

[Mr. Speaker]

am sure he will himself be sorry and, later on, if he thinks it is improper, he will express his own regret. I do not demand it. We shall take up the No-Confidence Motion at 2 O'Clock.

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot) : There is the Motion in the name of Shri Madhu Limaye to be taken up at 5 P.M. So, this will not be taken up today.

MR. SPEAKER : Naturally.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : Sir, you have been pleased to mention me. I would like to know why. I have been a Member of this House long enough. If I have said anything unparliamentary, you are at liberty to pull me up. I do expect you to behave in the Chair in a manner which is worthy of the dignity of the Chair. I do not make observations peremptorily without referring to what is said and done. I have enough parliamentary experience. So far as words are concerned, I choose my words a great deal more carefully than words you hear and pass muster. I do not know what expression you have in mind.

MR. SPEAKER : That is all. This also may remain on record. He says, he is a very senior Member. I am happy; I respect him. If he is happy and satisfied, I am more than happy. Let it remain on record. Now, we go to the next item.

12-35 HRS.

MOTIONS RE : REPORTS OF EDUCATION COMMISSION AND OF COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON EDUCATION—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER : Now we take up further consideration of the motions moved by Dr. Triguna Sen on the 14th November, 1967.

Dr. Sushila Nayar to continue her speech. . . . She is not here.

Mr. Mohamed Imam.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM (Chitradurga) : I have read the Report of the Kothari Education Commission very carefully. It is a voluminous Report and they have made many suggestions which are useful. I have also read the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education, which, I am afraid, is creating confusion and complications. The country is already confronted with many grave problems, which require the un-

divided attention of the Government for their solution. We had the Chinese aggression, we had the Pakistani aggression, and there are so many other problems which are coming up every day. But the Government is busy creating fresh problems for themselves and one of the problems that they have added to the series of problems is the language problem which, I am afraid, may have a very serious repercussion on the destiny of the country.

12-36 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

It is said that the destiny of the nation—in fact, this is the opening sentence in the Kothari Commission's Report—is shaped in the class-rooms. A sound system of education and a sound national policy on education will play an important part in the destiny of the country. According to Dr. Sen, we have to evolve a national educational policy. According to him, the national policy should be an immediate switch-over to the regional medium and the imposition of Hindi throughout the country. By adopting this policy, he hopes that he will bring out the creative energies of the youth and will bring about national and emotional integration. But, Sir, I am afraid, by adopting this policy, he will only be creating disruption in the country. . . .

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. TRIGUNA SEN) : On a point of information. May I know from where he is quoting ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member is making certain statements. What is the authority ? Has he quoted from anything ?

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : The Report of the Parliamentary Committee aims at that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is the hon. Member's surmise ?

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : Yes we cannot but infer that when we read the Report of the Parliamentary Committee. Anyway, his idea seems to be, which we can all understand, to replace English by Hindi which he wants to impose throughout the country and by introducing the regional media in every State. It is said in the Report that, by adopting this, there will be national and emotional integration. I am afraid, the result would be to the

contrary. It is true that we must adopt a good national educational policy. But what should be that policy? What should be its effect? According to my conception, any sound national policy must be such that it will strengthen the unity of the country and does not bring about any disunity. Secondly, education must be such that it will not retard the scientific and technological progress of the country, especially when the country is backward. Thirdly, it must be accepted by all the States and the language should not be imposed on them. Fourthly, it must be left to the discretion of each State to adopt whatever language it wants according to its own conditions. Fifthly, every parent and student must be at liberty to choose his own language and he must be given all the facilities. According to me, any sound educational policy must comprise of these factors.

Prior to Independence, there was hardly any controversy over the language issue. Language and education were the responsibility of the States which devoted and attached great importance not only to the development of their own regional languages but to adopting English as the medium of instruction at all stages of education, and English was adopted by them voluntarily and it was not imposed on them, because people knew its utility and people felt and realised that by adopting English, the fields of science and technology would open to them. In fact, we must admit that it was only after adoption of English that science and technology and medicine progressed a good deal. Secondly, we must admit that for the first time English became a link language throughout the country. Till then, there was no language spoken throughout the country and each State was a stranger to the other States so far as language was concerned. The English people might have dominated over us, and they might have been devils, but we must thank them for two things. First of all, they gave us a united India which never existed before except to a very limited extent. Secondly, they gave us a language which became a common language throughout the country. I think we must thank them for these two things.

It was after Independence that the language controversy set in. It set in because

some sentiment was brought in. It was felt by a certain section that English, being a foreign language, was a sign of British domination which required to be eliminated or eradicated. So, sentiment played a great part and an attempt was made to replace it by Hindi. It was only after this that the language controversy set in. There is, however, another equally good section which feels that English must be retained and it must continue if our country is to advance both scientifically and technologically.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI (Poona) : He wants it for ever ?

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : Yes, for ever we want it. Many people feel that it is a foreign language. I am replying to Shri S. M. Joshi. So far as many of us are concerned, we no longer feel that it is a foreign language; we have been conversant with it for the last two centuries. In fact if you go to any part of the country you will find that even a common man and a common peasant is familiar with hundreds of English words. I may give just one or two examples. During our election campaign, we would only go and say 'Please give us your vote'. There was no equivalent to the word 'vote'. Similarly, none of the people would call it '*Samsad*' but only Parliament. There are hundreds of such words with which our peasants and common people have been familiar for hundred years and more. In fact, I feel that English is more or less a national language. It is not only a national language but an international and universal language. We may recall the judgment of Justice Chagla in 1964 wherein he said that English is an Indian language. I may also recall the words of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru that English is an important language and we cannot afford to dispense with it. In fact, it ought to have been an Indian language and must continue to be an associate language. Such being the case, we can no longer consider English as a foreign language. It is a necessary language, necessary for the development of science, technology and other subjects. If we discard it and suddenly switch over to regional languages, there will be great disaster attendant with too many risks.

Now we propose to switch over to the regional language in each State. I am also

[Shri J. Mohamed Imam]

very fond of the regional language. I come from Mysore. I know Kannada very well and have written some books also in it. I am fond of it, but I feel that if there is a sudden switch over to the regional language, if we dispense with English, it is fraught with grave consequences.

First of all, if every university adopts its own medium of instruction, how many types of graduates will there be throughout the country? How many sets of graduates will be there? There will be Kannada graduates, Telugu graduates, Tamil graduates, Malayalam graduates and so on. There will be as many types of graduates as there are linguistic states in the country. So where is unity?

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : Will the graduates also be different in mathematics?

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : I am from Mysore. I know only Kannada. Shri Joshi is from Maharashtra, he knows only Marathi. We have already created linguistic states. It is already felt that it has produced adverse effects. By this means, we will only be perpetuating these. There will be thirty or forty kinds of graduates, each confined to its own state. The situation will be something like that of the frog in a pond. Till now it was in a sea and could go wherever it liked.

Secondly, look at the disadvantages. Supposing we switch over to the regional language immediately, where are the textbooks? In fact, it is said in the Radhakrishnan Commission's Report that the number of scientific and technical terms is more than 3 million. They are not only English terms but international terms. Is it possible to translate them even into Hindi, let alone into the regional languages.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash) : They will be manufactured.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM : Yes.

I am on the syndicate of Mysore University. They appointed a committee to translate some of the scientific books into Kannada. I think so far they have not been able to produce one single book, not because they do not want to do it, but because it is very difficult to do so. I am also aware of the experience of Osmania University of good old days. They adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction. They

created a special bureau to translate all text books. I have gone there. They told me, 'We take all care and translate the books, but by the time a book is finished and brought out, it becomes out of date'. It is because science and technology are expanding and changing every day. We must admit our dependence on western civilisation. Without western civilisation and western language, our country will never prosper.

I submit in the interest of the progress of the country, sentimental considerations must be set aside. We must think only of its development and of the future of the country. If our country is to advance in science and other things, they must be taught in English. It is also necessary for the sake of unity that English is retained.

It is believed by many persons that all this move is a manoeuvre to impose Hindi by indirect methods on the entire country. In fact, what are your All-India Institutes which you are contemplating, where English and Hindi alone will be taught? English will go. If a man from Mysore or Andhra or Maharashtra comes here to study, he knows only his regional language. Secondly, there is the question of advantage and disadvantage. A man studying Hindi, coming from a Hindi area, is always at a greater advantage, it being his mother tongue which he knows from his cradle, and he will always be at an advantage compared to a person coming from Kerala or other States who knows Hindi only when he becomes a youth.

So, in a country like this, everybody must have equal opportunities. Everybody must be at equal advantage and disadvantage. So, taking all these things into consideration and the future of this country, I submit we should not be hasty. Let there not be an attempt to impose Hindi. I think in the interests of the country, the present system must continue, English must continue as a compulsory language in every university.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling) : I believe this is a discussion, a debate, on the Kothari Commission's Report, and we are discussing the system of education first of all, but I am afraid, the whole thing has got bogged down into a controversy of Hindi and English. Actually speaking,

it depends on the teacher and the students as to how the teacher teaches and the student learns. It is the receptivity of the student and the teaching capacity of the teacher which are the most important things, but we have hardly discussed all these things. We have not at all discussed the system of education that we should have.

After the fourth general election, a new Minister came, and he got the best press. No other Minister got the press that he did, and he went on saying about the policy of national education. We hoped much, we thought something would come out of all this talk, all this publicity, but what really came out was not very encouraging.

Just now, if the educational system has at all been discussed, it has been discussed only in the university stages and higher stages. The child has been completely forgotten. We have not discussed at all the pre-school children, the primary school children, or any other backward community like the tribals and women. Of course, women I would not call a backward community, but women's education has not been discussed here at all. At least in the Commission's Report, women have been discussed with a warmth that is their due, but though the tribals, the backward people, have been given a place, the same warmth has not been expressed about their education.

Language is really a vehicle and means through which knowledge can be imported. It matters little really in what language we learn as long as we know the language enough to learn in it. It is the subject matter which matters more. It matters very little whether we learn in English or learn in Hindi or learn in our regional languages, as long as we understand the language enough, well enough, to learn.

On this question of regional language, I may also sound a note of warning, because the regional languages are 15 in number, after Sindhi has been admitted into the Eighth Schedule. All regions do not have the same language or one language. For instance, take Bengal. I come from West Bengal, and naturally I know more about West Bengal than any other State. And in this State of ours, of course, Bengali is the language. There is no doubt about it and Bengali is one of the best-developed lan-

guages in the country, perhaps in company with Tamil. There are other languages; they are not dialects. I must sound a note of warning here that they are not dialects; there are other languages. I have the honour to represent a constituency which does not speak Bengali predominantly. There are a very large number of Bengalees there and especially after the partition of the country, Bengali has come into its own in that particular area. But the language, the *lingua franca*, of the sub-Himalayan region is not Bengali. It is Nepali mostly; the Bhutias speak Nepali; the Lepchas speak Nepali. The Nepalees, of course, speak Nepali, and even the Adivasis going from Ranchi, who went there first to serve as plantation labour, but who have now spread out like anything, also speak Nepali with the other people; not amongst themselves, not as mother-tongue but as the *lingua franca* of that region which is Nepali, and it is the predominant language. But the regional language in Bengal would be Bengali. If at the university stage, it is only Bengali which is the language, as the medium of instruction, then, how would these people stand? What will be their position? Supposing they have to study in Bengali, they will not be able to do so. That particular difficulty is there. I want to bring this difficulty to the pointed attention of the Education Ministry and the Education Minister.

I go back now to the question of primary education, and the pre-school education. The Commission has mentioned pre-school-education and it has been kind enough to give it three years. But what the system would be and how the children would be taught has not been discussed in detail. This should have been done and this is the most important stage. In all the developed countries it has been now accepted and acknowledged that this is the most important stage when education should be given. In some cases, it has even been said that by the age of six months an infant acquires knowledge and all the habits are formed from six months onwards, and naturally, education is a very important thing. But that aspect has not been taken into consideration.

There have been many things which have been left out of the Commission's report itself. Perhaps it could not be bigger. But, unfortunately, in this House, even the Commission's report has not been discussed ade-

quately. We have only bogged ourselves into this controversy—useless controversy, futile controversy, of Hindi and English.

I am not speaking Hindi; I cannot speak Hindi; I cannot speak chaste Hindi at least. If I wanted to express myself in Hindi, I can do so, but not in a chaste way. But even English is not my mother-tongue; not yours either, and there are very few people in this House in whose case English is the mother-tongue. But in spite of that, we have been brought up in the tradition of English literature and all that.

Would you like me to stop here and give me time tomorrow or could I finish now?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are adjourning now; she may continue her speech when we resume this debate next time. That will be all right.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: Thank you, Sir.

12.59 Hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—*contd.*

श्री मधु लिमये (मूगेर): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि—

“यह सभा वर्तमान मंत्री परिषद् में अपने विश्वास के अभाव को व्यक्त करती है।”

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वैसे तो यह प्रस्ताव इस सत्र के पहले दिवस ही आने वाला था, लेकिन हम लोगों ने सोचा कि आपको पहले मौका दिया जिस गलत रास्ते पर आप चल रहे हैं उस से वापस हटने का और इसी लिये गवर्नर की नियुक्ति, गवर्नर के अधिकार— इन के बारे में यहाँ पर बहस उठाई गई। हमें आशा थी कि इस बहस का सरकार पर कुछ अच्छा असर पड़ेगा, लेकिन खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस बहस का सरकार के ऊपर कोई असर नहीं पड़ा और जो गलत फैसला,

जो खतरनाक फैसला हम चाहते थे कि यह सरकार न करे, वही उन्होंने किया। पहले तो पश्चिमी बंगाल के बारे में किया था, लेकिन बाद में सोचा कि लोग कहेंगे कि बंगाल के खिलाफ जान-बूझ कर यह कार्यवाही की गई है, बंगाल के ऊपर बचातकार किया गया, लोकतंत्र का वहाँ गला घोटा गया, तो इन्होंने सोचा कि हरियाणा पर भी बलात्कार करेंगे तो दो बलात्कार होने के कारण जनता हम को माफ करेगी और इसी लिये हरियाणा के बारे में भी सरकार ने गलत फैसला किया। लेकिन यह बात बिल्कुल साफ़ थी कि दोनों के बारे में फैसला एक ही समय हुआ था। हो सकता है कि आज प्रधान मंत्री और गृह मंत्री यहाँ पर कहें कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो हुआ उस के बारे में हमें कुछ नहीं कहना है, क्योंकि राज्यपाल ने अपने विवेकपूर्ण अधिकार का इस्तेमाल कर के यह काम किया है। लेकिन इस तरह की बातों का जनता के ऊपर कोई असर नहीं पड़ने वाला है।

सदन में दो-तीन रोज़ से बहस चल रही है। कल हरियाणा के गवर्नर का प्रवचन हम ने सुना—दल परिवर्तन की प्रवृत्ति के बारे में और हम को बताया गया कि दल परिवर्तन के कारण वहाँ पर अस्थिरता उत्पन्न हो गई है और इस अस्थिरता को खत्म करने के लिये और जो दल छोड़ने वाले लोग हैं, दल बदलने वाले लोग हैं, उन को दण्डित करने के लिये वहाँ हम, विधान सभा को बरखास्त कर रहे हैं, सरकार को हटा रहे हैं और दोबारा चुनाव कराने जा रहे हैं तो हरियाणा में दल छोड़ने वालों को दण्डित करने का प्रयास किया गया, लेकिन आज आप लोग देख रहे हैं कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो दल छोड़ने वाले लोग हैं, दल परिवर्तन करने वाले लोग हैं, उन को भेंट में उपहार दिया जा रहा है। पी० सी० घोष साहब मुख्य मंत्री बनाये गये हैं, उस का एकमात्र मतलब है कि कांग्रेस सरकार विरोधी दलों से जब लोग टूटते हैं तो उन का स्वागत करती है।