prose and poetry, art and literary criticism, folk songs, political philosophy and political science.

(6) Establishment of a national agency for creating contacts between writers in the different Indian languages, in order to give wider field to their work and also to give the benefit of their work to the whole country and to the world where desirable.

(7) Organised and systematic research in the field of literature not yet published.

(8) Nationalisation of production of text books from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities.

(9) Collection of public donations, establishment of State-aided enterprises, in co-operation with private effort, and the creation of a general fund by the Government of India in co-operation with the State Governments for the purposes set out in this Resolution."

Thirteen amendments have been given to this Resolution. I would ask Members who have given notice of amendments to get up and simply move their amendments and not make speeches at this stage.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Sir, I move:

1. That in the first para of the Resolution, in line 2, after the word "commission" the words "consisting of representatives of all progressive trends in literature" be inserted.

2. That at the end of part (3) of the second para of the Resolution the following be added:—

"unless such plays preach communal hatred or directly or indirectly encourage war propaganda."

3. That to part (4) of the second para of the Resolution the following proviso be added:—

"Provided that no book which encourages war propaganda, the policies of imperialist powers, pornography and communal hatred shall be so translated."

4. That at the end of part (5) of the second para of the Resolution the following be added:—

"with the object of serving the masses and their cultural requirements"

5. That to part (6) of the second para of the Resolution the following provisos be added:—

"Provided that there shall be no political discrimination against any progressive writer:

Provided further that the writers whose works are based on the objective accounts of the life of the workers and peasants and on their thoughts and aspirations shall be particularly entrusted with the tasks of the national agency so created."

6. That at the end of part (8) of the second para of the Resolution the following be added:—

"wherever it becomes necessary for maintaining proper standards or for reduction of prices of text books"

7. That to part (9) of the second Para of the Resolution the following Provisos be added:—

"Provided that the funds so collected shall be administered by a Special Committee, appointed in this behalf, consisting of representatives of all trends of progressive literature;

Provided further that the funds so obtained shall, in particular, be used for the encouragement of the writers who devote themselves and their literary works to the cause of world peace and of the ideological struggle against retrograde ideas and thoughts in the field of culture."

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

8. That at the end of the Resolution the following new parts be added, namely:—

"(10) Study and inquiry into the conditions of the different languages and regional dialects of India, particularly of the languages of the Tribal peoples with a view to ascertain:—

(a) their relation with the different families of languages;

(b) their respective position in these families; and

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]

(c) the developments that have taken place in some of these languages which were considered to be backward several decades ago.

(11) Encouraging a scientific study of the folk-lore of the different languages in India.

(12) Study the best means to uphold and carry forward the humanistic traditions of Indian literature."

SHRIMATI CHANDRAVATI LAKHANPAL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

9. That at the end of the Resolution the following new parts be added, namely:—

"(10) Formation of a semi-Government organisation with a view to get the best suitable literature of one Indian language translated into all the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution within one year of its publication.

(11) Setting up a machinery to evolve a common technical terminology of all the Indian languages."

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY (Madhya Pradesh) [On behalf of SHRIMATI DR. SEETA PARMANAND]: Sir, I move:

10. That at the end of part (8) of the second para of the Resolution the following be added:—

"conductive to unity, solidarity and prosperity of the Nation based on the principles of the dignity of labour, social justice and self sacrifice; and selling such text-books at nominal prices to students and not changing them at too frequent periods."

11. That at the end of part (8) of the second para of the Resolution the following new part be added, namely:—

"(8A) Arranging periodic ethical and cultural talks by suitable writers to school and college students during sessions and at summer schools to be established for the purpose."

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: Sir I move:

12. That after part (7) of the second para of the Resolution the following new part be added, namely:—

"(7A) Study the best means of combating the pernicious influence of undesirable literature."

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir I move:

13. That after part (7) of the second para of the Resolution the following new part be added, namely:—

"(7A) Proscription and destruction of undesirable literature."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Resolution and the amendments are before the House. I have received here the names of four people who wish to speak.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Would you allow Members who have amendments to speak?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, all the movers of amendments. These are people who have not given any notice of amendments.

(Shri B. Gupta rose to speak.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: It does not mean that on each amendment you will have fifteen minutes.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Mr. Chairman, I must thank the sponsor of this Resolution if only because this gives us the chance to discuss the cultural questions affecting the life of our people. We have been discussing many other questions but not the questions of our culture and literature. Sir, as you know, along with China, India is a country with an ancient civilisation

and culture. Our cultural heritage is so rich and so full of life that anybody can be proud of it. I would not go into the past because the time is short and that past is only too well known. The question before us is how we can best carry forward the traditions of the past, and cherish the prize that has been bequeathed to us by our forbears. Now, I would only like to deal with the problems that have arisen in the fields of literature and art. I would not go back into the distant past but I would only refer to the recent past. India has gone through countless misfortunes, we have gone through all kinds of tribulations in our history, but even when we had those misfortunes and tribulations, the lamp of our culture was still burning. Even in the days when the British used to directly rule this land, such great literateurs as Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Iqbal, Nazrul, Vallathol, Bharathi, Prem Chand who would have adorned the literary world at any time in history emerged. We have had such people. How did they happen to become so illustrious, how their genius began to flower? That is something which we have to ask ourselves. It was when they tried to express the innermost urges of the Indian people of their times that they succeeded in reaching the greatest heights in the field of literature. They gave expression to our patriotism. They came out and fought against the British imperialist domination and against other feudal survivals, and it is in these efforts that they attained their majestic brilliance. Sir, I cannot think of Poet Tagore without imagining him as the apostle of revolt against the British Raj. Many of his works are devoted to this patriotic task. Whether it is his prose, whether it is his poetry, whether it is his drama, everywhere you find that his brilliance is shining in his devotion to the country in his desire to fight against British imperialism. Sir, Iqbal, Nazrul and others adorned the field of literature by their uncompromising zeal against imperialism. Now, Nazrul electrified the youth of Bengal and a

spirit of revolt was inculcated in them by his mighty pen and that spirit of revolt was not confined to Bengal alone. It went out elsewhere too. Likewise we have in Andhra Vallathol, we have had in Tamil Nad, Bharathi.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras). Vallathol is in Kerala.

SHRI B. GUPTA. We have had such great names. Now all of them shine because of their devotion to the country of their devotion to the cause of independence, devotion to the country's struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Sir, this is the history. Now one would have thought that after the Congress had come to power, it would carry forward this struggle, it would carry forward that literary heritage, it would enrich that shining heritage. But we have disappointed, because just as in the political field so also in the field of literature it has gone back on our traditions, it has turned its back upon that rich heritage. And today we find that that heritage is neglected by them, that heritage is defied by them. We find today that culture and literature are considered very, very unimportant things in the high councils of the Congress. But there was a time when the Congress leaders themselves combined with their political activity also literary activities and they became better political fighters because they patronised literature and they combined the political and cultural activity to that common stream of struggle of India's humanity. That position is no longer there. This is one of the major problems today. So the problem of our literary growth is how we can fight against those people who from their high positions, are coming in the way of our literary advance. I would not go into it but I would only like to cite a few examples and before I come to those specific examples I would only draw the attention of the House to the numerous ways of how the Congress leaders are trying to stifle the literary advance of

[Shri B. Gupta.]

the country. There are many ways. I will only mention three ways. First there is direct police persecution in the field of literature. Secondly there is heresy-hunt in the field of literature. They have created untouchables in the field of literature. Thirdly, we find again that Americans have come to dominate that field and they are making infiltration in this field just as they are making infiltration in our economic field. I can prove it. I have made very serious allegations, I know. Take one by one. When they became free, the congress rulers should have thrown open the gates of literature for carrying on the traditions of Tagore and Iqbal. Instead of that they came down upon our literature and literary men with a heavy hand and repression was let loose against the progressive literatures and artists all over the country. I would only give some examples to prove my contention.

As you know, at the beginning of the Congress regime a number of literary works were banned and I can only speak from the experience of my Province, which, in the field of literature, has not been very poor and has had something to offer. The drama called 'Sanketh' was banned. Then another book of poems called 'Nanking' was banned under the old British Act and similarly other works were banned at random by the authorities. Not only that. In the field of drama 'Lokanattya' was banned. That was a journal brought out by progressive writers who were not political agitators in the sense I am a political agitator but certainly they wanted to give expression to the urges of the people. Then 'Pather Alu' was banned, and 'Parichaya' which has been in the field of culture for so many years, was subjected to police attacks. Not only that. We found at one time about 2 or 3 years ago—that 40 artists of Bengal had been rounded up by Police and quite a good many of them were detained without trial under the notorious Preventive Detention Act.

One of them—Shri Dwijen Nandi—was detained and the charge sheet against him was that "You are an active Member of the Progressive Writers' Association". Many other names also I can mention but that would take away my time. Alongside the detention of these literary men, they banned the National Book Agency—the publishers who publish progressive literature and posted the police there and the police remained there for about 2 years and that is how they sought to crush publication of progressive literature

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only two minutes.

SHRI B. GUPTA: If you think the situation has changed for the better, I will say, it has not. I would read out a recent letter of the Police Commissioner, Detective Department, to the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association. This is what he writes:—

"To the Secretary,

I.P.T.A.,

46, Dharamtolla Street.

In accordance with the provision laid down under section 7 of Dramatic Performance Act, 1876, you are hereby requested to furnish this office by 18th February, 1953, at the latest with the printed or manuscript copies of the dramas mentioned in the statement enclosed herewith and which the I.P.T.A. have already staged in the public places. The dramas are required by this office for review so as to ascertain the character of each of the same.

Non-submission of the dramas by the above-mentioned date will be treated as the violation of the existing provisions of Dramatic Performance Act and legal action will be taken against you as contemplated under section 176 of the Indian Penal Code.

For Commissioner of Police
Calcutta."

This letter is numbered DD/Pr. 25/52, and dated 25th December, I suppose. Now names of 61 dramas and books given. These books include 'Char Adhyaya' by Tagore, 'India Immortal', 'Bisarjan' by Poet Tagore, 'Nildarpan' by Late Dinabandhu Mitra—which, by the way, was banned by the British under the same Act and there was a time when the Congress strongly opposed it. There are very many other books also e.g., 'Gora'—by Poet Tagore that have been mentioned by the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Calcutta.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa): Shame.

SHRI B. GUPTA: I would like you to tell me, can literature flourish in our country under such conditions!

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): When was it banned?

SHRI B. GUPTA: It was never banned. You have started screening Tagore.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: What is the date?

SHRI B. GUPTA: Police Commissioners don't write the date correctly. It is written 25—52.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: Is it genuine?

SHRI B. GUPTA: The letter is very recent because the reply is given on the 17th February 1953. You can ask the Police Commissioners to write letters correctly before he sits down with a blue pencil to censor Tagore's works. This is the position.

Now the first thing that we demand of the Government is to ensure the fullest freedom of expression without any interference. That is the first point and Police Commissioners and other officers should be called to account. They have never known what literature and culture is; they have known something else. The hon. Minister for Education is here and he

should be knowing much better about the culture that dominates Lalbazar of Calcutta. I need not go into it.

Secondly, heresy-hunt and persecution of the artists must stop. In West Bengal the doors of A.I.R. are banged for all progressive artists. Shri Suchitra Mitra, who is undoubtedly most popular artist on Rabindra songs is not given any access to the A.I.R. Gopal Halder, Manik Bandopadhyay, Hiren Mukherjee and other writers have no access there. Third-rate writers, third-rate people are there to deal with the radio programmes. That kind of political heresy-hunt must also stop. Literature is not the monopoly of the Congress so that they should drive out the others and put their own men. These men have no right to claim to be the inheritors of the traditions of Rabindranath Tagore in such places.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is time.

SHRI B. GUPTA: It is a long Resolution. I will give only suggestions. What I feel is that literature should be given the direction—it cannot be neutral in this way. We should create images which should conform to the innermost urges of the masses of our people, create the type characters which would reflect the historical aspirations of our people and thus create a literature which will carry the country forward to a fuller freedom and independence. Above all, we should today create a literature of peace. That is the sort of thing that our Tagore and Iqbal taught us and we must advance along that path in the field of literature.

(Time bell rings.)

4 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mazumdar.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Sir, the time bell seems much more important than all this literature and I sit down.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: Sir, I also start by congratulating Shri Rama Rao

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]
for sponsoring this Resolution, because it is quite in the fitness of things that this House which is supposed to represent the wisdom of this country in all its aspects should take up such a Resolution, especially with you, Sir, in the Chair it was

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *in the Chair.*)

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: (Mysore):
But the Chair has changed.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: good to have set apart a day for discussion of this Resolution, for the promotion of literature and culture.

Sir, my amendments fall under two categories. The first category may be called amendments to elaborate the discussion, amendments of an academic nature. And here I am glad the Education Minister is himself present in the House, for I think some of my suggestions should be given serious consideration by him. The second category of my amendments seeks to give a perspective to

AN HON. MEMBER: The Education Minister goes.

(At this stage the Minister for Education was seen leaving the House.)

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: The Education Minister forsakes me just now.

SHRI B. GUPTA: Culture departs.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: It shows the Government's attitude to questions of culture and literature.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH (Bihar): Does not like to listen to uncultured language.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: The second category of amendments, as I was saying, seeks to give perspective to the discussion of the topics brought forward by this Resolution.

I shall first deal briefly with the first category of my amendments. I

suggest that along with the investigation into the conditions of the literature of different Indian languages, an investigation into the condition of the languages themselves should be undertaken. Last time during the Budget session I made the suggestion that a new linguistic survey of India should be undertaken, because the first time and the last time that a linguistic survey of India was conducted in a proper manner was in 1911, when Mr. George Grierson was in charge of this work. Then an imperialistic administration was in the country and in spite of the great ability and credit with which this survey was done by George Grierson, he was not quite free from the imperialistic bias and therefore many of our languages, especially the languages of our tribal brothers, were dealt with in a very summary and cursory manner by him. In the meantime much water has flown through the Ganges and many languages which were then considered to be backward, have developed and they have come into the field with their claims. Therefore it is time that a proper and co-ordinated linguistic survey of India is conducted.

Then there is the question of the relationship between language and literature. I do not want to dwell upon it very much, but language is the very building material for literature and a language is the collective historical product of the people speaking it. All the experience that they have gathered through generations goes into their language. Therefore we have to pay special attention to language and unless literature pays special attention to this aspect, it cannot flourish. It cannot do it.

Thirdly I have mentioned in my amendment that the position of some of the languages in the different families of languages should be investigated anew. It is important from very many points of view. I will cite only one example. The other day an hon. Member raised the question of Maithili in the House and said it is a

language separate from Hindi. Others disagreed. This question is very important because if you are to help Maithili literature to develop, then the question whether it is an independent literature or whether it is part of Hindi should be settled. If you come to the conclusion that it is part of Hindi then naturally the task of helping that literature to develop will be neglected. If that claim that it is a separate language is established, then nobody will dare to oppose the claim of Maithili literature to develop. In this connection I can say that one of the foremost of Indian linguists, Prof. Suresh Chatterjee, thinks that Maithili is entirely different from Hindi. As the time at my disposal is short, I shall content myself with this one example.

Then my amendment makes specific mention of the languages of our tribal brothers. These languages should be given special attention so that we could help them to develop. At the same time we should also try to draw from their rich resources, because though some aspects of the languages of our tribal brothers may be said to be undeveloped, in other aspects they have some rich heritage from which we can draw, particularly in the domain of folklore. So I have made special mention in my amendment about a proper and scientific study of folklore.

Now I shall pass on to the second category of my amendments. We Marxists define literature as the creative cognition of reality, emotional cognition and emotional creation. In this aspect, I submit this definition is quite in keeping with the noble tradition of Indian literature, in the sense that Indian literature never supported the reactionary slogan of 'art for art's sake.' Progressive Indian literature in the past and present always had a social message. That attitude of Indian literature to reality, I may say, is summarised in one sentence—*Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram*. *Satyam* means reality. What is reality? If we try to

analyse it, we find that there is always a struggle between the two forces, the struggle of the dying and the struggle of the growing forces. It is the duty of literature to help the forces of growth, to help the forces that tend towards progress and help them to win their victory. And then *Shivam* means peace and as we all know, the question of peace is supreme today. We should therefore carry forward our heritage of peace or *shivam* properly. All progressive minded men in the field of Indian literature should take up their pens against all war-mongering and all war propaganda and help the process of humanity. I do not want to dwell long on this either. The humanism aspect of our Indian literature has been best expressed in one sentence of Tagore "*Tulibo Debota Kari Manushere mor Chhannde Gane*" He says—"I shall make a God of man through my songs." But in India today forces are coming—not those forces which my friends on the other side are expecting to check—forces which undermine our cultural life, forces to which we cannot be blind today, I mean literature extolling pornography and sadism, literature extolling the baser passions, trying to bring out the beast in man, literature exciting war hysteria, films of the Hollywood type being imported into the country. Let me make a distinction when I speak about the literature from America. Certainly I make a distinction when I speak of America. There is the America of Abraham Lincoln, of George Washington, of Walt Whitman, of Thoreau of Paul Robeson. Howard Fast, and countless common people who are lovers of democracy and liberty. At the same time there is the America of war-mongers, the America of traders in death and destruction, the America which has come out now as the hangman of national liberation movement of the colonial peoples. So also when speaking of literature from America we must make a distinction. Progressive American literature, we welcome. We should try to draw inspiration from them. At the same, we cannot be blind to the other side of

[Shri S. N. Mazumdar.]

literature to the fact that pornographic literature and pornographic films are now coming into India for sale and exhibition in India. There is literature extolling sadism, extolling war-hysteria. There are many examples of such literature. I will cite only one. I came across a book in the bookstalls of Queensway here in New Delhi with the title "I killed Stalin" and on the cover was the picture of Stalin sprawling on the ground with blood gushing out from his bosom. This sort of literature is openly sold here and their intention is nothing but to spread war psychosis.

Time is short and, because of my physical disability also, I cannot go into the details. But now, here in India also there is a mass production of literature propagating and idolising war, propagating war hysteria and war psychosis. We should take a bold stand against this. Sir, therefore, I appeal to all honest and progressive minded men in this country, irrespective of party affiliations to beware of this danger. Here, the question is that we should uphold the noble traditions of our Indian literature. In Indian literature, in Indian traditions, the relation between man and woman has been raised to a very elevated level; it transcends the flesh and it goes on to a very elevated level. But, what we find in the pornographic literature which is being supplied to us is that this relation is degraded and debased and expressed in such a disgusting manner. In this connection, Sir, I am reminded of one incident. Though there are friends in this House who are in a way, to some extent, aware of this danger they are afraid rather, I shall say, to take the proper stand. Dr. Seeta Parmanand is now here; during the last session, I remember her speaking about cinema posters. She said that cinema posters are exhibited in such a way that they corrupt the children. But, what remedy is there? She said, therefore,

school children should not be allowed to go outside the school compound during the tiffin period. That is not a remedy. It is the remedy of the proverbial ostrich. The proper remedy should be that we should be aware of this danger and take a bold stand against this, particularly when war clouds are gathering, when we know that the rulers of America who stand to profit by war, are mad with their desire for world domination and are trying to engulf the world into war. They are not hesitating to take recourse to war. We in India have a strong feeling or desire for maintaining peace. Therefore, we should be careful to see that we are not enveloped in this propaganda. Many instances I could cite about these things. The ideological servants of Imperialism are up and doing in this country also. They are playing to the tune of their masters. So, Sir, before I conclude, I again make an appeal to all progressive minded and honest people, not only in this House but in the country also, irrespective of party affiliations to come forward to uphold the noble traditions of Indian literature, to stand against these debasing tendencies which are trying to envelop us and also to raise their voices in support of literature which will serve the cause of peace and defeat the purpose of the war-mongers.

SHRIMATI CHANDRAVATI LAKHANPAL:

श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लखनपाल : श्री कृष्णकांत व्यास का प्रस्ताव जो अभी श्रीयुत रामाराव जी ने सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया है उससे मैं साधारणतया सहमत हूँ, किंतु मैं यह अनुभव करती हूँ कि उस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर कुछ अधूरापन है।

श्रीमान, यद्यपि मैं इस प्रस्ताव से सहमत हूँ मगर इस में जो अधूरापन है उसको मिटाने के लिये, उसे सवर्णिण, सुन्दर और संपूर्ण बनाने के लिये ही मैं दो एक सुझाव आपके सम्मुख उपस्थित कर रही हूँ और मुझे आशा है कि इन्हें प्रस्तावक महोदय श्रीयुत

रामाराव जी संशोधनों के रूप में अपने प्रस्ताव में मिलाने के लिये तैयार हो जायेंगे ।

मेरा पहिला संशोधन यह है कि जिस कमीशन (Commission) की इस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर चर्चा की गई है वह कमीशन एक ऐसी अर्द्ध सरकारी संस्था की स्थापना की संभावना पर विचार करे । जिस का कार्य यह हो कि देश में निकली हुए तथा उच्चकोटि के साहित्य को देश की अन्य भाषाओं में अनुवाद करने का निर्णय करे । जो भी साहित्य की पुस्तकें देश के अन्दर निकलें, एक साल के अन्दर उनके अनुवाद करने की व्यवस्था यह संस्था करे ।

श्रीमन्, जैसा कि आपको और सारे सदन को मालूम है कि इस समय देश के अन्दर अनेक भाषायें हैं जिनमें से १४ मुख्य हैं, जिनको हमारा विधान भी मानता है । वह है बंगाली, गुजराती, मराठी, तामिल, तैलगू, मलियालम, कन्नड, उर्दू, हिंदी और अंग्रेजी इत्यादि । मगर इन सब भाषाओं के अन्दर इस समय किसी प्रकार का कोई पारस्परिक संपर्क नहीं है । एक भाषा का साहित्य दूसरी भाषा के साहित्य से इतना ज्यादा जुदा है कि एक प्रांत का साहित्य जानने वाला व्यक्ति दूसरे प्रांत के साहित्य के बारे में यह नहीं जानता है कि वहां पर क्या हो रहा है, उस साहित्य के अन्दर कौन कौन से मुख्य लेखक हैं, कौन कौन सी मुख्य प्रवृत्तियां काम कर रही हैं, कौन कौन सी मुख्य विचारधाराएं प्रचलित हैं । उदाहरण के तौर पर बंगाल का रहने वाला व्यक्ति यह नहीं जानता कि मराठी भाषा के अन्दर मराठी साहित्य के अन्दर, आज कौन सी विचारधाराएं हैं । वह नहीं जानता कि आज गुजराती साहित्य के अन्दर, तामिल और तैलगू साहित्य के अन्दर कौन सी मुख्य प्रवृत्तियां कार्य कर रही हैं । हमें यह मालूम है

कि अंग्रेजी साहित्य के अन्दर कौन सी विचारधाराएं कार्य कर रही हैं लेकिन आज हम अनभिज्ञ हैं कि बंगाली के अन्दर, तामिल तैलगू के अन्दर कौन सी मुख्य विचारधाराएं और कौन सी मुख्य प्रवृत्तियां कार्य कर रही हैं । श्रीमन्, इस अनभिज्ञता के कारण ही हम एक दूसरे के साहित्य से परिचित नहीं हैं । यही कारण है कि आज एक प्रांत के व्यक्ति दूसरे प्रांत के व्यक्ति को समझने में असमर्थ हैं । हमारे अन्दर सहयोग और सद्भावना की कमी है और गलतफहमी का जोर है । श्रीमन्, इसी अवस्था को दूर करने के लिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इस प्रकार की एक संस्था की स्थापना की जाय, जो हमारे अन्दर संपर्क का अभाव हो गया है, जो गलतफहमी हो गई, एक दूसरे के अन्दर जो अविश्वास पैदा हो गया है, उसको दूर करे । हमारे देश को स्वतंत्र हो जाने के बाद एकता की ओर बढ़ना चाहिये था मगर हम पार्थक्य की ओर जा रहे हैं । आज हम समानता की ओर न जाकर विषमता की ओर और असमानता की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं । एक ओर साम्प्रदायिकता की प्रवृत्ति है और दूसरी ओर प्रांतीयता की संकीर्ण भावना हमारे उन्नति के मार्ग में पग पग पर रोड़ा अटका रही है । श्रीमन्, आज नई प्रवृत्तियां देश के अन्दर कभी जाति के नाम पर, कभी धर्म के नाम पर, कभी भाषा के नाम पर देश के टुकड़े करने के लिये अपना सर उठा रही हैं । इस सब का मूल कारण यह है कि आज हम एक दूसरे को समझने में असमर्थ हैं और आज एक दूसरे से बहुत ज्यादा दूर हैं । इस विचार-भेद और इस विचार-विभिन्नता का कारण यह है कि आज हमारी एक भाषा का साहित्य दूसरी भाषा के साहित्य से बहुत ज्यादा अलग है । उनके अन्दर किसी प्रकार का सामंजस्य नहीं है और न उनको कोई मिलाने वाली चीज ही इस समय है । इसलिये, श्रीमन्, यदि मेरा सुझाव कारगर

[Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal.]

हो जाता है तो इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि सब भाषायें एक दूसरे के समीप आ जायेंगी। इस समय जो हमारे देश में साम्प्रदायिकता और प्रांतीयता का विष फैल रहा है वह दोनों ही खत्म हो जायेंगे। इस से हर एक प्रांत के लोगों के बीच में पारस्परिक मेल और सहयोग की भावना बढ़ेगी, देश एकता की ओर बढ़ेगा और हमारी सुरक्षा और संगठन भी आसान हो जायेगा। जब एक भाषा की पुस्तकों का दूसरी भाषा में अनुवाद होगा तो स्वभावतः उसका असर बिक्री पर पड़ेगा और लेखक की आय और रायलटी (royalty) भी बढ़ जायेगी। इस समय साहित्यकार के सामने जो विकट आर्थिक समस्या है उसका भी हल हो जायेगा। इस के साथ ही साथ लेखक की लोकप्रियता और पापुलैरिटी (popularity) भी बढ़ जायेगी और साहित्य का उद्देश्य भी पूरा हो जायेगा।

श्रीमन्, इसके साथ ही साथ यदि लेखक एक भाषा में लोकप्रिय नहीं होता, एक भाषा में पापुलर नहीं होता तो उसे दूसरी भाषाओं में पापुलर होने, और लोकप्रिय बनने का अवसर मिल जाता है। इस तरह से उसका कार्यक्षेत्र विस्तृत हो जायेगा और उसकी प्रतिष्ठा और सम्मान भी बढ़ जायेगा। एक प्रदेश के साहित्यकार की प्रतिभा अन्य भाषाओं में प्रकट होगी तो उसकी प्रतिभा और सम्मान बढ़ जायेगा। इस तरह से हम अलग अलग प्रांतों के साहित्यकारों के बारे में ज्ञान प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

श्रीमन्, जो मैंने अर्द्ध सरकारी संस्था बनाने का सुझाव रखा है वह इस मतलब से रखा है कि वह संस्था बिल्कुल ही गवर्नमेंट की संस्था नहीं होगी बल्कि उसमें बाहर के लोगों का भी हाथ रहेगा जिससे कि आज कल जो रेड टेपिज्म (red tapism) सरकारी

संस्थाओं में चलता है वह उसमें न आने पावेगा। यह संस्था बिल्कुल लेखकों और साहित्यकारों के भी न होगी। इस कारण अव्यवस्था और असंगठन का भाव पैदा न होगा।

श्रीमन्, मेरा दूसरा संशोधन यह है कि यह कमीशन एक ऐसी मशीनरी (machinery) की स्थापना पर भी विचार करे जो मशीनरी सब भाषाओं के लिये एक "कामन टेक्निकल टर्मिनोलोजी" (common technical terminology) यानी पारिभाषिक शब्दावली का निर्माण कर सके। विज्ञान, दर्शन, अर्थशास्त्र, कानून, सभी क्षेत्रों में हमें पारिभाषिक शब्दों की आवश्यकता होती है। इस समय अंग्रेजी भाषा ही इस चीज को पूरी कर रही है लेकिन जब हम यह निश्चय कर लें कि हमें अंग्रेजी भाषा के स्थान पर अपनी ही राष्ट्रीय भाषा हिंदी को राष्ट्रीय भाषा बनाना है तो हमें यह देखना है कि हम अपनी सब भाषाओं की एक ही शब्दावली बनावें। मुझे सदन को यह बतलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि पारिभाषिक शब्दावली बनाने की इस समय मुल्क में अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है। यदि देश की सब ही भाषायें अपनी अपनी शब्दावली बनायेंगी तो इससे देश में एक गोलमाल और "जम्बल" (jumble) पैदा हो जायेगा और सब भाषाओं को मिलाने का कार्य भी असंभव हो जायेगा। इसके लिये यह उपयुक्त समय है। यही एक समय है जब कि भारतीय भाषा के अन्दर अपनी अलग अलग शब्दावली बनाने का एक उत्साह पैदा हो रहा है और हर एक भाषा अपना विकास करने के लिये उत्सुक है। इसी समय सब भाषाओं के लिये एक "कामन टेक्निकल टर्मिनोलोजी" बनाने का प्रस्ताव हो सकता है और इस प्रस्ताव को क्रियात्मक रूप देने का भी यही समचित अवसर मुझे प्रतीत होता है।

यदि सब भाषाओं के एक ही पारस्परिक शब्द हो तो उसके बड़े लाभ हैं। सब से बड़ा लाभ तो यह है कि प्रत्येक भाषा में यदि सभी शब्द एक से होंगे तो एक भाषा भाषी व्यक्ति को दूसरी भाषाओं के सीखने और समझने में बहुत आसानी होगी और इस प्रकार जो आज भाषाओं के अन्दर सामंजस्य का प्रश्न और भाषाओं के बीच में संपर्क स्थापित करने का प्रश्न है वह आसानी से हल हो जायेगा।

श्रीमान्, इसलिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि ऐसी मशीनरी की स्थापना, जो कि कामन टेक्निकल टर्मिनोलोजी को बनाये, वह सेंट्रल मिनिस्ट्री (Central Ministry) के तत्वाधान में, केन्द्रीय सरकार के तत्वाधान में की जाय परन्तु उसे सब स्टेट (State) सरकारी सब विश्वविद्यालयों और साथ साथ सारी साहित्यिक संस्थाओं का सहयोग प्राप्त हो। ऐसा होने पर ही देश के लिये एक प्रमाणिक और सर्वमान्य शब्दावली के निर्माण करने में सफलता प्राप्त हो सकती है।

श्रीमान्, इन सुझावों के साथ में फिर एक बार प्रस्तावक महोदय से यह निवेदन करूँगी कि वह मेरे इन दो सुझावों को मिलाकर अपने प्रस्ताव को संपूर्ण प्रस्ताव बना ले।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No 51]

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mrs Sita Parmanand

DR. W S BARLINGAY She is not here; she will come after some time; but I have already moved the amendment, Sir

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr K B Lall

SHRI K B LALL Sir I rise to accord my whole-hearted support to the Resolution moved by Shri Rama Rao and also give my whole-hearted sup-

port to all the amendments that have been moved because they do not cut through the Resolution. They supplement the main Resolution and they are useful amendments too.

It is in the fitness of things that this Resolution has been brought before this House of Parliament and it is just the proper time to give a lead to the country on this subject. I have to make one observation. I did not like Sir, certain things that fell from the lips of the mover of the Resolution although I am in complete accord with the Resolution. The way in which he referred to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in a bit dividing terms, and the way in which he asserted that the Sanskrit language has become a dead language might have gone into the heart of many of my friends here. Of course whatever may be the force and the ability with which my friend put the subject before the House and whatever be the value of the Resolution itself which we are surely supporting and which we ask Government to bring into operation, the fact remains that such observations in connection with this Resolution go against our grain. What would foreigners think of us when we speak in this way? The other day, a German who was in this country challenged this assertion. He asked "Who says Sanskrit is dead?" This came from a German. And it is really strange that the opposite is uttered by one among ourselves that Sanskrit is a dead language. I am not a pandit of Sanskrit language. I confess I am totally ignorant of it. I am sorry that in my young days I was put under a *moulvi saheb* and got my education in Persian and Urdu rather than in Hindi. But I feel I should have spoken today in Sanskrit in this House. I know of a friend of mine who speaks with such fluency in Sanskrit that even Professor Ranga and Shri Bhupesh Gupta rolled together would not be a match so far as fluency goes, to my friend who speaks in Sanskrit. And if my friend Mr Rama Rao had heard him he would surely have changed his view about Sanskrit being a dead language.

[Shri K. B. Lall.]

Coming to the role of literature, I submit that it casts a great responsibility upon literature as to how society should be moulded. We can have no better example for us than we ourselves here in this House, to show what effect literature has upon ourselves. Very few of us recognise the importance of our old literature. Very few of us recognise the value of Ramayana and Mahabharata. Very few of us recognise the value of Sanskrit. Very few of us recognise the great inheritance that is ours today. All this, because English literature has affected our lives. It is that literature that is speaking through us. It is that literature that is moving through us. It is that literature that is holding a picture of ourselves before the world. I do not say that we are wholly sorry for that, or that we are wholly ashamed of that. We have gained something from that literature also. But at the same time it is a commentary upon ourselves that we have gone so far that we do not look with favour even on our own inheritance—our own literature that gave a personality like Shri Krishna and Gita to us. And today it is said they are all dead. We do not listen to all those who gave that literature to us. We listen to the “realism” of the West. How are we following the West today? That is best depicted in the way of life that we are running after today. We see what we are copying from the West. Look at the cinema. Look at the way of life of the West. They are engrossed in science. And we here also have taken up the craze. We forget that there was a higher science, a greater science,—the science of spiritualism that was given to us, that has gone deeper into the universe than the material science. Even material scientists who have advanced sufficiently in material science have begun to accept that they are approaching the fringe of spiritual science which came to our country long ago. I remember with reverence the name of our principal, Principal N. N. Ray, a great scholar of English and Sanskrit,

who had no equal in our days throughout Bengal and Bihar. He used to say that it is a myth to say that inventions of modern science were leading us towards Godlessness they are taking us towards God. In those days I was only a student of I.A., and I could not fully grasp what he was saying. Today I realise how we are going really towards God. Science-minded people today are afraid of everything that smacks of religion; they are afraid of everything that smacks of the science of spiritualism. They are running so much after science that they do not believe that even the inventions of material science in the laboratories are daily leading us towards the one science of spiritualism—of Brahma the all-pervading. We are perceiving this truth through the radio. We follow the great sayings of our Rishis, that this Brahma is all-pervading, it prevails throughout the universe. Our philosophers used to say: “I am all-pervading. I am prevailing everywhere. I am immortal.” We could not follow what they said. The time will come when material science will demonstrate to you how we are present everywhere. This was what Swami Ramathirtha said, and we are slowly grasping what he said then. I warn those who say that modern materialistic science is everything. Mahatma Gandhi said that India had to deliver a message to the world. He said that India had a special message to deliver to the world. Do you think that aping the culture of the Westerners will enable you to deliver that message which Mahatma Gandhi promised to the world? Even in politics, Mahatma Gandhi promised a Ram Raj to the world. Some people think that Ram Raj probably meant bringing monarchy back. That was not what Mahatma Gandhi meant. Ram Raj means all that is good—all that is included in the conception of Ram Raj. That is how we are following our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. And that is how we should evolve a literature in which we may give to our future generations all those thoughts and all those ideologies that were given to us by

Mahatma Gandhi. If we fail to do that, we shall have failed to deliver the message that Mahatma Gandhi promised to the world. We cannot do that by copying the ways of the Westerners in the manner in which we are doing today.

Of course I am not against the Five Year Plan. That is not what I feel. The Five Year Plan will help us. But I may say that the Five Year Plan ignores the importance of our culture, of our ancient heritage. If we copy foreigners even in our Plan, we will not be successful. A friend of ours was saying that the Five Year Plan could not succeed. Why? He asked, "How can it succeed, when all those persons who are in charge of implementing the Five Year Plan will necessarily swallow up 80 per cent. of the money? Do you expect that you will be successful in the Five Year Plan?" That was the question put. I say, there is some truth in that. We have failed to catch the message of Mahatma Gandhi, because we are not trying to correct our character. Therefore, we shall fail even in putting into effect the Five Year Plan. Therefore, I say that we should go deep into our character itself.

And how will our character be improved? By our helping our literature. Literature is the chief thing. It is literature that makes a nation. It is literature that makes a people. Unless you evolve a good literature, you cannot convey a good idea to the people, you cannot hold out a good example to the people, and much less a good ideal to the world and a good message to the world. Therefore it is that I say that literature has a great role to play. My amendment speaks of proscription and destruction of undesirable literature. It may sound strange to many people. I was much influenced by a lot of songs and plays written and distributed at cinema gates. Just imagine what a tremendous national loss it involves in printing all this literature. We are going in for a national paper-saving campaign. Our school children and college students are not getting enough paper. Imagine

how all that paper is wasted in printing these non-sensical things which go only to breed loose morals and debauchery.

(Time bell rings.)

So much so that recently even a leader of the stature of Rajaji had to ask students not to visit cinema houses. I read in one paper called "Screen", which is published by cinema people, a criticism of this advice of Rajaji. That paper criticised and ridiculed Rajaji for giving such wholesome advice to students. You can imagine to what low depth we have fallen down. If such things are written and if such cinema songs are sung by our students, you can very well know where we are drifting to.

(Time bell rings.)

Unless you set right the trend of thought and correct the character of people, you would not be able to proceed in the right order and we would remain miserable. It is for that reason that I have said that such things should be proscribed and destroyed. I am told by some friend that it is not necessary to say that these things should be proscribed and destroyed as provision already exists in law and it is inherent in the Government to proscribe.....

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, I have taken only ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken full fifteen minutes.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I do not want to disrespect the Chair, although I had to say so many things with regard to other parts of the Resolution.

SHRI B. D. CHATURVEDI (Vindhya Pradesh):

श्री बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी (विन्ध्य प्रदेश): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसे मैं एक अत्यन्त दुर्भाग्य की बात समझता हूँ कि हम लेखकों को और कवियों को किसी भी सरकार के सामने हाथ पसारने का मौका आवे। हम लोग बराबर इस देश में शासकों का नियंत्रण करते रहे हैं और उस परम्परा को कायम रखने

[Shri B. D. Chaturvedi.]

की जरूरत है। एक युग इस देश में ऐसा आवेगा जब कि लेखक और कवि अपने हाथ में टोपी लेकर इस प्रकार शासकों के सामने नहीं जावेगे और यह लज्जाजनक दृश्य हमारे सामने उपस्थित नहीं होगा। लेकिन जो व्यावहारिक रूप आज हमें दीख रहा है उसमें हम लोगों को लज्जापूर्वक यह दृश्य उपस्थित करना पड़ता है। साहित्यिकी की दुर्दशा के बारे में आज का प्रस्ताव है लेकिन मुझे को यह देख कर खेद होता है कि इसका राजनीतिक दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है। हमारे साम्यवादी या कम्युनिस्ट (Communist) भाइयों ने इसका दुरुपयोग किया है और हमारे भाई रामाराव जी ने इस बातचीत को दूसरी दिशा में ही कर दिया।

मेरा ख्याल है कि हमें इस समय इस प्रस्ताव पर केवल साहित्यिकी की ही दृष्टि से विचार करना है। मैं हिंदी के बारे में जानता हूं हमारे बड़े से बड़े साहित्यिक जैसे कि श्रीयुत प्रेमचन्द जी ने किस दुर्दशा में अपना जीवन बिताया यह शायद हमारे कितने ही भाइयों को नहीं मालूम होगा। जब वह अन्तिम समय में बिल्कुल मरने पर थे, उन्हें खून की कै आ रही थी, वह बराबर उठकर अपनी लेखनी चलते थे। एक बार सन् १९३० में मैंने उनसे पूछा था कि आपको अपने लेखों से कितनी आमदनी होती है और किताबों से कितनी, तो उन्होंने मुझे लिखा था : “आय की कुछ न पूछिये। पहले की सब किताबों का अधिकार प्रकाशकों को दे दिया। “प्रेम पचीसी”, “सेवासदन”, “सप्त सरोज”, “प्रेमाश्रम”, “संग्राम” आदि के लिये एक मुश्त तीन हजार रुपये हिंदी पुस्तक एजेंसी ने दिये। “नवनिधि” के लिये शायद अब तक २०० रुपये मिले हैं। “रंगभूमि” के लिये १,८०० दुलारेलाल जी ने दिये, और संग्रहों के लिये सौ दो सौ मिल गये। “कायाकल्प”, “अज्ञात कथा”, “प्रेम तीर्थ”, “प्रेम” “प्रतिज्ञा”

मैंने खुद छापी। पर अभी तक मुश्किल से ६०० रुपये वसूल हुये हैं। और प्रतियां पड़ी हुई हैं। फुटकर आमदनी लेखों से शायद २५ रुपये माहवार हो जाती हो मगर इतनी भी नहीं होती।”

जब हमारे बहुत से शासकों का नाम विलीन हो चुका होगा प्रेमचन्द जी का नाम उस वक्त भी हिंदी जगत में ही नहीं वरन् संसार के साहित्य में चमकना रहेगा। हमारे एक मित्र, जो अभी रसियन एम्बेसी (Russian Embassy) में काम करते हैं, प्रेमचन्द का एक जीवन-चरित्र लिख रहे हैं और मेरा विश्वास है कि यदि उन्होंने अच्छा अध्ययन किया तो वह एक बड़ी कीमती चीज बनेगी। परन्तु प्रेमचन्द जी को हमने एक तरह से भूखों मरने दिया। उन्हीं की यह स्थिति नहीं है, बल्कि आज भी कितने हिंदी लेखक और अन्य भाषाओं के लेखक क्षय रोग से, टी० बी० से, बीमार हैं और मर रहे हैं और प्रकाशकों ने उनका शोषण किया है। कितने ही प्रकाशकों ने पचास पचास रुपये मासिक और भोजन पर लेखकों से और कवियों से किताबें लिखवाई हैं और हजारों नहीं बल्कि लाखों रुपये का मुनाफा उठाया है। हमारे मित्र हरिशंकर जी शर्मा हैं जिनकी पुस्तकों के २४, २४ संस्करण हुए और उन से १॥ और २ लाख का फायदा प्रकाशकों ने किया लेकिन उनको कुल ८ हजार रुपये मिले। यह स्थिति आज हिंदी साहित्यिकों की है और मुझे विश्वास है कि उर्दू तथा अन्य भाषाओं के साहित्यिकों की स्थिति इससे अच्छी नहीं होगी। ऐसी हालत में क्या किया जाय ? कम से कम उन आदमियों को जो कि बीमार हैं अथवा कार्य नहीं कर सकते हैं गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से पेंशन जरूर मिले। लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ हमें ऐसा वातावरण तैयार करना चाहिये, जिससे साहित्यिक और लेखक गौरव के साथ अपना जीवन व्यतीत कर सकें। गवर्नमेंट

इस बारे में अनेक कार्य कर सकती है। कॉपी-राइट एक्ट (Copyright Act) में संशोधन किया जा सकता है और भविष्य में ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जा सकता है जिससे कि पुस्तकों का राइट(right) लेखक के पास ही रहे और साथ ही साथ जो पुराने अनाचार हुये हैं उनमें जांच की जाय और लेखकों के प्रति न्याय किया जाय।

इसके साथ ही जैसा हमारी बहिन चन्द्रावती जी ने कहा है कि अगर १४ भाषाओं में हमारी अच्छी अच्छी किताबों का अनुवाद हो जाता है तो रायलिटी(royalty) में लेखकों को बहुत रकम मिल सकती है।

इसके साथ ही हमारे योग्य लेखकों को यात्राओं पर भी भेजा जा सकता है ताकि वे उन स्थानों का ज्ञान प्राप्त करके उनको साहित्य में स्थान दे सकें। हमें इस संबंध में उनकी मदद करनी चाहिये।

किंतु मेरा ऐसा विश्वास है कि हमारे प्रकाशन विभाग के जो उच्च अधिकारी हैं या जो मशीनरी (machinery) है वह दोषपूर्ण है, वह इन्फैण्टाइल पैरालिसिस (infantile paralysis) से पीड़ित है, बच्चों के लकवे से मारी हुई पड़ी है। कोई भी चीज ढंग से नहीं की जा रही है। हमारा जो सरकारी प्रकाशन है यदि उसका ही संगठन ढंग से किया जाय तो भी लेखकों को कुछ न कुछ उससे मदद मिल सकती है। इसके अलावा जैसे जेकोस्लेवाकिया वगैरह में राइटर्स होम (Writers' Homes) हैं, पुराने महलों वगैरह को देखकर वे स्थान बना दिये हैं उसी तरह से हमारी गवर्नमेंट कुछ न कुछ प्रबन्ध कर सकती है। मैं लेखकों के लिये कोई यतीमखाना खोलने के पक्ष में नहीं हूं। वहां पर उनसे कुछ न कुछ नामिनल (nominal) पैसा ले लिया जाय और उनको

रहने और साहित्य निर्माण करने का अवसर प्रदान किया जाय।

अन्त में मैं फिर यही कहूंगा कि हमें सरकार के द्वारा ऐसा वातावरण तैयार कराना चाहिये जिससे हिंदी के और हिंदी ही नहीं, बल्कि तमाम भाषाओं के जो लेखक और साहित्यिक हैं वे गौरव अनुभव कर सकें। दिल्ली में मुझे तो कोई स्थान ऐसा नहीं दीखता, जहां कि हम लोग भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं के आदमी मिलकर बैठ सकें। इसके लिये गवर्नमेंट से हिंदी भवन के बारे में बातचीत की जा रही है और मुझे विश्वास है कि कुछ दिनों में हिंदी का भवन बन जायगा और वहां हम भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतों के आदमी काम कर सकेंगे। इसके साथ ही हमारी साहित्यिक एकेडमी (Academy) जो बनने वाली है, वह भी इस दिशा में कुछ काम कर सकती है। आज तो यह हालत है कि हिंदी के ही नहीं बल्कि अन्य भाषाओं के लेखक मानसिक भोजन के लिये तरसते हैं। हमारे पास कितनी ही चिट्ठियां आती हैं कि हमको अमुक डिक्शनरी (dictionary) चाहिये, कहां से प्राप्त हो सकेगी। एक ने मुझे लिखा है कि उनके पास यात्रा के साधन नहीं हैं वह विदेश यात्रा करना चाहते हैं और हम डाक्टर काटजू से प्रार्थना कर दें कि वह उन्हें किराया दे दें। इस तरह के पत्र मेरे पास प्रायः आते हैं। मुझे पता नहीं कि डाक्टर काटजू के पास कितना रुपया है क्योंकि मैंने तो ऐसा कोई उनका एकाउण्ट (account) देखा नहीं। इस प्रकार बहुत से लेखकों में देश की यात्रा और विदेश की यात्रा को आकांक्षा है।

मैं अधिक इस बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता। हां इतना अवश्य कहूंगा कि आजकल हिंदी लेखकों के दिमाग में फ्रस्ट्रेशन (frustration) है, आध्यात्मिक गत्यवरोध हो रहा है। ह

[Shri B. D. Chaturvedi.]

हमारी सरकार के लिये अत्यन्त विघातक चीज है। उसको दूर करने के लिये सरकार को जल्दी से जल्दी ऐसे उपाय करने चाहियें, जिससे कि वातावरण ठीक हो और हम लोगों को गौरव के साथ काम करने का अवसर मिले।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 52.]

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS AND STATES (DR. K. N. KATJU): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I intervene with your permission not to announce any policy of the Government—that will be done by my hon. friend here—but I would like to take a few minutes, as a very small writer in my own way. First of all, I was unhappy to hear it said in this House that Sanskrit is a dead language.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): He will be made to withdraw that remark.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I am not a scholar in Sanskrit. I began its study when I was six years old and resumed it when I was in jail 50 years later, but the more time passes, the more I come to recognise that Sanskrit, this ancient language, is literally the mother of all our languages barring Tamil, and it goes to the very root of our Aryan civilisation. When I was in Calcutta two or three years ago, one evening it so happened that a great French scholar happened to be present. He said to me "I read in the newspapers that discussions are going on in your country about a national language. I do not understand it." I said, "How does it strike you?" He replied, "You have got a national language in Sanskrit which only needs some research. You have got a great treasure there. Why don't you utilise it?" When I talk to great scholars about it, they say that it is very difficult to learn; it is not a spoken language. I entirely agree, but it is up to our great scholars to simplify the me-

thod of teaching. The primitive method may be much too un-interesting. I am sure about one thing more that the old method was intended for children. If grown-up literates were to try to master Sanskrit with the aid of the books of today or the Bhandarkar Series, they would be successful. Now, Sir,—and I hope that many of my colleagues here would agree—it is a matter of great gratification to us that in different parts of India there is a great revival of Sanskrit and conscious and deliberate attempts are being made to promote this study by the establishment of universities, colleges, etc. and by the encouragement of our great Pandits who have all these centuries treasured this ancient heritage of ours

The second point that I would like to dwell upon is my sympathy with what was said just now by my hon. friend who preceded me about the misfortunes of writers. Of course you cannot sell a book by order. It all depends upon the merit of the book. For instance, when I read in Hindi translation the great literature associated with the Bengali writer, Sara⁺ Chandra Chatterji, I felt lost; I thought I was living in dreamland. For three months it was really an enchantment, and I imagine that he is one of the biggest and one of the most famous writers of the world. He can compare with any writer of any country and I believe that his books have been translated into all our languages and his sales have been enormous. Therefore, the first thing is that the writer should be a writer of merit.

The second thing, I quite realise it, is the deficiency in our Copyright Act. It is an evil of long standing. Hon. Members who are interested in this matter might like to spend half an hour, an interesting half hour, in a great speech which was delivered by Macaulay in the House of Commons somewhere about 1833, when his speech turned the tide on the proposed law for copyright. It seems to me that today this is a matter—I am speaking

now as a private Member—to be dealt with by Government, that they might consider and make all agreements by young writers about their new works, about the sale of the copyright in a particular work for ever and ever as something void and unlawful. It might be ruled or prescribed that any agreement about right of publication or translation of a particular book should only relate to the first edition and not cover the entire period, because the writer who comes into the field is an unknown writer, and when he becomes known, then the publisher or the purchaser of his rights gets all the fruit, to which reference was made. It is not only with reference to Hindi writers but also to other writers. He becomes famous, he becomes well-known and he gets the reward only from his subsequent publications. I think that the law should be amended. It is a matter which is deserving of consideration.

Lastly, Sir, I should like to say a few words upon the amendment which was moved by the hon. Member, Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal. She has touched upon a matter on which I have held very strong views. He refers to the formation of a semi-Government organisation with a view to getting the best suitable literature of one Indian language translated into all the other languages.

AN HON. MEMBER: She is a lady; she, not he.

DR. K. N. KATJU: I am very sorry. I will make it 'she'!

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Both are the same, in law.

DR. K. N. KATJU: Under the General Clauses Act, the word "he" includes "she". Wherever I made that mistake by inadvertence, I think it ought to be changed into 'she'.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): The General Clauses Act does not apply to speeches in Parliament.

DR. K. N. KATJU: The hon. Member is wrong. I have sometimes thought that we might have a library of, say, 100 or 150 of the best books of India; there might be an authority consisting of authors, of the leading writers of India, who would select the books. Supposing we have seven books from Gujarati, I dare say my hon. friend, Shrimati Lilavati Munshi, should be one of the judges to choose what would be the seven best books in Gujarati literature—I am not talking of religious literature, of philosophical literature, but of interesting literature published during the last 300 or 400 years. Similarly about Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Oriya, Hindi and in every other language making a total of 150 books. When they have been selected, as Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal suggested, these 150 books should be translated in all the languages—the Hindi book in the other languages, the Oriya books in the Hindi language and everything else. The result would be that throughout India in every province, in every State, we should have those 150 books and thirdly, I hope, there might be some sort of a syndicate of publishers who should undertake to publish those books in all the languages and each State Government and Central Government should patronize this great effort and each High School library and College Library and Public Library throughout India should have in stock these 150 books. Now, the great advantage of this scheme would be, as I read this, that really our country is so vast, our landscape is so different, conditions are so divergent, even the way of living from province to province varies, that unless you read these books you cannot have an attractive picture of the country before you. When I was in Calcutta and I used to read a lot of Bengali literature in translation, it appeared to me that every Bengali writer has before him the country as he found it in Bengal, viz., the paddy fields, rivers and tanks. It never struck him as to what sort of country was Rajasthan or Punjab or I imagine, the South.

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha.]

Therefore this literature, this standing literature of 150 best books of India, every boy and every girl in the school should be encouraged to read and when they read them, they will then have a complete picture of the climate, of the scenery, of the landscapes, of the hills, and of the rivers of India. I wanted to put this suggestion before the hon. Members. It is really not for the Government to undertake. The State Governments and the Central Government will be only too willing to encourage such an enterprise and held it and the best help that they can give is by undertaking the purchase for library and high schools. Therefore I am sure that when the books have been properly published they will have a ready sale throughout the country and everyone who claims to be educated would like to have these 150 best books in his own personal library.

I need not say here that with our adult franchise and our democratic institutions, it is exceedingly desirable, it is in the national interest, that every citizen living in his own part of the country, wherever he may be living, should become familiar with India as a whole, should realise the vastness of the country, its traditions and its essential unity, the unity of its culture, and I submit to you that the acquaintance with the literature, not only of Sanskrit literature but the modern literature in our Indian languages, is one of the surest methods to inspire that knowledge. The love of Indian regional languages is widely prevalent. It is easily understandable. It is the language that you learn at your mother's breasts and therefore people are desirous of reading the best books in that language and their desire should be fulfilled. I thank you very much, Sir.

DR. RAGHU VIRA (Madhya Pradesh):

डा० रघुवीर (मध्य प्रदेश): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, फ्रेंच विद्वान गूसे (Groussit) ने कहा है :

"L' Inde cette Grece encesive"

भारतवर्ष ने प्राचीन समय में संसार को सम्य बनाने में सहायता दी। भारतवर्ष ने अपने पड़ोसियों को जैसे तिब्बत, मध्य एशिया, मंगोलिया, चीन, कोरिया, साइबेरिया, जापान फिलीपाइंस, इंडोनीशिया, लंका आदि सब देशों को सम्य बनाया। हमारे विद्वान इन देशों में यात्रा के लिये गये और उन्होंने सम्यता को वहा फैलाया। किंतु हम इस शताब्दी में इन सब बातों को भूल गये। हमारे पिछले दो सहस्र वर्ष के साहित्य में इस बात का कोई वर्णन नहीं आता कि इतने व्यक्ति इस देश से बाहर समुद्र की यात्रा कर के गये और उन्होंने सम्यता का विस्तार किया। पिछले दो सौ वर्षों में अंग्रेजी भाषा और साहित्य का अध्ययन यहां होने से हमको अंग्रेजी भाषा की महत्ता, अंग्रेजों की वीरता और उनकी शक्तियों का ज्ञान हुआ। इसके साथ ही साथ अपनी दुर्बलताओं का भी हमको ज्ञान हुआ। उस दुर्बलता को दूर करने के लिये हम ने राजनैतिक शक्ति प्राप्त करना आवश्यक समझा और उसके लिये सारा देश यत्नशील हुआ और उसका परिणाम आज यह है कि हम स्वतंत्र हैं। अब जब हम राजनैतिक दृष्टि से स्वतंत्र देश हैं तब हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम अपने अन्दर यह आत्मविश्वास पैदा करें कि हम राजनैतिक क्षेत्र के अतिरिक्त और क्षेत्रों में भी अपना मस्तक ऊंचा उठा हुआ रखेंगे। यह किस प्रकार संभव है ?

संसार में जातियां दो प्रकार की हैं। एक वे जो कि प्राचीन समय में जंगली जातियां थीं और एक वे जातियां हैं जो प्राचीन समय में बड़ी ऊंची जातियां थीं और फिर नीचे गिर गई। हम अपने आप को उन में से नहीं भाव

सकते जो पहले जंगली थी और जिन्होंने सभ्यता केवल ग्रंथों से या पाश्चात्य देशों से सीखी हो। हम ऐसे भी नहीं कि जो प्राचीन समय में ऊपर रहे हों और आज सर्वथा नीचे गिर गये हों। यह स्थिति आज हम नहीं मानते। हम अपनी यह स्थिति मानते हैं कि हम प्राचीन समय में भी गौरवशील थे और भविष्य भी हमारा गौरवमय होगा। इस गौरव को प्राप्त करने के लिये यह परमावश्यक है कि हमारी शिक्षा में आज परिवर्तन हो और हमारे साहित्य के प्रकाशन में भी अतिवृद्धि हो। यह युग चलचित्रों का युग बनता जा रहा है सो उचित नहीं। यह युग विचारों का युग बनना चाहिये, भूतकाल, वर्तमान काल और भविष्य की दृष्टियों का युग बनना चाहिये। जिस समय यूरूप में मनुष्य के विकास को समझने के लिये यत्न किया गया तो उन्होंने भारतवर्ष के प्राचीन साहित्य को बहुत ऊँचा स्थान दिया। यूरूप के प्रत्येक विश्व विद्यालय में संस्कृत पढ़ाने के लिये, प्राकृत पढ़ाने के लिये, अपभ्रंश पढ़ाने के लिये और प्रत्येक प्राचीन भाषा को पढ़ाने के लिये स्थान बनाये गये। १९४५ में युद्ध के समाप्त होते ही इंग्लैंड में, जिस समय कहा जाता था कि इंग्लैंड दरिद्र हो चुका है, इंग्लैंड अकिंचन हो चुका है, स्कारबरो कमीशन (Scarborough Commission) की नियुक्ति हुई और उसने योजना बनाई कि प्राच्य साहित्य के अध्ययन के लिये गवर्नमेंट २० लाख पौंड दे। इस के अनुसार इंग्लैंड के शासन ने २० लाख पौंड ओरियंटल कल्चर्स (oriental cultures) के अध्ययन के लिये रखा। उस में भारतवर्ष के लिये आठ अध्यापक लंदन में रखे गये। ये लोग भारत के प्राचीन साहित्य की महत्ता को समझते हैं। केवल साधारण साहित्य की ही नहीं बरन् एक एक भारतीय ग्रंथ की महत्ता को वे समझते हैं। केवल पंचतंत्र पर काम करने के लिये १९१२ में जर्मन शासन ने एक पुरस्कार

दिया इसलिये कि जो व्यक्ति पंचतंत्र पर विस्तारपूर्वक सब से संपूर्ण ग्रंथ लिखेगा उसे पांच सहस्र मार्क्स (Marks) मिलेगा। पंचतंत्र केवल भारत का ग्रंथ नहीं बरन् संसार भर का ग्रंथ माना जाता है। संसार का कोई भी देश नहीं जिसमें पंचतंत्र की कहानियाँ आज न चलती हों।

भारतीय साहित्य में ऐसे अनेकों ग्रंथ हैं जिनका विदेशों में अनुवाद हुआ। अतः यदि आज हम यह चाहें कि इन ग्रंथों का अनुवाद हिंदी में, बंगला में, तामिल में, तैलगू में, कन्नड़ में, गुजराती में, और मराठी में और भारत की दूसरी भाषाओं में भी हो तो क्या हमारी यह मांग कोई बहुत बड़ी मांग है ? जिन ग्रंथों का अनुवाद मंगोलियन लोगों ने किया, जिन तीन हजार ग्रंथों का अनुवाद चीनियों ने किया और कोरियनों ने किया, और जिन डेढ़ हजार ग्रंथों का अनुवाद जावा और बाली में हुआ, जिनके अनुवाद तिब्बत, बर्मा और लंका में हुये, क्या उनकी आवश्यकता आधुनिक भारतीय भाषाओं को नहीं है ? भारतवर्ष के निर्माण के लिये तथा भारतवर्ष के इतिहास को समझने के लिये यह बहुत गहन विषय है। जातियों का इतिहास एक दिन में निर्मित नहीं होता, जातियों की मनोवृत्ति एक दिन में नहीं बनती, उनको बनाने के लिये शताब्दियाँ लगती हैं। अतः यदि हमें अपनी मनोवृत्ति समझनी है तो हमें आदि काल से लेकर आज तक की अपनी समस्त मनोवृत्तियों का अध्ययन करना होगा और उसके अनुसार अपने भविष्य का निर्माण करने के लिये जो आवश्यक बातें हैं जो हमारी कठिनाइयाँ हैं, जो हमारे दुर्गुण हैं जो हमारे सगुण हैं उन सब को विचार करके अपने आधुनिक प्रकाशन कार्य तथा शिक्षा के कार्य का संचालन करना होगा।

वैसे आधुनिक भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास लगभग पाँचवीं शताब्दी में आरम्भ

[Dr Raghu Vira]

हुआ। साहित्य के रूप में दक्षिण भाषाओं के, जैसे कि तामिल आदि भाषाओं के, ग्रंथ ८वीं शताब्दी से मिलने आरम्भ होते हैं। कई सज्जन ऐसे हैं जो उनको बहुत ही प्राचीन मानते हैं किन्तु ८वीं शताब्दी की बात तो प्रायः सब मानते ही हैं। तामिल के पश्चात् दूसरी दक्षिणी भाषाये आती हैं। मलयालम का साहित्य ९वीं-१०वीं शताब्दी में आरम्भ होता है। उत्तरी भाषाओं में बंगला का साहित्य ८वीं और ९वीं शताब्दियों में आरम्भ हो जाता है। उडिया आसामी आदि का साहित्य १३वीं, १४वीं, १५वीं और १६वीं शताब्दी में आरम्भ हो जाता है और आज ये भाषाये साहित्य के रूप में हमें विकसित मिलती हैं। १७वीं शताब्दी से लेकर आज तक इन में अनेकों ग्रंथों की रचना की गई। इन में से सब ग्रंथों का अभी तक प्रकाशन नहीं हुआ है।

जहां तक अपभ्रंश साहित्य का, संस्कृत साहित्य का, संबंध है उसमें तो हमारे पास लाखों की संख्या में लिखे हुए ग्रंथ हैं और जहां तक आधुनिक भाषाओं का संबंध है उन में भी, प्रत्येक भाषा में सहस्रों ग्रंथ हैं। हजारों हाथों के लिखे हुए ग्रंथ भी विद्यमान हैं। अतः इन के लिये केवल प्रकाशन की ही आवश्यकता नहीं है वरन् प्रकाशन से पहले इनका संग्रह करना परमावश्यक है। उनमें से कौन प्रकाशित हों और कौन प्रकाशित नहीं हों यह पीछे देखा जायगा किन्तु उनका संग्रह करना परमावश्यक है।

अंग्रेजी ने, जर्मनो ने, फ्रेंचो ने, डचो ने, इटालियनो ने कोई भी ऐसा ग्रंथ नहीं छोड़ा, चाहे वह कागज का टुकड़ा ही हो, जो भी उनको मिला वह उनके यहाँ पिछले १५० वर्षों में प्रकाशित हुआ क्योंकि जाति का इतिहास सुरक्षित रखना आवश्यक है।

अतः जिस प्रकार से आज हम अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य के कागज के एक एक पृष्ठों को अपने आर्काइव्स (archives) में संभाल कर रख रहे हैं उसी प्रकार से यह आवश्यक है कि अपने देश को इन निधियों को हम सुरक्षित रखें। शासन का, विश्वविद्यालयों का, संस्थाओं का और जनता का यह कर्तव्य है कि वे उसको नाश से बचायें।

मेरी मातृभाषा हिंदी है और मुझे थोड़ा सा अधिकार है कि मैं हिंदी के संबंध में कुछ कह सकूँ। मुझे यह कहना है कि हिंदी भाषियों को आज यह पता नहीं है कि तामिल के कौन से ग्रंथ हैं, उन्हें यह पता नहीं कि मलयालम भी कोई भाषा है, उन्हें यह पता नहीं कि कन्नड में भी सुन्दर महाकाव्य हैं। यह बड़े दुःख की बात है। हिंदी वालों का यह कर्तव्य है कि वे अन्य भाषाओं के साहित्य को जानें। अनेक भाषाएँ हैं, उत्तर भारत में और दक्षिण भारत में। इन भाषाओं में सुन्दर साहित्य है। जैसे यदि बादल का साहित्य आपको लेना हो, बादल की कविता लेनी हो, लू की कविता लेनी हो, तो सब से सुन्दर कविता राजस्थानी में मिलेगी और भारत के किसी साहित्य में नहीं मिलेगी। गुजराती, मराठी, बंगाली, उडिया, पंजाबी, काश्मीरी और आसामी आदि भाषाओं को जिनको कि हम उत्तर में पाते हैं, इन भाषाओं के साहित्य को केवल देवनागरी अक्षरों में प्रकाशित कर दें और जहाँ जहाँ आवश्यक हो वहाँ थोड़े बहुत पार्श्वटिप्पण दे दें और यदि बहुत आवश्यक हो तो कुछ स्थलों का अनुवाद भी करके प्रकाशित कर दिया जाय तो मैं अपने अनुभव से कह सकता हूँ कि हिंदी भाषियों को इस साहित्य को समझने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी। इसी प्रकार से मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि उत्तर भारत के लोग आपस में एक-दूसरे का साहित्य पढ़ें पढ़ाएँ तो उनको विशेष कठिनाई नहीं होगी। हाँ जहाँ तक

दक्षिणी भाषाओं के साहित्य का संबंध है वहां थोड़ी सी कठिनाई पड़ती है किंतु फिर भी मैंने मलयालम में रामायण का पाठ सुना है, तैलंग में महाभारत का पाठ सुना है, कन्नड में भगवद्गीता सुनी है। मेरा तो ऐसा विचार है कि यदि हम इन साहित्यों को अपनी लिपि में, जिसकी जो लिपि है उसमें थोड़े से टिप्पणों के साथ प्रकाशित करवा लें तो हम अनुभव करेंगे कि भारत एक देश है और भारतीय साहित्य का खोत्र एक ही है। महाभारत, रामायण सब का खोत्र एक ही है और इस प्रकार उन में जो विशेषतायें हैं वे भी हम में आयेंगी।

(Time bell rings.)

इस समय मेरा निवेदन यह है कि यद्यपि इस प्रस्ताव के लिये मेरा कोई मंशोधन नहीं क्योंकि मैं जानता हूं कि यह प्रस्ताव आगे चलने वाला नहीं है, केवल इस पर चर्चा होकर ही रह जायेगी—मेरा जो बड़ा आवश्यक मुद्दाव है वह यह है कि हमारी पाठशालाओं में जहां हम अंग्रेजी भाषा का पढ़ाना अनिवार्य कर रहे हैं क्योंकि हम यह समझते हैं कि विदेशों के साथ संपर्क रखना हमारे लिये परम आवश्यक है, आधुनिक संस्कृति और आधुनिक विज्ञान के लिये हम अंग्रेजी को अनिवार्य बना रहे हैं, वहां क्या यह आवश्यक नहीं कि हम अपने देश को जानें, हम अपने तामिल भाइयों के साहित्य और उनकी मनोवृत्ति को जानें, उड़ीसा, आसाम, पंजाब और काश्मीर को भी जानें।

आज हम देखते हैं कि अंग्रेजी भाषा में सब साहित्य का अनुवाद विद्यमान है। इसी प्रकार से फ्रेंच और जर्मन भाषा में भी हमें सब साहित्यों का अनुवाद मिलता है। किंतु इस समय हिंदी और भारतवर्ष की दूसरी भाषाओं में दूसरे साहित्यों का अनुवाद हमें नहीं मिलता, यह बहुत दुःख की बात है। हमारा कर्तव्य है कि जहां हम अपनी शिक्षा

में अंग्रेजी को इसलिये अनिवार्य रख रहे हैं कि हम को बाहरी संपर्क के साथ संपर्क रखना है, उभी प्रकार में यह भी हमारा कर्तव्य हो जाना है कि हम अपने देश भारतवर्ष को जानें। ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से, भौगोलिक दृष्टि से हम इस देश के एक एक कोने को, पूर्व, पश्चिम, दक्षिण और उत्तर को अच्छी प्रकार जानें। इसलिये हमारे लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हमें अपनी शिक्षा-पद्धति में, प्रत्येक स्कूल में जो भी विद्यार्थी हिंदी पढ़ता है उसके लिये एक या दो भाषाओं का ज्ञान रखना अपरिहार्य कर दिया जाय।

भारतवर्ष की भाषायें एक दूसरे से भिन्न नहीं हैं। यदि कोई व्यक्ति तामिल भाषा के २०० या ३०० शब्दों का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेता है तो तामिल हमारे लिये विदेशी नहीं रह जाती। यदि हम बंगला भाषा के १०० या २०० वाक्य सीख लेंगे तो बंगला हमारे लिये विदेशी नहीं रह जायेगी। आज स्थिति यह है कि जब हम रेल पर यात्रा करने हैं अथवा दिल्ली में आपस में मिलते हैं तो अंग्रेजी भाषा में ही बातचीत करते हैं यह हमारे लिये बड़ी लज्जा की बात है। अंग्रेजों ने हमारे देश के अन्दर एक झूठा प्रचार फैला दिया था कि यहां २५० अथवा ५०० भाषायें हैं। हमें इस बान को प्रमाणित करना है कि हमारे यहां इतनी भाषाये नहीं हैं और हम एक दूसरे को समझने में समर्थ हैं। किसी को यह कहने का फिर अधिकार नहीं होगा कि हमारे देश में बीसियों भाषायें, अथवा सैकड़ों भाषाये विद्यमान हैं, इसलिये हम एक दूसरे से अलग हैं।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 53]

SHRIMATI LILAVATI MUNSHI (Bombay): Sir, this is a very thought provoking Resolution and the Resolution discusses the question relating to the literary man as well as literature

[Shrimati Lilavati Munshi.]

with a great comprehensiveness. There are some clauses which are of a great value. There are some others which require a little greater examination. In the first category, I would put Number 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7; the rest come into the other category. Sir, it is a matter of common knowledge that copyright rules many times are observed in the breach rather than in their observance. Many times I have found that stories are translated or plays staged without any reference to the author. I have come across, Sir, many times, my own stories translated in other languages; somebody sometimes refers to it and I do not know anything about it. Then, somehow, I get a copy of it. A book has been recently published, containing translation of some of my articles by a very well known publisher without my knowing anything about it. Sometimes the name of the original author is not mentioned; sometimes it is passed on as the translator's own story. This state of affairs certainly requires to be amended.

Translation of classics as well as good modern books is really a great need and I am glad that that point is mentioned in this Resolution. It is only the selected few who understand these classics because, they are written either in Sanskrit or in other European languages and the masses of our people have no access to those things. So, it is really a good thing that such books are properly translated; it will have a great educative value so far as our own people are concerned.

Establishment of a national agency for creating contracts between writers also is a good suggestion. It can only be done by calling conventions or conferences of such writers. I do not know how else it could be done; but then, in this age of growing writers, we cannot call everybody. Sir, and those who are left out, won't they grumble? So, by pleasing some it may be that we may be displeasing many more. Although it is a good suggestion still, it requires greater

examination if the State is going to undertake to do it.

Point (7) is positively a good one. There is vast ancient literature yet unpublished stored away in *bhandaras* and obscure places and it is getting destroyed. My friend who spoke here last will bear me out that there are hundreds and hundreds of such books which are eaten away by moths and destroyed. If such literature could see the light of the day, it will throw a good deal of light on our past.

Now, Sir, I come to the doubtful points. For instance, the first point of helping authors financially. I am glad the poet Maithili sharanji also spoke in a way—(Interruptions)—I am sorry, Shri Banarsi Das Chaturvediji spoke in the same strain that I wanted to speak.

I do not consider that the suggestion of helping authors financially is a good suggestion because that will destroy the freedom of the literary man, which I consider to be a very valuable asset. It will create a class of *hangers-on* on the Government—whichever be the Government of the day. We have got a good Government today; tomorrow there may be some other Government and, by bringing this kind of consideration, it will create a class of *hangers-on*. As I said, there is a good Government today and, tomorrow, the complexion of the Government may not be so good, and, I think, Sir, that this would do great harm to the cause of literature than anything else would. Once these writers become dependent then, all the freedom will be gone. Even development of new lines of literature means writing made to order. We have heard of such examples in other countries where famous authors and playwrights had to completely change the well-known books written by them previously and new versions which could suit the need of the Government or the State had to be published. Sir, the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta was saying something on this question. He was all the time talking about some other countries where things were

happening but in this context, I am sorry that he could not even forget his love or hatred of some other countries, in a question of literature. In the countries of which he is so enamoured, the example that I have given has happened, that a very great author, whose books had gone into a number of editions and was admired by the whole world, had to change his book to suit the need of the State. The political philosophy and political science today have changing aspects in every country and I do not think it is safe to ask Government to handle it.

Item number (8) also is a doubtful proposition. This deals with the nationalisation of production of text books from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities. This will be asking the State to shape education according to its notion, that is according to the person who may be in charge of that particular movement in office. Once I myself raised this question of text books in the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1938 because there was a plethora of text books and favouritism was rampant and each school was free to choose its own text books. Many changed it every year to favour their own friends and, children had to suffer. In such a context, Sir, we discussed that point and at that time I was of the opinion that the State should handle the production of the text books. But, today, as I said, Sir, the whole outlook of the world has changed and in this changing world I am doubtful whether it will be safe to entrust this thing entirely to the Government because Governments may come and Governments may go and this rule will remain for ever. As I said, Sir, in 1938 we were dreaming of a steady Government and today everything assumes a political colour. Already Shri Bhupesh Gupta had tried to look at this question from the party angle and that is what his amendments show. The State should restrict the number of textbooks which will remain in force for a certain number of years, and encourage good authors no doubt and

choose the best textbooks from their productions.

With regard to item (9), collection of public donations, naturally I do not like this idea for the same reason that once the question of money comes, it creates hangers-on and kills literary initiative. I do not think that it is the intention of the mover of the Resolution.

Shri Rama Rao, while speaking, said something about a number of great names; he said about the great literature which was produced by Tulsidas, Tolstoy, Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Aurobindo, Tagore and so on. Of course, all these great men produced literature of the highest type but it was not a literature made to order by the Government and these people were not dependent upon the donations of the Government.

(Time bell rings.)

Only a few minutes more, Sir. I will drop some of the points but there is one which I would like to mention. Shri Rama Rao made a statement that our Sanskrit was a dead language. I am glad, Sir, that Shri K. B. Lal and Dr. Katju both have refuted his arguments. I am surprised that he is using such a language about Sanskrit which is the 'mother-tongue' of all the languages. Even now that is the language which has created the Indian culture of today; it was the language that forged the unity of all the other languages. Even then, he says it is a dead language. I am sorry there is not much time. I think with this many people in this House will disagree. He also told us something about the Hindu system, and that it was something bad. I do not know exactly what it means. I am surprised that a man who derives all his ideas and inspirations from this religion should speak like this. It is a religion that has produced the greatest Hindu like Ghandiji; a religion that has produced an Aurobindo and a Ramakrishna. I am surprised how he has chosen to speak in such terms. I

[Shrimati Lilavati Munshi]
would consider it as the greatest libel. The Member in whose name this Resolution stands, he himself will not relish his substitute to put the things in such a manner.

Sir, my hon friend Shrimati Chandravati Lakhanpal made certain points and it is really a good amendment she has moved. I may inform the House that Shri Prem Chand a few years ago along with a particular Gujerati author, whose name I shall not mention here for obvious reasons, started translating literature into Hindi and published it in 'Hans' That was long ago Hers is, I think, really a good suggestion I thank you, Sir, for giving me so much latitude

SHRI V K DHAGE (Hyderabad): I would like to make a submission, Sir. This is a very non-controversial Resolution. Sufficient discussion has already taken place and several hon Members have already spoken. Would it not be proper to ask for a closure of this discussion now so that we may proceed to discuss the other Resolutions?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have a list of 24 Members. If the hon. Members can place a restriction on themselves it will be helpful but I cannot curtail the fifteen-minute limit.

SHRI KAKASAHEB KALELKAR (Nominated):

श्री काका साहेब कालेलकर (नाम निर्देशित): अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस प्रस्ताव के बारे में मुझे ज्यादा कहना नहीं है। क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि सरकार की ओर से इस दिशा में कुछ करने का सोचा जा रहा है। उसके साथ मेरा भी कुछ संबंध होने के कारण मैं यहाँ ज्यादा नहीं कहूँगा।

इस प्रस्ताव में जो सबसे पहली बात बताई है, मुझे ठीक नहीं लगती।

"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."

यह बात ठीक नहीं है। साहित्यकार का कर्तव्य होता है कि वह अपने विचार पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता से प्रगट करके जनता को रास्ता दिखलावे और नये क्षेत्र में ज्ञान वृद्धि करे। अगर इस काम में हम सरकार की मदद लेने लगे तो साहित्यकारों की स्वतंत्रता नष्ट हो जायेगी और उनकी प्रतिष्ठा भी कम होगी। सरकार चाहे जितनी अच्छी क्यों न हो, वह किसी न किमी पार्टी की सरकार होगी। उसमें पार्टी का आग्रह आ ही जाता है। मदद लेने से लेखक अगर दब गया तो उसका नेज नहीं रहेगा। वह अपने विचार स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक प्रगट भी नहीं कर सकेगा।

हां इतना अवश्य होना चाहिये कि अगर किसी साहित्यकार ने जीवन भर साहित्य द्वारा सेवा की और बुढ़ापे में उसकी स्थिति खराब रही, तो समाज या सरकार की ओर से उसे कुछ न कुछ पेशन मिलनी चाहिये। अगर ऐसी कुछ मदद दी तो वह अपने आखिरी दिन प्रतिष्ठा से रहेगा और सरकार के लिये भी यह चीज शोभा देगी।

दूसरी बात मुझे कहनी है वह है कापी-राइट एक्ट (Copyright Act) के बारे में। हमारा कापी राइट एक्ट बहुत पुराना हो गया है और वह और देशों के कापी राइट एक्ट के साथ बंधा हुआ है। इससे तबदीली करना आसान नहीं है। फिर भी हम इतना तो कर सकते हैं कि प्रकाशक और लेखक या ग्रंथकार के बीच झगडा या तनाजा न रहे। ग्रंथकार की रायल्टी (Royalty) और प्रकाशक का मुनाफा दोनों के बारे में हम नियम कर सकते हैं। दोनों १५ प्रतिशत से ज्यादा कुछ न ले।

इसके साथ हमें यह भी करना चाहिये कि ग्रंथकार की मृत्यु के पश्चात् कापीराइट ५० साल तक कायम न रहे। सिर्फ २० साल तक रहे। ग्रंथकार की मृत्यु के समय अगर उसके बालबच्चे छोट हों तो उन्हें रायल्टी से २० साल कुछ मदद मिले। उसके बाद वह चीज समाज की होनी चाहिये। और समाज को सस्ते दाम से मिलनी चाहिये।

पुराने जमाने में प्रकाशक लेखक को मुँड ही लेते थे। आज चन्द प्रकाशक सुधर गये हैं। हमें ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि साहित्य प्रवृत्ति द्वारा लेखक, प्रकाशक और समाज तीनों का एकसा हिन हो।

मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे देश की प्रांतीय भाषाओं के विकास की तरफ जिनका ध्यान देना चाहिये इतना नहीं दिया जा रहा है। हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ने देशी साहित्य और खासकर संस्कृत साहित्य की ओर काफी ध्यान नहीं दिया है। प्रांतीय सरकारें प्रांतीय भाषाओं को मदद करेंगी लेकिन संस्कृत साहित्य सारे देश की ओर दुनिया की कीमती विरासत है। संस्कृत का अध्ययन बड़े और उसके साहित्य का प्रकाशन हो। इसमें केन्द्रीय सरकार को मदद करनी चाहिये। यह काम आज तक केन्द्रीय सरकार ने नहीं किया। अब हमें, सरकार पर अपना पूरा जोर डालकर, यह काम करवाना चाहिये। इसमें अगर गफलत या देरी हुई तो देश का बड़ा नुकसान होगा।

और एक बात। हमारे विधान के शेड्यूल आठ में १४ या १५ भाषाओं का जिक्र है। इतनी ही भाषाओं को मान्यता दी गई है। राजनैतिक लोग ऐसा ही समझने लगे हैं कि मानो इतनी ही भाषाओं को जीवित रहने का अधिकार है। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। कोई भी भाषा, चाहे जितनी छोटी हो, और उसका साहित्य नहीं के बराबर हो, तो भी वह,

उसे बोलने वालों की, मां होती है। उनके बालबच्चों को प्राथमिक शिक्षा उसी भाषा में मिलनी चाहिये। चौदह भाषाओं के अलावा और जिनकी भाषायें हमारे देश में हैं, उनकी ओर, विधान की दृष्टि से यानी पोलिटीकल (Political) दृष्टि से हम लोग भले ध्यान न दें लेकिन कल्चर (Culture) संस्कृति की दृष्टि से, हम उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते। जनता व सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि जितनी भी पिछड़ी जातियां हैं उनकी छोटी छोटी बोलियों को प्रोत्साहन दे। इन छोटी बोलियों की अगर हमने उपेक्षा की तो वह हिसा होगी और देश के विकास में बड़ी बाधा होगी।

“Nationalisation of production of text-books” की बात लीजिये। सरकार की ओर से अच्छी दरसी किताबें तैयार हो जाये, यह बहुत जरूरी है। आजकल अभी टेक्स्ट बुक के प्रकाशकों ने और पेशेवर लेखकों ने सारी जनता को चूसने का धंधा बना लिया है। सरकार से मेरा अनुरोध है कि अच्छी से अच्छी पाठ्य पुस्तकें सरकार की ओर से तैयार की जायें। फिर इनके साथ प्रकाशक भले ही कम्पीटीशन (competition) करें। अच्छी और सस्ती दरसी किताबें सरकार की ओर से प्रकाशित होने से जनता को और विद्यार्थियों को लूटने का धंधा बहुत कम हो जायगा।

और एक बात। भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतीय भाषाओं के बारे में मामूली जानकारी भी दूसरे प्रांतों में नहीं रहनी है। प्रांतीय भाषाओं का कैसा और कितना विकास हुआ है, कहां कौन, क्या कर रहा है इसकी जानकारी सारे देश को होनी चाहिये। यह काम सरकार का है। समय समय पर रिपोर्ट तैयार करवा कर बतलाना चाहिये कि कहां कहां, किस किस

[Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar.]

विषय में कौन सा साहित्य तैयार हुआ है, और हो रहा है।

हमारे देश की देशी भाषाओं में रेफरेंस बुक्स (reference books) संदर्भ ग्रंथ का अभाव होने से साहित्यिक प्रगति और जनता के ज्ञान का विकास दोनों रुक गये हैं। देशी एन्साइक्लोपीडिया (encyclopedia) की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। उसे तैयार करवाकर सस्ते में देना सरकार का कर्तव्य है।

देश का linguistic survey भी होना चाहिये। इस बारे में जो भी काम हुआ है, अंग्रेजों के ज़माने में हुआ था। और वह त्रुटि-पूर्ण है। अपटुडेंट अद्यतन (up to date, linguistic survey) न होने के कारण भी देश का नुकसान हो रहा है।

यह सारा काम करने के लिये केवल साहित्यकारों को नहीं लगाना चाहिये। मेरा उन पर इतना विश्वास नहीं है। जो देश हिनैपी है और समाज सेवक है ऐसे लोगों से यह काम लेना चाहिये। अगर इतना काम सरकार करेगी तो मझ सतोष है।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 54.]

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR
(BIHAR) :

प्रो० आर० डी० सिन्हा दिनकर(बिहार) : श्रीमन्, जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने है उसके विषय में बहुत सारी बातें कही जा चुकी हैं। बहुत सी बातें उस प्रस्ताव के विषय में ऐसी भी कही गई हैं जिनकी ज़रूरत नहीं थी, जो किसी दूसरे अवसर पर कही जा सकती थी। मैं उन सब बातों में जाना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि मेरे पास सिर्फ १० मिनट का समय

है। इस समय मैं आपके सामने सिर्फ दो तीन बातें रखना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात तो यह है कि साहित्य में प्रगतिशीलता किसे कहते हैं, इसके पंच दो चार आदमी अपने आप नहीं बन सकते। इस देश की जनता समझ चुकी है कि साहित्य का प्रगतिशील रूप क्या है और उसका बहाना लेकर लोग कैंसी कैंसी चीजों का प्रचार कर रहे हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि इस देश में केवल अमरीकी साहित्य ही नहीं बिक रहा है, बल्कि कुछ दूसरे देशों का साहित्य भी बहुत जोरों से बिक रहा है। सब से मजेदार बात तो यह है कि अमरीकी किताबें बहुत महंगी होती हैं इसलिये वे ज्यादा बिकती नहीं। मगर रूस से जो आज साहित्य आ रहा है उसका प्रचार बहुत अधिक हो रहा है क्योंकि रूसी किताबों का दाम बहुत सस्ता है।

तीसरी बात यह है कि इस देश में जो सरकार अभी काम कर रही है उन पर यह आरोप लगाना कि वह ऊँचे साहित्य का दमन कर रही है सही नहीं है, ऐसा कहना सत्य का उपहास करना है। हम जानते हैं कि पिछले बीस पच्चीस वर्षों में कैंसी कैंसी किताबों को सरकार ने जब्त किया था और किस तरह जब्ती के आर्डर (Order) सन् सैंतीस से ही हटाये जाने लगे। जब से देश में कांग्रेस शासन की स्थापना हुई तब से बहुत सी पुस्तकों पर से बँन (ban) हटा दिये गये हैं। जिन किताबों पर से जब्ती अभी तक नहीं हटायी गई है उनकी ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहिये। कुछ किताबें ऐसी भी हो सकती हैं जिनकी ज़रूरत जनता महसूस नहीं करती और उन पर जब्ती रखा न रहे, बात एक ही है।

इस प्रस्ताव के तीन हिस्से हैं। एक हिस्सा तो वह है कि जिस के जरिये हम कापीराइट एक्ट (Copy Right Act) में

सुधार चाहते हैं। दूसरा हिस्सा वह है जिसके जरिये हम हिंदुस्तान की सभी भाषाओं में लिखे जाने वाले साहित्य को समृद्ध बनाना चाहते हैं और तीसरा हिस्सा वह है जिसमें यह बात कही गई है कि साहित्यकारों की मदद के लिए, उनकी सहायता के लिये सरकार कुछ ठोस काम करे। कापी राइट एक्ट के संबंध में काका कालेलकर जी का मत है कि चूंकि इस कानून का संबंध सारे संसार से है इसलिये सुधार करने में कठिनाई होगी। बात ठीक है और अभी हाल में हम लोग बर्न कन्वेंशन (Bern Convention) पर स्वीकृति की मुहर लगा चुके हैं। मगर भारत की अवस्था को देखते हुए कुछ न कुछ सुधार की जरूरत है और वह किया भी जा सकता है। हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने अभी यहां पर बतलाया कि कापीराइट एक्ट में सुधार की गुंजाइश है और वह सुधार किया जा सकता है। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि सरकार कापीराइट एक्ट में सुधार करने के लिये जल्दी ही बिल (Bill) तैयार करेगी।

श्रीमन्, कापीराइट एक्ट के संबंध में अब तो देश के अन्दर काफी जागृति हो गई है। केवल प्रकाशक ही नहीं, लेखक भी अब जान गये हैं कि कापीराइट एक्ट के अन्दर उनको क्या सुविधायें और क्या क्या हक हासिल हैं। लेकिन एक वक्त था जब लेखकों को प्रकाशक नहीं मिलते थे और जब कोई प्रकाशक किसी लेखक की किताब छापता था तब उसका यह भाव होता था कि उसने लेखक का उपकार किया है। उनमें ऐसे लेखक भी थे जो आज हमारे सिर पर हैं, जिनको हम पूजनीय मानते हैं, जिन्होंने हमारे साहित्य को धनी बनाया है। मगर उनकी भी आरम्भिक रचनाएँ प्रकाशकों ने कृपा के ही भाव से छपी थीं। इन में से ऐसे लेखक भी बहुत हैं जिनकी किताबें २५ या ५० रुपये में ली गई थीं, मगर, जिनसे प्रकाशकों को आगे चलकर काफी

आमदनी हुई। श्रीव लेखक मारे गये और माल प्रकाशकों के घर पहुंचा। मगर मैं पूछता हूं कि क्या लेखकों के साथ किया गया व्यवहार ठीक है? ऐसे लेखक भी जीवित हैं जिनकी ७५ पुस्तकें निकल गई पर वे भूखों मर रहे हैं। जिस दिन उन्होंने मिट्टी के मोल पर अपनी किताबें बेच दीं, उस दिन वे बड़ी ही हाजत में थे। वे शायद खुद बीमार थे, शायद उनके बीबी बच्चों ने चार चार दिन से खाना नहीं खाया था, शायद उनकी और कोई जरूरत थी जो टाली नहीं जा सकती थी। ऐसी हालत में उन्होंने अपनी किताबें प्रकाशकों के हाथ बेच दीं। बहुत से लेखक प्रकाशकों की इस पाशविकता के शिकार हुये। जहां कापी राइट बेचने की बात नहीं थी, वहां भी प्रकाशक ने कुछ ऐसी भाषा में रसीद लिखवा ली जिससे अब वे कापीराइट की बिक्री का अर्थ निकाल रहे हैं।

ऐसे मामले कुछ दो एक नहीं हैं। झुंड के झुंड लेखक प्रकाशकों की इस प्रवृत्ति के शिकार हुए हैं और मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर कापीराइट एक्ट में संशोधन हो तो उसमें कापीराइट रेस्टोरेशन क्लॉज (copyright restoration clause) हमें अवश्य रखना चाहिये आपको सुनकर हंसी आयगी और आप इसे अनैतिक ही समझेंगे मगर यह अनैतिक नहीं है। हमारे प्रांत में ही बकाश्त रेस्टोरेशन ऐक्ट (Bakast Restoration Act) बना है। किसानों की जो ज़मीनें उनके हाथ से निकल गई थीं और जिन्हें ज़मींदारों ने ले लिया था उन ज़मीनों को किसानों को वापस दिलाने के लिये बिहार सरकार ने बकाश्त रेस्टोरेशन ऐक्ट बनाया। उसी की समानता पर, उसी की एनालाजी (analogy) पर, हमें कापीराइट रेस्टोरेशन ऐक्ट बनाना चाहिये। इसके अतिरिक्त एक और उदाहरण हमारे प्रांत में है। हमारे यहां

[Prof. R. D. Sinha Dinkar.]

आदिवासियों में कुछ "ताना भगत" किसान हैं। १९३० में चूँकि वे सत्याग्रह में पड़े थे इसलिये उन लोगों पर मालगुजारी का मुकदमा कराकर उनकी ज़मीनें नीलाम करवा ली गई थीं। जब बिहार में कांग्रेसी मंत्रिमंडल बना तब मंत्रिमंडल ने "ताना भगत लैंड रेस्टोरेशन एक्ट" बनाया (Tana Bhagat Land Restoration Act) बनाया। और वे ज़मीनें ताना भगत किसानों को फिर सौवांस दिला दी गई। मेरा ख्याल है कि इन्हीं दो कानूनों की समानता पर लेखकों की स्वत्व रक्षा के लिये भी कापीराइट एक्ट में रेस्टोरेशन क्लॉज जरूर रखना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात मैं साहित्य की समृद्धि के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ। बहुत तरह के सुझाव आये हैं और खास करके जो सुझाव काका साहब ने दिया है वह मुझे पसन्द है। लेकिन बात यह है कि आज शाम को तो इस प्रस्ताव की मृत्यु होने वाली है और मालूम नहीं कि उसके बाद सरकार क्या करेगी। सरकार की मैं शिकायत नहीं करता लेकिन वह एक ऐसा जन्तु है जो बहुत धीरे धीरे चलता है, कच्छप गति से चलता है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को इस विषय में थोड़ी ज़रूरत जागरूकता प्रदर्शित करनी चाहिये। कम से कम एक साधन उसके हाथ में है। इंफार्मेशन डिपार्टमेंट (Information Department) से "आजकल" नाम का एक मासिक पत्र निकलता है और मैं समझती हूँ कि "आजकल" कोई भी ऐसा काम नहीं कर रहा है जो कि दूसरी जगह पर नहीं हो रहा हो। भारत सरकार को तो अपने व्यक्तित्व की विशेषता कायम करनी चाहिये और मेरा ख्याल है कि इसी साल अप्रैल से "आजकल" को भारत के इंटरलिंगुअल (Interlingual) साहित्य का माध्यम बना देना चाहिये। उसमें जो कुछ छपे वह उसी दृष्टि

से छपे कि उससे देश की चौदहों भाषाओं की सेवा करनी है।

अब रह गई यह बात कि साहित्यकारों की सेवा कैसे की जाय। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि सरकार कितनी भी अच्छी हो और कितनी भी पवित्र हो लेकिन उसके भी कुछ नख और पजे होते हैं। कम से कम मैं तो नहीं चाहता कि मेरे ऊपर सरकार कभी ऐसा कोई उपकार करे कि मैं अपनी बात कहना ही भूल जाऊँ। अभी तो यहाँ प्रजा-सत्ता का आरम्भ हुआ है, जम्हूरियत का जन्म हुआ है और अभी इस देश में जम्हूरियत पर बहुत सी आंधियाँ आयेगी और बार होंगे। इसलिये हमें जागरूक रहना है कि हम जनता के अधिकार को कहीं से कमजोर न होने दें। जनता के अधिकार इसलिये महफूज हैं कि प्रजा-सत्ता के अन्दर जो शासन विधान हमने बनाया है उसके अन्दर प्रजा को विद्रोह करने का अधिकार निहित है। प्रजासत्ता जनता की इच्छा के अधीन चलती है और जनता चाहे तो सरकार को तोड़ सकती है। समय आने पर विद्रोह से उसे झुका सकती है। विद्रोह की भावना का पालन साहित्य करता है। अगर साहित्य कहीं इस चीज़ को भूल जाय तो फिर विद्रोह की आवाज़ दब जायगी। जनता में जो विद्रोह की भावना है वही वह तलवार है जिसका डर दिखा कर जनता सरकार को ठीक रास्ते पर कायम रख सकती है और यदि साहित्य रचना करने वालों पर यह असर पड़े कि सरकार यदि हमको खाना देगी तभी हम खायेंगे तो जनता के विद्रोह का भाव काम हो जायेगा। इसलिये इस दिशा में बच बच कर कदम उठाना चाहिये और ऐसा उपाय करना चाहिये कि साहित्यकारों को कष्ट भी न हो और उनकी विद्रोह भावना भी नहीं बुझे। यह भी स्मरण रहे कि साहित्यिकों की मदद करने का निश्चय कर लेने पर सरकार उन साहित्यकारों को

नहीं छाट सकती जो सरकार के पक्ष में नहीं,
विपक्ष में है।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No 55]

PROF. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated).
Sir, I accept the Resolution in the recommendatory part and reject it in the operative part. I accept the Resolution so far as it draws our attention to a very important deficiency—the neglect of our literatures. And we have got many literatures in India because we have got many regions and languages in India. We have got about fourteen recognised languages—recognised by the Constitution—and various other minor languages and also the main national language, which yet has got to occupy the position of the State language. And they are all in a very backward condition and we have to work for them now, we have not to wait for it at all, and to the extent that the Resolution draws our attention to that fact and to that deficiency, I accept that Resolution.

Sir, have we observed that today, except for a few books in India, no other books are translated in the foreign languages? I think Tagore would be one of these; maybe, Gandhiji would be another. Could we mention a third? Maybe, a scientist like Bose. I do not think there is a fourth—at least none occurs to me at the moment. Have we produced any great man of literature or even of science who has written in our own language, which has been translated into German or into English or into Belgian or into Italian or any other foreign language? Have we observed also that today we are living in an age of which I am proud? It is an age of Indian renaissance—political, economic, spiritual, in the widest sense. We have produced masters, geniuses in religion. I am myself proud to live in an age in which I feel I am in the current of high events, where there are high purposes, there are high ideals placed before us and

we should produce great literature in such an epoch. Russia produced great literature before the Revolution. Some of the greatest authors of Russia were pre-revolutionary and some post-revolutionary—the greatest the world has seen, Tolstoy, Gorky, Chekov and others. Why can't we mention some of our own? I can't mention even one who has immortalised our battle for freedom, our spiritual renaissance or any other front of life. Why is it so? It makes me to think. I am not able to find a real answer to that. Why is that so? Today, the world looks at us. We have got no poetry, no drama, no plastic arts, nothing of the kind of which we could be proud. Why is that so? Sir, I find it is a tragedy that today there is an utter break in our architecture, utter break in our sculpture—an utter break—in music and there is no progress, there is no development. Today, if I may say so, I am a member of a small committee trying to put up a memorial museum for Gandhiji, we want to put up a museum in the Indian tradition. Simple, elegant and yet Indian in style.

6 P M

But we cannot even build a memorial. We do not know what architecture is. I am scratching my head and Kaka-saheb is scratching his head. We have got a number of plans, but they all look like temples. We do not want to build a temple for Gandhiji. We do not want to make a god of Gandhiji. He was a great human, and we want him to be remembered only as a great human. Why is it so? Yet, we are living in the current of life, at a time of which we will be proud for thousands of years. Why is that so? I do not think that the Englishman has given us anything worth while in literature, in art, in the finer things of life at all. He has given us samples of administration, he has given us the basis of our economics, he has given us ideas of political freedom, but the sooner we get rid of his music or his fine arts or literature the better. We are still thinking in English, we are still talking in English and becoming English. This has become a habit with

[Prof. N. R. Malkani.]

us. I wanted to speak in Hindi. I am almost at peace with myself and the world but so far as Hindi is concerned, I have no peace of mind. I feel ashamed. I can speak so as to be understood but I cannot speak Hindi in the manner I would like and you would appreciate. That is a great conflict that is going on within me.

Sir, I was a writer of a sort in Sindhi, a fairly good writer. Without any effort, I became a good writer. But I have wasted my 55 years of life in writing in English, and what have I produced? Nothing. Those who have tried to write in English, what have they left? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Unless and until this superstition about English goes, there will be no literature in India at all, much less in the fourteen languages of India; I think the sooner we realise it, the better.

Personally I do not accept that part of the Resolution which says that there should be one more commission of inquiry. Why a commission of inquiry? What is there to enquire about? There is nothing. The Commission will be enquiring for twelve months, then in another twelve months it will be writing its report and then its report will be lying in some pigeon hole for another period. What has the commission to enquire into? We have nothing. We have no literature to inquire about. I cannot say that the Government of India has done nothing. It is moving slowly in a stately way like an elephant. As a matter of fact, seven years back, the Royal Asiatic Society made a recommendation that a Cultural Trust should be created. That was in 1943. They said, "All right, we will appoint a Committee." So a conference was held to report on letters at New Delhi on the 15th October 1951. Only the other day, in December 1952 the Education Minister came out with his resolution for a National Academy of Letters. It will take two years more to implement this scheme. If you appoint a commission of inquiry, it will take three years more. Things will not move at

the elephantive gait. So let us go ahead without any commission of inquiry.

Then, what is this National Academy of Letters. It is a mixed set up. I am grateful to Kakasaheb and Prof. Dinkar for trying to clearing up this mix-up. This Academy of Letters should have other academies for other work of a scientific nature or for research work. I know of academies in Europe which originally started as merely scholastic bodies. There have been academies in the past from the time of Plato and even before that. But this National Academy of Letters is a scholastic body and also a literary body. I would say that a separate academy or branch of this academy should take up the work of preparing say an encyclopaedia of social sciences. Such a body should be a semi-Government, specialist body, for scholastic studies.

Then, the Resolution says that authors should be helped financially. I request you to let the authors alone. The authors may be poor but are not starving. I was a poor man once but at present I am fairly comfortable, well above the margin. Take Kakasaheb. He is slightly better than me but he was a very poor man, but as far as I know, in Gujrat his literature stands next only to Gandhiji's. Gandhiji was not a rich man. He was a very poor man. He was a royal beggar, but his literature is one of the richest in the world. We may be poor but we are not starving. If there is anything in us, it will come out whether poor or not. What we need is a little money. A well-known author Somerset Maugham was approached for advice by a rich mother. "I have got an only son who writes well. What should I do?" He replied, "Give him £150 a year for five years and then tell him to go to the devil. Let him go about round the world and get experience of the world." To be a literateur, a man must have varied experiences of the world. Kakasaheb's writings are all based on his rich experiences of life. Wherever he goes.

either in India or Europe or elsewhere, he keeps his eyes open and his ears open. He has got a very keen mind and a very receptive mind. So leave the authors alone to fend for themselves. But there must be a recognised body of authors where a young budding author can go, so that they could tell him 'What have you written?' Let us scrutinise it, analyse it and value it. Do not do this and do not do that." When I began to write myself, Acharya Gidwani said "Look here, Malkani, this is very good, but do not do this and in that manner." He gave me some tips and then I budded into a writer. Supposing Kakasaheb and a dozen other people were to guide young writers saying "Do not do this and do not do that", that will be extremely helpful. Give us such a body. That is more than sufficient. And then honour the authors more than you pay them.

Lastly, Sir, so far as development of literature is concerned, the Government also has got a part to play. The USSR took the lead in the publication of classics, in the publication of translations of great works, in the starting of libraries etc. They have brought out the works of well-known authors in cheap editions. Why cannot our Government also do it? Why can't they publish our classics by millions and sell them at Rs 2 or Rs 3 each. The writers cannot do it, but the Government can do it.

The Government should also rule that the medium of instruction in all schools shall be the regional language and Hindi will be the State language and the national language and subsequently the language not of the literate and the educated but the highly educated. We are still talking in English. We must give this up and unless we do that, no literature can flourish in India, whatever else you may do.

SHRI H D RAJAH Sir, I have gone through this Resolution very carefully and also heard the speech of Mr Rama Rao with considerable attention. This Resolution is divided into two

parts. Its intention is good but the implications are dangerous. This Resolution harps upon commercialisation so far as the authors are concerned. This country or any other country has not produced authors with a commercial bent of mind. The fictitious elements in the authors' class get eliminated automatically. The real genuine diamond flourishes without any support from anybody. Look at the two important articles which Mahatma Gandhi wrote. He wrote one article in 'The Young India' called "Shaking the mein" which has gone into a classic. Look at the letter he wrote to Lord Linlithgow about his position and the salary he was drawing from the Government of India. These two pieces of literature still remain as masterpieces of a literary genius and source of the greatest inspiration to humanity. That man was not paid one anna by anybody for his writings.

MR Rama Rao intends, through this Resolution to have a regimented life which kills originality, flow of the thought and only writing to dictation. This is the open road to dictatorship and these people will help handing over the Government to the Communists with ease and comfort. Regimentation of thought is not desirable. An author pours out his feelings according to the thoughts generated in his mind and not on the dictation of some one else. If an author is paid by Government, he will always only pamper to the wishes of the Government, sing their glories and forget his individuality and his own responsibility. Sir, literature springs out of an author from genuine feelings of life and the knowledge he acquires. Therefore it is not necessary that decent authors are to be spoon fed. The public will appreciate their merit and reward them. All second rate authors, if they produce literature which go to the publisher and if the books are not saleable, will suffer and the publishers will lose their money. They are no good and they ruin others. If you have a basic idea of life by which the people are made to speak in their own language and have a Gov-

[Shri H. D. Rajah.]

ernment of their own language on a regional basis, you will receive the patronage of everyone and all will go along with you, and it would not be necessary to impose a commission from the top. It will be a hot-bed of confusion and intrigue in order to swindle the money from the Government. The Hindi people or Sanskrit people or Gujarati people or Marathi people or Tamilians or Malayalee will all angle for position. All will try to get into that Commission or will try to come to some arrangement with the Centre, and each one of them will pull in different directions and ultimately destroy the very fabric of our lives. Therefore, I don't believe that this Resolution will have any good effect upon the public. On the other hand the Government must be sensible immediately to take into its head the idea of re-dividing the country into linguistic provinces. If they take up this question, the country will be better and people will have literature born out of their convictions and respective local Governments due to public pressure will encourage their language and literature and help as far as possible in a general way. No popular author has suffered anywhere and as such no author need be subsidised. It is very rarely that great authors or poets who have produced the best of literature did not have enough to get on and then, after they are dead, people glorified their achievements.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, at this late hour I will not take up much time of the House but as I have tabled this amendment, I thought that I should give the purpose behind the amendment. I also think that various commissions on all possible subjects don't serve any useful purpose. However necessary they are, they are a drag on the country's resources which can be better used otherwise. But the Resolution introduced like this does serve a useful purpose viz., that it gives the Government the views of the present Members of the House in matters which are so vitally important.

Now, the amendment which I have put before the House runs thus:

"That at the end of part (8) of the second para of the Resolution the following be added:

'conducive to unity, solidarity and prosperity of the Nation based on the principles of the dignity of labour, social justice and self-sacrifice; and selling such text books at nominal prices to students and not changing them at too frequent periods.'

Now this Resolution to which it must be added says:

"Nationalisation of production of text books from the lowest to the highest classes of schools, colleges and universities."

and it is on this point that I would like to put before the Government the most important factor viz., that unless all text books, after purchasing copyright from the authors, are produced by the national or State press, the prices at which students have to buy them make the education unnecessarily expensive and raises the cost of education to the highest. Today though this may not be entirely true, at least where school education is concerned this is true, and the Centre should give directions to the State Governments that the text books are not changed at such frequent periods that if a student's brother or sister has gone through the same class a year or two earlier, their books are not of any use to the students. There also I agree with Mr. Rajah that a certain kind of commercialisation has come into this most important thing of education of the country and which it is the duty of the Education Department to prevent.

Then secondly, the other amendment is that the making use of these writers and scholars who don't get proper recognition and also appropriate patronage from the nation—not so much from Government but from the

people and for that reason Government, without taxing its resources, can make use of these people who silently work to further cultural life and raise the cultural level or the country's civilisation by arranging periodical talks for schools and colleges as also not only during college sessions but also for summer schools which it should be the duty of the Government to start. It would in this way, be possible for people who have not been to schools or colleges also to take advantage of current progressive thought and raise the social and cultural levels. These are the things which the Centre, when giving money to the State Governments, can put down as conditions precedent to their receiving help and it should be the duty of the Centre to see that Centre's policies passed through the deliberations of the Parliament, are carried out by the States. Day by day the States are becoming quite reluctant to allow the Centre to give any directives and call it interference by the Centre but if the country is to remain a united whole, I think that there should be a united policy about the education of the children.

Incidentally Sir though this may not be within the sphere of this Resolution, as I am speaking about making use of scholars and authors of our country to raise the cultural standards of our society, I should like to take this opportunity to request the Educational Department particularly to see that all kinds of cheap foreign literature which is misdirecting and misguiding our youth is prohibited by having proper legal steps taken through the agency of the State. Of course, this comes within law and order, but today this kind of literature is degrading our younger generation and if things go at this rate, if this kind of morbid literature spreads like this, I do not know where matters will end.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Reddy

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव (राजस्थान) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर बोलने के लिए १५

मिनट की बजाय ८ मिनट का समय कर दिया जाय तो कुछ ज्यादा लोग बोल सकेंगे।

[*SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA (Rajasthan) Mr Deputy Chairman, if each speaker is given 8 minutes instead of 15 minutes, a greater number of Members will be able to participate in the debate]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If we do not close today, we resume the discussion on the next non-official Resolution day.

SHRI C G K REDDY Mr Deputy Chairman, I do not quite know how I am competent to contribute my mite to this discussion for I belong to that class of literary men who sometimes are called the prostitutes of the profession namely, journalists. In spite of that fact, there are certain points which have been raised on which perhaps I can be deemed to be competent to say something.

So far as my hon friend Shri B Gupta is concerned, when he went on to accuse Government of oppressing authors and others if there was any truth in his allegation, naturally I would fully support him. I think that there should be the complete freedom so far as artists or authors or any others are concerned who contribute their bit towards the culture of the country. Of that there is no doubt whatever. But he went on in a very curious way towards the end of his speech to say that there should be a particular kind of direction to these authors and to those people who give through their writings or through other means, pleasure or entertainment or otherwise contribute to our culture. Now, this question of direction is a rather dangerous concept when you say that the author should have complete freedom there can be no question of any direction. By direction, probably he means State direction and since I do know something about what

*English translation.

[SHRI C G. K. REDDY] the Communist Party feels or says in the matter of literature and culture, I am sure that he means that the State should direct the authors and others in a particular direction. He, I don't think subscribes to the view that authors should be completely free. We know that some of his own amendments prove the contrary. What he means is that it should all be in a particular direction, and who is to determine that direction is something that we are unable to see, because there has got to be somebody who has to choose what is right for the people and what is not, what is entertaining and what is not, what is good for the people and what is not good for them, what is good for society and what is bad for society or reactionary to society. It is merely an arbitrary choice.

So Sir, while supporting fully what he says, that artists and authors and others should have the fullest possible freedom so that they may contribute of their best to society, so that they may give their contribution to real entertainment and culture, I must say that I do not support even remotely what he would call direction in which these authors should proceed, because these two things cannot go together.

Of course, I do not mean that there should be complete licence—not the manner in which the party in power would like to describe it, they like to make a fine distinction between what they call freedom and what they call licence. What I mean is that it is possible for all of us, for all people to agree on what is really harmful to the country and what is not. In fact we find that so far as pornography is concerned, there can be no doubt whatever, and everybody would agree that such a thing should not be given encouragement, that it should be put down. In other respects also the people can decide as to what they want and what they do not want and we must only direct or suppress literature or other like things in so far as it is commonly agreed, because there is a dif-

ference of opinion on what is reactionary and what is progressive, what is good for society and what is not, what is good for the people and what is not. On certain matters, however, there certainly will be common agreement, and so the line could be drawn. To that extent only authors and others who contribute towards our cultural development should be controlled. Otherwise there should be full freedom.

So far as pornographic literature is concerned, I am afraid there has not been enough stress laid on it and it is surprising that I, a young man, should say so much while elders who should have been able to say something, have not done so.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are bald enough.

SHRI C G. K. REDDY: Well, baldness is not everything. We are all aware and I may frankly say, personally aware, that there is a good deal of what is called pornographic literature. If we go round any big cities or even wayside railway stations, sometimes these things are openly sold in very modest—shall I say—under modest bindings, and sometimes they are sold clandestinely, secretly. Now, there is no doubt whatever that this perverts the mind, especially of young people and make their minds unbalanced. This causes unbalance in the mind because these things are really not sober, not related to life and they are intended only to give erotic excitement. Therefore, I think Government should do everything to see that this pornographic literature is put down. There was a time when I think in Bombay there was a certain restriction on the importation of this kind of literature; but there have been certain indigenous productions too in this particular branch of literature, and so far as the money part of it is concerned it has done extremely well, better than any other kind of publication that this country has been capable of for so many years.

It is a matter which I think the Government should seriously take notice of and they should see that the money that people wish to invest in other things, in things which go towards the cultural development of the country does not go into this cheap stuff, on this sort of perverting stuff, stuff that perverts the mind of the youth and also causes them unbalance and which is wholly unrelated to life. Of course, there are protagonists who say that even pornography plays a part in life, because, they say, it gives one side of life and it is good for us to know every side of life.

Next I would say a few words about a certain dangerous, or shall I say, certain unhealthy tendency among certain of the hon. Members and among some in the country, which is growing. I may say it is called—very wrongly—in South India by what is termed “Hindi imperialism” Unfortunately there are certain hon. Members in this House and also others outside who make it appear, who make it unnecessarily appear that Hindi is on the march to invade the whole of India. This is an impression that we should carefully avoid from spreading and getting planted in people's minds. We should see that this impression does not sustain the poisonous seed already put in people's minds. So far as I am concerned, although I come from the South, I am fully behind making Hindi the national language and I hope to even, before I finish my term of office here, to speak in Hindi one of these days. But, this cannot be done. Even I would be alienated if there is a certain amount of aggression in the propagation of Hindi. Any good mission, Sir, sometimes, is spoilt by the excess of enthusiasm and excess of zeal on the part of the missionaries. Now, related to that, I would also say something about Sanskrit which one or two Members, including our hon. Minister for Home Affairs, has said something about. Now, Sir, at the sacrifice of my own mother tongue, from the age of 6 upto 15, I was in school with my second language as Sanskrit. Unfortunately, as most Members are

aware—they will agree with me when I say—that, after 11 years of studying or, shall I say reading or repeating what my Sanskrit master was saying, the only sentence that I could write correctly or speak correctly was one which I learnt in a primer in the first year and which ran as:

“रामो नाम कश्चित् बालः पाठ स्मार्थम् पप्रच्छ”

and I never knew why it should be “पप्रच्छ” and not something else because, in the present tense, it goes on as “पृच्छति पृच्छताम् पृच्छन्ति and I never knew. Even today, I have a hazy notion although I have more interest in Sanskrit than I used to have before. What I felt was that the hon. Minister, when he was speaking, was putting the case rather badly for Sanskrit when he said that we should study Sanskrit and he took strong objection, as most other hon. Members, to what my friend Mr. Rama Rao said about the dead language, that is, Sanskrit. Sir, there is no doubt whatever, and nobody can have any doubt whatever, in this that Sanskrit is a great store of knowledge, literature and a form of poetry which probably we will never be able to reproduce. Now, so far as the living language is concerned, a language which can give us cultural entertainment or any other kind of entertainment or even thought provoking, it cannot be revived by artificial respiration. It must come from the people; it can never be imposed. We cannot say: “Here is a language in books. Let us impose it on the people”. It can never be. I believe that the effort that we may make in trying to impose Sanskrit, as it is in our ancient books from which we draw even now so much of knowledge and so much of entertainment to the mind, if I may say so, will be in vain. We cannot try to impose it and if we try, we will signally fail.

Sir, Sanskrit is also attempted to be introduced through our national language. In this connection, I may refer, if I may, to a particular kind of speech which I heard today and which I hear very often in this House. Although I can follow every word and every idea

[Shri C. G. K. Reddy.]
expressed by other Hindi speakers like Professor Dinkar or others' I am not able to follow certain other speeches which sound to me more like Sanskrit than any language that I have heard. I may refer if I may, Sir, to Shri Raghu Vira's speech. I do not know what relationship it has got to any language at the moment or to a spoken language. That, of course, is his own business and we need not quarrel if he were to stop there, but, unfortunately, he also happens to be one of the missionaries and protagonists of the national language. Now, if he were to go to the South, I am sure, more harm will be done to the propagation of Hindi in the South than any good can come out of his visit. So, I appeal to other friends who want to make Hindi our national language in which we can have almost uniform support all over the country, to guard against trying to impose what is really not of the people. Because you feel that that is the finest of the languages or finest of our ancient glory, you cannot impose it. If you want to revive some of the culture that we have lost, it is not possible for us to do it like this. Culture is not a thing which is stagnant, which is something immobile which could be imposed. It can only be revived in the sense that we develop it, we raise it and we can say that in the case of a spoken language also.

(Time bell rings.)

Therefore, I would say, Sir, that in this respect, I should like to guard against this danger. Have I two minutes more, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; you have finished fifteen minutes.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: May I have one minute, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Mr. Rajah and other more eminent friends have spoken regarding subsidising authors. Now, Sir, I am sure—many of my author friends here will agree with me

when I say that no author will produce a beautiful work for money. Nothing can be produced because of money. If we want to reward the authors or those who produce beautiful things, let us do it on humanitarian grounds because it is not fair that we should take so much from a person who has given so much to us, beautiful things to us, and give him nothing at all. But, I can say this: if you set up an organisation which is to subsidise authors, it will, may I say, even worsen the things because, political influences will set to work and certain other influences will set to work and even those authors who take the money will not be able to produce the best which can only come from the heart and not because one can be bribed through money or by other means.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I had no idea of participating in this debate, but, certain points have come up during the debate and I thought it necessary that I should speak and try to convey my point of view to my hon. friends, more particularly on the Congress Benches.

Now, Sir, Dr. Katju himself and some other friends here have taken exceptional objection to Mr. Rama Rao's sentence or phrase about Sanskrit. Well, Sir, with due respect to Sanskrit, without meaning any insult to it, there are certain languages which are living and there are certain languages which are not living. What we mean by that is language as a means of intercourse, as a means of conveying our thoughts. There are such languages existing in our country and Sanskrit is not such a language. For example, Sanskrit cannot be compared with Telugu, Mahrati, Canarese, Tamil or Malayalam for the simple reason that they are spoken languages, languages spoken by the people, by the peasants, by our folks. So it is in this sense that we feel that a tendency to revive Sanskrit is a very dangerous tendency and this tendency is showing its head and, it is precisely this tendency that is making Hindi it-

self very unintelligible and it is precisely this tendency, Sir, that is creating a revolt against Hindi, particularly in South as Mr. Reddy has suggested. I myself come from the U.P. though I have gone South in my tastes etc. I am a Southerner, but I do have respect for U.P. and Hindustani and I myself feel that I cannot understand Dr. Raghu Vira. My hon. friends may say that I am Persianised and that is why I cannot understand. That is not a fact. Anywhere, even in U.P., if Dr. Raghu Vira were to address them, the peasants would not be able to understand. He will not be able to convey his thoughts, his ideas, to the peasants. That is why, Sir, the Hindi that they are manufacturing in their own houses, this Hindi, is going away farther and farther from the various dialects in U.P., Bhojpuri, Brij, Avadhi, Maithili and Magadhi and that is why a dangerous tendency is also creeping up in these areas for autonomous regions, for independent States. Tulsi-das did not write in Sanskrit; he wrote *Ramayana* in Avadhi and some of his writings are there in Brij too. So, the point is that this tendency which is taking Hindi away and away from the dialect is a dangerous tendency and this will take our literary figures, our cultural people, writers and poets farther away from the people, and that is why we want to fight out this tendency.

In Telugu a big battle has been fought on this. We want the popular Telugu; we did not want this Sanskritised Telugu. Similarly in Mahrati there was a tendency to remove every word coming from Persian, from English or from Gujrati or from any other language. They wanted to remove them and that tendency was fought. If I may say so, I am not a man who knows Mahrati, but, I can say on information that this tendency was fought by many literary figures, so many writers and novelists there.

Similar tendencies are developing in other languages and more particularly it is felt in U.P. That is why, Sir, this tendency is winning more enemies to

Hindi rather than friends and that is why, Sir, I say, every language has a tendency to drive the people away from the language, to make the people go away from the language. On the Osmania University, it is written:

دہ انامدیلتہ العالم وعلی بابہا

"the city of learning whose gates are guarded by Ali". And they have created a language there which most of the people cannot understand fully. We have got an Urdu which is totally unintelligible. So, we are creating a type of Hindi, I am sorry, Sir,—this tendency of making Hindi unintelligible is a dangerous tendency—that will only make matters worse and create difficulties for us for the propagation of the language.

We develop and enrich our language from the peasants primarily. Take from this peasantry, from this treasure-house of language, words and also grammatical forms. With these words, Sir, I conclude.

DR. S. K. BHUYAN (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the spirit of the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Mr. Rama Rao, though I must say at the very outset that I am not in agreement with some of the sentiments that he has expressed in the course of his speech. His reference to Sanskrit has been rebutted and refuted by several hon. Members in the course of their respective speeches.

We know that this Resolution is being discussed in a House which contains a galaxy of authors, litterateurs, poets and creative artists whose reputation has travelled beyond the borders of India, and they can very well understand the trend and object of our Resolution. (Hear, hear).

The mover of the Resolution and those who subsequently took part in the discussion have brought out its full purpose and significance.

Regarding the demands made in the Resolution, I think some efforts have been made in the last few years

[Dr S K. Bhuyan]

to achieve them I am glad to refer to the Central budget for the current year 1952-53 where a considerable sum has been set apart for encouraging authors. The grants to authors will be made by a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Education Minister and some high officials, and this certainly is a right move in that direction.

Apart from Government, some Universities have also initiated measures on the lines envisaged in this Resolution. The Universities in India are run on grants made regularly by the Centre or by the State Governments concerned, and a large number of these universities are engaged in publishing books of a high scholarly standard. The Governments of India, both at the Centre and the States, have thus given evidence of their sympathy for the promotion of good literature in the country. The Government of West Bengal, I learn, is giving rewards to the writers of the best books of the year. The Bihar Government, I understand, is giving similar encouragement to authors. The Osmania University at Hyderabad launched a scheme some years ago for translating the world's best classics into Urdu.

The Government of Assam possesses a special Department for collection and preservation of ancient manuscripts, and for publishing the valuable ones, and also constructive books compiled on modern lines. The *Buranjis* or chronicles of Assam constitute a unique contribution to Indian literature to which reference was made by Dr Raghu Vira. These chronicles are of interest not only to Assam but to the whole of India. You will be surprised to know that there are chronicles compiled in the 17th Century, which relate not only to Assam but to the whole of India, dealing not only with the Mogul period, but also with the Sultanates of Delhi. We have chronicles throwing light on the Mogul conquest of Orissa and Bengal. All the important personages and events

in the history of India are represented in these chronicles and they are thus the property of not one State or territory but of the whole of India. Their publication in a proper garb should therefore be undertaken by the State. The Assam Government have published many of them in their Assamese originals and some with English translations. But we have still a large number awaiting publication for which money and men are both badly needed. These are hard times, and people are not willing to undertake arduous scholarly work without proper remuneration. These are schemes which Government can undertake on a country-wide scale.

I will now give you two illustrations of the elevated tone which prevailed in the political world of old days and which is well brought out in these chronicles. When Emperor Humayun was defeated and went to Persia, the King of Persia came to know that Humayun had very faithful servants in Delhi. He asked Humayun—"You had such faithful servants in Delhi? But how is 'his that you were expelled from your throne'? During your rule you must have considered your own comforts to be of superior necessity to the welfare of your subject." This admonition of the King of Persia is certainly a wholesome warning to all princes and rulers. Another chronicle relates to a defeated monarch who had become disheartened at his reverses. "If the sun is once eclipsed does he not shine again?"—wrote a neighbouring Raja, and thereby roused the drooping spirit of his fellow-monarch to vigour and animation. The Assamese chronicles, as I have said, are therefore the property of the whole of India.

Now what does this Resolution want? It wants Government to undertake the work of promoting the literatures of India in an organised and systematic manner so that all writers who are in need of help and all cultural institutions which are in need of some kind of assistance may be properly assisted. In ancient times, literature and art flourished on the

patronage of princes and nobles. Now, in the absence of that patronage from Kings and princes, Government must step into the position of patrons.

Of course, there is one great danger, namely, that if a poet or author receives help from Government, he will sometimes be expected to play a subservient role, because the man who pays the piper will be able to demand the tune. This would be most undesirable. The author and the poet must have a free hand to develop according to their own genius. Like equality, liberty and fraternity in politics, the motto of the poet must be purity, liberty and poverty. He cannot act according to this motto if he is not free, if he plays to somebody else's requirements, if he plays to the tune of his patron. Therefore, a poet must think thrice before he accepts any kind of help from anybody. We all know Scott's line describing Dryden's predicament under similar circumstances.—

"He gave to party what was meant for mankind".

The Resolution speaks of "due regard to the needs of the country's present democratic set-up". That is quite necessary, because democracy is a dangerous thing, and there must be adequate safeguards against its evil consequences. Under democracy, every citizen acquires some power, directly or indirectly; with that power he can make or mar the future of the country. This power will be beneficently exercised only if the citizen is endowed with a high sense of justice and a high moral standard. Sir, if we can propagate good ideas through literature people will be pure-hearted and unselfish. A great philosopher and thinker of England—Thomas Carlyle—had said that no country will ever prosper even though it has "Parliaments as plenty as blackberries" unless its people are morally and spiritually elevated. He means thereby that a country would not prosper unless the hearts of the people are sound.

Dr. Katju has referred to the desirability of making a list of the 150 best books of India, and publishing them in the Indian languages. This enterprise will certainly place before Indian readers the treasured literary wealth of India, though in a matter of eclecticism, there is room for differences of opinion as to the 150 best books. There is a similar list of the 100 best books of the world compiled by Lord Avebury and inserted in his book "The Pleasures of Life". Several Indian classics—Sakuntala, Meghadutam, Ramavana and Mahabharata find place in Lord Avebury's list.

Another thing, Sir, the Resolution provides that authors and literary men writing in different languages must have a forum where they can meet and exchange ideas, and understand each other well (*Time bell rings*). A good idea belongs to the entire world, and even though it is couched in an obscure language it should reach the hearts of others, so that mankind in general may be benefited.

With these words, Sir, I support the spirit in which this Resolution has been brought forward.

MOULANA M. FARUQI (Uttar Pradesh):

مولانا ایم - فاروقی - (اتر پردیش):

جناب دیتی چیورمین صاحب -

ہاؤس کے سامنے جو ریزولیشن شری

راما راؤ جی نے پیش کیا ہے اس

کے ایک ایک لفظ کی میں تائید

کرتا ہوں - میں یہ بتلانا چاہتا ہوں

کہ ہندوستان کا خود کا اپنا کلچر

اور اپنا ایک لٹریچر تھا - وہ کوئی

ایسا غریب لٹریچر نہیں تھا بلکہ

دچ لٹریچر (rich literature) تھا

جس کے آگے دو ہزار برس پہلے تمام

[Moulana M. Faruqi.]

ایشیا کے سر جھکے ہوئے تھے۔ ایک وہ زمانہ تھا جب پرنسپل ایمپائر کے شہنشاہ خسرو نے خاص طور سے مالک بھر میں اس کا اعلان کیا تھا کہ کون شخص ہے جو جا کر ہندوستان کی فلسفی اور اخلاقیات پر جو ذخیرہ ہے مہیا کر کے لائے اور اپنی زبان میں ترجمہ کرایا جائے۔ صرف ایک شخص ایسا ملا جو اس کام کے لئے بھیجا جا سکا وہ یہاں آیا اور برسوں رہا۔ اور اس پر کافی روپیہ خرچ کیا گیا۔ جسوقت وہ کتابیں یہاں سے پہنچیں تو بادشاہ نے پوری فوج کے ساتھ اس شخص کا استقبال کیا اور لاکھوں روپیہ انعام دئے اور اسکا ترجمہ کرایا جو آج بھی

دہ انوار سہیلی ۴۴ کے نام سے فارسی میں موجود ہے اور دہ کلیہ ۴۴ کے نام سے عربی میں اسکے بعد ترجمہ ہوئی اور اس کے علاوہ سنیکڑوں زبانوں میں اسکا ترجمہ ہوا۔ یہ تو ہماری گزشتہ باتیں تھیں جنکی تفصیل میں زائد نہیں کرنا چاہتا اب موجودہ حال سنہئے۔ ایست انڈیا کمپنی کے زمانے سے رومن کلچر انگریزوں کے ذریعہ سے یہاں آیا۔ جسوقت یہ لوگ یہاں آئے تھے وہ صرف مشنری اور تاجر بن کر ہی آئے تھے۔ انہوں نے کلکتہ میں پریس قائم کیا۔ انہوں نے پہلا کام یہ کیا کہ اپنی مذہبی کتاب بڑبا کا

مختلف زبانوں میں ترجمہ کرایا۔ اس کے بعد دھیرے دھیرے یہ حالت ہوئی کہ پورا سب کچھ اسی زبان میں ہو گیا۔ آخر میں اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ انگریزی زبان اس دیس میں رائج ہو گئی۔ مگر سب سے بڑی اور بری جو چیز دیش میں آئی وہ یہ تھی کہ اس کے اثر سے ہم اپنے کلچر کو اپنی زبان کو ان کے کلچر اور زبان کے آگے معمولی اور نیچے سمجھنے لگے۔ وہی چیز برابر اب تک چلی آ رہی ہے۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ آج ہندوستان کے اندر انگریزی زبان جاننے والے بہت کافی تعداد میں موجود ہیں۔

اب سوال یہ ہے کہ ہمیں ایکدم اپنا لٹریچر کس طرح سے بدلنا چاہیئے۔ اور اس کے لئے کیا صورت اختیار کرنا چاہیئے۔ تو میری سمجھ میں اس کے لئے ایک ہی طریقہ ہے جو ہمارے راسا راؤ جی نے پیش کیا ہے کہ ہم ایک کمیشن بنائیں۔ اس کمیشن کا کام یہ ہو کہ ہم اپنی زبانوں کو مالدار بنائیں باہر کی جتنی بھی زبانیں ہیں جو آجکل دنیا میں مالدار کہلائی جاتی ہیں جیسے عربی انگریزی فرنچ جلموں نے ایشیا یورپ میں کافی ترقی کی ہے تو جب تک ہم ان سب کے ترجمے اپنی زبانوں میں نہیں کر لیتے تب تک ہماری زبان مالدار نہیں

ہو سکتی - ہمیں اپنی زبان کو
مالدار بنانے کے لئے اس میں زیادہ
معلومات مہیا کرنے کے لئے سائنس
ٹیکنیکل اور دوسری چیزوں کے ترجمے
کرنے ضروری ہے - حیدرآباد میں اس
سلسلے میں کافی کام ہوا تھا - اردو
زبان میں اسوقت وہاں ترجمے کا کام
ملک کے اور حصے کے مقابلہ میں
سب سے زیادہ ہوا ہے -

سب سے بڑی چیز جو ہمارے
بعض لوگوں نے ابھی بیان کی وہ یہ
ہے کہ جو ہمارے آتھر ہیں اور جو
لیکھک ہیں ان کی حالت واقعی
بہت خراب ہے اور وہ لوگ تالیف

میں ہیں وقت ختم ہو گیا اس
لئے میں آئندہ جب ریزولیشن پیش
ہوگا تو تفصیل سے ضروری چیز پر
روشنی ڈالوں گا -

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 56.]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member will take some more time.

(Moulana M. Faruqi nodded assent.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He can resume his speech on the next non-official day. The discussion on this will be resumed on the next non-official day. The House stands adjourned till 6 P.M. tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till six of the clock in the evening on Friday, the 27th February, 1953.