

The Official Languages Bill, 2012

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I stand here for further consideration of the Official Languages Bill, 2012, which proposes to repeal and replace the Official Languages Act, 1963, in order to ensure that all regional languages that have been recognized under Schedule-VIII of the Constitution can be used for all official purposes of the Union. Today is a historic day. Our movement, the Dravidian movement, since its inception, has been fighting for the betterment of the Tamil. I am compelled to look back to history and to some events which have happened in the past. But now, as the time has changed, the mood has also changed. Earlier, as everyone in this House is well aware, there was a very big resistance in the southern region, especially in Tamil Nadu, against Hindi. In those times, there was an apprehension in the minds of the people that one of the regional languages in this country is trying to dominate all other regional languages and their culture. When a language is washed away, the entire culture or the entire race will slowly fade. I could recall that during the Irish Revolution, De Valera said, "If I have to choose between an independent Ireland and mother-tongue, I would prefer the latter. I would prefer to choose my mother-tongue to independent Ireland". I can cite many examples like that who have preferred their mother-tongue to their soul, especially when India was not one before independence. Everyone knows it. Only after 1947, we became a nation and we resolved to have the motto of unity in diversity. But the Constitution which we adopted in 1950 said that Hindi in *Devanagari* script will be the official language of the Union and for fifteen years, English would be a language associated with that and after that only Hindi will be the official language. Subsequent to that, there was a great agitation in Tamil Nadu. Starting from 1938, 1948 and in 1965, it was at its peak. Many youth in the State of Tamil Nadu self-immolated. On the same floor of the House, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru gave an assurance to our Members of Parliament who were then here and were raising voice that until otherwise the non-Hindi speaking people are willing to accept Hindi, English will continue as an associate language.

Of course, any assurance given by the Minister on the floor of the Parliament is valued so much and Panditji's assurance was taken by us and it subsided. Later in 1963, when the Official Languages (Amendment) Act came, our leader Anna was

in the same House. His speech was so vociferous and he took away all the Members here, and at that time, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, senior most leader of the Jan Sangh was there, and was an ardent fighter for the cause of the Hindi, and our leader was a fighter for Tamil. There was a good discussion, and that debate was so valuable. In that Anna said, "Why should you discriminate a language in this country which has got equal qualifications, rather more than that? At this moment, I should thank the UPA Government, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister and the UPA Chairperson, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, who have declared Tamil as a Classical Language. It has been a demand for long and that was declared as a Classical Language in the UPA-I Government.

Every language has been found out when it has come into existence. For example, English which is spoken by more than 145 countries, which is considered to be the language which would help us to go across the world, came into existence only in the Tenth Century. French language came into existence in the Eighth Century. German language came into existence in the Sixth Century. If you have to go into further more details every language has got a period when it came into existence, but Tamil, Sir, no one knows when it came into existence. I am proud that I belong to the Tamil speaking community. But, at the same time, I am proud to say that Tamil is such a hoary language, an ancient language but it is being disregarded, and has not been accredited with due respect it should have. Our Thirukural which everyone knows was written 2,000 years before. Tolkappiyam, Tamil grammar was written 2,500 years before, when Lord Buddha was in Bihar, when Kung Fu was in China, when Socrates was in Greece. Tolkappiar in Tamil Nadu was writing grammar for Tamil. So rich is that language which is inferior to no other language, rather it was considered as the mother of all languages, but it has not been given the due respect. We were fighting vehemently when we felt that Hindi was being imposed, rather Hindi language came into Tamil Nadu, rather across the country, and that it would take away all the languages. Sir, Hindi is spoken by 5 or 6 States in the country, maybe the majority. But majority can't decide always. If one language has to be there to maintain unity, can anyone argue that there should be only one religion to keep this country as one country with unity? No, Sir. Nothing can bind us with one reason, whether it is a language or religion. That is why, at the outset itself, I have told unity in diversity is the basic thing or the basic motto or the basic principle of our Indian politics.

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

Sir, I should say at this moment, if some people say one language will bind the country with unity, I would like to tell them that so many countries which speak the same language are separate. They are not together. In South American countries, Spanish is the language in many countries but they are all separate. German is spoken in Austria and in Germany. But they are two nations. Korean is the language in the North Korea and South Korea but they are two different nations. Even in our own country, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and States nearby Bihar, they all speak in Hindi, but they are all separate States. Even in the recent past, Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar, a Hindi speaking State. So also Uttarakhand was carved out of Uttar Pradesh, a Hindi speaking State; and Chhattisgarh was carved out of Madhya Pradesh. So, language can't bind a nation or a State into one with one language. We say that we are against Hindi, that was once our slogan. But now we say that all regional languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, starting from Tamil, 22 languages must be regarded as official languages of the Union.

One language is given the official status and all others are only official languages in the State and that language is also having a committee which goes across and sees how it is being implemented. Those who are having Hindi as their mother-tongue would come up very well, and even if I or you, Sir, from Kerala or any other person from Andhra Pradesh learn Hindi, we cannot compete with a person whose mother-tongue is Hindi. So, we argued that one language, which is the language of a part of this country, cannot be a common language to all the States in this vast sub-continent. Many people argued even in the same House that Hindi is the national language and others are regional languages. No, Sir, all are national languages. As regards languages in India, all languages which were called once as regional languages are, of course, accepted as national languages. So, one language which is the language of a part of the country, just because it is spoken by a majority of the people here, cannot rule the entire country. So, we launched agitations. Sir, I could recall, in 1948 itself, our leader Anna wrote in Dravida Nadu that all regional languages must be made as official languages. In 1974, when our leader, Dr. Kalaignar, was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, he passed a Resolution in the Assembly that all regional languages must be regarded as official languages of the Union. In 2000, when we were a part of the NDA, our leader, as a partner in the NDA,

making the same demand, wrote to the then Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayee, to amend the Constitution. In 1978, our senior leader, Shri Murasoli Maran, moved a Resolution in the same House insisting the same. But that Motion was defeated here. Later in 1983, he moved a Bill. I am happy that after thirty years, a person from the same party, his younger brother, has moved that Bill and it has come up for discussion. That is why I said that this is a historic moment. I don't think it will resolve all the issues today itself. But it is a very good start. Many Members here, cutting across political parties, from various States, said that they would participate in this discussion and would support this cause. So, we are not against any particular language now. What we argue is that we want our language to be given the official status which another regional language in this country is enjoying. What is wrong in that? We have got a rich past. Our language is ancient. Our literature, if we start describing it, it will go on for hours together. We have got everything of our own. Our language is so rich; our language is ancient. It has got everything of its own. But we are very sorry that it has not been given credit of its own. If a section of the people of this country has come to the conclusion that they are disregarded for the sake of language, then, that would result in something else. That is what happened in 1965. So many youngsters came to the streets. They set fire to themselves. The whole of India was shaken. That was the first ever incident in the history of human race, next to Vietnam when some Buddhist monks set themselves ablaze, the first time in Tamil Nadu, that youths came to the streets and self-immolated. That shocked the entire country. Everyone was very shocked to know that just for the sake of a language, these people came to the streets and they wanted to take away their lives by setting themselves on fire. This made them sense the mood prevailing then and they realized that their love for the language was greater than their love for life. But, after that, it came to a halt. Everything came to a halt. Our demand remains as a demand. When what we expected, to be brought as a Bill, has not been attempted by any Government, either by the UPA or by the NDA or by the United Front Government, a Member of this House is moving this Bill to be considered by the Government.

Sir, I have to quote many things. This discussion started in the Constituent Assembly itself. If we look into the debates of the Constituent Assembly, it was very, very serious and many seniors even went to the extent of condemning another

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

language. But what I would say is that due to maturity over the period of time and due to incidents which have developed, we have come to a point that we are not against any language. We were against some languages earlier.

But, now we want our language to be given the same official status. We have to be treated equally. Our Leader, Anna in this House said, "Kindly don't mistake unity for uniformity. You cannot expect unity by way of creating uniformity. It cannot be." He said, "Unity in diversity has to be maintained." Sir, in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Ms Durga Bai and Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar spoke, and especially, what Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar spoke is very, very important. Mr. Krishnamurthy Rao who was in the Constituent Assembly also spoke; he said, "My respectful submission is that today Hindi is only a regional language and a provincial language and just because it is being spoken by about 10 crores out of 32 crores at that point of time, we are raising it to the level of common language." I would call all languages spoken in India as our national languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam Bengali, Gujarati and all other languages are national languages. But for the purpose of the Union, we want a common language and we are prepared to accept Hindi as our common language, but Hindi has to become such a language that its effect would be seen in all the ramifications of national life and for this, it should develop much. My submission is that today, Hindi has not yet developed. That was his view at that time. In fact, I can quote from some of our own south Indian languages. So, many arguments were made like that and especially, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of Independent India, in the Constituent Assembly, has also said that there is no other item in the Constituent of the country, which would be required to be implemented from day-to-day and from hour-tohour. I might even say minute-to-minute in actual practice. Therefore, the decision of the House should be agreeable to the country as a whole. Even if we succeed in getting a particular proposition passed by majority, if it does not meet with the approval of any considerable section of people in the country, either in the North or in the South, the implementation of the Constitution will become a most difficult problem. Sir, just because of the resistance given by Tamil Nadu, our movement and those who advocated for Tamil, English came to be the associate language. That was the amendment made in 1967. In 1965, it was mandatory, as per the Constitution, 'that

Hindi alone will be the official language of this country'. Because of the agitation in Tamil Nadu, that was not implemented. Pandit Nehru gave an assurance here and in 1967 an amendment was made and the word, English 'may' continue to be the associate language was substituted with 'should'. So, 'English should continue as the associate language of India' helped the people across the country in various other States to survive. Otherwise, I am sorry to say, by this time many languages would have faded away. Just for the sake of seeking job, just for the sake of living, everyone would be compelled to learn only one language which is the official language, which will be practised in all the offices. So, that will be the medium of instruction in all the schools, maybe in Tamil Nadu, maybe in Karnataka, maybe in Odisha, maybe in Bengal, maybe in Mumbai, everywhere. Only one language will be taught and everyone will be studying that for the sake of their livelihood, for the sake of their future. Naturally, their mother-tongue will become an option and in due course that optional language will also go off because people nowadays survive mostly for their stomach. But this is something beyond the stomach, that is, a man's life. That is what we resisted. Sir, I am proud to be here as Member of the DMK party which has saved other sections of the country, who are non-Hindi speaking people, not to become slaves in the same country. So, Sir, at this point we would like to say that now the time has matured, now that the things have changed, we say that let Hindi be in its own place. Let us also be elevated to that place. What is wrong in that? If you are considering everyone in this country as equal, if at all you want to treat everyone as equal, why don't you give us that status? That is what our leader, Anna, fought here. That is what our leader has been writing again and again even now. One of our basic principles is this. Our leader, Anna, in his speech in Parliament, had very rightly pointed out that he would not yield unless and until the language Tamil will be given its due place in the Union. Anna said, "You are trying to impose one language on a multilingual country like India. In fact, such an attempt results in separation in some other countries. For example, the imposition of English language was one of the main reasons for separation and independence of Irish State from the United Kingdom of the Great Briton in 1922." So also, Sir, the imposition of Urdu was one of the reasons why Bangladesh came into existence. Sir, America dropped the atom bomb on Japan and there were some officers who took control of Japan. And, one of the jobs assigned to those officers was to impose English on them. America was able to drop a bomb on Japan, but

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

could not drop English there, because 95 per cent of the people were literate and were never prepared to accept English as their language. So, that man was retreated without being able to impose English on Japan. So, wherever any language tried to impose on other sections of the people who have got a language of their own, it had resulted in separation. That is the cause of Ireland. That is one of the reasons behind formation of Bangladesh. That is what we have seen in Japan. So, there are many other such instances. Therefore, using more than one language in the administration is not a new phenomenon. During Emperor Ashoka's reign, Prakrit, Greek, and Aramaic languages were used in the administration along with Brahmi script in South India. The Satavahanas used Prakrit and the local script variation of Brahmi. The Kadambas, Chhalukyas of Badami and Rashtrakutas used Kannada and Sanskrit. The Vaidumbas used Telugu and Kannada. The Pallavas and later Pandyas used Tamil and Sanskrit. The later Cholas used Tamil in Tamil Nadu, Kannada in Kannada region, Telugu in Telugu region and Sanskrit. The Eastern Chalukyas and Kakatiyas used Telugu and Sanskrit. The Hoyasalas used Kannada in Kannada region and Tamil in Tamil Nadu. Sir, this is the history.

What I said was: Many countries which had only one language were not able to be remained as one country; they were separated. That is what I told earlier. In South America, Spanish was the official language for many countries, but they were separated. Whereas, in Switzerland, Singapore and in many other countries, you have more than five languages as official languages and they are still surviving as one country. So, it cannot be construed that more languages will dismantle a nation's unity and one language will unite a country. One language was not able to keep one nation united, but it has divided it into so many countries. But, at the same time, a country which has adopted and accepted other languages in its own country has been successfully running.

Article 345 of the Constitution, which deals with Official language or languages of a State, says, "Subject to the provisions of articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise

3.00 P.M.

provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes..." Sir, the next one is very, very important.

That is article 347 — 'Special provisions relating to languages spoken by a section of the population of a State'. The article says:—

"On a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify".

Sir, when this could apply to a State, why can't this apply to the Union? When the State can have more number of languages, if the President so wishes, why can't that be in the case of the Union also?

Also, the language used in the Supreme Court and the High Court for Acts and Bills has been only English so far. Article 348 States:—

"(1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions this Part, until Parliament by law otherwise provides—

- (a) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court,
 - (b) the authoritative texts—
 - (i) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State,
 - (ii) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor of a State, and
 - (iii) of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State, shall be in English language.
- (2) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (a) of Clause 1, the Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorize the use

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

of Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings of the High Court having its principal seat in that State.”

Sir, I make a request to the hon. Home Minister, who is present in the House. Apart from our basic demand that all regional languages contained in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution should be regarded as Official Languages, at least, in High Courts. The Official Language of a State must be allowed to be used as the language in the High Court. That has been the demand for very long. If the hon. Minister in his reply could give a concrete consoling reply, we would be very happy. So, what I would like to say is this. Even my friend, Mr. V.P. Singh, was clarifying it; not arguing with me because he is such an esteemed and wise Member of this House, he asked whether it was possible to have more languages in the Centre. We say that when the country is spending so much, why can't it spend on something to maintain unity, to develop the languages of the country? The United Nations has so many languages whereas using more than one language in the administration is a new phenomenon in India.

I want to mention something very important. Shri Balagopal mentioned something. I had requested him to remain present in the House, but he has left. The DMK has fought for Tamil.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much more time will you take?

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Ten minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We want to dispose it of. Anyhow, you proceed.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Now, it says:—

“At the Tenth Party Congress in 1921, the Communist Part took some important decisions with an aim of overcoming the existing national inequality of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The decisions with regard to the language policy were, “(1) to develop and consolidate judicial institutions, administration, economic organs and organs of power operating in their native languages and composed of local people familiar with the way of life and the psychology of the population, and (2) to develop press, schools, theatres, clubs, and cultural and educational institutions employing the native language.”

Sir, I was pleading with many Members that they have to support this Bill, not because Tamil alone is going to be the Official Language — we must be the first in the ranks, and I could take pride in that, but all people from various parts of the country should support this Bill. I specially mentioned something to my comrade friends.

“Lenin declared: “Whoever does not recognize and champion the equality of nations and languages, and does not fight against all national oppression or inequality, is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat.” Further, he pointed out, “Tiny Switzerland has not lost anything, but has gained from having not one single official language, but three — German, French and Italian.” So, he did not want to force the Russian language on the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and, in fact, he gave full encouragement to all national languages.”

This was Lenin, Sir. So also, I want to quote from other leaders, from our leader, whose age is 90. He started his public life at the age of 14 as a fighter for the cause of Tamils. When Hindi was imposed, so many agitations were launched at the age of 14 and now he is 90. For the past 76 years, we have been fighting; we have been extending requests; and, we have been suggesting on many occasions. Now, we have come to a point that at least we are not against; once, we were against Hindi. We were totally against. We were fighting with them. Our relations were not good. But, now, we are good friends. What we expect and what we demand is, give our language also the same status.

So also, Mr. P. Ramamurthy, the Marxist leader asked a pertinent question in Lok Sabha on 12th December, “Why does the Central Government say that Tamil Nadu can’t communicate with the Centre in Tamil and that they will have to have their own arrangement for translation? A few crores of rupees...”, that is the reply I could give to my colleague Shri V.P. Singh, “...for maintaining and developing the unity of this country are nothing.” So also, the CPI(M) in a statement—I feel sorry that no comrade is here. *...(Interruptions)...* Comrade is a common term. *...(Interruptions)...* I told them, “You have argued more vehemently than us.” *...(Interruptions)...* The CPI(M) in a statement released at the Conference of Opposition Party Leaders held at Sri Nagar said, “A correct approach to the languages of the people is necessary in the interest of the Indian unity and promoting a sense of equality. We are of the view that the equality of all Indian languages in Parliament

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

and in Central Administration should be recognized. Members of Parliament should have the right to speak in any Indian language..”—which we have achieved—“..and simultaneous translation will have to be provided in all other languages. All Acts, Government orders, and Resolutions of the Centre should be made available in all Indian languages.”

So, Sir, I think, the House can understand the genuinity in our demand. On correspondence, our leader, Dr. Kalaignar, suggested in the Assembly Resolution itself, when he was the Chief Minister, “What prevents the Central Government offices in the State from communicating in the official language of the State?” I would give you an example as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned. In Income-Tax Department, Indian Railways, Postal Department, Indian Bank and United India Insurance Company Limited, Chennai, if there are 100 works to be completed, 90 per cent of the works are completed at the Chennai office itself. Only 10 per cent of it is referred to the Head Offices at Delhi. With regard to Department of Telecommunications and Doordarshan, Chennai, it is 5 per cent less. Eighty-five per cent of the works are completed in Chennai itself. Only 15 per cent are completed in Delhi.

So, what is coming in the way of communicating in the official language of the State when the works are completed within the State? I think, the answer to a query which Mr. V.P. Singh asked would be clear in this. The Delhi Office is being corresponded by any State for only 50 per cent of the works with regard to Central Government works. Any transaction between the Central Government and the State Government is settled within the State itself. Sir, there was a time when we laid down our lives; there was a time we convened conferences; we passed Resolutions. There was a time we came to the streets. No language was understood by any Government at that point of time. Now, at the outset itself I thank the UPA Government that it has declared Tamil as a Classical Language. You can understand the genuinity; you can understand the logic in our argument; you can understand the reason in the demand which we put forth; it is mandatory and it has become compulsory at this point of time that this nation, if at all it has to maintain its individuality and uniqueness of unity in diversity—I think, the time has come—you have to declare all the regional languages, which are in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, to be the official languages of the Union.

Sir, the day should not be far behind. Sir, I would like to remind the hon. Home Minister what was declared in 2004 Manifesto and in the Common Minimum Programme of the UPA. In 2004, after the elections, the UPA Government in its Common Minimum Programme assured us that all regional languages would be declared as the official languages of the Union. Dr. Abdul Kalam, who was the then President, confirmed in his Address the same, ...(Time-bell rings)... and assured us that all official languages of the States would be declared the official languages.

Sir, the Official Language Commission headed by Shri B.G. Kher submitted its Report in 1956, and it said, "The linguistic medium — this is the only thing I would like to insist here, Sir — will have change over in the administrative agencies and organizations such as the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the Excise, Customs, Income-Tax Departments, and so on. Some of these organizations have units and branches located in different parts of the country and the language problem presents a special aspect in regard to them. The language policy of these agencies should be framed principally with a view to the convenience of the public whom they are designed to serve; the instrumentality of these Departments should not be used as a lever to force the pace of Hindi propagation at the cost of convenience to the public".

Sir, Justice R.S. Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations has recommended as follows. "The work of the Government, both Union and State, which involves or affects the local people must be carried on in the local language".

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, now conclude.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: We will conclude, Sir, only on the day when our languages are declared as official languages. ...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a punishment to me.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Until then, our voice will be resuming, Sir.

He further said, "This is even more important in a welfare State. It is necessary that all forms, applications, letters, bills, notices, etc., are available in the local language as well as official language". So, these were the recommendations of Justice R.S. Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations.

Sir, the Rajamannar Committee on Centre-State Relations, appointed by our leader, when he was Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu, rightly pointed out that: "This will

[Shri Tiruchi Siva]

bring the public at least emotionally nearer the administrative apparatus of the Union and make the people feel that the Central administration is as much their own as the administration at the State level”.

Sir, this long history of us, the demand which we have been insisting in all the manner, at least, should be understood at this point of time. A broad-minded and inclusive policy of encouraging and development and use of all Indian languages as well as English, which Pandit Nehru said, ‘is a window to the outer world’. If you close that window, that would be a peril, and we would be totally out of touch with the entire world. That is what Pandit Nehruji told. Giving all the major languages spoken in India equality of status will ensure that there will be no unhealthy sentiment against any language. On the other hand, any heavy-handedness in language policy at the national or State level will have divisive, if not disintegrative, implications. Attempts to impose one language in a multi-lingual society have resulted in separation in many other countries. Therefore, it would be unwise to impose on a multilingual country one language. So, Sir, I put forth that this Official Languages Bill should repeal and replace the Official Languages Act, 1963 in order to ensure that all regional languages that have been recognized under Schedule VIII of the Constitution can be used for all official purposes of the Union. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You argued your case very well.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri V.P. Singh Badnore.

SHRI V.P. SINGH BADNORE (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, today we are discussing a subject and the Motion moved by Shri Tiruchi Siva. What does the Motion say? Let us come to the Motion first. It says ‘That the Bill further to provide for all regional languages to be used for all official purposes of the Union...’ What it really means is that whenever correspondence coming from the regional States, it cannot be done just in Hindi and English but it should be done or could be done in any of the regional languages. Then it also says, ‘..matters connected therewith or incidental thereto be taken into consideration.’ Mr. Siva has put lots of arguments. But the times have changed. If this argument had been put by Mr. Siva 60 years ago when we were discussing in this very House and the

subject was, what is the language of the country going to be and the formation of the three language formula and our founding fathers in those days had put forth all these arguments and the arguments that have come really reinforces what must have happened in those arguments, debates when we were discussing the language. Sir, in those days all this was to come up and they decided whether we should have Hindi, English or the regional languages. The formula that was taken in those days was that you have Hindi, you have English because lots of Southern parts of the country were using that language, so they would not be disconnect and delinked, and also, the regional languages should be given importance. So, they made the Eighth Schedule and they said that this will be revised and in times to come. Lots of languages have been adjusted today there are 22 languages. Sir, if I come to the subject, let me also put forth that I am also saddened. Mr. Siva has rightly said about the mother language being so important to all of us and to everybody in this world. We speak the mother language Rajasthani. We have been fighting for Rajasthani for so many years. We have ten crore people speaking that language and it is not even recognized in the Eighth Schedule. But today let me come to the subject. We will be fighting for the Rajasthani language to be included in the Eighth Schedule. This is going to go on and as Mr. Siva ended and said, this will go on till that is recognized. I am also going to say that. I will not go into the Rajasthani language just now. But let us come back to what is the international thinking on this. The United Nations through UNESCO has said about the recognition of all the mother languages in the world and they have Mother Language Day also celebrated. There is a day which is celebrated as Mother Language Day about which Mr. Siva was also talking about. We all love our mother languages and we want to celebrate it in India also. We had the Linguistic Minority Commission and that also celebrates all the regional languages like the UNESCO. We celebrate that. There are today, if you look at it, 10,000 languages in the world. Sir, the UNESCO has put forth a paper that because the world is getting together, the world is becoming a global village. And we are in the age of computers. We talk on the Facebook, Google, YouTube and all that. Now if you have 10,000 languages, would we be able to talk to each other, connect to each other, have business with other countries? If everybody has 10,000 languages, would that be possible? I would like to ask Mr. Siva how that is possible. In the 21st Century, we should get on to some language that we can convey to each other. Communication is the biggest thing today. We can speak to each other. We have Facebook. We have all other things. People want

[Shri V.P. Singh Badnore]

to talk to everybody. But to have more languages would be very difficult. Let me remind you that in China, the CHIN Dynasty...*(Interruptions)*... Please, I do not want any interruptions. I did not disturb him. This is not the way. He kept on taking my name very, very nicely and I will also do that. I am not arguing against it. I am just putting forth my point. What has to be decided will be decided by the House, not by Mr. Siva or Mr. V.P. Singh. So, I am just putting forth my arguments. That's all.

Sir, in China, they had many languages. The Emperor of the CHIN Dynasty said that they would not be able to progress unless they had one language. He thought how to have one language. It is very interesting. When I went to China, I was told this. They wanted to know about our languages. I told them that we have so many languages, we have Schedule VIII in our Constitution, and all that. They told me that the Emperor called all the Pandits of those days, who were great literate people. He put them in a hall and said that they could eat there, they could drink there, they could make merry there, they could have all the arguments, but he would not let them go out of that hall till they decided one language.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want me to do that! ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V.P. SINGH BADNORE: And, they came out with one language. They do not have any other language, like we have in India. But India is a big country. And, how did all these languages come about? We had lots of invasions. As he said, Greek language was also spoken here. Alexander the Great invaded India in 326 B.C. He also put his language and all that. The Aryans also came here. That's why we have so many languages. I also love my mother-tongue, as you do. But let us get to the point. Will it really help us? That is the main thing. What is happening in the European Union today? It is a fiasco because of all those languages being recognized there.

SHRI P. KANNAN (Puducherry): Can you please tell us what is the position in China?

SHRI V.P. SINGH BADNORE: There is one language. That's what I know. That is the official language. That language came about in those days when all those *pandits* were not allowed to go out of that hall, till they had a consensus on one language. ...*(Interruptions)*...

Let me please continue. What is happening in European Union? The European Union has lots of languages. There is a problem when they do business, when they communicate, when they are in the European Union Parliament. A study was conducted on the problems of the European Union. And, one of the problems that came about was that billions of Euros were being spent on translation.

For every document, for every business document, they have to spend billions and billions of rupees on translation. This is one point that has come about. They, like Greece and all these countries which have come to the European Union or wanting to come to the European Union, cannot pay their liabilities. The biggest problem that they are still facing is the money that they are spending on translations — on document translations, lawyers' fee, etc. So, all this is happening. They asked, "Can we do something about it?" Sir, I must also confess here and they have also said that, today, all the European countries teach three languages. One is their own language and two other languages. Sir, the most preferred languages may be German and French, alongwith English. Germany may have English and all that, but there are three languages which are really preferred, whichever they may be. In Spain, they may be wanting to have English and Italian. That is what is also in Europe. Our founding fathers had foreseen all this. They had said that with unity in diversity in India, we have to find some way out. And, the best way out that was created in those days was the three-language formula. I also agree with Mr. Siva who was very right when he quoted Mr. Nehru by saying that we need a window to the outer world. In those days, he 'thought' of a window to the outer world; today, it has become a 'necessity.' How do we communicate? How do we communicate through the computer? How do we communicate with the other world? If we have more languages, then, there will be more problems, more translations and money is going to be spent on this. Suppose you are a tourist. You go to other countries. You would like to go to a country where you can be heard or you can listen to other people and understand them. That is why, it is said, lesser the languages, the better it is. Sir, in the UNESCO, they have made a study and come out with a fact that there are hundreds of languages which are becoming obsolete. They are going out of the way because of the new circumstances, changing world and changing economic situation. Sir, they want to communicate, they want to do better business, so that they could communicate in a better way. Out of the ten thousand languages that I was talking about, there are hundreds of languages which are disappearing.

[Shri V.P. Singh Badnore]

They are becoming obsolete. In this 21st Century, let us not go back to the debate and the arguments that were put forth 60 years ago. Let us move ahead. We want our GDP to grow. Are we going to have the growing GDP with more languages? Sir, it will create more problems. The GDP growth depends on better communication or on becoming more savvy with computer. How will you do that? So, I feel that like Mr. Siva, I also love my mother-tongue. I want Rajasthani to be recognised in the Eighth Schedule. But I will not go with Mr. Siva. Thank you very much Sir.

SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA (Odisha): Sir, I rise to participate in the Official Languages Bill, 2012 and also support some of the arguments put forward by my friend, Mr. Siva, demanding that all regional languages to be taken into consideration for the official purposes of the Union, and also given the status of 'national language'. There is no harm in it. I think, the Government can also consider it for giving recognition to the regional languages. At present, the two official languages that we have are Hindi and English. He was putting his arguments in favour of Tamil. There is no problem. We also support Tamil. But there is a system which is working. As he has already said, it may also work. I have all respect for the Tamil language, Tamil people and their movement. But, I think, in addition to Hindi and English, all other languages could also be declared 'official languages.' As he has mentioned, there was an assurance given in this regard in the UPA's Common Minimum Programme. I think, that can also be taken into consideration.

Sir, language is the medium of expression and there is no doubt that it is important for everybody in the country. It has many aspects. If you see our judicial system and the legislative system, the work is done in English only, which is, sometimes, creating problems. Although it is not very much related to this Bill, in the judicial system, such a system is creating problems for a poor worker, a farmer, a woman, a girl who is being tortured or raped, or for his father or mother who do not know the English language, who do not understand whether the lawyer is saying for her or against her or what the Judge is pronouncing. He or she has to only depend upon the lawyer for it, and it happens here in this country where we live in. But, Sir, this system cannot go for a long time, because, if a person has no right to understand what his lawyer is saying, what remark the Judge is making and if he or she cannot understand the judgment that is pronounced, then how can we say

that we are giving justice to everybody? That is a situation in all spheres, and the Government has to take it very seriously. We say to a person that 'you are violating the law.' But the law is printed only in English or somewhere, sometimes, in Hindi. We are not giving an opportunity to the general public to understand the law. Suppose, an Act is enacted today, but if it is not translated into the regional language and people do not know what the law is, how can we say that this is the law which you have violated and you are liable to be punished? Sir, these two things are very important. I draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister, through this House, to these two important aspects, and, I think, the Government has to give a serious thought for giving the real information on any statute or legislation to the public in the regional language, and the deliberation of the judgment also should be made available in the regional language.

Sir, there are three cases. One is, as Mr. Siva said, the Tamil language had been given the status of Classical Language during UPA-I time, and he has also given his thanks for it. There is another case. My other friend, Mr. Singh, was saying that Rajasthani language is not included in the Eighth Schedule. Sir, in my case as well, even though Odiya language is a also very old language, till now, it has not been given the status of Classical Language. The only difference is, the Tamil people have fought a lot for it for more than 65 years. I think, we have not fought enough, and also, the other people have also not fought in the manner as the Tamil people fought for their cause; and we are very much with them for their cause. There are many languages in our country. Sir, in the case of Odiya language, certain things are very relevant. As has been mentioned by my friend, Mr. Siva, I would like to draw your attention to certain aspects related to it.

The term '*Janapada*' literally means the foothold of the tribe. The fact that the '*Janapada*' is derived from the jan-point to an early stage of land taken by the Jan tribe for settlement of life, the process of first settlement on land, was in its final stages prior to the times of Bhuddha and Panini. The pre-Buddhist North-Western region of the Indian sub-continent was divided into several *janapadas*, demarcated from each other by boundaries. According to Panini, '*janapada*' stands for country and *janapadini* stands for citizenry. Each of the janapada was named after the Khetriya tribe, for the Khetriya *jan*, who were settled there. 'India as known to Panini : A Study of Cultural Material in the *Ashtadhyayi*', 1963, Vasudevsharan Agarwal's, 'India in the time of Patanjali', 1968 and Socio-economic and Political

[Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia]

History of Eastern India, 1977, the History of Literature, 2000 edition, talk about the presence of the Odiya language at that time. The famous Sanskrit Gramarian, Panini's Ashtadhyayi, also indicated the presence of the Odiya language at that time.

Sir, I wish to draw your kind attention to the time of Chandragupta Maurya who overthrew the last Nanda King in 322 B.C. During the time of Chandragupta, Kalinga declared herself independent. His grandson, Chandasoka, invaded Odisha in 261 B.C. and included Kalinga into his empire. The Kalinga War was recorded as the bloodiest war ever in the history of India. Over hundred thousand people were killed and a hundred and fifty thousand were arrested, but the great Kalinga War changed Chandrasoka to Dharmasoka and subsequently, he embraced Buddhism, which was elaborately written in Pali language and Brahmi script, in an ancient form of the Odiya language.

In the early First Century B.C., there was the Chedi Chief, Mahabegha Bahana Aira Kharabela, a great King of Odisha, whose kingdom extended right from Ganga to Godavari and sometimes even to Krishna and, in the north up to Agra. He was one of the most illustrious Kings who ruled Kalinga. A detailed account of the life and military expeditions of this great King can be found in the *Hati Gumpfa* inscription in Udaygiri. That language is close to Odiya.

Sir, the first poetic text of our country, 'Natya Shastra', composed by Bharat Muni about the First Century A.D., mentions Udra Vibhasa as a prabriti. This Udra Vibhasa, the language spoken by the downtrodden and the farmers, was none other than the ancient proto form of Odiya language. *Prakrit Sarbaswa* of Markandeya also gives an example of *Udra Bhasa*.

The Buddhist text 'Lalita Bistara' gives a list of 64 scripts known to Lord Buddha. Ugri was one of the scripts in the list. Scholars traced *Udri* with Udra, the Odiya script. The Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsang, in the Seventh Century A.D., recorded the academic growth of the eminent Kalinga and mentioned, "The words and languages of this region, the land of Odras, differ from the speeches of Central Asia". This proves that by that time the common speech of Odiyas had acquired a distinct originality. The folk literature created in Odiya language since time immemorial, are varied and rich in their own ways. The folk songs, tales, riddles, anecdotes and folk theatres that existed certainly before the written literature, are proof of the old

and rich tradition of Odiya language. Distinguished foreign scholars like John Beams, Verrier Elvin, etc., were attracted towards the Odiya folklore and held discussions on it. Though all the eastern Indian languages like Bengali, Assamese, Maithili and Nepali accept 'Charya Pada' of the 10th Century as their first written literature, which was found from the Nepal court, only Odiya language has the legitimate claim to being the language closest to *Chayapadas*, and many Odiya words are found in the text. Odia prose, which found its origin in the inscriptions of about 11th century (Urajam Inscription) subsequently enriched in Madala Panji (the Jagannath Temple Chronicle of 13th century) and Rudrasudhanidhi, a unique prose text written in the poetic style in the 14th century was close to Odia.

Odia literature is one of the most original and copious literatures of India manifested in many genres. It has never been influenced by any language nor has it borrowed anything from any source during ancient and medieval period. At the beginning, Odia Mahabharat composed by Sarala Das in 15th century, which is considered to be the first complete Mahabharat in vernacular Indian languages, the religious and mystic poetry composed by saint poets of Bhakti cult during 16th century, the archaic poetry during medieval time are the unique features of Odia literature. Many style of poetry like Chautisha, Koili, Poi, Champu, Chupadi, etc., are some of the original and new forms which are unique in Odia literature. Sir, by saying so, I want to mention here, as I was saying earlier, that Tamil language has been declared as classical language but Odia language has not been declared the classical language although it is very old and unique and it has its unique culture and origin.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN)
in the Chair]

Sir, this is the situation. As has been said by others also, it is a fact that Tamil people fought in the past for their language. But Odia people and people belonging to other languages might not have fought. But, today, the Bill which has come is a very important Bill. It gives us an opportunity to discuss various languages like Rajasthani, Odia, etc., and their history. As has been said by Mr. Singh, it may be very expensive. Nowadays also, an international conference can also be conducted through translation system. In this new era, it is not very difficult to hire a software which can give the opportunity to translate the language and communicate it to various States in regional languages. Such a software can be developed. Even in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha or international conferences, translation system is possible. So, in this

[Shri Rama Chandra Khuntia]

new era of developed technology, this is possible. I think, with less expenditure also, this could be possible. The Government of India can think about this as to how to communicate with people in their own language and how to use a regional language as the official language of the Government of India.

With these words, I once again support the Bill moved by brother Siva. I may not insist on making Odia an official language now, but I will definitely fight to the last till Odia language is declared, at least, a classical language. I will fight for that. I also once again request hon. Home Minister to consider that and also consider whether all other languages can also be given an opportunity to be used as official language of the country. Thank you.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Sir, I rise to support Mr. Siva. I do so not because I speak Bengali but because there is good merit in what he has said. Sir, the Constitution recognises 22 languages as official languages. I also understand that if you have to transact business in 22 official languages, communication may be very difficult. But, the short point I will make is that when you talk about correspondence between the Centre and the State, you can use three-language formula as he has done. In those three languages, it can be English, Hindi and the regional language. Therefore, it would recognise that language as an official language. It will be easier for you to do so.

Sir, a small country like Switzerland has four languages. Of these four languages, French, German and Italian are all live languages, but there is another fourth language which is almost obsolete language, known as Romance. Romance is an old variety of Italian, more Latinish than Italian, but only very few, only a few thousand, people speak Romance. Still, they have recognised it. And, entire correspondence and Government communication in Switzerland are done in four languages simultaneously. Sir, in Canada, French and English are used simultaneously. You can say that we have got three-language formula — Hindi, English and a third language. There is no problem about it. What we find is that language is a highly evocative problem. Whole Pakistan issue, which was brought out of the exploded two-nation theory that Hindus and Muslims are different, and they had two parts of Pakistan. Namely, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, East Pakistan broke away not because one side had become more Islamic or less Islamic, but because of language. When the West Pakistanis

tried to push Urdu there as an official language, they revolted. Ultimately, they got separated. They belonged to the same Islamic religion, Islamic culture, but they separated. So, Sir, language is a highly emotional and evocative issue. It binds and also it distracts. So, let us use language as a bonding force by accepting all the languages in the Constitution and try to transact business with a particular area in the language that is predominant there. I have no problem with any language coming up as an official language. I do admit that you can't have 22 languages operating simultaneously, but you can always have regional language also. If you talk to Tamil Nadu, you can use Hindi, English and Tamil. If you write to Hyderabad, you can write in Telugu, English and Hindi. If you write to West Bengal, you can write in Bengali, English and Hindi. If you write to Odisha, from where my friend, Mr. Khuntia, comes, you can write in Hindi, English and Odia. So, it is not very difficult. It will create a kind of oneness. No region should feel that it is not being recognised by the Indian nation. We are part of one Indian nation. I have no existence as a Bengali other than being an Indian. I am both, an Indian and a Bengali, simultaneously. But, I will feel ignored if Bengali is not given that due recognition which it deserves.

So, Sir, I support, in principle, the point made by Shri Tiruchi Siva. The only point is, I leave it to the Government of India, to have a Language Commission again and see how far they can accommodate all the 22 languages, recognised under Eighth Scheduled of Indian Constitution. With this, I support Mr. Siva and also request the Government of India not to be very obstinate but think about the possibility of accommodating 22 languages as best as they can.

प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद श्रीमन्। श्रीमन्, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा देश अकेला ऐसा देश है, जिसकी अभी तक अपनी कोई राजभाषा नहीं है, यद्यपि राजभाषा अधिनियम है और संविधान निर्माताओं की ऐसी मंशा भी थी। दुनिया में केवल पांच देश ऐसे हैं, यू.के., यू.एस.ए., कनाडा, ऑस्ट्रेलिया और न्यूज़ीलैंड, जिनमें अंग्रेजी है, लेकिन उससे भी ज्यादा अंग्रेजी का प्रयोग हिन्दुस्तान में होता है। महोदय, हमारा जो **Official Language Act** है, वह स्पष्ट रूप से इस बात की व्यवस्था करता है कि इस देश में जो **Central Offices** हैं, अगर वे **Northern Region** में हैं तो उनमें सारा काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिए। हालांकि हमारी पार्टी की पॉलिसी हमेशा से यह रही है कि हिन्दी के साथ-साथ जिस राज्य की जो मातृभाषा है, उसमें राजकाज की भाषा, वहां की अपनी भाषा हो और केन्द्र से व्यवहार के लिए हिन्दी का प्रयोग किया जाए। अगर तमिलनाडु में बात होती है तो तमिल भाषा का प्रयोग हो। जब यहां

[प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव]

से वहां पत्राचार होता है तो हिन्दी के साथ तमिल भाषा में चिड़ी का ट्रांसलेशन जाना चाहिए। अभी जो मौजूदा स्थिति है, वह ऐसी है कि **Official Language Act** यह कहता है कि यहां पर जो भी हमारे **offices** हैं, उनमें सौ फीसदी काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिए। अगर अंग्रेज़ी में चिड़ी आती है तो उसका जबाब अंग्रेज़ी में न जाकर हिन्दी में जाना चाहिए। हम इस कमेटी में जाकर देख चुके हैं और मुझे आश्चर्य इस बात का होता है कि आज़ादी के इतने वर्षों बाद भी हम लोगों को मॉनिटरिंग करनी पड़ती है कि क्या हमारे देश के अंदर **official language** का प्रयोग हो रहा है या नहीं?

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: I would like to know from Professor Ram Gopal Yadav, if a State communicates with the Central Government in its own official language, do you accept that. When you speak of Hindi and the State's language, could it be used to communicate with the Central Government offices?

PROF. RAM GOPAL YADAV: This has been my policy. Yes, I agree with it. हमने कहा है कि राजकाज में क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं का, **regional** भाषाओं का उनके राज्य में तो प्रयोग करना ही चाहिए, केन्द्र के साथ वार्तालाप में, पत्राचार में भी उन भाषाओं का प्रयोग करना चाहिए और उसके साथ हिन्दी का ट्रांसलेशन करके भेजना चाहिए। अगर ओडिशा से कोई पत्र आता है तो वह उड़िया में आना चाहिए और साथ-साथ हिन्दी में भी आना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार अगर तमिलनाडु से आता है तो तमिल और हिन्दी, दोनों भाषाओं में आना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार यहां से अगर तमिलनाडु में कोई पत्र जाता है तो हिन्दी और तमिल में जाना चाहिए। हमेशा से हमारी पार्टी की यह पॉलिसी रही है क्योंकि हम यह मानते हैं कि अंग्रेज़ी ने जिस तरह से पूरा कब्जा कर लिया है और लोगों को यह गलतफहमी रही है कि दुनिया में विज्ञान या मेडिसिन्स से संबंधित जो भी तरक्की है, वह केवल अंग्रेज़ी के ज़रिए हुई है, वह गलत है। दुनिया में कई ऐसे देश हैं, चाहे आप जर्मनी को लें, चाहे तत्कालीन सोवियत यूनियन या रूस को लें या जापान को लें, इन सबने विज्ञान में तरक्की की, मेडिसिन्स के क्षेत्र में अपनी भाषाओं का प्रयोग करके तरक्की की, कभी अंग्रेज़ी भाषा की कोई मदद नहीं ली। इसलिए लोगों के मन में अगर यह भावना है कि अंग्रेज़ी के ज़रिए ही ऐसा हो सकता है तो यह गलत है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में लोगों की मानसिकता ऐसी है कि अगर अंग्रेज़ी बोलेंगे तो वे **superior** समझे जाएंगे। आज अपनी भाषा बोलने पर लोगों के मन में हीनता का भाव पैदा हो गया है। यह अजीब बात है कि आज अपनी मातृभाषा का प्रयोग करने से भी लोग हिचकते हैं। वे यह अहसास करते हैं कि अगर अंग्रेज़ी में बोलेंगे तो जो सामने वाला है, वह उन पर ज्यादा ध्यान देगा, उसकी कद्र करेगा, उनकी बात को ठीक तरीके से समझेगा। इस धारणा को जब तक आप नहीं निकाल सकते, तब तक अंग्रेज़ी का साम्राज्य चलता रहेगा। उस साम्राज्य को तोड़ने के लिए आवश्यक है कि क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को, **regional languages** को बढ़ावा दिया जाए।

जितनी आसानी से **expression** कोई व्यक्ति अपनी भाषा में कर पाता है, उतनी आसानी से **expression** वह दूसरी भाषा में नहीं कर पाता है। आप जितना **fluently** अपनी भाषा में बोलते चले जायेंगे, उतना **fluently** दूसरी भाषा में नहीं बोल पायेंगे। आपको दूसरी भाषा में बोलते समय काफी सोचना पड़ता है कि अगला शब्द क्या हो, **sentence** का निर्माण कैसे हो और किस तरह से वाक्य को पूरा किया जाए। अपनी बात की सही तरीके से अभिव्यक्ति अपनी मातृभाषा में ही हो सकती है। इसलिए यह जो विधेयक है जिसमें क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को समुचित प्रतिनिधित्व देने की बात कही गई है, कम्युनिकेट करने की बात कही गई है, इसका हम शुरू से ही समर्थन करते रहे हैं। हमारे नेता डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया हमेशा कहा करते थे कि हमारी राजभाषा तो हिन्दी हो, लेकिन राज्यों में सारा काम क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में हो और उनका जो कम्युनिकेशन हो, उसके साथ हिन्दी का ट्रांसलेशन होना चाहिए। मुझे याद है कि जब हमारे राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री श्री मुलायम सिंह जी तमिलनाडु गए थे और वे करुणानिधि जी से मिले थे और उन्होंने मुलायम सिंह जी से कहा कि आप तो तमिल विरोधी हैं, उस पर मुलायम सिंह जी ने कहा कि मैं तमिल विरोधी नहीं हूँ, मैं तमिल समर्थक हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि तमिल का प्रयोग हो। उन्होंने जो चिट्ठियां तमिल भाषा में उत्तर प्रदेश आईं, उत्तर प्रदेश में जो तमिल के ऑफिसर्स थे, उनसे उनका ट्रांसलेशन कराकर हिन्दी के साथ तमिल में सारा पत्राचार किया। अगर ऐसा हो तो इससे कम्युनिकेशन बढ़ेगा, लोग दूसरी भाषाओं को पढ़ना और लिखना भी चाहेंगे, इससे देश की अस्मिता भी बढ़ेगी। हिन्दुस्तान में हम लोग यहां खड़े होकर बोलते हैं, तो कुछ को छोड़कर, ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे हम ब्रिटेन की पार्लियामेंट में हैं। यहां ऐसा लगता ही नहीं है कि कोई हिन्दी जानता है। हमें अच्छा लगता है, जब महाराष्ट्र के लोग मराठी में बोलते हैं, तमिलनाडु के लोग तमिल में बोलते हैं, यहां पर **interpretation** उपलब्ध है। आपके राज्य के लोग राज्य सभा टी.वी. को सुनते हैं, जब वे आपको मातृभाषा में बोलते हुए सुनते हैं, तो वे इसको पसन्द करते हैं। मैंने एक-दो बार अपने मित्रों से कहा कि आप अपनी मातृभाषा में बोलिए, यहां पर **interpretation** मौजूद है। उन्होंने कहा कि आपने ठीक कहा था, मेरे क्षेत्र से टेलीफोन आए कि आपने ठीक बोला, क्योंकि आज भी इस देश में कुल मिलाकर एक-दो परसेंट से ज्यादा लोग अंग्रेज़ी नहीं समझते हैं। यह लोगों को गलतफहमी है कि वे अंग्रेज़ी बोलते हैं, तो सारा देश समझता है। आपका मतदाता अंग्रेज़ी नहीं समझता है। हमें कई बार कहना पड़ता है कि आप उस भाषा में बोलिए, जिस भाषा में आप अपने मतदाताओं से वोट मांगते हैं। लोग वोट हिन्दी में मांगते हैं, लेकिन यहां अंग्रेज़ी में बोलते हैं, वे वोट मराठी में मांगते हैं, लेकिन यहां अंग्रेज़ी में बोलते हैं, वे वोट उड़िया में मांगते हैं, लेकिन यहां अंग्रेज़ी में बोलते हैं, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को बढ़ावा दिया जाना चाहिए। इस विधेयक का मैं इस दृष्टि से समर्थन करता हूँ कि हिन्दी को राजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार किया जाए और शेष भाषाओं को भी उनके राज्यों में राजकाज की भाषा बनाया जाए तथा सारा पत्राचार उन भाषाओं के माध्यम से केन्द्र से होना चाहिए। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

4.00 P.M.

DR. BHARATKUMAR RAUT (Maharashtra): Thank you, Sir. I wish I could speak, as Yadav *saheb* has said, in my mother-tongue here. But, unfortunately, I have not given the notice to speak in that language, and that is the problem. Here, I have to fight for the right of my mother-tongue, in the language that is neither mine nor yours. This is the problem with this nation that we do not speak our language and that is why we are a disintegrated nation.

Sir, at the outset, let me congratulate Mr. Tiruchi Siva, hon. MP and my good friend, for bringing in this Bill. I support it. I know there are many lacunae in operational part of the Bill, but I subscribe to the basic principle of the Bill, the basic feeling of the Bill.

Sir, I come from Maharashtra, a non-Hindi-speaking State and many people in my State don't understand Hindi. The Home Minister is from my State, who is now going out. ...*(Interruptions)*... Okay. Many people from my State, particularly those who come from Konkan belt and those who come from western Maharashtra, the *aam admi*, about whom everybody is talking about, do not understand Hindi. They can read Hindi, but they cannot speak or write in Hindi. The problem is with these people and in most of the States, as Prof. Ram Gopal Yadav said, most of the people do not understand how to write or communicate in Hindi or English.

Sir, I will give my own example. I studied in a Marathi-medium school. Obviously, my school leaving certificate came in Marathi and I am proud of it. When I applied for passport to the Central Government agency, the Passport Office under the External Affairs Ministry, the clerk there, who was also a Marathi, refused to accept my school leaving certificate because that was in Marathi. He asked me to get its translation. I told him that you know my name, I know your name, you can speak to me in Marathi and I am telling you this is in Marathi, what is the problem? He said that he wanted the translated version of that. He asked me to get a true copy of the translation. I said okay, because I was a needy person. I needed a passport. I went out, got the whole thing translated in English and went back to him. He then said that he wanted Gazetted Officer's attestation on the school leaving certificate. What is this? In my own country, I have to give certificate for the translation of a foreign language and that too, after 60 years of Independence. Why should I go by this? After that, I lost my father. I lost my father in Mumbai. Of course,

I got the death certificate. BMC had given me a choice whether I want the certificate in English or in Marathi. I, being a proud lover of Marathi, said that I want it in Marathi. BMC gave me a certificate in Marathi. After that, I realised that he worked all his life for the Central Railways. So, all his pension and everything else had to be dealt with by the Railway Ministry, Central Government and at each step, I was stopped, asked about this language and told that this would not be accepted. They asked me to give it in Hindi or English. Finally, I had to go back to the municipal office and tell them that it was my mistake that I asked for a certificate in Marathi and I asked them to give me a certificate in English. Sir, this is not self-esteem. I am insulting my own language. I am insulting myself. This is the situation in most of the non-Hindi States. Sir, I am not against Hindi. I love Hindi. I love Hindi poems and I love Hindi literature. The thing is that there is a practical difficulty. Why I am proud of my language is because in the tenth century, Mukund Raj was a poet who wrote the first poetry in Marathi language when many other languages did not know what literature was. After that, the first interpretation of Gita in regional language was done by Sant Jnaneshwar in the thirteenth century. Since then the Marathi literature has grown too huge. During Shivaji's period, Maratha's rule was from Jinjee in Tamil Nadu up to Attock, that is the border of Afghanistan. Up to that point, Marathas had their rule. There were Marathi-speaking Princely States. They were there outside Maharashtra — in Baroda, in Gwalior, in Indore and in Jhansi.

Sant Namdeo, a Marathi poet of the 13th Century, he went from Maharashtra, from Pandaripur, the southern end of Maharashtra, which is the home district of the Home Minister. From there he started walking and went *via* Gujarat, Rajasthan to Punjab and his *abhangs* are included in the Guru Granth Sahib. From there, he came back. So, we have a rich tradition. With this tradition when we come, we are not recognised in Delhi. For anything and everything, we have to get it translated into Hindi or English. This is an insult. It is a matter of self-respect. I think, I hold my self-respect in very high esteem. I am not emotional, it is practical also.

I will give you an example. Now, you are giving loan waiver scheme, whatever election gimmick, I am not getting into it. But loan waivers were given, then, notices came in Hindi and English languages. How do you expect a villager somewhere in the interior of Jalna or Pune district to understand the nuances of the language?

[Dr. Bharatkumar Raut]

Hindi language has been used in such a communication. It is so difficult to understand. Even Hindi-speaking people would not understand. That Hindi is spoken by only one community in one region. Those who speak about Hindi, the champions of Hindi, they are not ready to give Raj Basha status to Rajasthani. They are not ready to give Raj Basha status to Maithili or Bundeli because they want everything to be kept with them, and with one particular community, coming from one particular area. This is not acceptable in democracy. Why does that happen? As Mr. Siva has rightly said, this creates discontent between man and man, between State and State and between Region and Region. If we allow languages to flow, it will be good for all. Now, Tamil doesn't come to Maharashtra because I don't get to read anything. Marathi doesn't go to Tamil Nadu. Marathi does not go to Gujarat. Gujarati doesn't go to Andhra Pradesh. If there is a status to all regional languages, languages will start flowing to and fro, from East to West, from West to East, from South to North and from North to South. It will create a great fabric of social homogeneity and cultural homogeneity among Indians; and that will make India a great, great country.

I know that in this Bill, there are some difficult points which will take time to resolve. But if the Government really thinks very seriously that is not very difficult. After all what happens? We live in our own States, and own cities. This problem comes when we have to communicate with the Centre or with other States. How many people and how much percentage of our total *vyavahar* or transactions takes place like that? Not much. Then, why can't we accept it? Why can't we do it? As Mr. Tiruchi Siva has said, along with Tamil, if Hindi translation goes, or, along with Marathi, if English and Hindi translation goes, how much will it cost? Definitely it will cost much less than those scams that happened in the Central Government. I think, we should make this experiment. There are examples in history where many languages can live together harmoniously.

But here the total attitude seems to be so that we are the big brothers. That attitude should go. If that attitude does not go, India will not remain one nation. Tamil Nadu has been fighting for the 'classical language' status and it has got it because of their fight. We have also started that fight for Marathi. Shri Khuntia, who was speaking just now, is also fighting for the 'classical language' status. Sir, my point is, why keep the people fighting for such things. Mr. Minister, why can't

you give it with respect and honour? If you give this 'classical language' status to Oriya, Marathi, etc., not only people from that region will be happy, people from other regions also will have some aspirations. I think we should nurture that aspiration. I look at this Bill from this point of view. Yes, I know he will have to withdraw the Bill or it will be defeated. But that gives a fodder for thought to the Home Ministry, the Government and the whole House to think how we can bring the nation together; how we can respect languages. Respecting a language does not mean that you only respect the letters written in that language. You respect the culture of that region. I think it is our moral duty to ensure that ethos, culture, history and pride of each language, each region, each person and the last man of the society, are also respected. Thank you.

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश): धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष जी। श्री तिरुची शिवा के द्वारा यह अशासकीय विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है, जिसमें उन्होंने इस सभा से यह आग्रह किया है कि पुनः एक राजभाषा विधेयक आना चाहिए और संसद उस राजभाषा विधेयक को पारित करके नई व्यवस्थाएँ लागू करे। अब मैं सोचता हूँ कि इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी। इस देश को आजाद कराने के लिए जिन लोगों ने बलिदान दिए, अपने आपको फाँसी के फंदे पर चढ़ाया और अंग्रेजों के बर्बर अत्याचार सहे, उन लोगों ने वर्षों तक पशुता जैसा व्यवहार सहन करके इस देश को आजाद कराने का संकल्प किया था। जो भारत की आजादी के लिए, इस देश की स्वायत्तता के लिए मर मिटे और कुर्बान हो गए, उन लोगों के मुख्य रूप से दो ही उद्देश्य थे और इसलिए उन्होंने सब कुछ न्योछावर किया। पहला यह है कि अंग्रेज इस देश से जाना चाहिए और दूसरा यह कि अंग्रेजी इस देश से जानी चाहिए। उन लोगों की कुर्बानी, उन लोगों का त्याग, उन लोगों का बलिदान सफल हुआ। हमारे पुरखों ने स्वाधीनता प्राप्त करने का जो लक्ष्य रखा था, उसमें बिन्दु क्रमांक एक में तो वे सफल हुए। अपने त्याग और बलिदान के बदले वे हमें आजाद करा गए, स्वाधीनता दे गए और अंग्रेज यहां से चले गए। लेकिन दूसरा बिन्दु था कि अंग्रेजी यहां से जानी चाहिए। वे इस पीढ़ी को विरासत के रूप में जो जिम्मेदारी दे गए थे, हम अपनी वह जिम्मेदारी वहन करने में आज तक 65 वर्ष बाद भी असमर्थ रहे हैं। अंग्रेजी इस देश से नहीं गई। आज भाषाई रूप से यह देश गुलाम है। अभी राम गोपाल जी यहां बोल रहे थे कि जब मैं यहां खड़ा होकर देखता हूँ, तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह कोई भारत की संसद नहीं, यह ब्रिटेन की पार्लियामेंट है। जो हिन्दी जानते हैं, तो अपनी मातृभाषा जानते हैं, जो तमिल जानते हैं, जो तेलुगु जानते हैं, जो मराठी जानते हैं, जो गुजरात जानते हैं, वे सब लोग भी अंग्रेजी बोलना ज्यादा पसंद करते हैं। वे न तो हिन्दी का प्रयोग करते हैं, न अपनी मातृभाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं। केवल राजनीतिक दृष्टि से राजनीतिक लाभ लेने के लिए अपनी भाषा का यदा कदा प्रयोग करते हैं और अपने क्षेत्रवासियों को ऐसा प्रतीत कराने का प्रयत्न करते हैं, जैसे वे अपनी भाषा के प्रति बहुत ज्यादा प्रेम रखते हैं।

[श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा]

हमारी लड़ाई क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं से नहीं है। क्षेत्रीय भाषाएं, प्रान्तीय भाषाएं, आंचलिक भाषाएं विकसित होनी चाहिए। वे प्रगाढ़ हों, मज़बूत हों, उनका विकास हो, इसमें कोई दो मत नहीं है। अपने-अपने प्रान्त में, उन भाषाओं में सारा पत्राचार चले, राजकीय व्यवहार हो। उस प्रान्त की राजभाषा ही वहां की मुख्य भाषा हो, इसमें कोई भी दो मत, दो राय नहीं है। हमारी लड़ाई अंग्रेज़ी से है। यदि अंग्रेज़ी का स्थान कोई ले सकता है तो वह हिन्दी ही ले सकती है, यह विचार आज भी ज्वलन्त रूप से स्वीकार्य है। देशवासियों ने इसे स्वीकार किया है। संविधान सभा का जब गठन हुआ था, तब उसमें भी व्यापक बहस होने के बाद इसी बात को स्वीकार किया गया था। 14 सितम्बर, 1949 को संविधान सभा ने अनुच्छेद 343 जोड़ कर भारतीय संघ की राजभाषा हिन्दी को घोषित किया था। मुझे यह बात कहते हुए गर्व है कि जब 1949 में हिन्दी को अनुच्छेद 343 जोड़ कर राजभाषा घोषित करने की बात कही गई, यह काम एक गैर-हिन्दीभाषी विद्वान ने, राजनेता ने किया था। वह व्यक्ति केरल के श्री आर्यंगर थे जिन्होंने सबसे पहले यह प्रस्ताव रखा कि हिन्दी ही इस देश की राजभाषा होनी चाहिए, क्योंकि 70 प्रतिशत लोग हिन्दी बोलते हैं, हिन्दी जानते हैं, हिन्दी समझते हैं।

यदि भारत के 70 प्रतिशत लोग तमिल जानते होते, तो हम तमिल को राजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार करते, उसका उसी रूप में सम्मान करते। यदि भारत के 75 प्रतिशत लोग मराठी बोलने वाले होते, तो हम मराठी को राजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार करते। यदि 75 प्रतिशत लोग बंगाली बोलने वाले होते, तो हम भारत की राजभाषा बंगाली को स्वीकार करते। दुर्भाग्य यह है कि हमने लोकतंत्र को तो स्वीकार किया है, लेकिन लोकतंत्र में बहुमत के द्वारा बोली जाने वाली भाषा के प्रति हम आज भी ईर्ष्या रखते हैं। हम हिन्दी से ज्यादा गुलामी की उस अंग्रेज़ी भाषा को महत्व देते हैं। हम उसको तो स्वीकार कर सकते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दी को स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि वह इस देश की भाषा है। यह ईर्ष्या है। यह राजनैतिक ईर्ष्या है, द्वेष है और यह ईर्ष्या और द्वेष इस देश को तोड़ने वाले हैं, जोड़ने वाले नहीं।

मैं तिरुची शिवा जी के भाषण के एक पार्ट से सहमत हूं। मैं उनका इस बात के लिए अवश्य समर्थन करता हूं कि उनके प्रान्त में और प्रत्येक प्रान्त में अपने-अपने प्रान्त की प्रान्तीय भाषा का सम्मान हो, आदर हो, राजकीय भाषा के रूप में उसका प्रचलन हो और उसको स्वीकार किया जाए। इसमें कहीं कोई मतभेद नहीं है। इस नाते से इस देश ने त्रिभाषा फार्मूला स्वीकार किया है। त्रिभाषा फार्मूले में कहा गया है कि जब तक अंग्रेज़ी का स्थान पूर्ण रूप से हिन्दी नहीं ले लेती, तब तक अंग्रेज़ी चलेगी, उसके साथ-साथ हिन्दी भी चलेगी और हिन्दी के अलावा प्रान्तीय भाषा भी हमको स्वीकार्य है। अब यह प्रयत्न हमें करना है कि अंग्रेज़ी का स्थान हिन्दी ले।

1963 में इसी पार्लियामेंट ने राजभाषा विधेयक बनाया है और राजभाषा अधिनियम स्वीकार

किया है। दोनों सदनों ने इसे स्वीकार किया है। अब हम उसके खिलाफ कैसे जा सकते हैं? हम भारत के संविधान के विरुद्ध कैसे जा सकते हैं? भारत के संविधान ने इस बात को स्वीकार कर लिया है कि राजभाषा हिन्दी ही होगी, संसद के दोनों सदनों ने विधेयक पारित करके इसे स्वीकार कर लिया है। 1976 में राजभाषा समिति का गठन करके देश भर में यह आग्रह किया गया कि अंग्रेज़ी का स्थान हिन्दी ही ले सकती है, कोई और भाषा नहीं ले सकती।

तिरुची शिवा जी ने अपने पहले ही वाक्य में लिखा है कि इस देश में केवल छः प्रान्तों में हिन्दी बोली जाती है। मैं तिरुची शिवा जी को त्रुटि सुधारने का आग्रह करता हूँ और उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि लगभग 10 से अधिक प्रान्तों में हिन्दी बोली जाती है। उत्तर प्रदेश, उत्तराखंड, हिमाचल प्रदेश, हरियाणा, बिहार, झारखंड, छत्तीसगढ़, मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान और यहां तक अंडमान में भी हिन्दी ही राजभाषा है।

श्री तरुण विजय (उत्तराखंड) : अरुणाचल प्रदेश में भी हिन्दी बोली जाती है।

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा : जी हां, अरुणाचल प्रदेश में भी हिन्दी बोली जाती है। इस तरह 11 से अधिक प्रान्त हिन्दी समर्थक और हिन्दी बोलने वाले प्रान्त हैं।

अरुणाचल प्रदेश हमारा सुदूरवर्ती प्रांत है। अंडमान, जहां पर देश के क्रांतिकारियों को ले जा कर रखा गया था, जब वे आज़ाद हुए, तो उन्होंने सोचा कि हमारे इस द्वीप की, इस क्षेत्र की भाषा कौन-सी होगी, तब उन्होंने स्वीकार किया कि हम हिन्दी का ही प्रयोग करेंगे। हिन्दी ने देश को आज़ादी दिलाने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है, इस देश को एक रखने में इसने महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है, इसलिए अंडमान के लोगों ने इसे स्वीकार किया। मैं उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि वहां 30 प्रतिशत बंगलाभाषी लोग निवास करते हैं और लगभग 25 प्रतिशत तमिलनाडु के लोग निवास करते हैं, तो 55 प्रतिशत लोग वहां पर बंगाली और तमिल हैं, उसके बावजूद भी उन सब लोगों ने हिन्दी को स्वीकार किया और हिन्दी को आत्मसात कर लिया। फिर कौन-से ऐसे कारण हैं, जो यदा-कदा हिन्दी के खिलाफ स्वर उठते हैं और हिन्दी की अपदस्थ करने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है? राम गोपाल जी अभी यहां से चले गए हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि उन्होंने शिवा जी के इस विधेयक को बगैर पढ़े कैसे सम्पूर्ण रूप से समर्थन करने की बात कही है?

चौधरी मुनब्वर सलीम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वे निजी संशोधन के साथ ही समर्थन करके गए हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**... शायद आपने सुना नहीं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

†[چودھری منور سلیم: وہ نجی سنشودھن کے ساتھ ہی سمرتن کرکے گئے ہیں۔
---(مداخلت)--- شاید آپ نے سنا نہیں۔---(مداخلت)---

†[]Transliteration in Urdu Script.

एक माननीय सदस्य : उर्दू भी तो है।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा : हां, उर्दू भी है। उर्दू और हिन्दी में कोई अंतर नहीं है।...**(व्यवधान)**... इनमें केवल भाषा-लिपि का अंतर है। हिन्दी और उर्दू एक जैसी भाषाएँ हैं। मराठी और गुजराती दोनों देवनागरी में लिखी जाती हैं। उर्दू, मराठी, गुजराती और 11 प्रान्तों को यदि हम जोड़ते हैं, तो हम यह देखते हैं कि इस देश को एक रखने वाली भाषा केवल राजभाषा हिन्दी ही हो सकती है, अन्यथा यदि हमने हिन्दी को हटाकर फिर से वहाँ अंग्रेज़ी को लाने का प्रयत्न किया, तो हम फिर से उसी स्थिति में चले जाएंगे, जब हमारे देश के पुरखों ने बलिदान देकर अंग्रेज़ों को बाहर किया था। इसलिए, हमें इस पर विचार करना पड़ेगा।

मित्रों, मैं यहाँ उपस्थित लोगों से आग्रह करना चाहूंगा कि अपने क्षद्र स्वार्थों को छोड़ें। भारतीय भाषाओं के ऊपर हमें बड़ा गर्व है। हम उनका सम्मान करते हैं, लेकिन हम किसी विदेशी भाषा का सम्मान नहीं कर सकते। हम किसी विदेशी भाषा को वह स्थान नहीं दे सकते, जो तमिल, मराठी, गुजराती या बंगला को दे सकते हैं। हम अंग्रेज़ी को मराठी और गुजराती से भी नीचे की भाषा मानते हैं। हम इनका ज्यादा सम्मान करते हैं। हम अंग्रेज़ी का सम्मान नहीं करते और हम यह नहीं करना चाहेंगे। तो फिर, हम अगली पीढ़ी को क्या देना चाहते हैं और हम फिर से उस युग में, अंधकार वाले युग में क्यों लौटना चाहते हैं? हम उस दासता के युग में क्यों लौटना चाहते हैं? भारत के संविधान ने जिस बात को स्वीकार किया, इस पार्लियामेंट ने जिस बात को स्वीकार किया, पार्लियामेंट देश की जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है, देश की जनता ने हमें यह बात कह कर यहाँ भेजा और राजभाषा को हमने स्वीकार किया, तो अब फिर से एक नए विधेयक को लाकर नया विवाद खड़ा करें, नया वितंडावाद खड़ा करें इसकी कोई उपयोगिता नहीं है, कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है।

मैं तिरुची शिवा जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम भारतीय भाषाओं का सम्मान करते हैं। हम तमिल का आदर करते हैं। आप भी हिन्दी का आदर करना सीखिए। तमिलनाडु को छोड़ कर बाकी किसी भी प्रान्त में हिन्दी का इतना घोर विरोध नहीं है। वे ऐसा यह मानते हैं कि जैसे यह दुश्मनों की भाषा है। इस प्रवृत्ति को छोड़ना पड़ेगा।

अभी रामचन्द्र खूँटिआ जी बोल रहे थे।...**(व्यवधान)**... वे कुछ बोलने को कह रहे हैं, तो मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ओडिशा में गया हूँ और वहाँ कई महीनों तक रहा हूँ। वहाँ एक कहावत प्रचलित है कि 'उड़िया आदमी को जब गुस्सा आता है, तो हिन्दी बोलने लगता है।'...**(व्यवधान)**... वहाँ यह कहावत है कि 'यदि किसी उड़िया आदमी को गुस्सा आता है, तो वह हिन्दी बोलने लगता है।' आपको भी यदि गुस्सा आए, तो आप भी हिन्दी बोलना शुरू कर दीजिए, रामचन्द्र जी।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामचन्द्र खूँटिआ : हम हिन्दी के विरोध में नहीं हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा : सर, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी पूरे देश में प्रचलित भाषा

है। जब उत्तर भारत का कोई व्यक्ति रामेश्वरम जाता है, तमिलनाडु में जाता है, तो रामेश्वरम का हर व्यक्ति, तमिलनाडु क्षेत्र का रहने वाला हर व्यक्ति उससे हिन्दी में ही बात करता है। वह उससे जुड़ा हुआ है। सांस्कृतिक रूप से सारा देश एक है और इसको एक रखने के लिए हिन्दी ने अपना महत्वपूर्ण त्याग किया है, उसमें उसका महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है, इसलिए हमें इस बात को स्वीकार करना चाहिए। हम इतिहास को झुठलाने का प्रयत्न न करें, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। हम भारतीय भाषाओं का पूरा-पूरा सम्मान करें और उनको विकसित करें। हम अंग्रेज़ी को हटा दें और उसके स्थान पर हिन्दी को रख कर हिन्दी में तमिल का अनुवाद हो, तमिल में हिन्दी का अनुवाद हो तथा वैसे ही मराठी का हिन्दी में अनुवाद हो और हिन्दी का मराठी में अनुवाद हो। केवल क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से पत्र-व्यवहार चलता रहे और इसी रूप में हम राजभाषा के रूप में यदि हिन्दी को सम्मानित करते रहें और इस सत्य को स्वीकार करते रहें कि अंग्रेज़ी दासता की भाषा है, तो निश्चित रूप से हमारा यह राष्ट्र एक शक्तिशाली, मज़बूत और एकाग्र राष्ट्र के रूप में तथा एकात्म राष्ट्र के रूप में वर्षों तक जीवित रहकर विश्व में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान बनाए रखेगा। धन्यवाद।

SHRI P. KANNAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. I stand before you to speak on the Official Languages Bill, 2012. Let me say a few things. I kindly request the Chair and the hon. Members to listen to me with a little patience. I am not going to preach anything; but I am going to express my views only.

It is needless to say that I love my mother. Mr. Siva, my valued friend, has said that we love mother-tongue. Everybody loves mother-tongue. How can I hate my mother? Or, for that matter, can anybody hate their mother or their mother-tongue? We all love our mother-tongue. There is nothing special in that. By mentioning what had happened in the history, if you say that you love your mother-tongue gives a meaning that you hate other languages. It, indirectly, meant, somewhere in the history, there is hate for other languages. All mother-tongues — my mother-tongue, your mother-tongue, his mother-tongue, Singhji's mother-tongue and everybody's mother-tongue — have to be respected. That is my perception. Actually, I wish I would have known all the languages in the country; not only in the country, but all the languages in the world. I wish, I would have known, I would have learnt, I would have understood all the languages. Sir, even the birds have got a language. Had I known that language, how happy I would have been? Sometimes, I feel very sad. Sir, there is even a language of silence. Sometimes, we keep silent, some people keep silent. It is a language — language of silence. It has got a deeper meaning than any other language.

[Shri P. Kannan]

Sir, my request is, let us not shut the doors of knowledge. I would like to mention here one thing to my Hindi-speaking people. Before I enter Parliament, I entered Delhi some 35 years ago and felt very difficult to communicate. I never felt inferior, but I felt very difficult to communicate. I can say that I felt bad, because, I could not communicate with my own countrymen, with my own people, with the common man — *Aam Aadmi*. I could not communicate. I was not able to understand what he says. And, he also did not understand what I say. So, I had a very bad feeling, but I did not feel inferior. A man cannot learn all the languages. It is not humanly possible. But, we must, first of all, learn to respect everybody's language. That is my humble request. It is only then our mother-tongue or anybody's mother-tongue would get automatically respected.

Sir, Mr. Siva has got a valid point. I support his case, but there is one thing. Take Andhra Pradesh for example. I am not taking Tamil Nadu as example. Being a Tamil-speaking man, I don't want to talk about Tamil Nadu. That is why I take Andhra Pradesh. Two advocates are fighting a case on behalf of two individuals.

They speak English; the judgment delivered is in English; the poor, the common men, in Andhra Pradesh, in Telugu-speaking areas, do not understand what transpires between the two advocates; they do not understand whether the advocates supported them or they opposed them; they do not understand what the judgment says. It is a pathetic situation. It should not be so. In any region, the use of its regional language must be the maximum. I am not a pundit, and I am not an expert to say that we should make it an official language. Of course, it is our national language. I don't know how far we can go in making it our official language, and if that happens, I would be the happiest person; but I do not know the practicality. I am given to understand that even Hindi is not being used in 90 per cent in the official communications of the Government of India. Ninety per cent of the official communications of the Government of India are not being done in Hindi language, as far as my knowledge goes. The notings in majority of the files are done in English. I am not against Hindi. Hindi is the most widely spoken language in the country. I would never be against any language, for that matter, in the country, or, if I go further, I would like to say that I would never be against any language in the whole world. Yes, I love my mother-tongue, I love my mother. But, then,

does it require any publicity? I don't want to make any politics out of it. I say this. You respect the regional language. The UPA Government is a wise Government. It know how to respect the sentiments of the people. So, I want to make a request to the hon. Home Minister and the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs who is also sitting here. You ask the State Governments to follow the rules and regulations or the law so as to make use of the regional language to the most possible extent. That will help the common man; that will help regional languages; and that will help the generations to come. But, at the same time, I would caution the Hindi-speaking people, and they should not misunderstand me. Don't eliminate the use of English language! It is dangerous for India; it is dangerous — I can even say — for the whole human kind. This is the only language in which we communicate throughout the whole world. Today, in India — whether it is for good or for bad, I do not know — English language is the storehouse of knowledge. Fortunately or unfortunately, we got it from the Britishers. They did many things both good and bad. But, it is they who gave English to us. Let us cherish it. Let us not eliminate it. I am not saying this just for the sake of the Tamil language or the Telugu language. I am saying it for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the whole country. Let us preserve English, side by side with all other languages in the country.

There is another thing that I want to mention here, Sir. I remember, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, he had assured the non-Hindi-speaking States, the southern States, that as long as they accepted Hindi, English would continue to be there as the link language, or, the associate language. This was the assurance Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had given at the instance of the great leader, late Kamaraj. This must be noted here. So, this was there not because of anybody else, not because of any agitation, not because of anything else; it was because of the late Kamaraj; he was a towering leader. He stood like a mountain. He stood like a rock. He stood like the Himalayas. He made the then Prime Minister give this assurance. Till today, this assurance has been in force. Congress people, the Congress Prime Ministers, Congress leaders have always been safeguarding the sentiments and the rights of the people in the whole of India; they have always been safeguarding the regional languages, whether it is Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Odiya, or, whether it is Hindi, Bengali or any other language. The spirit of the nation, the spirit of India, has been kept intact by Congress leaders, like Kamarajji.

[Shri P. Kannan]

Sir, I want to say something. If Mr. Siva does not agree with me, he must bear with me. This is what I am requesting Mr. Siva. He is my brother. He is my lovely brother. I love him like anything. He is very humble. He is very unassuming.

AN HON. MEMBER: You love all.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Yes, I love all, especially Siva. How could I leave Siva? I call him Sivaji. So, Mr. Siva, you must tell me one thing.

In Tamil Nadu, we had the anti-Hindi agitation. I do not want to go into the details of it. Now, when people from south India come to Delhi, particularly from Tamil Nadu, don't they feel that they have missed something; don't they feel that they missed something in the post-Independence history?

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI (Tamil Nadu): Ask the Finance Minister. He will be able to tell you whether he has missed something or not.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Of course, I will ask him. Why should I spare the Finance Minister, or, any Minister for that matter?

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: No, you don't have to...

SHRI P. KANNAN: Sorry, Madam. I was talking, generally.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: We are very proud of the Finance Minister.

SHRI P. KANNAN: You must be. I am thankful to you. You started the argument, and you have ended the argument. Thank you very much. I didn't bring the Finance Minister into the picture. Thank you, Madam.

Now, what I am saying is this. I am saying this very honestly. I don't want to be a hypocrite. But I really feel that you have spoiled a generation — it is not that we should have imposed Hindi — but, in the sense, how many people are now trying to learn Hindi. I know how many MPs coming from Tamil Nadu, irrespective of which political party they may belong to...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: But, that is an indirect way of imposing it. If you don't learn a second language, you are compelled to learn it. We don't learn English language, which, as you said, is the link language, an associate language which helps us to

communicate amongst people who are in various southern States. Our mother-tongues will be different. I may be a Tamilian; he may be a Malayalee; the third one may be a Telugu-speaking person; another one may be a Marathi-speaking people. So, we have the English language as the link between us. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is an indirect imposition on the people of south India.

SHRI P. KANNAN: We never imposed anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): One minute, please. The time-limit allotted for this discussion is over. But, still, the subject has its importance. Therefore, we will continue the debate till we come to the end. Another thing, please try to address the Chair. You reply when your turn comes.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: All right, Sir.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Let me speak now, Sir. It is a very sensitive matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please conclude now.

SHRI P. KANNAN: I will try to conclude, Sir. My attention had been diverted.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SUSHILKUMAR SHINDE): When will be the reply? In the next week?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): In the next sitting.

SHRI P. KANNAN: What I would like to tell you is this. Now, Mr. Singh had said something. I went to him and I understood the point he was making. In Europe, they have three languages. The mother-tongue is already there. Then, you can chose any other language. Then, English is there. He mentioned China. He mentioned various other countries. What for is a language? It is for communication. I know, we—Bengalis, Tamilian and others—have got emotional attachment to our languages. Apart from that, we want to communicate with our people. It is not that I communicate only within Tamil Nadu and that I would not move out of Tamil Nadu. We can't say that. Unfortunately, English is not widely known in India. If it were so, well and good. I don't want to kill any language on this earth, particularly of this country. We don't want to kill. What Mr. Yadav said is true. Some people, in their politics, in their various fields, think that if they know English, they would

[Shri P. Kannan]

feel very good and proud. They think they are great and superior to others because others do not know English and that they know only Hindi, Bengali, Telugu or Tamil. So, one thinks himself to be superior and a great scholar. He holds his head high and does not look down. That sort of hypocritical attitude is there in many learned people; I don't want to spare anybody. It is the inferior quality, slavery quality of the erstwhile British people who left it upon us; and many Indians never felt high of themselves for the sake of English. But, we have inherited this slavery mentality from the British. "I know English, I am great." That is why I support Mr. Yadav. He said it so well. All Indians should know this fact.

Sir, I would like to read a fine poem before I conclude.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: I can understand that he is anti-English.

SHRI P. KANNAN: No, I am not anti-English. I said that I am not against any language. But, you can't say that just because you know English you are superior to somebody else. That should not be the attitude.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: But, he is speaking in English rather than Tamil.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Because I know English. I do not speak in Tamil because I want my brothers to understand me.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Simultaneous interpretation service is available. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. KANNAN: Madam Kanimozhi, that is why I am saying that I want to communicate directly. I do not want to pretend. I can speak Tamil at least of your level, if not more. ...*(Interruptions)*...

I want to communicate to my people wholeheartedly. English is the only instrument through which I can do that here. If I knew Hindi, I would have spoken only in Hindi. I don't feel ashamed of it.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: You are deserting your mother tongue.

SHRI P. KANNAN: You may think so. I am sorry to say that. After Mr. Siva saying so, I would like to say that, I think, I am the only Member who signs only in Tamil on the Attendance Register. You can verify it from the Attendance

Register. I sign as 'Pa Kannan' only in Tamil. I donot sign in English. I never signed in English or in any other language. I sign in my mother tongue because I have self-esteem. Yet, I do not disrespect anybody. Moreover, when I took oath, it was in Tamil. For the sake and for the information of Mr. Siva I say that I took oath in Tamil because I was elected from a Tamil-speaking area. When I came to this Parliament, this House, this Rajya Sabha, I took the oath of affirmation only in Tamil, not in English. So, my English-speaking is not my grandeur. I do not think myself to be great when I speak in English. I think, it is the only instrument I have got, unfortunately.

Sir, I am going to conclude my speech. In a nutshell, I would say that every language—Tamil, Malayalam, or any language—should be respected and given the due place. Because, the regional people would understand the happenings only in their own language. For which, I request the hon. Home Minister to do his best. Sir, before concluding, let me finish with a very good poem. That poem says, Sir; — which I have just translated in a hurry,...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to know whether Mr. Kannan is supporting this Bill or not.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Sivaji, I will come to that, don't worry. I will not be in-between you and somebody else. I stand in a position. I take a firm stand. We, the Congress people, always take firm stand. We do not have any jittery. We are certain. We will take a very firm stand. I will come to you.

Sir, with a poem, I conclude my speech. The poem is in Tamil. I tried to translate it. It says that when the wind blows in a forest of bamboos, it goes through the holes of the bamboos. Each bamboo gives a fine music. When the same wind enters a particular bamboo, it gives a very fantastic music. In another bamboo, it gives an excellent, unique music. So, the only thing is wind. Man's mouth makes some kind of wind. The language comes; that is the language. So, all the languages are beautiful; they are wonderful; they are lovable. They are all to be embraced. See, we don't have any hesitation in saying that we do not oppose any language. We embrace the whole universe, the whole country. So, I respect my mother tongue. Because I respect the Hindi-speaking people, I respect Hindi. Without respecting Hindi, I cannot respect Tamil. If I say so, it is a blunt lie. It is a shame. It is a shame on the part of the human being, not as an Indian. If I hate Hindi, I can't love

[Shri P. Kannan]

Tamil. If anybody says so, he is a pretender. He is duping himself, duping the country and duping the society. So, I support the Bill brought by my valued friend, Shri Siva. Shri Siva is a thinker, I believe, above politics. Above politics, he is an intellectual, I believe. So, I share his sentiments, I share his views, I share the views of the rest of the Members, particularly Shri Singh, who spoke very well. Shri Yadav spoke very nicely. Mr. Siva, needless to say, is an orator. He is the number one orator in the DMK from Rajya Sabha. He is an excellent orator. ...(*Interruptions*)... His campaign is going on. He has to go back. Sir, I love all the languages. So, I request the hon. Home Minister to consider the maximum utility of the regional languages, i.e., my language — Tamil; your language — Telugu; your language — Hindi; your language — Marathi; your language — Odiya. Be it any language.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Okay, thank you very much.

SHRI P. KANNAN: Come on, let us flourish the garden of languages. Let us enter into the fragrance of the garden of all languages. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Now, Shrimati Kanimozhi.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: *(Hon. Member may please fill in Tamil)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): The translation is not coming.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Sir, that is the problem here. That is exactly what we are trying to address. I cannot speak here in my language.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): You have to intimate half-an-hour before.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Yes, Sir, if I want to speak in this House in my language, I have to notify people, I have to get permission. I have to do a lot of pre-requisites before I start speaking in my language, about my problems, about what I believe, in this House. This is exactly what we are trying to bring to the

*The Honourable Member did not provide the English translation of the text.

notice of all our friends here. I would like to see a day where we do not have to go through all this.

I can just get up and speak in my language. Let us speak in Hindi, let us speak in Hindi or any other language, I would just like to rise and start speaking in my mother-tongue, about my issues. I can be very sure that every Member here will be able to understand what I speak because there are simultaneous translations in all Official Languages, all the languages which are in the Eighth Schedule. This is exactly what our request is. We cannot understand each other. It is a problem. We cannot understand each other here because there is no translation because a language...(Interruptions)...

SHRI P. KANNAN: Please don't take umbrage to what I said. ...(Interruptions).. I am sorry I could not hear you. ...(Interruptions)... I went out to take water. ...(Interruptions)... Don't take it otherwise. ...(Interruptions)... I am sorry. ...(Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: No, no. ...(Interruptions)... I don't think my party is running this House. ...(Interruptions)... Members spoke here with passion about their mother-tongue, about their problems they have to face, and getting a certificate in their language has led to so many complications in their lives. Sir, somebody here actually insulted us, insulted a movement, insulted a history by saying that it is all a political gimmick. We are trying to cater to the masses. I do not support killing people themselves. But so many youngsters, so many people in the anti-Hindi agitation did it. When I am talking of about anti-Hindi agitation, I would really like to make one thing clear that it is not against any language, it is not against Hindi as a language, but it is against imposing a language on a region, on a State. There is a difference between opposing a language and imposing a language on us. The anti-Hindi agitation was all about imposing Hindi on us when we did not want it. That is what I would like to make very clear here. That agitation was not a political gimmick. People were injured, thousands and thousands went to jail, people died, they killed themselves. Can that be called a political gimmick? Can they be insulted? They were ending their lives for what they believed in. What happens to their families they do not care about that. You can call it as an emotional decision but they wanted to protect their language, their identity, their culture. You cannot insult that. I would like to quote an example. My father, Dr. Kalaignar, our leader,

[Shrimati Kanimozhi]

got into the anti-Hindi protest when he was at the age of 14. He was not a politician then. He was a mere school student. I do not think he knew that there is a political future for him and he might become the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu or he would find space in national politics. No. He is not a person who believes in astrology or some predictions and had thought of all that. He was just a mere student. You cannot insult all those leaders. There were leaders before him, there were leaders after him. He was a student who got into this agitation. He got into it only to protect our identity and what they believed in. We cannot be insulted, we cannot be called as imposters, we cannot be called as people who are doing things like this for political gimmicks. It is not. This is what we feel. People are saying that majority speaks Hindi but a minority opposes it. It does not oppose a language. We are okay with Tamil, we are okay with Malayalam, we are fine with Hindi, we are fine with Bhojpuri, we are fine with Rajasthani, every language spoken in this country, in this world, we are prepared to embrace it. But here when we spoke, he said, "Don't you feel that you have lost something because you have not learnt Hindi?" I have no learnt Hindi, Mr. Siva has not learnt Hindi and there are so many other colleagues here who have not learnt Hindi, and, that is why I have to bring in the Finance Minister. He says, "Haven't you lost?". If a person can become the Finance Minister of this country without knowing Hindi or without speaking Hindi, what has he lost?...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री नरेन्द्र बुढानिया (राजस्थान) : सर, राजस्थान में वित्त मंत्री जी ने हिन्दी में भाषण दिया था।

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Sorry, I did not understand. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. KANNAN: Sir, the great leader, Shri Kamaraj, did not know Hindi. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: Yes. I agree with him. I also know the history of Mr. Kamaraj.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Both of you are saying the same thing.

SHRIMATI KANIMOZHI: The great leader, Shri Kamaraj, comes from Tamil Nadu. I also know his history. He did not speak English. He did not speak Hindi.

Where is the compulsion that all of us have to learn Hindi to feel a part of India? If you do not speak Hindi, you do not belong to India! ...(*Interruptions*)... No, I did not say that. I am just raising a general question. ...(*Interruptions*)... I don't think that I have lost anything because I do not know one language. I do not know so many languages of this country. I do not know so many languages that are spoken around this world. I know just two languages. Does it mean that I have lost anything? Of course, I might have lost out, but it does not mean that I have lost out just because I don't know one language. Am I not an Indian? Are these people, who are here, not Indians just because they do not know Hindi? Is that the only link between us? Just because majority speaks a language, you cannot impose it on minorities. You cannot force us to learn a language just because you think that that is the only unifying factor. There is so much more in India, there is so much more in our culture, there is so much more in our value system and beliefs that unite us, more than just a language. And, I would like to say on behalf of my party, if any language is going to be imposed on us, in Tamil Nadu, we will resist, we will continue to resist and it will never happen in Tamil Nadu. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Mr. A.V. Swamy. ...(*Interruptions*)... Let the time allotted for Private Members' Business be finished. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI A.V. SWAMY (Odisha): Sir, I thank hon. Member, Shri Tiruchi Siva, for having raised an issue which is of such an interest for the unification of the country, at a time when we are forgetting its importance. Therefore, I offer to see what a language has to do with our unification and with enhancement of our value system.

Sir, I had the opportunity of being in Calcutta, when East Pakistan, now Bangladesh revolted against Yahya Khan. I was working in Calcutta at that point of time. Therefore, I knew the entire Bangladesh and also Bengal from close quarter. They had tolerated the neglect and all the atrocities committed by Pakistan for years together, but when they tried to undermine their language, the entire nation woke up. I was a part of that movement. I had been sending blood for wounded freedom fighters from Calcutta. I knew what it meant for them. It was not that they were merely fighting for Bangladesh. Probably, many people do not understand that aspect. It is not that only the Muslims in Bangladesh wanted to rise against Yahya Khan who imposed Urdu on Bengali speaking people. I remember one of the songs that they composed

5.00 P.M.

[Shri A.V. Swamy]

at that time. That was not only for unification or a movement against Yahya Khan. They composed a song. That song will be of importance for some of us. I enumerate some of those lines.

*“Sunô ekti mujiburer theke, lakho mujiburer
kantho swarer, dhwani, prathidhwani
akashe bathase uthe roni;
...Bangladesh, amar Bangladesh
Biswakabir Sunar Bangla,
Nazuruler Bangladesh,
Jeebananander Rupasi Bangla
Ruper jeTar Nahikosesh...
Bangladesh, Amar Bangladesh...”*

Those are the values they stood for. Among the heroes enlogised in the song are, one is Hindu, one is Muslim and the other is poet.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Mr. Swamy, one minute please. Would you like to continue?

SHRI A.V. SWAMY: Yes, Sir, I would like to continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): I would like to get the sense of the House whether we can continue this in the next sitting of the Private Members' Business.

SHRIMATI MAYA SINGH (Madhya Pradesh): Yes, Sir. We can continue this in the next sitting.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Okay. Mr. Swamy, you will continue in the next sitting of this particular Bill. This Bill will be taken up on the next scheduled date.

Now, I will take up the Special Mentions.
